

# **Trans-Pacific Contact: A History of Ideas on the Oceania- Americas Connection**

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## **Declaration**

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university. To the best of the author's knowledge, it contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text.

Andrea Ballesteros Danel

June 2020

*To my grandfather, Alfonso Danel Galindo (1911–2016)*

## Preface and Acknowledgements

This thesis is part of the ARC Laureate Project ‘The Collective Biography of Archaeology in the Pacific’, based in the School of Archaeology and Anthropology, College of Arts and Social Sciences, at the Australian National University, led by Professor Matthew Spriggs. Its associated researchers include post-doctoral researchers (Emilie Dotte-Sarout and Hilary Howes) and four PhD candidates (Eve Haddow, Victor Melander, Michelle Richards, and myself). The team also included Adjunct Professor Bronwen Douglas and Adjunct Academic Elena Govor, as well as Project Associates.

My supervisory team includes Prof. Matthew Spriggs (chair), Prof. Bronwen Douglas, Dr. Elena Govor, Dr. Emilie Dotte-Sarout, and Dr. Carlos Mondragón Perezgrovas from the College of Mexico (Colegio de México or Colmex) in Mexico City. My principal supervisor’s interest in trans-Pacific contact theories, particularly those involving Polynesia and the Americas, has inspired this research.

The project focused on the development of ideas of trans-Pacific contact, predominantly between Polynesia and the Americas, but also between Oceania and the Americas. Trans-Pacific contact refers to contact between the peoples of Oceania and the Americas, enabled by voyages, that resulted in the diffusion of crops and animals, cultural practices, customs or beliefs, linguistic expressions, and material culture. I have focused on the evidence and the context in which theories were proposed. I have paid special attention to Hispanophone literature for two reasons: firstly my interest in Latin American and Hispanophone scholarship - Argentina, Chile, and to a lesser extent Peru, Spain and Mexico have produced a significant literature on the topic — and secondly my interest in the evolution of beliefs and traditions, and the diffusion of elements of material culture. The islands of the Pacific and their cultural links to the Americas are understudied. The proponents of contact theories have rarely been systematically studied, and many of these theories have been contentious, disproved or inconclusive. I researched the web of interconnection between these scholars and their influence on one another. While many



scholars suggest eastward voyages from Polynesia to the Americas, somewhat fewer address the possibility of voyages in the other direction. Their theories have also at times merged or confused ideas of origin with later contact events, making historical analysis difficult. Thor Heyerdahl's 1947 *Kon-Tiki* expedition, his questionable academic status, and the generally negative response to his ideas prompted a lot of research activity in relation to trans-Pacific contact. But at the same time, it is fair to say that in spite of the activity he inspired, ideas of trans-Pacific contact have often been considered to belong more to the fringes of academic archaeology than to its core. Considering the fragmented nature of the debate, the extensive non-English literature, and the continued proposal of trans-Pacific theories throughout the centuries despite limited evidence, an overview of the topic is necessary to aid understanding in the field. By illustrating the scholarly context in which these theories emerged, I will explore biases and controversies.

I have undertaken research in different languages including German and French, Italian and Spanish. I have done my best to interpret them accurately and have provided translations when required. All translations are mine unless otherwise stated. The life dates and biographical details of scholars are included where available. It was a challenge to draw all the evidence and publications together while providing sufficient detail about the context they were published in, and I hope I have done so fairly. Locating biographical and intellectual data on some of the proponents sometimes proved difficult. I have enjoyed researching these scholars and their ideas. I hope I have done them justice.

As part of this research, I travelled twice to Santiago, Chile, and Buenos Aires, Argentina, and once to Lima, Peru. I visited Oaxaca, Mexico, and Salamanca, Spain, where I presented papers at the Society for American Archaeology Intercontinental Conference in 2016, and at the International Congress of Americanists in 2018. I would like to thank some of the distinguished scholars I met on these trips for their generosity and support. They include Carlos Mondragón Perezgrovas in Mexico; Soledad González Díaz, Daniel Quiroz, José Miguel Ramírez Aliaga,

Andrea Seelenfreund and Patricia Vargas Casanova in Chile; Daniel Schávelzon in Argentina; and Paul-Henri Giraud at the International Congress of Americanists in Salamanca, Spain. I have also been assisted by many others. I am particularly indebted to Marisa Scarafoni from the Juan B. Ambrosetti Ethnographic Museum in Buenos Aires, Argentina, who facilitated my consultation of the archives on Imbelloni. I would also like to thank Dr. Mónica Berón, the director of the museum, for her support. I also wish to thank Dr. Roger Blench, Dr. María Auxiliadora Cordero, Dr. Mariana Favila Vázquez, Catherine Fitzgerald, Dr. Antonio Jaramillo Arango, Heléne Martinsson-Wallin, and Dr. Richard Scaglion.

In order to access the materials for my research, I visited a number of libraries in Argentina, Australia, Chile, Mexico, and Peru. The staff at the Chiefly, Menzies, and Hancock libraries of the Australian National University have always been helpful. Katy, Jessica and the other staff at the Document Supply Services at the ANU were efficient when providing me with my requests of rare book chapters and journal articles in different languages. In Argentina, I visited the National Library, the National Library of Teachers, and the Library of Congress. Their helpful staff, availability of materials, ease of consultation and long operating hours greatly facilitated my research. In Chile, my work at the National Library was equally enjoyable given their organisation, availability of rooms for study, and easily retrievable materials. The library of the College of Mexico contained certain materials not found elsewhere, further enriching my research.

I would like to express my deep gratitude to my supervisors for their invaluable input and support throughout the course of this project. Their meticulous critiques have made my manuscript a much more refined and systematic analysis. I am deeply indebted to Dr. Hilary Howes, who assisted me with German texts on numerous occasions and was always supportive and willing to help. I would also like to thank Victor Melander, a fellow PhD candidate for this project, Dr. Frances Shaw, and Dr. César Albarrán Torres for their comments and suggestions on how to improve certain sections of this thesis. My gratitude also goes to the team at

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Lastly, but no less significantly, I would like to thank my family and friends who have supported me and celebrated with me in moments of success. I am incredibly grateful to husband, Stuart Parry, for supporting me through the challenges. I would also like to acknowledge my 'book-end' children Charlie and Adrian, who were born at the start (2015) and towards the end of the project (2019). My parents Silvia and Carlos, my sister Sofía, my close friends Maga Estopier and her family, my aunt Lilly, my cousins Mariana, John Paul, and María José, and my parents-in-law Sue and Ross have all been very supportive. My friends Alethia and Brendan, Carolina and Sergio, Paola Perochena, María and Igor, María Fernanda and José Manuel, Tiina and Jon, my neighbours, and all the Spanish-speaking people that I have met these last five years have all motivated me along the way. I dedicate this work to them and to my family in Mexico, the US, and Canada. I especially dedicate this to my grandfather, Alfonso Danel Galindo, who passed away in 2016 after a long and plentiful life. He lived to 105 years of age, retired at 102, was an example to follow, and whom I was very close to and will never forget.

## **Abstract**

This thesis brings together theories of pre-Columbian trans-Pacific contact between Oceania and the Americas and analyses them from a history of ideas perspective. Despite the limited factual evidence, trans-Pacific contact theories between the Americas and Oceania have been discussed in various forms since the sixteenth century and remain a persistent trope. To provide a context for the history of ideas of trans-Pacific contact involving the Americas and Oceania, this thesis addresses the changing conceptions of the Pacific according to scholars from Europe and the Americas, the development of science and later anthropology and archaeology in this region and in the Americas, and the growing understanding of the history of settlement of the Americas and the Pacific. The theories addressed herein include ideas about Polynesia (or other parts of the Pacific) being settled by Amerindians; ideas about the Americas being settled by Polynesians or other Pacific Islanders; crop and animal diffusion in either direction; and cultural diffusion and contact theories. An analysis of the history and current status of the trans-Pacific contact debate shows that new additions to scientific knowledge have been obscured and resulted in an inconclusive and repetitive intellectual trajectory. This thesis proposes a historiographical revision and contextualisation of the theories and evidence in order to contribute to a clearer progression of ideas for one of the most resilient debates in the history of archaeology: the problem of trans-Pacific contacts.

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Figure 1. Map of locations in the Americas and the Pacific mentioned in the thesis.

# CHAPTER 1

## Americans in the Pacific: A Persistent Trope in Pacific Archaeology

This thesis brings together theories of pre-Columbian trans-Pacific contact between Oceania and the Americas and analyses them from a history of ideas perspective. It forms part of a broader research project titled ‘The Collective Biography of Archaeology in the Pacific’, which aims to uncover the development of Pacific archaeology through its history.<sup>1</sup>

As noted by Bevir, ‘to study the history of ideas is to study meaning, and so culture, from a historical perspective’.<sup>2</sup> To study the history of archaeology properly, one must step away from ‘presentations of scientific processes as an inevitable progression’.<sup>3</sup> Instead, we must use ‘historiographical concepts and tools to trace how archaeological knowledge has been acquired as well as to reflect on the historical conditions and contexts in which this knowledge has been generated’.<sup>4</sup> In this thesis I attempt to uncover the beliefs that have shaped the trans-Pacific contact debate since the sixteenth century. I also summarise the contextual emergence of these ideas of trans-Pacific contact, and the evidence used. Instead of considering the debate as a linear progression of scientific processes, I show that it comprises contentious and fragmented theories, which have at times undermined its productive advancement. This fragmentation is mostly due to the origin of ideas across multiple disciplines, multiplicity of lines of research and researchers, and a general lack of communication and a clearly defined locus for debate

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<sup>1</sup> Matthew Spriggs, ‘The Hidden History of a Third of the World: The Collective Biography of Australian and International Archaeology in the Pacific (CBAP) Project’, *Bulletin of the History of Archaeology* 27/1 (2017), 1–11; Hilary Howes and Matthew Spriggs, ‘Writing the History of Archaeology in the Pacific: Voices and Perspectives’, *The Journal of Pacific History* 54/3 (2019), 295–306.

<sup>2</sup> Mark Bevir, *The Logic of the History of Ideas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 1.

<sup>3</sup> Gisela Eberhardt and Fabian Link, ‘Historiographical Approaches to Past Archaeological Research. Introduction’, in Gisela Eberhardt and Fabian Link (eds.), *Historiographical Approaches to Past Archaeological Research* (Berlin: Edition Topoi, 2015), 8.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

throughout the centuries. The influences of religion, politics including racial politics, the personal circumstances of researchers, intellectual contexts and scientific beliefs, literature and the arts are also addressed.<sup>5</sup>

In 1952, US anthropologist John L. Sorenson (1924–) completed his Masters thesis *Evidences of Culture Contacts Between Polynesia and the Americas in Precolumbian Times* at Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah.<sup>6</sup> Years later, this same scholar completed with Martin H. Raish (1947–) an annotated bibliography on a broader topic: pre-Columbian trans-oceanic contact with the Americas (first edition: 1990; second edition: 1996).<sup>7</sup> It is apt that Sorenson graduated from a Mormon university, as Mormonism inspired a number of trans-Pacific contact theories. When I refer to theory or theories in this thesis, I mean ‘a hypothesis or set of ideas about something’, in this case about trans-Pacific contact between Oceania and the Americas.<sup>8</sup>

There have been numerous publications before and after 1952, highlighting the compelling nature of this debate and the driving force that keeps these theories in the public space. Aside from Sorenson and Raish’s work, a number of these publications can also be found in C.R.H. Taylor’s *A Pacific Bibliography*, first published in 1951 and in a second edition in 1965.<sup>9</sup> Others are more obscure yet and have required further research, having been only published in a language other than English, or being particularly obscure and hard to find. Ramírez Aliaga estimated in 1992 that Sorenson and Raish’s annotated bibliography (1990 edition) contained

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<sup>5</sup> Bevir, *The Logic of the History of Ideas*, 1.

<sup>6</sup> John L. Sorenson, *Evidences of Culture Contacts Between Polynesia and the Americas in Precolumbian Times*, Master’s Thesis (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1952).

<sup>7</sup> John L. Sorenson and Martin H. Raish, *Pre-Columbian Contact with the Americas Across the Oceans: An Annotated Bibliography*, 2nd edition, 2 vols. (Provo, Utah: Research Press, 1996).

<sup>8</sup> "theory, n.". OED Online. December 2019. Oxford University Press. <https://www-oed-com.virtual.anu.edu.au/view/Entry/200431?redirectedFrom=theory> (accessed January 23, 2020).

<sup>9</sup> C.R.H. Taylor, *A Pacific Bibliography. Printed matter relating to the Native Peoples of Polynesia Melanesia and Micronesia* (Wellington, N.Z.: Polynesian Society, 1951); C.R.H. Taylor, *A Pacific Bibliography. Printed matter relating to the Native Peoples of Polynesia Melanesia and Micronesia*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965).

5613 publications on general pre-Columbian trans-Pacific contact, including contact with Asia.<sup>10</sup> I estimate that around 2000 of those, including approximately 298 post-1990 publications, solely focus on, or mention contact between Oceania and the Americas. Recent examples include *Contact and Exchange in the Ancient World* (2006), *Polynesians in America* (2011), *Travelling Prehistoric Seas* (2016), and *Ancient Ocean Crossings* (2017).<sup>11</sup> Although several of these texts do not provide new data but rework old theories, they exemplify the paths the trans-Pacific contact debate has taken across time and space.

Despite the limited evidence, trans-Pacific contact theories between the Americas and Oceania have been discussed in various forms since the sixteenth century and remain a persistent trope. Spanish chronicles and early European texts following the discovery and colonisation of the Americas and the early exploration of the Pacific can be considered to present the earliest-known forms of trans-Pacific contact ideas. Sixteenth-century Spanish chronicles reveal probable occurrences of trans-Pacific contact between Amerindians and the inhabitants of the Pacific.<sup>12</sup> These chroniclers reported local oral traditions from the Americas regarding accidental long-distance voyages and coastal arrivals from distant lands, establishing connections with the South Sea that captured the European imagination at the time; beginning a long-lasting debate that continues today. In this thesis I present an historical overview of the emergence and development of pre-Columbian trans-Pacific contact ideas between Oceania and the Americas. I aim to examine the intellectual history of ideas, the evidence used to support them, and the

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<sup>10</sup> José Miguel Ramírez Aliaga, 'Contactos transpacíficos: un acercamiento al problema de los supuestos rasgos polinésicos en la cultura mapuche', *Clava* 5 (1992), 2. See also Sorenson and Raish, *Pre-Columbian Contact with the Americas Across the Oceans: An Annotated Bibliography*, 1st edition, 2 vols. (Provo, Utah: Research Press, 1990).

<sup>11</sup> Victor H. Mair (ed.), *Contact and Exchange in the Ancient World* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006); Terry L. Jones, Alice A. Storey, Elizabeth A. Matisoo-Smith, and José Miguel Ramírez Aliaga (eds.), *Polynesians in America. Pre-Columbian Contacts with the New World* (Lanham: Altamira Press, 2011); Alice B. Kehoe, *Travelling Prehistoric Seas: Critical Thinking on Ancient Trans-Oceanic Voyages* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016); Stephen C. Jett, *Ancient Ocean Crossings: Reconsidering the Case for Contacts with Pre-Columbian Americas* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2017).

<sup>12</sup> See for example José Antonio Del Busto D., *Túpac Yupanqui, Descubridor de Oceanía* (Lima: Editorial Brasa S.A., 2000).

multidisciplinary approaches deployed. It includes early pre-scientific explanations for the settlement of the New World and subsequently the Pacific, to later archaeological and genomic studies based on DNA. It represents a first attempt at critically examining these theories and ideas in relation to the creation of knowledge resulting in the formation of this centuries-old debate that still has unresolved aspects currently. It invites the reader to consider perspectives that were once considered but have not been re-analysed more recently, particularly regarding Amerindian sailing skills. I also clarify and channel the debate so that more research can be conducted to assess multiple potential contact events between the Americas and Oceania during pre-Columbian times, and to consider further areas for evidence of contact between these two geographical regions. To provide a context for the history of ideas of trans-Pacific contact involving the Americas and Oceania, I briefly explore changing conceptions of the Pacific, the development of science and later anthropology and archaeology in these regions, and growing understanding of the history of settlement of the Americas and the Pacific.

The early European texts from the sixteenth century containing descriptions of contact with unidentified locations in the Pacific preceded the development of certain trans-Pacific contact ideas during subsequent centuries, particularly during the mid- to late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Along with theoretical explanations, experimental expeditions have also formed part of the debate. Thor Heyerdahl with his 1947 *Kon-Tiki* expedition is perhaps the most well-known. However, subsequent voyagers, including Vital Alsar with his 1970 and 1973 expeditions, should be considered as important contributors to this debate as well. Ensuing and preceding conjectural studies have been conducted with the purpose of demonstrating the feasibility of pre-Columbian westward voyages into the Pacific Ocean from the Americas, thus resulting in contact, particularly between Amerindians and Polynesians.

The emergence and evolution of concepts such as Melanesian and Polynesian have also played a role in the formulation and development of trans-Pacific contact theories. The term 'Polynesian' has been used most recently to refer to the peoples inhabiting the easternmost

Pacific islands. It has also often been attributed notions of racial superiority and fairer skin colour compared to the supposedly inferior and generally darker-skinned Melanesians.<sup>13</sup> These racialised notions have shaped the development of romantic ideas of trans-Pacific contact with the Americas in favour of Polynesians as more apt voyagers to reach the Americas, more culturally advanced, and more biologically similar to Amerindians.

Given the nature of the literature, this history of ideas of trans-Pacific contact appears to be characterised by inconclusive and recurrent theories, as well as theories stemming from beliefs with little or no scientific foundation, and today considered as pseudo-science. Scientific theories on trans-Pacific contact are considered in this thesis as furthering knowledge on this topic based on observations and testable hypotheses constructed with great objectivity. Theories now known as pseudo-science, on the other hand, are generally derived from beliefs and are treated as such in this thesis. I argue that there is value in bringing all the evidence and theories of trans-Pacific contact together, for by doing this one can identify the earliest possible forms of these ideas, determine the origins of the popular and most recent theories, and uncover relationships across time and space, as well as uncover trends and patterns.

Trans-Pacific contact with the Americas is a rather broad topic involving a geographic range encompassing various Pacific islands, Australia, mainland and Southeast Asia, and even on occasion the Middle East. Given the quantity of literature on this topic, an exclusive consideration of links between Oceania and the Americas is more appropriate, particularly since this debate has not been analysed from a history of archaeology perspective. The main proponents and their ideas will be highlighted, proposing interrelationships between explanations for the particularity and peculiarity of human morphology, language, myths and oral traditions, flora and fauna, as well as material culture between North, Middle and South America and Oceania across time and space.

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<sup>13</sup> Ricardo Ventura and Bronwen Douglas, 'Polynesians' in the Brazilian Hinterland? Sociohistorical Perspectives on Skulls, Genomics, Identity, and Nationhood', *History of the Human Sciences* XX/X (2020), 1–26; Bronwen Douglas, 'Geography, Raciology, and the Naming of Oceania, 1750-1900', *Globe* 69 (2011), 1–28.

Speculations about some form of contact across the seas linking the Americas with Oceania encompass these areas:

- Polynesia (or other parts of the Pacific) settled by Amerindians
- The Americas settled by Polynesians or other Pacific Islanders
- Crop and animal diffusion in either direction
- Cultural diffusion and contact theories

The evidence and explanations supporting each of these categories of interest can be classified as anthropological, archaeological, linguistic and speculative. Anthropological hypotheses of trans-Pacific contact have largely been shaped by ideas on migration, settlement and contact, and racial classifications. Archaeological theories have centred on comparable artefact types and monumental architecture. Linguistic propositions have naturally centred on linguistic comparisons and similarities of certain terms and languages. Finally, speculative theories have suggested the possibility of contact based on comparable cultural practices, and some have even proposed sunken Pacific continents as having facilitated the migration of people between the Americas and Polynesia. Most trans-Pacific contact ideas from the sixteenth century are either speculative or anthropological. In later centuries, they tend to become more detailed and to address all four categories: anthropological, archaeological, linguistic and speculative.

Historically, trans-Pacific contact theories between Oceania and the Americas have predominantly suggested accidental voyages and settlements, either eastward or westward, blurring new additions to scientific knowledge and resulting in an inconclusive and repetitious history of ideas. As noted by Sorenson, whilst searching for evidence for cultural trans-Pacific contact between Polynesia and the Americas one must exercise caution, given ‘the relative incompleteness of the sources’<sup>14</sup>. This lack of decisive evidence one way or the other necessarily

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<sup>14</sup> John L. Sorenson, *Evidences of Cultural Contacts Between Polynesia and the Americas in Precolumbian Times*, Master’s Thesis, Department of Archaeology, Brigham Young University (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1952), 11–12.



limits the strength of theories for such contacts. Their historicity, and the historical consideration of them, and not just the content and evidence cited, must be considered as aspects that have shaped the debate. Attempts have been made by Sorenson and other scholars to address this incompleteness. Given the numerous, often contradictory publications, I have provided further analysis here.

Archaeological theories form part of a cumulative and growing set of knowledge and facts used to understand earliest human history, where new interpretations are gradually added and used to elaborate and modify existing ones.<sup>15</sup> Given the cumulative basis of theories and revisionist studies suggesting trans-Pacific contact between Oceania (specifically Polynesia) and the Americas, a consideration of the number of theories and contexts in which they were proposed, as well as the driving forces behind their proposal, will give a broad historiographical picture of these ideas.

In a review of Charles Andrew Sharp's *Ancient Voyagers in the Pacific*, which mainly discusses voyages to the Americas in light of his belief surrounding the 'accidental' settlement of Polynesia, Katharine Luomala made a valuable suggestion relevant to the central argument of this thesis: 'Sharp or other scientists who have been collecting data on native knowledge of navigation and long accidental voyages [ought] to prepare a scientific monograph presenting the information systematically and without bias or wish to prove either accidental voyaging or deliberate migration'.<sup>16</sup> My research is, in part, an attempt to collate just such a monograph. US anthropologist Ben Finney (1933–2017) specialised in Polynesian seafaring and believed that Polynesian voyaging was conducted with awareness of heading to unknown and uncertain

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<sup>15</sup> Bruce G. Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought*, 2nd Edition (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005 [1990]), 1–39.

<sup>16</sup> Katharine Luomala, 'Ancient Voyagers in the Pacific. Andrew Sharp. Baltimore: Penguin Books Inc., 1957. 240 pp. 12 plates, 3 maps. \$85'. Book Review, *American Anthropologist* 60 (1958), 778.

destinations.<sup>17</sup> In 1994, he published a short summary of scholarly interpretations of cultural contacts between Polynesia and the Americas.<sup>18</sup> Here, I build a more comprehensive account.

Some publications have brought together the literature of trans-Pacific contact available at the time, but none analyse the theories from a history of archaeology perspective nor provide an account of how the debate has been shaped, when it emerged, and how it has progressed or regressed.<sup>19</sup> I also argue that, despite the numerous theories that have been proposed, certain theories and lines of evidence have been obscured and/or disregarded. Similarly, some particularly influential viewpoints have impaired the development of perspectives that may clarify the debate, an example being the idea that Amerindians would not have been able to sail across the Pacific in a westward direction given the maritime technology available to them.

Archaeological scholarship is increasingly being analysed under a similar lens to history, and the need to analyse the historical context in which archaeological theories and studies were produced has now been recognised.<sup>20</sup> This thesis will analyse pre-Columbian trans-Pacific contact theories linking Oceania and the Americas from just such a historiographical perspective. The social, political, ideological and economic contexts of each of the examined theories will be discussed, elucidating the converging influences behind their conception.

The early ideas appearing to suggest some trans-Pacific contact with the Americas of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries focused on how, why and when the Indigenous populations of these newly discovered lands could have arrived there and settled them. The question of

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<sup>17</sup> Ben R. Finney, *From Sea to Space* (Palmerston North: Massey University, 1992), 164.

<sup>18</sup> Finney, *Voyage of Rediscovery: A Cultural Odyssey through Polynesia* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1994), 2–34.

<sup>19</sup> See for example Sorenson and Raish, *Pre-Columbian Contact with the Americas across the Oceans: An Annotated Bibliography*, 2nd edition, 2 Vols. (Provo, Utah: Research Press, 1996).

<sup>20</sup> For example Óscar Moro Abadía, *Arqueología Prehistórica e Historia de la ciencia: Hacia una historia crítica de la arqueología* (Barcelona: Bellaterra, 2007); Margarita Díaz-Andreu, *A World History of Nineteenth-Century Archaeology: Nationalism, Colonialism and the Past* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Amara Thornton, 'The Allure of Archaeology: Agnes Conway and Jane Harrison at Newnham College, 1903–1907', *Bulletin of the History of Archaeology* 21/1 (2011), 37–56.

origins tended to generate these ideas, although a strong geopolitical interest in discovering rich lands to the west, as well as a route to the Spice Islands usually overlaid such intellectual interests. In sum, the early ideas of trans-Pacific contact were more suggestive of identifying potential locations for the origins of Indigenous Americans than with their contact with the people from the islands of the then largely unexplored South Sea.

From their conception in the sixteenth century to the current debate, several theories have been reused, recycled and reinterpreted. This thesis will contextualise the original conceptions of these theories. It will also analyse and contextualise when, how and by whom they have been used subsequently as evidence for trans-Pacific contact. Reinterpretations of these original theories, as well as other novel perspectives will also be addressed so as to uncover patterns and trends in this history of ideas, as well as to identify their current status. This will be achieved by expounding the original lines of thought, determining their popular forms, and also ascertaining their more recent occurrences.

The sixteenth century saw a small body of literature produced on the topic, mainly in the form of chronicles. These descriptions of ideas explaining Amerindian origins represent the first occurrences of what became a resilient and long-lasting collection of theories on trans-Pacific contacts and origins linking the Americas with the Pacific islands. The ideas contained in them were naturally influenced by their Judaeo-Christian background, informed by South American myths and oral traditions pointing to rich lands to the west, and were often also politically motivated. The seventeenth century presented a similar situation but interest in the origins of Indigenous Americans began to concern European thinkers beyond the Spaniards. In the eighteenth century, as geographical and anthropological knowledge of the Pacific islands grew even further, so did comparisons between the inhabitants of these lands with those of the Americas. Nonetheless, there are no explicit publications on trans-Pacific contacts per se from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with the exception of Grotius and De Laet's spirited seventeenth-century debate, as described in Chapter 2. None appear to be cited in Sorenson and

Raish's work and as none have been found in any other sources, these centuries are very largely omitted from the scope of this thesis.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, however, theories of trans-Pacific contact grew exponentially in line with the development of archaeology as a science and history as a formal academic discipline. As linguistic, cultural and biological links were established between different world populations, interest in these disciplines grew and has not ceased. Possibilities of eastward and westward settlement started to be explored further, and diffusionism became the driving force of many theories. Certain crops and animals were observed to be native to certain areas, as well as prevalent, although clearly not native in others. The sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*), for example, was seen to be an important crop in several islands in the Pacific, as well as referred to by a linguistic term, *kumara*, similar to a word for the same plant also used in certain areas of South America (*cumar*). Moreover, contact rather than origin increasingly became the focus of proponents of such theories. By contact, I mean migrations resulting in the diffusion of goods, techniques and ideas, and the mixing of peoples.

In the twenty-first century, interest in these ideas continues to grow, and with studies in genetics including ancient DNA (aDNA), new archaeological discoveries, and fresh theoretical perspectives, it appears that the development of ideas of trans-Pacific contact between the Pacific islands and the Americas will continue. Evidence once somewhat isolated in Hispanophone publications is gaining notice more widely. Although it now seems that any trans-Pacific contact in pre-Columbian times would have been predominantly fortuitous, isolated to very few islands, and (arguably) without a major effect on either Oceanic or American populations, the possibility of such contacts evokes sufficient interest to encourage ongoing studies.

Therefore, this thesis aims to:

1. identify the earliest examples of these ideas;
2. determine the origins, popular forms and most recent mentions of each theory;

3. uncover relationships linking theories and theorists across time and space;
4. distinguish trends and patterns in the proposal of theories;
5. uncover obscure theories and evidence; and
6. suggest a more focused debate.

I argue that a chronological and contextual analysis of trans-Pacific contact theories and hypotheses can reveal converging influences that have impacted them. For example, the sixteenth-century ideas contained in Spanish chronicles produced in the Americas, such as those by Acosta and Sarmiento (discussed further in Chapter 2) reflect covert colonial interests and, I will argue, are power plays influenced by religious narratives. The biographies of those who proposed the various theories, and their cultural contexts including their nationalities, provide the necessary framing of historical, socio-economic and intellectual contexts. In the nineteenth century, for example, British missionaries in the Pacific arguably primarily sought to understand the nature and origins of the the inhabitants of these lands in order to convert them to Christianity.

A complete history of ideas of trans-Pacific contact requires the inclusion and analysis of materials in languages other than English, which can further reveal scholarly trends and networks and exchanges of ideas. Chile and Argentina in the late nineteenth and early to mid-twentieth centuries are examples of this since they attracted several international scholars to further the national project and promote a sense of nationalism and greater awareness of their cultural importance and ancestral past, as outlined in Chapter 6. I include hypotheses that are not validated by purely archaeological or historical evidence in this history of ideas, because other forms of pertinent evidence have been used, and have continued influence in academic discourse. In particular, linguistics features in several of these theories, such as in regards to the diffusion of the sweet potato mentioned above. Exploring trans-Pacific contact theories from a history of ideas perspective can uncover trends, diverging viewpoints, the earliest-known versions of each hypothesis, the evidence invoked, and the academic perspectives that have led

to impasses in debates, and can evaluate whether they have been overcome.<sup>21</sup> Finally, I argue that confirmation bias has also at times shaped the debate.

This dissertation addresses theories about trans-Pacific contacts as well as the evidence on which they are based. It also aims to determine why such theories are still being examined, revisited and re-explored; the question of why they are still salient today. The significance of theories and evidence for trans-Pacific contact in how we understand archaeology will also be examined as well as their contributions to the history of ideas and how that history has shaped archaeology. Scholars such as Finney and the Chilean archaeologist José Miguel Ramírez Aliaga have made a start in analysing such theories and accompanying evidence from a historical perspective.<sup>22</sup> In the particular case of Ramírez Aliaga, his attempt has been limited in scope with particular attention given to Polynesian migration to parts of Chile and contact with the Mapuche culture. Further, sections of *Polynesians in America* also cover aspects of the historical record of trans-Pacific contact theories. However, no major overview from the sixteenth century to the present has yet been produced, and this is the task I have set myself here.

I consider questions such as: What are the competing theories? What are the dominant ones? What is the evidence? Why is trans-Pacific contact between the Americas and Oceania the subject of debate? What is the significance of such debates? What do they mean for archaeology and the way we study the past of Pacific and American peoples? In order to attain a wider perspective, I take a multidisciplinary approach which acknowledges and values the contributions of disciplines like linguistics and ethnohistory to debate on trans-Pacific contact.

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<sup>21</sup> For example, Jones *et al.*, *Polynesians in America*, which considers Polynesians as the driving agents leading to contact with Amerindians. In contrast, Charles Andrew Sharp's thesis suggested that all voyages resulting in the settlement of Pacific islands were accidental or fortuitous and not deliberate or planned. See Charles Andrew Sharp, *Ancient Voyagers in the Pacific* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, Inc., 1957).

<sup>22</sup> Ben R. Finney, *Voyage of Rediscovery: A Cultural Odyssey through Polynesia*, 2–34; José Miguel Ramírez, 'Transpacific Contact: The Mapuche Connection', *Rapa Nui Journal* 4 (1991/1992), 53–55; José Miguel Ramírez Aliaga, 'Contactos transpacíficos: un acercamiento al problema de los supuestos rasgos polinésicos en la cultura mapuche', *Clava* 5 (1992), 1–28; José Miguel Ramírez Aliaga, 'The Polynesian-Mapuche Connection: Soft and Hard Evidence and New Ideas', *Rapa Nui Journal* 24/1 (2010), 29–33.

Some of the historical texts considered helped inspire the conception and execution of twentieth- and twenty-first-century experimental expeditions to try to demonstrate that the Pacific Ocean was navigable in pre-Columbian times by both Amerindians and Polynesians, thus resulting in possible contact. Voyages are the core of all trans-Pacific contact theories from their inception. East to west, west to east or return voyages form the backdrop of all theories, for without voyages no interaction or migrations could have occurred. Theories pointing to pre-Columbian Amerindian-Oceanic interaction provide alternative interpretations to those positing European introductions of particular crops and animals into Oceania and the Americas. An alternative idea supplementing or opposing that of Indigenous trans-Pacific contacts argues that Spaniards or other Europeans were responsible for the introduction of certain crops and animals, particularly the sweet potato and chickens (*Gallus gallus*), which form the basis of the most recent trans-Pacific contact theories.

Debate on trans-Pacific contact between the Americas and Oceania continues without resolution, as discussed in chapters 8, 9 and 10. The study of these theories leads to re-consideration of certain findings or perspectives that have fallen into obscurity (e.g. South American migration to Oceania); or to critique of theories that have been discarded by mainstream academic researchers but continue to be debated in the public arena (e.g. Heyerdahl's viewpoint that Polynesia was settled from the Americas), as well as re-identification of previously-proposed perspectives (e.g., the idea of 'bearded white men' as the original inhabitants of several geographical locations). Some theories were proposed for the first time in the twentieth century and continue to be discussed and explored, blurring distinctions such as those between origins vs. contacts, accidental vs. deliberate voyages and migrations, and pre-Columbian vs. post-Columbian migrations.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> See the reflections on some of these themes by the Australian scholar Garry W. Trompf. G.W. Trompf, 'Kon-Tiki and the Critics', *Melbourne Historical Journal* 4/1 (1964), 52–65.

As archaeological scholarship is increasingly being put under a similar lens to history, the history of archaeology aims to evaluate archaeological theories proposed in association with their sociopolitical and intellectual contexts. Determining how certain ideas have gained ground, how others have become popular despite limited evidence, and how others have been shaped by personal and intellectual interests and influences are at the core of this thesis.

Several studies of various disciplines and fields of research have been conducted from a historical perspective, however there are few on the history of Pacific and American archaeology, although this is changing slowly. Present-day scholars analysing the history of American and Pacific archaeology include Matthew Spriggs, Óscar Moro Abadía, Adam Temple Sellen, and Margarita Díaz-Andreu.<sup>24</sup> Following this line of research, trans-Pacific contact theories and hypotheses that have emerged throughout the centuries will be contextualised within the periods and years of publication, the impact they had when published, and other significant biographical and contextual variables relevant to their authors, including nationalities, and historical and intellectual contexts. As a result, it will be shown how ideas of trans-Pacific contact have been proposed since the sixteenth century despite limited evidence that produces fragmented, incomplete or inconclusive studies, perhaps driven by a romantic idea of the possibility of contact.

In short, this dissertation examines the range of theories of trans-Pacific contact between Oceania and the Americas from a historical and historiographical perspective. It aims to examine patterns and trends since the sixteenth century, the relevant topics, theories, discussions, critiques and revisionist studies, considering or applying biographical principles to position trans-Pacific contact debate from a history of archaeology perspective. It also seeks to determine the significance of trans-Pacific contact to identifying evidence, and determining how it contributes

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<sup>24</sup> For example Matthew Spriggs, 'The Hidden History of a Third of the World: the Collective Biography of Australian and International Archaeology in the Pacific (CBAP) Project', *Bulletin of the History of Archaeology* 27/1 (2017), 3; Adam T. Sellen, *The Orphans of the Muse: Archaeological Collecting in Nineteenth-Century Oaxaca* (Mérida: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2015); Moro Abadía, *Arqueología Prehistórica e Historia de la ciencia: Hacia una historia crítica de la arqueología*; and Díaz-Andreu, *A World History of Nineteenth-Century Archaeology*.



to the history of ideas and has shaped archaeology. Elucidating competing theories is another objective, as well as identifying the reasons behind the debates. I aim to illuminate what this contact, if it happened, means for archaeology, history, and the way we study Pacific and American peoples.

## CHAPTER 2 Early Ideas about Trans-Pacific Contact<sup>25</sup>

### Introduction

The history of ideas about pre-Columbian trans-Pacific contact between the Americas and Oceania spans several centuries. Spanish, Portuguese and British colonisation of the New World took place concurrently with early modern European voyages into the Pacific.<sup>26</sup> As will be seen in this chapter, this colonial context influenced narratives about the Pacific, and hence early ideas of trans-Pacific contact emerging from the New World. It imbued them with religious representations of geography and humanity, the wish to locate and colonise lands of wealth, and understandings about human development and superiority and inferiority.

Some of the earliest ideas of trans-Pacific contact emerged in the sixteenth century, contained in Spanish chronicles from the New World, mainly involving Peru or Chile. These chronicles, listed in Table 1, include some of the earliest representations of such contact and elaborations of origin theories involving the Americas and the South Sea. They were indirectly shaped by the intention to convey ways to reach the wealthy Spice Islands of Maluku and mainland Asia that were a popular ambition among explorers at the time. The Spanish still wanted to reach China and the Spice Islands which, after Columbus's failure to find them, were to be located to the west of the Americas. These chronicles were also written at the commencement of the scientific age, prior to the establishment of archaeology and the emergence of the concept of prehistory in the nineteenth century.<sup>27</sup> Contextually, this was also a

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<sup>25</sup> A modified version of this chapter has been accepted for publication in the *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Research*. See Andrea Ballesteros Danel, 'Ideas about Trans-Pacific Origins and Voyages in Early Spanish Chronicles from the Americas', *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Research*, forthcoming.

<sup>26</sup> David Armitage and Alison Bashford, 'Introduction: The Pacific and its Histories', in David Armitage and Alison Bashford, *Pacific Histories: Ocean, Land, People* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 14.

<sup>27</sup> According to Glyn Daniel, scientific archaeology was established in Denmark and Sweden in 1840. See Glyn Daniel, *A Hundred and Fifty Years of Archaeology* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976), 56. See also Donald R. Kelley, 'The rise of prehistory', *Journal of World History* 14/1 (2003), 17; and Matthew D. Eddy, 'The prehistoric mind as a historical artefact', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society* 65 (2011), 3.

time when observations about nature and different ‘races’ started to clash with teachings from the Bible. The Inquisition may have also shaped the freedom with which these representations were written and the messages they conveyed given the danger of contradicting scripture.<sup>28</sup> The chronicles discussed in this chapter include Pedro Gutiérrez de Santa Clara’s *Historia de las guerras civiles del Perú* (1550); Pedro Cieza de León’s *La crónica del Perú* (1553), Agustín de Zárate’s *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista de las provincias del Perú* (1555), Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa’s *History of the Incas* (1572), Miguel Cabello de Balboa’s *Miscelánea Antártica* (1576–86), Joseph de Acosta’s *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias* (1590), Martín de Murúa’s *Historia general del Perú* (1590), and Fernando de Montesinos’s *Memorias Antiguas Historiales del Perú* (1664).<sup>29</sup> With the exception of Montesinos’s chronicle, they were all published in the sixteenth century. These chroniclers outlined certain oral traditions, such as the report of Inca Túpac Yupanqui’s long distance voyage to the west as reported by friar Martín de Murúa (1525–1618), Sarmiento, and the priest Miguel Cabello de Balboa (1535–1608), pointing to Indigenous ideas about possible contact with the South Sea or Pacific Islands.<sup>30</sup> More importantly, they provided varied explanations for Amerindian origins, which constitute some of the first occurrences of what has become a resilient and long-lasting collection of ideas about trans-Pacific contacts and origins linking the Americas with the south Pacific Islands, now mainly Polynesia.

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<sup>28</sup> David N. Livingstone, *Adam’s Ancestors: Race, Religion, and the Politics of Human Origins* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 8–25.

<sup>29</sup> See References for full bibliographical details. N.B. Two editions of Joseph de Acosta’s chronicle are referenced in this chapter: Joseph de Acosta, *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, [1590] 2006); and José de Acosta, *The Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, ed. Clements R. Markham (London: The Hakluyt Society, [1604] 1880). They are differentiated by their Spanish and English titles and by minor variations in the author’s first name – ironically the English form of his first name in the Spanish edition and the Spanish form in the English edition. The English edition is used for direct citations to give the flavour of old Spanish prose, and the Spanish version is used for general references.

<sup>30</sup> Murúa, *Historia general del Perú*, 82–3; Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas*, 135–36; Cabello de Balboa, *Miscelánea Antártica*, 323.

**Table 1.** Spanish chronicles containing descriptions or speculations of trans-Pacific contact.

<b>Original Publication Date</b>	<b>Later Publication Date</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Title</b>
<b>1550</b>	1905 (Spanish)	Pedro Gutiérrez de Santa Clara	<i>Historia de las guerras civiles del Perú (1544–1548) y de otros sucesos de las Indias</i>
<b>1553</b>	1922 (Spanish)	Pedro Cieza de León	<i>La crónica del Perú</i>
<b>1555</b>	1577 (Spanish)	Agustín de Zárate	<i>Historia del descubrimiento y conquista de las provincias del Perú</i>
<b>1572</b>	1907 (English)	Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa	<i>Historia de los Incas</i>
<b>1576–86</b>	1951 (Spanish)	Miguel Cabello de Balboa	<i>Miscelánea Antártica</i>
<b>1590</b>	1604 (English)	José de Acosta	<i>Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias</i>
<b>1590</b>	2001 (Spanish)	Martín de Murúa	<i>Historia general del Perú</i>
<b>1664</b>	1920 (English)	Fernando de Montesinos	<i>Memorias antiguas historiales del Perú</i>

The early trans-Pacific contact ideas contained in the Spanish chronicles discussed in this chapter predominantly described instances of raft sightings and traditions of voyages to and from the west of South America, across the South Sea. For analytical purposes, these early depictions are categorised into accounts of coastal arrivals from distant (and unknown) lands, of long voyages, and of accidental voyages in this chapter. A further section on the overarching intellectual and socio-political landscape of the time is also included. Although mainly speculative, they also contain anthropological descriptions that have been interpreted as evidence of these contacts. In order to give a full and complete history of ideas suggestive of these contacts, it is imperative to include them as part of this ongoing debate, as in this chapter.

This chapter also contains a short section on ideas from the seventeenth century. The lack of identifiable factors of trans-Pacific contact may have resulted in a paucity of information during this period, possibly attributable to the European expansions into Asia and the west Pacific. As historical records for this period are not readily available, this *lacuna* is not discussed in the thesis.

## The Socio-Political and Intellectual Context

Before it was known as the Pacific Ocean, and while it was still largely unexplored by Europeans, Earth's largest oceanic mass was first named *Mar del Sur* or South Sea by the Spanish explorer Vasco Núñez de Balboa (c.1475–1519), when he sighted a great ocean south of Darien (Panama) on either 25 or 27 September 1513.<sup>31</sup> In 1521, Ferdinand Magellan (1480–1521) named the southern part of this ocean *Mare Pacificum*.<sup>32</sup> The islands of this *Mare Pacificum* remained largely unexplored by Europeans until the mid-eighteenth century.<sup>33</sup> However, the title of the first known dedicated map of the Pacific Ocean, Abraham Ortelius' *Maris Pacifici (quod vulgò Mar del Zur)*, published in 1590, sheds light on how the South Sea was conceived in Europe at the end of the sixteenth century: 'The Pacific Ocean with its adjacent regions, dotted with islands ... a completely new description'.<sup>34</sup> Figure 2 contains a reproduction of Ortelius's map.

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<sup>31</sup> Bronwen Douglas, *Science, Voyages and Encounters in Oceania, 1511–1850* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2014), 4; Oskar Hermann Christian Spate, *The Pacific Since Magellan. Volume 1, The Spanish Lake* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 2004), 1.

<sup>32</sup> Spate, "'South Sea' to 'Pacific Ocean': A Note on Nomenclature", *The Journal of Pacific History* 12, no. 4 (1977): 205–11.

<sup>33</sup> Douglas, *Science, Voyages and Encounters in Oceania, 1511–1850*, 4.

<sup>34</sup> Abraham Ortelius, *Maris Pacifici (quod vulgò Mar del Zur) cum regionibus circumiacentibus, insulisque in eodem passim sparsis, novissima descriptio / Abrahamus Ortelius, Regiae Mt. geographus lub, merito dedicabat, 1589*, National Library of Australia MAP NK 1528.

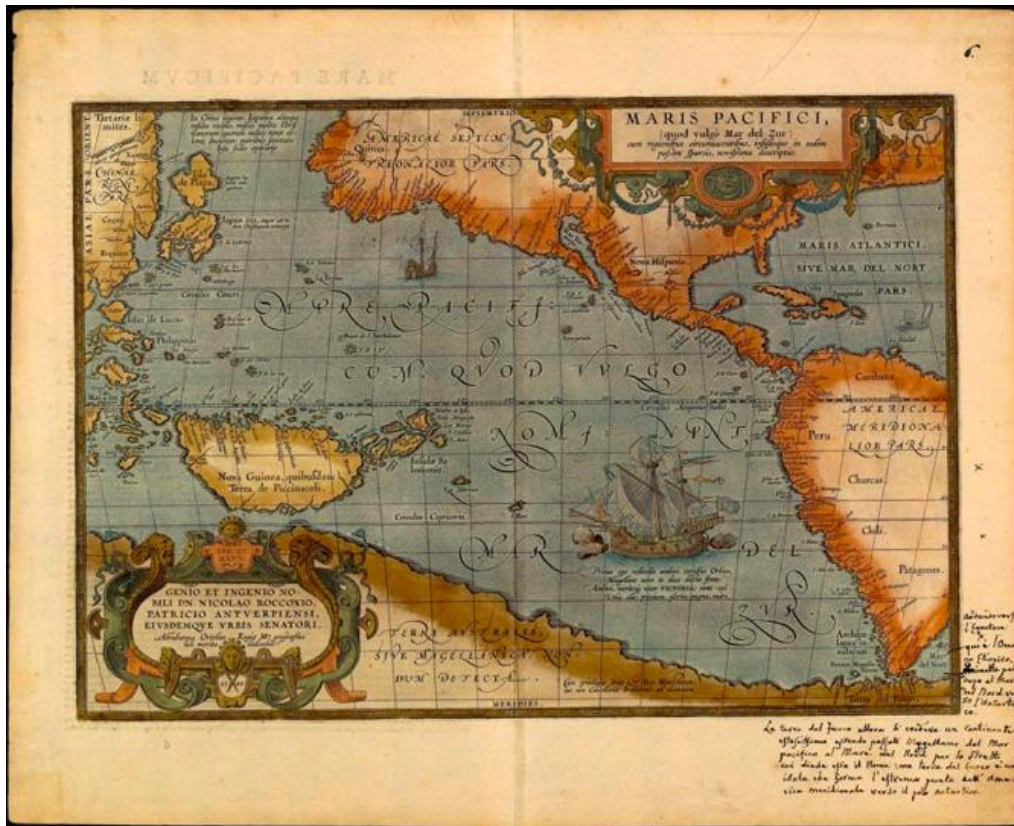


Figure 2. Abraham Ortelius, *Maris Pacifici*, 1590 (Source: National Library of Australia MAP NK 1528).

Following Balboa's sighting of the South Sea, the Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494 was invoked to justify his act of taking possession of the ocean and its lands in the name of the Spanish Crown, resulting in the South Pacific Ocean being ambitiously claimed as a Spanish domain.<sup>35</sup> The signing of the Treaty of Zaragoza with Portugal in 1529 established a demarcation line, the Moluccas Antimeridian, along the Pacific Rim and across Australia in the south, to resolve a conflict to definitively determine into whose sphere the valuable Spice Islands fell.<sup>36</sup> As Douglas notes, 'For 250 years after Magellan, the northern and southern margins of Oceania remained realms of European myth and speculation, while the great ocean itself was a

<sup>35</sup> Ana Verde Casanova, 'España y el Pacífico: Un breve repaso a las expediciones españolas de los siglos XVI al XVIII', *Asociación Española de Orientalistas* 38 (2002), 33–35.

<sup>36</sup> Verde Casanova, 'España y el Pacífico: Un breve repaso a las expediciones españolas de los siglos XVI al XVIII', 33–35; Ricardo Padrón, '(Un)Inventing America: the transpacific Indies in Oviedo and Gomara', *Colonial Latin American Review* 25, no. 1 (2016), 16–34; Padrón, 'A Sea of Denial: The Early Modern Spanish Invention of the Pacific Rim', *Hispanic Review* 77, No. 1 (2009), 1–27.

cartographic void, save for the spider tracks of the northern galleon routes and sporadic voyages that “discovered” only specks of land and the elusive, mobile Solomons’.<sup>37</sup> Notwithstanding Spanish pretensions, the Pacific Ocean remained largely unknown until the mid-eighteenth century.<sup>38</sup> Prior to that, Spain only established a colony in the Philippines—linked to New Spain (Mexico) by the galleon route with Manila, as well as a staging-post in Guam from 1565, which was regularly visited and colonised after 1668 given its importance as a stopover in the voyages from Acapulco to Manila.<sup>39</sup> Figure 3 illustrates how the Treaty of Tordesillas aimed to apportion parts of the world between the Spanish and the Portuguese.



Original in the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University

**Figure 3.** 1575 map by Juan López de Velasco portraying the line of demarcation of the Treaty of Tordesillas and the western antimeridian from a Spanish perspective, and the Solomon Islands in the Pacific.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Bronwen Douglas, ‘Imagined Futures in the Past: Empire, Place, Race and Nation in the Mapping of Oceania’, in Warwick Anderson, Miranda Johnson, and Barbara Brookes (eds.), *Pacific Futures: Past and Present* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2018), 132.

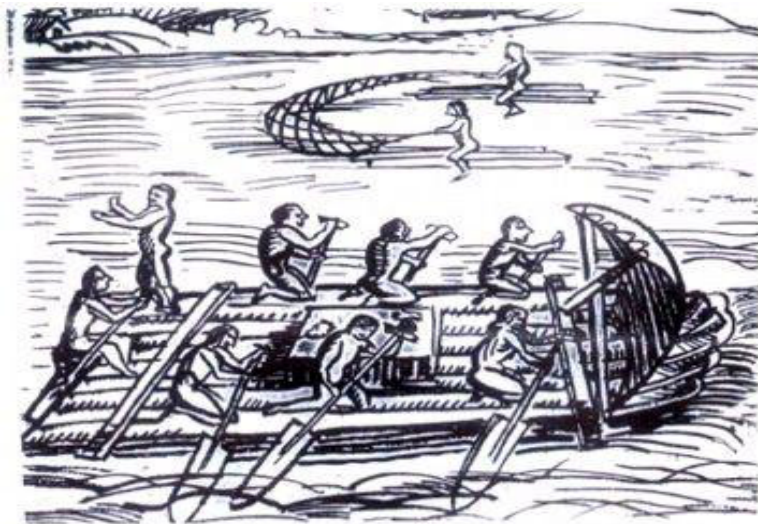
<sup>38</sup> Bronwen Douglas and Elena Govor, ‘Eponymy, Encounters, and Local Knowledge in Russian Place Naming in the Pacific Islands, 1804–1830’, *The Historical Journal* 62/3 (2019), 709–10.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 710.

<sup>40</sup> Juan López de Velasco, [1575]. [Demarcacion y nauegaciones de Yndias]. Manuscript. Codex Sp 7/1-SIZE. JCB Map Collection. Providence, RI: John Carter Brown Library, Brown University. <http://jcb.lunaimaging.com/luna/servlet/detail/JCBMAPS~1~1~1100~102700001:17000>



The growing exploration of the South Sea encouraged the development of other ideas by Europeans about Pacific contacts and the possible origin of Amerindians. Aside from the written records discussed in this chapter, a number of illustrations of rafts encountered off the west coast of Middle and South America were produced, although none unambiguously affirmed the occurrence of trans-Pacific voyages. As noted by Dewan and Hosler and Smith and Haslett, the Italian Girolamo Benzoni in 1572, the Englishman Richard Madox in 1582–3, and the Dutchman Joris van Spilbergen in 1619 all produced illustrations of rafts from South America following sightings along the Pacific coast.<sup>41</sup> Figures 4a, 4b and 4c below contain reproductions of the illustrations of the rafts listed above.



**Figure 4a.** Illustration of a balsa raft from Portoviejo, Ecuador (Girolamo Benzoni, 1572).

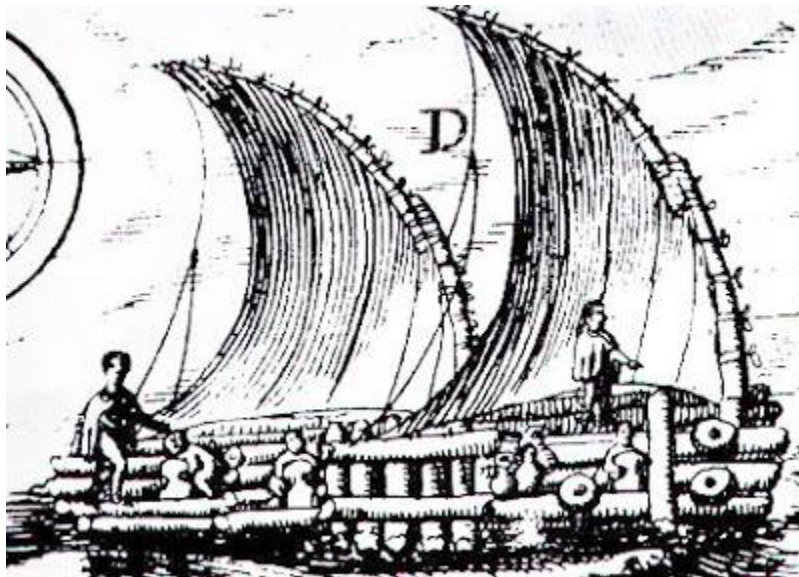
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<sup>41</sup> Leslie Dewan and Dorothy Hosler, 'Ancient Maritime Trade on Balsa Rafts: An Engineering Analysis', *Journal of Anthropological Research* 64/1 (2008), 19–40; Cameron M. Smith and John F. Haslett, 'Construction and Sailing Characteristics of a Pre-Columbian Raft Replica', *Bulletin of Primitive Technology* 20 (Fall 2000), 13–31; Joris van Spilbergen, *Speculum orientalis occidentalisque Indiae navigationum* (Leiden: Nicolaus van Geelkercken, 1619); Richard Madox, *Journal of a voyage to discover a passage to Cathay*, 1582 in Cotton MS Appendix XLVII; Girolamo Benzoni, *History of the New World* (London: Hakluyt Society, [1572] 1857), 243.





**Figure 4b.** Illustration of a South American balsa raft (Richard Madox, 1582). © British Library Board, Cotton MS Appendix XLVII.



**Figure 4c.** Illustration of a South American balsa raft (Joris van Spilbergen, 1619).

Theories on the origins of Amerindians and on voyages across the South Sea with connection to the Americas were not an exclusive Spanish enterprise contained in chronicles from the New World. Nevertheless, the Spanish had a considerable involvement in the European intellectual landscape during this period, which reverberated to the Americas. This is evidenced by Philip II's patronage of Antwerp printers, one of the leading publishing centres in Europe in the late sixteenth century. Plantin's 1570 Antwerp publication of another work by

Ortelius, his *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, the earliest-known modern atlas, was dedicated by the author to Philip II ‘King of the Indies and Spain, the most distinguished monarch of the whole world and of all ages’.<sup>42</sup> Ortelius’s *Maris Pacifici* (Figure 2) was later published in an addendum to *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*.

Antwerp’s involvement in conceptions of the South Sea went beyond Ortelius’ South Sea map. Prior to most of the theories contained in the Spanish chronicles referenced in this chapter, speculations about Amerindian origins and contact involving areas of the South Sea other than the Pacific Rim were also proffered in Europe, particularly by the Spanish historian Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598), and the French cosmographer Guillaume Postel (1510–1581). Arias Montano’s *Polyglot Bible*, and Postel’s 1561 *Cosmographicae disciplinae Compendium* were influential in a number of the theories published in the Spanish chronicles that are the focus of this chapter. In particular, they influenced conceptions about Ophir by rehearsing speculation concerning the search for, and alleged discovery of King Solomon’s prized land. They suggested that Solomon would have reached the Americas from Asia via a northern land bridge (Strait of Anian) and later located a dual Ophir of two Perus (Pervaim), or two Americas, North and South, linked by an isthmus.<sup>43</sup> Additionally, the traditions relating to the existence of King Solomon’s wealthy Ophir contributed to the motivations for maritime voyages of exploration through the South Sea. For example, in a 1572 letter to King Philip II of Spain, the explorer Sarmiento stated his strong desire to reach several South Sea islands he expected to be replete with wealth.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> The full dedication reads: D. PHILIPPO AVS TRIACO CAROLI V. AVG. ROM. IMP F. INDIARUM HISPANIARVMQVE, ETC. REGI, OMNIUM AETATUM ET TOTIVS ORBIS AMPLISSIMI IMPERII MONARCHAE, ABRAHAMVS ORTELIVS ANVERPIA NVS ED. CONSECRATQVE. See Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1570). Translation by Pamela Merrill Brekka, *The Antwerp Polyglot Bible (1572): Visual Corpus, New World ‘Hebrew-Indian’ Map, and the Religious Crosscurrents of Imperial Spain*, PhD Dissertation (Gainesville: University of Florida, 2012), 37.

<sup>43</sup> Guillaume Postel, *Cosmographicae disciplinae Compendium . . .* Basilea: s.n. (1561), 16; Benito Arias Montano, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine*, Vol. 8 (Antwerp: Plantin, 1571).

<sup>44</sup> Sarmiento de Gamboa, ‘Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa to King Philip II, March 4, 1572,’ *General Archive of the Indies: Cartas de Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa*. <http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/122115>

Prior to the advent of modern science, early ideas linking the Americas with the South Sea appear to have emerged at a time when the globe started to be perceived as a structure with balanced, connected and accessible lands. Consequently, contrary to the Columbian surprise ‘discovery’ of the Americas, *Terra Australis*, like the Moluccas, was also sought with anticipation given the assumption of prior knowledge and certainty of its existence, based on the geographical hypothesis of a southern land balancing the northern continent of the globe.<sup>45</sup>

An economic and political driving force for sixteenth-century Spanish exploratory journeys of reconnaissance, colonisation and conquest to the Americas, as well as those to Africa and East Asia, has been identified as a desire to locate and connect with lands to the west, following Magellan’s 1519–1522 circumnavigation, which touched on a couple of islands in the South Pacific: San Pablo Island (part of modern Micronesia), and Sharks’ Island (part of modern Polynesia).<sup>46</sup> A further driving impetus may have been the discovery of other spice islands besides the Moluccas, as expressed in a 1549 letter by Pedro de La Gasca, the second viceroy of Peru (1547–1550), to the Council of the Indies.<sup>47</sup> Referring to certain reports by Spaniards about the sighting of islands, birds, buildings, fires, and floating rubbish and wooden boards when voyaging approximately 100 to 150 leagues off the west coast of South America, La Gasca described in this letter how: ‘And being these [reports] true accounts, it seems that the South Sea is dotted with many and great islands, because in such diverse places these signs are found; and it could be that in those [islands] that are below the Equator, or near it, there could be spices, because they have the same climate as the Moluccas...’<sup>48</sup> The Spanish interests to establish

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<sup>45</sup> Edmundo O’Gorman, ‘Prólogo’ in Joseph de Acosta, *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias*, xiii, xxi.

<sup>46</sup> Mariano Cuesta, ‘Los viajes a las islas Molucas’, in Carlos Martínez Shaw (ed.), *El Pacífico Español. De Magallanes a Malaespina* (Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores/Sec. de Estado para la Coop. Internacional y para Iberoamérica/Dir. Gral. de Rel. Culturales, 1988), 45–58.

<sup>47</sup> Pedro de la Gasca, ‘Pedro de la Gasca to the Council of the Indies, May 2, 1549,’ *Documentos Relativos a Don Pedro de la Gasca y a Gonzalo Pizarro*, ed. Juan Pérez de Tudela Bueso (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1964), 334–35.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

connections with the South Sea even prompted its active search by conquistadors like Cortes.<sup>49</sup> They were expressed as the ‘intention to discover, conquer and settle islands and provinces of the South Sea towards the west’ in a 1541 letter by Pedro de Alvarado to the King of Spain.<sup>50</sup> Hints of this intention were also featured in a letter written in 1525 by Rodrigo de Albornoz to the Spanish emperor Charles V, although this has been interpreted as evidence of contact between Middle and South America. In this letter, making reference to the natives of Zacatula, in the west coast of Mexico, the royal accountant Albornoz, noted how:

there are reports from the Indians [of Zacatula] who say that on the way there are islands rich in pearls and precious stones, and being toward the south, there is reason to suppose that there is gold in abundance; and on being questioned how they know that there should be islands in that direction, the Indians of the Zacatula coast say that often they heard their fathers and grandfathers relate that from time to time Indians from certain islands toward the south, which they point to, would come to this coast in large canoes, and they brought there exquisite things which they would trade for local products; and sometimes when the sea grew rough, for there were much larger waves there than at any other part of the south [coast], those that had come would stay for five or six months until good weather occurred and the sea became calm, and then they would depart; and thus it is certain that there are islands near, and there is reason [to think] that they are rich ones ...<sup>51</sup>

Reports of pre-Columbian Amerindian navigation techniques and raft sightings by sixteenth-century Spanish chroniclers fed into the existing belief that lands of wealth, some of them unidentified and yet-to-be-discovered, including a great southern land, existed to the west of South America, in the South Sea, at unknown distances.<sup>52</sup> These chronicles were shaped by

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<sup>49</sup> Miguel León-Portilla, *Hernán Cortés y la Mar del Sur* (Madrid: Algaba Ediciones, 2005), 27.

<sup>50</sup> Pedro de Alvarado, <‘Carta del Adelantado Don Pedro de Alvarado, escrita al Rey...?’>, in *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de ultramar*, Vol. 2 (Madrid: Est. Tipográfico “Sucesores de Rivadeneyra”, 1886), 8.

<sup>51</sup> Rodrigo de Albornoz, Letter to Charles V (1525). Translation by R.C. West, ‘Brief Communication: Aboriginal Sea Navigation between Middle and South America’, *American Anthropologist* 63/1 (1961), 133–135.

<sup>52</sup> Colin Jack-Hinton, *The Search for the Islands of Solomon 1567–1838* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 4. See also Martin Gibbs, ‘The Failed Sixteenth Century Spanish Colonizing Expeditions to the Solomon Islands, Southwest Pacific: The Archaeologies of Settlement Process and Indigenous Agency’, in Sandra Montón-Subías, María Cruz Berrocal and Apen Ruiz Martínez (eds.), *Archaeologies of Early Modern Spanish Colonialism* (New York: Springer-Verlag, 2016), 253–78.

their authors' prevailing Judeo-Christian tradition and the idea of a single human origin as related in the Bible.<sup>53</sup> Their historical context demonstrates that their accounts of Amerindian legends, raft sightings, oral traditions and navigational skills, and the more or less implicit ideas they contain about trans-Pacific voyages, are embedded in the European imagination and understanding of the world and humanity, as well as the prevalent colonial motives of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This context should be carefully considered when analysing this early chapter in the history of ideas of trans-Pacific contact.

Some sixteenth-century chroniclers sought explanations for physical similarities and differences (whether observed or speculated) between Amerindians and the inhabitants of the Old World.<sup>54</sup> Most chroniclers cited significant differences of appearance between these groups. Attempts were made to explain such difference logically, by comparison to the peoples that they knew, or through recourse to biblical description. Hypotheses not based on facts or logic detailing the arrival of 'giants' were also entertained. Chronicles such as those by Acosta, Sarmiento, Murúa, and Cabello de Balboa contain ideas suggestive of potential east-west journeys of exploration through the South Sea, albeit predominantly not as explanations suggestive of origins.<sup>55</sup> Local legends and oral traditions were also central to some of these chronicles, including those by the conquistador Pedro Cieza de León (c.1520–1554) and the royal accountant Agustín de Zárate (c.1514–c.1585), who described arrivals to the South American coast from unknown lands in the South Sea.<sup>56</sup> Arguably, the chronicler most focused

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<sup>53</sup> Bernardo Berdichevsky, *En torno a los orígenes del hombre americano* (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 1972), 42.

<sup>54</sup> Gregorio García, for example, placed the origin of Amerindians in various parts of the Old World. An explanation for the Amerindian diversity would have necessitated multiple migrations, predominantly by land but also by sea. See Gregorio García, *Origen de los indios del Nuevo Mundo, e Indias occidentales* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Críticas, [1607] 2005), 310–12.

<sup>55</sup> Joseph de Acosta, *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias*, 41; Murúa, *Historia general del Perú*, 82–83; Sarmiento, *History of the Incas*, 135–36; Cabello de Balboa, *Miscelánea Antártica*, 323.

<sup>56</sup> Cieza de León, *La crónica del Perú*, 178–81; Zárate, *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista de las provincias del Perú*, 2–3.

on discussing these connections across the South Sea was Acosta.<sup>57</sup> However, other chroniclers proposed similar ideas about purported long-distance and accidental voyages between the Americas and the South Sea, such as those involving Túpac Yupanqui's voyage.

## **Descriptions of Origins (Accidental Voyages) and the European Imagination**

The trans-Pacific contact ideas contained in sixteenth-century chronicles in question were tied with changing European understandings of the world and humanity. The authors of these texts were forced to reconsider universal notions given their encounters with unfamiliar peoples. As they described these encounters and narrated their ideas on Amerindian origins, most grounded their ideas at least tacitly in Christian cosmology. They framed their observations in terms of what they had been taught about the world, humanity and its origin. Thus, the exploration of the New World (and later the South Sea) gave rise to alternative attempts to understand the origin and settlement of the peoples indigenous to these geographical areas as they encountered them. These changing perspectives challenged the European 'conventional adamic narrative' and gave rise to a new conception of anthropology as a colonial ideology.<sup>58</sup>

Acosta, amongst the most studied chroniclers from the sixteenth century, expressed his uncertainty surrounding the exact point of origin for Indigenous Americans, stating: 'wee may beleeve, that some came to inhabite after one sort, and some after an other'.<sup>59</sup> Determined not to contradict biblical authority, he explained pragmatically with respect to Amerindian origins:

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<sup>57</sup> Joseph de Acosta's early ideas of trans-Pacific contact involving the Americas are cited in numerous works, most notably in Sorenson and Raish, *Pre-Columbian Contact with the Americas across the Oceans: An Annotated Bibliography*, Vol. 1 (1996), 2.

<sup>58</sup> Giuliano Gliozzi, *Adam et le Nouveau Monde* (Lecques: Théété éditions, 2000), 14–15, 19; Livingstone, *Adam's Ancestors: Race, Religion, and the Politics of Human Origins* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 1–25.

<sup>59</sup> José de Acosta, *The Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, 69.

The reason that inforceth us to yeeld that the first men of the Indies are come from Europe or Asia, is the testimonie of the holy scripture, which teacheth us plainely that all men came from Adam. We can therefore give no other beginning to those at the Indies, seeing the holy scripture said that, that all beasts and creatures of the earth perished but such as were reserved in the Arke of Noe.<sup>60</sup>

Evidently, Acosta's explanation of the settlement of the Americas, like those of most contemporary chroniclers, had to accord with prevailing Christian dogma—he saw Noah's Ark and the Great Flood as a basis for explaining the origin of the local animals and plants of the Americas, never seen by Europeans before. He questioned whether King Solomon's journey lasted three years or was conducted every three years, but nonetheless believed in its factuality, exemplifying European expertise in navigation. He placed the origins of the local inhabitants from the Indies in the Old World, in agreement with the biblical narrative. In conjunction with his doubts about Indigenous navigational capacity, this amounted to the hypothesis that they came by land and not by sea. Despite this preference for a land route, Acosta also believed that the South Sea had been explored prior to the arrival of the Spaniards to the New World, a concept perhaps expressed less openly by his fellow chroniclers: 'So as there wants no witnesses to prove that they [South American Indigenous inhabitants] sailed in the South Sea before the Spaniards came thither'.<sup>61</sup> A comparable idea was also expounded by the Spanish chronicler Fernando de Montesinos (1593–1655), who speculated that the Americas had been settled through various avenues, including the South Sea.<sup>62</sup>

The biblical Ophir also shaped some of these early ideas of South Sea contacts or even Amerindian origins. The Dominican missionary Gregorio García (c.1556–1627), for example, in contrast to Montesinos, also explored the possibility of Amerindians, particularly those from

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 57.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 56.

<sup>62</sup> Montesinos, *Memorias antiguas historiales del Perú*, 3.

Peru, having Hebrew origins.<sup>63</sup> These Hebrew connections with the New World were also expressed as the identification of Solomon's Ophir with parts of the Americas.<sup>64</sup> A description of this mythical, fabulously wealthy region, associated with King Solomon and etymologically with Peru (and Mexico), appeared in volume eight of the Antwerp *Polyglot Bible* (1568–1572), written by Arias Montano and published prior to García's 1607 chronicle specifically addressing the 'origin of the Indians of the New World and West Indies'. Arias Montano was in turn influenced by Guillaume Postel's theories regarding possible locations for Ophir. It is believed that the *Polyglot Bible*, which included a world map, reached the Americas less than ten years after its publication, arguably influencing the work by some of the chroniclers discussed in this chapter, including Cabello de Balboa, and possibly also Acosta.<sup>65</sup>

In his *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, Acosta explained how: 'Some hold opinion that mention is made of the West Indies in the holy scripture, taking the region of Peru for that Ophir which they make so famous'.<sup>66</sup> He continued: 'And there are many others which affirme that our Peru is Ophir, deriving one name from another, who beleeve that when as the booke of Paralipomenon was written, they called it Peru, grounding it vpon that which the holy scripture saith, that they brought from Ophir pure gold, precious stones, and wood which was rare and goodly—which things abound in Peru, as they say'.<sup>67</sup> This belief implied that King Solomon would have crossed the Atlantic Ocean from the Old World to reach Ophir. Joseph de Acosta details in his chronicle, for instance, how some of his contemporaries believed that Ophir meant

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<sup>63</sup> García, *Origen de los indios del Nuevo Mundo, e Indias occidentales* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Críticas, [1607] 2005), 153–55, 194, 223–35.

<sup>64</sup> Florentino García Martínez, *Between Philology and Theology. Contributions to the Study of Ancient Jewish Interpretation* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2012), 165–71.

<sup>65</sup> Lerner, 'Teorías de Indios: los orígenes de los pueblos del continente americano y la Biblia Políglota de Amberes (1568–1573)', 237–38; Merrill Brekka, *The Antwerp Polyglot Bible (1572): Visual Corpus, New World 'Hebrew-Indian' Map, and the Religious Crosscurrents of Imperial Spain*, 15.

<sup>66</sup> José de Acosta, *The Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, 37.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*



Peru following the dictates of the Holy Writ.<sup>68</sup> As the Spanish became aware of lands to the west, however, they were often associated with Ophir and were sought intentionally, as was the case with Alvaro de Mendaña's 1567–69 voyage, in which the chronicler and explorer Sarmiento participated. This potentially added a disguised colonial interest to early accounts of contacts with the South Sea and associated theories of Amerindian origins, given the strong interest expressed by Spaniards (especially in Peru) in discovering, conquering and settling rich lands to the west, in the South Sea.<sup>69</sup> As described by Sarmiento in the above-mentioned 1572 letter to King Philip II of Spain, the lack of knowledge concerning these rich islands in the South Sea made their discovery imperative. In 1567, this drove Sarmiento to propose their exploration and discovery to Lope García de Castro, the seventh governor of Peru between 1564 and 1569.<sup>70</sup> Such motivations were clearly significant in the attribution of the name 'Solomon Islands' to the islands Mendaña sought and found in his voyage of 1567–69.<sup>71</sup>

Writing two decades after Mendaña's expedition, Acosta was evidently aware of the Solomon Islands' existence:

In this South Sea, although they have not yet discovered the ende towards the West, yet of late they have found they have found out the Ilands which they call Salomon, the which are many and great, distant from Peru about eyght hundred leagues. And for that wee finde by observation, that whereas there bee many and great Ilandes, so there is some firme Land [continent] not farre off, I my selfe with many others doe beleve that there is some firme land neere unto the Ilands of Salomon, the which doth answere unto our America on the West part, and possibly might runne by the heighth of the South, to the Straighes of Magellan. Some hold that Nova Guinea is firme Land, and some learned men describe it neere to the Ilands of Salomon; so as it is likely, a good parte of the world is not yet discovered, seeing at this day our men sayle in the South Sea unto China and the Philippines;

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<sup>68</sup> Joseph de Acosta, *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias*, 31–34; Verde Casanova, 'España y el Pacífico: Un breve repaso a las expediciones españolas de los siglos XVI al XVIII', 38–39.

<sup>69</sup> Verde Casanova, 'España y el Pacífico: Un breve repaso a las expediciones españolas de los siglos XVI al XVIII', 34.

<sup>70</sup> Sarmiento de Gamboa, 'Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa to King Philip II, March 4, 1572,' *General Archive of the Indies: Cartas de Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa*. <http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/122115>

<sup>71</sup> Verde Casanova, 'España y el Pacífico: Un breve repaso a las expediciones españolas de los siglos XVI al XVIII', 38–39.

and wee say, that to go from Peru to those parts, they passe a greater Sea, then in going from Spaine to Peru.<sup>72</sup>

Speculative ideas about the existence of a great southern *tierra firme* (continent), called *Terra Australis* from the mid-1520s, also permeated some of these early representations of trans-Pacific contact. In other words, an ancient classical belief that this land mass counterbalanced those of the northern hemisphere or *oikoumene* (thereby ensuring the stability of the globe) was also incorporated into some chroniclers' narratives. Additionally, these chroniclers bolstered these speculations with reference to Inca traditions regarding the existence of wealthy islands in the South Sea.<sup>73</sup>

## **Descriptions of Long-Distance Voyages and Coastal Arrivals from Distant Lands (Contacts)**

Ideas present in many sixteenth-century chronicles that imply contacts or Amerindian origin via the South Sea were naturally influenced by the growing awareness of this body of water. These ideas also became reinforced by Indigenous South American legends and oral traditions describing long-distance voyages and coastal arrivals from distant lands.

Certain Spanish chroniclers noticed the navigational skills and activities of Indigenous Americans, particularly those from the central Andean region, thus discussing the probability of trans-Pacific contact with unknown peoples to the west.<sup>74</sup> Many chroniclers also included detailed descriptions of balsa rafts in their texts and mentioned some of their routes. Amongst them was Acosta who expressly stated that the people from Ica and Arica (in modern Chile)

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<sup>72</sup> José de Acosta, *The Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, 18.

<sup>73</sup> Verde Casanova, 'España y el Pacífico: Un breve repaso a las expediciones españolas de los siglos XVI al XVIII', 38–9.

<sup>74</sup> Jorge Ortiz-Sotelo, 'The Central Andean Peoples and their Relationship to the Sea', in Michel Ballard and Christian Buchet (eds.), *The Sea in History: The Medieval World* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK; Rochester, NY, USA: Boydell and Brewer, 2017), 727–40.

sailed westward to distant, unnamed islands in the South Sea in ancient times, presumably in inflated seal skins (a report based on oral traditions): ‘In like sort, the Indians of Yca and Arica report, that in old time they were wont to saile farre to the Ilands of the West, and made their voiages in Seales skinnes blowne up’.<sup>75</sup>

Despite Acosta’s descriptions of accidental voyages and coastal arrivals, he questioned Amerindian navigational abilities in comparison to European skill and equipment, and believed that the absence of navigational instruments in the Americas demonstrated the lack of Amerindian seafaring skills, which may have limited their ability to traverse long maritime distances. Acosta described how the Indigenous South Americans were not versed in the use of needles, presumably referring to compasses, astrolabes and quadrants, possibly dooming them to be lost at sea when sailing for eighteen or more days without seeing land.<sup>76</sup>

In addition to Acosta’s observations surrounding Amerindian sailing capabilities, speculations on sailing traditions diffused to the Americas across the Pacific from unknown lands as conveyed in other chroniclers’ reports on other oral traditions. For example, the Mexican chronicler Pedro Gutiérrez de Santa Clara (c.1521–c.1603) explained in his *Historia de las guerras más que civiles que hubo en el Reino del Perú* chronicle (also known as *Quinquenarios*) how the navigation skills and techniques of the local tradespeople and raftsmen had been learned from their ancestors, who had in turn learned these skills from a man who came by sea on a raft with sails known as Viracocha.<sup>77</sup> Similarly, Cabello de Balboa narrated in his chronicles that the first settlers of the Peruvian kingdom of Chimú, a group of seafaring people, arrived in rafts to the coasts of Lambayeque, Peru, presided over and guided by a chief of presumably great talent and

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<sup>75</sup> José de Acosta, *The Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, 56.

<sup>76</sup> Joseph de Acosta, *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias*, 44.

<sup>77</sup> Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, *Historia de las guerras civiles del Perú (1544–1548) y de otros sucesos de las Indias*, 527–28.

courage called Naymlap.<sup>78</sup> The stories about Viracocha and Naymlap appear to be two of a series of widespread traditions from Peruvian north-coast mythology pointing to a distant arrival in space by sea from an undetermined origin.<sup>79</sup>

A number of chroniclers, including Acosta, also reported stories about seafaring ‘giants’ from faraway but undetermined lands, presumably in the South Sea, arriving on Ecuador’s Pacific coasts, specifically in Manta and Portoviejo. Traditionally, descriptions of giants were present in Renaissance cosmography and ‘were an important element in the tradition of romance’.<sup>80</sup> However the additional elements described surrounding long-distance voyages and coastal arrivals are considered in this chapter as early ideas of trans-Pacific contact linking South America with unknown lands in the South Sea. Acosta, for example, described how:

In Peru they make great mention of certaine Giants, which have been in those parts, whose bones are yet seene at Manta and Puerto Viejo [Portoviejo], of a huge greatnes, and by their proportion they should be thrice as big as the Indians. At this day they report that the Giants came by sea, to make warre with those of the Countrie, and that they made goodly buildings, whereof at this day they shew a well, built with stones of great price. They say moreover, that these men committing abominable sinnes, especially against nature, were consumed by fire from heaven.<sup>81</sup>

Cieza de León’s chronicle details how an Indigenous South American oral tradition recounting the coastal arrival of men so tall that common men only reached their knees.<sup>82</sup> Gutiérrez de Santa Clara described similar arrivals, however he expressly stated that these seafaring giants probably originated from islands in the South Sea or the southern tip of South

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<sup>78</sup> Miguel Cabello de Balboa, *Miscelánea Antártica*, 329; Raúl Arias Sánchez, ‘Los dioses navegantes de América prehispánica’, in *Ensayos del Museo Antropológico de la Cultura Andina*, Huancayo, Perú (Huancayo, Peru: Universidad Nacional del Centro del Peru and Museo Antropológico de la Cultura Andina, 2013), 15–16.

<sup>79</sup> José Alcina Franch, Alicia Alonso Sagasetta, Jean François Bouchard and Mercedes Guinea Bueno, ‘Navegación precolombina: el caso del litoral pacífico ecuatorial: evidencias e hipótesis’, *Revista Española de Antropología Americana* 17 (1987), 52–4; Arias Sánchez, ‘Los dioses navegantes de América prehispánica’, 15–16.

<sup>80</sup> Katharine Park and Lorraine J. Daston, ‘Unnatural Conceptions: The Study of Monsters in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century France and England’, *Past and Present* 92 (1981), 20–54.

<sup>81</sup> José de Acosta, *The Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, 56.

<sup>82</sup> Cieza de León, *La crónica del Perú*, 181.

America: ‘these [giants] came in very large boats or rafts, made of cane and dry wood, bearing triangular Latin sails, [sailing] from whence the sun sets and in proximity to Maluku, or the Strait of Magellan’.<sup>83</sup> In addition to the accounts of Acosta, Cieza de León and Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, details of a comparable arrival can also be found in several other chronicles, including that by Zárate, which was collected from oral traditions detailing the arrival of seafaring giants to the coast of present-day Ecuador.<sup>84</sup> These chronicles largely agree on the following points: the giants came by sea and were highly skilled mariners, travelling in reed rafts, with no female companions; their origins are unknown, although they appear to have been faraway lands; the new arrivals were of tall stature, strong and possessing powerful fighting skills. Other physical features include long hair, lack of beards and little or no clothing; they were also good fishermen and skilled in the construction of wells and large buildings. Describing the new arrivals as unrepentant sinners, these (Christian) chronicles also represent them as sodomites, punished by the heavens for the atrocities and excesses they committed against the local women, in the form of decapitation and then fire, leaving a large ossuary behind. Whether or not these descriptions are factual, and despite them containing accounts of “supernatural” beings, they represent early ideas about Amerindian ancient sailing traditions, predominantly from South America, and about the presence of vessels with triangular sails in the Andean region that are central to romantic ideas of trans-Pacific contact.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, *Historia de las guerras civiles del Perú (1544–1548) y de otros sucesos de las Indias*, 566.

<sup>84</sup> Zárate, *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista de las provincias del Perú*, 4–5. For a more detailed description of chroniclers describing the arrival of seafaring giants to Manta and Portoviejo, as well as to the Santa Elena Peninsula in southwest Ecuador, see Sandro Patrucco Núñez, ‘Los Gigantes en el Descubrimiento de América’, *Historia y Cultura* 21 (1991–92), 120–25.

<sup>85</sup> Jeff Emanuel, ‘Crown Jewel of the Fleet: Design, Construction, and Use of the Seagoing Balsa of the Pre-Columbian Andean Coast’, in *Proceedings of the 13th International Symposium on Boat and Ship Archaeology* (ISBSA 13), Amsterdam, Netherlands, October 8-12, 2012, 1–27.

## Speculations on Túpac Yupanqui's Long-Distance Voyage

Three sixteenth-century chronicles by Sarmiento (1572), Cabello de Balboa (1575–86), and Murúa (1590) contain descriptions of an apparent long-distance return voyage to the South Sea headed by Túpac Yupanqui. Túpac Yupanqui is widely believed to have been the tenth Inca ruler and to have been in power between 1471 and 1493. He is also known to have been involved in the expansion of the Inca empire and the inclusion of the majority of the Inca territory during and after the rule of his father Pachacuti.<sup>86</sup> All three chroniclers detail his famed voyage to Auachumbi and Ninachumbi, two distant islands to the west of South America that were purportedly named this way by the Incas and thus appear to suggest a possible instance of trans-Pacific contact initiated in South America.<sup>87</sup>

As described by Sarmiento, this voyage was triggered by encounters with merchants who had sailed from the west onboard balsa rafts with sails. Such encounters occurred in Tumbes, Ecuador and presumably coincided with Túpac Yupanqui's interest to expand the Inca empire and while he explored the coast of Manta, Puná Island, and Tumbes. These merchants 'gave information of the land whence they came, which consisted of some islands called Avachumbi and Ninachumbi, where there were many people and much gold'.<sup>88</sup> Given Túpac Yupanqui's colonial interests and ambitions, he 'determined to challenge a happy fortune, and see if it would favour him by sea'.<sup>89</sup> In order to obtain further details about these islands of wealth, he commanded a necromancer by the name of Antarqui to determine whether the merchants'

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<sup>86</sup> Previously it was believed that this expansion covered parts of present-day Argentina, Bolivia, Chile and Ecuador. See J.H. Rowe, 'Absolute chronology in the Andean area', *American Antiquity* 10 (1945), 265–85. A recent study, however, argues for a southern expansion (Argentina, 1350–1440) to have occurred before the northern one (Ecuador, 1410–1480). See Erik J. Marsh, Ray Kidd, Dennis Ogburn and Víctor Durán, 'Dating the Expansion of the Inca Empire: Bayesian Models from Ecuador and Argentina', *Radiocarbon* 59/1 (2017), 11; Dennis E. Ogburn, 'Reconceiving the Chronology of Inca Imperial Expansion', *Radiocarbon* 54/2 (2012), 221.

<sup>87</sup> Murúa, *Historia general del Perú*, 82–3; Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas*, 135–36; Cabello de Balboa, *Miscelánea Antártica*, 323.

<sup>88</sup> Sarmiento, *History of the Incas*, 135.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*

claims were true and whether these lands really did exist. Antarqui, who had accompanied Túpac Yupanqui in his conquests affirmed that these lands did in fact exist and sailed in search for them. On Antarqui's return, Túpac Yupanqui, 'having this certainty, determined to go there. He caused an immense number of balsas to be constructed, in which he embarked more than 20,000 chosen men'.<sup>90</sup> He then 'navigated and sailed on [for nine to twelve months] until he discovered the islands of Avachumbi and Ninachumbi, and returned, bringing back with him black people, gold, a chair of brass, and a skin and jaw bone of a horse'.<sup>91</sup> According to Sarmiento, such 'trophies were preserved in the fortress of Cuzco [presumably Saqsaywaman] until the Spaniards came'.<sup>92</sup> Some of these treasures, the horse hide and jaw, were presumably kept by an Inca, Urco Huaranca, whose report was witnessed by other locals, further adding to its factuality. Sarmiento then claimed that he discovered these islands 'in the South Sea on the 30<sup>th</sup> of November, 1567, 200 and more leagues to the westward [of the Pacific coast of South America]'.<sup>93</sup> Sarmiento reported this discovery to the Licentiate Lope García de Castro, then Governor of Peru, who presumably named them the Solomon Islands.<sup>94</sup> Sarmiento also claimed that Álvaro de Mendaña did not wish to occupy these lands, in stark opposition to the prevalent Spanish colonial interests at the time.<sup>95</sup>

Although all three chroniclers described the same voyage, their descriptions contained minor variations. Sarmiento, for instance, specified that Túpac Yupanqui's voyage lasted between nine and twelve months, whereas Cabello de Balboa and Murúa held that it had a duration of one year. The three chronicles described some bounty and people that have been brought back

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<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 135–36.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., 136.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., xiii, 136.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., xiii, 136; Abiel Holmes, *American Annals; Or a Chronological History of America, from its Discovery in 1492 to 1806*, Vol. 1 (London: Sherwood, Neely and Jones, 1813), 82.

to Peru, mainly ‘black’ people, gold treasure, a brass chair and horse hide. Sarmiento’s chronicle specified that Túpac Yupanqui’s crew consisted of twenty thousand men, whereas Cabello de Balboa and Murúa’s did not. Also, Sarmiento specified the names of the islands Túpac Yupanqui reached as Avachumbi and Niñachumbi, Cabello de Balboa as Hagua Chumbi and Nina Chumbi, and Murúa as Hahua Chumpi and Nina Chumpi. In short, the three chronicles detailing Túpac Yupanqui’s voyage can be summarised thus: Túpac Yupanqui met some merchants in one of his voyages around the Pacific coast of modern-day Ecuador and Peru who informed him about some lands of wealth to the west, inspiring him to embark on a journey to visit them. As a result, he ordered the construction of a series of rafts and commissioned several people to join him on this venture, which appears to have lasted between nine and twelve months. On completion of the journey, he purportedly brought back ‘black’ men and treasures including gold, a copper throne, hide and jaws claimed to be from horses, trophies that were preserved in Saqsaywaman, Cusco, until the Spanish arrival.<sup>96</sup> Table 2 illustrates the key details of Túpac Yupanqui’s voyage as described in these chronicles.

**Table 2.** Summary of main points concerning Túpac Yupanqui’s voyage, according to the chroniclers Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, Miguel Cabello de Balboa, and Martín de Murúa.

<b>Chronicler</b>	<b>Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa</b>	<b>Miguel Cabello de Balboa</b>	<b>Martín de Murúa</b>
<b>Name of Chronicle</b>	<i>Historia de los Ingas del Perú</i>	<i>Miscelánea Antártica</i>	<i>Historia general del Perú</i>
<b>Year of Publication</b>	1572	1586	1616
<b>Duration of Voyage</b>	Between nine and twelve months	One year	One year
<b>Items Brought Back</b>	People, an abundance of gold, a brass chair, horse hide and jaws	Black prisoners, an abundance of gold and silver, a brass chair, hide of animals like horses	Black-like people, an abundance of gold, a brass chair, horse hide, heads and bones
<b>Number of Men</b>	More than 20,000	Not specified	Not specified
<b>Name of Islands</b>	Avachumbi and Niñachumbi	Hagua Chumbi and Nina Chumbi	Hahua Chumpi and Nina Chumpi

<sup>96</sup> Murúa, *Historia general del Perú*, 82–3; Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas*, 135–36; Cabello de Balboa, *Miscelánea Antártica*, 323.



In addition to the above, a sixteenth-century manuscript supposedly written by Túpac Yupanqui's grandchildren appears to contain a short description of these two lands. In contrast to the chronicles, however, the locations of Auachumbi and Ninachumbi are described as provinces near the sea, and not islands, further adding to uncertainty surrounding the accuracy of these chronicles.<sup>97</sup>

Given the sixteenth-century political climate and colonial interests in the Spanish American colonies, the desire to reach the land associated with King Solomon, as well as *Terra Australis*, Túpac Yupanqui's venture further inspired and justified a number of Spanish voyagers to launch similar expeditions in an attempt to find rich lands to the west. The first such expedition was Mendaña's voyage to the Solomon Islands between 1567 and 1569 in which, as I have noted above, Sarmiento participated. Claiming to have sighted the islands of Ahuachumbi and Ninachumbi, Sarmiento describes how: "These are the islands which I discovered in the South Sea on the 30th of November, 1567, 200 and more leagues to the westward, being the great discovery of which I gave notice to the Licentiate Governor Castro. But Alvaro de Mendaña, General of the Fleet, did not wish to occupy them".<sup>98</sup> Indirectly, an apparent awareness of these islands by Juan Fernández (c.1518–1572) is also probable, as he may have sought the two islands mentioned above, claimed as having been sighted by Sarmiento, in his 1574 voyage of discovery of the three islands off the coast of Chile that bear his name.<sup>99</sup>

## Grotius and De Laet's Seventeenth-Century Debate

There were instances when cultural information about Amerindian origins predominantly collated by sixteenth-century Spanish chroniclers was used in debates by other European

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<sup>97</sup> For a reproduction of this manuscript, see John Howland Rowe, 'Probanza de los Incas nietos de conquistadores', *Histórica* IX/2 (1985), 210–11, 224.

<sup>98</sup> Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas*, 135–36.

<sup>99</sup> Medina states that Juan Fernández intended to locate the islands sought by Sarmiento and referred to in his chronicle *History of the Incas*. José Toribio Medina, *El Piloto Juan Fernández, descubridor de las islas que llevan su nombre, y Juan Jufre, Armador de la expedición que hizo en busca de otras en el Mar del Sur* (Santiago: Imprenta Elzeviriana, 1918), 117–21.

scholars outside Spain.<sup>100</sup> In Northern Europe, for example, the Acostan tradition appears to have been influential in at least one instance of seventeenth-century scholarly thought pertaining to the origins of the Indigenous people of the Americas.<sup>101</sup> Evidence of this is a series of publications stemming from the divergent opinions of two Dutchmen, Johannes de Laet (1581—1649) and Hugo de Groot (1583—1643), hereinafter Grotius as he is more commonly known, concerning Amerindian origins. Grotius was a jurist and philosopher, and De Laet was a director of the Dutch West-India Company from 1621 until his death in 1649.<sup>102</sup> Aiming to discuss the origins of Amerindians and find solutions to this complex question, Grotius and De Laet published a series of critical commentaries highlighting their differing views, as well as revealing certain personal facets.<sup>103</sup>

This early, isolated form of a trans-Pacific contact debate that took place in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century was a spirited discussion centring on Amerindian origins. Grotius' fifteen-page dissertation *De Origine Gentium Americanarum Dissertatio* of 1642 contained ideas on the origin of the American people that directly opposed those expressed earlier by De Laet (1642). Grotius proposed a land route as an acceptable explanation for the settlement of the Americas, invoking the notion of Peruvian Tartar origin. De Laet too considered this as a possible source for the early settlers, but also seemingly considered Pacific Islanders as later

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<sup>100</sup> Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'Hugo Grotius's Dissertation on the Origin of the American Peoples and the Use of Comparative Methods', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 52, 2 1991, 221–44.

<sup>101</sup> Rubiés, 'Hugo Grotius's dissertation on the origin of the American peoples and the use of comparative methods', in Joan-Pau Rubiés, *Travellers and cosmographers: Studies in the History of Early Modern Travel and Ethnology* (London: Ashgate, 2007), Part 2, 5–7.

<sup>102</sup> Eric Jorink, 'Noah's Ark Restored (and Wrecked): Dutch Collectors, Natural History and the Problem of Biblical Exegesis' in Sven Dupré and Christoph Herbert Lüthy (eds.), *Silent Messengers: The Circulation of Material Objects of Knowledge in the Early Modern Low Countries* (Berlin: Lit, 2011), 172–82.

<sup>103</sup> Rubiés, 'Hugo Grotius's Dissertation on the Origin of the American Peoples and the Use of Comparative Methods', 221–44.

migrants to South America following fortuitous voyages across the Pacific Ocean.<sup>104</sup> According to US scholar Herbert F. Wright (1892–1945), De Laet believed that ‘Polynesians may have floated to the western coast of South America’.<sup>105</sup> Wright, however, anachronistically imposed the modern concept of Polynesian on De Laet’s text. Similarly, although referring to Grotius, the Spanish anthropologist José Alcina Franch (1922–2001) argued that Grotius believed that the origin of South Americans was in the Moluccas. Alcina Franch noted the sparse available information on the Pacific during the time of Grotius. In spite of this, Grotius was one of the few writers who argued that the Americas had been settled from the Moluccas despite possessing limited knowledge of the Pacific.<sup>106</sup> De Laet, on the other hand, as noted by Wright, was most likely referring to the handful of islands known in the Pacific Ocean during the seventeenth century, as well as making a general statement about the little-known, but possibly multiple islands that were believed to be dotted along the expanse of this largely unexplored ocean. Grotius and De Laet’s exchange appears to have simply been an extension of the earlier trans-Pacific contact debates commenced by Spanish chroniclers in the sixteenth century.

## Conclusion

I have shown that the earliest-known rehearsals of ideas about Amerindian contacts and origins in the South Sea are found in a number of sixteenth-century Spanish chronicles predominantly about Peru and Chile. These early ideas centred on accidental voyages, maritime skills and technology, and coastal arrivals along the western shores of South America. They emerged around the time of ‘discovery’ and growing exploration of the South Sea. These chronicles are

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<sup>104</sup> Hugo Grotius, *De Origine Gentium Americanarum Dissertatio* (1642); Johannes De Laet, *Responsio ad Dissertationem Secundam Hugonis Grotii* (1644). See also Lee Eldridge Huddleston, *Origins of the American Indians: European Concepts 1492-1729* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2015 [1967]), 123.

<sup>105</sup> Herbert F. Wright, ‘Origin of American Aborigines: A Famous Controversy’, *The Catholic Historical Review* 3/3 (1917), 269.

<sup>106</sup> José Alcina Franch, *Los orígenes de America* (Madrid: Alhambra, 1985), 63.

critical for the overall argument of the thesis because they have also been considered as evidence for these contacts, as detailed in later chapters of this thesis.<sup>107</sup>

The Spanish exploration, conquest and colonisation of the New World prompted interest in, and consequent development of ideas concerning the origins of the local inhabitants of these lands. Spanish chroniclers gathered data, reported on legends and oral traditions on this topic, and authored narratives describing their observations and encounters.<sup>108</sup> Some of these descriptions, including those contained in the chronicles by Sarmiento, Murúa and Cabello de Balboa, captured Indigenous ideas about voyaging traditions resulting in contacts with the South Sea or Pacific Islands. Others may have been driven by a desire to identify lands of wealth akin to the Spice Islands, in addition to a route to the genuine Spice Islands and to mainland Asia, as expressed by Pedro de La Gasca in his 1549 letter to the Council of the Indies referenced above.<sup>109</sup>

Ideas about trans-Pacific contacts and origins found in these texts were mainly speculative and contained anthropological descriptions largely shaped by European Judeo-Christian tradition. The hints of trans-Pacific contacts and Amerindian origins in these chronicles reveal the authors' conflicted attempts to find explanations that were acceptable in biblical terms. After all, these authors 'could only understand the New World they were exposed to by reference to the world they already knew'.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> For example José Antonio Del Busto D., *Túpac Yupanqui, Descubridor de Oceanía*.

<sup>108</sup> Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, *Historia de las guerras civiles del Perú ...* (1550); Cieza de León, *La crónica del Perú* (1553); Zárate, *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista de las provincias del Perú* (1555); Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas*, (1572); Cabello de Balboa, *Miscelánea Antártica* (1576–1586); Murúa, *Historia general del Perú* (1590); Montesinos, *Memorias antiguas historiales del Peru* (1664); and Acosta, *The Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, (1604).

<sup>109</sup> Pedro de la Gasca, 'Pedro de la Gasca to the Council of the Indies, May 2, 1549,' 334–35.

<sup>110</sup> Eva Bravo-García, 'La construcción de estereotipos en las Crónicas de Indias,' *Politeja* 6, no. 38 (2015): 97–114. doi:10.12797/Politeja.12.2015.38.08, retrieved from ProQuest.

Speculations about Amerindian origins, however, at times challenged Holy scripture and gave rise to new understandings about humanity and geography.<sup>111</sup> They were also strongly influenced by colonial interests and ‘romantic’ beliefs surrounding the breadth, wealth and possible existence of desirable yet-to-be discovered lands dotted across the expanse of the South Sea, and were particularly imbued with the desire to find a hypothetical large *Terra Australis* and an expected rich mythical land associated with King Solomon: Ophir. Additionally, Indigenous oral traditions pointing to voyages to rich lands to the west of the Americas and thus implying pre-Columbian Amerindian contact with South Sea islands also became enmeshed in these chroniclers’ narratives. Examples are the reports by Murúa, Sarmiento and Cabello de Balboa of Túpac Yupanqui’s alleged long-distance voyage to the two unidentified islands of Ahuachumbi and Ninachumbi, apparently to the west of the South American Pacific coast.<sup>112</sup> Other examples include descriptions of the arrival on the west coast of supernatural creatures (mainly ‘giants’) and god-like figures such as Naymlap.<sup>113</sup>

Traces pointing to American origins in and contacts with the South Sea contained in the sixteenth-century texts discussed in this chapter have been incorporated into numerous studies, as a generative element in the extensive literature on trans-Pacific contacts or origins addressed in this thesis. Some are cited as references or evidence in modern studies positing pre-Columbian contacts and origin from across the Pacific, as described in chapters 8 and 9. Others have been further developed or reinterpreted, at times even evolving into full-blown scholarly traditions, as is the case with Túpac Yupanqui’s voyage to the islands of Ninachumbi and Auachumbi, as detailed in Chapter 8.

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<sup>111</sup> Gliozzi, *Adam et le Nouveau Monde*, 14–15, 19.

<sup>112</sup> Murúa, *Historia general del Perú*, 82–83; Sarmiento, *History of the Incas*, 135–36; Cabello de Balboa, *Miscelánea Antártica*, 323.

<sup>113</sup> Cabello de Balboa, *Miscelánea Antártica*, 329. See also Matthias Urban and Rita Eloranta, ‘Ñaimlap, the Birds, and the Sea: Viewing an Ancient Peruvian Legend through the Lens of Onomastics’, *Names* 65/3 (2017), 154–166.

Elements of the trans-Pacific contact ideas presented in this chapter carried on into the seventeenth century, where cultural data extracted from sixteenth-century chronicles were collated and developed into alternative theories, as in the Grotius-De Laet debate that speculated on Amerindian origins following descriptions extracted from Spanish chronicles. This appears to be the only such debate on trans-Pacific contact from this period. The intense exploration of the Pacific from the late eighteenth century inspired the formulation of a large array of trans-Pacific contact notions during the nineteenth century, as outlined in chapters 3 and 4. Such ideas have underpinned further conjecture and theorisation to the present, as demonstrated in chapters 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9. These are exemplified in the scholarly works of US anthropologist Roland Burrage Dixon (1879–1934) and the Norwegian adventurer Thor Heyerdahl (1914–2002) in the twentieth century, and Terry L. Jones and Alice A. Storey in the twenty-first century.<sup>114</sup>

Lastly, it must be remembered that the hints of pre-Columbian trans-Pacific contact expressed by these chroniclers were developed several centuries before the concept of prehistory emerged in Europe in the nineteenth century.<sup>115</sup> Their scholarly context also long pre-dated the establishment of scientific archaeology.<sup>116</sup> Given this context, the ideas about contacts and origins were speculative interpretations of observations that were coherent with biblical explanations about the origins and past of humanity rather than scientific demonstrations supported by evidence. In this sense, chroniclers' encounters with the Indigenous populations of

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<sup>114</sup> Roland B. Dixon, 'Contacts with America across the Southern Pacific', in Diamond Jeness (ed.), *The American Aborigines, Their Origin and Antiquity* (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1973 [1933]), 313–54; Thor Heyerdahl, *Early Man and the Ocean* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1978), 174–187; Terry L. Jones and Alice A. Storey, 'A Long-Standing Debate', in *Polynesians in America. Pre-Columbian Contacts with the New World*, 57–91.

<sup>115</sup> Donald R. Kelley, 'The rise of prehistory', 17; Matthew D. Eddy, 'The prehistoric mind as a historical artefact', 3.

<sup>116</sup> Glyn Daniel, *A Hundred and Fifty Years of Archaeology*, 56. See also Donald R. Kelley, 'The rise of prehistory', *Journal of World History* 14/1 (2003), 17; and Matthew D. Eddy, 'The prehistoric mind as a historical artefact', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society* 65 (2011), 3.

the New World may have set the precedent for modern scientific and cultural understanding of trans-Pacific contact and the associated anthropological observations.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> Stelio Cro, 'Los cronistas primitivos de Indias y la cuestión de antiguos y modernos', in *Actas del IX Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas* (Madrid: Vervuert, 1989), 415–24.

## CHAPTER 3 Pacific and American Encounters and Studies in the Nineteenth Century

### Introduction

Ideas about trans-Pacific contact did not begin in the nineteenth century, as we have seen in the previous chapter, but this was certainly the century in which they blossomed and developed a more empirical basis. They resulted from the more active European exploration of the Pacific that took place after 1750, mainly led by French and British sailors, which led to important naming and cartographic efforts, and to the racial classification of Pacific inhabitants. European perceptions of the Pacific as a ‘new world’ only started to emerge during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.<sup>118</sup>

In this chapter, I explore the backdrop to the proposal of these theories, including the growing exploration of the Pacific from the mid-eighteenth century, the establishment of missions in the Pacific, and a trend towards the study of the history, language, culture and origins of the inhabitants of various Pacific Islands. An increasing interest in Amerindian prehistory and culture also resulted in a growing number of anthropological, linguistic and archaeological treatises seeking to understand these New World inhabitants. During this period, scholars from Europe, the Americas, and (later) Australasia uncovered what they considered sufficiently compelling evidence to bolster their theories, setting the foundations for the trans-Pacific contact theories that developed further in the twentieth century. They formulated theories on trans-Pacific migrations as explanations for Amerindian and Pacific Islander origins, which proved controversial. Some of these scholars also claimed that post-settlement contact occurred, perhaps following the tradition of sixteenth-century Spanish chroniclers discussed in Chapter 2. These nineteenth-century theories supplanted the more speculative ideas on origins and contacts

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<sup>118</sup> Douglas and Govor, ‘Eponymy, Encounters, and Local Knowledge in Russian Place Naming in the Pacific Islands, 1804–1830’, 709; Armitage and Bashford, ‘Introduction: The Pacific and its Histories’, 14–15.



of the sixteenth century that were detailed in Chapter 2. They brought into consideration elements of material culture, crop diffusion theories, and linguistic studies as evidence of trans-Pacific contact, thus becoming increasingly evidence-based, particularly following the establishment of archaeology as a science after 1840.<sup>119</sup> The century's vast array of theories was first elaborated in 1803 by the Spanish Catholic missionary Joaquín Martínez de Zúñiga (1760–1818).<sup>120</sup>

Changing conceptions of the Pacific and its inhabitants played a role in the development of trans-Pacific contact theories during this period. The production of abstract knowledge from voyagers' narratives is exemplified in Bory de Saint-Vincent's (1778–1846) early nineteenth-century polygenist model of the human genus.<sup>121</sup> The consolidation of this and other racial classifications encompassing the peoples of Oceania was a consequence of the earlier period of explorations and resulting theorisation. As maps of the South Pacific Ocean were drawn, nomenclature of its islands established, and racial classifications devised, some long-lasting tropes of trans-Pacific contact theory were created. As a result, racist conceptions became intertwined with cartography.

The chapter will then concentrate on three areas. First, it will describe the trans-Pacific contact ideas put forth by Catholic, Evangelical and Protestant, and Mormon missionaries and religious scholars. The Evangelical missionaries John Williams (1796–1839) and William Ellis (1794–1872), for example, as well as the Protestant clergyman John Dunmore Lang (1799–1878) exemplify some of the divergent anglophone views regarding Polynesian-American contacts and

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<sup>119</sup> Glyn Daniel, *A Hundred and Fifty Years of Archaeology*, 56.

<sup>120</sup> Joaquín Martínez de Zúñiga, *An Historical View of the Philippine Islands: exhibiting their discovery, population, language, government, manners, customs, productions and commerce*, 2 Vols., transl. John Maver (London: J. Asperne, Cornhill, and Nonville and Fell, New-Bond Street, 1814 [1803]).

<sup>121</sup> Douglas, 'Geography, Raciology, and the Naming of Oceania', *The Globe* 69 (2011), 10–11; Jean-Baptiste-Geneviève-Marcellin Bory de Saint-Vincent, *L'Homme (homo): essai zoologique sur le genre humain*, Vol. 1, 2nd Edition (Paris: Rey et Gravier, Libraires-Editeurs, 1827 [1825]), 82–83.

origins that emerged during the nineteenth century.<sup>122</sup> The contributions by New York-based scholars, as will be discussed, were also important in the shaping of the debate, particularly due to their influence in Mormon thinking on the subject. Second, it will address the trans-Pacific contact ideas explored by some key scholars at the International Congress of Americanists (ICA) up until the second half of the nineteenth century. Third, it will focus on ideas about sunken Pacific lands that were an accepted geological explanation at the time for cultural and bioanthropological similarities. These publications will be seen not only to illustrate early academic discussions, but are also important in themselves since they included almost the full range of evidence that continues to feature in trans-Pacific contact theories. The trans-Pacific contact theories that emerged during this period amongst these scholars and academic circles centred on discussions of origins and migrations, racial classifications, cultural parallels (including material culture comparisons and linguistic similarities), potential voyaging routes, sea currents and winds.

## **Changing Conceptions of the Pacific and the Americas and the Advent of Science**

In 1763, the signing of the Treaty of Paris between France, England and Spain gave rise to the commencement of scientific expeditions to the Pacific, as exemplified in the voyages of Louis-Antoine de Bougainville (1766–9), James Cook (1768–71, 1772–5, 1776–80), and Francisco Antonio Agüera e Infanzón and Felipe González de Ahedo (1770).<sup>123</sup> This expanding experience

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<sup>122</sup> John Williams, *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands* (London: John Snow, 1837), 512; William Ellis, *Polynesian Researches ...*, 2 vols. (London: Fisher, Son, & Jackson, 1829); Ellis, *Polynesian Researches ...*, 4 vols. (London: Fisher, Son and Jackson, 1831); John Dunmore Lang, *View of the Origin and Migrations of the Polynesian Nation ...* (London: James Cochrane, 1834); Lang, *Origin and Migrations of the Polynesian Nation ...*, 2nd edition (Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide: George Robertson, 1877).

<sup>123</sup> For accounts of these voyages, see: Felipe González de Ahedo, *The voyage of Captain Don Felipe González: in the ship of the line San Lorenzo, with the frigate Santa Rosalia in company, to Easter Island in 1770-1*, ed. Bolton Glanvill Corney (Cambridge: The Hakluyt Society, 1908; John Hawkesworth, *An Account of the Voyages* (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1773); James Cook, *A Voyage Towards the South Pole and Round the World* (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1777); *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean* (London: G. Nicol ... and T. Cadell, 1784); Louis-Antoine de Bougainville, *Voyage*

encouraged the establishment of regional nomenclature for the Pacific islands. In 1756, Charles de Brosses (1709–1777) coined the terms ‘Polynesia’, referring to the many islands found in the ‘vast Pacific Ocean’, and ‘Australasia’, referring to the region located to the south of Asia.<sup>124</sup> In the early nineteenth century, the French cartographer Adrien-Hubert Brué (1786–1832) conceived the concept of Oceania.<sup>125</sup> These European conceptions clearly informed the trans-Pacific contact theories that emerged during this period and shaped the debate in favour of racialised visions of humanity. The nineteenth century was the context for several speculations and theories of pre-Columbian contact linking the geographical areas of Oceania, particularly Polynesia, with the American continent.

As noted by Douglas, the exploration, charting and naming of Oceania and its environs were implicated in their entanglement with racial classification into Malays, Papuans, Oceanic Negroes, Melanesians, Polynesians and Micronesians.<sup>126</sup> In 1803, the French geographer Conrad Malte-Brun (1755–1826) invented the concept of the ‘Polynesian race’. In his view, this race, which had a common origin with the Malays of Asia, was characterised by ‘very beautiful’ people of ‘copper-coloured’ skin who inhabited modern Polynesia and Micronesia.<sup>127</sup> Subsequent comparable racial classifications published by the voyage naturalists Quoy and Gaimard (L’Uranie, 1817–1820) in 1824, and Lesson (Coquille, 1822–25) in 1826 included the ‘Papuan’ and ‘Oceanian’ races.<sup>128</sup> These regional classifications preceded a global one proffered by the French naturalist Jean-Baptiste Geneviève Marcellin Bory de Saint-Vincent (1778–1846) in 1827,

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*autour du monde par la frégate du roi la Boudense et la flûte l’Etoile en 1766, 1767, 1768 & 1769* (Paris: Saillant & Nyon, 1771).

<sup>124</sup> Charles de Brosses, *Histoire des navigations aux terres australes ...* (Paris: Durand, 1756), 2 vols.

<sup>125</sup> Adrien-Hubert Brué, ‘Océanie ou cinquième partie du monde, comprenant l’Archipel d’Asie, l’Australasie, la Polynésie, &c.’ in *Grand atlas universel ...* (Paris: Desray, 1815), plate 36.

<sup>126</sup> Douglas, “‘*Novus Orbis Australis*’: Oceania in the Science of Race, 1750-1850’, in *Foreign Bodies: Oceania and the Science of Race 1750–1940*, Bronwen Douglas and Chris Ballard (eds.), (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2008).

<sup>127</sup> Edme Mentelle and Conrad Malte-Brun, *Géographie mathématique, physique et politique de toutes les parties du monde*, Vol. 1 (Paris: H. Tardieu et Laporte, 1803), 548. See also Douglas, ‘Foreign Bodies in Oceania’, in *Foreign Bodies*, 9.

<sup>128</sup> Douglas, ‘Foreign Bodies in Oceania’, 7–9; Douglas, “‘*Novus Orbis Australis*’”, 116-23.

and were influential to his taxonomy.<sup>129</sup> Bory de Saint-Vincent's 1827 map, for example, featured his conception of a racial division including the Pacific coasts of Mexico and South America, what is now known as Polynesia, the eastern coasts of India, South East Asia, and some parts of Africa (particularly Madagascar), which were inhabited by the same 'Neptunian' species.<sup>130</sup> Figure 5 illustrates this racial classification as imagined by Bory de Saint-Vincent.



**Figure 5.** 1827 map by Bory de Saint-Vincent illustrating nineteenth-century ideas of racial classifications (Source: David Rumsey Map Collection, Image 1801001).

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., 115.

<sup>130</sup> Ambroise Tardieu and Bory de Saint-Vincent, 'Distribution primitive du genre humain à la surface du Globe ...', in Nicolas Desmarest & Bory de Saint-Vincent, *Atlas encyclopédique contenant les cartes et les planches relatives à la géographie physique*, Plate 1 (Paris: Mme veuve Agasse, 1827).

In a written explication of the map, Bory de Saint-Vincent delved more deeply into this topic. In his polygenist scheme he divided the human ‘genus’ into fifteen separate ‘species’, listing the Neptunians at number seven, the Australasians at number eight, the Colombians at number nine, the Americans at number ten, the Patagonians at number eleven, and the Melanian (i.e. dark-skinned) species at number fourteen.<sup>131</sup> Regarding the Neptunian species, Bory de Saint-Vincent described *Homo Neptunianus* as ‘essentially coastal,... only inhabited islands, or, upon reaching some continent, never left its coast to pass beyond the mountains parallel to it’.<sup>132</sup> Covering an area extending from west to east across the Indian and Pacific Oceans, including Madagascar, this species was also located by Bory de Saint-Vincent as spreading down the western coast of the Americas, from California to Chile.<sup>133</sup>

The French navigator Jules Dumont d’Urville (1790–1842) also developed a classification, which derived from the work by Bory de Saint Vincent. Dumont d’Urville changed the ending of Bory de Saint Vincent’s Melanian to Melanesian and also broadened the geographical areas inhabited by this ‘race’ to now include Australia, New Guinea and the other islands of Melanesia. Essentialism and conceptions of ‘gradation of types’ thus took over from the simplified notions of racial variety of the eighteenth century.<sup>134</sup> A more restrictive conception of Polynesia only developed after Dumont d’Urville proposed a new racial and socio-cultural regionalisation of ‘Oceania’ in 1832. Dumont d’Urville’s model, with its distinction of ‘Melanesia’, ‘Micronesia’ and ‘Polynesia’, was adopted as the international standard in the twentieth century.<sup>135</sup> Dumont d’Urville’s racial classification was also a derivation of Georges

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<sup>131</sup> Bory de Saint-Vincent, *L’Homme (homo): essai zoologique sur le genre humain*, Vol. 1, 82–3.

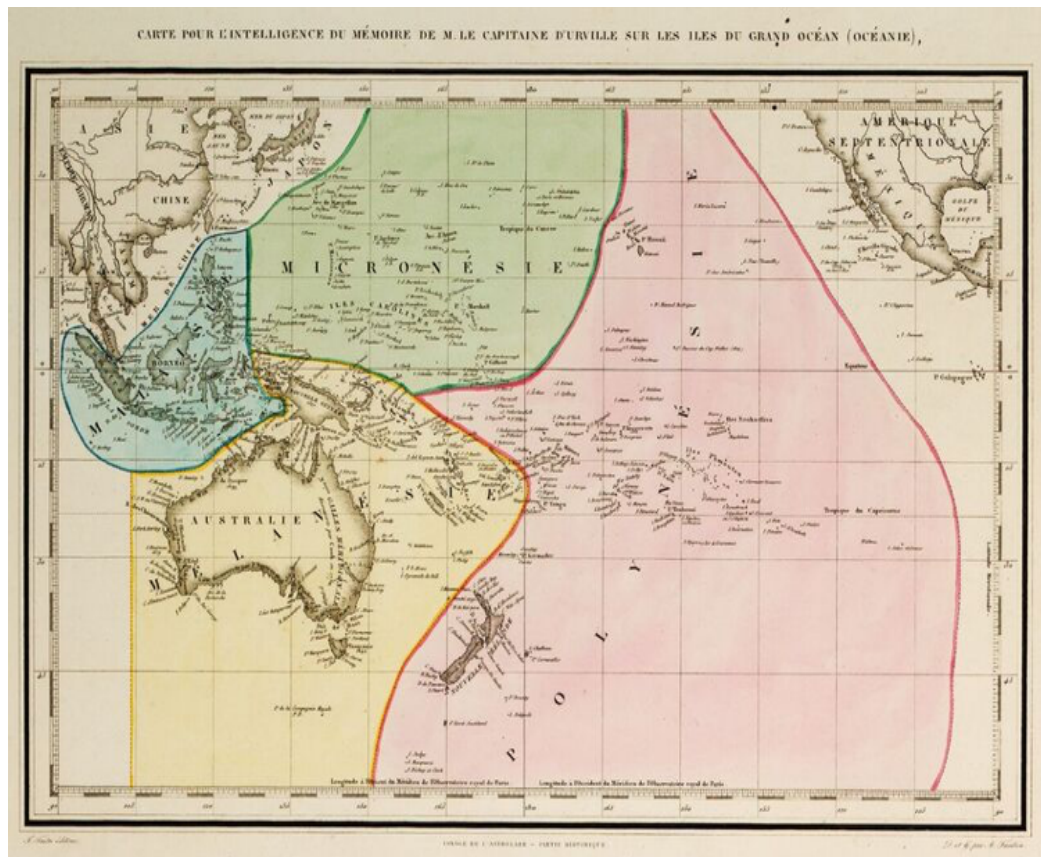
<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, 273.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, 273–74.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, 176.

<sup>135</sup> Ambroise Tardieu, “Carte pour l’intelligence du mémoire de M. le capitaine d’Urville sur les îles du grand océan (Océanie)” (1832), in Jules Dumont d’Urville, *Voyage de la corvette l’Astrolabe ...* (Paris: J. Tastu, 1833), map [1], National Library of Australia, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.map-nk2456-73>.

Cuvier's tripartite model. Cuvier (1769–1832), a French comparative anatomist, believed that humanity was made up of three 'races': white, yellow and black.<sup>136</sup> Figure 6 contains a map of Dumont d'Urville's model.



**Figure 6.** Ambroise Tardieu, 'Carte pour l'intelligence du mémoire de M. le capitaine d'Urville sur les îles du grand océan (Océanie)' (1832), in Jules Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage de la corvette l'Astrolabe exécuté par ordre du roi pendant les années 1826-1827-1828-1829 ... Atlas [historique]* (Paris: J. Tastu, 1833), map [1], National Library of Australia, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.map-nk2456-73>

The concept of Oceania as conceived by Brué, and the concepts of Polynesia, Melanesia and Micronesia as proposed by Dumont d'Urville, formed the basis of nineteenth-century trans-Pacific contact theories linking the Pacific islands and the Americas. Dumont d'Urville's binary racial classification of the peoples of Oceania, resulting from his division of this geographical

<sup>136</sup> Douglas, 'Climate to Crania: Science and the Racialization of Human Difference', in Bronwen Douglas and Chris Ballard (eds.), *Foreign Bodies: Oceania and the Science of Race 1750-1940*, 33; Serge Tchekézo, 'A Long and Unfortunate Voyage towards the 'Invention' of the Melanesia/Polynesia Distinction 1595-1832', *The Journal of Pacific History* 38/2 (2003), 179.

area into Malaysia, Micronesia, Melanesia and Polynesia, was particularly influential.<sup>137</sup> In his view, Oceania was populated by the ‘copper-skinned’ and ‘cultured’ peoples of Polynesia, Micronesia and Malaysia, and the ‘black-skinned’ and ‘barbaric’ tribes of Melanesia.<sup>138</sup> This racial classification coincided with the ‘invention’ of the modern conception of race in France and England—a notion to explain human diversity, skin colour and cultural attributes.<sup>139</sup> This understanding of racial differences also extended to North America, where it was particularly lauded and embraced by the US ethnologist and philologist Horatio Hale (1817–1896).<sup>140</sup>

Aside from the intellectual context described above, the nineteenth century also saw a developing interest in Americanist studies after 1850 following the establishment of the Société Américaine de France in 1857, the International Congress of Americanists, first held in 1875, and the Société des Américanistes de Paris in 1895.<sup>141</sup> The acquisition of factual knowledge about the inhabitants of the Americas (and the Pacific) enabled the production of these theories and set the foundation for subsequent debates.

During the nineteenth century, traditional Christian perspectives on human settlement surrounding a single centre of migration and Adam and Eve as the original couple became increasingly contested. This entailed, for instance, conflicting ideas in relation to considerations of polygenism vs. monogenism and of human unity and diversity as explanations of the many ‘species’ or ‘races’ inhabiting the world, ‘culminating in their partial resolution by evolutionist

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<sup>137</sup> Jules Sébastien César Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage pittoresque autour du monde: résumé général des voyages de découvertes ...*, (Paris: L. Tenré & Henri Dupuy, 1834–35), vi—vii.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid.

<sup>139</sup> Bronwen Douglas, ‘Foreign Bodies in Oceania’, in Bronwen Douglas and Chris Ballard (eds.), *Foreign Bodies: Oceania and the Science of Race 1750-1940* (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2008), 10–12. See also Tcherkézoff, ‘A Long and Unfortunate Voyage towards the ‘Invention’ of the Melanesia/Polynesia Distinction 1595-1832’, 176–79.

<sup>140</sup> Douglas, ‘Foreign Bodies in Oceania’, 10.

<sup>141</sup> Christine Laurière, ‘La Société des Américanistes de Paris: une société savante au service de l’américanisme’, *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 95/2, 93-115. See also Juan José Villariás Robles, ‘El peruanismo de Sir Clements Markham’, in Leoncio López-Ocon, Jean-Pierre Chaumeil and Ana Verde Casanova (eds.), *Los americanistas del siglo XIX. La construcción de una comunidad científica internacional* (Vervuert: Iberoamericana, 2005), 112.



theory'.<sup>142</sup> As noted by Douglas, 'The period in question saw an emphatic shift in thinking about unity and diversity in the natural history of man, with belief in racial differences steadily outfacing the doctrine of human similitude'.<sup>143</sup> This paradigm shift shaped the trans-Pacific contact debate in favour of polygenism, although at times reaching a critical point of science vs. religion when human diversity could not be explicated by a single human origin and other (arguably more scientific) avenues had to be entertained. Scholars in countries like France, Germany and Britain, for instance, adopted perspectives where 'great races' were evidently 'more civilised' than the 'lesser' ones as they began to include certain Pacific Islanders in their taxonomies, such as the Malays.<sup>144</sup> Such racist views at times translated as speculations on whether 'races' like the Malays settled the Pacific Islands, as well as parts of the Americas such as Peru.<sup>145</sup>

### **Speculations by Missionaries and Religious Scholars**

The trans-Pacific contact theories of the nineteenth century emerged at a time of considerable missionary movements in the Pacific aimed at 'civilising', as well as converting Pacific peoples to Christianity.<sup>146</sup> Two large Christian missionary movements were undertaken in historic times. The first, predominantly Catholic, was carried out from 1492 and mainly covered the Americas; the second movement was initially Protestant from 1797 and led to the Christianisation of the Pacific.<sup>147</sup> Catholics followed the Protestant missionaries into the Pacific and set up their own

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<sup>142</sup> Douglas, 'Climate to Crania: Science and the racialization of human difference', 44.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid, 37–44.

<sup>145</sup> Douglas, 'Climate to Crania: Science and the racialization of human difference', 45.

<sup>146</sup> Anna Johnston, 'The Book Eaters: Textuality, Modernity, and the London Missionary Society', *Semeia* 88 (2001), 17.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid.



missions from the 1830s onwards. Catholics, however, preceded Protestants, Evangelicals, and Mormons in putting forth ideas about trans-Pacific contact.

### **Catholic Perspectives**

From the beginning of the nineteenth century, a number of proponents of trans-Pacific contacts based their ideas on observations of race and cultural parallels. They also speculated on origins and on the plausibility of voyages and migrations across the Pacific Ocean. One of the earliest to theorise links between Oceania and the Americas was Spanish writer and Augustinian friar Joaquín Martínez de Zúñiga.<sup>148</sup> Martínez de Zúñiga was a professional traveller and avid observer ‘who wrote critically about what he saw’.<sup>149</sup> He expressed his views concerning the origins of the inhabitants of South America and the South Sea Islands, and the Philippines, in two publications: *An Historical View of the Philippine Islands* (published in Spanish in 1803 and in English in 1814), and *Status of the Philippines in 1800* (published in Spanish in 1893).<sup>150</sup> Following a one-year stay in the Spanish colony of New Spain (Mexico) in 1785, Martínez de Zúñiga also lived in the Philippines for thirty-two years between 1786 and 1818, the year of his death.<sup>151</sup> While in the Philippines, he travelled widely, learnt local languages, and became well-versed in the archipelago’s physical and political aspects, as evidenced by the descriptions in his two books. These experiences bolstered his observations concerning the inhabitants of South America and the South Sea Islands.

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<sup>148</sup> For a modern interpretation by a Pacific scholar, see Kerry Howe, *The Quest for Origins: Who First Discovered and Settled the Pacific Islands?* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003), 122. For a contemporary publication to Martínez de Zúñiga that references him, see John Dunmore Lang, ‘The Royal Society’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 November 1869, 3. <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13194791>

<sup>149</sup> Nicholas P. Cushner, ‘Review of Status of the Philippines in 1800. By Joaquin Martinez’, *The Journal of Asian Studies* 34/ 2 (1975), 571.

<sup>150</sup> Joaquín Martínez de Zúñiga, *An Historical View of the Philippine Islands: exhibiting their discovery, population, language, government, manners, customs, productions and commerce*; Martínez de Zúñiga, *Status of the Philippines in 1800*, transl. Vicente del Carmen (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1973 [1893]).

<sup>151</sup> Cushner, ‘Review of Status of the Philippines in 1800. By Joaquin Martinez’, 571.

Martínez de Zúñiga initially theorised that the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands had South American origins, predominantly in Chile and Peru.<sup>152</sup> In his history of the Philippines, Martínez de Zúñiga conjectured that the first settlers of the Philippines:

most probably came out of the east, we may presume from the coast of South America, and proceeding gradually to the westward through the Pacific Ocean, studded as we find it with islands, and clusters of islands, at no very great distance from each other, and of course of easy access before the wind, it follows that to whatever point, in an eastern direction, we can trace the Tagalic language, we may conclude that at that point emigration must have commenced.<sup>153</sup>

Martínez de Zúñiga's argument was principally derived from linguistic similarities based on the writings of Captain James Cook and his officers. It was also founded on segments from *La Araucana* ('The Araucaniad'), an epic poem about the conquest of Chile written by the Spanish noble and poet Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga (1533-1594).<sup>154</sup> Martínez de Zúñiga attempted to explain certain linguistic similarities between Tagalog and the Mapuche or Araucanian language of Chile. Based on observations from Ercilla's poem, Martínez de Zúñiga noted the similarities between certain place names in the Philippines and Chile. He considered how:

on observing [...] that the proper names of places about the middle of the continent of South America are very similar to those of the Philippines, I endeavoured to procure a vocabulary of this country, and did not fail to examine, with great diligence and attention, the few words of the

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<sup>152</sup> Martínez de Zúñiga, *An Historical View of the Philippine Islands*, x–xi, 31–33.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

<sup>154</sup> James Cook, *A voyage towards the South Pole, and round the world: performed in His Majesty's ships the Resolution and Adventure, in the years 1772, 1773, 1774, and 1775*; Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga, *La Araucana* (Madrid: Imprenta Nacional, 1866 [1569, 1578, 1589]).

language of Chili which Ercilla mentions in his Araucana, and which I found perfectly conformable to the language Tagala.<sup>155</sup>

Table 3 details key terms extracted from Martínez de Zúñiga's theory.

**Table 3.** List of some of the terms referred to by Martínez de Zúñiga.

Chilian term	Tagalog term	Explanation
Mapocho	Mapocquiot	Town with abundance of <i>pocquiot</i> herb
Ytayta	Ataata	Comparable doubling-up of syllables
Biobio	Bilobilo	
Lemolemo	Lebomlebom	
Colocolo	Colocolo	
Chilian	An	Town where there are cormorants ( <i>Cachile</i> : cormorant in Mapuche; <i>An</i> : town in Tagalog)

Martínez de Zúñiga then concluded that these two languages came from the same source, possibly indicating ‘that the Indians of the Philippines are descended from the aborigines of Chili and Peru’. He also speculated how it was ‘fair to conclude that the inhabitants of all the islands of the South Sea came from the east’.<sup>156</sup> One further argument for his theory proffered in his second publication (1893) was his belief that it was easier to populate these islands from the Americas rather than from other parts of the world due to the east winds that would facilitate voyages to the west.<sup>157</sup> This was an argument famously taken up more than a century later by Thor Heyerdahl with his project to sail the *Kon-Tiki* raft from South America to Polynesia, as detailed in Chapter 7.

In his second publication, however, Martínez de Zúñiga modified the basis of his theory:

<sup>155</sup> Martínez de Zúñiga, *An Historical View of the Philippine Islands*, 31.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, 31–33.

<sup>157</sup> Martínez de Zúñiga, *Status of the Philippines in 1800*, xi, 12, 33.

After reading the dictionary [presumably of Chilean words and phrases], I have changed very much my opinion. But even if it were true, there is a need to know where the first inhabitants of South America came from. In this great continent, there are five or six known mother tongues, more or less, which is an incontestable proof that five or six different peoples settled in it. And it is hard to believe that they all passed through the strait [presumably of Magellan].<sup>158</sup>

He concluded thus: ‘then it would not therefore be strange to think that after Africa, South America was next settled’, possibly suggesting that the Pacific Islands were settled subsequently.<sup>159</sup>

After Martínez de Zúñiga, another Hispanophone speculated on trans-Pacific origins: the Chilean Jesuit priest and naturalist Juan Ignacio Molina (1740–1829). Known as one of the first Chilean scientists, Molina joined the Jesuit order at the age of fifteen, which facilitated his education and thus bolstered his fascination with geography, biology and anthropology.<sup>160</sup> In 1767 he left Chile for Bologna, Italy following the Jesuit expulsion from Spanish territories.<sup>161</sup> It was not until 1821 when his work *Memorie di storia naturale* was published, a compilation of fourteen lectures he had given at the Bologna Academy of Sciences between 1805 and 1815.<sup>162</sup> One of them was devoted to the settlement of the Americas, where he speculated that this continent had been settled from three sources, including one that had traversed the many islands of the Pacific Ocean before reaching South America. He also believed, however, that Chile and Peru had been settled from India and the West at a later date than other parts of South

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<sup>158</sup> Ibid., 321.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid., 321–22.

<sup>160</sup> Reynaldo Charrier and Francisco Hervé, ‘El abate Juan Ignacio Molina: Una vida dedicada a la historia natural y civil del Reino de Chile’, *Revista de la Asociación Geológica Argentina* 68/3 (2011), 445–63.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid.

<sup>162</sup> Gioan-Ignazio Molina, ‘Memoria XII. Sulla propagazione successiva del genere umano nelle diverse parti della terra’, in *Memorie di Storie Naturale*, Part 2 (Bologna: Tipografia Marsigli, 1821), 189.

America.<sup>163</sup> Molina's ideas prefigured later Darwinian evolutionary ones. It has been reported that Darwin was acquainted with some of Molina's work, referencing particularly Molina's *Saggio sulla storia naturale del Chili* (*Essay about the Natural History of Chile*), of which an English edition was published in London in 1809.<sup>164</sup> Molina's scholarly contribution drew on first-hand knowledge about the Americas, much like his contemporary, Martínez de Zúñiga.<sup>165</sup>

The French priest turned historian and ethnographer Étienne-Charles Brasseur de Bourbourg (1814–1874), henceforth Brasseur de Bourbourg, conjectured about potential geographical points of contact in the Americas with islands in the Pacific. He travelled to the Americas and studied pre-Columbian cultures of Latin America. This was an interest he held from a young age but his travels and scholarship were facilitated by his ordination as a priest in Rome in 1845.<sup>166</sup> He first travelled to Mexico in 1847, later taking further research trips there and to other parts of Latin America.<sup>167</sup> He located and published a number of pre-Columbian manuscripts and codexes (mainly Mayan), translating them and thus making them more accessible to audiences in Europe.<sup>168</sup> With Leon de Rosny (1837–1914) and Joseph Marius Alexis Aubin (1802–1891), he founded the Société Américaine de France in 1857 and is regarded as playing an important role in the founding of scientific Americanism in France.<sup>169</sup> In 1864 he returned to Mexico as a member of the Commission Scientifique du Mexique. This commission

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<sup>163</sup> Juan Ignacio Molina, 'Memoria sobre la propagación sucesiva del género humano', in *Anales de la Universidad de Chile* 133 (1965), 25–35.

<sup>164</sup> Marco Menichetti, 'The Geological Perspective of Italy and Chile by Abbott Juan Ignacio Molina between the 18th and 19th Centuries', *Revista de la Asociación Geológica Argentina* 68/3 (2011), 465, 467, 475.

<sup>165</sup> Jeffrey Klaiber, 'Review: Juan Ignacio Molina. The World's Window on Chile', *The Catholic Historical Review* 89/1 (2003), 128–29.

<sup>166</sup> Maria Sten, 'Brasseur de Bourbourg y el emperador Maximiliano', *Historia Mexicana* 27/1 (1977), 141.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, 141–48.

<sup>168</sup> G. Maspero, 'Brasseur de Bourbourg's Manuscrit Troana (Book Review)', *The Academy* 1/10 (1870), 264.

<sup>169</sup> Sten, 'Brasseur de Bourbourg y el emperador Maximiliano', 142; Miquel Izard, 'Écrire l'histoire de l'Amérique latine. XIXe - XXe siècles', *Boletín Americanista* 53 (2003), 243–44; Nadia Prévost Urkidi, *Brasseur de Bourbourg (1814-1874) et l'émergence de l'américanisme scientifique en France au XIXe siècle*, PhD Thesis (Toulouse: University of Toulouse 2, 2007).

was constituted by Napoleon III in Paris in February 1864 as a result of Mexico's wish to step away from Spain and build alliances with France given its association with progressive thought and enlightenment.<sup>170</sup> The establishment of this commission was facilitated by Mexico's political climate after the war of independence from Spain (1810–1821) and the civil war of 1861.<sup>171</sup> France's imperial interests in Mexico also played a role due to its perception of an alliance with Mexico as geopolitically strategic, it being a country with a wealth of natural resources, located close to the United States.<sup>172</sup> Napoleon III's attempt to establish a Catholic and Latin monarchy in Mexico at the service of France failed with the assassination of Maximilian of Habsburg in Mexico in 1867. Despite this frail political climate and the conflicted relationship between France and Mexico, the Commission Scientifique du Mexique played an important role in the development of archaeological and anthropological research in Mexico.<sup>173</sup> France's imperial advances also triggered the creation of other Mexican academic institutions, including the Commission Scientifique, Littéraire et Artistique du Mexique (CSLAM) by the French General François Achille Bazaine in 1864, and the Imperial Academy of Sciences and Literature, which was established by Maximilian of Habsburg in 1865.<sup>174</sup> France's interest in Mexico's ancient history, and in Americanist studies in general, continued into the twentieth century, as detailed in chapters 4 and 5.

Brasseur de Bourbourg's scholarly influence in the Americas was bolstered by his participation in the Commission Scientifique du Mexique. In Mexico his influence was

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<sup>170</sup> Rosaura Ramírez Sevilla, and Ismael Ledesma-Mateos, 'La Commission Scientifique du Mexique: una aventura colonialista trunca', *Relaciones* 134 (2013), 303–04.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>172</sup> Daniel Schávelzon, 'La arqueología del imperialismo: la invasión francesa a México (1864-1867)', *Mesoamérica* 28/15 (1994), 323–24; Ramírez Sevilla and Ledesma-Mateos, 'La Commission Scientifique du Mexique: una aventura colonialista trunca', 303–04.

<sup>173</sup> Schávelzon, 'La arqueología del imperialismo: la invasión francesa a México (1864–1867)', 330–35.

<sup>174</sup> Ramírez Sevilla and Ledesma-Mateos, 'La Commission Scientifique du Mexique: una aventura colonialista trunca', 310–13.

significant, so much so that the Mexican Emperor Maximilian of Habsburg offered him the roles of Minister of Education and Director of Museums in 1865, positions which he rejected.<sup>175</sup> Brasseur de Bourbourg's theory of trans-Pacific contact was featured in one of his best-known publications: the translation into French and publication of one of the best-known Mayan codexes: the *Popol Vuh*.<sup>176</sup> In 1861 he identified two potential points of contact in Mexico: the ports of Coatulco and Pechugui in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. In this publication he described how there had been 'a constant tradition among the American populations of the Pacific Ocean, that distant nations had previously come from an overseas region trading at the ports of Coatulco and Pechugui, part of the kingdom of 'Tehuantepec' (Mexico).<sup>177</sup> Brasseur de Bourbourg appears to have derived these speculations from two sixteenth-century Spanish chronicles: Francisco López de Gómara's *Historia General de las Indias* (General History of the Indies), and Fray Bernardino de Sahagún's *Historia General de las Cosas de la Nueva España* (referred to in English as the Florentine Codex). Although his speculations remained inconclusive and was rarely analysed in later publications, it is worth mentioning given the importance of Brasseur de Bourbourg in the development of other speculations on trans-Pacific contact. He was influential on Mormon ideas about the settlement of Polynesia, and on speculations regarding a sunken Pacific continent by other Francophone scholars, as it will be discussed below.

### **Views by Anglophone Missionaries and Religious Scholars**

In line with Martínez de Zúñiga, and to a lesser extent Molina, the Reverend William Ellis also speculated on the origins of the inhabitants of the Pacific Islands from a Pacific perspective more than an American one given his first-hand experience in a number of Pacific island groups.

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<sup>175</sup> Sten, 'Brasseur de Bourbourg y el emperador Maximiliano', 142.

<sup>176</sup> Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Popol Vuh: Le Livre Sacre et les Mythes de l'Antiquite Americaine, Avec Les Livres Heroiques et Historiques des Quiches* (Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1861), XL.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, XL.

Differently from Martínez de Zúñiga, however, Ellis's argument was predominantly anthropological and ethnographic. Ellis was a member of the London Missionary Society (LMS) which introduced Protestant Christianity to Polynesia from 1797.<sup>178</sup> His diverse career comprised 'gardener, printer, Pacific and Madagascan missionary, London Missionary Society Foreign Secretary [from 1831], author of at least eight books and numerous pamphlets, [and] Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society'.<sup>179</sup> As a Christian missionary in Polynesia in the early nineteenth century, much like Martínez de Zúñiga, Ellis can perhaps be best understood as someone 'dedicated to counteracting "delusive and sanguinary idolatries", which are responsible for moral debasement and attendant misery', more than as a social scientist in search of empirical evidence.<sup>180</sup> However his carefully-crafted narratives not only 'reassured evangelical Britons that the "good word" was being disseminated effectively', they also exemplify his interest and achievements with print and textuality.<sup>181</sup> Although his mission in the Pacific only lasted nine years (1816–25), his scholarly regard is significant, not just in nineteenth-century Britain but also in recent times.<sup>182</sup> His extensive writing on Polynesia and the Pacific, for example, has been described as comparably influential for nineteenth-century European writing to the narratives of Cook and Bougainville in the late eighteenth century.<sup>183</sup> Ellis' academic influence upon scholars such as the likes of Charles Darwin and Presbyterian minister and ethnologist John Dunmore Lang, as

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<sup>178</sup> Johnston, 'The Book Eaters: Textuality, Modernity, and the London Missionary Society', 16.

<sup>179</sup> Anna Johnston, 'The Strange Career of William Ellis', *Victorian Studies* 49/3 (2007), 491.

<sup>180</sup> Christopher Herbert, *Culture and Anomie: Ethnographic Imagination in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 168. See also Todd S. Berzon, *Classifying Christians: Ethnography, Heresiology, and the Limits of Knowledge in Late Antiquity* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016), 93.

<sup>181</sup> Johnston, 'The Strange Career of William Ellis', 491–92.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>183</sup> Rod Edmond, 'Translating Cultures: William Ellis and Missionary Writing', in *Science and Exploration in the Pacific: European Voyages to the Southern Oceans in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Margarete Lincoln (Woodbridge: Boydell in association with the National Maritime Museum, 1998), 149–50.



described below, largely resulted from (and culminated with) his careful crafting of his voluminous *Polynesian Researches*.<sup>184</sup>

In 1816, Ellis arrived in Mo'orea (Society Islands), prompting the observations which underpinned his ideas on the origins of Polynesian peoples. They were later included in a series of works describing his travels to Madagascar, the Society Islands and Hawai'i.<sup>185</sup> His theories on Polynesian origins, however, are mostly found in *Polynesian Researches*. Originally published as a two-volume set in 1829, it was subsequently expanded into a four-volume series and republished in 1831.<sup>186</sup>

Ellis' conception of Polynesia spanned the East Indies and the entire South Sea Islands, a prevalent Anglophone usage, especially amongst LMS missionaries, until the late nineteenth century.<sup>187</sup> His understanding of the Americas may have been acquired following his encounters and relationships with fellow United States missionaries in the Pacific, particularly in Hawai'i. He collaborated with American missionaries in Hawai'i on numerous occasions and was also invited to join the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) in Hawai'i, which ensured an 'alliance between American and British readers'.<sup>188</sup>

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<sup>184</sup> Johnston, 'The Strange Career of William Ellis', 492; Eve Haddow, 'Pacific Prehistory and Theories of Origins in the Work of Reverend William Ellis', *Journal of Pacific Archaeology* 8/1 (2017), 8.

<sup>185</sup> For a complete list of publications by William Ellis, see Haddow, 'Pacific Prehistory and Theories of Origins in the Work of Reverend William Ellis', 10.

<sup>186</sup> Ellis, *Polynesian Researches* (1829), 2 Vols; Ellis, *Polynesian Researches* (1831), 4 vols.

<sup>187</sup> Douglas, 'Geography, Raciology, and the Naming of Oceania', 17.

<sup>188</sup> Johnston, 'The Strange Career of William Ellis', 492–93. For further details about Ellis' encounters and relationships with American missionaries, see Andrew Porter, 'The Career of William Ellis: British Missions, the Pacific, and the American Connection', in *Pacific Empires: Essays in Honour of Glyndwr Williams*, ed. Alan Frost and Jane Samson (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1999), 193–214; and Rod Edmond, 'Translating Cultures: William Ellis and Missionary Writing', 147–61.

In both his 1829 and 1831 works, Ellis described parallels between Polynesians and the inhabitants of Mexico and certain parts of South America that covered aspects of their physical features, as well as of ‘material culture, linguistics, landscape and oral traditions’.<sup>189</sup> In his view:

Various points of resemblance might be shewn between the aborigines of America and the natives of the eastern Islands of the Pacific, in their modes of war, instruments, gymnastic games, rafts or canoes, treatment of their children, dressing their hair, feather headdresses of the chiefs, girdles, and particularly the tiputa of the latter, which, in shape and use, exactly resembles the poncho of the Peruvians, but it would lead too far at this time.<sup>190</sup>

Similarly, outlining supposed cultural parallels linking Amerindians with South Sea islanders, Ellis noted how:

The general cast of feature, and frequent shade of complexion—the practice of tatauing, which prevails among the Aleutians, and some of the tribes of America—the process of embalming the dead bodies of their chiefs, and preserving them uninterred—the game of chess among the Araucanians—the word for God being tew or tev—the exposure of their children—their games—their mode of dressing the hair, ornamenting it with Tahiti, &c.; their dress, especially the poncho, and even the legend of the origin of the Incas, bear no small resemblance to that of Tii, who was also descended from the sun.<sup>191</sup>

In speculating on the origin of South Sea Islanders, Ellis considered the possibility of Asiatic, Malayan or American points of departure. Arguing in favour of trans-Pacific contact, Ellis considered both west to east and east to west migration flows to and from the Americas and concluded that:

a variety of facts connected with the past and present circumstances of the inhabitants of these countries, authorize the conclusion, that, either part of the present inhabitants of the South Sea

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<sup>189</sup> Haddow, ‘Pacific Prehistory and Theories of Origins in the Work of Reverend William Ellis’, 4.

<sup>190</sup> Ellis, *Narrative of a Tour Through Hawaii, or Ombybee; With Observations on the Natural History of the Sandwich Islands, and Remarks on the Manners, Customs, Traditions, History, and Language of their Inhabitants* (London: H. Fisher, Son, and P. Jackson, 1827), 441.

<sup>191</sup> Ellis, *Polynesian Researches* (1829), Vol. 2, 46.

Islands came originally from America, or that tribes of the Polynesians have, at some remote period, found their way to the continent.<sup>192</sup>

In short, Ellis presented certain evidence for possible trans-Pacific contact, allowing that such contact could have occurred in either direction, without taking a position on which direction was more probable than the other.

John Williams, an English member of the London Missionary Society like Ellis, also speculated briefly on the origins of Amerindians and Pacific Islanders. Like Ellis, Williams also authored ‘an autobiographical account of ... [his] experience abroad, but also a (supposedly) objective and comprehensive ethnographic overview of the history of the islands and its people’.<sup>193</sup> Williams, however, differed from Ellis (and Martínez de Zúñiga) in that he conjectured that the Americas might have been settled via the islands of the Pacific, which would have been used as stepping stones en route. In Williams’ 1837 publication *Narrative of Missionary Enterprises*, he expressed his dissatisfaction with the theory that the inhabitants of the Pacific Islands had their origins in the Americas:

Thus, I think every difficulty is removed, and that we need not have recourse to the theory advocated by some writers, and countenanced, to a certain extent, by Mr. Ellis, that the Polynesian islanders came from South America. I would far rather say, provided their physical conformation, the structure of their language, and other circumstances established the identity of the Polynesians, and the aborigines of America, that the latter reached that continent through the isles of the Pacific. This, however, is a topic upon which, although interesting, I cannot enter; but so convinced am I of the practicability of performing a voyage from Sumatra to Tahiti in one of

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<sup>192</sup> Ibid., 49.

<sup>193</sup> Winter Jade Werner, ‘William Ellis, John Williams, and the Role of History in Missionary Nation-Making’, *The Journal of the Midwest Modern Language Association* 46/1 (2013), 74.

the large native canoes, that, if an object of sufficient magnitude could be accomplished by it, I should feel no hesitation in undertaking the task.<sup>194</sup>

A fourth Anglophone religious scholar, John Dunmore Lang, also speculated on Amerindian origins, resulting in a trans-Pacific contact theory involving Polynesia. In contrast to Ellis, Williams and Martínez de Zúñiga, Lang was no missionary, however he was influenced by Ellis's scholarship, and his own religious views most probably also shaped his scholarly writings.<sup>195</sup> Born in Greenock, Scotland, he emigrated to Australia in 1822 and arrived in Sydney in 1823, where he commenced a distinguished career in education, politics and theology.<sup>196</sup>

Lang pondered over Amerindian and Polynesian origins due to personal interest, but also because of the growing importance of the Pacific islands for missions and trade during this time, as well as the growing connection between these islands and the British colonies of New South Wales and New Zealand.<sup>197</sup> This denotes a sense of colonialism implicit in his theory, in addition to the need to proselytise these peoples, which would require the study and understanding of their nature and culture. Lang believed that Amerindians originated in Polynesia, arguing strongly in favour of the theory that the Americas were settled from the west that was casually suggested by Williams – indeed, Lang accused Williams, or rather Ellis whom he believed had really written or edited Williams' 1837 book, of seriously plagiarising his work on the subject.<sup>198</sup> In contrast to Ellis and Martínez de Zúñiga, Lang speculated on Polynesian origins in the Philippines, as well as American origins in Polynesia. Lang's major publication on the settlement of the Americas from the west, by Polynesians voyaging across the Pacific Islands, was first published in 1834 and was

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<sup>194</sup> John Williams, *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands*, 512.

<sup>195</sup> Haddow, 'Pacific Prehistory and Theories of Origins in the Work of Reverend William Ellis', 1.

<sup>196</sup> D.W.A. Baker, 'Lang, John Dunmore (1799–1878)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/lang-john-dunmore-2326/text2953>, published first in hardcopy 1967, accessed online 7 February 2020.

<sup>197</sup> Lang, *View of the Origin and Migrations of the Polynesian Nation* (1834), iii–iv.

<sup>198</sup> Lang, *Origin and Migrations of the Polynesian Nation* (1877), x–xi, 307–26.

reissued in a revised edition in 1877, perhaps illustrating its serious consideration among scholars.<sup>199</sup>

Lang, therefore, addressed in great detail the potentiality of voyages across the Pacific, naturally facilitated or complicated by sea currents and winds. Based on the adept maritime techniques of the Polynesians, he theorised that the Americas would have been settled from Rapa Nui (Easter Island) in a west to east route. Lang argued that:

the American continent was first reached on its west coast, somewhere about the latitude of Copiapo, in the States of Chili, by a few natives of Easter Island, in the Southern Pacific, who had been accidentally blown off from the land by one of those strong westerly gales that are so prevalent in that ocean, and were thereby driven across to America. It is possible, indeed, that a canoe in such circumstances, coming at length within the influence of the southerly wind that prevails for a great part of the year along the west coast of South America, would be carried northward to the coast of Peru, which is separated from that of Chili by the desert of Atacama.<sup>200</sup>

Lang reversed the arguments of Ellis and Martínez de Zúñiga. For instance, Lang agreed with Ellis's belief that Polynesians had Malayan and Asiatic origins but disagreed with his insistence on a sole east-west sailing route from the Americas to the Pacific.<sup>201</sup> In a lecture presented at the Royal Society of New South Wales in 1869, he also criticised Martínez de Zúñiga's theory on the settlement of the South Sea Islands from the Americas.<sup>202</sup> Lang's argument was predominantly based on observations he had made during voyages in the Pacific, particularly one conducted in 1833 to Cape Horn.<sup>203</sup> Its further development may have been

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<sup>199</sup> Lang, *View of the Origin and Migrations of the Polynesian Nation* (1834); John Dunmore Lang, *Origin and Migrations of the Polynesian Nation*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. (Sydney: G. Robertson, 1877).

<sup>200</sup> Lang, 'The Royal Society'.

<sup>201</sup> Lang, *Origin and Migrations of the Polynesian Nation*, viii-xi; Ellis, *Polynesian Researches* (1829), vol. 2, 48–52.

<sup>202</sup> Lang, 'The Royal Society'.

<sup>203</sup> Lang, *Origin and Migrations of the Polynesian Nation*, xi–xii.

influenced by first-hand experiences of the Americas, and probably by interactions with US scholars during his visit there in 1840, where he delivered a series of lectures on the settlement of the Americas from the Pacific.<sup>204</sup>

An additional publication drawing on observations comparable to Lang's was Robert Fitzroy's narrative of his circumnavigation on HMS *Beagle* in 1831–6, published in 1839. An expert seaman and navigator, Fitzroy (1805–1865) was also an Evangelical Christian seeking to explain the settlement of the globe in Biblical terms, via the migrations of the descendants of Noah. Given his religious background and ideology, his theory was shaped by Christian principles. In his view, 'favouring circumstances of wind and weather' might have enabled 'a line of population' to cross the 'comparatively short distance between Easter Island and South America'; furthermore, it was 'not impossible that vessels should have crossed from New Zealand to South America, running always before the fresh westerly winds so prevalent southward of 38°'; while it was 'highly probable, that Chinese or Japanese Junks were driven to the Sandwich Islands (Hawaiian Islands); perhaps across to the North American coast'.<sup>205</sup> Fitzroy also observed that the 'Chilians' must have had their origins 'much farther west' of the South American Pacific coast than Mocha Island (situated approximately 35 km off the coast of Chile), though he also allowed the possibility of westerly settlement of the Americas from Spain or the west coast of Africa.<sup>206</sup> In sum, both Fitzroy and Lang believed in the settlement of the Americas from the west, from the Pacific.

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<sup>204</sup> Ibid., xiv.

<sup>205</sup> Robert Fitzroy, *Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of His Majesty's Ships Adventure and Beagle between the Years 1826 and 1836*, Vol. 2 (London: Henry Colburn, 1839), 651–2.

<sup>206</sup> Ibid., 400, 651–4.

## The New York School and the Mormon Theory of Pacific Settlement

Between 1815 and 1817, the US senator and scholar Samuel L. Mitchill (1764–1831) authored a series of public letters expressing his views concerning the Australasian and Malayan origins of Amerindians.<sup>207</sup> Mitchill was part of a New York-based school of thought, which was responsible for the examination and advancement of theories suggestive of Asiatic and Australasian origins for Amerindians.<sup>208</sup> Amongst Mitchill's communications arguing his ideas about trans-Pacific contacts or origins was a letter addressed to the New York senator De Witt Clinton.<sup>209</sup> Mitchill proposed that North America had once been populated by a 'race' of Malay origins that had been exterminated by the later Asian colonists, citing as evidence the mummies inside 'the caverns of saltpetre and copperas within the states of Kentucky and Tennessee'.<sup>210</sup> This extinct 'nation', Mitchill argued, covered areas between lakes Ontario and Erie in the north, and the Gulf of Mexico in the south.<sup>211</sup> Mitchill also believed in the existence of cultural parallels between the inhabitants of that region and the Pacific Islands and Australasia, including: clothing texture and wrapping similarities, as well as twisted feathers comparable to those observed in mummies; analogous feet coverings made from bark; twisted nets; similar sculptures, particularly ones shaped like human heads; fortifications or mounds; and comparable skull shapes.<sup>212</sup>

Similar ideas were also explored by US scholars contemporary to Mitchill, including Benjamin Hornor (B.H.) Coates (1797–1881), Marcius Willson (1813–1905), and Edward

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<sup>207</sup> For example Samuel L. Mitchill, 'Letter of Samuel L. Mitchill of New York to Samuel M. Burnside, Esquire, Correspondence Secretary of the American Archaeological Society, 13 June 1817', *Archaeologia Americana: Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society* (Worcester: William Manning, 1820), 314.

<sup>208</sup> Bennett, "'A Nation Now Extinct'", *American Indian Origin Theories as of 1820: Samuel L. Mitchill, Martin Harris, and the New York Theory*, 31.

<sup>209</sup> 'The Original Inhabitants of America shown to be of the same family and lineage with those of Asia by a process of reasoning not hitherto advanced', Samuel L. Mitchill to De Witt Clinton. March 31, 1816, *Archaeologia Americana*, Vol. 1 (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society), 329.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*, 328–330.

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid.*, 329.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*, 328–330.

Manning (E.M.) Rutenber (1825–1907).<sup>213</sup> In an annual discourse delivered before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 1834, for instance, Coates, who was also one of the co-founders of the Society, argued that the Malay or Oceanic ‘race’ had ‘probably furnished the largest share to the population of the two Americas’.<sup>214</sup> In Coates’s view, this was evidenced by the comparable physical appearance of Malays and Americans, their mutual openness to war, as well as the fact that the majority of the population in the Americas had settled in the west of the continent. However, Coates also reflected on the basis of his limited knowledge of American languages that they appeared to have little resemblance to Malay languages, and suggested that more research was required in order to uncover possible linguistic similarities.<sup>215</sup> Similarly, Willson argued that ‘the early Asiatics reached the western shores of America through the islands of the Pacific’.<sup>216</sup> Although the works of Coates and Willson appear to demonstrate Mitchill’s influence amongst New York scholars during this period, neither does so as openly as Rutenber, whose 1872 *History of the Indian Tribes of Hudson’s River* cites Mitchill’s correspondence in detail.<sup>217</sup>

Ideas about trans-Pacific contact published by these scholars appear to have influenced Mormon scholarship on the subject, which, however, largely maintained that Polynesia was settled from the Americas, thus reversing the direction of settlement proposed by the New York-based scholars. The Mormon historian Richard E. Bennett nonetheless argued for the importance of Mormons’ exposure to:

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<sup>213</sup> Benjamin Hornor Coates, *Annual Discourse delivered before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, on the 28th day of April, 1834, on the Origin of the Indian Population of America* (Philadelphia: McCarty & Davis, 1834); Marcius Willson, *American History: Comprising Historical Sketches of the Indian Tribes; A Description of American Antiquities with an Inquiry into their Origin and the Origin of the Indian Tribes* (New York/Chicago: Ivison Blakeman, Taylor & Co. 1847); E.M. Rutenber, *History of the Indian Tribes of Hudson’s River; Their Origin, Manners and Customs; Tribal and Sub-Tribal Organisations; Wars, Treaties, Etc., Etc.* (Albany: J. Munsell, 1872).

<sup>214</sup> Coates, *Annual Discourse delivered before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, 50.

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid.*, 45–48.

<sup>216</sup> Willson, *American History*, 92.

<sup>217</sup> Rutenber, *History of the Indian Tribes of Hudson’s River*, 16–17.



a scientific belief in warring ancient American peoples, some from the north, others from the Polynesian islands, wherein the former exterminated the latter in a series of great battles in upstate New York, [which] was very much in vogue among many respected observers at the time of the publication of the Book of Mormon.<sup>218</sup>

The sharing of these ideas may have culminated in a meeting between Mitchill and the Mormon Martin Harris (1783–1875), believed to have taken place in New York in February 1828. Since Harris is believed to have underwritten the initial edition of *The Book of Mormon* in 1830, it is likely that the work of the New York scholars had some impact on Mormon views concerning trans-Pacific origins and contacts.<sup>219</sup>

Mormon theory on the matter mainly proposes the settlement of Polynesia from the Americas. Although Joseph Smith, the founder of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS), appears not to have spoken on the question himself, later interpretations of *The Book of Mormon*, as well as teachings by other Mormon leaders, evidently favoured the thesis that Polynesians were descendants of one of the Lost Tribes of Israel that had wandered off to the Americas. This notion seems to have come to the fore with the establishment of the Church in the South Pacific in 1843.<sup>220</sup> As acknowledged by Mormon historians, Mormon missionary work in the Pacific – which was limited to Polynesia until much later – was conducted under relatively favourable conditions because the London Missionary Society (LMS) had long been established there. In French Polynesia, for instance, where Mormon missionary activities in the Pacific began in the 1840s, the LMS had already ‘exerted considerable political influence on the local

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<sup>218</sup> Bennett, “‘A Nation Now Extinct’”, *American Indian Origin Theories as of 1820: Samuel L. Mitchill, Martin Harris, and the New York Theory*, 47. See also Dale Morgan, *Dale Morgan on the Mormons: Collected Works*, Part 2, 1949–1970 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013), 142.

<sup>219</sup> Bennett, “‘A Nation Now Extinct’”, *American Indian Origin Theories as of 1820: Samuel L. Mitchill, Martin Harris, and the New York Theory*, 46–47. See also Joseph Smith, *The Book of Mormon*, 1st ed. (Palmyra: E.B. Grandin, 1830), 589.

<sup>220</sup> Robert E. Parsons, ‘Hagoth and the Polynesians’, in Monte S. Nyman and Charles D. Tate, Jr. (eds.), *The Book of Mormon: Alma, the Testimony of the Word* (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, 1992), 249.

government and had introduced English political and legal institutions whenever possible'.<sup>221</sup> Joseph Smith's precept regarding missionary interests to not 'let a single corner of the earth go without a mission' would thus have been achieved with relative ease in Polynesia.<sup>222</sup> In contrast, at that time Mormons did not proselytise among Melanesians or African Americans as they were not considered to be among the chosen people.

As there is difficulty in finding early Mormon textual sources specifying trans-Pacific links between Amerindians and Polynesians, an analysis of alternative sources, including interpretations of *The Book of Mormon* and teachings by Mormon elders, is included in this section. A thorough understanding of the development, and intricacies of Mormon concepts about trans-Pacific contacts and theories concerning Polynesian origins requires a consideration of the following:

- a. The Mormon attempt to include Polynesians in their scripture
- b. The lack of a direct mention of Polynesia in *The Book of Mormon*
- c. The integration of the figures of Hagoth and Lehi from *The Book of Mormon* into ideas of Polynesian origins
- d. The construction of Mormon conceptions of race and lineage

The Mormon attempt to include Polynesians in their scripture was a result of the establishment of Mormon Pacific missions from 1843 onwards. This tied with Mormon ideas about origins and migrations and placed the origins of Polynesians in the Americas, indirectly assigning them a perceived superiority and difference over Melanesians. This is further evidenced by the lack of a direct mention of Polynesia or Polynesians in *The Book of Mormon*. According to teachings and interpretations of *The Book of Mormon*, the Americas were settled by one of the lost

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<sup>221</sup> Kathleen C. Perrin, 'Seasons of Faith: An Overview of the History of the Church in French Polynesia', in *Pioneers in the Pacific*, ed. Grant Underwood (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2005), 201–202.

<sup>222</sup> Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. Period I. History of Joseph Smith, the Prophet*, Vol. 5 (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News, 1909), 368.

tribes of Israel. However, the exact origin of Polynesians is not specified in this scripture. The figures of Hagoth and Lehi from *The Book of Mormon* have also been woven into ideas regarding the origins of Polynesians. As cited in this scripture, Hagoth commissioned the construction of a large ship in order to sail west, presumably from the Americas. Following this voyage, he returned, then sailed to the north again and was never heard of after that.<sup>223</sup> Polynesians are sometimes said to be descendants of the *Book of Mormon* prophet Lehi following the establishment of his colony in the Americas.<sup>224</sup> An analysis of this text from the *Book of Mormon*, however, does not suggest a clear connection between Hagoth and Lehi and the Polynesians, nor of Polynesian origins in the Americas. The explicit elucidation of the role of Polynesians in the Mormon story came much later, in the 1960s, as will be described in Chapter 9. Lastly, Mormon conceptions of race and lineage also shaped their ideas about Polynesian origins. These conceptions stemmed from nineteenth-century European and North American intellectual and social contexts. During this period, Mormons and Protestants had a common interest: to identify and locate the progeny of the diverse Israelite tribes.<sup>225</sup> As a consequence, the establishment of Mormon missions in the eastern Pacific saw Polynesians included in these conceptions. The teachings by the Mormon elder George Q. Cannon (1827–1901) and his colleagues, as well as those by the early convert and missionary Addison Pratt (1802–1872), exemplify this. Britsch suggests that Cannon and his companions first established connections between Polynesia and Israel in Hawaii in 1851. Subsequent Mormon teachings posited links between Polynesia and Israel via the Americas stemming from the progeny of Lehi and Abraham.<sup>226</sup> Furthermore, the teachings of Pratt, the first Mormon missionary to serve in the Pacific and the first to preach in a language other than English, are also believed to have contributed to theories of Amerindian-

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<sup>223</sup> Joseph Smith, *The Book of Mormon*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (New York: Jas. O. Wright & Company, 1858 [1830]), 263.

<sup>224</sup> Ibid., 251. For a description of the founding of Lehi's colony, see Smith, *The Book of Mormon*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed, 39.

<sup>225</sup> Mauss, 'Mormonism's Worldwide Aspirations and Its Changing Conceptions of Race and Lineage', 105.

<sup>226</sup> R. Lanier Britsch, *Unto the Islands of the Sea: A History of the Latter-day Saints in the Pacific* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1986), 8–9, 83.

Polynesian links. Reportedly, ‘in five or six months “Paraita”, Pratt, was preaching public sermons in Tahitian with “some proficiency”’.<sup>227</sup> Although it is unclear who first suggested that the Lamanites or Israelites from *The Book of Mormon* also populated Polynesia, Pratt is credited ‘with being the initiator among them [Mormons] of the belief that an ethnic connection existed between the Polynesian and the American Indian’.<sup>228</sup> Leaving this uncertainty aside, an assertion of the Israelite origins of Polynesians via the Americas is evident in 1868 in the Mormon periodical *Juvenile Instructor*, an LDS monthly publication directed to youth.<sup>229</sup>

Based on the above, it is evident that Mormon attributions of Polynesian origins to the Americas were formulated long after Joseph Smith, influenced by the earlier ideas of New York-based scholars. Mormon ideas about trans-Pacific contacts were also influenced by the writings of the Anglo-American photographer and amateur archaeologist Augustus Le Plongeon (1826–1908), and Brasseur de Bourbourg, as mentioned above, as well as by Le Plongeon’s and Charnay’s photographs of the Maya.<sup>230</sup> During the late nineteenth century, Mormons drew on these scholars’ understandings of the Mayan world, as they speculated on Hebrew connections with the Americas following the dictates of *The Book of Mormon*. For instance, in 1888 George Reynolds (1842–1909), a senior member of the LDS Church, thought he saw linguistic similarities between ancient Mexicans and Central Americans and Egyptian Hebrews.<sup>231</sup> These

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<sup>227</sup> S. George Ellsworth, *Zion in Paradise*, USU Faculty Honor Lectures. Paper 24 (1959), 11.

<sup>228</sup> Norman Douglas, ‘The sons of Lehi and the Seed of Cain: Racial myths in Mormon scripture and their relevance to the Pacific islands’, *Journal of Religious History* 8/1 (1974), 94; Norman Douglas, *Latter-Day Saints Missions and Missionaries in Polynesia, 1844–1960*, PhD Thesis (Canberra: Australian National University, 1974), 60. See also Doyle L. Green, ‘Mission to Polynesia: The Story of Addison Pratt and the Society Islands Mission’, *Improvement Era* (July 1949), 435; Grant Underwood, ‘Mormonism, the Maori and Cultural Authenticity’, *The Journal of Pacific History* 35/2 (2000), 133–46.

<sup>229</sup> George Reynolds, ‘Man and His Varieties (Continued)’, *Juvenile Instructor* 3/19 (1868), 145–46. See also Douglas, *Latter-Day Saints: Missions and Missionaries in Polynesia*, 145–46.

<sup>230</sup> Noel A. Carmack, “‘A Picturesque and Dramatic History’: George Reynolds’s Story of the Book of Mormon”, *BYU Studies Quarterly* 47/2 (2008), 124.

<sup>231</sup> George Reynolds, ‘Language of the Nephites’, *Juvenile Instructor* 15/16 (1888), 191–92.

comparisons presumably derived from the works of Le Plongeon and Brasseur de Bourbourg.<sup>232</sup> Mormon conjectures about trans-Pacific contact further demonstrate the influence of religion in the formulation of contact and origin theories that form an important part of this debate. They illustrate a form of confirmation bias whereby it was necessary to assign a particularly American, and Hebrew, origin to the people in the Pacific they were looking to convert. This demonstrates an underlying racism since they prefer to associate Polynesians with Hebrews and Amerindians rather than Melanesians. If Polynesians came from the Americas, they would have avoided contact with the dark-skinned Melanesians.<sup>233</sup> While the Mormon perspective is perhaps academically marginal, it is important within the trans-Pacific contact debate given the number of Mormon adherents among Pacific Islanders today. As Pacific Islanders engage with their history in an academic context one can expect the influence of Mormon ideas of trans-Pacific contact to inform future debate.

### **The Case of the Sunken Pacific Continent**

During the nineteenth century, ideas about a sunken Pacific continent as an explanation for cultural similarities between the inhabitants of Pacific Islands and the Americas developed into ideas of trans-Pacific contacts and origins. They were considered as plausible geological hypotheses and were acceptable explanations of comparable flora and fauna in different (and distant) geographical areas. The theories of a lost continent in the Pacific may also have evolved from the *Terra Australis* conception of the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries.

Jacques-Antoine Moerenhout (1797–1879) was amongst the first to put forth ideas about a sunken Pacific continent. Born near Antwerp, Belgium in 1796 when this region was annexed to France, he moved to Chile to execute his role of Dutch consul around 1826. He travelled to

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<sup>232</sup> Wimbush, *Scripturalizing the Human: The Written as the Political*, 81–85.

<sup>233</sup> W. Paul Reeve, *Religion of a Different Color: Race and the Mormon Struggle for Whiteness* (New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

Pitcairn and Tahiti in 1828–29, where he returned in 1836 as United States consul. While there he assisted French missionaries with their disputes. His influence in the region culminated with his appointment as French consul of Tahiti, where he continued to support French missionaries in the face of growing English hostility. This was interrupted by his subsequent transfer to the US, where he died in Los Angeles in 1879.<sup>234</sup> Moerenhout's experience in the Americas and the Pacific may have fostered his interests in the origins of the peoples that inhabited these areas. In 1837, Moerenhout theorised that the various islands in the Pacific would eventually form a vast continent from the remnants of an even vaster earlier continent. He firmly believed that:

although the progress of this work is slow, that these different islands and groups [in Oceania] would eventually, in time, unite and form a vast continent on top of the debris of a larger one which perhaps existed prior, according to the traditions of their inhabitants, and which was destroyed by deluges or volcanic commotions.<sup>235</sup>

According to Moerenhout, the existence of this former Pacific continent would have facilitated the dispersal of cultural elements and helped explain certain cultural parallels between Oceania and the Americas, even if they could not be regarded as a positive demonstration of a shared origin.<sup>236</sup> Moerenhout was evidently not only one of the earliest proponents of trans-Pacific cultural parallels, but also one of the first writers to invoke the concept of a sunken Pacific continent.

Jules Garnier (1839–1904) was also among the first to entertain ideas about a sunken Pacific continent. Garnier was a French mining engineer, explorer and writer whose work and personal interests took him to places like Australia, New Zealand, and New Caledonia, where he

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<sup>234</sup> John Dunmore, "[M].", in *Who's Who in Pacific Navigation* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1991), 181.

<sup>235</sup> Moerenhout, *Voyages aux îles du Grand océan*, Vol. 1, 374.

<sup>236</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, 396; Vol. 2, 226–63.

discovered nickel deposits.<sup>237</sup> In ‘Les migrations polynésiennes...’ (1870), his only known publication on the topic, he contended that Polynesia had first been settled from South America by a single fortuitous migration wave of Amerindians.<sup>238</sup> Garnier also believed that the rest of the Pacific islands were also later settled by the same people from the Americas from east to west.<sup>239</sup> Their encounters of remnants of a primitive ‘black’ population suggested that an ‘old submerged continent’ had once existed in these islands, and that it spread all the way to Asia.<sup>240</sup>

Later ideas about a sunken Pacific continent by French scholars also became intertwined with Mayan concepts. Such was the case with the idea about a sunken continent in the Pacific called ‘Mu’, which derived from *Manuscrit Troano*, an 1869 two-volume and eight hundred-page publication on a Mayan manuscript by Brasseur de Bourbourg, funded by the Commission Scientifique du Mexique.<sup>241</sup> This work inspired the French photographer and amateur archaeologist Augustus Le Plongeon, mentioned above, to ‘invent the lost continent of Mu (Moo)’.<sup>242</sup> Le Plongeon’s principal argument was that all cultures derived from the Maya. Making reference to the Troano Manuscript, Le Plongeon conjectured how several pages of this manuscript must be describing ‘the awful phenomena that took place during the cataclysm that caused the submersion of ten countries, among which [was] the “Land of Mu,” that large island probably called “Atlantis” by Plato’.<sup>243</sup> Brasseur de Bourbourg, a critic of Le Plongeon, had

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<sup>237</sup> Michael T. Skully, *Financial Institutions and the Markets in the South Pacific. A Study of New Caledonia, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Vanuatu and Western Samoa* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1987), 2.

<sup>238</sup> Jules Garnier, ‘Les migrations polynésiennes, leur origine, leur itinéraire, leur étendue, leur influence sur les Australasiens de la Nouvelle-Calédonie’, *Bulletin de la Société de géographie* 5/19 (1870), 432–34, 463, 467–68.

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid.*, 457.

<sup>240</sup> *Ibid.*, 431–32, 456–59.

<sup>241</sup> Charles Étienne Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Manuscrit Troano: Études sur le Système graphique et la langue des Mayas*, Vol. 1 (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1869); Schávelzon, ‘La arqueología del imperialismo: la invasión francesa a México (1864-1867)’, 332.

<sup>242</sup> Vincent L. Wimbush, *Scripturalizing the Human: The Written as the Political* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 81.

<sup>243</sup> Augustus Le Plongeon, *Queen Moo and the Egyptian Sphinx*, 2nd ed. (New York: The Author, 1900 [1896]), xli.

described the Mayan glyph of Mu as a mother goddess covered by water, but also in charge of spewing water.<sup>244</sup> In Le Plongeon's view, however, Queen Moo from Chichén Itzá was responsible for this 'discovery' of a lost continent. Intending to find the last remnants of Atlantis without success, Queen Moo continued her journey and ultimately arrived in Egypt.<sup>245</sup> Essentially, then, at a time when Atlantis was in vogue, Le Plongeon weaved this idea about a sunken Pacific continent with his suggestion that ancient Egyptians had Mayan origins, and that ultimately all cultures had their origins in Mesoamerica.

In Anglophone academia, similar ideas were also entertained and endorsed. Daniel Wilson in 1862 proposed that a subsidence process in the Pacific may have led to the sinking of archipelagoes 'which once formed the natural resting-places, by means of which the fleets of Polynesia piloted their way to islands now separated by seemingly impassable ocean barriers, and even found their way to Southern America'.<sup>246</sup> And the British naturalist Alfred Russel Wallace (1823–1913) believed that a west Pacific continent had once existed. In an 1867 book review of Quatrefages' *Les Polynésiens et Leurs Migrations*, Wallace stated that the multiple atolls and coral reefs, and the distribution of animals, were evidence of a former Pacific continent.<sup>247</sup> His argument was replicated in his well-known 1869 book *The Malay Archipelago*.<sup>248</sup> As it will be discussed in Chapter 5, ideas about a lost Pacific continent carried on in the twentieth century and were addressed in the works by Churchward and Wragge.

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<sup>244</sup> Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Manuscrit Troano*, 198, 230.

<sup>245</sup> Lawrence Gustave Desmond, *Augustus Le Plongeon: Early Maya Archaeologist*. PhD Thesis (Denver: University of Colorado, 1983), 166–173.

<sup>246</sup> Wilson, *Prehistoric Man. Researches into the Origin of Civilisation in the Old and the New World*, Vol. 1, 167.

<sup>247</sup> Alfred Russel Wallace, 'The Polynesians and their Migrations', *Quarterly Journal of Science* 4 (1867), 164.

<sup>248</sup> Wallace, *The Malay Archipelago: The Land of the Orang-utan, and the Bird of Paradise. A Narrative of Travel with Studies of Man and Nature*, Vol. 1 (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1869), 21–26.



## The International Congress of Americanists (ICA)

The involvement of French scholars in the advancement of theories of contact between Oceania and the Americas stemmed from the European interest in science during the Age of Enlightenment (1685–1815), as was discussed at the beginning of this chapter. In the particular case of France, this interest inspired the establishment of the Museum d'Histoire Naturelle de Paris in 1793. It also facilitated French scientific expeditions to the Americas and the Pacific between 1715 and 1804, in addition to the Comision Scientifique du Mexique of 1863, in which Brasseur de Bourbourg participated.<sup>249</sup> The establishment in 1857 of the Société d'Ethnographie Americaine et Orientale and its integration of the short-lived Société Américaine de France, later developed into the Société des Américanistes de Paris created in 1895, and the establishment of the International Congress of Americanists from 1875. These organisations facilitated the development of contact theories in France. The principal interests of these institutions and Americanist studies featured the 'extinct races' of the mound-builders, as well as the 'high civilisations' of Peru and Mexico.<sup>250</sup>

The International Congress of Americanists (ICA), founded by the Société Américaine de France, held its first meeting in Nancy, France, in July 1875. The Société was intended to promote the study of the Americas. Similarly, the ICA sought to attract academics interested in the study of American cultures, the interpretation of their archaeological monuments and material culture, and in the cultural texts about their 'races'.

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<sup>249</sup> Marte Melguen, 'French voyages of exploration and science in the Age of Enlightenment: an ocean of discovery throughout the Pacific Ocean', in J.W. Markham & A.L. Duda (eds.), *Voyages of Discovery: Parting the Seas of Information Technology: Proceedings of the 30th Annual Conference of the International Association of Aquatic and Marine Science Libraries and Information Centers (IAMSLIC)* (Fort Pierce, FL: IAMSLIC, 2005), 31–59; Sten, 'Brasseur de Bourbourg y el emperador Maximiliano', 142.

<sup>250</sup> David L. Browman, 'Origin of the Societe des Americanistes, Paris', *Bulletin of the History of Archaeology* 8/2 (1998), 18–19.

The first of sixteen articles of the ICA constitution described its principal objective as to contribute to the ‘progress of the study of the ethnography, linguistics, and historic relations of the two Americas, especially during the pre-Columbian period’.<sup>251</sup>

French, British, US and Mexican scholars speculating on trans-Pacific contacts presented their views in eight papers across all but one of the sessions of the ICA held between 1875 and 1895. These discussions supported ideas about trans-Pacific connections between Oceania and the Americas. Key details about these presentations are specified in Table 4.

**Table 4.** ICA presentations discussing elements or viability of trans-Pacific contact between Oceania and the Americas.

Session	Year	Location	Author	Title
1	1875	Nancy	F.A. Allen	‘La très-ancienne Amérique, ou origine de la civilisation primitive du Nouveau Monde’ (Ancient America, or origin of the primitive civilisation of the New World)
2	1877	Luxembourg	F.A. Allen	‘La très-ancienne Amérique, ou origine de la civilisation primitive du Nouveau Monde — Seconde partie— De la parenté des races civilisées de l’Amérique avec celles du sud-est de l’Asie’ (Ancient America, or origin of the primitive civilisation of the New World — Part Two— On the relationship between the civilised races of the Americas with those of Southeast Asia)
3	1879	Brussels	H. Clarke	‘Les origines des langues, de la mythologie et de la civilisation de l’Amérique, dans l’ancien monde’ (The Origins of the languages, mythology and civilisation of the Americas in the Old World)
5	1883	Copenhagen	F.A. Allen	‘Polynesian Antiquities; A Link between the Ancient Civilization of Asia and America’
7	1888	Berlin	H.E. Hale	‘Was America Peopled from Polynesia? A Study in Comparative Philology’
8	1890	Paris	D. Charnay	‘Memoire sur les analogies qu’on peut signaler entre les civilisations de l’Amérique du Nord, de l’Amérique Centrale et les civilisations de l’Asie’ (Memoir on analogies that can be pointed out between the civilisations of North America, Central America and the civilisations of Asia)
11	1895	Mexico City	C. Pérez Aranda	‘Inmigraciones a la América en general y cuales hayan llegado al actual territorio mexicano’ (‘Migrations to the Americas in general and which have reached the current Mexican territory’)

<sup>251</sup> Alice C. Fletcher, *Brief History of the International Congress of the Americanists* (Lancaster, PA.: New Era Print Co., 1913), 1–2.

A series of linguistic studies drawing comparisons between Polynesian and Amerindian languages were published in the ICA proceedings. One such study was conducted by the scholar Francis A. Allen. No biographical details on Allen have been found, and it is not known whether he published other works on trans-Pacific contact beyond his three ICA papers. In the conference proceedings of the first congress in Nancy, Allen noted that:

It seems probable today, according to the results of recent linguistic researches, that the mystery of the hieroglyphs can be solved, and that we are already able to trace, through the archipelagos of Malaysia and Polynesia, the road that the monuments' builders followed to get from Asia to the Americas.<sup>252</sup>

He also believed that certain cultures of the Americas, like the Toltecs of Mexico and the Aymara of South America, were forced to migrate or faced destruction due to 'pressure exerted in the southern region by the arrival of new migrants via the Bering Strait or via the Polynesian archipelagos'.<sup>253</sup> Another paper on Oceanic-American connections presented by Allen to the second congress, held in Luxembourg in 1877, argued for migration flows to the Americas from Southeast Asia via the Pacific Islands.<sup>254</sup>

In another article from 1879, Allen discussed his and other contemporary speculations that the Americas may have been influenced from Polynesia, as 'the customs of the Polynesians are almost all of them found to exist also amongst the American races'.<sup>255</sup> Allen's conjecture featured material culture objects as evidence. He believed that these influences from Polynesia were particularly evidenced by the 'pyramidal structures' and 'terraced buildings' that were

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<sup>252</sup> Francis A. Allen, 'La très-ancienne Amérique ou origine de la civilisation primitive du Nouveau Monde', *Congrès International des Américanistes: Compte-Rendu de la Première Session Nancy 1875*, Vol. 2 (Nancy: G. Crépin-Leblond, 1875), 202.

<sup>253</sup> *Ibid.*, 221.

<sup>254</sup> Allen, 'La tres-ancienne Amérique, ou origine de la civilisation primitive du Nouveau Monde — Seconde partie— De la parenté des races civilisées de l'Amérique avec celles du sud-est de l'Asie', in *Congrès International des Américanistes. Compte-Rendu de la Seconde Session. Luxembourg — 1877* (Nendeln and Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1968 [1877]), 70–102.

<sup>255</sup> Allen, 'The Original Range of the Papuan and Negritto Races', *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 8 (1879), 38–50.

‘closely analogous’ in parts of the Americas and the Pacific including Central America, Mexico, Peru, and in ‘many islands of Polynesia, such as the Ladrone Islands [Marianas], Tahiti, Fiji, Easter Island [Rapa Nui], and the Sandwich Islands [Hawai’i]’.<sup>256</sup> This publication by Allen also drew attention to the multiple discussions taking place in the late nineteenth century surrounding the settlement of the Americas and the Pacific, including the idea of a ‘former Polynesian continent’.<sup>257</sup> In Allen’s view, this explanation provided the ‘missing link’ or solution for understanding how Old World civilisations reached the Americas, for the ‘black races’ of Asia, Polynesia and the Americas constituted the same race. He believed that further studies would reveal more links between them and provide an understanding of the origin of ‘primitive American culture’.<sup>258</sup>

In the fifth congress, held in Copenhagen in 1883, Allen presented a third paper expounding a more developed thesis. He maintained that the similarities in manners and customs between Amerindians, Polynesians, and the inhabitants of Southeast Asia were the result of a migration flow from Asia via Polynesia. This explained that ‘the centres of early American culture were all situated upon or closely adjoining to the Pacific Coast and not upon the Eastern side of the American continent, i.e. in Mexico, Central America, Quito, and Peru’.<sup>259</sup> In this paper, Allen included a discussion on Rapa Nui, which ‘owes its fame to some mysterious relics of a forgotten race’, including statues, huts and inscriptions made of stone. He considered that the monument-builders had migrated from Asia to the Americas and had ‘taken this island [of Rapa Nui] as a stage in its migration’. He regarded Polynesians as neither sufficiently skilled nor possessing a population large enough to construct the statues, since the inhabitants of Rapa Nui,

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<sup>256</sup> Ibid., 48.

<sup>257</sup> Ibid., 39.

<sup>258</sup> Ibid., 48.

<sup>259</sup> Allen, ‘Polynesian Antiquities; A Link between the Ancient Civilisations of Asia and America’ in *Congrès International des Americanistes. Compte-Rendu de la Cinquième Session*. Copenhagen, 1883 (Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1968 [1884]), 247.

as well as other Polynesians, remained in the Stone Age and were ‘semi-civilised’.<sup>260</sup> Allen cited the diffusion of certain construction styles common in Polynesia, presumably the *marae* or religious platforms, as evidence of contact with the Americas. According to Allen, this type of construction is found in certain islands of the Pacific such as Tahiti and Huahine and may have spread to Quito and Peru as evidenced in their monumental architecture.<sup>261</sup> Allen’s work may be the earliest-known mention of this architectural evidence of a cultural connection. It features as evidence in later theories, as discussed in chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9.

Allen’s settlement theory for the Americas from west to east comprised two migration waves from Asia of two distinct groups: the first by Mongolic nomads via the Bering Strait, settling in North America, and the second from India and China across the Pacific, via Polynesia, leaving traces in various islands of the Pacific including Micronesia, Hawaii, Tahiti, and especially Rapa Nui.<sup>262</sup> Allen’s 1883 paper was a refinement of his previous speculations presented in 1875 and 1877, influenced by evolutionary theory. He also strongly contended that ‘the more the races and antiquities of Polynesia and South-Eastern Asia are studied, the more links will be found to bind together the Old and New Worlds’.<sup>263</sup>

In the eleventh ICA congress, held in Mexico City in 1895, the Mexican scholar Conrado Pérez Aranda (1859–?) presented a comparable view to Allen’s. He argued for rare arrivals from Oceanic islands, specifically to New Granada (present-day Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela), and to the coasts of the two Californias (California, USA, and Baja California, Mexico) and

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<sup>260</sup> Ibid., 250. See also Allen, ‘Polynesian Antiquities; A Link between the Ancient Civilisations of Asia and America’, 249–50; Anonymous, ‘Geographical Notes’, *Nature* 31 (1884), 18–19.

<sup>261</sup> Anonymous, ‘Geographical Notes’, *Nature* 31, 18–19; Allen, ‘Polynesian Antiquities; A Link between the Ancient Civilisations of Asia and America’, 249–50.

<sup>262</sup> Allen, ‘Polynesian Antiquities; A Link between the Ancient Civilisations of Asia and America’, 246–54.

<sup>263</sup> Ibid., 270.

western Mexico, favoured by the Pacific Equatorial counter-current.<sup>264</sup> He argued for the need to conduct multidisciplinary research involving archaeology, ethnography, palaeography, chronology, and studies on religion, politics, customs, and physical geography in order to demonstrate contact between distinct geographical areas.<sup>265</sup> Pérez Aranda was influenced by racialised ideas about Oceanic groups from the nineteenth-century French scholars Malte-Brun, Blumenbach, Bory de Saint Vincent, and Lesson.<sup>266</sup> He contended that the few infiltrations of people from the Oceanic islands into the Americas were solely 'black races'.<sup>267</sup> In particular he discussed the *estero* group of New California (Mexico) and the *manabi* group of Popayan, New Granada (southwestern Colombia) as evidence of these rare migrations given their display of 'black' features of the Oceanic race, comparable to the populations of New Guinea (Papuan) and Southeast Asia (Andamanese).<sup>268</sup> There is little available biographical information on Pérez Aranda other than that he trained as a lawyer. His contribution to the trans-Pacific contact debate was limited to this one scholarly presentation. However, his observations exemplify views that predominated as explanations for the settlement of the Americas during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In the first sessions of the ICA, trans-Pacific contact theories between Oceania and the Americas were not dealt with at great length. F.A. Allen was the first to address this topic in 1875, 1877, and 1883, as mentioned in Chapter 3, contending that the Americas had been settled

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<sup>264</sup> Conrado Pérez Aranda, 'Inmigraciones a la América en general, y cuáles hayan llegado al actual territorio mexicano', *Congreso Internacional de Americanistas. Actas de la Undécima Reunión*, México 1895 (Nendeln/Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1968), 335–38, 356.

<sup>265</sup> *Ibid.*, 325–26. See also Haydeé López Hernández, *En busca del alma nacional: La arqueología y la construcción del origen de la historia nacional en México (1867-1942)* (Mexico City: Secretaría de Cultura, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2018).

<sup>266</sup> Pérez Aranda, 'Inmigraciones a la América en general, y cuáles hayan llegado al actual territorio mexicano', 336.

<sup>267</sup> *Ibid.*, 336.

<sup>268</sup> *Ibid.*, 338.

from Asia via the Pacific islands.<sup>269</sup> Allen's anthropological hypothesis, based on the work of previous authors (such as Pickering) proposed that the 'civilised races' of Asia, the Americas and Polynesia were one and the same.<sup>270</sup>

In sharp contrast, at the 1888 congress, the Harvard-trained scholar from the US Horatio Hale argued against trans-Pacific linguistic connections between the Americas and Polynesia in the 1888 congress.<sup>271</sup> Hale's views on the topic may have been validated by his expertise and academic regard, considered as having 'laid the foundations of the ethnography of Polynesia ... and the Northwest Coast of America' in his report of the United States Exploring Expedition of 1838–1842, at least among his fellow US scholars.<sup>272</sup> Hale's work during the expedition also delivered a significant font of new ethnographic and linguistic information on the South Pacific and the Northwest Coast of America 'for an international community of scholars'.<sup>273</sup> In line with Hale's views, the Italian philologist Guido Cora (1851–1917) requested the exclusion of all presentations dealing with such links two years later, at the 1890 Paris session.<sup>274</sup> This event reflected the status of the trans-Pacific contact debate at the end of the nineteenth century, whereby Americanists had tired of entertaining these ideas and sought to be able to spend time on other questions. In Cora's words,

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<sup>269</sup> F.A. Allen, 'La tres-ancienne Amérique, ou origine de la civilisation primitive du Nouveau Monde', in *Congrès International des Américanistes. Compte-Rendu de la Première Session. Nancy – 1875*, Vol. 2 (Nendeln and Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1968 [1875]), 198–243.

<sup>270</sup> Allen, 'La tres-ancienne Amérique, ou origine de la civilisation primitive du Nouveau Monde — Seconde partie— De la parenté des races civilisées de l'Amérique avec celles du sud-est de l'Asie', in *Congrès International des Américanistes. Compte-Rendu de la Seconde Session. Luxembourg – 1877*, Vol. 1 (Nendeln and Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1968 [1877]), 80, 90, 92.

<sup>271</sup> Hale, *Was America Peopled from Polynesia? A Study in Comparative Philology*, 3–15.

<sup>272</sup> Alexander F. Chamberlain, 'In Memoriam: Horatio Hale', *The Journal of American Folklore* 10/36 (1897), 60–61. See also Horatio Hale, *United States Exploring Expedition: During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1842 Under the Command of Charles Wilkes, U.S.N., Vol. 6. Ethnography and Philology* (Philadelphia: C. Sherman, 1846).

<sup>273</sup> Michael Mackert, 'Horatio Hale and the Great U.S. Exploring Expedition', *Anthropological Linguistics* 36/1 (1994), 1.

<sup>274</sup> Guido Cora, 'Rapports négatifs des langues américaines et polynésiennes', in *Congrès International des Américanistes. Compte-Rendu de la Huitième Session. Paris – 1890* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1892), 535–536.

This question was cleared at the Berlin Congress, where MM. Horatio Hale and Steinthal examined it in every detail... Since each scholar is free of saying one thing today and tomorrow the opposite, I formally ask for this question to be barred from the program.<sup>275</sup>

Despite Cora's request, these discussions resumed in the twentieth century with the French anthropologist Paul Rivet, as will be discussed in Chapter 6.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter shows that the nineteenth century saw a significant increase, compared to previous centuries, in the number of publications containing speculations on pre-Columbian trans-Pacific contact between Oceania and the Americas. The development of such conjectures and the discovery and proposal of evidence supposedly backing these claims, as described in this chapter, happened during a time of intense debate concerning the origins and peopling of the world. One particular area of interest was theories surrounding Amerindian and Pacific origins, which established multiple foundations for what has been a robust debate in subsequent centuries.

The ideas about trans-Pacific contacts proffered during this century emerged at a time when racial classifications were the principal explanations for human origins and cultural similarities. Racialist and diffusionist ideologies became intertwined with the establishment of nomenclature for the islands of the Pacific, or were shaped by the teachings or interests of Missionaries, as exemplified in the Catholic, Protestant and Evangelical, and Mormon cases discussed in the chapter. The strong influence of religion, racism, and colonialism of this period was reflected in the active exploration of the Pacific, the vested interests involved in seeking to understand its people, and the anthropological and ethnological scholarship produced. Several ideas about trans-Pacific contact put forth during this period were presented at the International

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<sup>275</sup> Ibid. Translation by Dr. Emilie Dotte-Sarout.



Congress of Americanists. Others entertained ideas about sunken Pacific lands as explanations for bioanthropological and cultural similarities between Oceania and the Americas. These ideas paved the way, or were proposed at the same time as speculations on similarities in languages, material culture, physical anthropology, and ethnology that also emerged during this century, as discussed in Chapter 4. These ideas became the generally accepted methods for establishing theories of origins and routes of migrations linking Oceania with the Americas.

During this period, as missions were established in various Pacific islands, hypotheses on the origins of the Indigenous populations of these lands, and anthropological and archaeological observations and studies on their cultures fostered ideas about common origins with Amerindians, based on supposedly comparable aspects of material culture and linguistic similarities. Among the missionaries proposing trans-Pacific contact ideas were Ellis, Martínez de Zúñiga and Williams. Interest in trans-Pacific contact, particularly between Polynesia and the Americas, was widely debated and addressed during various sessions of the International Congress of Americanists from 1875 onwards. This is perhaps best exemplified in the work of Allen, who was vocal in his support of rare but culturally significant Polynesian migrations to the Americas and an earlier common origin. Ideas about a sunken Pacific continent drove the imagination of scholars like Moerenhout and Le Plongeon.

Further elements of the trans-Pacific contact debate emerged during this period in the ideas of New York-based scholars such as Mitchill, as well as those proposed by members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (LDS), which to some extent derived from them.<sup>276</sup> Scholars responsible for the New York-based hypothesis, as well as French Mayanists such as Le Plongeon, appear to have influenced Mormon ideas about east to west trans-Pacific contact, whereby Polynesia had been settled from the Americas. The Mormon thesis comprised two aspects that developed over an extended period up to the 1960s. The first was the establishment

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<sup>276</sup> Richard E. Bennett, “A Nation Now Extinct”, *American Indian Origin Theories as of 1820: Samuel L. Mitchill, Martin Harris, and the New York Theory*, *Journal of the Book of Mormon and Other Restoration Scripture* 20/2 (2011), 31.

of an origin theory for Polynesians in the Americas despite no explicit statement to this effect in *The Book of Mormon*. Secondly, as evidenced in modern Mormon teachings, the establishment of Mormon Pacific missions inspired the extension of LDS origin theories to the Polynesians so as to be inclusive of the peoples from these new missions. Consequently, Mormon trans-Pacific contact theories linking the Americas with Polynesia were established and have had an important impact in local Pacific communities. Lastly, as discussed in this chapter, Catholic, Anglican and Evangelical missionaries also speculated on origins and contacts relating to the inhabitants of the Pacific and the Americas. Missionaries such as Ellis and Williams entertained such ideas not just as anthropological explanations of origins and migrations, and cultural and bioanthropological parallels, but also in order to be inclusive of the peoples they were attempting to convert to Christianity as well.

## CHAPTER 4 Abstract and Tangible Notions of Contact in the Nineteenth Century

### Introduction

The numerous trans-Pacific contact theories that emerged in the nineteenth century developed at the backdrop of the ‘tremendous scientific ferment surrounding the origins and history of humankind’ of the late nineteenth century.<sup>277</sup> This chapter is a continuation of Chapter 3 in that it covers additional ideas of origins and contacts across the Pacific from the nineteenth century. Differently to the ideas described in the previous chapter, the theories described herein presented tangible evidence or were proposed by scholars who sought to provide more scientific approaches. Some of these theories emerged as a result of the development of professional archaeology, as it occurred in the United States. Others derived from scientific expeditions to the Pacific, as was the case with the United States Exploring Expedition (1838–1842), a government-led scientific and trade expedition. Personal or scientific visits to the Pacific and the Americas with antiquarian purposes also occurred during the period discussed in the chapter, as evidenced in the scholarship of A.B. Meyer. The ensuing theories centred on origins and migrations, material culture and cultural parallels, linguistic similarities and studies on plant diffusion, and bioanthropological comparisons. The evidence featured included fishhooks and stone clubs, the sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*), and comparable sailing vessels. Some of these elements were presented as evidence for the first time.

Scholars from France, the US, and Britain dominated the theories on Amerindian and Pacific Islander origins and migrations and probable contacts between these two geographical areas. Ideas about the northwest of North America having been a landing place for Pacific Islanders gained ground, as evidenced for example in the works by Campbell (1881), Niblack (1890) and Thomas (1894). The United States Exploring Expedition, mentioned above, also

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<sup>277</sup> Jane Lydon, ‘Veritable Apollos’, *Interventions* 16/1 (2014), 72.

shaped notions about contact. Two of its crew, Charles Pickering and Horatio Hale were influential in other scholarly circles as they attempted to further notions on contact between the Americas and Polynesia. Pickering believed in migration waves from Asia to the Americas via Polynesia, as argued in *The Races of Man* (1888), which incidentally was referenced by Allen, who is mentioned in Chapter 3. Hale, on the other hand, argued against contact solely based on linguistic grounds at the ICA in 1888, as described in Chapter 3. Racialised ideas about a common ancestry linking Polynesians with Amerindians were also common, and a reduced number of ideas suggesting fortuitous westward voyages from the Americas to Polynesia also emerged, exemplified in the work of the US scholar Charles Woolcott Brooks.

Stone clubs (*patu-patu*) and fishhooks dominated the studies on material culture similarities and were featured in the works by Dall, Hamy, Wickersham, and Rivero and von Tschudi. Rivero and von Tschudi's 1851 publication of *Antigüedades peruanas*, which presented an Oceanic-like club from South America, was the first time a club of this type was linked to Polynesia.<sup>278</sup> It prompted a discussion on pre-Columbian contact between South America and New Zealand evidenced by stone artefacts from different parts of South America. This line of discussion culminated in the twentieth century with the work of Imbelloni, as illustrated in Chapter 6. US and European scholars reported similar weapons and also deduced connections with Polynesia. Rau and Hamy, on the other hand, produced studies on fishhooks that furthered notions about the probable diffusion of these tools from Polynesia to California. Hamy's idea about diffusion from Hawai'i to California, which was a refinement of Rau's more general idea of diffusion from the South Pacific, was particularly influential in US scholarly networks given the reedition in English of his paper in 1963, as will be described in Chapter 6.

Linguistic and plant diffusion studies suggesting trans-Pacific contact started to be developed during this period—they resulted from theories on the diffusion of certain plants evidenced by

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<sup>278</sup> Mariano Eduardo de Rivero y Ustáriz and Johann Jakob von Tschudi, *Antigüedades peruanas* (Vienna: Imprenta Imperial de la Corte y del Estado, 1851), 212.

the occurrence of comparable terms in distinct geographical areas. Some of these also became intertwined with racialised ideas of migration and voyages. The scientific deliberations by the German botanist Berthold Carl Seemann (1825–1871), for instance, represent the earliest-known observation of linguistic similarities between the Polynesian and Ecuadorian or Peruvian terms for the sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*): i.e. *kumara* for the former and *cumar* for the latter.<sup>279</sup> In the field of linguistics, the works by F.W. Christian and Sir Clements Markham were of influence. Christian's 1897 publication presented comparable terms in the Americas and the Pacific Islands for plants such as the sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*), ginger (*Zingiber officinalis*) and the coconut palm (*Cocos nucifera*). He is also known to have unknowingly provided evidence used to demonstrate the arrival of Túpac Yupanqui to Mangareva during pre-Columbian times, as discussed in chapters 6, 7 and 8. Markham's ideas of contact based on linguistic grounds, like Christian's, were mostly indirect. Markham is responsible for having edited and published various Spanish chronicles through his involvement in the Hakluyt Society. He also conducted studies on the Quechua language. His linguistic studies did not decisively suggest contact, however his position on the matter was that there had once occurred contact between Polynesia and South America as evidenced by the word Tiahuanaco (Tiwanaku), which he believed was Polynesian. Markham's role in the proposal of ideas of trans-Pacific contact, then, was more indirect and, as argued in this chapter, provided contemporary and later scholars with material and evidence to argue in favour.

Lastly, ideas on biological anthropology suggesting morphological similarities between Amerindians and Polynesians were also entertained. These derived from Retzius's influential index of dolichocephalic and brachycephalic skulls. Retzius fundamentally suggested that all humans could be classified as either brachycephalic (short) or dolichocephalic (long) in relation to their skull shapes. This distinction became an acceptable explanation for racial and cultural

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<sup>279</sup> Berthold Seemann, *Flora Vitiensis* (London: L. Reeve and Co., 1865), 170. For Seemann's priority in this matter, see Terry L. Jones and Alice A. Storey, 'A Long-Standing Debate', in *Polynesians in America*, 39. See also Sorenson and Raish, *Pre-Columbian Contact with the Americas across the Oceans. An Annotated Bibliography*, Vol. 2, 329.

differences and became implicated in certain theories of contacts and origins, as discussed in this chapter.

## Ideas on Origins and Migrations

Speculations on origins and migrations linking the Americas with islands in the Pacific were not only entertained by religious scholars, as discussed in Chapter 3. Other mostly secular European and North American scholars theorised ways in which the Americas and the islands in the Pacific may have been settled during the nineteenth century. One was the French writer Gustave d'Eichthal (1804–1886), a ‘visionary and social observer’.<sup>280</sup> In 1845 D'Eichthal speculated on the origins of the inhabitants of the Americas, suggesting that a primitive civilisation that first developed in eastern Polynesia spread westward to Africa and eastward to the Americas.<sup>281</sup> He argued that Polynesians had reached Mexico and parts of South America, signifying ancient relationships between these two areas, and listed as evidence the comparable modes of interment, monumental architecture, and other cultural parallels cited by preceding authors including the *poncho*, the *Tii* deity, and putative linguistic similarities between Polynesian and Carib.<sup>282</sup> Few biographical details have been found on D'Eichthal that can explain his interest in and knowledge of Polynesia, as well as his academic networks: he cited contemporary British, Spanish, US and French scholars including Ellis, Lang, Martínez de Zúñiga, Samuel L. Mitchill, whom are mentioned in Chapter 3, and Jacques-Antoine Moerenhout, who is described in the previous chapter and below.<sup>283</sup>

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<sup>280</sup> H.S. Jones, ‘D'Eichthal, Gustave (1804–1886)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004).

<sup>281</sup> Jones, ‘D'Eichthal, Gustave (1804–1886)’; Gustave d'Eichthal, ‘Études sur l'histoire primitive des races océaniques et américaines’ in *Mémoires de la Société ethnologique*, Vol. 2 (Paris: Librairie Oriental de Mme Ve Dondey-Dupré, 1845), 223–35.

<sup>282</sup> D'Eichthal, ‘Études sur l'histoire primitive des races océaniques et américaines’, 224.

<sup>283</sup> *Ibid.*, 223–35.

Another French scholar who discussed the theme of trans-Pacific contact was the French anthropologist and palaeontologist Jean-François-Albert du Pouget, Marquis de Nadaillac (1818–1904). His book *Pre-Historic America*, first published in French in 1883, was well-regarded in North America where an English version was published the following year, edited by US naturalist William Healey Dall (1845–1927).<sup>284</sup> In this book, the Marquis de Nadaillac theorised how ‘a knowledge of navigation no better than that possessed at present by the lowest people of Melanesia would have enabled a migration on the line of the thirtieth parallel, south, to reach the coast of South America and, in time, to give it a considerable population’. Nadaillac, however, also believed in progress and in the evolution of cultures, arguing against Chinese, Japanese, Malayan, or Polynesian origins of Amerindians given their ‘highly unscientific and inaccurate’ nature. Despite his strong stance against Polynesian origins for Amerindians, however, Nadaillac was open to the idea of later waves of migration feeding into the population of the Americas.<sup>285</sup>

In North America, a series of scholars also speculated on trans-Pacific contacts and origins or migrations, ideas which were (mostly) grounded on racial distinctions. Their ideas emerged around the time when there was a growing interest in archaeology, which resulted in the development of systematic archaeological investigations during the late nineteenth century. As a result, ‘the term ‘professional’ arguably became applicable to a significant number of North American archaeologists’, particularly during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>286</sup> Alexander Warfield Bradford (1815–1867) was one to capture this growing interest, albeit in the mid-nineteenth century. In 1841 he argued that Polynesians and Amerindians had a common

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<sup>284</sup> Jean-François-Albert du Pouget, Marquis de Nadaillac, *Pre-Historic America*, transl. N. D’Anvers, ed. W.H. Dall (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1884), 523–24.

<sup>285</sup> Ibid.

<sup>286</sup> Andrew L. Christenson, ‘Who were the Professional North American Archaeologists of 1900? Clues from the Work of Warren K. Moorehead’, *Bulletin of the History of Archaeology* 21/1 (2011), 4. See also David L. Browman, ‘The Peabody Museum, Frederic W. Putnam, and the Rise of U. S. Anthropology, 1866–1903’, *American Anthropologist* 104/2 (2002), 514.

origin in the ‘Red Race’, along with other peoples, including those Indigenous to Siberia, China, Japan, IndoChina, the Malay Archipelago, India, Madagascar, Egypt and Etruria.<sup>287</sup> After Bradford, US naturalist and race scientist Charles Pickering (1805–1878) published his influential book *The Races of Man: and their Geographical Distribution* in 1848.<sup>288</sup> This volume preceded Allen’s idea of migration waves from Asia to the Americas via Polynesia, which was presented at the ICA in 1883 as mentioned in Chapter 3, and was repeatedly referenced by him.<sup>289</sup> In *The Races of Man*, Pickering dedicated detailed sections to the introduced plants of Polynesia and the Americas.<sup>290</sup> He also devoted a chapter on maritime migrations and considered the possibility of migrations from Polynesia to the Americas via a route that would naturally lead to the California coast due to the sea current.<sup>291</sup> Pickering’s work was ultimately grounded on racial distinctions and contended that the Malay ‘race’ inhabited the islands of the Pacific and parts of the Americas, including California and Mexico.<sup>292</sup>

Pickering’s observations resulted from his participation in the United States Exploring Expedition, also known as the ‘Wilkes Expedition’, which circumnavigated the globe between August 1838 and June 1842. It was the first US-government sponsored scientific and trade expedition to the Pacific and was led by Captain Charles Wilkes (1798–1877), a US Naval Officer. Apart from Pickering, it had other civilian scholars onboard, including the US ethnologist and philologist Horatio Hale, who discussed the probability of trans-Pacific contact between Polynesia and the Americas at the ICA in 1888, albeit arguing against it on linguistic

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<sup>287</sup> A.W. Bradford, *American Antiquities and Researches into the Origin and History of the Red Race* (New York: Dayton and Saxton, 1841), 307–08.

<sup>288</sup> Charles Pickering, *The Races of Man; and their Geographical Distribution* (Philadelphia: C. Sherman, 1848).

<sup>289</sup> Allen, ‘Polynesian Antiquities’, 256, 258, 259, 263–64, 266.

<sup>290</sup> Pickering, *The Races of Man*, 286–92.

<sup>291</sup> *Ibid.*, 307–339.

<sup>292</sup> *Ibid.*, 51–136.



grounds, as mentioned in Chapter 3.<sup>293</sup> The purpose of this expedition was to survey and map ‘the coastlines of continents and islands from the northwest coast of America to the Antarctic in the southern hemisphere’.<sup>294</sup> The vast quantity of ethnographic and botanical materials collected during this expedition were deposited at the US National Museum (Smithsonian Museum), a museum created for this particular purpose.<sup>295</sup>

After Pickering, in 1869, the US politician and author John Denison Baldwin (1809–1883) speculated that it was not ‘improbable that there was communication across the Pacific’.<sup>296</sup> He cited Brasseur de Bourbourg’s hypothesis concerning potential trade with the ports of Coatlulco and Pechugui in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, Mexico, which is discussed in Chapter 3. Additionally, he briefly mentioned the Peruvian tradition of long-distance arrivals to the Pacific coasts of Peru, with the west as their provenance.<sup>297</sup>

Brasseur de Bourbourg’s speculation was revisited in 1875 by US scholar Charles Wolcott Brooks in a paper read before the California Academy of Sciences. Brooks, ‘a spirited writer and ready speaker’, had a particular interest in ‘the study of [US] ethnology and the entire Pacific coast’.<sup>298</sup> He described Brasseur de Bourbourg’s views, as well as Baldwin’s (above) and

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<sup>293</sup> Robert D. Craig, *Historical Dictionary of Polynesia*, Second Edition (Lanham and London: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2002), 248; Horatio Hale, *Was America Peopled from Polynesia? A Study in Comparative Philology* (Berlin: H.S. Hermann, 1890), 3–15.

<sup>294</sup> Craig, *Historical Dictionary of Polynesia*, 248.

<sup>295</sup> Nathaniel Philbrick, ‘The Scientific Legacy of the U.S. Exploring Expedition’, *The United States Exploring Expedition, 1838–1842*, A Smithsonian Institution Libraries Digital Collection; Barbara H. Keating, ‘Contributions of the 1838–1842 U.S. Exploring Expedition’, in Barbara H. Keating, and Barrie R. Bolton (eds.), *Geology and Offshore Mineral Resources of the Central Pacific Basin*. Circum-Pacific Council for Energy and Mineral Resources Earth Science Series, vol. 14 (New York: Springer, 1992), 1.

<sup>296</sup> John Denison Baldwin, *Pre-Historic Nations* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1874 [1869]), 403.

<sup>297</sup> *Ibid.*, 395.

<sup>298</sup> ‘CHARLES WOLCOTT BROOKS. Death of a Prominent Citizen and Literary Gentleman’, *Daily Alta California*, Vol. 39, No. 12939, 17 August 1885.

Lang's (Chapter 3) postures on trans-Pacific contacts with the Americas.<sup>299</sup> In Brooks' view, it was more probable that people from Asia would have reached the Polynesian islands given their 'affinities of tongue, striking resemblance in manners, idols, and physical formation'. However, Brooks did not rule out that certain infiltrations into Polynesia from the Americas could have taken place.<sup>300</sup> In his view, 'stragglers from the latter [the Americas] have doubtless added to its [Polynesia's] island races, and thus created a mixture of customs which, to some extent, may indicate a partial derivation from both [Asia and the Americas]'

Lastly, in 1891 the Norwegian adventurer Johan Adrian Jacobsen (1853–1947) reflected on the possibility of trans-Pacific contacts or migrations based on comparable cultural practices, elements of material culture, and physical appearance linking Polynesia with the Americas. Despite not being a trained ethnologist, Jacobsen's interest in the diversity of mankind and in the collection of specimens for museum collections — two common scholarly interests of late nineteenth-century Europe— propelled him to Greenland and Labrador in 1881, with the hope to 'recruit a number of Inuit willing to make the journey [back to Norway] and be thus exhibited in artificially contrived "natural" habitats for pay'.<sup>301</sup> Jacobsen's expedition to these geographical areas in northwest North America took place between 1881 and 1883, and featured in several publications. As a result of his encounters with the populations of these areas, he developed a belief in the intellectual and cultural superiority of the inhabitants of the west coast of North America to those from South America.<sup>302</sup> This interest may have also prompted his hypothesis

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<sup>299</sup> Charles Wolcott Brooks, 'Early migrations. Origin of the Chinese race, philosophy of their early development, with an inquiry into the evidences of their American origin; suggesting the great antiquity of races on the American continent', *California Academy of Sciences Proceedings* 6 (1876), 3–30.

<sup>300</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>301</sup> Linda Sabathy-Judd, 'Review. In the Footsteps of Abraham Ulrikab: The Events of 1880–1881 by France Rivet: The Voyage with the Labrador Eskimos 1880–1881 by Johan Adrian Jacobsen', *Journal of Moravian History* 16/2 (2016), 174.

<sup>302</sup> Robin Fisher, 'Alaskan Voyage, 1881–1883: An Expedition to the Northwest Coast of America by Johan Adrian Jacobsen, and: These Mountains are our Sacred Places: The Story of the Stoney Indians by Chief John Snow (review)', *The Canadian Historical Review* 60/1 (1979), 83.

on trans-Pacific contact. Jacobsen's sole publication on this topic, published in 1891, argued for the need to study connections between Polynesia and the Americas based on comparable constructions, clubs, tattooing, skin colour, clothing, and rafts.<sup>303</sup> In his view, the common decoration of houses and use of dance masks linked these two geographical areas. He believed that the totem poles from northwest North America resembled carved poles of Māori houses, and these poles could also be found in Melanesia and Micronesia such as New Ireland and New Britain. He also attributed a common origin of the 'native North Americans' and the South Sea Islanders to their 'strikingly pale skin colour' and their 'stocky and powerful' physique.<sup>304</sup> Four years later, Jacobsen's academic career ended due to his difficulty finding museum and scientific positions, possibly as a result of his poor scholarship, leading him to move into hotel management.<sup>305</sup> Jacobsen was not a trained ethnologist; however he spent much of the 1880s collecting ethnographic materials from North America for museum collections.<sup>306</sup> Regarded as an amateur authority on the coastal region of Alaska and the Arctic, Jacobsen also participated in a research expedition between 1881 and 1883 from California to the Arctic for the purpose of collecting objects for the Berlin museum under the direction of the German ethnologist Adolf Bastian (1826–1905).<sup>307</sup> Given the little available biographical information on Jacobsen, it is uncertain how his interest on Polynesia developed. Nevertheless, his general trans-Pacific contact theory matched others that were published contemporaneously, centring on material culture parallels and comparable cultural practices as the principal evidence for these contacts, as discussed below.

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<sup>303</sup> Johan Adrian Jacobsen, 'Nordwestamerikanischpolynesische Analogien', *Globus* 59/2 (1891), 161–63.

<sup>304</sup> *Ibid.*, 162.

<sup>305</sup> Aaron Glass, 'Northwest Coast Ceremonialism: The Works of J.A. Jacobsen (1853-1947)', *European Journal of American Studies* 5-2 (2010), 3.

<sup>306</sup> *Ibid.*, 1–3.

<sup>307</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

## Material Culture and Cultural Parallels

### Stone Clubs

Most publications discussing possible trans-Pacific contact during the first half of the nineteenth century were not backed by tangible archaeological evidence, as shown in the previous chapter and discussed above. This all changed in 1851, when *Antigüedades peruanas*, a highly influential publication containing a crucial piece of evidence was published.<sup>308</sup> The authors, the Peruvian historian, scientist and diplomat Mariano Eduardo de Rivero y Ustáriz (1798–1857) and the Swiss naturalist Johann Jakob von Tschudi (1818–1889) were amongst the first to observe similarities between South American and New Zealand or Pacific *clavas* (clubs), specifically in relation to a particular type of club from South America.<sup>309</sup> Rivero, the founder of Peru's Museum of Natural History, first published this book in 1841 as the sole author as a reflection of his interests in pre-Hispanic archaeological artefacts from Peru.<sup>310</sup> Ten years later, it was 'expanded and re-issued in Vienna in collaboration with the Swiss traveller and scientist ... von Tschudi', who lived in Peru from 1838 to 1843.<sup>311</sup> Rivero and von Tschudi's observation was subsequently cited as an important piece of evidence of pre-Columbian trans-Pacific contact between New Zealand and South America, particularly by Latin American scholars in the twentieth century such as the Argentine anthropologist José Imbelloni (1885–1967), whose biography and scholarly contributions to the debate are detailed in Chapter 6. Figure 7 illustrates the Oceanic-like club featured in Rivero and von Tschudi's publication.

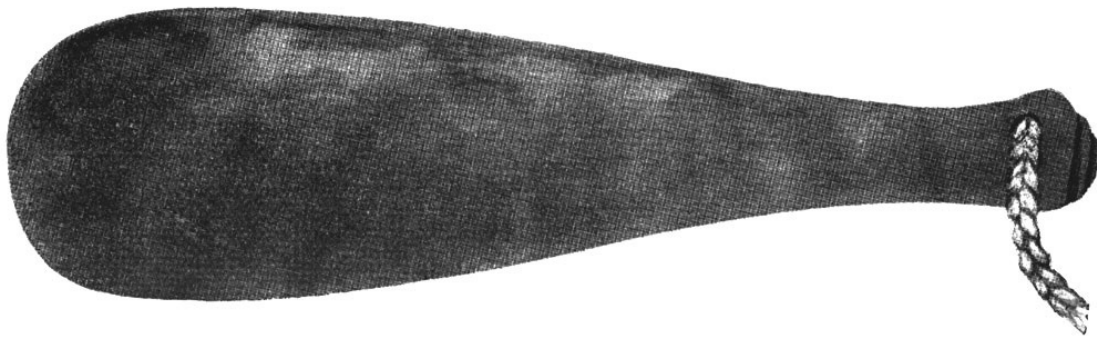
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<sup>308</sup> Rivero and Tschudi, *Antigüedades peruanas*.

<sup>309</sup> *Ibid.*, 212.

<sup>310</sup> José R. Deustua C., 'Society, science, and technology: Mariano de Rivero, mining and the birth of Peru as a Republic, 1820-1850', *Apuntes* 44/80 (2017), 74.

<sup>311</sup> *Ibid.*



**Figure 7.** South American *clava* from Rivero and von Tschudi. Reproduction from the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 39, 1930.<sup>312</sup>

Rivero and von Tschudi's publication mirrored other Anglophone discussions featuring stone clubs from across the Americas that were comparable to the New Zealand *patu-patu* or *merai* [*mere*] from across the Americas during the late nineteenth century. In Britain in 1868, the English army officer and archaeologist Augustus Henry Lane-Fox (1827–1900), who changed his name to Pitt-Rivers from 1880, claimed that the South American *patu-patu* weapon 'extended to the west coast of America, and there, as in New Zealand, they are found both of the symmetrical and of the one-sided form'.<sup>313</sup>

Similar discussions also occurred in the US.<sup>314</sup> Although the American stone clubs were originally believed to have their prototypes in New Zealand, US scholars later described as typically American, possibly implying westward contact with Polynesia.<sup>315</sup> One of the scholars who made this link was the writer and politician James Wickersham (1857–1939). Wickersham's

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<sup>312</sup> José Imbelloni, 'On the Diffusion in America of Patu Onewa, Okewa, Patu Paraoa, Miti, and Other Relatives of the Mere Family', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 39 (1930), vi.

<sup>313</sup> A.H. Lane Fox, 'Primitive Warfare II. On the Resemblance of the Weapons of Early Man, their Variation, Continuity, and Development of Form', *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution* 12 (1868), 422.

<sup>314</sup> See for example Smithsonian Institution. Board of Regents., *et al. Annual report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution* (Smithsonian Institution, 1879), 219–20.

<sup>315</sup> James Wickersham, 'An Aboriginal War Club', *American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal* 17/2 (1895), 73.

career was centred on politics and the practice of law, and less is known about his ethnological and archaeological interests and how they came about. Looking at his scholarship one can infer that he was preoccupied with the cultural heritage of the Indigenous peoples of the United States. His ethnological interests began while he was living in Tacoma, Washington between 1884 and 1900, which is when he published the relevant work.<sup>316</sup> He was involved in resolving disputes between Indigenous tribes and the Government throughout much of his life as a lawyer and reportedly had great respect for Native Americans. He may have developed an interest in trying to understand the culture of these people ethnographically.<sup>317</sup> He is also known to have collected ethnographic materials from Washington and Alaska, now mostly housed at the Wickersham State Historic Site in Juneau, Alaska, where he lived in the later years of his life.<sup>318</sup> His involvement in politics and law in Alaska commenced in 1900 and continued after 1921, when he moved to Juneau, until his death in 1939.<sup>319</sup> He was also awarded an Honorary Doctorate of Law by the University of Alaska in 1935.<sup>320</sup>

In 1895, Wickersham described an ‘aboriginal war club’ discovered in a mound in Bent County, in the US state of Colorado by J.B. Aldrich and witnessed by Kit Carson in 1866, as illustrated in Figure 8.<sup>321</sup> Wickersham argued that this stone implement known as *macana*, which was housed at the Smithsonian Institution, was not an original New Zealand specimen but a ‘typical Indian war club’ found throughout the Americas, from Alaska to Peru.<sup>322</sup> The Smithsonian Institution, however, described it as a ‘prehistoric implement’, and ‘*patu-patu* or

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<sup>316</sup> Mary Pat Wyatt and Penny Bauder, *The Wickersham State Historic Site. Master Interpretive Plan* (Juneau: The Alaska State Office of History and Archaeology, 2008), 3.

<sup>317</sup> JoAnne Wold, *Wickersham: The Man at Home* (Fairbanks: Tanana-Yukon Historical Society, 1981), 25.

<sup>318</sup> Wyatt and Bauder, *The Wickersham State Historic Site*, iv, 2, 12, 28.

<sup>319</sup> *Ibid.*, v, 4–21.

<sup>320</sup> Wold, *Wickersham: The Man at Home*, 28.

<sup>321</sup> Wickersham, ‘An Aboriginal War Club’, 72.

<sup>322</sup> *Ibid.*

*merai*, ‘the traditional weapon of the New Zealander’.<sup>323</sup> This enabled Wickersham to propose a trans-Pacific contact theory linking the US with Polynesia. Wickersham described the Smithsonian Institution’s description as a mistake and instead conjectured as ‘more likely that the Maoris of New Zealand obtained their weapon from the north-west coast of America than that it came to Colorado from Polynesia’.<sup>324</sup> According to Wickersham, the ‘splendid great canoes’ of the Indigenous inhabitants of the North American regions between Alaska and the Columbia river would have enabled trans-Pacific voyages via the ‘Kuro-shiwo’ current. In his view, this typically American weapon, possibly ‘first reached Polynesia by these people drifting to the islands of the Pacific’.<sup>325</sup> The views described above preceded similar theories proposed by South American scholars in the twentieth century, as discussed in chapters 6 and 8.

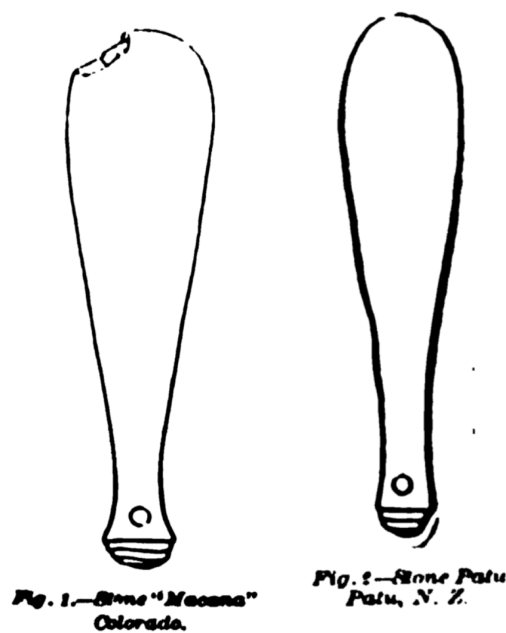


Figure 8. Stone *macana* from Colorado (left) and stone *patu-patu* from New Zealand (right) as depicted by Wickersham.<sup>326</sup>

<sup>323</sup> Ibid.

<sup>324</sup> Wickersham, ‘An Aboriginal War Club’, 73–74.

<sup>325</sup> Ibid., 74. See also Wickersham, ‘Origin of the Indians—The Polynesian Route’, 325–335.

<sup>326</sup> Wickersham, ‘An Aboriginal War Club’, 74. See also Thomas Wilson, ‘Prehistoric Art; or the Origin of Art as Manifested in the Works of Prehistoric Man’, *Report of the United States National Museum* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1898), 464–65, plate 42.

This weapon also featured in later publications by other US and European scholars discussing its probable diffusion. In 1898, US archaeologist Thomas Wilson (1832–1902) reported the same stone club from Colorado featured in Wickersham’s publication. Wilson described it as comparable to the New Zealand *patu-patu* and suggested that their diffusion to the Americas was due to migration linking Polynesia with the US northwest coast.<sup>327</sup> German ethnologist Johannes Dietrich Eduard Schmeltz (1839–1909) described this finding in an 1898 report following a meeting at the National Museum of Ethnography in the Netherlands with Wilson, who was also curator of the Department of Prehistory of the U.S. National Museum.<sup>328</sup> This report appears to have resulted from Wilson’s sighting of a *patu-patu* featured in a publication by the British scholar James Edge-Partington (1854–1930), whereby Wilson noted similarities between the US and New Zealand specimens.<sup>329</sup> Schmeltz cites this specimen as being featured in Figure 374, No. 9, of Edge-Partington’s album.<sup>330</sup>

Edge-Partington, a specialist in Pacific ethnology, aimed to collate and record as many ethnographic specimens as possible of the ‘native races’ of the English colonies.<sup>331</sup> These specimens, held in a series of museum and private collections in various countries, were included in an album prepared and published between 1890 and 1898.<sup>332</sup> He was a volunteer at the British

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<sup>327</sup> Thomas Wilson, *Prehistoric Art; Or the Origin of Art as Manifested in the Works of Prehistoric Man* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1898), 464–65, plate 42; David J. Meltzer, ‘The Antiquity of Man and the Development of American Archaeology’, *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* 6 (1983), 20; Adrienne L. Kaeppler, ‘Two Polynesian repatriation enigmas at the Smithsonian Institution’, *Journal of Museum Ethnography* 17 (2005), 155.

<sup>328</sup> J.D.E. Schmeltz, ‘Nouvelles et Correspondance XXXIII. A Patu-patu or Merai from an American Mound’, *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie* 11 (1898), 165.

<sup>329</sup> Ibid.

<sup>330</sup> Ibid. See also James Edge-Partington, *An album of the weapons, tools, ornaments, articles of dress of the natives of the Pacific Islands* (London: Issued for private circulation by J. Edge-Partington & Charles Heape, 1890–1898), Series I, Figure 374, No. 9.

<sup>331</sup> Ibid.

<sup>332</sup> Edge-Partington, ‘Preface’, *An album of the weapons, tools, ornaments, articles of dress of the natives of the Pacific Islands*.



Museum and became the Museum's Pacific authority. Several items from the extensive range of artefacts he collected from the Pacific were also donated to the Museum.<sup>333</sup>

## Fishhooks

Early theories about comparable fishhooks from California and the Pacific Islands denoting cultural contact, first discussed by Lang in 1877, were also advanced during this period. In North America, the Belgian-born US archaeologist Charles Rau (1826–1887) in 1884 noted such items of material culture as parallels denoting cultural contact, particularly evidenced by comparable one-piece fishhooks from the South Pacific and California.<sup>334</sup> In Rau's view, ethnologists claiming 'an affinity between the Californians and Malays might use the similarity in the fishhooks among these peoples as an argument in favour of their theory'.<sup>335</sup> Rau's archaeological work commenced in 1848 when he moved to the US and started collecting artefacts. In 1859 he started publishing regularly in archaeological journals, and in 1863 he started contributing to Smithsonian publications. Rau was also a curator of the Department of Archaeology of the US National Museum from 1881 to 1887. His archaeological expertise made him a respected scholar in this field, thus his publication on fishhooks was notable and played an important role in trans-Pacific contact discussions.

The French physician-turned-anthropologist Ernest-Théodore Hamy (1842–1908) also noticed similarities between fishhooks from the Americas and the Pacific Islands. He was the first curator of the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro, the first ethnology museum in Paris which later became the Musée de l'Homme and was established in 1937 by Paul Rivet, whom I talk more about in Chapter 6. In 1885, Hamy refined Rau's argument in his 'L'industrie

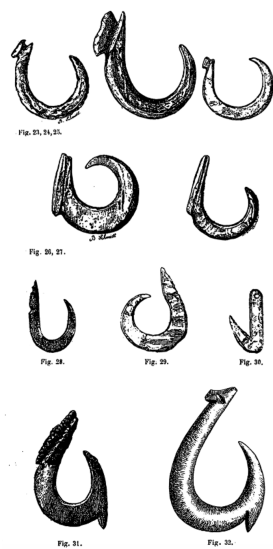
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<sup>333</sup> Roger Neich, 'James Edge-Partington (1854–1930): An Ethnologist of Independent Means', *Records of the Auckland Museum* 46 (2009), 57.

<sup>334</sup> Charles A. Rau, *Prehistoric Fishing in Europe and North America* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1884), Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge No. 25, 120–139.

<sup>335</sup> *Ibid.*, 138.

hameçonnière chez les anciens habitants de l'Archipel Californien' ('The Fishhook Industry of the Ancient Inhabitants of the Californian Archipelago') and argued that the fishhook analogies between Californian and Polynesian fishhooks actually denoted possible contact with Hawai'i and not the South Pacific.<sup>336</sup> In this article, Hamy observed similarities between Californian fishhooks from Santa Cruz in the Channel Islands, and those from Hawai'i. As he noted, this analogy of fishhook shapes was not an isolated case. It was rather 'a strong argument that the material culture is going to furnish for the ethnologists who consider a certain part of the coastal population of the New World between 30 and 40 degrees north latitude as coming from the west and originating in the Polynesian Archipelago'.<sup>337</sup> Hamy's article was initially published in a French journal in 1885. It was later republished in the University of California Archaeological Survey in 1963 since it was considered to be deserving of more attention among US scholars, as discussed in Chapter 6.<sup>338</sup> Figure 9 contains images of the fishhooks described by Hamy as resembling Hawai'ian ones.



**Figure 9.** Fishhooks from California (Fig. 23–31) and Hawai'i (Fig. 32).<sup>339</sup>

<sup>336</sup> Ernest T. Hamy, 'L'industrie hameçonnière chez les anciens habitants de L'Archipel Californien', *Revue d'Ethnographie* 4 (1885), 6–13. Republished in the University of California Archaeological Survey in 1963.

<sup>337</sup> Hamy, 'The Fishhook Industry of the Ancient Inhabitants of the Archipelago of California', *University of California Archaeological Survey* 5 (1963 [1885]), 64.

<sup>338</sup> *Ibid.*, 61.

<sup>339</sup> Hamy, 'The Fishhook Industry of the Ancient Inhabitants of the Archipelago of California', 68–69.

## Other Objects

During this period, other objects of material culture different to the above were cited as evidence of trans-Pacific contact. One of these was an element of ancient clothing, the South American *poncho*. As discussed in Chapter 3, the Evangelical missionary William Ellis was arguably the first to make this link in 1829. Ellis's idea was replicated in 1837 by the French writer and artist Jacques-Antoine Moerenhout, as well as by D'Eichthal in 1845, as noted above.<sup>340</sup> Moerenhout, also known for his ideas on sunken Pacific lands as described in Chapter 3, viewed the South American *poncho* as 'absolutely the same as a piece of clothing called *tipouta*, used by almost all the inhabitants of the islands of the Pacific Ocean'.<sup>341</sup> Moerenhout was also amongst the first to postulate trans-Pacific connections specifically between certain islands off the coast of Chile, including Chiloé, and Polynesia. He suggested that 'the canoes of the inhabitants of Chiloé and other islands of this [South American] archipelago have some relation with those of the islanders of New Zealand'.<sup>342</sup> As will be discussed in Chapter 6, this island did not feature again in a study suggesting trans-Pacific contact until 1927.<sup>343</sup>

In Britain, renowned scholar Sir Clements R. Markham (1830–1916) led a discussion linking the monumental architecture of Rapa Nui with Bolivia at a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society on 24 January 1870. Markham suggested that Rapa Nui may have been a stepping stone to reach the Americas and that this was evidenced by the comparable statues and platforms found in Rapa Nui and Tiwanaku, as observed by the Spanish during their conquest of

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<sup>340</sup> Jacques-Antoine Moerenhout, *Voyages aux îles du Grand Océan*, Vol. 1 (Paris: A. Bertrand, 1837), 373; D'Eichthal, 'Études sur l'histoire primitive des races océaniques et américaines', 224.

<sup>341</sup> Moerenhout, *Voyages aux îles du Grand océan*, Vol. 2, 244.

<sup>342</sup> *Ibid.*, 244–45.

<sup>343</sup> Aureliano Oyarzún, 'Dos Puntas de Lanza Paleolíticas de la Isla de Pascua Encontradas en un Cementerio Prehistórico de la Costa de Chile', *Publicaciones del Museo de Etnología y Antropología de Chile* 4, 3–4 (1928), 273–275.

Bolivia.<sup>344</sup> Similar ideas were discussed by D'Eichthal in 1845, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, and by Allen at the ICA in 1883, as discussed in Chapter 3. Markham's scholarly influence extended to the translation and publication of numerous works on the history of navigation, including several Spanish chronicles about the Americas from the sixteenth century, as discussed below.

At least two Germanophone scholars in the 1880s and 1890s also discussed ideas centring on the probable diffusion of objects of material culture denoting contact. One example was an 1889 publication by the German anthropologist Adolf Bernhard Meyer (1840–1911). Meyer, an influential Oceanic anthropologist, was director of the Königliches Zoologisches und Anthropologisch-Ethnographisches Museum (Royal Zoological and Anthropological-Ethnographic Museum) in Dresden for thirty years, from 1874 until 1904.<sup>345</sup> He conducted fieldwork in Oceania, particularly in New Guinea, and amassed a collection of approximately three-hundred and fifty anthropological, and four-hundred and fifty ethnographic objects, which furnished the collection of the museum in Dresden.<sup>346</sup> In *Masken von Neu-Guinea und den Bismarck Archipel* (Masks of New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago), a collection of masks housed in the Royal Zoological and Anthropological-Ethnographic Museum, Meyer briefly commented on a particular mask described as originating from New Ireland. This mask, Meyer noted, may have been brought from South America, since it was claimed that it was discovered in the Atacama Desert in Peru and acquired in Santiago, Chile either in 1850 or 1852 and then brought to the museum in Dresden. The uncertainty surrounding its actual source or origin (and chronology), however, and its inclusion in the Bismarck Archipelago collection of this museum may indicate a possible mis-classification of items in museum collections that might also have impacted ideas of

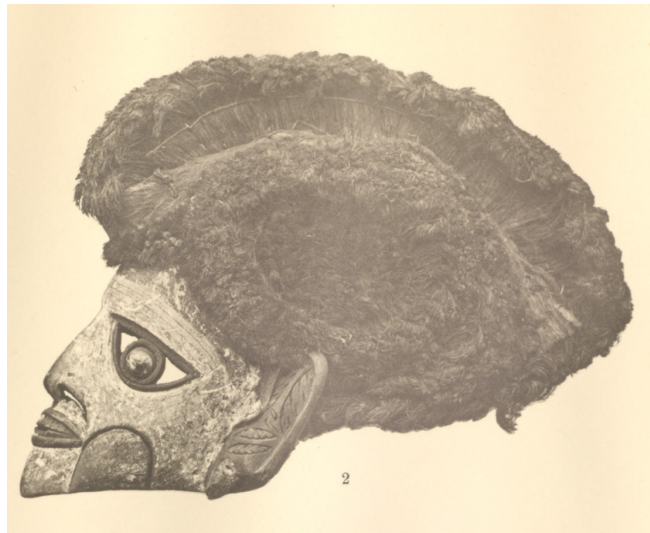
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<sup>344</sup> Clements R. Markham, 'Fifth Meeting, January 24, 1870', *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* 14, 1–5 (1869–1870), 116–117.

<sup>345</sup> Hilary Howes, *'The Race Question in Oceania': A.B. Meyer and Otto Finsch between Metropolitan Theory and Field Experience, 1865–1914*, PhD Thesis (Canberra: The Australian National University, 2011), 22; Howes, 'Shrieking Savages' and 'Men of Milder Customs', *Journal of Pacific History* 47/1 (2012), 21–22.

<sup>346</sup> Howes, *'The Race Question in Oceania'*, 22–23.

trans-Pacific contacts.<sup>347</sup> In other words, this may represent one example of several unknown others whereby a potentially pre-Columbian object of material culture from South America was mislabeled and mistakenly attributed to the Pacific, perhaps encouraging the idea that there was direct contact between the two geographical areas during pre-Columbian times. Similar issues may have also happened in other museums with other objects of unknown chronology and provenance and unclear or questionable attribution to the Pacific or the Americas. The mask in question is featured in Figure 10.



**Figure 10.** Mask from New Ireland believed to have been brought from South America.<sup>348</sup>

Like Meyer, the Austrian scholar Franz Heger (1853–1931) also proposed an exotic object of material culture as possible evidence of trans-Pacific contact: the venesection bow. His 1893 article ‘Aderlassgerate bei Indianern und Papuas’ (‘Bloodletting equipment of the Indians and Papuans’) discussed the occurrence of the venesection bow, a medical instrument used for bloodletting in parts of the New World and Oceania.<sup>349</sup> Heger trained in geology and

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<sup>347</sup> A.B. Meyer, *Masken von Neu-Guinea und den Bismarck Archipel* (Dresden: Stengel und Markert, 1889), 11.

<sup>348</sup> *Ibid.*, Tafel XL.

<sup>349</sup> Franz Heger, ‘Aderlassgerate bei Indianern und Papuas’, *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 23 (1893), 83–114. Translation facilitated by Dr. Hilary Howes.

palaeontology at the Technical University and the University of Vienna. He worked as a curator at the Natural History Museum in Vienna from 1878 until 1884, when he commenced his role as Director of the Department of Anthropology and Ethnography. His engagement with this museum continued until 1919. He travelled to South America and facilitated a series of material culture acquisitions from Argentina during his engagement as director of the Natural History Museum. His role in the expansion of the ethnographic collection of this museum resulted in it holding one of the most significant collections in Europe, and to later become an independent Museum of Ethnography, recently reopened in October 2017 after several years of refitting as the Weltmuseum ('World Museum').<sup>350</sup>

### **Vessels and Navigation**

Discussions on origins and migrations across the Pacific extended to include early studies on vessels and navigation. The Scottish-born Canadian archaeologist Daniel Wilson (1816–1892), for example, pondered on probable migration routes linking Polynesia with the Americas. Wilson is known for introducing the term 'prehistory' into English in 1851 following his identification of 'the basic premises of the science of archaeology formulated in the nineteenth century'.<sup>351</sup> It has also been argued that the Norwegian scholar Peter Andreas Munch introduced this concept to Daniel Wilson in 1849.<sup>352</sup> In *Prehistoric Man*, published in 1862, Wilson 'developed the framework of a science of prehistory'. In this ground-breaking publication, he also argued that:

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<sup>350</sup> *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon (ÖBL) 1815-1950*, Vol. 2 (1958), 238. Translation by Dr. Hilary Howes.

<sup>351</sup> Alice Kehoe, 'The Invention of Prehistory', *Current Anthropology* 32/4 (1991), 467. See also Christopher Chippindale, 'The invention of words for the idea of "prehistory"', *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 54 (1988), 303; Norman Clermont, and Philip E.L. Smith, 'Pre-historic, prehistory, prehistorian . . . who invented the terms?', *Antiquity* 64 (1990), 100.

<sup>352</sup> Peter Rowley-Conwy, 'The Concept of Prehistory and the Invention of the Terms 'Prehistoric' and 'Prehistorian': The Scandinavian Origin, 1833–1850', *European Journal of Archaeology* 9/1 (2006), 103.

The idea which seems best to harmonize with the varied though still imperfect evidence thus glanced at [e.g. comparable mounds, linguistic similarities, ocean-going rafts], when viewed in connexion with a supposed Asiatic cradle-land, conceives the earliest current of population destined for the New World to have spread through the islands of the Pacific, and to have reached the South American continent long before an excess of population had diffused itself into the inhospitable northern steppes...<sup>353</sup>

Following this line of thought, he also believed that ‘the more obvious traces rather indicate the same current which set from Southern Asia to the Pacific shores of South America, moving onward till it overflowed by Bering Straits and the Aleutian Islands, into the continent from whence it was originally derived’.<sup>354</sup> Wilson also described how ‘Peruvian pilots [on rafts] were wont to creep timidly along the shore; but the Spaniards encountered them in the open Pacific’.<sup>355</sup> ‘Caught by a sudden gale’, Wilson continued,

their bark [raft] might have been borne far off among the islands that stud the Southern Ocean, and here was the germ of a race of islanders, to whom, after a few generations, the memory of their Peruvian ancestry would have survived only as some mythic legend, like the Manco Capac of their own Incas, or the Mawai of the Polynesian archipelago.<sup>356</sup>

Lane Fox, mentioned above, carried on with Wilson’s ideas and gave a contemporary interpretation of them in 1875.<sup>357</sup> In this article, which described South American and Polynesian rafts and certain points of resemblance between them, Lane Fox noted: ‘[Daniel] Wilson thinks it was by means of these vessels [Peruvian balsas], driven off the coast of America westward, that

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<sup>353</sup> Daniel Wilson, *Prehistoric Man: Researches into the Origin of Civilisation in the Old and the New World*, Vol. 2 (London: Macmillan and Co., 1862), 453.

<sup>354</sup> *Ibid.*, 454.

<sup>355</sup> Wilson, *Prehistoric Man*, Vol. 1, 177.

<sup>356</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>357</sup> Peter Rivière, ‘General Pitt-Rivers and the Evolutionist Anthropologists’, *Museum History Journal* 7/2 (2014), 165.

the Polynesian and Malay islands were peopled'. Lane Fox added that, according to Wilson, such South American rafts had transformed into the outrigger canoes of the Pacific.<sup>358</sup>

Wilson's conjectures were revisited in an article by the anthropologist Anne Walbank Buckland (1832–1899) in 1885. A.W. Buckland was a well-regarded anthropologist in her native Britain and one of the first women scholars to join the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. She is also listed as having contributed to the founding collection of the Pitt Rivers Museum and Pitt-Rivers' second collection. In line with Wilson, Buckland reflected on probable migration routes linking the east with the west, also making reference to ideas raised by Pitt-Rivers, and others. Amongst the evidence she presented, Buckland described how the 'Fuegians, otherwise so low in the scale of civilisation, sew planks together with thongs of raw hide, after the fashion of those in use in Africa and the Polynesian Islands'.<sup>359</sup> She also observed the presence of shell trumpets in Peru that were comparable to those transported in Pacific canoes. In Buckland's view, however:

the art of navigation had made some advance on the American continent before the Spanish conquest, and ... the forms of the vessels used can be traced to various parts of the world, although the absence of the outrigger, and the general absence of sails, would seem to show that whatever connection there might have been with Asia and the Polynesian Islands must have ceased before the invention of those two important improvements in primitive navigation.<sup>360</sup>

Comparable ideas had, of course, been discussed by sixteenth-century Spanish chroniclers such as Acosta, as discussed in Chapter 2.

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<sup>358</sup> A. Lane Fox, 'On Early Modes of Navigation', *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 4 (1875), 426.

<sup>359</sup> A.W. Buckland, 'Facts Suggestive of Prehistoric Intercourse Between East and West', *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 14 (1885), 223.

<sup>360</sup> *Ibid.*



## Comparable Cultural Practices

In 1879, Buckland observed certain cultural practices from South America and Oceania that could denote possible contact. She described how the chewing of stimulants like coca (South America), betel-nut (New Guinea), or kava (South Sea) was a common practice in South America and the Pacific Islands.<sup>361</sup> Buckland held that ‘among aboriginal races, in a line across the Pacific, from Formosa on the East to Peru and Bolivia on the West, a peculiar, and what would appear to civilised races a disgusting, mode of preparing fermented drinks prevails’.<sup>362</sup> In her view, this custom found in parts of South America was evidence of ‘some early connection with the islands of the Pacific, where, among many of the groups, the only fermented drink is Ava or Kava, prepared in a similar way, by masticating the root of the long pepper’.<sup>363</sup> According to Buckland, then, there were a number of cultural practices strongly suggestive of pre-Columbian trans-Pacific contact between South America and the Pacific islands. Buckland was a hyper-diffusionist who considered Egypt as one of the founding cultures of the world. Her hyper-diffusionist views ‘helped to pave the way for the Egyptocentric diffusionism of [Sir Grafton] Elliot Smith’, who is discussed in Chapter 5.<sup>364</sup>

The practice of skull flattening was also addressed as possible evidence of trans-Pacific contact during the nineteenth century. The US historian John T. Short (1850–1883) described details of this practice in 1879. According to Short, the practice of skull deformation had originated in Asia and could also be observed in the western coast of America and in Polynesia, to where it had diffused before reaching the Americas.<sup>365</sup> Furthermore, Short argued that

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<sup>361</sup> A.W. Buckland, ‘Ethnological Hints afforded by the Stimulants in use among Savages and among the Ancients’, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 8 (1879), 239–53.

<sup>362</sup> *Ibid.*, 253.

<sup>363</sup> *Ibid.*, 242.

<sup>364</sup> Ronald H. Fritze, *Egyptomania: A History of Fascination, Obsession and Fantasy* (London: Reaktion Books, 2016), 277.

<sup>365</sup> John T. Short, *The North Americans of Antiquity: Their Origin, Migrations and Type of Civilization Considered* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1880), 183–184.

Polynesia was once the home of a higher culture, and islands that had later submerged in the Pacific had probably facilitated the passage to the Americas.<sup>366</sup> Like a lot of his contemporary US scholars, Short showed interest in the study of the ancient mound-builders of North America and shared common views in relation to the possible migration flows of Polynesians to the Americas.

In 1890, the US vice-admiral and scholar Albert Parker Niblack (1859–1919) also argued for ethnological affinities between the Haida and the Māori of New Zealand, maintaining that:

Their political organisation of the tribe, their ownership of land, and their laws of blood-revenge are similar. The men tattoo with designs intended to identify them with their sub-tribe or household, and they ornament their canoes, paddles, house fronts, etc., in some way the same manner as on the northwest coast.<sup>367</sup>

Niblack's interest in archaeology and ethnology may have been triggered by his period as a student at the Smithsonian Institution between 1883 and 1884.

Cyrus Thomas (1825–1910), also argued for Polynesian contact with the Americas based on cultural parallels and linguistic similarities. Thomas, a US archaeologist for the Bureau of American Ethnology, was appointed by John Wesley Powell, the Bureau's first director, to conduct mound explorations, which took up a large part of the Bureau's budget, to demonstrate that they were 'the work of the ancestors of contemporary Indians', resulting in the publication of a 730-page report.<sup>368</sup> Thomas' two articles on Polynesian-American connections, published in the *American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal* in 1894, maintained that both Polynesian and Melanesian infiltrations on the west coast of North and Central America had occurred.<sup>369</sup> His list

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<sup>366</sup> Ibid., 508.

<sup>367</sup> Albert P. Niblack, *The Coast Indians of Southern Alaska and Northern British Columbia* (Washington, D.C.: G.P.O, 1890), 385.

<sup>368</sup> Richard B. Woodbury and Nathalie F. S. Woodbury, 'The Rise and Fall of the Bureau of American Ethnology', *Journal of the Southwest* 41/3 (1999), 286.

<sup>369</sup> Cyrus Thomas, 'Origin of the Indians', *American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal* 16/1 (1894), 3–14; Thomas, 'Polynesian Types in Mexico and Central America', *American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal* 16/2 (1894), 99–105.

of evidence included the Central American 260-day calendar, which was comparable to the 240-day Polynesian one, and certain expressions such as the Māori *puh* (to blow) and the Mayan *ppuh* (to blow, to air, to disrupt). Thomas' ideas were heavily criticised by Wickersham in an 1894 article published in the same journal.<sup>370</sup> In this paper, however, Wickersham expressed his openness towards the possibility of some form of interaction between the Americas and 'Oceanica', particularly from the northwest coast to Polynesia although unclear if by sea, perhaps paving the way for his 1895 paper on the diffusion of the *patu-patu*, as mentioned above.<sup>371</sup>

### **Plants, Languages and Races**

The German botanist Berthold Carl Seemann (1821–1875) is regarded as the first scholar to report on a linguistic similarity between the term used for sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*) in New Zealand and South America.<sup>372</sup> Seemann, the originator of the argument that the sweet potato provided prime evidence for trans-Pacific contacts, believed that the diffusion of this tuber from South America resulted from return voyages by Polynesians across the eastern Pacific. Seemann's training in the field of botany commenced in 1844, and by the age of seventeen he had already written his first botanical paper. He travelled through the Americas between 1846 and 1848 and visited Panama, Peru, Ecuador, and Mexico. As a result of his visit to Panama in 1847, he discovered and studied new plants and presented a report on them that was read before the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. He was also involved with the creation and editorial of two journals, the first, the German *Bonplandia* which he operated with his brother between 1853 and 1862, and the second, the *Journal of Botany, British and Foreign* from 1863.<sup>373</sup>

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<sup>370</sup> James Wickersham, 'Origin of the Indians—The Polynesian Route', 325–335.

<sup>371</sup> *Ibid.*, 329.

<sup>372</sup> Rivet, 'Early Contacts between Polynesia and America', *Diogenes* 4/16 (1956), 78.

<sup>373</sup> G.S. Boulger, and Andrew Grout, 'Seemann, Berthold Carl (1825–1871), botanist and traveller', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 23 Sep. 2004; Accessed 14 Feb. 2020.

Seemann claimed to have informed Sir Clements R. Markham, mentioned above, about comparable Polynesian and South American expressions for the sweet potato, which Markham then incorporated into his Dictionary of Quechua.<sup>374</sup> In 1865, Seemann published *Flora Vitiensis*, where he made reference to the species *Ipomoea batatas* var. *edulis*, arguing that:

It [the sweet potato] is probably an introduction from New Zealand, as one of its native names (Kumara) is identical with that used by the Maories, and as the other vernacular name (Kawai ni papalagi, or foreign Dioscorea), points to its importation from abroad. It is singular that the Quichua name for sweet potato, which I found in the highlands of Ecuador, is ‘Cumar’, identical with the Polynesian Kumara or Umara, and perhaps pointing to the country whence the South Sea Islanders originally obtained this esculent. I directed the attention of Mr. [Clements] Markham to this fact, and he has incorporated it in his ‘Dictionary of the Quichua Language.’<sup>375</sup>

Although Markham did not publish extensively on trans-Pacific contact, he contended that the word *Tiabuanaco* [Tiwanaku] (the rock of lead) was Polynesian, suggesting a trans-Pacific connection with Rapa Nui.<sup>376</sup> Markham was involved in the Hakluyt Society, responsible to this day for the publication of early records of historic voyages, travels and other geographical material, including Spanish-language ones. He is regarded for his studies of the Quechua language, having collated a series of terms found in Quechua dictionaries and other publications from the seventeenth century created by Spanish and Latin American scholars, as well as noted in his travels to Peru in 1853 and 1860.<sup>377</sup> Markham’s argument concerning the importance of Quechua within the Inca Empire, as well as the fact that their principal term for sweet potato was *apichu* is further evidenced by a 1604 vocabulary of the Quechua language. Friar Juan

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<sup>374</sup> Berthold Carl Seemann, *Flora Vitiensis: A Description of the Plants of the Viti or Fiji Islands with an account of their history, uses, and properties* (London: L. Reeve and Co., 1865–73), 170.

<sup>375</sup> Ibid.

<sup>376</sup> Markham, ‘Meeting, 24 January 1870’, 119.

<sup>377</sup> Clements R. Markham, *Contributions towards a Grammar and Dictionary of Quichua, the Language of the Yncas of Peru* (London: Trübner & Co., 1864), 4–7.

Martínez's *Vocabulario en la lengua general del Perú llamada Quichua, y en la lengua española* (Vocabulary of the General Language of Peru called Quechua, and of the Spanish Language), lists *apichu* as the Quechua word for sweet potato, and not *cumar*. *Cumar*, however, does appear as a meaning for *apichu*, along with *camote*, the Aztec (*Nahuatl* language) term for sweet potato.<sup>378</sup> Markham's findings concerning the Quechua terms for the sweet potato have not been given much attention in later publications. Markham's silence in relation to the sweet potato as evidence of contact, given his expertise in the Quechua language, might have been indicative of an alternative diffusion mode (and timing) of this crop's entry into Polynesia, but it seems that no later researchers took up this implied suggestion. Markham published English translations of several Spanish chronicles and other important texts from pre-Columbian and colonial times from Middle and South America that may be interpreted as holding clues for the study of trans-Pacific contact.

Markham also published English translations of several Spanish chronicles and other important texts from pre-Columbian and colonial times from Middle and South America that may be interpreted as holding clues for the study of trans-Pacific contact. In *Contributions Towards a Grammar and Dictionary of Quichua, the Language of the Yncas of Peru* (1864), for instance, Markham observed the following noteworthy words: *api* (maize pudding), *apichu* (sweet potato - *Convolvulus batata* [now *Ipomoea batata*]), *chumpi* (a belt, band, fillet), *chumpillicuni* (to fasten around), *chumpi* (dark brown colour), *habua* (outside, behind), *habua-llapi* (on the top of), *habua-manta* (concerning), *habua-bucha* (venial sin), *habua-runa* (a stranger), *habua-ccollay* (flower of a cactus), *habuarini* (to tell fabulous tales of old times), *sauca sauca habuaricuna* (tales of former times), *habua-soncco* (candid), and *nina* (fire).<sup>379</sup> These words relate to the names of Auachumbi and Ninachumbi, the two islands in the Pacific Túpac Yupanqui is said to have ventured to,

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<sup>378</sup> Juan Martínez, *Vocabulario en la lengua general del Perú llamada Quichua, y en la lengua española* (Lima: Antonio Ricardo, 1604), 23.

<sup>379</sup> *Ibid.*, 74, 114, 117, 148.

mentioned in Chapter 2, as well as to the sweet potato. Variations of these same words feature in the tale of this travelling Inca ruler recounted by the three sixteenth-century Spanish chroniclers mentioned in Chapter 2. Others feed into contemporary or later trans-Pacific contact theories discussed in this and other chapters of this thesis, particularly chapters 7 and 8. As observed by Markham, ‘the Quichua language had its cradle in the districts round the ancient city of Cusco; and, as is well known, it was the policy of the Yncas of Peru to introduce it into every country which they conquered. Its use was gradually extended over the vast region from Quito to the confines of Chile and Tucuman, which formed the Empire of the Yncas’ and are generally-speaking also areas where it has been claimed that material culture evidence for trans-Pacific contact with Polynesia had been found.<sup>380</sup> Therefore, in a way, Markham’s work was implicit in later trans-Pacific contact theories and foreshadowed later lines of research specifically analysing linguistic and material culture connections between the Americas and Polynesia.

The Swiss botanist Alphonse Pyramus de Candolle (1806–1893), a specialist in the geographical distribution of plants, also explored ideas surrounding the diffusion of the sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*) and other crops present in Polynesia and the Americas. His work in botany was preceded by his father Augustin (1778–1841), and carried on by his son Casimir (1836–1918). In 1831, Alphonse succeeded his father as Professor of Botany at the University of Geneva, a position he held until 1850. He subsequently retired to private life, devoting himself to the study of botany.<sup>381</sup> The important 1883 publication *Origine des Plantes Cultivées* discussed the origins, and possibility of diffusion, of certain plants from around the globe.<sup>382</sup> Focussing on certain plants found in both the Americas and the islands of the Pacific – the banana (*Musa sapientum* and *M. paradisiaca*), the coconut palm (*Cocos nucifera*), and the batata or sweet potato

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<sup>380</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>381</sup> W.G. Farlow, ‘Alphonse De Candolle’, *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 28 (1892–93), 406–11.

<sup>382</sup> Alphonse de Candolle, *Origine des Plantes Cultivées* (Paris: Librairie Germer Baillié et Cie., 1883); Candolle, *Origin of Cultivated Plants* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1884); Candolle, *Origin of Cultivated Plants* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1885). Note that the 1884 British edition is henceforth used as a reference to Candolle’s work.

(*Ipomoea batatas*) – he argued that: ‘Between America and Asia two transports of useful plants perhaps took place, the one by man (the *Batata*, or sweet potato) the other by the agency of man or of the sea (the cocoa-nut palm)’.<sup>383</sup> De Candolle’s work contributed to understandings of trans-Pacific contact through his expertise in botany, although the book was not a comprehensive study on crop diffusion of the particular species that form part of the debate.

The English self-styled physician Samuel Matthias Curl (1827–1911) proposed in an 1885 article that ‘much more intercourse than is generally supposed took place in very ancient times between the continents of Africa, Asia, and America, and the islands lying in the seas and oceans separating these continents’.<sup>384</sup> At this point, Curl was living in New South Wales, following a thirty-three year stay in New Zealand, which concluded with the cancellation of his medical appointments as coroner and native medicine attendant in 1864, and the abandonment of his wife in 1887. In Sydney, he became known as Alan Carroll and founded the Anthropological Society of Australasia in 1885.<sup>385</sup>

While in Australia, Carroll claimed to be a paediatrician and amateur cryptographer. He was widely regarded as a liar and charlatan, including in the field of anthropology. In an 1892 article in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, he theorised that certain ancient Amerindians from Western America ‘sailed and traded over wide regions of the Pacific Ocean, long before Europeans went there. One such places to which they sailed was Easter Island [Rapa Nui], then much larger than it is at present’.<sup>386</sup> In his view, this was evidenced by a series of words and phrases from the ‘Toltecan [Mexico], Queché [Peru], Aztecan [Mexico], Tschimu [Peru], Carañ,

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<sup>383</sup> De Candolle, *Origin of Cultivated Plants* (1884), 462.

<sup>384</sup> S.M. Curl, ‘On Phoenician Intercourse with Polynesia’, *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 14 (1885), 273.

<sup>385</sup> Rex Earl Wright-St Clair, *Historia Nunc Vivat: Medical Practitioners in New Zealand 1840–1930* (Christchurch: Cotter Medical History Trust, 2013), 104.

<sup>386</sup> Alan Carroll, ‘The Easter Island inscriptions, and the translation and interpretation of them’, *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 1/2 (1892), 104.

Quito [Ecuador], Bacatan, Quichua [Peru], Muisca, Collan', and other languages that were present in the rongorongo inscriptions from Rapa Nui which he had claimed to decipher.<sup>387</sup>

In addition to Seemann and De Candolle, the British scholar Frederick William Christian (1867–1934) also studied the possibility of plant diffusion evidenced by linguistic comparisons linking Polynesia with the Americas.<sup>388</sup> Christian's academic training in philology at Oxford University and his expedition to the Pacific from 1894 to 1896 prompted his studies in Pacific and Amerindian languages. He joined the Royal Anthropological Institute in 1899 and was also a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society.<sup>389</sup> Christian outlined his ideas about trans-Pacific contact by presenting comparable terms for certain plants found in the Pacific Islands and the Americas, including sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*), ginger (*Zingiber officinalis*), and the coconut palm (*Cocos nucifera*). When discussing the sweet potato, for instance, he pondered the possibility of this species having been brought to South America from India across the Pacific, given the similarity of the Quechua word *kumara*, used to refer to the 'white potato', and certain Sanskrit words for the white esculent lotus (*Nymphaea esculenta*) including *kaumal*, *kumad* and *kamal*.<sup>390</sup> His 1897 and later publications are of great significance in trans-Pacific contact studies since they not only describe his views on the probability of contact, but have also featured as evidence in subsequent studies, particularly in relation to the alleged voyage of Túpac Yupanqui, as discussed in chapters 5, 6 and 7.

US scholars also explored ideas about contact with northwestern North America and Polynesia based on linguistic grounds. One such case was the work by John Campbell (1840–

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<sup>387</sup> Ibid.

<sup>388</sup> F.W. Christian, 'On the Distribution and Origin of Some Plant- and Tree-Names in Polynesia and Micronesia', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 6, No. 3 (1897), 123–40.

<sup>389</sup> Michelle Richards, 'Notes and Queries on Anthropology: Its Influence on Pacific Prehistoric Archaeology at the turn of the 20th Century', *Journal of Pacific Archaeology* 8/1 (2017), 12.

<sup>390</sup> Christian, 'On the Distribution and Origin of Some Plant- and Tree Names in Polynesia and Micronesia', 125.



1904), who published a series of linguistic studies between 1881 and 1899.<sup>391</sup> He predominantly drew comparisons between Amerindian (Mayan, Niskwalli, and Haidah) and Malayo-Polynesian languages. He also claimed that the ancient Salishans of North America had their origins in the northern Malay archipelago.<sup>392</sup> Melanesia also featured in Campbell's other trans-Pacific contact theories, as he argued for the arrival of Melanesians to the Northwest Coast of the Americas in remote times.<sup>393</sup> Accordingly, Campbell's principal contention was that parts of the Americas had been settled from the Malay archipelago via the Pacific islands, possibly during the eighth century AD for North America and the eleventh century for South America.<sup>394</sup>

Some of the publications discussing trans-Pacific contact that emerged during this period centred on both linguistic similarities and bioanthropological resemblances. The British ethnologist Charles Hill-Tout (1858–1944), for instance, produced comparable ideas to Campbell in an 1898 article noting physical and linguistic resemblances between North American (British Columbian) groups and the Malayo-Polynesians.<sup>395</sup> According to Hill-Tout, the 'Oceanic race' had spread 'from Madagascar on the west to Hawaii on the east, and from Formosa on the north to Easter Island on the south'. He further held that this 'race' probably also settled on the western shores of the Americas.<sup>396</sup> As evidence for his argument, Hill-Tout predominantly

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<sup>391</sup> John Campbell, 'On the Origin of Some American Indian Tribes', *Canadian Naturalist and Quarterly Journal of Science* 9/2 (1881), 65–80; Campbell, 'Origin of the Aborigines of Canada', *Transactions of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society* (1882), Campbell, 'The Origin of the Salishan Tribes of British Columbia and Washington', *Proceedings of the Canadian Institute n.s.*, 1 (1897), 39–50; Campbell, 'The Origin of the Haidahs of the Queen Charlotte Islands', *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* 3 (1897), 91–112; Campbell, 'Decipherment of the Hieroglyphic Inscriptions of Central America', *Transactions of the Canadian Institute* 6 (1899), 101–244.

<sup>392</sup> Campbell, 'The Origin of the Salishan Tribes of British Columbia and Washington', 44.

<sup>393</sup> Campbell, 'The Origin of the Haidahs of the Queen Charlotte Islands', 91–112.

<sup>394</sup> *Ibid.*, 95–97.

<sup>395</sup> Charles Hill-Tout, 'Oceanic Origin of the Kwakiutl-Nootka and Salish Stocks of British Columbia and Fundamental Unity of Same with Additional Notes on the Déné', *Royal Society of Canada* 4 (1898), 187–231.

<sup>396</sup> *Ibid.*, 188.

claimed linguistic similarities between various Oceanic and British Columbian words, and provided a list of comparable terminology.<sup>397</sup>

## **Biological Anthropology**

In 1842, one of the founders of physical anthropology, the renowned Swedish anthropologist Anders Adolf Retzius (1796–1860) refined Blumenbach’s racial division of humankind based on skin colour and proposed one based on skull morphology. One of his articles discussing skull morphology was translated for the Smithsonian Institution and published in English in 1859, evidencing his academic regard.<sup>398</sup> This article featured one of Retzius’ most important scientific contributions to the nineteenth century: the establishment of the cephalic index and the classification of human races on the basis of two distinct skull shapes, i.e. brachycephalic (short) and dolichocephalic (long).<sup>399</sup> In this article, Retzius argued that he had ‘long been convinced of the consanguinity between the brachycephalae of America and those of Asia and the Pacific islands, and that this characteristic type may be traced uninterruptedly through the long chain of tribes inhabiting the west coast of the American continent from Behring’s Straits to Cape Horn’.<sup>400</sup>

Retzius’s theory of the cephalic index influenced several theories of trans-Pacific contact, sometimes indirectly, that emerged in the nineteenth century, and even well into the twentieth century, as discussed in Chapter 6. Retzius’s ideas even translated to number of bioanthropological comparisons with racial undertones surrounding the settlement of the Americas and the Pacific. According to the German ethnographer Friedrich Ratzel (1844–1904),

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<sup>397</sup> Ibid., 190.

<sup>398</sup> Anders Retzius, ‘Present State of Ethnology in Relation to the Form of the Human Skull’, *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution* (Washington: Thomas H. Ford Printer, 1860), 251–70. See also Retzius, ‘Coup d’œil sur l’état actuel de l’ethnologie au point de vue de la forme du crâne osseux’, *Archives des Sciences Physiques et Naturelles* 7 (1860), 151–172, 256–272.

<sup>399</sup> Lazaros C. Triarhou, ‘Anders Retzius (1796–1860)’, *Journal of Neurology* 260/5 (2013), 1445–1446.

<sup>400</sup> Ibid.

Retzius's view of two types of human skulls was supported by the French anthropologist Paul Topinard (1830–1911) and to a lesser extent by the French physical anthropologist Armand de Quatrefages (1810–1892).<sup>401</sup> Quatrefages was a professor of anthropology at the Museum d'Histoire Naturelle, and with Leon de Rosny, he was involved in the Société Americaine and its short-lived publication.<sup>402</sup> He was also a stark critic of Brasseur de Bourbourg's and Le Plongeon's conjectures, who also entertained ideas about a sunken Pacific continent, as discussed in Chapter 4.<sup>403</sup> Retzius's morphological distinction of brachycephalic and dolichocephalic skulls became the foundation for various theories of trans-Pacific contacts and origins of the late nineteenth century, where Polynesians were generally classified as dolichocephalic, while in the Americas there were both dolichocephalic and brachycephalic, thus suggesting possible multiple migrations from diverse areas.<sup>404</sup> In 1878, in a paper on 'South American man', the Argentine explorer and scholar Francisco P. Moreno (1852–1919), founding Director of the La Plata Museum of Natural History, presented his view in line with Topinard's ideas about cephalic indexes and their racial implications that Polynesia and South America had once been a connected land, thus explaining the existence of dolichocephalic peoples in these geographical areas.<sup>405</sup>

William Healey Dall, discussed above, for example, argued in 1882 that brachycephalic peoples had overtaken and defeated the original dolichocephalic inhabitants of various parts of

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<sup>401</sup> Friedrich Ratzel, *The History of Mankind*, Vol. 2 (London: Macmillan and Co., 1897), 12; Paul Topinard, *L'Anthropologie* (Paris: C. Reinwald Et Cie Libraires-Éditeurs, 1876), 254–58, 464–65; Quatrefages, *The Human Species* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1879), 230, 371.

<sup>402</sup> Laurière, 'La Société des Américanistes de Paris: une société savante au service de l'américanisme', *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 95/2, 93–115.

<sup>403</sup> Ibid.

<sup>404</sup> For a discussion on the cephalic index contemporary to Retzius, see John Crawford, 'On the Classification of the Races of Man According to the Form of the Skull', *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London* 6 (1868), 127–134.

<sup>405</sup> Moreno, *El estudio del hombre sud-americano* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta de la Nación, 1878); Irina Podgorny *et al.*, 'Caballeros de la noche. Antropología y museos en la Argentina de las últimas décadas del siglo XIX', in *Las ciencias en la formación de las naciones americanas* (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2014), 201–228.

the Pacific including New Zealand.<sup>406</sup> Dall's racial hypothesis contended that certain Amerindian cultural features from the western coast of the Americas were 'evidently related more to those of the Melanesians or predecessors of the true Polynesians than to the latter, except so far as the Polynesians have been modified by the customs of their forerunners'.<sup>407</sup> In his view, these cultural features would have reached the northwest coast of the Americas from the Pacific, as well as Mexico, Central America and Peru. The cultural elements cited by Dall included comparable Amerindian masks, carvings, labrets, methods for the preservation of human heads, as well as certain myths.<sup>408</sup>

## Conclusion

This chapter has conveyed some of the most important ideas of trans-Pacific contact of the nineteenth century that were scientifically driven. They were proposed by mostly secular scholars and were backed by archaeological, linguistic, anthropological, bioanthropological, or phenotypic evidence, observations or comparisons.

The scientific theories described in this chapter proposed that objects such as North, Central or South American stone clubs, and Californian fishhooks could denote contact events linking the Americas with Polynesia. Ideas on origins and migrations contended that eastward contact from the Pacific could explain the diffusion of linguistic expressions and cultural practices from the Americas into Polynesia. These scientific hypotheses were mainly proffered by North American and British scholars, however European scholars such as Jacobsen also

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<sup>406</sup> Dall, *On Masks, Labrets, and Certain Aboriginal Customs, with an Inquiry into the Bearing of their Geographical Distribution* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of Ethnology, 1882), 147–8; G.H. Parker, 'William Healey Dall (1845-1927)', *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 62/9 (1928), 252.

<sup>407</sup> Dall, *On Masks, Labrets, and Certain Aboriginal Customs, with an Inquiry into the Bearing of their Geographical Distribution*, 147–8.

<sup>408</sup> *Ibid.*, 67–202.

entertained these ideas and, like other US scholars, considered the northwest of North America as a possible point of contact with Polynesia.

The work of De Candolle, Seemann and Christian particularly furthered interest in the subject in that they initiated discussions on the diffusion of the sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*) and other plants like ginger (*Zingiber officinalis*), and the coconut palm (*Cocos nucifera*). Rivero and Tschudi's work is also arguably among the most significant since their observation of a Polynesian-like weapon (*patu*) found in South America was the start of a debate that continues today. Lastly, as argued in this chapter, aside from Markham's belief in comparable monumental architecture linking Rapa Nui with Tiwanaku and denoting a possible contact event, the linguistic and historical studies by this British scholar may have anticipated later lines of research addressing linguistic and material culture connections between South America and Polynesia.

The theories discussed in this and the previous chapter are considered foundational since they mark the earliest use of later common tropes – lost continents, east or west directions of migration across the Pacific, diffusion of plants and material culture, among others. The anthropological, archaeological, cultural and linguistic elements that formed the basis of the studies described in this and the previous chapter will be further addressed in chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8, which examine how these foundations have been revisited in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. These later chapters will explore how earlier ideas have been developed, modified, or reinterpreted, at times with additional evidence or new approaches. The later scholarly additions, as will be shown, have had the effect of complicating the debate and concealing the contexts that have shaped present-day theories and speculations, making the evidence adduced and the theories themselves questionable and in much need of a historical analysis as undertaken in this thesis.

## CHAPTER 5 Notions of Contacts and Origins in the Twentieth Century

### Introduction

Much like the nineteenth century, as discussed in chapters 3 and 4, the early to mid-twentieth century saw a continuing proliferation of trans-Pacific contact ideas and theories linking Oceania with the Americas. This intellectual multiplication stemmed from the publication and availability of texts from previous centuries which discussed comparable ideas and deployed evidence suggestive of such contacts, including some of the sixteenth-century publications discussed in Chapter 2, some of which were facilitated by Markham, as mentioned in Chapter 4. These advances in research followed a global increase in ethnographic studies in the late nineteenth century. Where the nineteenth-century scholarship by missionaries in the Pacific, for example, was largely speculative and comparative, the studies of the first half of the twentieth century were more systematic and in-depth. This chapter mirrors Chapter 3 in that it covers ideas about trans-Pacific contact by religious scholars, and theories presented at the International Congress of Americanists (ICA). It also presents the intellectual context that framed some of these ideas, which mostly derived from the emergence of hyperdiffusionist and diffusionist perspectives, and the ideas that emerged from these frameworks. During the period covered in this chapter, ideas about a lost or sunken Pacific continent also continued to be discussed, at times building on previous Western thinking about the Pacific Ocean and its real or imagined lands, as illustrated in chapters 2 and 3.<sup>409</sup>

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<sup>409</sup> For example James Churchward, *The Lost Continent of Mu* (Albuquerque: BE Books; Saffron Walden: The C.W. Daniel Company Limited, 1987 [1926]).

## Hyperdiffusionism and Diffusionism

Hyperdiffusionist and diffusionist ideas in the fields of anthropology and archaeology were influential in parts of Europe and the Americas, including Great Britain, the United States and Argentina, during the early twentieth century. In Britain, Pitt-Rivers, first mentioned in Chapter 4, led the displacement of socio-cultural evolutionary theories by diffusionism, which developed into a movement that proposed ancient Egypt as the ultimate point of origin for modern cultures.<sup>410</sup> Pitt-Rivers, a theorist, museum creator and collector, is perhaps best known because of the museum in Oxford that bears his name. He was attached to this museum from its foundation until his death. Preceding its formation, Pitt-Rivers donated his collection of 25,000 objects to the University of Oxford. The museum now holds a collection of more than 300,000 objects beyond those attributable to Pitt-Rivers.<sup>411</sup> The British hyperdiffusionist, or Heliolithic school he helped to build contributed to the trans-Pacific contact debate during the first three decades of the twentieth century.

In addition to Pitt-Rivers, there were two other supporters of this British ‘hyperdiffusionist’ movement that were once described as its ‘great trio of champions’.<sup>412</sup> They were the British geographer and anthropologist William James Perry (1887–1949) and the Australian anatomist and controversialist Grafton Elliot Smith (1871–1937). This ‘trio’ supported the idea of a common origin for all humanity. Pitt-Rivers, the most ‘moderate’ of the three, believed the cradle of civilisation was in Oceania, while Grafton Elliot Smith (henceforth

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<sup>410</sup> For example Grafton Elliott Smith, *The Migrations of Early Culture: A Study of the Significance of the Geographical Distribution of the Practice of Mummification as Evidence of the Migrations of Peoples and the Spread of Certain Customs and Beliefs* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1915); William James Perry, *The Children of the Sun: A Study in the Early History of Civilization* (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1923).

<sup>411</sup> Jeremy Coote, ‘Archaeology, Anthropology, and Museums, 1851–2014: Rethinking Pitt-Rivers and His Legacy – An Introduction’, *Museum History Journal* 7/2 (2014), 126, 129.

<sup>412</sup> Clayton Joel, ‘3. William James Perry, 1887–1949’, *Man* 50 (1950), 6.

G.E. Smith), and Perry, believed it was in Egypt.<sup>413</sup> Perry was influenced by Pitt-Rivers' and G.E. Smith's views and developed an original perspective of his own, as evidenced in his 1923 publication *Children of the Sun*.<sup>414</sup> Perry believed that the diffusion of culture was 'essentially the result of human activities motivated by the search for the desired substances'.<sup>415</sup> Perry listed evidence for such diffusion including irrigation practices, totemism, exogamy, metallurgy, and stone-working. His main argument was that the worship of the sun was an important driving element of the cultures that spread to the various parts of the globe.<sup>416</sup> Although Perry's views supported and contributed to the spread of G.E. Smith's ideas, his ideas on the settlement of the world were more systematic and logical.<sup>417</sup> In contrast, G.E. Smith's ideas were contemporaneously criticised for being based on 'random superficial resemblances'.<sup>418</sup>

G.E. Smith claimed in 1916 that the pre-Columbian high civilisation of the Americas had Egyptian origins, as well as Ethiopian, Mediterranean, West Asiatic, Indian, Indonesian, East Asiatic and Polynesian influences acquired along the way. Amongst the evidence he cited to support his claim, he mentioned comparable customs and beliefs including pyramidal structures, irrigation canal usage, and mummification practices. He believed that these shared customs and beliefs were the result of a wave of diffusion of cultural practices that reached the American Pacific coast.<sup>419</sup> His ideas about a common origin for Amerindians and Polynesians were

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<sup>413</sup> Joan Vincent, *Anthropology and Politics: Visions, Traditions, and Trends* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1990), 121.

<sup>414</sup> William James Perry, *The Children of the Sun. A Study in the Early History of Civilization* (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1923), 4.

<sup>415</sup> Joel, '3. William James Perry, 1887–1949', 7.

<sup>416</sup> Perry, *The Children of the Sun*, 406.

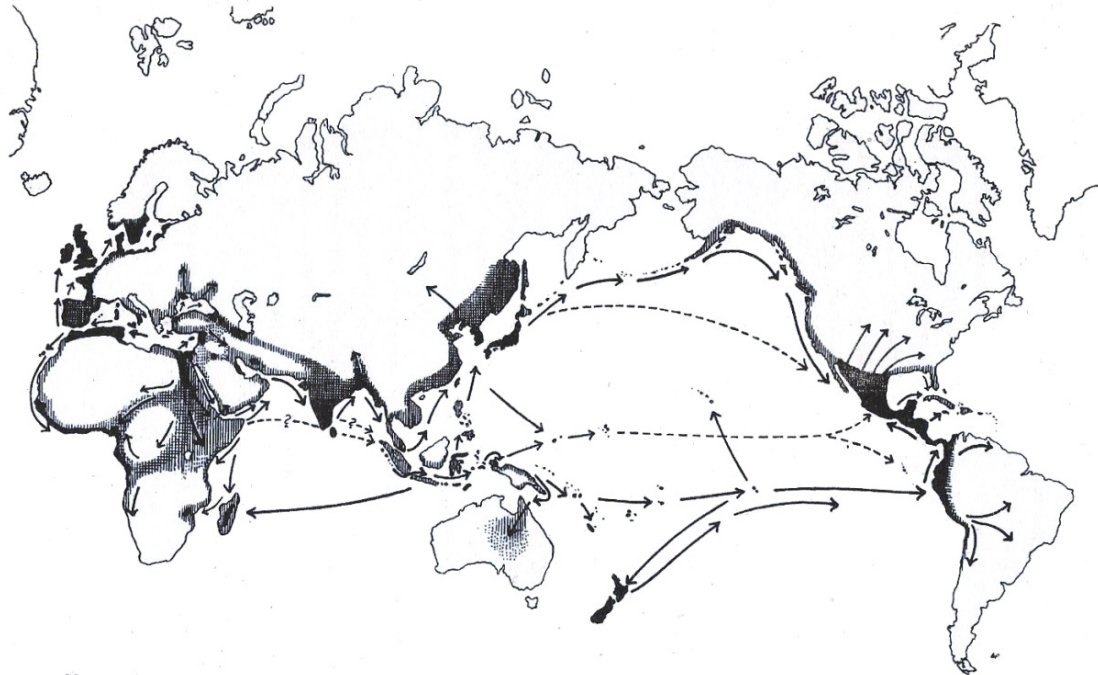
<sup>417</sup> E.N. Fallaize, 'Review. The Children of the Sun: A Study in the Early History of Civilization by W. J. Perry; The Origin of Magic and Religion by W. J. Perry', *Folklore* 34/4 (1923), 401.

<sup>418</sup> Ibid.

<sup>419</sup> Grafton Elliot Smith, 'The Origin of the pre-Columbian Civilization of America', *Science* 44/1128 (1916), 191–92.



published in ten major works on the topic between 1915 and 1928.<sup>420</sup> Figure 11 below contains a map by this Australian scholar illustrating his theory.



Map 2.—An attempt to represent roughly the areas more directly affected by the "heliolithic" culture-complex, with arrows to indicate the hypothetical routes taken in the migrations of the culture-bearers who were responsible for its diffusion.

**Figure 11.** Map of Grafton Elliot Smith's Heliolithic Theory (Source: Grafton Elliot Smith, 1929).

In American and British academia, diffusionism was not always a favoured perspective and at times clashed with ideas about independent invention. An example of such debate within American and British academia occurred in the form of an exchange in the journal *Science* in 1916 and 1917 between G.E. Smith, who spent most of his formative academic years in Britain (1896–1900 and 1909–1937), the Russian-born US anthropologist Alexander Aleksandrovich Goldenweiser (1880–1940), and the US anthropologist and historian Philip Ainsworth Means

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<sup>420</sup> For example, G.E. Smith, *The Influence of Ancient Egyptian Civilization in the East and in America*, Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 3 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1916); G.E. Smith, 'The Diffusion of Culture', in G.E. Smith, Bronislaw Malinowski, Herbert J. Spinden, and Alex Goldenweiser (eds.), *Culture: The Diffusion Controversy* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1927), 9–25.

(1892–1944).<sup>421</sup> These scholars speculated on settlement theories of the Americas more generally, as well as the possibility of trans-Pacific contact between Polynesia and the Americas more specifically. This debate included observations on and objections to G.E. Smith’s hypothesis of Egyptian cultural diffusion to the Americas, highlighting the uncertainty and diverging perspectives surrounding the origins of Amerindian culture, and perhaps the preferred perspective of independent invention among US scholars.

In the United States, the diffusionist movement, largely driven by the German-American anthropologist Franz Boas (1858–1942), suggested a shorter diffusionist spread in comparison to G.E. Smith’s Heliolithic theory.<sup>422</sup> On the peripheries of this primary diffusionist perspective, contrary views (i.e. isolationist) emerged in the United States, particularly after 1950, culminating in John Howland Rowe’s 1966 critique ‘Diffusionism and Archaeology’.<sup>423</sup> Despite such contrary positions, a number of papers by North American scholars discussing probable trans-Pacific contact between Oceania and the Americas were published before 1950. They included a collaborative article by a team including Jesse Walter Fewkes (1850–1930), once president of the American Anthropological Association, Aleš Hrdlička and William Healey Dall, who is mentioned in Chapter 4.<sup>424</sup> This paper, presented as a discussion at a joint session of the American Anthropological Association and the American Association for the Advancement of

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<sup>421</sup> G.E. Smith, ‘The Origin of the pre-Columbian Civilization of America’ (1916), 190–95; A.A. Goldenweiser, ‘Diffusion Vs. Independent Origin: A Rejoinder to Professor G. Elliot Smith’, *Science* 44/1137 (1916), 531–33; Philip Ainsworth Means, ‘Some Objections to Mr. Elliot Smith’s Theory’, *Science* 44/1137 (1916), 533–34; G.E. Smith, ‘The Origin of the pre-Columbian Civilization of America’, *Science* 45/1158 (1917), 241–46.

<sup>422</sup> Han F. Vermeulen, *Before Boas: The Genesis of Ethnography and Ethnology in the German Enlightenment* (Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 2015), 400–8, 414–17; Donald H. Holly, *History in the Making: The Archaeology of the Eastern Subarctic* (Lanham, Boulder, New York, Toronto, Plymouth, UK: AltaMira Press, 2013), 6; Bruce Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 152. See also Franz Boas, ‘The Methods of Ethnology’, *American Anthropologist* 22/4 (1920), 311–21.

<sup>423</sup> J.H. Rowe, ‘Diffusionism and Archaeology’, *American Antiquity* 31 (1966), 334–37. See also Luis Pericot y García, ‘El punto de vista de un arqueólogo europeo ante los problemas de la prehistoria americana’, in *Jornadas Internacionales de Arqueología y Etnografía: Segunda Mesa Redonda Internacional de Arqueología y Etnografía, Vol. 2: La Arqueología y Etnografía Argentina y sus Correlaciones Continentales y Extracontinentales* (1960), 17–18.

<sup>424</sup> J. Walter Fewkes *et al.*, ‘The Problems of the Unity or Plurality and the Probable Place of Origin of the American Aborigines’, *American Anthropologist* 14/1 (1912), 1–59.

Science in 1911, argued for Polynesian-Amerindian cultural connections and concluded that these two groups had the same origins.<sup>425</sup>

The US anthropologist R.B. Dixon also published several works in support of Oceanic-American cultural connections. In a response to a critique of his 1916 book *Oceanic Mythology*, Dixon affirmed the existence of ‘well-known and puzzling resemblances between the two areas’, referring to comparable mythologies between Oceania and the Americas.<sup>426</sup> In an article on ‘Polynesian origins’, the American ethnologist E.S.C. Handy (1892–1980) also recognised that, despite what he saw as compelling evidence of Oceanic-Amerindian connections proffered by Rivet, Friederici, Imbelloni and other scholars as discussed in Chapter 6, North American anthropologists were not eagerly adopting and supporting these views.<sup>427</sup>

In Argentina, the scholars Julio A. (J.A.) Ibarra Grasso, whose birth and death dates are unavailable, and Dick Edgar (D.E.) Ibarra Grasso (1914–2000), also advocated diffusionist perspectives. Just after World War II, the Ibarra Grasso brothers proposed a hyperdiffusionist hypothesis that a long-distance migration had taken place from the Mediterranean and Asia to the Americas via the islands of the Pacific, as suggested by rafts found in Egypt, the Pacific Islands, and the Americas.<sup>428</sup> J.A. Ibarra Grasso’s publications on the subject were limited, however his brother published extensively on Oceanic-American connections, largely after 1950. D.E. Ibarra Grasso claimed that elements in certain South American pre-Columbian numeral systems, rafts and sailing techniques, languages, stone tools (particularly the *patu*) and

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<sup>425</sup> Ibid., 59.

<sup>426</sup> R.B. Dixon, *Oceanic [Mythology]* (Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1916), 491pp.; R.B. Dixon, ‘Culture Contact and Migration versus Independent Origin: A Plea for More Light’, *American Anthropologist* 20/1 (1918), 124–128.

<sup>427</sup> E.S.C. Handy, ‘The Problem of Polynesian Origins’, *Occasional Papers of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum of Polynesian Ethnology and Natural History* 9/8 (1923).

<sup>428</sup> For example J.A. Ibarra Grasso, ‘Las grandes balsas indígenas’, *Revista Geográfica Americana* 29/173 (1948), 74–80. See also D.E. Ibarra Grasso and J.A. Ibarra Grasso, *Historia de la navegación primitiva* (Buenos Aires: Ministerio de Marina & Francisco Libelari, 1949).

monumental structures denoted connections with Oceanic cultures. His debts to G.E. Smith are clear.<sup>429</sup>

## **Ideas by Religious Scholars**

During the twentieth century, a number of religious scholars researched the probability of trans-Pacific connections between the Americas and Polynesia on religious and linguistic grounds. In North America in 1905, the US archaeologist Stephen Denison Peet (1831–1914) argued for borrowed cult elements linking Polynesia and North America, as observed in Polynesian and Haida (Canada) symbolism featured in commemorative columns and worship elements.<sup>430</sup> He postulated that ‘there was a Polynesian or Asiatic ancestor worship mingled with it [the North American cult system], which gave a new tinge to and which ultimately resulted in that very unique system’.<sup>431</sup> In Peet’s view, there was a clear link between elements of the ‘extensive Polynesian esoteric system’ and those of the Haida, however he gave no indication as to when or how this contact would have occurred. Common in New Zealand, the symbolic similarities with the Haida listed by Peet included ‘the cremation of the bodies and the preservation of the ashes’; storing heads in boxes or transporting them with the people; ‘the cremation of the husband and immolation of the widows and slaves’; burying bodies in canoes; ‘erecting the statues with protruding tongues in the midst of cemeteries’; ‘the preservation of garments and making them “taboo”’; ‘glorifying the memories of heroes and ancestors by the carved figures’; and ‘naming the divinities, and calling them ancestors, and offering sacrifices to them in the cemeteries’.<sup>432</sup> According to Peet, there were other points of resemblance in customs and worship symbols,

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<sup>429</sup> See References for full details of publications by J.A. and D.E. Ibarra Grasso.

<sup>430</sup> Stephen D. Peet, *Myths and Symbols; or, Aboriginal Relations in America* (Chicago: Office of the American Antiquarian, 1905), 333–361.

<sup>431</sup> *Ibid.*, 355.

<sup>432</sup> *Ibid.*, 356.

including ‘the position of the hands, the abdominal protuberance, the protruding tongue, the arrangement of faces and figures in stories, the attitude and location of the images’. In sum, these elements, especially the commemorative columns from New Zealand and their similarities with ones from the northwest coast of the Americas demonstrated that there either had been contact between Polynesia and the western coast of the Americas or a ‘transmission of religious conceptions’.<sup>433</sup>

In 1878 Peet founded the *American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal*, which he edited and published for thirty-two years.<sup>434</sup> He was a corresponding member of a number of US and international associations, including the American Oriental Society, the New England Historic Genealogical Society, the American Numismatic Society, the Davenport Academy of Sciences, the Philosophical Society of Great Britain, the Society of Biblical Archaeology, and the American Antiquarian Society.<sup>435</sup> His interest in archaeology developed while accompanying his father, a missionary, on various trips. He became particularly interested in the Indigenous populations of North America and in the mounds they had constructed in ancient times, a popular research topic in the US since the early nineteenth century.<sup>436</sup> He obtained his doctorate in 1890 from Beloit College, where his father, Reverend Stephen Peet, was one of the founding members.<sup>437</sup>

After Peet, perhaps reminiscent of nineteenth-century scholar Joaquín Martínez de Zúñiga, discussed in Chapter 3, the Spanish missionary Agustín Barreiro (1865–1937), wrote a treatise on the origin of the inhabitants of the Caroline Islands, the archipelago which covers what is today the Republic of Palau and part of the Federated States of Micronesia, including

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<sup>433</sup> Ibid., 357.

<sup>434</sup> Anonymous, ‘Obituaries’, *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 26 (April 12, 1916), 16–17.

<sup>435</sup> Ibid.

<sup>436</sup> Ibid.; William Green, Meghan Campbell Caves and Leslie Lea Williams, ‘The Myrick Park Mounds (47Lc10), an Effigy Mound Site in Western Wisconsin’, *Midcontinental Journal of Archaeology* 44/2 (2019), 207.

<sup>437</sup> Anonymous, ‘Obituaries’, *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 26 (April 12, 1916), 16–17.

high islands such as Chuuk (Truk), Pohnpei (Ponape) and Kosrae.<sup>438</sup> Barreiro's work was originally presented as a paper at the Seville Science Congress in 1917 and published in 1920. It argued that the language of Yap, in the Western Caroline Islands, resembled the Otomí language of central Mexico, and that its origins could be attributed to this part of the Americas.<sup>439</sup> In addition to this linguistic resemblance, Barreiro cited other elements of evidence demonstrating a general trans-Pacific connection with different parts of the Americas, including the 'cyclopean constructions' from these islands, Rapa Nui and the Americas, and elements of dress like the *tiputa* of Tahiti that resembled the South American *poncho*.<sup>440</sup> Barreiro's views were shaped by Quoy and Gaimard, Bory de Saint Vincent, and Martínez de Zúñiga, whom are mentioned in Chapter 3. He also cited the works of a number of other nineteenth-century scholars including Blanchard (*Voyage au Pôle Sud*, 1854), Cabeza ('La isla de Ponapé', 1893), Lesson (*Les Polynésiens*, 1880), and Montes de Oca (*La isla de Jap*, 1893), and observed their perspectives surrounding the skin colour and racial classifications of Amerindians and Pacific Islanders to deduce his.<sup>441</sup> In view of the above, Barreiro argued that at least some of the inhabitants of the Pacific islands had Amerindian origins.<sup>442</sup>

After Barreiro, Father Sebastian Englert (1888–1969), a German missionary to Rapa Nui, conducted two studies in 1934 on linguistic parallels between Polynesian and South American languages during the first half of the twentieth century. He addressed supposed similarities between Chile's Araucanian language and the Rapa Nui language and identified twenty

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<sup>438</sup> Agustín Barreiro, *El origen de la raza indígena de las islas Carolinas* (Madrid: Impr. del Asilo de Huérfanos del S.C. de Jesús, 1920).

<sup>439</sup> *Ibid.*, 126.

<sup>440</sup> *Ibid.*, 104–126.

<sup>441</sup> *Ibid.*, 121–26. See also Anacleto Cabeza, 'La isla de Ponapé', *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica* 1 (1893), 7–68; Pierre Adolphe Lesson, *Les Polynésiens: Leur Origine, Leurs Migrations, Leur Langage*, 4 Vols. (Paris: E. Leroux, 1880–84); José Montes de Oca, 'La isla de Jap', *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica* 1 (1893), 251–79.

<sup>442</sup> Barreiro, *El origen de la raza indígena de las islas Carolinas*, 104–126.

comparable terms, and included a series of Quechua words when they resembled the latter.<sup>443</sup>

illustrates these words.

**Table 5.** Comparable terminology between Araucanian, Aymará, Quechua and Rapa Nui languages. Adapted from Englert.

Araucanian or Mapuche	Aymará	Quechua	Rapa Nui
<i>adentu</i> (image, portrait)			<i>ata</i> (image, portrait)
<i>amun</i> (to go, to advance)		<i>hamuy</i> (to come)	<i>ka pu amua</i> (to go forward); <i>obo amua</i> (to lead the way); <i>amua</i> (to precede); <i>a mua</i> (in front); <i>amua</i> (let's go)
<i>apémn</i> (to finish with something, to conclude)		<i>apay</i> (to take, to carry)	<i>hapai</i> (to take, to transport, to accept); <i>hapaiki ruga</i> (to carry)
<i>ké</i> (animal liver)			<i>keo</i> (stomach)
<i>kimn</i> (to know, to learn, to guess, to feel)			<i>kimikimi</i> (to search for, to inquire, to inform); <i>kimikimiga</i> (inquiry)
<i>kinwun</i> (to sound well)			<i>kinukin</i> (sonorous, bell); <i>hakakinukin</i> (to sound, to ring a bell)
<i>kerpu</i> (bosom, lap)			<i>kopu</i> (entrails, belly)
<i>kadi</i> (human or animal flank); <i>kadil</i> (one of the sides of something)			<i>Kaokao</i> (flank, side)
<i>kuikui</i> (log bridge)			<i>kuikui</i> (to wobble)
<i>kuru</i> (black, dark)			<i>huriburi</i> (black); <i>uri</i> (black)
<i>péneñ</i> (son or daughter in relation to the mother)			<i>poki</i> (son, child); <i>poreko</i> (to be born, born, to give birth, birth)
<i>pichi, piti</i> (small, often, variant)	<i>pisi</i> (little)	<i>pisi</i> (little, less, scarce, deficient); <i>piti</i> (piece, little); <i>pishi</i> (scarce, few, less)	<i>iti</i> (little, small); <i>poto, potopoto</i> (brief, short)
<i>pun</i> (night)		<i>puñuy</i> (to sleep)	<i>po</i> (night)
<i>pue</i> (the area above, below, or inside the abdomen)			<i>poki puepue</i> (abortion)
<i>rou</i> (branch)			<i>rou</i> (fishhook, cane with hook, hook)
<i>tao, chau</i> (father)			<i>matua</i> (father); <i>etua, atua</i> (god)

<sup>443</sup> Sebastián Englert, 'Los elementos derivados del aymará y el quichua en el idioma araucano', *Anales de la Facultad de Filosofía y Educación* 1/1 (1934), 5–27; Englert, 'Araucano y Rapa Nui. Ensayo de comparación lingüística', *Anales de la Facultad de Filosofía y Educación* 1/1 (1934), 28–35.

Araucanian or Mapuche	Aymará	Quechua	Rapa Nui
<i>toki</i> (adze)			<i>toki</i> (stone adze)
<i>waria</i> (city)	<i>huasara</i> (house, town or place without a living soul)	<i>huari</i> (born in a town, Indigenous, native); <i>huasi</i> (house, room); <i>huasibuasi</i> (hamlet)	<i>hare</i> (house, lodging, cabin)
<i>unu</i> (drink)		<i>unu</i> (water)	<i>Unu</i> (to drink); <i>unuga</i> (drink)

Although Englert's views on these similarities remained inconclusive, he is regarded as the 'first researcher to point out the possible existence of diverse types of linguistic relationships between Mapuche, Quechua, and Aymará'.<sup>444</sup> Besides suggesting that the Inca expansion into Chile, which occurred between 1470 and 1536, facilitated the sharing of language, Englert argued that it was necessary to consider a common origin for certain expressions between these three languages. He also explored the relationships between Mapudungun (Mapuche) or Araucanian and Rapa Nui languages, which would have resulted from a trans-Pacific diffusion that also influenced the Quechua language.<sup>445</sup>

### The International Congress of Americanists (ICA)<sup>446</sup>

Between 1910 and 1947 (the 17th to the 28th Congresses), the International Congress of Americanists (ICA) featured twenty-four presentations citing aspects of material culture, linguistic affinities, and cultural similarities such as myths and oral traditions as evidence of trans-Pacific contacts. A number of papers by Imbelloni, Vega, Sprinzin, Mendes Corrêa, and Ibarra Grasso either consolidated certain viewpoints surrounding trans-Pacific diffusion and migration

<sup>444</sup> Rodrigo Moulian, María Catrileo, and Pablo Landeo, 'Afines Quechua en el Vocabulario Mapuche de Luis de Valdivia', *Revista de Lingüística Teórica y Aplicada* 53/2 (2015), 75.

<sup>445</sup> Ibid.

<sup>446</sup> An expanded version of this section was presented at the 56<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Americanists held in Salamanca, Spain in 2018. See Andrea Ballesteros Danel, 'América y Polinesia: una historia de ideas de contactos transpacíficos precolombinos desde una perspectiva europea' (The Americas and Polynesia: A History of Ideas Trans-Pacific Contact from a European Perspective), in Manuel Alcántara, Mercedes García Montero and Francisco Sánchez López (ed.), *Simposios innovadores: 56.º Congreso Internacional de Americanistas*, Vol. 19 (Salamanca: University of Salamanca, 2019), 64–78.



(e.g. Imbelloni's 1930 and 1932 papers on the *toki* and the various papers on Andean-Māori linguistic connections) or opened them up for further discussion and critique (e.g., Mendes Corrêa's 1926 paper on alternative routes for the peopling of the Americas, including one across the Pacific and then via the southern tip of South America, a view supported and developed by the French anthropologist Paul Rivet).<sup>447</sup> Table 6 contains a list of these publications.

**Table 6.** ICA presentations (1910–1947) arguing for, or alluding to pre-Columbian connections between Oceania and the Americas.

Session	Year	Location	Author	Title
17	1910	Buenos Aires	Echeverría y Reyes	'Datos sobre los jeroglíficos de la Isla de Pascua' ('Details about the Rapa Nui hieroglyphs')
				'Noticias sobre la extinguida lengua Cunza (en San Pedro de Atacama)' ('News about the extinct Cunza language in San Pedro de Atacama')
19	1915	Washington	Safford	'Food-plants and Textiles of Ancient America'
20	1922	Rio de Janeiro	Urteaga	'Las antiguas civilizaciones y razas del Perú' ('The ancient civilizations and races of Peru')
21	1924	The Hague and Gothenburg	Aichel	'Osterinselpalaeolithen in prähistorischen Gräbern Chiles' ('Rapa Nui Palaeoliths in Chilean Prehistoric Tombs')
			Lebzelter	'Ein Onaschadel aus Feuerland; zur Frage des Vorkommens eines australoiden Rassenelementes in Sud-Amerika' ('An Ona needle from Tierra del Fuego; on the occurrence of an Australoid racial element in South America')
22	1926	Rome	Mendes-Correa	'Nouvelle hypotheses sur le peuplement primitif de l'Amérique du Sud' ('New hypotheses on the primitive settlement of South America')
			Gagnon	'Note sur l'unité d'origine ou la pluralité des races indigènes américaines' ('Note on the common origin or plurality of Indigenous American races')
			Imbelloni	'L'Idioma Kechua nel Sistema Linguistico dell'Oceano Pacifico' ('The Quechua language in the linguistic system of the Pacific Ocean')
				'Le relazioni di parentela dei popoli Andini seguono il "sistema classificatore" proprio degli Oceanici' ('The parentage of the Andean peoples in relation to the "classification system" of Oceanians')
			Palavecino	'Glosario comparado Kichua-Maori' ('Quechua-Māori comparative glossary')
Sergi	'Di alcuni caratteri speciali negli indigeni americani; contributo alla soluzione del problema della loro origine' ('On some special characters of American Indigenous people; a contribution to the solution of the problem of their origin')			

<sup>447</sup> A.A. Mendes Corrêa, 'Nouvelle hypothèse sur le peuplement primitif de l'Amérique du Sud', in *Proceedings of the Twenty-Second International Congress of Americanists*, Vol. 1 (Rome: Stab. tip. R. Garroni, 1928), 97–118.

Session	Year	Location	Author	Title
23	1928	New York	Sprinzin	'The Blowgun in America, Indonesia and Oceania'
24	1930	Hamburg	Imbelloni	'Der Zauber "Toki". Die Zuberformel des Maori-Zimmermannes beim Fällen eines Baumes, die Wörtlich in der Chilenischen Erzählung vom Alten Tatrpay Erhalten ist' ('The "Magic Toki": The Māori Chant when Knocking down a Tree, Preserved in the Chilean Tale of the Old Tatrpay')
			Oiticica	'Do método no estudo das linguas sudamericanas' ('On the method of study of South American languages')
			Sapper	'Der Kulturzustand der Indianer vor der Berührung mit den Europaern und in der Gegenwart' ('The cultural status of Indigenous [Americans] before European contact and in the present')
25	1932	La Plata	Imbelloni	' <i>Toki del Perú</i> ' (' <i>Toki?</i> from Peru')
			Vega	'La flauta de pan andina' ('The Andean pan pipe')
			Ibarra Grasso	'Las hachas de piedra y de metal en América, con relación a las formas líticas que imitan modelos metálicos y paralelos transpacíficos' ('Stone and metal adzes in relation to lithic types that resemble metal models and their trans-Pacific parallels')
26	1935	Seville	Loukotka	'Sobre la clasificación de las lenguas indígenas de América del Sur' ('On the classification of South American Indigenous languages')
27	1939	Mexico City and Lima	Gessler	'Some Aspects of Polynesian Culture in Their Bearing upon America'
			Imbelloni	'Sobre craneología de los Uru. Supervivencia de razas australoides en los Andes' ('On the craneology of the Uru, the survival of Australoid races in the Andes')
28	1947	Paris	Rouget	'La conque comme signe des migrations océaniques en Amérique' ('The conch shell as a sign of Oceanic migrations in the Americas')

The varied hypotheses about trans-Pacific contact between Oceania and the Americas discussed at the ICA resulted from its interdisciplinary and international nature. Some trans-Pacific contact theories presented at the ICA between 1910 and 1947 were hypotheses based on non-material evidence. 'Noticias sobre la extinguida lengua Cunza (en San Pedro de Atacama)' ('News about the extinct Cunza language (in San Pedro de Atacama)'), a paper read at the 17th session of the ICA in 1910, was the first paper to discuss linguistic connections between South America and Polynesia at the ICA in the twentieth century. Its author, Aníbal Echeverría y Reyes (1864–1931), a Chilean anthropologist, linguist, and jurist, claimed that the language spoken in Rapa Nui had similarities with the now extinct Cunza or Atacameñan language from the

Atacama Desert, denoting possible trans-Pacific contact.<sup>448</sup> Ideas similar to Echeverría y Reyes's were not taken seriously by academia nor further entertained until after his lifetime, particularly by Heyerdahl and his 'extravagances', as evidenced in chapters 7 and 8.<sup>449</sup> The British-born US scholar Alexander F. Chamberlain (1865–1914), for instance, was one of the critics of Echeverría y Reyes's paper, stating that his claims were entirely without foundation.<sup>450</sup> The 1912 critique of Echeverría y Reyes's work by this US anthropologist and linguist appeared as part of a discussion on the settlement of the Americas and the various theories that were circulating during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>451</sup> This discussion was itself a section of a special edition of *American Anthropologist* that included papers by Hrdlička, William H. Dall, Walter Hough, and Roland B. Dixon. It was published as a result of a joint session of the American Anthropological Association and Section H of the American Association for the Advancement of Science held in 1911 at the US National Museum in Washington.<sup>452</sup>

Echeverría y Reyes was a specialist in linguistics and philology in his native Chile. His publications ranged from studies on Chilean colloquialisms and ancient languages, to research on Castilian orthography.<sup>453</sup> Echeverría y Reyes conducted other important work on the Cunza or Atacameñan language. In *Noticias sobre la lengua atacameña* (*News about the Atacameñan Language*),

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<sup>448</sup> Aníbal Echeverría y Reyes, 'Noticias sobre la extinguida lengua Cunza (en San Pedro de Atacama)', in Lehmann-Nitsche, *Sumarios de las Conferencias y Memorias*, Buenos Aires, 1910.

<sup>449</sup> Steven R. Fischer, *Rongorongo: The Easter Island Script. History, Traditions, Texts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 121.

<sup>450</sup> Alexander F. Chamberlain, 'The Problem from the Standpoint of Linguistics', *American Anthropologist* 14/1 (1912), 54.

<sup>451</sup> *Ibid.*, 50–57.

<sup>452</sup> Fewkes *et al.*, 'The Problems of the Unity or Plurality and the Probable Place of Origin of the American Aborigines', *American Anthropologist* 14/1 (1912), 1–58.

<sup>453</sup> For example Echeverría y Reyes, *La Lengua Araucana* (Santiago: Imprenta Cervantes, 1890); Echeverría y Reyes, *Nociones de Ortografía Castellana* (1897); and Echeverría y Reyes, *Voces usadas en Chile* (Santiago: Imprenta Elzeviriana, 1900).

Echeverría y Reyes collected 239 Cunza words from previous studies on the topic.<sup>454</sup> He was also one of the authors of *Glosario de la lengua atacameña* (*Glossary of the Atacameñan Language*), a joint publication with Vaisse and Hoyos, two other Chilean linguists.<sup>455</sup> As described in one of his works, this language was spoken in northern Chile by Inca descendants following an invasion by the ‘inca Yupangui’, most likely referring to Túpac Yupanqui, the famed trans-Pacific voyager since he is also known to have expanded the Inca empire to areas of Chile and Argentina. Echeverría y Reyes’s joint paper also claimed how the Cunza language differed from certain South American languages like Quechua and Aymara, but shared similarities with certain Polynesian ones, particularly Māori and the language of Rapa Nui.<sup>456</sup> Echeverría y Reyes produced linguistic works considered important both in Chile and internationally during the early twentieth century. Even Chamberlain, one of Echeverría y Reyes’s critics, considered Echeverría’s joint paper to contain the most comprehensive glossary of the Cunza language for that time.<sup>457</sup> The present form of Echeverría y Reyes’s ICA papers is just an abstract, and his other mentioned work contains just a brief mention of probable semantic similarities between Cunza and certain Polynesian languages. For this reason, it is unclear whether Echeverría y Reyes’s ICA papers, particularly the one on Cunza language, were more than fleeting mentions of trans-Pacific contact or grounded in solid foundations.

Other papers read at the ICA until 1947 were based on archaeologically visible evidence, such as diffusionist ideas expressed about monumental architecture, pan pipes, *toki*, metal and stone adzes, and blowguns. In ‘Datos sobre los jeroglíficos de la Isla de Pascua’ (‘Details about the Easter Island Hieroglyphs’), a paper read at the 17th session of the ICA in 1910, Echeverría y

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<sup>454</sup> Echeverría y Reyes, *Noticias sobre la lengua atacameña* (Santiago: Imprenta Nacional, 1890).

<sup>455</sup> E. Vaisse, F. S. Hoyos, and A. Echeverría y Reyes, *Glosario de la Lengua Atacameña* (Santiago: Imprenta Cervantes, 1896).

<sup>456</sup> *Ibid.*, 9–11. See also Roberto Lehnert, ‘En torno a la lengua Kunza’, *Language Sciences* 9/1 (1987), 106.

<sup>457</sup> Alexander F. Chamberlain, ‘On the Puelchean and Tsonekan (Tehuelchean), the Atacamenan (Atacaman) and Chonoan, and the Charruan Linguistic Stocks of South America’, *American Anthropologist* 13/3 (1911), 467.

Reyes, mentioned above, expressed his belief that the monumental architecture from Tiwanaku, Bolivia and Rapa Nui were comparable.<sup>458</sup> At the 23rd Congress, held in New York in 1928, the US scholar N.G. Sprinzin, whose life dates and biographical details are not available, addressed the topic of diffusion of blowguns from Oceania to the Americas.<sup>459</sup> This theme had previously been discussed by Georg Friederici in the articles ‘The Geographical Spread of the Blowgun in America’ and ‘A Contribution to the Knowledge of Blowguns of the Indonesians, South Sea Peoples, and Indians’.<sup>460</sup>

In 1924, the German anthropologist Otto Aichel (1875–1931) presented a paper on ‘Easter Island Paleoliths in Chilean Prehistoric Tombs’. Aichel was born in Chile during his father’s term as German consul and studied in Germany until 1902, when he returned to Chile following his appointment as professor at the University of Chile. His ICA paper established a connection between obsidian ‘spear points’ from mainland Chile and ones from Rapa Nui, perhaps for the first time. According to Aichel, two stemmed obsidian ‘spear points’ found in a cemetery in Llole, on the Chilean Pacific Coast, resembled Rapa Nui *mata’a*, as illustrated in Figure 12.<sup>461</sup> On the basis of visual inspection, Aichel argued that the presence of these artefacts in mainland Chile might be attributed to trans-Pacific contact with Polynesia.

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<sup>458</sup> Aníbal Echeverría y Reyes, ‘Datos sobre los jeroglíficos de la Isla de Pascua’, *17th International Congress of Americanists*, Buenos Aires (1910), 444.

<sup>459</sup> N.G. Sprinzin, ‘The blowgun in America, Indonesia and Oceania’, in *Proceedings of the Twenty-Third International Congress of Americanists*, New York, 1928 (Nendeln and Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint 1968 [1930]), 699–704.

<sup>460</sup> Georg Friederici, ‘Die geographische Verbreitung des Blasrohres in Amerika’, *Petermanns Geographische Mitteilungen* 57 (1911), 71; Friederici, ‘Erin Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Trutzwaffen der Indonesier Südseevölker und Indianer’, *Baessler-Archiv* 7 (1915), 37–42.

<sup>461</sup> Otto Aichel, ‘Osterinselpalaeolithen in prähistorischen Gräbern Chiles’, in *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Americanists*, Gothenburg, 1924 (1925), Vol. 2, 267–269.



**Figure 12.** Examples of obsidian *mata'ua* from Rapa Nui and one from Chile (Source: Aichel 1925).<sup>462</sup>

Like Echeverría y Reyes, and Aichel before him, the Italian-born Argentine anthropologist José Imbelloni (1885–1967) presented papers on trans-Pacific contact propounding linguistics and material culture as evidence. The topics of his four presentations (1926, 1930, 1932, and 1939) ranged from linguistic similarities linking Quechua and Oceanic languages, to oral traditions relating to the *toki* (adze). They also discussed bioanthropological affinities and his general trans-Pacific settlement hypotheses for South America. Imbelloni's views on linguistic comparisons were complemented and expanded on in a 1926 ICA presentation by the Argentine ethnographer Enrique Palavecino (1900–1966): 'Glosario comparado Kichua-Maori' ('Quechua-Māori comparative glossary').<sup>463</sup> In this paper, Palavecino claimed that more than 30% of Quechua words had Māori phonological elements.<sup>464</sup> Further details about Imbelloni's and Palavecino's intellectual trajectories are described in Chapter 6.

<sup>462</sup> Ibid., 268.

<sup>463</sup> Enrique Palavecino, 'Glosario comparado Kichua-Maori', *Atti del XXII Congresso internazionale degli Americanisti, Roma, settembre 1926* (Roma: Stab. tip. R. Garroni, 1928), 517–25.

<sup>464</sup> Palavecino, 'Glosario comparado Kichua-Maori', *Atti del XXII Congresso internazionale degli Americanisti, Roma, settembre 1926* (Roma: Stab. tip. R. Garroni, 1928), 517–25.

At the 24th Congress held in Hamburg in 1930, a paper by Imbelloni, delivered by the German anthropologist Roberto Lehmann-Nitsche (1872–1938), argued that adzes known as *toki* in Chile had a Polynesian parallel, not just as an adze-type instrument, but also in the comparable terminology (*toki*), which spanned the region between Melanesia and the American continent.<sup>465</sup> This paper was first published in Spanish 1931, and its title can be translated as “The ‘Magic Toki’: The Māori Chant when Knocking down a Tree, Preserved in the Chilean Tale of the Old Tatrapay’”.<sup>466</sup> In this study, Imbelloni noted the strong resemblance between a Māori *karakia* incantation and the *Pillan-Toki* incantation from the Mapuche Tatrapay tale. Both incantations feature descriptions of the *toki* as a ceremonial tool with supernatural powers, performing the duty of knocking down a tree. This paper by Imbelloni further demonstrated his argument in favour of pre-Columbian trans-Pacific contact between Oceania and the Americas based on the use of the term *toki* amongst the Mapuche and the Māori to refer to an adze, a weapon, the role and distinction of its bearer, and the bearer himself.<sup>467</sup> Imbelloni corroborated and strengthened his views by translating a version of the Māori *karakia* with Elsdon Best and Macmillan Brown.<sup>468</sup> A comparison of the two texts discussed in Imbelloni’s paper is illustrated in Table 7.

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<sup>465</sup> José Imbelloni, ‘Der Zauber “Toki”. Die Zuberformel des Maori-Zimmermannes beim Fällen eines Baumes, die Wörtlich in der Chilenischen Erzählung vom Alten Tatrapay Erhalten ist’, in *Verhandlungen des XXIV Intern. Americanistes Kongresses*, Hamburg 1930 (1934), 228–42.

<sup>466</sup> Imbelloni, ‘El “toki” mágico: La fórmula de encantamiento Maori al derribar un árbol, conservada textualmente en el cuento chileno del Viejo Tatrapay’, *Anales de la Sociedad Científica de Santa Fe* 3 (1931), 128–49.

<sup>467</sup> For example Imbelloni, ‘La premiere chaine isoglossématique océano-américaine: le nom des haches lithiques’, 324–335. See also Ewald Böning (S.V.D.), *El concepto de Pillan entre los Mapuches* (Buenos Aires: Colección Mankacen, 1995), 163–65; Elsdon Best, ‘Maori Forest Lore’, *Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand* 40 (1907), 240–52.

<sup>468</sup> Imbelloni, *Epítome de culturología*, Vol. 1 (Buenos Aires: Humanior, Biblioteca del Americanista Moderno, 1936), 298.

**Table 7.** Description and translation of the Māori *karakia* and Mapuche *Pillan-toki* chants.

	<b>Māori <i>Karakia</i></b>	<b>Mapuche <i>Pillan-Toki</i></b>
<b>Chant</b>	<i>Haruru te toki, ngaboa te toki, haramai te toki, ngau atu te toki ki te uma a te rakau</i>	Naqpakellege may, pillan toki Naqpakellege may, pillan toki, pigu, piam. Fürenemuyu günechen; naqümelmupayu epu toki, re kiñeke rūpun mew müten txantulu, pigu, piam. Feymew fütxa wenu txüliwpey piam, tüfeychi pillañ toki.
<b>Translation</b>	The <i>toki</i> resounds, the <i>toki</i> thuds, the <i>toki</i> bites on the incisure of the tree.	Descend, <i>toki</i> of thunder! Descend, <i>toki</i> of thunder! Help us, Nguen [some form of leader] of mankind; lower our two <i>tokis</i> , that from one blow bring down the trees. Thus from up high the <i>Pillan-toki</i> resounded.

Ideas similar to Imbelloni’s were explored at the 25th Congress in La Plata in 1932, where two papers on trans-Pacific contact centred on the diffusion of material culture objects. The Argentine D.E. Ibarra Grasso, for example, who as we have noted earlier supported hyperdiffusionist ideas, argued that certain stone and metal adzes found in the Americas had spread to this continent via the Pacific.<sup>469</sup> This paper was revised, expanded and presented a second time at the 38th International Congress of Americanists in 1968. In addition to Ibarra Grasso, the Argentine musician Carlos Vega (1898–1966) also discussed the trans-Pacific diffusion of ‘the Andean panpipe’, arguing that the Andean name of *huayra-pubura* was native to Oceania and had traversed Polynesia to reach the Americas. In his view, this explained why comparable Polynesian terminology referred to a similar instrument, such as the *pubura* in Rapa Nui.<sup>470</sup>

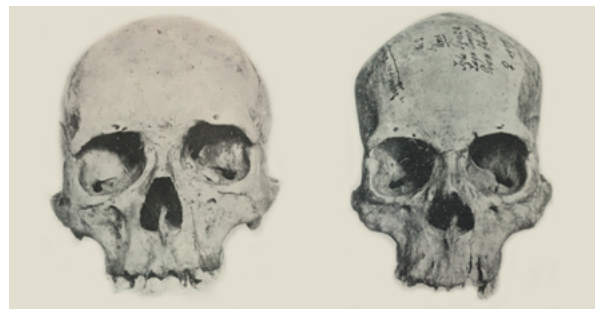
Imbelloni’s last presentation on trans-Pacific contact at the ICA during the period covered in this chapter was his 1939 paper on ‘the craniology of the Uru’ peoples of Bolivia. It

<sup>469</sup> D.E. Ibarra Grasso, ‘Las hachas de piedra y de metal en América, con relación a las formas líticas que imitan modelos metálicos y paralelos transpacíficos’, in *Actas del XXV Congreso Internacional de Americanistas*, La Plata 1932. Vol. 1 (Buenos Aires: Coni, 1934), 21–30.

<sup>470</sup> Carlos Vega, ‘La flauta de pan andina’, in *Actas del XXV Congreso Internacional de Americanistas*, La Plata 1932. Vol. 1 (Buenos Aires: Coni, 1934), 333–348.



discussed the morphology of two particular skulls found in Panza Island, Lake Poopó, Bolivia and described them as ‘Australoid’.<sup>471</sup> According to Imbelloni, the two skulls, one male and one female, were distinctly from the *Lánguido* group and thus represented evidence of an ancient ‘primitive race’ of Paleoamericans that had settled in the Andean region of South America. Imbelloni’s association of the *Lánguido* with Melanesians, has not been taken up in later studies. Figure 13 features the two Uru skulls from Bolivia as presented by Imbelloni.



**Figure 13.** Uru skulls from Bolivia (Source: Imbelloni, 1943).

The involvement of the French anthropologist Paul Rivet (1876–1958) in this congress and in the Société des Américanistes probably gave weight to the inclusion of Oceania within Americanist research given his scholarly interests. Rivet’s numerous anthropological studies, particularly of Central and South American peoples, enhanced his scholarly reputation in Latin America. He was already a multiple presenter at the ICA two years before the publication of his important 1926 article on ‘Malayo-Polynesians in America’, though none of his three Congress papers specifically addressed trans-Pacific contact between Oceania and the Americas.<sup>472</sup> It was noted in Chapter 3 that Guido Cora had in 1890 at the ICA in Paris requested the exclusion of

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<sup>471</sup> Imbelloni, ‘Sobre craneología de los Uru. Supervivencia de razas australoides en los Andes’, in *Actas del XXVII Congreso Internacional de Americanistas* (Lima and Mexico City 1939), Vol. 1 (Lima: Librería e Imprenta Gil, 1941), 3–22.

<sup>472</sup> Rivet, ‘Interprétation ethnographique de deux objets préhistoriques’, in *Comptes-rendus du Congrès international des Américanistes*, 21ème session, 2ème partie (Göteborg. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1925), 263–266; Rivet, ‘La langue arda ou une plaisante méprise’, in *Comptes-rendus du Congrès international des Américanistes*, 21ème session, 2ème partie (Göteborg/Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1925), 263–266; Rivet, ‘Les elements constitutifs des civilisations de Nord-Ouest et de l’Ouest Sud-Américain’, in *Comptes-rendus du Congrès international des Américanistes*, 21ème session, 2ème partie (Göteborg/Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1925), 1–20.

all linguistic papers claiming links between the Pacific and the Americas. Despite Cora's request, and even referring to it, in 1926 Paul Rivet reconsidered the linguistic similarities between the Americas and Polynesia by publishing an extensive paper linking Malayo-Polynesian and Amerindian languages.<sup>473</sup> Rivet subsequently published extensively on such contacts, drawing on linguistic evidence and sometimes including Australia.<sup>474</sup>

In Latin America, despite scholarly admiration for his extensive anthropological work, Rivet also faced criticism. The Mexican archaeologist and historian Pablo Martínez del Río (1892–1963), for instance, heavily critiqued the comparisons of Australian and American languages which underpinned Rivet's conception of trans-Pacific contacts. Martínez del Río denounced Rivet's selective comparisons as unrepresentative of the whole of Australia and his thesis of trans-Pacific contact as poorly constructed.<sup>475</sup> Differences aside, Martínez del Río as president of the ICA organised a memorial volume for Rivet after his unexpected death in 1958.<sup>476</sup> Appreciation of Rivet's scholarly contributions had culminated in the publication of two volumes of the Proceedings of the 31st ICA held in São Paulo in 1954 and presided over by Rivet himself. The conference proceedings and the memorial volume were intended as a tribute to Rivet's academic career.<sup>477</sup> Rivet's intellectual trajectory and his trans-Pacific contact theories are addressed in more detail in Chapter 6.

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<sup>473</sup> Rivet, 'Les Malayo-Polynésiens en l'Amérique', *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 18 (1926), 141–278.

<sup>474</sup> For example Rivet, 'Les Mélanéo-Polynésiens et les Australiens en Amérique', in *Comptes-Rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres* (1924), 335–342; Rivet, 'Les Australiens en Amérique', *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 26/79 (1925), 23–63.

<sup>475</sup> Pablo Martínez del Río, *Los orígenes americanos* (Mexico City: Porrúa, 1936), 112, 140.

<sup>476</sup> Anke Birkenmaier, *The Specter of Races. Latin American Anthropology and Literature between the Wars* (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2016), 84.

<sup>477</sup> Pablo Martínez del Río and P. Bosch-Gimpera, 'Presentación' in P. Martínez del Río, P. Bosch-Gimpera, J. Comas, S. Genovés, P. Kirchoff, J. Miranda, M. Swadesh, C. Martínez Marín and H. González Casanova (eds.), in *Miscellanea Paul Rivet, Octogenario Dicata* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1958), VII–VIII.

## Speculations about a Lost Pacific Continent

Twentieth-century ideas about a lost or sunken Pacific continent were derived from nineteenth-century ideas about a lost continent in the Atlantic. These were popularised by the French scholar Le Plongeon, as illustrated in Chapter 4. The sunken Pacific continent began to be conceived with two different names during the early twentieth century: Mu and Lemuria. In the late nineteenth century, Lemuria was originally believed to have been situated in the Indian Ocean and was viewed as an accepted explanation for the similar flora and fauna between Madagascar and South Asia. It also provided explanations for the missing human fossils resulting from the peopling of the world, a concept that also applied to sunken Pacific lands.

Lemuria was particularly associated with the British scholar Clement Lindley Wragge (1852–1922). Wragge is best known for his meteorological work — he founded the Meteorological Society of Australasia in 1886 and was fellow of the Royal Geographical and Royal Meteorological societies. In 1898 he published an *Australian Weather Guide and Almanac*.<sup>478</sup> He conducted archaeological work in a number of Pacific Islands including Tonga, New Zealand, and possibly also Rapa Nui.<sup>479</sup> In contrast to Garnier, he proposed in 1906 that the Pacific was once the cradle of civilisation, where Rapa Nui ‘once formed part of that submerged continent [of Lemuria]’.<sup>480</sup> In Wragge’s view, a ‘race of architects and scholars ... some 300,000 years ago’ traversed this ‘old land that once most surely joined up Asia and Malaya with Australia, New Zealand and America’.<sup>481</sup> Wragge was influenced by the ideas about Lemuria

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<sup>478</sup> Paul D. Wilson, ‘Wragge, Clement Lindley (1852–1922)’, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/wragge-clement-lindley-9193/text16237>, published first in hardcopy 1990, accessed online 18 February 2020.

<sup>479</sup> Clement Lindley Wragge, *The Romance of the South Seas* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1906), 257; ‘Pre-Historic Civilisation’, *Poverty Bay Herald* 38/12460, 20 May 1911, 5.

<sup>480</sup> Wragge, *The Romance of the South Seas*, 257.

<sup>481</sup> Wragge, *The Romance of the South Seas*, 257; ‘Pre-Historic Civilisation’, *Poverty Bay Herald*, 5.

developed in separate publications from 1904 by the Austrian philosopher and esotericist Rudolf Steiner (1861–1925), and by the amateur anthropologist William Scott-Elliot (1849–1919).<sup>482</sup>

Independently to Wragge, John Macmillan Brown (1845–1935) believed that the Pacific had once had a ‘circle of islands’ that had facilitated migration flows but which had since disappeared due to volcanic activity.<sup>483</sup> Born in Scotland, Macmillan Brown relocated to New Zealand in 1874 following his appointment as professor of Classics and English at Canterbury College in Christchurch. He was considered an authority in the populations of the Pacific and was well known for his speculations on the origins of the Polynesians. His principal argument was racialist in that it suggested that the Pacific had been settled by Caucasian populations from Asia.<sup>484</sup>

In 1907, Macmillan Brown speculated that Polynesians had voyaged to Central and South America. He claimed that at least one of the ‘elements’ of the Polynesian ‘race’ was Caucasian, as was the case with a single ‘element’ of the civilisations of Central America and Peru.<sup>485</sup> In his view, this demonstrated that ‘Caucasian migrations from Europe many thousands of years ago found their way into Micronesia and Polynesia, and thence to the Pacific coast of South and Central America’.<sup>486</sup>

In 1924, Macmillan Brown published *The Riddle of the Pacific* following a visit to Rapa Nui onboard a Chilean Navy vessel.<sup>487</sup> In this publication he not only aimed to solve the ‘mystery’ of Rapa Nui and its giant statues, but also described, ‘like his predecessors [...] the antiquities and

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<sup>482</sup> Kerry Howe, *The Quest for Origins* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 2003), 153.

<sup>483</sup> ‘Prof. J. Macmillan Brown’, *Nature* 135 (1935), 296.

<sup>484</sup> Ibid.

<sup>485</sup> John Macmillan Brown, *Maori and Polynesian. Their Origin, History and Culture* (London: Hutchison and Co., 1907), 8.

<sup>486</sup> Ibid., 16.

<sup>487</sup> John Macmillan Brown, *The Riddle of the Pacific* (Kempton, Illinois: Adventures Unlimited Press, 2003 [1924]); Tangiwai, ‘Famous New Zealanders: No. 24: Professor J. Macmillan Brown: A Great Teacher, Writer and Traveller’, *The New Zealand Railways Magazine* 9/12 (1935), 13–16.

the melancholy spirit of the island’, propounding ‘fascinating theories about the vanished lands of the Pacific’.<sup>488</sup> Macmillan Brown also argued that certain linguistic and material culture similarities linked South America with islands in the Pacific, including the *umu* (earth oven), the *toki* (adze), and comparable ‘cyclopean’ stone structures and human-figure stone carvings found in places like Cusco, influenced by the ‘Polynesian art of great stone work’.<sup>489</sup> Macmillan Brown’s evidence for contact were replicated in later theories and publications, as discussed in chapters 6, 7 and 8.

The idea of a lost Pacific continent, sometimes referred to as Lemuria, endured until British occult writer James Churchward (1851–1936) popularised it as the lost continent of Mu, now placed in the Pacific, in a series of publications between 1926 and 1933.<sup>490</sup> Despite friendship with Le Plongeon, who is mentioned in Chapter 4, Churchward drastically revised Le Plongeon’s hypothesis of a sunken continent in the Atlantic by relocating it to the Pacific.<sup>491</sup> Churchward believed that ‘man undoubtedly made his advent on this earth in the land of Mu, and the Polynesian islands are jagged remains of the ill-fated continent’.<sup>492</sup> He claimed that the South Sea Islands had been inhabited and dominated by a ‘white race’.<sup>493</sup> This dominant race, Churchward proposed, consisted of ‘exceedingly handsome people, with clear white or olive skins, large, soft, dark eyes and straight black hair’.<sup>494</sup> In his view, these ‘white Polynesians’, who were great navigators, would have reached the Americas, particularly Mexico and Central

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<sup>488</sup> Tangiwai, ‘Famous New Zealanders: No. 24...’, 15.

<sup>489</sup> Macmillan Brown, *The Riddle of the Pacific*, 264–270.

<sup>490</sup> James Churchward, *The Cosmic Forces of Mu* (New York: Ives Washburn, 1934); Churchward, *The Sacred Symbols of Mu* (New York: Ives Washburn, 1933); Churchward, *The Children of Mu* (New York: Ives Washburn, 1933 [1931]); Churchward, *The Lost Continent of Mu* (Albuquerque: BE Books; Saffron Walden: The C.W. Daniel Company Limited, 1987 [1926]).

<sup>491</sup> R. Tripp Evans, *Romancing the Maya: Mexican Antiquity in the American Imagination, 1820–1915* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010), 151–52; Le Plongeon, *Queen Moo and the Egyptian Sphinx*, 2nd ed. (New York: The Author, 1900).

<sup>492</sup> Churchward, *The Lost Continent of Mu*, 49.

<sup>493</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>494</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.

America, as evidenced by records and traditions including ancient cities, temples, and monoliths made of stone.<sup>495</sup> Ideas about a lost Pacific continent are no longer entertained by serious scholars and are now considered pseudo-archaeology.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has presented a number of trans-Pacific contact ideas that emerged in the first half of the twentieth century: ones framed by diffusionist and hyperdiffusionist perspectives, ones associated with religious scholars, ones contained in presentations from the International Congress of Americanists between 1910 and 1947, and ones centering on a lost Pacific continent. The hyperdiffusionist ideas of G.E. Smith in Britain, and the Ibarra Grasso brothers in Argentina contrasted with ideas of independent invention that certain US scholars viewed more favourably. G.E. Smith's heliolithic theory was noteworthy, and controversial — it stated that Polynesia and the Americas had been settled as a result of migration waves from Egypt. The also hyperdiffusionist ideas of the Ibarra Grasso brothers denoted their shared, or perhaps borrowed, views.

The religious scholars Barreiro and Englert stipulated that there were linguistic resemblances between certain Amerindian and Oceanic languages. Barreiro argued that the Yapese language, in the Western Caroline Islands had its origins in the Otomí language of central Mexico. Englert, on the other hand, devised a systematic comparison between the Mapudungun (Mapuche) or Araucanian language of Chile and the Rapa Nui language. The supposed similarities he observed included twenty comparable terms and also comprised a number of Quechua words, denoting a probable trans-Pacific diffusion that may have extended to Inca language.

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<sup>495</sup> Ibid., 33, 37, 60, 81.

The majority of papers discussing ideas of pre-Columbian trans-Pacific contact at the ICA until the mid-twentieth century were backed by evidence that was intangible: linguistic, anthropological, and even conjectural. Other papers discussed the claimed diffusion of stone tools like the *toki* (Imbelloni) and the *mata'a* (Aichel). Most of them suggested a west to east migration and diffusion, and established contact with Oceania may have occurred in Middle America (particularly Mexico), Peru, and Chile. Ideas adducing bioanthropological evidence as proof of contact between South America and Oceania were also entertained, as was the case with Imbelloni's 1939 paper discussing the existence of an ancient 'primitive race' of Paleoamericans that had settled the Andean region of South America.

Some of the discussions on trans-Pacific contact discussed in this chapter introduced or reinforced elements of evidence that are still relevant today and are part of the trans-Pacific contact debate. Examples include the ideas by Aichel on comparisons between Chilean and Rapa Nui *mata'a* ('spear points'), and Imbelloni on linguistic and material culture connections involving the *toki* (adze). Other noteworthy publications for this period were Englert's linguistic comparisons between the Araucanian and Rapa Nui languages, and Macmillan Brown's speculations on material culture connections including the *umu* (earth oven) and the *toki* (adze). As a continuation of this chapter, Chapter 6 will address ideas of contact that were proposed by more secular scholars from Europe or the Americas, theories that were proposed outside the ICA, and ideas that emerged from or within South American scholarship.

## CHAPTER 6 European Scholarship and the Study of the Ancient Past of the Americas in the Twentieth Century

### Introduction

During the first half of the twentieth century, a growing interest in Araucanian, Andean, Inca, and Mesoamerican archaeology, anthropology, linguistics, and the cultural heritage of these regions merged with similar interest for Oceanic regions. Scholars like Paul Rivet and José Imbelloni, first mentioned in Chapter 5 in relation to their involvement with the ICA, seriously considered the possibility of pre-Columbian contact between these areas. Imbelloni's research centred on settlement theories for the Americas, and linguistic and material culture (e.g. stone club) comparisons between Polynesia and South America. Rivet's research, on the other hand, focussed on linguistic and cultural similarities denoting possible trade relations between Oceania and the Americas. While Imbelloni's ideas of contact centred on New Zealand and Rapa Nui, Rivet considered migrations from other areas of Oceania to the Americas, including Australia.

Like in the nineteenth century, as discussed in Chapter 4, the early to mid twentieth-century trans-Pacific contact concepts and theories proffered by secular scholars centred on languages, origins and migrations, racial classifications, cultural and material culture parallels, crop diffusion, as well as perspectives on possibilities for trans-Pacific expeditions. In contrast to the nineteenth-century theories, however, these early to mid-twentieth century ideas became more systematic and precise. Linguistic comparisons, for instance, became detailed and specific, as was the case with two 1926 publications by the Argentine ethnologist Enrique Palavecino (1900–1966), comparing the Quechua and Maori languages. Publications on cultural and material culture analogies featured detailed lists of common traits such as irrigation and trepanning practices, as exemplified in the work by the Swedish scholar Erland Nordenskiöld (1877–1932).

In the early to mid-twentieth century, most trans-Pacific contact scholarship argued for a west to east diffusion of Malayo-Polynesian and Oceanic languages, customs and traits, plants,



and additional elements of material culture (e.g., South American adzes resembling the Polynesian *toki*, and stone clubs from Chile and Argentina resembling the Māori *mere okewa*), and musical instruments (e.g. the stamping tubes or *bâton de rythme*). Ideas suggesting an east to west diffusion were also entertained, although to a lesser extent. Certain evidence was the subject of much discussion, as was the case with the sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*) in Polynesia, where scholars like Friederici speculated on the probable post-Columbian introduction of this crop into Polynesia, by Spanish agents. Ideas on viral and bacterial strand diffusion were also proposed, as found in the works by US scholars Darling and Soper.

This chapter argues that European scholarly influences and Latin American anthropological studies provided the framework for the development of ideas of contact in the first half of the twentieth century. As Latin American scholars, with the help and influence of European academia, were studying the ancient history of the Americas, their countries were trying to find their national identities. Latin American support for European scholarship was also tied to imperialist views placing European nations as models of nationhood to aspire to, which hence saw much support and little criticism from the Latin American scholars of the time. During this period, ideas about trans-Pacific contacts often featured intangible evidence such as linguistic parallels, comparable myths and cultural practices. Those based on archaeologically-visible evidence, however, were relatively limited. Contextually, many of these theories and speculations derived from the development of archaeology and anthropology in Chile and Argentina, the arrival of European scholars to South America and the influence of their fieldwork and expeditions, and the support for European diffusionist frameworks, particularly the Austrian *Kulturkreislehre* movement. During this period, a strong relationship also developed between Argentine and German (e.g. Menghin) and Italian (e.g. Giglioli) scholars, which reinforced arguments for pre-Columbian trans-Pacific contact between the Americas and Oceania. Therefore, the contributions by French, German, British, Argentine and Chilean scholars, including Imbelloni and Palavecino, the British archaeologist and ethnologist Ricardo

E. Latham (1869–1943), and the Chilean anthropologist Aureliano Oyarzún (1858–1947) bolstered the debate and kept it current.<sup>496</sup> Table 8 classifies these ideas, based on the evidence used, into one of the following themes: cultural practices, geology, material culture, plant or animal diffusion, linguistic affinities, viral or bacterial strand diffusion and biological anthropology.

**Table 8.** Classification of evidence featured in early to mid-twentieth century trans-Pacific contact hypotheses, and their associated publications.

<b>Evidence</b>	<b>Classification</b>	<b>Earliest-Known Proponent(s)</b>
Sweet potato	Plant Diffusion	Skottsberg 1920, Christian 1932
Stone Clubs ( <i>Mere Okenva</i> )	Material Culture	Ambrosetti 1909; Lehmann-Nitsche 1909
Masks	Material Culture	Graebner 1909
Fishhooks	Material Culture	Graebner 1909
Adzes ( <i>Toki</i> )	Material Culture	Macmillan Brown 1924
Bracelets	Material Culture	Martínez del Río 1936
Carrying Pole	Material Culture	Nordenskiöld 1933
Chicken	Animal Diffusion	Latham 1922; Castello 1924
Stone Clubs ( <i>Patu</i> )	Material Culture	Ambrosetti 1904; Krämer 1904; Ambrosetti 1909; Latham 1910; Utsurikawa 1934
Stamping tubes ( <i>bâton de rythme</i> )	Material Culture	Métraux 1927
Trepanning	Cultural Practices	Wölfel 1925
Earth-Cooking Oven	Cultural Practices	Macmillan Brown 1924
Conch Trumpets	Material Culture	Jackson 1917; Martínez del Río 1936
Knot records ( <i>Quipu</i> )	Cultural Practices	Macmillan Brown 1924; Rout 1926; MacLeod 1929; Christian 1932; Nordenskiöld 1933; Martínez del Río 1936
Comparable Expressions	Linguistic Affinities	Cañas Pinochet 1911; Palavecino 1926; Rivet 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1932, 1939, 1943; Imbelloni 1926, 1928 (three publications), 1931
Plank Canoes	Material Culture	Martínez del Río 1936
Obsidian ‘Spear Points’	Material Culture	Oyarzún 1927
Skulls	Skull Morphology	Vergara Flores 1903
Shooting bow	Material Culture	Martínez del Río 1936
Virus, bacteria (Typhus), Parasites	Viral or Bacterial Strand Diffusion	Darling 1920; Soper 1927
Totora reed raft	Material Culture	Skottsberg 1920

<sup>496</sup> For example José Imbelloni, ‘Einige Konkrete Beweise für die Ausserkontinentalen Beziehungen der Indianer Amerikas’, *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 58 (1927), 301–331; Oyarzún, ‘Dos Puntas de Lanza Paleolíticas de la Isla de Pascua Encontradas en un Cementerio Prehistórico de la Costa de Chile’, 273–275.

## The Development of Notions of Trans-Pacific Contact in the First Half of the Twentieth Century

During the twentieth century, as diffusionism emerged as a favoured scholarly theory, cultural dispersal and migrations supplanted evolutionary anthropology as the ‘privileged explanations’ for trans-Pacific contacts and origins.<sup>497</sup> As was discussed in Chapter 3, during the mid-nineteenth century an intellectual shift occurred in Europe that saw an incremental adoption of polygenesis and multiple ‘races’ as explanations of human diversity.<sup>498</sup> Polygenism, like diffusionism, facilitated the emergence of contact, rather than origin theses as explanations for cultural parallels in the first half of the twentieth century. Where evolutionary theory postulated the development of a sole culture, diffusionism posited the existence of converging ‘cultural circles’ (the literal meaning of *Kulturkreis*), although sometimes stemming from one culture, as was the case with the British Hyperdiffusionist movement mentioned in Chapter 5.

Diffusionist perspectives were a favoured scholarly trend among Latin American and European scholars. However, in North America, it had some opposition. The North American scholar John Howland Rowe (1918–2004), first encountered in Chapter 5, was one to oppose diffusionist perspectives.<sup>499</sup>

### The *Kulturkreislehre* Movement

Most ideas about trans-Pacific contacts proposed between the late nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries were tied to the origin and development of the Austrian leg of the *Kulturkreis* school (*Kulturkreislehre* theory). Conceptually, this school originated in Germany in the late nineteenth

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<sup>497</sup> Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought*, 216.

<sup>498</sup> David N. Livingstone, *Adam’s Ancestors: Race, Religion, and the Politics of Human Origins* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 186. See also Douglas, ‘Climate to Crania: Science and the racialization of human difference’, 44–58.

<sup>499</sup> J.H. Rowe, ‘Diffusionism and Archaeology’, 334–337.

century, founded by Friedrich Ratzel (1844–1904) and Leo Frobenius (1873–1938), and set the groundwork of the *Kulturkreislehre* (culture circle) movement of the twentieth century.

The *Kulturkreislehre* movement was developed by the Austrian Catholic priest Father Wilhelm Schmidt (1858–1964). It was grounded in Ratzel’s anthropo-geography and concept of *Formengedanke* (‘criterion of form’) and Frobenius’ geographical statistics (criterion of quantity). Schmidt’s *Kulturkreislehre*, ‘the dogma of the culture circle, became the founding concept of what was later known as Wiener Schule, the Vienna School of Anthropology, a direction of anthropology known to be conservative in nature, directed explicitly against evolutionism, Marxism, and communism’.<sup>500</sup> Together with Wilhelm Koppers (1866–1961), another Catholic priest, Schmidt further developed the concept of *kulturkreis* within their religious upbringing and tied it ‘with the idea that primitive people had originally been in possession of the so-called ur-monotheism, ... an academic term for the revelation of God Almighty to man’.<sup>501</sup> Schmidt also collaborated with Fritz Graebner (1877–1934), maintaining that all culture circles operated by two rules which enabled and evidenced the diffusion of cultural traits: the criterion of form (Graebner) or quality (Schmidt), and the criterion of quantity of the analogous elements shared by diverse cultures.<sup>502</sup> The *Kulturkreislehre* school was conceived as an approach to ethnology in which ‘the existence of cultural similarities in different areas [...] [was] taken as evidence of diffusion’.<sup>503</sup> The school argued that culture complexes had centres of origin from different periods and in diverse geographical locations, from which they subsequently spread to other

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<sup>500</sup> Cora Bender, ‘The Culture Area as Boundary Object’, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Bd. 142, H. 2, Special Issue: Rethinking Culture, Area, and Comparison from the Axial Age to the Contemporary Multi-centric World (2017), 270.

<sup>501</sup> Paul A. Erickson and Liam D. Murphy, *A History of Anthropological Theory*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 58.

<sup>502</sup> Ibid.

<sup>503</sup> Woodruff D. Smith, ‘The Social and Political Origins of German Diffusionist Ethnology’, *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 14 (1978), 103–12. See also Wilhelm Schmidt, *The Culture Historical Method of Ethnology: The Scientific Approach to the Racial Question* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1973 [1939]).

parts of the world. In short, where the German *kulturkreis* approach was a ‘descriptive entity’, its Austrian leg was more of an ‘explanatory theory’.<sup>504</sup>

This German-language diffusionist movement remained the dominant scholarly trend at an international level until the 1930s. In Latin America, however, aspects of this theory remained influential until some decades later, even into the 1960s and 1970s.<sup>505</sup> It influenced numerous hypotheses about trans-Pacific contacts advanced during this period, as exemplified in arguments about the diffusion of Oceanic clubs and adzes from Polynesia to the Americas.<sup>506</sup> The work of scholars like Rivet and Imbelloni in the 1940s and 1950s greatly facilitated its persistence, given their scholarly authority in this realm. Schmidt had established links between his scientific journal *Anthropos* and Imbelloni’s academic journal *Runa*, in that both featured the other’s advertisements. Schmidt also developed ties with Rivet, one of the most prominent European Americanists and an early French Oceanic expert. In conjunction with Rivet, other scholars who shared Schmidt’s diffusionist viewpoint participated in a 1928 *festschrift* dedicated to Schmidt which contained papers discussing ideas of trans-Pacific contact.<sup>507</sup>

## The Influence of European Scholars in the Americas

During the first half of the twentieth century, a number of European scholars inserted Oceania and Polynesia into discussions of Amerindian cultures and origins, bolstering the pervasiveness

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<sup>504</sup> Katharina C. Rebay-Salisbury, ‘Thoughts in Circles: Kulturkreislehre as a Hidden Paradigm in Past and Present Archaeological Interpretations’, in Benjamin W. Roberts, and Marc Vander Linden, *Investigating Archaeological Cultures. Material Culture, Variability and Transmission* (New York, Dordrecht, Heidelberg, London: Springer, 2011), 43–44.

<sup>505</sup> Woodruff D. Smith, ‘The Social and Political Origins of German Diffusionist Ethnology’, 103.

<sup>506</sup> For example Imbelloni, ‘Clava insignia de Villavicencio: un nuevo ejemplar de los “mere” de Oceanía descubierto en el territorio americano’, *Anales de la Facultad de Ciencias de la Educación* 14 (1928), 219–228; Imbelloni ‘On the Diffusion in America of “Onewa”, “Okewa”, “Paraoa”, “Miti”, and other Relatives of the “Mere” Family’, *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 39 (1930), 322–345.

<sup>507</sup> For example Erich Moritz von Hornbostel, ‘Die Maßnorm als kulturgeschichtliches Forschungsmittel’, in Wilhelm Koppers (ed.), *Festschrift: Publication d’hommage offerte au P.W. Schmidt* (Vienna: Mechitharisten Congregation Buchdruckerei, 1928), 303–23; Imbelloni, ‘La premiere chaine isoglossématique océano-américaine: le nom des haches lithiques’, *Festschrift: Publication d’hommage offerte au P.W. Schmidt*, 324–35; Rivet, ‘Relations commerciales précolombiennes entre l’Océanie et l’Amérique’, *Festschrift: Publication d’hommage offerte au P.W. Schmidt*, 583–609.

of the trans-Pacific contact debate to date. Their contributions are described below. Often because of the two world wars, European scientists such as Rivet and Nordenskiöld migrated to the Americas, conducted fieldwork and expeditions, and influenced the scholarship of Latin American and North American anthropologists, archaeologists, ethnologists and linguists. The scholarship and South American expeditions and fieldwork of others, such as Ten Kate, were conducted during the late nineteenth century but became influential in the twentieth century. In addition, the ethnographic collections of scholars like Giglioli influenced the Argentine scholarship on trans-Pacific contact by contributing evidence and informing the debate. Other European scholars based in Argentina, like Imbelloni, authored numerous papers discussing the diffusion of material culture and linguistic expressions linking New Zealand and Rapa Nui with South America. Others, like Täuber, whose biographical details have not been found, evidenced the status of the trans-Pacific contact debate as at 1928 and demonstrated the exchange of ideas on this topic.

### **Enrico Hillyer Giglioli**

The Italian anthropologist, naturalist and Darwinist Enrico Hillyer Giglioli (1845–1909) amassed an extensive ethnographic and archaeological collection of objects from around the world, including from the Pacific and South America, particularly after 1883, when he became an ‘internationally-known collector of archaeological and ethnographical material’.<sup>508</sup> As director of what is now the Museo di Storia Naturale (Museum of Natural History) in Florence from 1874 until 1909, he fostered exchanges with museums from around the world.<sup>509</sup> In particular, he

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<sup>508</sup> Fedora Giordano, ‘The Anxiety of Discovery: The Italian Interest in Native American Studies’, *Rivista di Studi Nord-Americani* 5 (1994), 90; B.J. Gill, ‘The Cheeseman–Giglioli correspondence, and museum exchanges between Auckland and Florence, 1877–1904’, *Archives of Natural History* 37/1 (2010), 131–149. See also Elvira S. Tiberini, ‘Plains Indians artifacts in the E. H. Giglioli Collection of the Pigorini Museum in Rome’, *European Review of Native American Studies* 4/2 (1990), 41–44; Jane Lydon, ‘Veritable Apollos’, *Interventions* 16/1 (2014), 76.

<sup>509</sup> Catherine A. Nichols, ‘The Smithsonian Institution’s “Greatest Treasures”: Valuing Museum Objects in the Specimen Exchange Industry’, *Museum Anthropology* 41 (2018), 19.

negotiated exchanges of natural history and ethnographic objects with the English-born New Zealand botanist Thomas Frederic Cheeseman (1846–1923), curator of the Auckland Museum from 1874 to 1923, as well as with the Smithsonian Institution.<sup>510</sup> Māori clubs received from the Auckland Museum provided Giglioli with visual evidence to comment on their similarities with Chilean and Argentinean clubs. He also included in his publications images or descriptions of artefacts from South America that formed part of his collection or were featured in books by Latin American scholars.<sup>511</sup> Giglioli described an image of a club from Chile, included in José Toribio Medina’s *Los aborígenes de Chile (The Aborigines of Chile)*, as rivalling those from New Zealand.<sup>512</sup> Medina (1852–1930) was a prominent Chilean historian and bibliographer renowned for his exhaustive study of the colonial literature of former Spanish colonies of the Americas. His 1882 publication *Los aborígenes de Chile* is regarded as the first attempt to publish a history of the ancient populations of Chile.<sup>513</sup> Figure 14 contains a reproduction of Medina’s and Giglioli’s clubs.

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<sup>510</sup> Gill, ‘The Cheeseman–Giglioli correspondence, and museum exchanges between Auckland and Florence, 1877–1904’; Nichols, ‘The Smithsonian Institution’s “Greatest Treasures”: Valuing Museum Objects in the Specimen Exchange Industry’, 14–29.

<sup>511</sup> Enrico Hillyer Giglioli, ‘Intorno a due singolari oggetti cerimoniali litici dall’America australe, cioè una grossa accetta votiva (pillan toki) dalla Patagonia ed uno scettro dalla Araucania conservati nella mia collezione’, *Archivio per l’antropologia e la etnologia* 33/3 (1903), 434–46. See also Giglioli, *Materiali per lo studio della “età della pietra” dai tempi preistorici all’epoca attuale* (Florence: Tip. di S. Landi, 1901), 255–57.

<sup>512</sup> Giglioli, *Materiali per lo studio della “età della pietra” dai tempi preistorici all’epoca attuale*, 255–57; Giglioli, ‘Intorno a due singolari oggetti cerimoniali litici dall’America australe, cioè una grossa accetta votiva (pillan toki) dalla Patagonia ed uno scettro dalla Araucania conservati nella mia collezione’, 444. See also José Toribio Medina, *Los aborígenes de Chile* (Santiago: Imprenta Gutenberg, 1882), 419.

<sup>513</sup> Carlos María Chiappe, ‘Pioneros de la etnohistoria andina en Chile’, *Cuadernos de Historia* 47 (2017), 120.

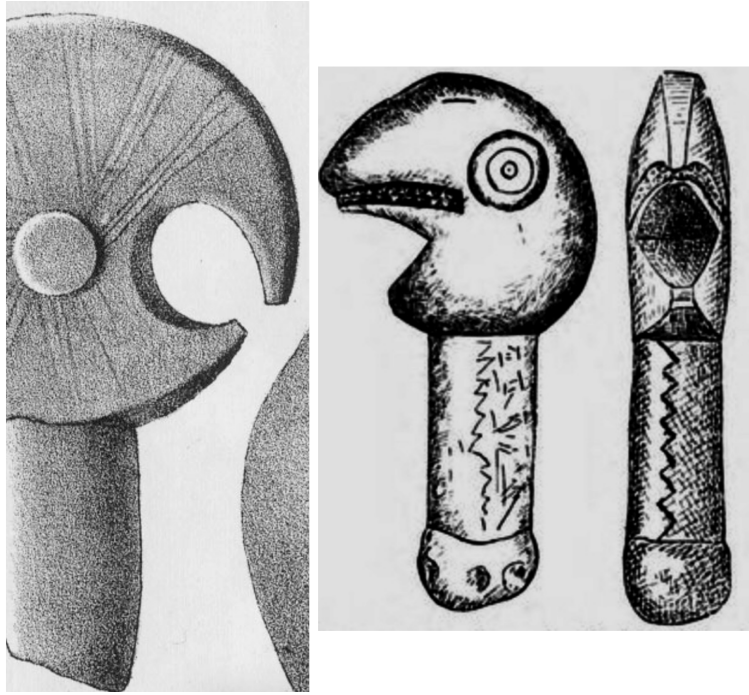


Figure 14. Image of Chilean stone club by Medina (left) and the one referred to by Giglioli (right).

### José Imbelloni

Imbelloni was an Italian anthropologist who spent most of his working academic years in Argentina (1908–1915 and 1921–1967) and wrote in depth on trans-Pacific contact between Polynesians and South Americans. His main contentions were that several populations from the Americas derived from Polynesia, and that the Quechua language had been introduced into the Americas by voyagers from Oceania.<sup>514</sup>

Imbelloni, like the Austrian prehistorian Oswald Menghin (1888–1973), who also worked in Argentina, commenced his academic career as an evolutionist. Menghin, for instance, believed that cultural differences had biological foundations, as evidenced by ‘the eminent aptitude for cultural creativity amongst Europeans, by the tenacity and cruelty amongst Mongolians, and the

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<sup>514</sup> José Imbelloni, *La esfinge indiana* (Buenos Aires: “El Ateneo”: P. García, 1926), 357.



musical predispositions amongst the black'.<sup>515</sup> Imbelloni's early theories on the settlement of the Americas were shaped by racialised ideas where racial classifications were tied with culture.<sup>516</sup> Imbelloni's thought was later by Schmidt's *Kulturkreislehre*. Both Imbelloni and Menghin published on trans-Pacific contact, signifying their adoption of the diffusionist framework in their works. Menghin's work is discussed further in Chapter 6.

Imbelloni's initial tertiary studies were in the field of medicine at the University of Perugia, where he discovered the fields of archaeology and anthropology, sparking his lifetime interest. His initial stay in Argentina between 1908 and 1915 was the result of his appointment as a media correspondent. Between 1915 and 1920, he conducted studies in natural sciences and anthropology at the University of Padova, culminating in the completion of a PhD in science in 1920. In 1921 he returned to Argentina following his appointment as a substitute teacher in anthropology at the University of Buenos Aires. His 1933 appointment as Associate Professor possibly cemented Imbelloni's lifelong ties with this institution. He was also appointed as Associate Professor of ancient history at the National University of the Littoral in Santa Fe, Argentina, around this time. Imbelloni was the Director of the Juan B. Ambrosetti Ethnographic Museum at the University of Buenos Aires between 1946 and 1955. His period as director of this museum was interrupted as a result of the political climate of Argentina during that time: the coup d'état of 16–23 September 1955 which overthrew Juan Domingo Perón.<sup>517</sup> Imbelloni, who later in life developed an interest in Rapa Nui, also appears to have indirectly contributed to the museum's Rapa Nui collection. Fifteen *moai* wooden sculptures held by the Museum may have been acquired by the Italian anthropologist Marcelo Bórmida (1925–1978), during Imbelloni's

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<sup>515</sup> Oswald Menghin, *Espíritu y sangre. Principios básicos de raza, lengua, cultura y nación* (Vienna: Editorial Anton Schroll, 1934), 2nd edition, 67.

<sup>516</sup> Patricia Arenas and Elvira Inés Baffi, 'José Imbelloni: Una lectura crítica', *Runa* 20 (1991–92), 167–76.

<sup>517</sup> Ratier, 'La antropología social argentina: su desarrollo', 27.

1950 scientific expedition to Rapa Nui.<sup>518</sup> Bórmida was Imbelloni's student and a supporter of the the *kulturkreis* approach. During the mentioned 1950 expedition, Bórmida conducted the measurement of heads and determination of the physical features of thirty-eight Rapa Nui individuals with an instrument termed *acrómetro* in Spanish, designed by Imbelloni.<sup>519</sup> Bórmida believed that Rapa Nui was the last step in the settlement process of the first peoples of South America.<sup>520</sup> He also co-authored an archaeological paper with Menghin in 1950 resulting from the 1949 systematic excavation of a series of caves in Tandilia, province of Buenos Aires.<sup>521</sup>

Imbelloni's earliest publication on the settlement of the Americas suggested that there had been seven migration waves to the New World during pre-Columbian times, including three across the Pacific from Tasmania, Australia and Melanesia.<sup>522</sup> He argued that in order to identify these waves, it was important to take into account ethnographic and linguistic elements in addition to archaeological and anthropological ones. A lot of Imbelloni's linguistic work was based on Rivet's studies.<sup>523</sup>

Imbelloni's main argument for trans-Pacific contact involving Argentina was that most of the interaction with Argentina had occurred via the Argentine northwest, a region that was once part of the Inca empire. He first presented his contact ideas to a European audience in the 1927 paper 'La distribution en Amérique d'un objet polynésien et ses dérivations américaines' ('The distribution of a Polynesian object in the Americas and its American derivations') at the

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<sup>518</sup> Schávelzon, 'Las esculturas de Rapa Nui (Isla de Pascua) en el Museo Etnográfico de Buenos Aires', 54–69.

<sup>519</sup> Rolando Silla, 'Barbarie y alocronía en el proyecto etnológico de Marcelo Bórmida', *Revista del Museo de Antropología* 12/2 (2019), 101–12. See also Bórmida, 'El Acrómetro. Instrumento para medir la altura cefálica', *Runa* 2 (1949), 126–38; Bórmida, 'Somatología de la Isla de Pascua', *Runa* 4 (1951), 178–222.

<sup>520</sup> Rolando Silla, 'El origen de una etnología fenomenológica en Argentina: Biografía de Marcelo Bórmida', in *Bérose - Encyclopédie internationale des histoires de l'anthropologie*, Paris (2019).

<sup>521</sup> Menghin and Bórmida, 'Investigaciones Prehistóricas en Cuevas de Tandilia (Prov. de Buenos Aires)', *Runa* 3 (1950), 5–36.

<sup>522</sup> Imbelloni, *La Esfinge Indiana*, 21–24.

<sup>523</sup> Domínguez, 'El problema de las lenguas "prehistóricas". Un debate sobre el estudio de las lenguas indígenas a comienzos del siglo XX', e049.

conference of the Société des Américanistes de Paris in 1927.<sup>524</sup> This presentation did not result in a publication, however he continued to produce publications on the settlement of the Americas, Rapa Nui, and the Incas and their linguistic and cultural connections with Oceania until 1959. A posthumous work on Native American religion was published in 1979.<sup>525</sup> Table 9 lists his relevant publications, including one from 1956.

**Table 9.** Publications by Imbelloni discussing trans-Pacific contact (see References for full details).

Year	Publication
1926	‘El idioma de los Incas del Perú en el grupo lingüístico melanesio-polinesio’ (‘The language of the Incas of Peru in the Melanesian-Polynesian linguistic group’)
	<i>La esfinge indiana: antiguos y nuevos aspectos del problema de los orígenes americanos (The Indian Sphinx: Old and New Aspects of the Problem of Amerindian Origins)</i>
1928	‘Clava insignia de Villavicencio: un nuevo ejemplar de los “mere” de Oceanía descubierto en el territorio americano’
	‘Einige Konkrete Beweise für die Ausserkontinentalen Beziehungen der Indianer Amerikas’ (‘Some concrete evidence of the non-continental ties of the Amerindians’)
	‘La premiere chaine isoglossématique océano-américaine: le nom des haches lithiques’ (‘The first Oceanic-American isoglossematic chain; the name of the lithic adzes’)
	‘Nuevos estudios del Quechua, el idioma de los Incas en el sistema lingüístico de Oceanía’ (‘New studies on Quechua, the Inca language in the linguistic system of Oceania’)
1929	‘Un Arma de Oceanía en el Neuquén. Reconstrucción y Tipología del Hacha del río Limay’ (‘An Oceanic Weapon in Neuquén. Reconstruction and Typology of the Adze from the Limay River’)
1930	‘On the diffusion in America of “patu onewa”, “okewa”, “patu paraoa”, “miti” and other relatives of the “mere” family’
1931	‘El “Toki” Mágico: La Fórmula de Encantamiento del Carpintero Maori al Derribar un Árbol, Conservada Textualmente en el Cuento Chileno del Viejo Tatrapay’ (‘The Magic “Toki”. The Māori Chant when knocking down a tree, preserved in the Chilean tale of the Old Tatrapay’)
1936	<i>Epítome de culturología (Epítome of Culturology)</i>
1940	‘Kumara, Apu et Hapay’ (‘Kumara, Apu and Hapay’)
1941	‘Sobre craneología de los Uru, supervivencia de razas australoides en los Andes’ (‘On the craneology of the Uru, the survival of Australoid races in the Andes’)
1951	‘Las “tabletas parlantes” de Pascua, monumentos de un sistema gráfico indo-oceánico’ (‘The “talking tablets” from Easter Island, monuments of an Indo-Oceanic graphic system’)
1956	<i>La segunda esfinge indiana (The Second Indian Sphinx)</i>

<sup>524</sup> ‘Actes de la société’, *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 19 (1927), 363.

<sup>525</sup> Imbelloni, *Religiosidad indígena americana* (Buenos Aires: Ed. Castañeda, 1979).

## Paul Rivet

As mentioned in Chapter 5, Rivet and his Americanist research brought a fresh perspective to European and Latin American anthropological studies on trans-Pacific contact and theories of Amerindian origins: the consideration of a west to east migration across the South Pacific as an explanation for comparable linguistic and cultural traits between Oceanic and Amerindian peoples. He also argued for the existence of frequent trading contacts between South America and Polynesia and Melanesia.<sup>526</sup>

Rivet was already an influential scholar in Americanist and Oceanian studies in Europe before emigrating to South America, but his reputation in these fields grew considerably as a result of his anthropological work, particularly in Colombia, Mexico and Ecuador from 1941 to 1957.<sup>527</sup> He contributed significantly to the development of the Société des Américanistes de Paris and participated in the establishment of the Centre d'Etudes Océaniques in 1938 as director of the Musée de l'Homme in Paris.<sup>528</sup> Growing interest in the French Pacific directly influenced the establishment of Rivet's Centre d'Etudes Océaniques.

Rivet's dual concern for the anthropology of Oceania and the Americas encouraged his development of a series of studies linking these two geographical areas. The evidence he cited included cultural affinities and linguistic similarities and he argued for the existence of trading relations between these regions.<sup>529</sup> Rivet's 1909 paper on 'Anthropological research on Baja California' was his first to discuss trans-Pacific contact, in the form of similarities between the

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<sup>526</sup> Rivet, 'Relations commerciales précolombiennes entre l'Océanie et l'Amérique', 583-609; Emilie Dotte-Sarout and Andrea Ballesteros Danel, 'The Australians-Fuegiens connection...', Australian Archaeological Association (AAA) Annual Conference, Melbourne, Australia, 2017.

<sup>527</sup> Christine Laurière, 'México en los años treinta y el desarrollo de las ciencias humanas', in Véronique Hébrard (ed.), *Una concepción atlántica del americanismo: en los pasos de François Chevalier* (Paris: Archives Contemporaines, 2013), 19-33; Laurière, 'Paul Rivet, vie et oeuvre', *Gradhiva* 26 (1999), 109-28.

<sup>528</sup> Conklin, *In the Museum of Man: Race, Anthropology, and Empire in France, 1850-1950*, 225-28.

<sup>529</sup> Rivet, 'Relations commerciales précolombiennes précolombiennes entre l'Océanie et l'Amérique', *Festschrift: Publication d'hommage offerte au P.W. Schmidt*, 583-609; Rivet, 'Relations commerciales précolombiennes entre Polynésie et l'Amérique', *Compte-Rendu Sommaire de la Société de Biogéographie de Paris* 4 (1927), 65-68.

inhabitants of Baja California, Mexico, and those of Melanesia and Australia.<sup>530</sup> It was followed by a series of mainly linguistic investigations into trans-Pacific contact between Oceania and the Americas. Table 10 lists his publications arguing for trans-Pacific contact, including one from 1956.

**Table 10.** Publications by Rivet discussing trans-Pacific contact (see References for full details).

Year	Publication
1924	'Les Mélando-Polynésiens et les Australiens en Amérique' ('The Melano-Polynesians in the Americas')
1925	'Les Australiens en Amérique' ('The Australians in the Americas')
	'Les origines de l'homme américain' ('The Origins of Amerindians')
1926	'Le Peuplement de l'Amérique Précolombienne' ('The Settlement of Pre-Columbian America')
	'Les Malayo-Polynésiens en l'Amérique' ('The Malayo-Polynesians in the Americas')
1927	'Relations commerciales précolombiennes entre Polynésie et l'Amérique' ('Pre-Columbian Relations between Polynesia and the Americas')
1928	'Relations commerciales précolombiennes entre l'Océanie et l'Amérique' ('Pre-Columbian Relations between Oceania and the Americas')
1932	'Les "Océaniens": Etude des grandes migrations humaines dans le Pacifique' ('The "Oceanians": Study on the Great Human Migrations in the Pacific')
1943	<i>Les origines de l'homme américain (The Origins of Amerindians)</i>
1956	'Early Contacts between Polynesia and America'
	'Relations anciennes entre la Polynésie et l'Amérique'

### Herman F.C. Ten Kate

Trans-Pacific contact theories by Argentine scholars were also influenced by previous anthropological studies and racial classifications of Amerindian groups by the Dutch anthropologist Herman F.C. ten Kate (1858–1931). Ten Kate contended that some Amerindians had physical features akin to a 'yellow race', which also included Pacific Islanders and certain Asiatics.<sup>531</sup> His academic work in the Americas commenced in the United States, where he travelled to in 1882. His fortuitous acquaintanceship with the Argentine anthropologist

<sup>530</sup> Paul Rivet, 'Recherches Anthropologiques sur la Basse Californie', *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 6 (1909), 147–253.

<sup>531</sup> Herman Frederik C. Ten Kate, 'Sur la question de la pluralité et de la parenté des races en Amérique', in *Compte-rendu du Congrès International des Américanistes*, 7me session – Huitième Session, Paris 1890 (Paris: Ernest Leroux Editeur, 1892), 288-94.

Francisco P. Moreno (1852–1919) in Paris in 1880 resulted in his assignment as curator of anthropology of La Plata Museum by Moreno. In 1893 he participated in a fieldwork expedition in northwestern Argentina organised by La Plata Museum.<sup>532</sup> Ten Kate's hiatus in Europe after this expedition was due to a period of politico-institutional and social instability in Argentina, however he returned to this South American nation in 1896.<sup>533</sup> Ten Kate's academic influence in Argentina was such that he is known as one of the founders of physical anthropology in this country along with Lehmann-Nitsche.<sup>534</sup> Ten Kate was an influential anthropologist in wider European intellectual spheres and not just Latin American. Rivet, for instance, who also spent an extended period of his academic years in Latin America, described him as a scientific nomad, given Ten Kate's breadth of travels, including visits to Mexico, Argelia, Lapland, Canada, Surinam, Venezuela, the Caribbean, Indonesia, Tonga and the Society Islands, Tahiti and Australia between 1883 and 1892.<sup>535</sup> Ten Kate may have indirectly influenced the trans-Pacific contact debate of his time, given his inclusion of Pacific Islanders as possessing the same physical features, hence origins, as certain Amerindians. In line with Ten Kate's ideas, speculations on trans-Pacific contact by Argentine scholars were shaped by a widely-held belief in Argentina that Indigenous South Americans belonged to the same 'yellow race' as Malayo-Polynesians and East Asians.

### **Erland Nordenskiöld**

Another European scholar who conducted fieldwork in South America was Erland Nordenskiöld (1877–1932). The scholarly views of this Swedish archaeologist and anthropologist

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<sup>532</sup> Máximo Farro, 'Herman Frederik Carel Ten Kate', *Museo* 3/23 (2009), 9–11.

<sup>533</sup> *Ibid.*, 11–13.

<sup>534</sup> Elvira Inés Baffi and María F. Torres, 'Lehmann-Nitsche, (Paul Adolf) Robert (1872-1938)' in Frank Spencer (ed.), *History of Physical Anthropology Volume 2* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1997), 611.

<sup>535</sup> Farro, 'Herman Frederik Carel Ten Kate', 9–11.

were influenced by the works of Rivet and Schmidt, amongst other European diffusionists. He conducted archaeological and anthropological studies in Argentina and Bolivia (1901–1902), Bolivia and Peru (1904–1905), Bolivia (1908–1909), Bolivia and Brazil (1913–1914), and Panama and Colombia (1927).<sup>536</sup> In a 1933 publication he listed forty-nine South American material culture elements, cultural practices and crops with Oceanic parallels either from Melanesia or Polynesia.<sup>537</sup> Nordenskiöld’s list included irrigation practices, the blow-gun, the calabash (*Lagenaria vulgaris*), and the act of trepanning. Some elements had been previously analysed by other scholars. Examples include the stamping tube (*bâton de rythme*), which was studied by Von Hornbostel (1928), and fishhooks, which were studied by Rau (1884) and Hamy (1885). Others were original to Nordenskiöld and were addressed for the first time, including cultural practices like fishing with poison and the use of wooden pillows. Several elements from this list have not been subsequently studied, such as the liana bridge, baskets of lattice type, and the Arawak loom. The full list of elements is provided in Table 11. The ones marked with an asterisk (\*) are original to Nordenskiöld.

**Table 11.** Oceanic ‘culture-elements’ present in South America as listed by Nordenskiöld.

	Colombia and Panama	Peru (Inca Empire)	Central America and Mexico	North America (north of Mexico)	Amazon Region	West Indies	Xingu River (Brazil)	Eastern Brazil	El Gran Chaco (parts of Paraguay, Bolivia, Argentina and Brazil) and adjacent territories	Tierra del Fuego (Argentina) and adjacent territories	Melanesia	Polynesia
Pile-building*	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+
Roof-apex cap of clay*	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
Palisades*	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+
Wooden pillow*	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
Wooden seat*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
Calabash ( <i>Lagenaria vulgaris</i> )	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	-	+	+
Coconut palm	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+

<sup>536</sup> Robert H. Lowie, ‘Erland Nordenskiöld’, *American Anthropologist* 35/1 (1933), 158.

<sup>537</sup> Erland Nordenskiöld, ‘The Origin of the Indian Civilization in South America’, in D. Jenness (ed.), *The American Aborigines* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1972 [1933]), 249–311.

	Colombia and Panama	Peru (Inca Empire)	Central America and Mexico	North America (north of Mexico)	Amazon Region	West Indies	Xingu River (Brazil)	Eastern Brazil	El Gran Chaco (parts of Paraguay, Bolivia, Argentina and Brazil) and adjacent territories	Tierra del Fuego (Argentina) and adjacent territories	Melanesia	Polynesia
Irrigation	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+
Clubs with star-shaped heads of stone*	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
All arrows without feathers*	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
Knuckle-duster*	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
Bamboo-dagger or bone-dagger*	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+
Blowgun	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
Fishhook	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
Plaited fan*	+	-	+	-	+	?	+	?	-	-	+	+
Water-boiling in bamboo sections*	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	?
Four-footed wooden trays*	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
Venesection bow	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
Trepanning	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
The use of lime along with coca, tobacco or betel	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
Rod or spoon used to extract the lime from the calabash*	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
Calabash used for the lime that is chewed with coca leaves or betel	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
Rain-cloak made from leaves	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
Penis cover*	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
Stained teeth*	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
Composite comb*	+	+	?	+ <sup>538</sup>	+	?	+	-	+	-	+	+
Bark-corset*	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
Sail	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
Sail, square	-	+	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
Sail, triangular	-	+	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
Double canoe	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
Crouched paddle-handle	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+
Stilts*	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
Pan pipes	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-
Conch trumpet	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+
Stamping tube ( <i>bâton de rythme</i> )	-	-	?	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
True signal gong*	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
Masks*	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	<sup>539</sup>
Bark cloth	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	?	+
Bark-cloth mallet*	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	?	+
Baskets of lattice type*	+	-	-	+	+	?	+	-	-	-	+	?
Arawak loom*	+	-	-	+	+	?	?	-	+	-	+	-
Quipu	+	+	+	+	+	?	-	-	-	-	?	+

<sup>538</sup> Aleutian Islands.

<sup>539</sup> Island of Mangareva.



	Colombia and Panama	Peru (Inca Empire)	Central America and Mexico	North America (north of Mexico)	Amazon Region	West Indies	Xingu River (Brazil)	Eastern Brazil	El Gran Chaco (parts of Paraguay, Bolivia, Argentina and Brazil) and adjacent territories	Tierra del Fuego (Argentina) and adjacent territories	Melanesia	Polynesia
Shield, square*	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
Shield, round*	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
Fishing with poison*	+	?	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
Liana bridge*	+	+	+	?	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
Flat clubs	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
Broad bracelets of metal, tortoise shell, or seashell*	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+?

In Nordenskiöld's view, these objects and practices might have been diffused by accidental voyages or intentional migration to South America or migration from Asia, or might simply have resulted from independent invention.<sup>540</sup> Nordenskiöld's study of South American 'Oceanic' (Polynesian and Melanesian) elements discussed their geographical distribution within South America and parallels in regions westward across the Pacific Ocean. He argued that, apart from the triangular sail, none of these Pacific elements could be found in the Americas outside parts of the Inca empire, though he also discerned Oceanic influences in North America, in the Amazon, and in Mexico. Nordenskiöld thought it noteworthy that throughout the Americas aspects of Oceanic influence had been subject to modifications and were considered more important in South America than in North America. Several elements of Oceanic influence in South America were absent in North America, and vice versa.

### **Karl Täuber**

German-language scientific thought not only influenced notions about trans-Pacific contact in the Americas, but academic influences also flowed in the opposite direction. This is best exemplified by Karl Täuber's 1928 article 'Die neuesten Forschungen über die Herkunft der Indianer' ('The most recent research on the origin of the American Indians'), which features a

<sup>540</sup> Nordenskiöld, 'The Origin of the Indian Civilization in South America', 264.

map outlining the theories of Imbelloni, Palavecino, Rivet, and even Grotius from the seventeenth century, which are all discussed in this thesis.<sup>541</sup> It also mentions the work by Alfredo Trombetti (1866–1929), an Italian linguist who pursued studies on general comparative linguistics.<sup>542</sup> Täuber noted how ‘the abundance of parallels between Polynesian and American Indian languages adds a further compelling proof to my statements’.<sup>543</sup> He also commented on the ‘spectacular discoveries’ of Eduard Stucken (1865–1936), a German linguist who also wrote on Polynesian languages.<sup>544</sup>

Täuber’s paper was published in the oldest German-language journal in the field of geography. *Petermanns Mitteilungen* was established in 1855 by the German geographer and cartographer August Heinrich Petermann (1822–1878). Its scholarly regard as a ‘medium for the publication of all significant geographical discoveries of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries’ exemplifies the interrelatedness of German and Latin American, especially Argentine scholars during the first half of the twentieth century.<sup>545</sup> It also evidences the international influence of Imbelloni’s and Palavecino’s scholarship during the early twentieth century.

In opposition to the widely accepted hypothesis that the first human settlers travelled to the Americas via Bering Strait, Täuber proposed direct migrations from Australia and New Zealand to South America. He also cited works by earlier scholars containing similar evidence for such migrations. They included works by the Scottish anthropologist Daniel Wilson, encountered earlier in this thesis, whose 1862 proposal of an eastward and then northward migration by Polynesians, to and from South America, gained credibility in Täuber’s eyes as a

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<sup>541</sup> Karl Täuber, ‘Die neuesten Forschungen über die Herkunft der Indianer’, *Dr. A. Petermanns Mitteilungen aus Justus Perthes’ geographischer Anstalt* 74, no. 3/4 (1928), 90–95.

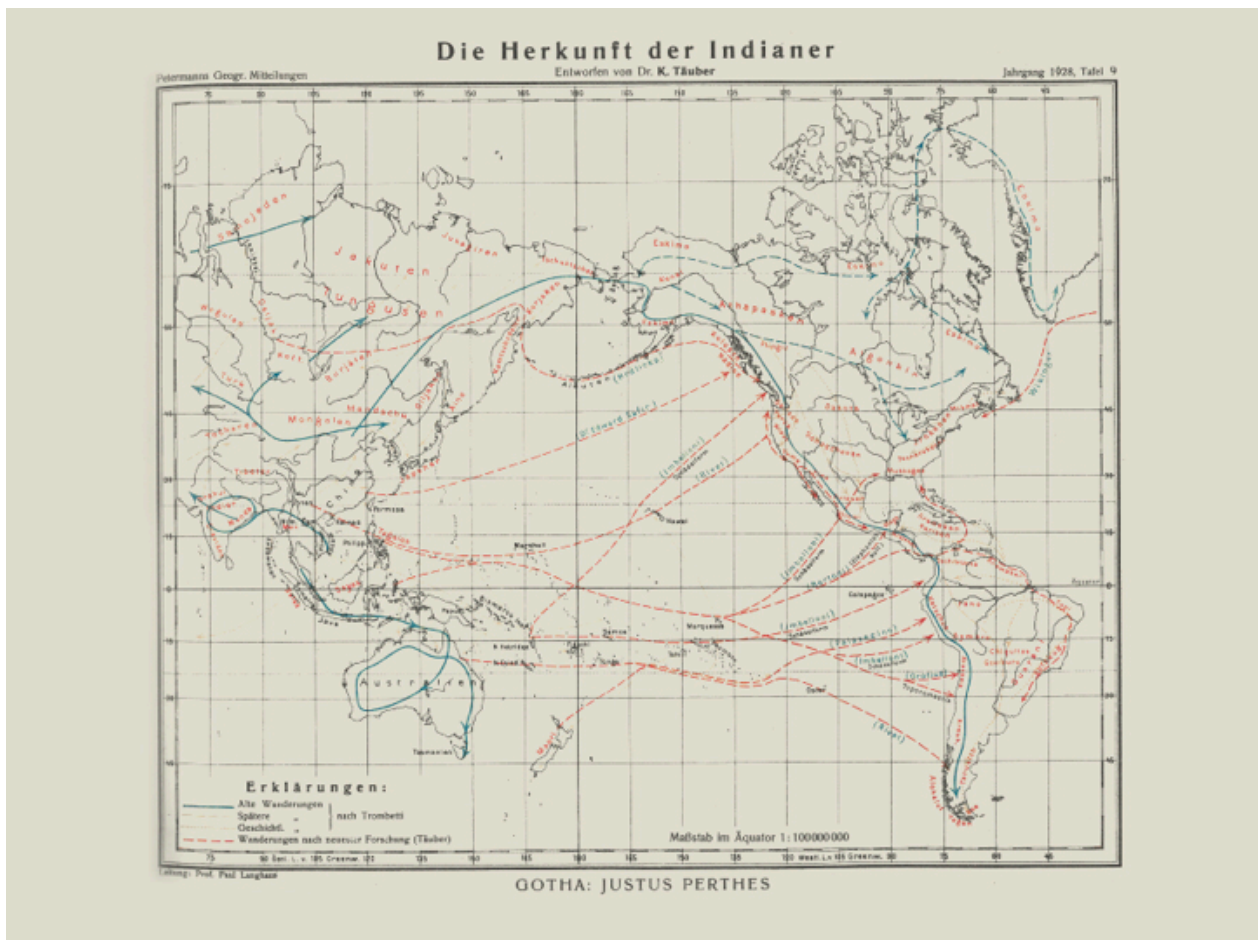
<sup>542</sup> For example Trombetti, *Introduzione agli Elementi di Glottologia* (Bologna: N. Zanichelli, 1922).

<sup>543</sup> Täuber, ‘Die neuesten Forschungen über die Herkunft der Indianer’, 90–95. Translation by Dr. Hilary Howes.

<sup>544</sup> Raymond Furness and Malcolm Humble (eds.), *A Companion to Twentieth-Century German Literature* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1997), 286.

<sup>545</sup> Personal communication from Dr. Hilary Howes, 10 April 2018.

result of the subsequent work of Ellis (1872), possibly referring to a later edition of his 1829 *Polynesian Researches*, Wickersham (1894), and Hamy and Thomas (1896), who all argued for connections between Polynesia and the Americas, as discussed in Chapter 3.<sup>546</sup> Figure 15 is a reproduction of Täuber's map representing the influence of trans-Pacific contact ideas amongst scholars by 1928.



**Figure 15.** Map by Täuber representing diverse trans-Pacific origin theories.

In a 1928 review article, Täuber wrote approvingly of a publication by his compatriot, the *littérateur* Eduard Stucken (1865–1936), who claimed to identify ‘Polynesian linguistic

<sup>546</sup> Täuber, ‘Die neuesten Forschungen über die Herkunft der Indianer’, 92; Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*; Wickersham, ‘Origin of the Indians—The Polynesian Route’, 325–335. N.B. In view of Täuber’s incomplete references, a publication by Hamy and Thomas from 1896 has not been located, however it is possible that he was referring to the following: Ernest T. Hamy, *Etudes historiques et géographiques* (Paris: Hachette, 1896).

elements in America and in Sumer'. Täuber enthused: 'nothing could be more welcome than Eduard Stucken's spectacular discoveries' and that 'the abundance of parallels between Polynesian and American Indian languages adds a further compelling proof to my statements'.<sup>547</sup> Amongst Stucken's 'discoveries' were numerous comparable expressions demonstrating to his satisfaction linguistic connections between Mexico and Peru and a number of Pacific Islands, including Hawai'i, Mangareva, New Zealand, Tahiti, and Tonga.<sup>548</sup> In sum, linguistic parallels, similarities in material culture, common cultural practices, resemblances in skull morphology, racial classifications, ideas on origins, speculations on a lost Pacific continent or former land bridge, and trans-Oceanic trade relations featured as supposedly compelling evidence of pre-Columbian trans-Pacific contact in the scholarly works of European and American scholars focussing on the anthropology of the Americas and the Pacific.

## **An Outline of the Development of the Social Sciences in Argentina and Chile**

### **Argentina**

The establishment and development of the social sciences in Argentina took place after the critical phase of the Conquest of the Desert, where between 1878 and 1885 the Indigenous populations of the Pampas and Patagonia regions were decimated as an act of genocide with ties to a specific type of nationalism linked with the idea of 'national whiteness'.<sup>549</sup> This impacted the development of the social sciences in Argentina since it tied in with the desire to study these people considered as 'inferior' and 'barbaric', the intention to rescue the story of this now extinct

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<sup>547</sup> Täuber, 'Polynesisches Sprachgut in Amerika und im Sumer', *Dr. A. Petermanns Mitteilungen aus Justus Perthes' geographischer Anstalt* 74/9-10 (1928), 283. Translation by Dr. Hilary Howes.

<sup>548</sup> Eduard Stucken, *Polynesisches Sprachgut in Amerika und im Sumer*, *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft* 31/2 (Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1927), 1–127.

<sup>549</sup> Mónica Quijada, 'Ancestros, ciudadanos, piezas de museo. Francisco P. Moreno y la articulación del indígena en la construcción nacional argentina', *EIAL* 9/2 (1998), 23–24; Caroline Ryan, *Indigenous Possessions: Anthropology, Museums, and Nation-Making in Argentina 1862–1943*. PhD thesis (Madison: University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2011).

population, symbolised by their inclusion as museum objects, and more importantly, the desire to build a nation in Argentina that distanced itself from its Indigenous people. The survivors were assimilated into the predominant population. All of these were tied with anthropological models and scientific theories that interacted with the project of nation-building in Argentina, seeking to be considered as a civilised nation.<sup>550</sup> In other words, the development of anthropology in Argentina was tied with the project of nation-building that commenced in the nineteenth century.<sup>551</sup>

The development of archaeology and anthropology in Argentina was also influenced by the pioneering work of the Argentine scholar Juan Bautista Ambrosetti (1865–1917).<sup>552</sup> Best known for his archaeological and anthropological research in the Calchaqui region in northwest Argentina, Ambrosetti was founding director of the University of Buenos Aires Ethnographic Museum and directed it from 1904 to 1917. It now bears his name and is known as the Juan B. Ambrosetti Ethnographic Museum.<sup>553</sup> It was established for the purpose of promoting anthropological research and training, the first of its kind in South America, and was the last of a series of museums that were created for the purpose of transforming Argentina into a modern nation during the late nineteenth century: the Public Museum of Buenos Aires (1823), the Paraná Museum (1854), the La Plata Museum (1888), the National Historical Museum (1891), the National Naval Museum (1892), the National Museum of Fine Arts (1896), and the Federal Police Museum (1899).<sup>554</sup> The arrival of international scholars to Argentina and their valorisation of the material culture collections held at the Ethnographic Museum, saw greater support for the

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<sup>550</sup> Ibid., 21–46.

<sup>551</sup> Máximo Farro, 'Natural History Museums in Argentina, 1862–1906', *Museum History Journal* 9/1 (2014), 129.

<sup>552</sup> María del Carmen Nicolás Alba, 'Las primeras formas del Indigenismo en Argentina: la voz de sus precursores', *Anales de Literatura Hispanoamericana* 44 (2015), 95–107.

<sup>553</sup> Pablo Perazzi, 'La antropología en escena: redes de influencia, sociabilidad y prestigio en los orígenes del Museo Etnográfico de la Universidad de Buenos Aires', *Anthropologica* 29 (2011), 215.

<sup>554</sup> Ibid., 217.

conservation and study of Argentina's cultural heritage; as well as its subsequent use in forging new national identities.<sup>555</sup> The Buenos Aires Ethnographic Museum, then, became the principal institution in the region to promote theories of trans-Pacific contact through its associated scholars, particularly Ambrosetti, Imbelloni, and Palavecino.

In Argentina, evolutionary approaches to archaeology and anthropology were increasingly supplanted during the early twentieth century, enabling the adoption of Schmidt's *Kulturkreis* perspective. The early to mid-twentieth century saw a growing interest in Andean and Araucanian archaeology and in the exploration of its cultural heritage, particularly by Argentine scholars who, like Imbelloni, modelled their ideas on those of the *Kulturkreis* school, from which the culture-historical approach derived, and exchanged views and communications with Schmidt and his followers.<sup>556</sup> The culture-historical approach had its niche in the Argentine Anthropological Society, in the Faculty of Natural Sciences and in the Museum of La Plata and the University of Buenos Aires. It was introduced by Imbelloni and promoted by scholars such as Menghin, Spanish anthropologist Salvador Canals Frau (1893–1958), and Palavecino, who all theorised trans-Pacific contact, albeit to varying degrees, as well as by Fernando Márquez Miranda (1897–1961), and Armando Vivante (1910—1996).<sup>557</sup> Independently, a number of Chilean scholars also conducted studies on trans-Pacific contact, linking the Mapuche culture with Polynesia. It has been noted by later scholars that it was regrettable that Argentine and

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<sup>555</sup> Ibid., 219.

<sup>556</sup> Hugo E. Ratier, 'La antropología social argentina: su desarrollo', *Publicar en Antropología y Ciencias Sociales* 8/9 (2010), 23.

<sup>557</sup> Rosana Guber, 'Crisis de presencia, universidad y política en el nacimiento de la Antropología Social de Buenos Aires, Argentina', *Revista Colombiana de Antropología* 43 (2007), 263–298; Ratier, 'La antropología social argentina: su desarrollo', 17–46; Germán Soprano, 'La enseñanza de la arqueología en la Facultad de Ciencias Naturales y Museo de la Universidad Nacional de La Plata. Un análisis sobre el liderazgo académico de Alberto Rex González y Eduardo Mario Cigliano (1958-1977)', *Revista del Museo de Antropología* 3 (2010), 171–186; Vásquez Vilches, Mora Nawrath, and Fernández Lizana, 'Perspectiva histórico-cultural e investigación antropológica en Chile: una aproximación a los aportes de Max Uhle, Martín Gusinde y Aureliano Oyarzún (1910-1947)', 526.

Chilean scholars did not collaborate to enrich their findings.<sup>558</sup> This may have been a product of the animosity between the two countries and their long history of conflicts pertaining to borders and land rights of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which ceased in 1984 with the signing of the Treaty of Peace and Friendship.

## Chile

In Chile, scholars started focussing on the archaeology and anthropology of the Indigenous populations of Chile from the late nineteenth century.<sup>559</sup> This was a time of difficulty for the social sciences in Chile given limited financial support from the government and the low wages of scholars.<sup>560</sup>

The formalisation of archaeology as a discipline was tied with the establishment of the Museum of Ethnology and Anthropology in 1911, the only institution devoted to anthropology in Chile until the creation of the Centre for Anthropological Studies at the University of Chile in 1954.<sup>561</sup> In spite of this, there was a growing interest in anthropology and archaeology in this South American nation in the first decades of the twentieth century. Evidence of this were the numerous publications on the subject that analysed the cultural and material roots of Indigenous Chileans. These were tied to a growing culturalist nationalism that perhaps culminated in the Ibero-American Exposition of 1929 in Seville, where the approach of this discipline mostly

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<sup>558</sup> Daniel Schávelzon, Flavia Zorzi and Ana Igareta, 'Cerámicas del siglo XVIII en la Isla de Pascua, *Rapa Nui*', in Mario Silveira (coord.), *Easter Island Archaeology. Arqueología en Rapa Nui (Isla de Pascua)* (London: Archeopress, 2016), 11.

<sup>559</sup> Vásquez Vilches, Mora Nawrath, and Fernández Lizana, 'Perspectiva histórico-cultural e investigación antropológica en Chile: una aproximación a los aportes de Max Uhle, Martin Gusinde y Aureliano Oyarzún (1910-1947)', 514.

<sup>560</sup> Héctor Mora Nawrath, 'El espacio de producción en ciencias antropológicas en Chile: una aproximación a las publicaciones contenidas en revistas científicas (1860-1954)', *Antípoda. Revista de Antropología y Arqueología* 27 (2017), 97.

<sup>561</sup> Carlos Thomas, *Revisión crítica de la Arqueología Chilena entre 1960 y 1970: aspectos teóricos y metodológicos*, Bachelor Thesis (Santiago: University of Chile, 1977), 81; Troncoso, Salazar and Jackson, 'Hacia una retrospectiva de la teoría arqueológica en Chile: ¿Qué somos?, ¿de dónde venimos?, ¿A dónde vamos?', 217–19; Vásquez Vilches, Mora Nawrath, and Fernández Lizana, 'Perspectiva histórico-cultural e investigación antropológica en Chile: una aproximación a los aportes de Max Uhle, Martin Gusinde y Aureliano Oyarzún (1910-1947)', 514.

followed the European trend of distinguishing races and cultures and centring on human cultural diversity.<sup>562</sup>

The development of archaeology in Chile underwent five stages.<sup>563</sup> Three of them are described in this chapter given their time period. The first, the period of exploration, occurred between 1842 and 1882 and culminated with the publication of José Toribio Medina's *Los aborígenes de Chile*.<sup>564</sup> The second stage, from 1882 to 1911, cemented the foundations of the discipline. It concluded with the arrival of the distinguished German scholar Max Uhle (1856–1944), who developed the basis for scientific archaeology in Chile and also supported the development of the *Kulturkreis* approach.<sup>565</sup> The third took place between 1911 and 1940 and is known as the period of the first chronological sequences. It saw the development of a number of important researchers, including Latcham and Oyarzún, mentioned above, as well as Gualterio Looser (1898–1982), all of whom also published on pre-Columbian trans-Pacific contact.<sup>566</sup> Looser's research was parallel to Imbelloni's in that he argued for the presence of Polynesian-like clubs in South America, based on discoveries in southern Chile.<sup>567</sup>

The *Kulturkreis* trend that was prevalent in Argentina also extended to Chile and was particularly developed there by Oyarzún, Uhle, and the Austrian priest and ethnologist Martin

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<sup>562</sup> Ibid., 95; Sylvia Dümmer Scheel, 'Los desafíos de escenificar el "alma nacional". Chile en la Exposición Iberoamericana de Sevilla (1929)', *Historia Crítica* 42 (2010), 91; José Antonio González Pizarro, 'Patrimonio, museos y arqueología: de la visibilidad de los pueblos indígenas a la institucionalización de los estudios arqueológicos en el Norte Grande de Chile', *Arica* 36 (2010), 15–32; Alice Conklin, *In the Museum of Man. Race, Anthropology, and Empire in France, 1850-1950* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2013), 2–3.

<sup>563</sup> Mario Orellana Rodríguez, *Historia de la Arqueología en Chile (1842–1990)* (Santiago: Bravo y Allende Editores, 1996), 17–20.

<sup>564</sup> José Toribio Medina, *Los aborígenes de Chile*.

<sup>565</sup> Orellana Rodríguez, *Historia de la Arqueología en Chile (1842–1990)*, 17–20; Vásquez Vilches, Mora Nawrath, and Fernández Lizana, 'Perspectiva histórico-cultural e investigación antropológica en Chile: una aproximación a los aportes de Max Uhle, Martin Gusinde y Aureliano Oyarzún (1910-1947)', 514–15.

<sup>566</sup> Ramírez Aliaga, 'Contactos transpacíficos: un acercamiento al problema de los supuestos rasgos polinésicos en la cultura mapuche', 1–28; Rodríguez, *Historia de la Arqueología en Chile (1842–1990)*, 17–20.

<sup>567</sup> Gualterio Looser, 'Hacha insignia de Llaima: un arma neozelandesa hallada en el sur de Chile', in *Solar* 1 (1931), 201–208; Looser, 'Otras dos clavos insignias de piedra de la Araucanía', *Revista Universitaria* 44 (1960), 177–179.



Gusinde (1886–1969).<sup>568</sup> As noted in a letter from 1946, for example, Oyarzún supported the *Kulturkreis* movement and aimed to follow this trend in his publications by claiming that ‘the only means of advancing the study of the ancient national and international cultures was by applying the culture-historical approach developed by Graebner, Frobenius, Ankermann, Foy, Schmidt, Koppers and many others from the new German school’.<sup>569</sup> In a posthumous publication from 1979, he asserted that ‘primitive’ peoples possessed varying degrees of cultural development, and that it was the duty of culture-historical scholars to classify these degrees. The approach provided standardised norms compared to ethnology, which had depended on psychological theories without objective foundations in the past.<sup>570</sup>

### **Notions about Trans-Pacific Contact in Argentina and Chile**

A number of Argentine scholars, notably Imbelloni, explored evidence for the probability of pre-Columbian interaction between Oceanians and the ancient settlers of South America, especially in Peru, Chile and Argentina. Their arguments centred on linguistic parallels, and similarities between Polynesian and South American lithic artefacts (e.g. stone clubs and adzes). Chilean scholars also explored similar ideas, although to a lesser extent. Their publications also included other elements of evidence such as obsidian ‘spear points’ and anthropomorphic figurines.

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<sup>568</sup> Rodrigo Andrés Vásquez Vilches, Héctor Iván Mora Nawrath, and Miguel Ignacio Fernández Lizana, ‘Perspectiva histórico-cultural e investigación antropológica en Chile: una aproximación a los aportes de Max Uhle, Martín Gusinde y Aureliano Oyarzún (1910-1947)’, *Boletim do Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi. Ciências Humanas* 14/2 (2019), 514.

<sup>569</sup> Aureliano Oyarzún, Letter of Resignation as Director of Chile’s Museo Histórico Nacional (1946), cited in ‘Aureliano Oyarzún Navarro: 1858–1947’, *Boletín Bibliográfico de Antropología Americana* (1937-1948) 10 (1947), 276–77.

<sup>570</sup> Oyarzún, *Estudios antropológicos y arqueológicos* (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 1979), 3.

## Argentina

The main publications presenting the trans-Pacific contact theories of these Argentine scholars are listed in Table 12. Eight post-1950 papers, from 1951 to 1961, are included given their relevance in topic and the nationality of the author, D.E. Ibarra Grasso.

**Table 12.** List of publications discussing trans-Pacific contact by Argentine scholars.

Year	Author(s)	Publication
1904	Ambrosetti	'Insignia lítica de mando de tipo chileno' ('Chilean-like ceremonial item')
1909	Ambrosetti	'Clava lítica de tipo peruano del territorio del Neuquén' ('Peruvian-like stone club found in Neuquén')
	Lehmann-Nitsche	'Clavas cefalomorfas de piedra procedentes de Chile y de la Argentina' ('Cephalomorphic Stone Clubs from Chile and Argentina')
1926	Palavecino	'Elementos lingüísticos de Oceanía en el Quechua' ('Linguistic elements from Oceania in Quechua')
		'Elementos oceánicos en el Quechua' ('Oceanic elements in Quechua')
1928	Palavecino	'Los orígenes americanos y la lingüística' ('American origins and linguistics')
1938	D.E. Ibarra Grasso	'Las numeraciones indígenas americanas' ('Indigenous American Numeration Systems')
1940	D.E. Ibarra Grasso	'Las embarcaciones de totora' ('The <i>Totora</i> Vessels')
	Rusconi	'Sobre un toki o insignia de mando de Mendoza' ('Regarding a <i>toki</i> or ceremonial item from Mendoza')
1945	Rusconi	'Tokis líticos de Mendoza' ('Lithic <i>Toki</i> from Mendoza')
1948	D.E. Ibarra Grasso	'La escritura indígena andina' ('Andean Indigenous Writing')
	J.A. Ibarra Grasso	<i>Las grandes balsas indígenas</i> ( <i>The Great Indigenous Rafts</i> )
1949	D.E. Ibarra Grasso	<i>Historia de la navegación primitiva</i> ( <i>History of Primitive Navigation</i> )
1951	D.E. Ibarra Grasso	'Estado actual del problema de los orígenes oceánicos de parte de los aborígenes americanos' ('Current status of the problem of Oceanic origins of Amerindians')
1952	D.E. Ibarra Grasso	'Las relaciones lingüísticas de Asia y Oceanía con America, parte 1' ('The linguistic relationships of Asia and Oceania with the Americas, Part 1')
1953	D.E. Ibarra Grasso	<i>Breve historia de la navegación primitiva</i> ( <i>Brief History of Primitive Navigation</i> )
1954	D.E. Ibarra Grasso	'Grupos y cronología de las influencias surasiáticas y oceánicas en la America Indígena' ('Groups and chronology of South Asian and Oceanic influences in Indigenous America')
1956	D.E. Ibarra Grasso	'Anciennes cultures du territoire Bolivien (avant Tiahuanaco)' ('Ancient cultures from Bolivia (before Tiahuanaco)')
		'El problema lingüístico en los orígenes oceánicos de parte de los indígenas americanos' ('The linguistic problem in the Oceanic origins of Amerindians')
1957	D.E. Ibarra Grasso	'Los sistemas de numeración' ('The Numbering Systems')
1958	D.E. Ibarra Grasso	'Las formas de contar de los pueblos primitivos y las influencias lingüísticas eurasiáticas y oceánicas en la America indígena' ('The ways of counting of primitive peoples and the Eurasian and Oceanic linguistic influences in Indigenous America')
		'Un nuevo "patu" de Bolivia'
1961	D.E. Ibarra Grasso	'Hachas planas con agujeros posteriores de tipo oceánico, en la Bolivia prehispánica' ('Flat adzes with posterior holes of Oceanic type, in pre-Hispanic Bolivia')

## Stone Clubs

In 1904, Ambrosetti made an early contribution to the Argentine literature on trans-Pacific contact theories by arguing that a ‘Chilean-like’ club found in Argentina demonstrated Polynesian features.<sup>571</sup> He later replicated his argument in paper from 1909, where he described a ‘Peruvian-type’ stone club as Polynesian-like. The club he described had been found in Limay, Neuquén, Argentina by Roman Pacheu in the 1880s. In Ambrosetti’s view, it resembled an image of a comparable object reproduced by Rivero and Tschudi in 1851 and mentioned in Chapter 4.<sup>572</sup> Ambrosetti also compared the object in question with ones from Giglioli’s collection, and mentioned the alleged discoveries and reports of Polynesian-like weapons in South America by the prominent Argentine explorer and scholar Francisco P. Moreno (1852–1919). Based on visual judgment from drawings of New Zealand clubs, Ambrosetti remarked: ‘it was noteworthy the similarity they [Māori clubs] have with our piece, especially one found in a sketch from Cook’s voyages with the name Patou-patou’.<sup>573</sup>

In 1909, Roberto Lehmann-Nitsche, first mentioned in Chapter 5 in relation to his ICA presentation, published a paper describing two cephalomorphic stone clubs from Chile and Argentina as Oceanic-like.<sup>574</sup> Lehmann-Nitsche’s paper on ‘Cephalomorphic Stone Clubs from Chile and Argentina’ was an early treatise noting similarities between stone clubs from Chile and Argentina and the New Zealand Māori club known as *mere*.<sup>575</sup> This paper, dedicated to Giglioli, presented a comparison of a Chilean and an Argentinean stone club, as illustrated in Figure 16.

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<sup>571</sup> Juan Bautista Ambrosetti, ‘Insignia lítica de mando de tipo chileno’, *Anales del Museo Nacional de Buenos Aires* 11 (1904), 25–32.

<sup>572</sup> Rivero and Tschudi, *Antigüedades peruanas*, 321.

<sup>573</sup> Ambrosetti, ‘Clava lítica de tipo peruano del territorio del Neuquén’, *Anales del Museo Nacional de Buenos Aires* 17 (1909), 230.

<sup>574</sup> Roberto Lehmann-Nitsche, ‘Clavas cefalomorfas de piedra procedentes de Chile y de la Argentina’, *Revista del Museo de la Plata* 16 (1909), 150–170.

<sup>575</sup> Lehmann-Nitsche, ‘Clavas cefalomorfas de piedra procedentes de Chile y de la Argentina’, 150–170.



**Figure 16.** Cephalomorphic stone clubs from Chillán, Chile (left) and Mendoza, Argentina (right) (Source: Lehmann-Nitsche 1909).

The Chilean stone club included in Lehmann-Nitsche’s publication was also reproduced by Giglioli prior, in 1903, and compared to similar ones from New Zealand.<sup>576</sup> Lehmann-Nitsche’s mention of a probable Oceanic influence on this type of South American stone club possibly pre-empted Imbelloni’s work.

Some of Giglioli’s stone clubs from New Zealand were particularly referred to by Imbelloni in a number of publications discussing trans-Pacific contact between South America and Oceania.<sup>577</sup> Imbelloni published additional findings of Polynesian-like stone clubs in South

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<sup>576</sup> Giglioli, ‘Intorno a due singolari oggetti cerimoniali litici dall’America australe, cioè una grossa accetta votiva (pillan toki) dalla Patagonia ed uno scettro dalla Araucania conservati nella mia collezione’, 444.

<sup>577</sup> Imbelloni, ‘Clava insignia de Villavicencio: un nuevo ejemplar de los “mere” de Oceanía descubierto en el territorio americano’, *Anales de la Facultad de Ciencias de Educación* 14 (1928), 219–228; Imbelloni ‘On the Diffusion in America of “Onewa”, “Okewa”, “Paraoa”, “Miti”, and other Relatives of the “Mere” Family’, *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 39 (1930), 322–345.

America, including ‘Club from Villavicencio: a new example of the “*mere*” of Oceania discovered in the Americas’.<sup>578</sup>

Like Ambrosetti and Lehmann-Nitsche, Imbelloni was one of the first Argentine scholars to argue for trans-Pacific contact between Polynesia and South America based on linguistic and cultural evidence of comparable South American and Māori *patu* (club), *toki* (adze), and *mere okewa* (stone club).<sup>579</sup> He commenced these discussions in 1928. His relevant papers addressed evidence of these cultural traits from South America, mainly discovered in the area once occupied by the Mapuche culture and noted a trans-Pacific diffusion from the west (Imbelloni’s wider contributions to debates on trans-Pacific contacts and his intellectual context are examined above).

### Linguistic Comparisons

Another adherent to the *kulturkreis* approach was Palavecino, whose training in anthropology was supervised by Imbelloni. Palavecino, like Rivet, also conducted linguistic and cultural studies pointing to South American-Polynesian interactions. Palavecino’s publications on linguistic similarities were more detailed than Rivet’s and Imbelloni’s, and at times featured as addenda in Imbelloni’s publications. ‘Linguistic Elements from Oceania in Quechua’ of 1926, one of Palavecino’s most exhaustive studies on Polynesian-American linguistic connections, appeared as an appendix to Imbelloni’s *La esfinge indiana*. It listed 75 words Palavecino considered to

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<sup>578</sup> Imbelloni, ‘Clava insignia de Villavicencio: un nuevo ejemplar de los “*mere*” de Oceanía descubierto en el territorio americano’, 219–28.

<sup>579</sup> Imbelloni, ‘La premiere chaîne isoglossématique océano-américaine: le nom des haches lithiques’, 324–335; Imbelloni, ‘Clava insignia de Villavicencio: un nuevo ejemplar de los “*mere*” de Oceanía descubierto en el territorio americano’, *Anales de la Facultad de Ciencias de la Educación* 14 (1928), 219–228; Imbelloni ‘On the Diffusion in America of “*Onewa*”, “*Okewa*”, “*Paraoa*”, “*Miti*”, and other Relatives of the “*Mere*” Family’, 322–345; Imbelloni, ‘El “*toki*” mágico: La fórmula de encantamiento Maori al derribar un árbol, conservada textualmente en el cuento chileno del Viejo Tatrapay’, 128–149.

demonstrate parallels between the Māori and Quechua languages.<sup>580</sup> As mentioned in Chapter 5, Palavecino believed that more than 30% of Quechua words had Māori phonological elements.<sup>581</sup> He held similar views to Imbelloni about linguistic links between Polynesia and South America, as evidenced in publications on this topic by Imbelloni, particularly in the 1920s. Palavecino, like Imbelloni before him, also became Director of the Ethnographic Museum in Buenos Aires, Argentina (1958–1966). Like Imbelloni, and Rivet, he also published in Schmidt's *Anthropos* journal.<sup>582</sup> In conjunction with his 1926 ICA presentation of a Quechua-Māori comparative glossary mentioned in Chapter 5, which was published in 1928, Palavecino addressed similar topics in two additional papers from 1926 that focused on the Oceanic elements of the Quechua language. The first, 'Elementos lingüísticos de Oceanía en el Quechua' ('Linguistic Elements from Oceania in the Quechua Language'), was one of two sections of the addenda 'Dos notas preliminares sobre la lengua Quechua' ('Two preliminary notes on the Quechua language') that were published in Imbelloni's *La esfinge indiana*. The second section was written by Imbelloni and titled 'El idioma de los Incas del Perú en el grupo lingüístico melanesio-polinesio' ('The Language of the Incas of Peru in the Melanesian-Polynesian Linguistic Group'). And Palavecino's second paper from 1926, 'Elementos oceánicos en el Quechua' ('Oceanic Elements in the Quechua Language'), was published in *Gaea*, a scientific journal by the Argentine Society of Geographical Studies.<sup>583</sup> After 1928, Palavecino did not publish more on this topic.

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<sup>580</sup> Enrique Palavecino, 'Elementos lingüísticos de Oceanía en el Quechua', in José Imbelloni, *La esfinge indiana* (Buenos Aires: El Ateneo, 1926), 335–349.

<sup>581</sup> Palavecino, 'Glosario comparado Kichua-Maori', *Atti del XXII Congresso internazionale degli Americanisti, Roma, settembre 1926* (Roma: Stab. tip. R. Garroni, 1928), 517–25.

<sup>582</sup> See for example Palavecino, 'Von den Pilagá-Indianern im Norden Argentinens', *Anthropos* 28/3–4 (1933), 315–19.

<sup>583</sup> Palavecino, 'Elementos lingüísticos de Oceanía en el Quechua', in Imbelloni, *La esfinge indiana*, 335–349; Palavecino, 'Elementos oceánicos en el Quechua', *Gaea* 2/2 (1926), 256–63.

## Chile

### ‘Spear Points’ and Stone Clubs

Aichel was the first to make a link between mainland Chile and Rapa Nui at the ICA in 1924 on the basis of comparable obsidian ‘spear points’ (*mata'a*), as mentioned in Chapter 5. In 1927 the Chilean anthropologist Aureliano Oyarzún (1858–1947) published a similar article on ‘Two paleolithic spear points of Easter Island found in a prehistoric cemetery on the coast of Chile’. In this paper, he also argued for other similarities between Polynesia and the Americas, including the earth oven or *curanto* from the island of Chiloé, Chile.<sup>584</sup>

Oyarzún’s mentioned article is also the third known publication to feature Chiloé as a possible geographical location showing evidence of probable trans-Pacific contact with Polynesia. The first-known was a study by Moerenhout from 1837, discussed in the previous chapter.<sup>585</sup> The second was a 1911 publication by the Chilean linguist Alejandro Cañas Pinochet which claimed linguistic similarities linking Polynesia with Chiloé.<sup>586</sup>

Oyarzún was born in Chiloé, originally trained as a doctor and graduated in 1885, and conducted further studies in Germany between 1887 and 1891, which triggered his interest in anthropology. He returned to Germany in 1911 and stayed until 1913, where he became associated with the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology of Berlin. He combined his medical and anthropological background with his involvement as professor of pathological anatomy between 1891 and 1906.<sup>587</sup> In 1911 Oyarzún organised and became the director of the

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<sup>584</sup> Oyarzún, ‘Dos puntas de lanza paleolíticas de la Isla de Pascua encontradas en un cementerio prehistórico de la costa de Chile’, 273–276. See also José Miguel Ramírez Aliaga and Elizabeth Matisoo-Smith, ‘Polinesios en el sur de Chile en tiempos prehispanicos: evidencia dura, nuevas preguntas y una nueva hipótesis’, *Clava* 7 (2008), 85–100.

<sup>585</sup> Moerenhout, *Voyages aux îles du Grand océan*, Vol. 2, 244–45.

<sup>586</sup> Alejandro Cañas Pinochet, ‘Estudios de la lengua veliche’, *Proceedings of the 1<sup>st</sup> Pan-American Scientific Congress* (Santiago: Imprenta Barcelona, 1911), 170.

<sup>587</sup> ‘Aureliano Oyarzún Navarro: 1858–1947’, 276–77.

Museum of Ethnology and Prehistory.<sup>588</sup> He was also appointed director of Chile's Museo Histórico Nacional (National Historical Museum) in 1929, a role he maintained until 1946 and which greatly contributed to the museum collections by amassing a large number of Chilean materials for display. He particularly expanded and improved the prehistoric section, given his strong interest in actively protecting Chile's cultural heritage.<sup>589</sup> Oyarzún disproved the 'predominant stereotypes of indigenous peoples as savage and barbaric' and at the same time rejected the distinction of 'high' and 'low' cultures.<sup>590</sup> He was also an adherent of diffusionism.<sup>591</sup>

Gualterio Looser, on the other hand, published two papers in 1931 and 1932 suggesting trans-Pacific contact between New Zealand and Chile (1931), and Rapa Nui and Chile (1932).<sup>592</sup> The first made reference to a stone club from Llaima in southern Chile which resembled similar ones from New Zealand. The second referred to the discovery of an anthropomorphic figurine from Chiloé Island in 1932, which has been interpreted as having Rapa Nui influence.<sup>593</sup> Looser was a distinguished scholar of botany and prolific writer, having published more than 200 academic papers.<sup>594</sup> The University of Zurich presented him with a Doctorate Honoris Causa in 1977. From 1928 he directed the Anthropology section of Chile's National Museum of Natural

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<sup>588</sup> Andrés Troncoso, Diego Salazar and Donald Jackson, 'Hacia una retrospectiva de la teoría arqueológica en Chile: ¿Qué somos?, ¿de dónde venimos?, ¿A dónde vamos?', in Donald Jackson S., Diego Salazar S., and Andrés Troncoso M. (eds.), *Puentes hacia el pasado: Reflexiones teóricas en arqueología* (Santiago: Monografías de la Sociedad Chilena de Arqueología, 2006), 217.

<sup>589</sup> Joanna Crow, 'Narrating the nation: Chile's Museo Histórico Nacional', *National Identities* 11/2 (2009), 114.

<sup>590</sup> Ibid. See also Oyarzún, *Aborígenes de Chile* (Santiago: Imprenta Chile, 1927), 6.

<sup>591</sup> Stefano Palestini, Claudio Ramos, and Andrea Canales, 'La producción de conocimiento antropológico social en Chile postransición: Discontinuidades del pasado y debilidades presentes', *Estudios Atacameños: Arqueología y Antropología Surandinas* 39 (2010), 104.

<sup>592</sup> Gualterio Looser, 'Hacha insignia de Llaima: un arma neozelandesa hallada en el sur de Chile', *Solar* 1 (1931), 201–08.

<sup>593</sup> Gualterio Looser, 'Estatuilla de piedra hallada en la Isla de Chiloé', *Revista Chilena de Historia Natural* 36 (1932), 229–256; Víctor Carvacho, *Historia de la Escultura en Chile* (Santiago: Ed. Andrés Bello, 1983), 93.

<sup>594</sup> Clodomiro Marticorena, 'Gualterio Looser (1898-1982)', *American Fern Journal* 74/2 (1984), 60.



History, thereby commencing his research in the field of archaeology.<sup>595</sup> Apart from his vast body of work in the field of botany, Looser is also known for having collected around 40,000 plant samples, which he mostly donated to the Paul Aellen Foundation in Switzerland.<sup>596</sup> On Aellen's death, Looser's collection was transferred to the Conservatory and Botanical Garden of the city of Geneva, which was founded by Augustin Pyramus de Candolle in 1817, father of Alphonse, of whom we have heard in Chapter 3.<sup>597</sup>

### Skulls and Chickens

In an 1903 article, the Chilean anthropologist Luis Vergara Flores (1866–?) argued for skull-shape resemblances between three crania discovered on Mocha Island, Chile, and those from Polynesia.<sup>598</sup> Vergara described some of his ideas about trans-Pacific contacts in a letter to Ricardo E. Latcham.<sup>599</sup> According to Vergara, the 'very ancient Polynesian races' cannot be disregarded when considering American origins given that they had lived in islands close to the Americas, such as Rapa Nui. As evidence, Vergara cited cranial resemblances, including a very developed nasal spine, a developed glabella and a smooth mastoid process. The same year, Vergara published his paper on the purported cranial resemblance to Polynesian skulls of the three Mocha Island crania.<sup>600</sup>

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<sup>595</sup> Mora Nawrath, 'El espacio de producción en ciencias antropológicas en Chile: una aproximación a las publicaciones contenidas en revistas científicas (1860-1954)', 97.

<sup>596</sup> José A. Martínez, 'Gualterio Looser Schalleberg. Un naturalista botánico (1898–1982)', *Revista Chilena de Historia Natural* 56 (1983), 91–92.

<sup>597</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>598</sup> Luis Vergara, 'Tres Cráneos de la Isla de la Mocha', in C. Reiche (ed.), *La Isla de la Mocha* (Santiago: Anales del Museo Nacional de Chile, 1903), 18–22.

<sup>599</sup> Luis Vergara Flores. [Letter] 1903 January 13, Tocopilla, Chile [to] Ricardo E. Latcham. [manuscript] Luis Vergara Flores. Archive of the Writer. Available at the 'Biblioteca Nacional Digital de Chile' <http://www.bibliotecanacionaldigital.cl/bnd/623/w3-article-308317.html>. Accessed on 01/08/2018.

<sup>600</sup> Vergara, 'Tres Cráneos de la Isla de la Mocha'. *Anales del Museo Nacional de Chile* 16 (1903), 18–22.

A contemporary scholar to Vergara, as outlined above, Latcham argued in 1922 for the presence of chickens in South America before Columbus.<sup>601</sup> He described them as laying blue eggs and noted that this species could be found in Bolivia, Chile, and Peru. Latcham was a British scholar with evolutionist ideas.<sup>602</sup> He first moved to Chile in 1888, where he developed roles at the Museum of Natural History and the University of Chile and became an active member of the Société Scientifique du Chili, the Society of Chilean Folklore, and the Chilean Society of History and Geography, becoming a respected scholar in Chile. Internationally, he was also a member of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, of the L'Alliance Scientifique Universelle, and of the Société des Américanistes de Paris, which further cemented his reputation as a respected archaeologist and anthropologist in European and international scholarly circles.<sup>603</sup> A similar idea to Latcham's was published in 1924 by Castello, whose biographical details are unknown.<sup>604</sup> Incidentally, Latcham alluded to this shared idea in his 1922 publication.<sup>605</sup> Latcham's and Castello's papers arguing for pre-Columbian chickens in South America have been cited as evidence for Polynesian contact in subsequent publications, as outlined in Chapter 9.

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<sup>601</sup> Latcham, *Los animales domésticos de la América precolombiana* (Santiago: Imprenta Cervantes, 1922), 176–79.

<sup>602</sup> Palestini, Ramos, and Canales, 'La producción de conocimiento antropológico social en Chile postransición: Discontinuidades del pasado y debilidades presentes', 104.

<sup>603</sup> Palestini, Ramos, and Canales, 'La producción de conocimiento antropológico social en Chile postransición: Discontinuidades del pasado y debilidades presentes', 104; José Antonio González Pizarro, 'Ricardo E. Latcham, un científico social. Desde las observaciones etnográficas de la sociedad hasta la arqueología de las culturas originarias chilenas', *Alpha* 38 (2014), 67–88.

<sup>604</sup> Castello, 'The *Gallus Inauris* and the Hen which Lays Blue Eggs', *Proceedings of the Second World Poultry Congress*. Barcelona (1924), 113–14.

<sup>605</sup> Latcham, *Los animales domésticos de la América precolombiana*, 178.

## Other Linguistic Comparisons

In line with Rivet, Imbelloni, and Palavecino, other European and Latin American scholars who specialised in linguistics also speculated on the probability of trans-Pacific contact based on linguistic comparisons.

### F.W. Christian

Frederick William Christian (1867–1934), who we encountered in the previous chapter, was a figure bridging the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He had earlier explored ideas about trans-Pacific contact based on linguistic evidence in an 1897 paper, and he continued with this line of research nearly until his death. By comparing twelve expressions in the Chimu language of Peru with Māori terms, he found similarities demonstrating or adding to Macmillan Brown's theory.<sup>606</sup> According to Christian, these linguistic parallels demonstrated:

a certain intermittent infusion coming in by dribblets from the eastward, which, without exerting a conspicuously-manifested influence upon economic and industrial conditions, would slightly tincture the vocabulary without dislocation or extensive overlapping.

In other words, Christian believed that, while Amerindian migrations to Polynesia had not had a major cultural impact, their influence was still noticeable.<sup>607</sup> In that paper, Christian also noted how Polynesian canoes closely resembled ones from the island of Chiloé, off the coast of Chile, repeating Moerenhout's argument of 1837 described in Chapter 3.<sup>608</sup> The paper, however, received criticism by Dixon, who stated that several of the terms claimed by Christian as Chimu were actually Chibcha (Colombia) and therefore did not represent evidence of pre-Columbian trans-Pacific contact with Polynesia or Indonesia.<sup>609</sup>

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<sup>606</sup> F.W. Christian, 'Polynesian and Oceanic Elements in the Chimu and Inca Languages', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 41/162 (1932), 144.

<sup>607</sup> *Ibid.*, 152.

<sup>608</sup> *Ibid.*, 147.

<sup>609</sup> J.C.A. and R.B. Dixon, 'CORRESPONDENCE', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 41, 164 (1932), 221–22.

Christian was considered an authority on Polynesian languages by the Polynesian Society of New Zealand.<sup>610</sup> The Society was founded in 1892 to promote ‘the study of the Anthropology, Ethnology, Philology and Antiquities of the Polynesian races’ and published such studies in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*.<sup>611</sup>

As noted earlier, Christian first conjectured about trans-Pacific contacts in 1897 with respect to plant diffusion and its linguistic connection.<sup>612</sup> However, between 1908 and 1932, he published another five papers hypothesising contact between Polynesia and the Americas on linguistic grounds. In 1908 he argued for an Indo-Malayan influence of the Incas and outlined probable migration routes resulting in this admixture.<sup>613</sup> In 1923, Christian explored the likely diffusion route of the sweet potato from Indonesia to the Hawaiian islands, Tahiti and New Zealand, with a subsequent separate route to South America.<sup>614</sup> In 1924, he linked a Mangarevan tradition about the arrival of a king Tupa from the east with the Incan traditions on Túpac Yupanqui’s voyage detailed in Chapter 2.<sup>615</sup> Lastly, in 1932, he examined a selection of comparable Polynesian and South American expressions.<sup>616</sup>

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<sup>610</sup> Sydney H. Ray, ‘Polynesian Linguistics: Past and Future’, *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 21 (1912), 68, 71.

<sup>611</sup> M.P.K. Sorrenson, Richard M. Moyle, & Polynesian Society (N.Z.), *Manifest Duty: The Polynesian Society Over 100 Years* (Auckland: The Society, Dept. of Anthropology, University of Auckland, 1992), 24.

<sup>612</sup> Christian, ‘On the Distribution and Origin of Some Plant- and Tree-Names in Polynesia and Micronesia’, *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 6/3 (1897), 123–40.

<sup>613</sup> Christian, ‘On the Evidence of Malay, Javanese, Arabian and Persian Admixture in the Inca or Keshia Language of Peru, amongst the Aymara Language of the Peasant Class’, *Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute* 40 (1908), 240–48.

<sup>614</sup> Christian, ‘Words and Races: Story of the Kumara’, *New Zealand Journal of Science and Technology* 6 (1923), 152–53.

<sup>615</sup> Christian, ‘Early Maori Migrations as Evidenced by Physical Geography and Language’, *Report of 16th Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, January 1923* (1924), 523–35.

<sup>616</sup> F.W. Christian, ‘Polynesian and Oceanic Elements in the Chimu and Inca Languages’, 144–56.

## **Pablo González Casanova**

In Mexico in 1933, the linguist Pablo González Casanova (1889–1936) argued for the possibility of a small Austronesian contribution to the Zoque, Trique and Cuicatec groups of Mexico, based on linguistic comparisons largely grounded in Rivet’s previous studies of Australian languages.<sup>617</sup> González Casanova derived his study from Rivet’s research on Australian languages, which was critiqued for associating Australians, Polynesians, and Amerindians as part of the same linguistic stock.<sup>618</sup>

## **Ideas on the Diffusion of Material Culture by other Scholars**

### **Bark Cloth**

As early as 1900, the American ethnologist Walter Hough (1859–1935) argued for Polynesian-American cultural connections as evidenced in the supposedly comparable use of bark cloth in both geographical areas.<sup>619</sup> Hough, the founder of the American Anthropological Association, observed how certain Mexican stone beaters for making bark cloth were comparable to those in Polynesia, where he believed they originated. This material similarity served as evidence for ‘the migration of an art to America from Polynesia, before the conquest, by way of eastern Asia across Bering strait’. Hough nominated the Indo-Pacific islands, Japan, the American north coast, southeast Alaska, Mexico, Central America, and South America as stepping stones in this complicated migration route.<sup>620</sup> A similar view was held by the Scottish scholar John Macmillan Brown, who I discuss in Chapter 5.

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<sup>617</sup>Pablo González Casanova, ‘¿Un idioma austronesio en México?’, *Anales del Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnografía* 8/25 (1933), 203–210.

<sup>618</sup> Laura Rival, ‘What Sort of Anthropologist was Paul Rivet?’, in Robert Parkin and Anne de Sales (eds.), *Out of the Study, into the Field. Ethnographic Theory and Practice in French Anthropology* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2010), 203.

<sup>619</sup> Walter Hough, ‘Oriental Influences in Mexico’, *American Anthropologist* 2 (1900), 66–74.

<sup>620</sup> Hough, ‘Oriental Influences in Mexico’, *American Anthropologist* 2 (1900), 72.

## Stone Clubs

In 1904, the German Pacific ethnologist and naturalist Augustin Krämer (1865–1941) speculated on the diffusion of stone clubs to South America or Polynesia. Krämer participated in expeditions to the Pacific as a result of Germany’s growing colonial interest in this area and its growing interest in ethnology from the late nineteenth century.<sup>621</sup> As noted by Sven Mönter, ‘whereas the latter found its expression in the growing number of ethnological museums and collections in Germany at the turn of the century, the former became apparent in Germany’s growing Südsee-Kolonien (Colonial Empire in the South Seas)’.<sup>622</sup> Krämer’s publications in anthropology and ethnology developed from these expeditions. Uncertain of their origins, in ‘Der Wert der Südseekeulen für Völkerbeziehungen’ (‘The value of the South Sea clubs for international relations’), he hypothesised on the mode and timing of diffusion of Polynesian-like stone clubs given the findings of specimens in South America.<sup>623</sup> This 1904 paper was published in *Globus*, an important journal for the development of ethnology in Germany.<sup>624</sup> Krämer believed that these South American stone clubs may have been a post-Columbian introduction given the possibility of their transportation during the sixteenth century by the viceroys of Peru. He believed that these ships visited the Marquesas and Solomon Islands, as well as numerous other Pacific archipelagoes, and that they may have transferred the Pacific clubs as early as 300 years ago. He also conjectured alternatively that Polynesians may have reached the Americas intentionally or by chance, resulting in the introduction of these clubs into South America.<sup>625</sup> Apart from his extensive travels in the Pacific, Krämer also visited Central and South America in

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<sup>621</sup> Sven Mönter, *Dr. Augustin Krämer: A German Ethnologist in the Pacific*. PhD Thesis (Auckland: University of Auckland, 2010), 15.

<sup>622</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>623</sup> Augustin Krämer, ‘Der Wert der Südseekeulen für Völkerbeziehungen’, *Globus* 86/7 (1904), 125–28.

<sup>624</sup> Mönter, *Dr. Augustin Krämer: A German Ethnologist in the Pacific*, 83.

<sup>625</sup> Krämer, ‘Der Wert der Südseekeulen für Völkerbeziehungen’, 128.

1897, where he is believed to have collected ethnographic materials.<sup>626</sup> He particularly visited Chile, where he had been born following his parents' settlement there as a German colonist family, as well as Peru, Colombia, El Salvador and Honduras.<sup>627</sup>

### **Anthropomorphic Stone Figures**

The Colombian archaeologist Gregorio Hernández de Alba (1904–1973) argued that the anthropomorphic stone figures of the Colombian archaeological site of San Agustín greatly resembled certain *moai* from Rapa Nui and other ancient Oceanic sculptures.<sup>628</sup> Hernández de Alba's 1940 conjecture was based on bibliographic research and visual comparisons between the 'least evolved pieces from San Agustín' and various supposedly similar figures from Rapa Nui and other Pacific islands housed in the Musée de l'Homme in France.<sup>629</sup> It is unclear whether Hernández de Alba had academic connections with Rivet, but this is probable given Rivet's involvement in the aforementioned museum, as well as Hernández de Alba's acknowledgement of Rivet's establishment of a research centre in Colombia in his article, which he hoped would one day decipher this 'enigma'.<sup>630</sup>

### **Fishhooks**

The theory of fishhooks having diffused to California from Polynesia was reconsidered during this period. As mentioned in Chapter 4, in 1884 Rau proposed that Californian fishhooks resembled similar objects from the South Pacific, whereas Hamy argued in 1885 that their

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<sup>626</sup> Mönter, *Dr. Augustin Krämer: A German Ethnologist in the Pacific*, 45–47,

<sup>627</sup> *Ibid.*, 22, 45–47.

<sup>628</sup> Gregorio Hernández de Alba, 'Nouvelles découvertes archéologiques à San Agustín et à Tierradentro (Colombie)', *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 32/1 (1940), 57–68.

<sup>629</sup> *Ibid.*, 66.

<sup>630</sup> *Ibid.*

analogues were actually Hawaiʻian.<sup>631</sup> In 1949, Robert F. Heizer (1915–1979) argued that ‘the hooks in the two areas [i.e. California and Hawaiʻi] are, indeed, so close that it is not difficult to suspect some Oceanic source for the California types’.<sup>632</sup> Heizer was a US archaeologist who also conducted a series of studies on Californian and Chilean plank canoes.<sup>633</sup> He was unconvinced of trans-Pacific contact leading to the diffusion of Polynesian sailing vessel technology and other elements of material culture and cultural practices to the New World — he believed that the data was ‘uncritically analysed’.<sup>634</sup> However, he considered that certain fishhooks from the Channel Islands off the coast of California represented possible evidence of trans-Pacific diffusion from Hawaiʻi. Heizer’s belief perhaps swayed him to include an English version of Hamy’s article in the 1963 edition of the California Archaeological Survey in order to make it accessible among US scholars.<sup>635</sup>

## Musical Instruments

Ideas on the trans-Pacific diffusion of musical instruments were also explored during the period covered in this chapter. In 1927, the Swiss anthropologist Alfred Métraux (1902–1963), established links between South American and Oceanic musical instruments. Born in Lausanne, Switzerland, Métraux grew up in Mendoza, Argentina and spent his formative tertiary years mainly in France. After 1927, he returned to the Americas, where he conducted anthropological studies in Argentina and Bolivia, while teaching or involved in various academic institutions, including the Smithsonian Institution, the University of Tucuman (Argentina), and the Bishop

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<sup>631</sup> Rau, *Prehistoric Fishing in Europe and North America*, 120–139; Hamy, ‘L’industrie hameçonnière chez les anciens habitants de L’Archipel Californien’, 6–13.

<sup>632</sup> Heizer, ‘Curved Single-Piece Fishhooks of Shell and Bone in California’, *American Antiquity* 15 (1949), 92.

<sup>633</sup> For example, Robert F. Heizer, ‘The Distribution and Name of the Chumash Plank Canoe’, *The Masterkey* 15 (1941), 59–61; Heizer, ‘The Plank Canoe (Dalca) of Southern Chile’, *The Masterkey* 15 (1941), 105–107.

<sup>634</sup> Heizer, ‘The Frameless Plank Canoe of the California Coast’, *Primitive Man* 123 (1940), 85.

<sup>635</sup> Hamy, ‘The Fishhook Industry of the Ancient Inhabitants of the Archipelago of California’, *University of California Archaeological Survey* 5 (1963 [1885]), 61–69.



Museum in Honolulu. He led a Franco-Belgian expedition to Rapa Nui between 1934 and 1935 under Rivet's patronage.<sup>636</sup> Rivet's and Métraux's academic ties may have also been reflected in their common ideas about Pacific-American connections. Métraux's 1927 study of the South American *bâton de rythme* (stamping tube), for instance, may exemplify such co-influence, as he held that these musical instruments were of Melanesian origin.<sup>637</sup> Figure 17 depicts a series of stamping tubes from the Americas illustrated by Métraux in an attempt to argue for Melanesian cultural influence in the Americas.

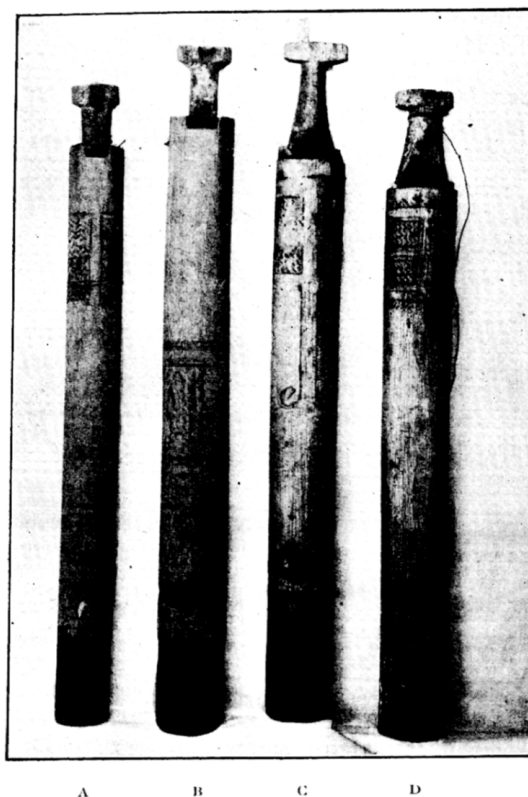


Fig. 1. – Bâtons de rythme. A. B. Indiens du bassin du Rio Negro (Collection Douglas Melin). C. D. Indiens Karapaná du Ti Igarapé (Collection Koch-Grünberg). Musée de Göteborg. 25. 6.271-272 ; 16.3.51-52.

**Figure 17.** Image of a series of stamping tubes from the Americas (Source: Métraux 1927).

<sup>636</sup> Christine Laurière, *L'Odyssée pascuane. Mission Métraux-Lavachery, Île de Pâques (1934-1935)* (Paris: LAHIC-Ministère de la culture et de la communication, 2014).

<sup>637</sup> Alfred Métraux, 'Le bâton de rythme. Contribution à l'étude de la distribution géographique des éléments de culture d'origine mélanésienne en Amérique du Sud', *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 19 (1927), 117–122.

After Métraux, the Austrian ethnomusicologist Erich Moritz (E.M.) von Hornbostel (1877–1935), wrote on the spread of Melanesian panpipes to the Americas in 1928, tracing them to China and Babylon.<sup>638</sup>

### **Ideas on Sailing Vessels, Migrations and Cultural Parallels**

A 1905 paper by the Swiss archaeologist Adolph Francis Alphonse Bandelier (1840–1914) was one of the earliest twentieth-century treatises examining possible arrivals on the Pacific coast of South America. The article drew particular attention to the inhabitants of Ecuador, noting their difference in appearance from other South Americans and thus suggesting their origin from the islands of the Pacific.<sup>639</sup> This inference highlighted changing conceptions about the Pacific and its nomenclature, the anthropology of the Americas, the probable interaction between these two geographical areas, and the navigational capabilities of their respective inhabitants during pre-Columbian times.

In 1922, the Austrian ethnologist Friedrich Röck (1879–1953) argued that certain calendar systems from Mexico, particularly the Toltec, resembled Polynesian systems and spread to the New World from Southeast Asia via Polynesia.<sup>640</sup> Röck specialised in the study of Mexican codexes and manuscripts and favoured a methodical approach for doing so: *Ortungskunde*. This method involved the study of the hidden content of the manuscripts over the analysis of the

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<sup>638</sup> Von Hornbostel, 'Die Maßnorm als kulturgeschichtliches Forschungsmittel', in *Festschrift: Publication d'hommage offerte au P.W. Schmidt*, 303–23.

<sup>639</sup> Adolph Bandelier, 'Traditions of Pre-Columbian Landings on the Western Coast of South America', *American Anthropologist* 7 (1905), 250–270.

<sup>640</sup> Friedrich Röck, 'Kalender, Stern Glaube und Weltbilder der Tolteken als Zeugen verschollener Kulturbeziehungen zur Alten Welt', *Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 52 (1922), 43–136.

images, which in Röck's view, was 'primarily astronomical'.<sup>641</sup> He was the co-founder and first director of Vienna's Museum für Völkerkunde (Museum of Ethnology) from 1928 to 1945.<sup>642</sup>

In 1936, the Mexican archaeologist and historian Pablo Martínez del Río, first mentioned in Chapter 5, also proffered a trans-Pacific contact perspective with diffusionist undertones. His treatise on 'American origins' examined the probability of cultural influences from Oceania on the Americas. He proposed certain material culture affinities between these geographical areas, such as in fishhooks and musical bows, as evidence for their mainly eastward diffusion into the Americas.<sup>643</sup>

In 1939, the British zoologist Joseph Pearson (1881–1971) entertained the idea of trans-Pacific connections between ancient Tasmanians and South Americans as evidenced by comparable reed boats. In his view, it was worth noting 'that the [totora reed] balsa, a canoe-raft used in South America [...], has a marked affinity with the Tasmanian [bark or reed] canoe, though probably more seaworthy'.<sup>644</sup>

Lastly, in 1939, the US anthropologist Alfred L. Kroeber (1876–1960) initiated debate on the probable trans-Pacific diffusion of sailing vessels. Kroeber noticed:

a definite climax in this [southern California] area among coast and island Gabrielino and Chumash, whose culture was semimaritime, with seagoing plank canoes. Although this climax culture was likely to have been further developed locally once it had taken root on the Santa Barbara Islands, its spontaneous origin on the main land coast and growth to the point where it could reach the islands are hard to understand on the basis of either a Californian or a Sonora-

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<sup>641</sup> Karl Anton Nowotny, *Tlacuilolli: Style and Contents of the Mexican Pictorial Manuscripts with a Catalog of the Borgia Group* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005), xi—xx.

<sup>642</sup> Julia Gohm-Lezuo, Ruth Haselmair, and Cathrin Lipowec, 'The Collections of the Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology', in Claudia Feigl (ed.), *Academic Showcases: The Collections at the University of Vienna* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag Wien, 2016), 104, 206; Peter Rohrbacher, 'Encrypted Astronomy, Astral Mythologies, and Ancient Mexican Studies in Austria, 1910-1945', *Revista de Antropología* 62/1 (2019), 140–161.

<sup>643</sup> Pablo Martínez del Río, *Los orígenes americanos*.

<sup>644</sup> Joseph Pearson, 'Relationships of the Tasmanian Canoe-Raft', in *Papers and Proceedings of the Royal Society of Tasmania* (1938), 221–22.

Yuman culture basis. There is therefore a possibility that its impetus came in part either from the Northwest Coast or from across the Pacific, to both of which regions there are sporadic but fairly specific parallels: harpoon, canoe, round shell fishhooks, psychological cosmogony. [...] the abundant archaeological evidence shows that this puzzling local climax culture as a whole far antedates any Caucasian contacts. Of late, archaeological data have at last begun to throw a little light on part of its development.<sup>645</sup>

### Theories on Sweet Potato Transfers

In 1936, the German ethnologist Georg Friederici (1866–1947), argued for a Spanish introduction of the sweet potato in Polynesia despite the fact that most theories, support its pre-Columbian diffusion.<sup>646</sup> This Americanist became interested in ethnology at a young age and developed a valuable library centring on materials from the Americas, Oceania, and the ‘period of discoveries’.<sup>647</sup> In 1948 it was reported that his collection was held at his place of residence in Ahrensburg, Germany, which was transformed into a research centre after his death.<sup>648</sup> He is best known for his *Amerikanisches Wörterbuch* (*American Dictionary*), which contains ‘nearly 1500 terms of native American origin, as well as certain obsolete Spanish and Portuguese words used in the accounts of early European authors’.<sup>649</sup> This indispensable work also contains certain loan words that were transferred to and from Spanish and American Indigenous languages during the post-Columbian and colonial times.<sup>650</sup> Friederici’s expertise in languages, language borrowings,

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<sup>645</sup> Alfred L. Kroeber, *Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1939), 44–45.

<sup>646</sup> Friederici, ‘Die Susskartoffel in der Sudsee’, *Mitteilungsblatt der Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde* 7 (1936), 395–408.

<sup>647</sup> H. Trimborn, ‘Georg Friederici (1866–1947)’, *Boletín Bibliográfico de Antropología Americana* 11 (1948), 365–66.

<sup>648</sup> Ibid.

<sup>649</sup> Friederici, *Amerikanistisches Wörterbuch* (Hamburg: Cram, De Gruyter and Co., 1947); Paul Kirchhoff, ‘Review. Amerikanistisches Wörterbuch. GEORG FRIEDERICI (722 pp., Universität Hamburg, Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der Auslandskunde, Band 53, Reihe B. Völkerkunde, Kulturgeschichte und Sprachen, Band 29, Hamburg, 1947)’, *American Anthropologist* 53 (1951), 261–62.

<sup>650</sup> William A. Read, ‘Review of *Amerikanistisches Wörterbuch* by Georg Friederici’, *Language* 24/2 (1948), 252–56.

and the literature surrounding Oceania and the Americas that is most likely contemporary to the timing of diffusion of the sweet potato lent credibility to his argument in its day.

## Parasite Diffusion

In 1921 and 1927 respectively, US bacteriologist Samuel Taylor Darling (1872–1925) and US epidemiologist Frederick Lowe Soper (1893–1977) argued that the intestinal parasite *A. Duodenale*, a type of hookworm, may have been brought to the Americas from Asia, Indonesia or Polynesia via either the Bering Strait or trans-Pacific migrations during pre-Columbian times, based on findings of an almost pure variant of this hookworm amongst Paraguayan Indigenous inhabitants living in isolated conditions.<sup>651</sup> Darling and Soper's aim was to locate 'data to use the presence of parasites in isolated groups as an indication of prehistoric migrations' to the Americas.<sup>652</sup> Since their publications, the mode of diffusion of this parasite to the New World continues to be contested, as evidenced for example by two recent conflicting papers. On the one hand, Araújo *et al.*'s 1988 study considers a trans-Pacific route of diffusion of the hookworm, albeit predominantly with Asiatic populations.<sup>653</sup> In contrast, Hawdon and Johnston's 1996 study argues that the mode of diffusion of this parasite to the New World was exclusively via Beringia during pre-Columbian times and thus firmly opposes the idea of a trans-Pacific route, making this little-discussed argument inconclusive.<sup>654</sup>

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<sup>651</sup> Samuel T. Darling, 'Observations on the geographical and ethnological distribution of hookworms', *Parasitology* 22 (1921), 217–233; Frederick L. Soper 'The report of a nearly pure "Ancylostoma duodenale" infestation in native South American Indians and a discussion of its ethnological significance', *American Journal of Hygiene* 7 (1927), 174–184.

<sup>652</sup> Adauto Araújo, Luiz Fernando Ferreira, Martin Fugassa, Daniela Leles, Luciana Sianto, Sheila Maria Mendonça de Souza, Juliana Dutra, Alena Iñiguez, Karl Reinhard, 'New World Paleoparasitology', in Piers D. Mitchell (ed.), *Sanitation, Latrines and Intestinal Parasites in Past Populations* (Surrey/Burlington: Asghate Publishing, 2015), 167.

<sup>653</sup> Adauto Araújo, Luiz Fernando Ferreira, Ulisses Confalonieri, and Marcia Chame, 'Hookworms and the peopling of America', *Cad. Saúde Pública* 4/2 (1988), 226–33.

<sup>654</sup> J.M. Hawdon and S.A. Johnston, 'Hookworms in the Americas: An Alternative to Trans-Pacific Contact', *Parasitology Today* 12/2 (1996), 72–74.

## Conclusion

In this chapter I have argued that the early to mid-twentieth century saw a proliferation of systematic trans-Pacific contact theses linking Oceania with the Americas. This was partly the result of the arrival of European scholars to Latin America such as Rivet, whose scholarly reputation and support for theories on trans-Oceanic migrations shaped the debate and encouraged similar publications. The evidence put forward regarding trans-Pacific contact in these publications, like those in the nineteenth century discussed in Chapter 3, became progressively more detailed and scientific. This occurred as a result of improved scientific techniques and instruments, and due to a greater development of the associated disciplines.

As outlined in this chapter, the Viennese school of ethnology with its *Kulturkreislehre* theory influenced numerous theories of trans-Pacific contact that emerged in Latin America in the first half of the twentieth century and beyond the 1950s. These theories argued for comparable cultural practices between Oceania and the Americas such as comparable calendar systems and the act of trepanning. Some were also based on objects of material culture such as similar stone artefacts like the *patu*. Others focussed on linguistic terms, the diffusion of the chicken, speculations on sailing vessels and migrations, and bioanthropological comparisons. The increased knowledge and understanding of American archaeology was influential in the development of these theories. In contrast, the still limited data surrounding the archaeology, anthropology and history of the Pacific and its inhabitants opened the door to many scientifically-driven hypotheses which could not be disproved nor consolidated.

As outlined in this chapter, perspectives such as diffusionism were important in the development of these twentieth-century ideas of contact. They helped explain the spread of similar linguistic expressions (notably the term *toki*), elements of material culture (such as the diverse types of clubs noted by Imbelloni), the introduction of the chicken into South America, as well as the adoption of similar cultural practices in different geographical locations (such as irrigation and mummification). Some of these ideas, such as the ones linking Quechua and Māori

languages that emerged in Argentina, were also addressed at the ICA, as noted in Chapter 5. While evolutionist theory conceived of cultural evolution as a unilinear process involving different populations around the world reaching various levels of civilisation, diffusionism saw cultural circles spreading, or influencing and contacting one another, around the world. Cultural similarities between Oceania and the Americas, whether intangible or archaeologically visible, were increasingly interpreted through a diffusionist perspective during the period discussed in this chapter. Contacts, exchanges and migrations were viewed as the driving forces, with migration the favoured explanation when physical anthropology (e.g. comparable skull morphology), was used to trace links between populations.

This ideological context, together with growing European interest in Americanist studies and the expanding body of knowledge about the Pacific islands led to varied speculation about pre-Columbian trans-Pacific links between Oceania and the Americas. Most trans-Pacific contact ideas emerging during this period were backed by non-material evidence. Only a limited number considered that archaeologically visible evidence was sufficient proof. Notable scholars during this period included the Argentinians Imbelloni and Palavecino, who theorised the diffusion of Polynesian-like clubs and linguistic expressions to the Americas. They, and other Argentine scholars like D.E. Ibarra Grasso expanded on Lehmann-Nitsche's and Ambrosetti's suggestions of Oceanic-South American connections. They reported their findings of compelling linguistic and material cultural evidence suggestive of interaction between civilisations in Oceania and ancient Chileans and Argentinians, in a route from west to east. The evidence drawn on by scholars like Imbelloni and Lehmann-Nitsche to support their claims mainly centred on comparable linguistic expressions and cultural practices, as well as on the discovery of similar stone artefacts in South America, like the *toki* adze, which greatly resembled certain Polynesian stone tools and were even referred to by comparable terms. Their ideas matched similar ones from the nineteenth century that propounded additional linguistic parallels, elements of material

culture such as the *poncho*, and certain crop diffusions such as that of the sweet potato, as outlined in Chapter 4.

In Chile, five scholars augmented studies of possible trans-Pacific contact between Polynesia and South America: Otto Aichel, the Chilean botanist Gualterio Looser, Aureliano Oyarzún, the British scholar Latcham, who spent several formative academic years in Chile, and the anthropologist Luis Vergara Flores. Where Oyarzún discussed the possible diffusion of obsidian ‘spear points’, Latcham made a more general contribution by arguing that prehistoric migrations had been conducted from Oceania to the Americas.<sup>655</sup> Vergara’s ideas about trans-Pacific contact centred on similarities in cranial morphology.<sup>656</sup>

European hypotheses also became intertwined with theses proposed by scholars from the Americas, predominantly Argentinian, their ideas in turn influencing European thought, particularly that of German-language writers like Täuber. Other important contributions to the trans-Pacific contact debate during this period were F.W. Christian’s 1924 report on the arrival of a King Tupa to Mangareva, as well as the 1903 study by the Chilean Vergara Flores on the supposed discovery of Polynesian-like skulls on Mocha Island, Chile. Lastly, studies on the diffusion of a specific type of parasite, the hookworm, also made some scholars consider its possible trans-Pacific diffusion given its presence in parts of the Americas and islands in the Pacific.

For the most part, the trans-Pacific contact theories proffered during the early to mid-twentieth century proposed that the settlement of the Americas had been the result of trans-Pacific migrations from Asia, so that Amerindians shared a common origin with Polynesians.

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<sup>655</sup> Aichel, ‘Osterinselpalaeolithen in prähistorischen Gräbern Chiles’, in *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Americanists*, Gothenburg, 1924 (1925), Vol. 2, 267–269; Oyarzún, ‘Dos Puntas de Lanza Paleolíticas de la Isla de Pascua Encontradas en un Cementerio Prehistórico de la Costa de Chile’, 273–275; Ricardo E. Latcham, ‘Las relaciones prehistóricas entre América y la Oceanía’, *La Información* 16/122 (1927), 545.

<sup>656</sup> Luis Vergara, ‘Tres Cráneos de la Isla de la Mocha’, 18–22.



The principal route for such trans-Pacific contacts between Oceania and the Americas would have been from west to east.

The contact and migration studies outlined in this chapter not only shaped other trans-Pacific contact ideas of the early to mid-twentieth century, they also advanced ideas arguing for west to east migrations that persist in current debates, as evidenced in chapters 8, 9 and 10. These concepts include ones centred on the diffusion of the sweet potato, the spread of linguistic terms and material culture associated with the *toki* and *mere*, as well as the contention that certain building techniques from Rapa Nui greatly resemble those from Tiwanaku (Bolivia) and Cusco (Peru). Ideas about the settlement of Polynesia from the Americas by Caucasian agents —bearers of high culture, gained ground with Thor Heyerdahl and his 1947 *Kon-Tiki* expedition across the Pacific from South America. As will be outlined in Chapter 7, some of Heyerdahl's theories were not original and contained errors or biased interpretations. Regardless of this, his 1947 expedition and later publications inserted him and his ideas into popular culture.

## CHAPTER 7 Heyerdahl and his Legacy

### Introduction

The 1950s marked a turning point in the popularisation of trans-Pacific contact theories following Thor Heyerdahl's 1947 *Kon-Tiki* expedition. Both his earlier publications prior to this voyage and those afterwards posited that two pre-Columbian migration waves from the Americas, one from North America and one from South America, had resulted in the initial settlement of Polynesia, contributing important elements to its culture.<sup>657</sup> Heyerdahl, a voyager, migration theorist and writer, initially studied zoology at Oslo University in his native Norway, but never earned a degree.<sup>658</sup> He conducted library research on North and South American archaeology, history and culture, as well as on supposed Polynesian connections, to defend his claims and even his subsequent archaeological excavations. His principal hypothesis was that the Pacific had been navigable in pre-Columbian times from the Americas to Polynesia. According to Heyerdahl, certain Caucasian-like inhabitants settled in the Americas before major 'civilisations' developed there, becoming the teachers of the Indigenous populations. They then migrated and became the first wave of settlers of Polynesia from the Americas. In Heyerdahl's view, these emigrants from the Americas possessed sufficient navigational and sailing techniques to be able to sail across the eastern Pacific.

Heyerdahl proposed that Polynesia had first been settled from the Americas around AD 500 by 'white bearded gods' who had arrived in Peru before the Incas:

The colossal monuments that stood deserted about the landscape were erected by a race of white gods which had lived there before the Incas themselves had become rulers. These vanished architects were described as wise, peaceful instructors, who had originally come from the north,

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<sup>657</sup> See for example Thor Heyerdahl, 'Did Polynesian culture originate in America?', *International Science* 1 (1941), 15–26.

<sup>658</sup> Victor Melander, 'A Better Savage than the Savages: Thor Heyerdahl's Early Ethnographical Attempts and their Importance for the Development of the 'Kon-Tiki Theory'', *Journal of Pacific History* 1/3 (2019), 379–96.

long ago in the morning of time, and had taught the Incas' primitive forefathers architecture and agriculture as well as manners and customs. They were unlike other Indians in having white skins and long beards; they were also taller than the Incas.<sup>659</sup>

Heyerdahl held that these 'white bearded gods', or pre-Incas, were one of two groups from the Americas that migrated to Polynesia. The second was from British Columbia to Hawai'i around AD 1000.<sup>660</sup> Initially derived from his pre-War travel experiences in French Polynesia, Heyerdahl's theory was anchored in sixteenth-century chronicles authored by Spanish missionaries and explorers, as described in Chapter 2, particularly after the *Kon-Tiki* expedition.<sup>661</sup>

Heyerdahl's claims emerged at a time of rejection of arguments supporting the idea that Amerindians had 'ocean-going vessels'.<sup>662</sup> It was Heyerdahl's interest to disprove 'this widespread belief, introduced by [American archaeologist] Samuel K. Lothrop's study entitled 'Aboriginal Navigation off the West Coast of South America' (1932), that balsa-rafts would sink after two weeks at sea'.<sup>663</sup> In addition to Heyerdahl's idea that Polynesians had their origins in the Americas, his desire to be taken seriously by academia and prove his hypothesis drove him to carry out the *Kon-Tiki* expedition in 1947.<sup>664</sup> Heyerdahl defended his central argument, that Polynesia was settled from the Americas before receiving later Austronesian migrations, in multiple publications and conference presentations, most notably *American Indians in the Pacific: The Theory behind the Kon-Tiki Expedition*.<sup>665</sup>

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<sup>659</sup> Heyerdahl, *Kon-Tiki: Across the Pacific by Raft*, Translated by F.H. Lyon (New York: Rand McNally, 1950), 17.

<sup>660</sup> Heyerdahl, 'Did Polynesian Culture Originate in America?', *International Science* 1 (1940), 18.

<sup>661</sup> See for example Heyerdahl, 'Balsa Raft Navigation', in *Sea Routes to Polynesia: American Indians and Early Asiatics in the Pacific* (Chicago, New York, San Francisco: Rand McNally, 1968), 92–121.

<sup>662</sup> Reidar Solsvik, 'Thor Heyerdahl as World Heritage', *Rapa Nui Journal* 26/1 (2012), 71.

<sup>663</sup> Ibid. See also Samuel K. Lothrop, 'Aboriginal Navigation off the West Coast of South America', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 62 (1932), 229–256.

<sup>664</sup> Solsvik, 'Thor Heyerdahl as World Heritage', 71.

<sup>665</sup> Heyerdahl, *American Indians in the Pacific: The Theory behind the Kon-Tiki Expedition* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1952).

This chapter explores Heyerdahl's ideas, their reception, the criticisms they provoked, and equivalent earlier ideas expressed in the nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries (1880s to 1930s). Unlike other chapters in this thesis, it focuses on one person and his academic and personal legacy. It also explores hypotheses inspired by Heyerdahl's research between the mid-twentieth and the twenty-first centuries. Finally, I describe the twenty-one trans-Pacific voyages conducted since Heyerdahl's, either directly or indirectly inspired by his original 1947 voyage.

## **The *Kon-Tiki* Expedition**

### **Heyerdahl's Trans-Pacific Contact Theory, Earlier Comparable Ideas, and his Background Research**

Heyerdahl contended that Polynesia was settled from the Americas in pre-Columbian times, prior to a second migration wave of 'Maori-Polynesians' around AD 1000 from North America.<sup>666</sup> This hyperdiffusionist theory maintained that 'white bearded men' from Egypt and Mesopotamia had settled parts of the Americas prior to 1492. According to Heyerdahl, these fair-skinned culture bearers were 'step-pyramid builders, sun-worshippers, transoceanic voyagers, and stone tool users' whose influences could be observed amongst the Aztecs, Incas and Mayas.<sup>667</sup> They later settled Polynesia around AD 500, departing from the vicinity of Tiwanaku in present-day Bolivia. He saw their influences in Polynesia in legends and archaeological remains, including the 'large anthropomorphic stone statues' found in eastern Polynesian islands, particularly Rapa Nui.<sup>668</sup>

As evidence, Heyerdahl cited reports in sixteenth-century Spanish chronicles of sightings of *balsa* rafts, voyages to unknown lands in the South Sea (notably Túpac Yupanqui's return

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<sup>666</sup> Ibid.; Melander, 'The Head-hunters of the North and the Polynesian Shadow: Thor Heyerdahl's Skull-Collecting Act on Fatu Hiva, Marquesas Islands, 1937', *Journal of Pacific Archaeology* 8/1 (2017), 79; Melander, 'A Better Savage than the Savages...', 380–81; Melander, *The Coming of the White Bearded Men: The Origin and Development of Thor Heyerdahl's Kon-Tiki Theory*, PhD Thesis (Canberra: The Australian National University, 2020).

<sup>667</sup> Melander, 'A Better Savage than the Savages...', 380–81.

<sup>668</sup> Ibid.

voyage), and coastal arrivals from unknown lands, as described in Chapter 2.<sup>669</sup> Although less well known beyond academia, similar ideas had been proposed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by scholars like Ellis, Hill-Tout and Jiménez de la Espada, as illustrated in chapters 3 and 4.<sup>670</sup> However, Heyerdahl's thesis was motivated by a description of Marquesan ancestral legends narrated to him by the local elder Tei Tetua (c. 1865–?) in 1937.<sup>671</sup> This encounter took place during Heyerdahl's stay in Fatu Hiva, in the Marquesas, with his first wife Liv Torp-Heyerdahl (1916–1969).<sup>672</sup> Heyerdahl took this journey in order to try living a 'primitive', or 'proto-hippy' life with minimal possessions and distractions, and to demonstrate how easy it was to do so for a modern European man.<sup>673</sup>

Beliefs about the presence of white men in the Americas prior to Columbus preceded Heyerdahl. Early examples uncited, though not necessarily unread, by Heyerdahl include papers presented at the third session of the ICA in Brussels in 1879. In one session, Abbé Schmitz argued for 'traces of Christianity and the white man in America before its discovery by Christopher Columbus'.<sup>674</sup> In another, Jiménez de la Espada, one of the major Americanists of the nineteenth century, presented a paper 'On the pre-Columbian white man and the sign of the cross in Peru'.<sup>675</sup> De la Espada's Americanist interest and scholarly expertise may have prompted the development of ties shown in some correspondence with fellow Americanist Sir Clements Markham. Jiménez de la Espada was a Spanish naturalist and important member of the

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<sup>669</sup> See for example Heyerdahl, *American Indians in the Pacific*, 558–566.

<sup>670</sup> See José Alcina Franch, *Los orígenes de América*, 64.

<sup>671</sup> Melander, 'A Better Savage than the Savages...', 379–80.

<sup>672</sup> Ibid. See also Heyerdahl, *Fatu-Hiva: Back to Nature* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1974).

<sup>673</sup> Melander, 'A Better Savage than the Savages...', 381–82. See also Heyerdahl, *Fatu-Hiva: Back to Nature*, Loren McIntyre, 'Rafting Fever', *Americas* 52/5 (2000), 41.

<sup>674</sup> Abbe Schmitz, 'Vestiges du christianisme et de l'homme blanc en Amérique avant sa découverte par Christophe Colomb', in *Congrès International des Américanistes. Compte-Rendu de la Troisième Session*. Bruxelles - 1879, Vol. 1 (Nendeln and Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1968 [1879]), 493–506.

<sup>675</sup> Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, 'Del hombre blanco y signo de la cruz precolombianos en el Perú', in *Congrès International des Américanistes. Compte-Rendu de la Troisième Session*. Bruxelles - 1879, Vol. 1, 526–650.

Comisión Científica del Pacífico, a royal commission in charge of surveying former Spanish colonies derived from Alexander von Humboldt's work in the Americas and principally driven by the gold rush in California and Australia. Jiménez de la Espada's participation in this commission sparked his interest in the anthropology of the Americas, particularly of Peru.<sup>676</sup> In addition to Markham, his theory that the Pacific islands had served as stepping stones to reach the Americas was also explored in several other publications from the nineteenth century by writers like Molina and Lang, which are detailed in Chapter 3.<sup>677</sup>

De la Espada summarised various sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish chronicles from South America containing details about the Inca god Ticiviracocha or Viracocha.<sup>678</sup> He argued that a group of white men had arrived via a maritime route on the coast of Arica (Chile) or Arequipa (Peru). Their original name was unknown but they were referred to as Viracochas in the Quechua language. This name, Jiménez de la Espada claimed, was later associated with certain deities like Con, Ticci, Illa Ticci and Pachacamac (creator of the world), thus complicating both the interpretation of the original name and ideas about the supposed arrival of white men in South America.<sup>679</sup>

According to Imbelloni, Con-ticci-uira-cocha was traditionally the complete name for the above supreme being who was associated with the four elements of fire, earth, wind and water, whereas Heyerdahl's *Kon-Tiki* was a 'character, a common hero to the peoples of the Americas and Polynesia, the legendary 'Tiki hero' or first man in creation.'<sup>680</sup> Imbelloni added that most Peruvian scholars held that *uira-cocha* was the real name of this being and *con-ticci* were adjectives.

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<sup>676</sup> Leoncio López-Ocón, 'La comisión científica del Pacífico: de la ciencia imperial a la ciencia federativa', *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'études andines* 32/3 (2003), 482–485.

<sup>677</sup> Juan Ignacio Molina, 'Memoria sobre la propagación sucesiva del género humano', in *Anales de la Universidad de Chile* 133 (1965), 25–35; Lang, *Origin and Migrations of the Polynesian Nation*, 3.

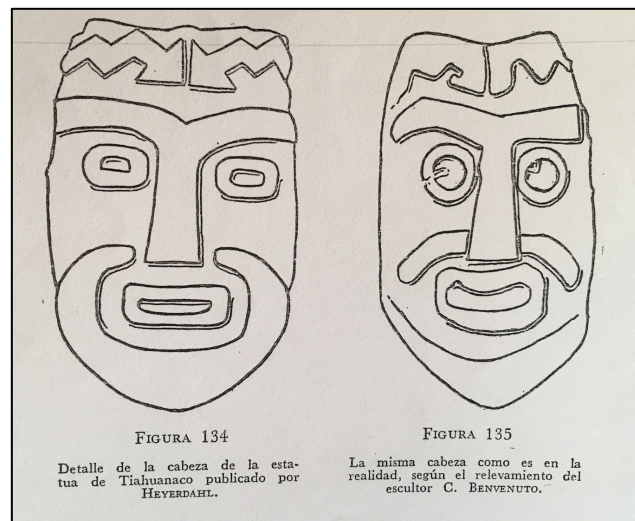
<sup>678</sup> Jiménez de la Espada, 'Del hombre blanco y signo de la cruz precolombianos en el Perú', 526–641.

<sup>679</sup> *Ibid.*, 642–650.

<sup>680</sup> José Imbelloni, *La segunda esfinge indiana* (Buenos Aires: Librería Hachette, 1956), 402–403.

Heyerdahl, however, believed the exact opposite: that *con-ticci* was the genuine and original name of this supreme being and that it was later replaced by Wiracocha (Viracocha).<sup>681</sup>

Another foundation for Heyerdahl's trans-Pacific contact theory was the mistaken interpretation of certain statues from Tiwanaku, Bolivia, as 'bearded', particularly one discovered and reported by the American anthropologist Wendell Clark (W.C.) Bennett (1905–1953).<sup>682</sup> Although also described as 'bearded' by Bennett, these features were interpreted as nose-rings by Imbelloni and reportedly as such also by the Swedish scholar Stig Rydén (1908–1965).<sup>683</sup> Imbelloni demonstrated his point in a reconstruction of one of these statues by the Argentine sculptors Joaquin Da Fonseca and Carlos Benvenuto.<sup>684</sup> Figure 18 illustrates this reconstruction as it featured in a 1956 publication by Imbelloni, which critiqued Heyerdahl's theory and scholarship. After all, Heyerdahl's tireless defence of his theory was tied in with the careful construction of the justification for his expedition in publications that were produced after 1947.



**Figure 18.** Reconstruction of the Tiwanaku statue by Heyerdahl (left) and Benvenuto (right).

<sup>681</sup> Ibid.; Heyerdahl, *American Indians in the Pacific*, 238–241.

<sup>682</sup> W.C. Bennett, *Excavations at Tiwanaco* (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1934), 440–441.

<sup>683</sup> Imbelloni, *La segunda esfinge indiana*, 401–416. See also Stig Rydén, 'Kon-Tiki. Tiahuanacukulturen och Heyerdahl', *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts-Tidning* (24 December 1949).

<sup>684</sup> Imbelloni, *La segunda esfinge indiana*, 408.

Heyerdahl, however, published his own reconstruction of this same statue as ‘bearded’, and even included it as an image in one of the sails for the *Kon-Tiki* raft.<sup>685</sup> As noted by Imbelloni:

when publishing his 1934 work [Bennett] did not suspect the series of inaccuracies and fantasies that would accumulate and strengthen during the fifteen years that followed, as a consequence of the incorrect representation of the [Mocachi] monolith [...], as well as of his rushed and imprecise description of the face, where the word ‘bearded’ appeared for the first time.<sup>686</sup>

In a letter to Rydén, Bennett attempted to redeem himself by claiming that he had described the statues as ‘bearded’ ‘essentially for descriptive purposes to distinguish them from the flat carved pillar-like statues of the earlier Tiahuanaco [Tiwanaku] construction’.<sup>687</sup> Bennett recognised that the band around the mouth that he had mistakenly described as a beard was actually a nose ring, stemming from the iconographies on pottery and textiles from the Nazca area, as well as gold and silver specimens found in the same region.<sup>688</sup>

Heyerdahl’s misreading of the statues as ‘bearded’ was related to his conjectural linking of the Inca god Con Ticci Viracocha to an ancient pre-Inca civilisation of bearded white men from the Old World.<sup>689</sup> This presumption formed part of Heyerdahl’s main thesis, which he detailed, refined and defended in more than fifty publications and conference presentations, nine of which were presented at the ICA: in 1952 (three papers), 1954, 1958, 1960, 1962 and 1966. Table 13 lists these ICA presentations.

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<sup>685</sup> Heyerdahl, *American Indians in the Pacific*, 295–303.

<sup>686</sup> Imbelloni, *La segunda esfinge indiana*, 408–409. See also Bennett, *Excavations at Tiahuanaco*, 440–441.

<sup>687</sup> W.C. Bennett, Letter to Stig Rydén, New Haven, January 17, 1950. Cited in Imbelloni, *La segunda esfinge indiana*, 409.

<sup>688</sup> Ibid.

<sup>689</sup> See for example Heyerdahl, *American Indians in the Pacific*, 232–41.



**Table 13.** List of ICA presentations by Heyerdahl (1952–1966).

Year	Session	Location	Title
1952	30	Cambridge	‘Aboriginal Navigation in Peru’
			‘Objects and Results of the Kon-Tiki Expedition’
			‘Some Basic Problems in Polynesian Anthropology’
1954	31	São Paulo	‘Preliminary Report on the Discovery of Archaeology in the Galápagos Islands’
1958	33	San José de Costa Rica	‘Guara Sailing Technique Indigenous to South America’
1960	34	Vienna	‘Merrill’s Reappraisal of Ethnobotanical Evidence for Prehistoric Contact between South America and Polynesia’
1962	35	Mexico City	‘Feasible Ocean Routes to and from the Americas in Pre-Columbian Times’
1964	36	Madrid, Barcelona, Seville	‘The Inca Inspiration behind the Spanish Discoveries of Polynesia and Melanesia’
1966	37	Mar del Plata, Argentina	‘An Introduction to Discussions of Transoceanic Contacts: Isolationism, Diffusionism, or a Middle Course?’

A further building-block in Heyerdahl’s quest to establish links between Peruvians and Polynesians was his claim that the *Hanau-eepe* of Rapa Nui were a group with ‘long ears’, red hair and fair skin, linked to the ‘long-ears’ of Cusco in Peru, who practised artificial deformation of their ears.<sup>690</sup> According to the Argentinian scholar Marcelo Bórmida (1925–1978), who worked with Imbelloni, this was a misinterpretation reliant on a mistranslation by Englert.<sup>691</sup>

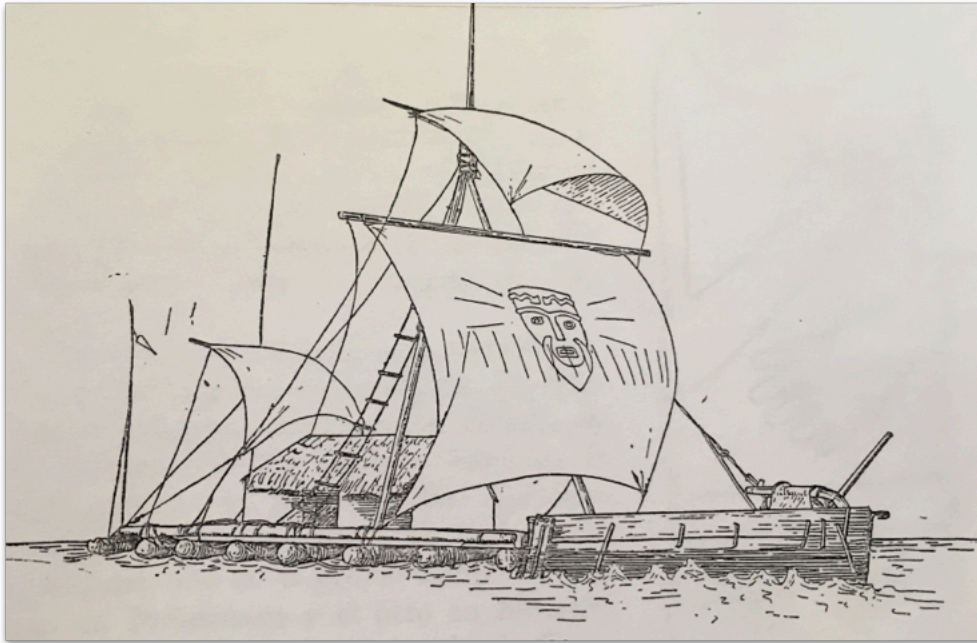
### The Expedition

On 28 April 1947, Thor Heyerdahl commenced a trans-Pacific journey from Callao, Peru onboard a raft made of Ecuadorian balsawood (*Ochroma* spp.). The raft was constructed following traditions outlined in sixteenth-century Spanish chronicles, supplemented by other conjectures about how pre-Columbian South American rafts were constructed. The name *Kon-*

<sup>690</sup> Heyerdahl, *Easter Island - The Mystery Solved* (London: Random House, 1989), 127–28.

<sup>691</sup> Marcelo Bórmida, ‘Algunas luces sobre la penumbrosa historia de Pascua antes de 1722’, *Runa* 4 (1951), 5–62.

*Tiki* was a stylisation of part of the name of the Inca deity Con Ticcú, and that of the Polynesian deity Tiki. Figure 19 features an illustration of Heyerdahl's *Kon-Tiki* raft extracted from his 1952 book *American Indians in the Pacific*.



**Figure 19.** Image of the *Kon-Tiki* raft (Source: Heyerdahl, 1952).

Heyerdahl's crew onboard the *Kon-Tiki* included four Norwegians, Erik Hesselberg (1914–1972), Knut Haugland (1917–2009), Torstein Raaby (1918–1964), and Herman Watzinger (1910–1986), as well as the Swede Bengt Danielsson (1921–1997). The voyage by this crew of six across the Pacific was facilitated by the Humboldt and South Equatorial currents and lasted 101 days. On 7 August 1947, the raft crashed into the reef of Raroia in the Tuamotus, French Polynesia. Five years later, Heyerdahl published *American Indians in the Pacific*, a detailed account of the theory behind the expedition.<sup>692</sup> While the *Kon-Tiki* expedition gained significant media attention, turning Heyerdahl into an international figure, *American Indians in the Pacific* had far less impact. Heyerdahl continued to defend his theory for years to come.

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<sup>692</sup> Heyerdahl, *American Indians in the Pacific*.

## Reception and Impact of Heyerdahl's Trans-Pacific Contact Theory

Heyerdahl's argument that Polynesia was settled from the Americas was much contested from the start.<sup>693</sup> As illustrated in Table 14, many scholars from diverse nations published critiques of his work. These included the Argentines J.A. and D.E. Ibarra Grasso, and Imbelloni, the Austrians Robert Heine-Geldern and Menghin, and US scholars R.C. Suggs, K.P. Emory and J.A. Van Tilburg. In 1960, for example, US archaeologist Robert Carl Suggs (1932–) claimed that sails had not been used in the Americas during pre-European times and condemned Heyerdahl's work generally.<sup>694</sup> In 1956 Imbelloni vocally opposed Heyerdahl's principal theory and argued that he was ignoring plentiful evidence that went against the settlement of Polynesia from the Americas, since it was clear that contact had occurred from west to east. However, most critiques paid insufficient attention to one element of Heyerdahl's reasoning: his contention that it would have been possible to sail westwards into the Pacific from the Americas during pre-Columbian times.<sup>695</sup> Since scholars almost universally agree that Polynesia was not settled from the Americas –though the idea of some trans-Pacific contact is widely accepted – Heyerdahl's theory is no longer given serious consideration amongst academics other than for the purpose of critique and analysis of his persona. In popular culture, however, Heyerdahl's legacy prevails and there is an element of myth surrounding his persona even today.

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<sup>693</sup> Melander, 'David's Weapon of Mass Destruction: The Reception of Thor Heyerdahl's 'Kon-Tiki Theory'', *Bulletin of the History of Archaeology* 29/1 (2019), 1–11. See also Robert Heine-Geldern, 'Heyerdahl's Hypothesis of Polynesian Origins: A Criticism', *Geographical Journal* 116/4–6 (1950), 183–192.

<sup>694</sup> Robert Carl Suggs, *The Island Civilizations of Polynesia* (New York: New American Library, 1960), 218.

<sup>695</sup> Luis Pericot y García, 'El punto de vista de un arqueólogo europeo ante los problemas de la prehistoria americana', in *Jornadas Internacionales de Arqueología y Etnografía: Segunda Mesa Redonda Internacional de Arqueología y Etnografía, Vol. 2: La Arqueología y Etnografía Argentina y sus Correlaciones Continentales y Extracontinentales* (1960), 17–18.

**Table 14.** Examples of critiques of Heyerdahl's theory and their associated authors, 1948–2019.

Author	Title	Year of Publication	Nationality of Author
J.A. Ibarra Grasso	'Las grandes balsas indígenas' ('The Great Indigenous Rafts')	1948	Argentinian
Robert Heine-Geldern	'Heyerdahl's Hypothesis of Polynesian Origins: A Criticism'	1950	Austrian
Geoffrey Hext Sutherland (G.H.S.) Bushnell	'Across the Pacific'	1952	British
Robert Heine-Geldern	'Voyaging Distance and Voyaging Time in Pacific Migration'		Austrian
	'Some Problems of Migration in the Pacific'		
Raymond Firth	'Prehistoric America and Polynesia'	1953	New Zealander
Patrick Edward de Josselin de Jong	'The "Kon Tiki" Theory of Pacific Migrations'		Dutch
Hans Plischke	'Thor Heyerdahls Kon-Tiki Theorie und ihre Problematik' ('Thor Heyerdahl's <i>Kon-Tiki</i> Theory and its Problems')		German
Ralph Linton	'Review of <i>American Indians in the Pacific</i> , by Thor Heyerdahl'	1954	US
José Imbelloni	<i>La Segunda Esfinge Indiana (The Second Indian Sphinx)</i> , Ch. 18: 'Kon-Tiki'	1956	Argentinian
Stig Rydén	'Did the Indians in Chile know the use of Sails in Precolumbian Times?'		Swedish
Alfred Métraux	<i>Easter Island: A Stone Age Civilization of the Pacific</i>	1957	Swiss
Hans Plischke	'Vom Ursprung der polynesischen Kultur' ('On the Origin of Polynesian Culture')		German
	'The Colonization of Polynesia: A Reply to Thor Heyerdahl'		
Thomas S. Barthel	Wer waren die ersten Siedler auf der Osterinsel? ('Who were the first settlers of Rapa Nui?')	1960	German
Robert C. Suggs	<i>The Island Civilizations of Polynesia</i>		US
Hans Plischke	'Peruanische Tonkrüge auf europäischen Südseeschiffen: Auseinandersetzung mit Thor Heyerdahl' ('Peruvian clay jugs on European ships in the Pacific: Response to Thor Heyerdahl')		German
F.P. Jonker	'Heyerdahl's Kon Tiki Theory and its Relation to Ethnobotany'	1962	Dutch
Luis Pericot y García	'El punto de vista de un arqueólogo europeo ante los problemas de la prehistoria americana' ('The point of view of a European archaeologist before the problems of American prehistory')		Spanish
Barbara Pickersgill and Arthur Hugh (A.H.) Bunting	'Cultivated Plants and the Kon-Tiki Theory'	1969	British
Kenneth P. Emory	'Easter Island's Position in the Prehistory of Polynesia'	1972	US
William White	<i>The Pacific Islanders</i>	1973	US
Peter Bellwood	<i>The Polynesians: Prehistory of an Island People</i>	1975	Australian
William Mulloy and Gonzalo Figueroa	<i>The A Kivi-Vai Teka Complex and Its Relationship to Easter Island Architectural Prehistory</i>		US, Chilean

Author	Title	Year of Publication	Nationality of Author
John Terrell	<i>Prehistory of the Pacific Islands: A Study of Variation in Language, Customs, and Human Biology</i>	1986	US
JoAnne Van Tilburg	'Review of <i>Easter Island: The Mystery Solved</i> , by Thor Heyerdahl'	1991	US
Various Authors	Special edition of <i>Bulletin de la Société des Études Océaniques</i> (No. 275)	1997	Various
Graham E.L. Holton	'Heyerdahl's Kon Tiki Theory and the Denial of the Indigenous Past'	2004	Australian
Per Ivar Engevoid (?)	'Thor Heyerdahl og de hvite kulturbærerne' (Thor Heyerdahl and the white culture-bearers)	2013	Norwegian
Scott Magelssen (?)	'White-Skinned Gods: Thor Heyerdahl, the Kon-Tiki Museum, and the Racial Theory of Polynesian Origins'	2016	?
Victor Melander (?)	'A Better Savage than the Savages: Thor Heyerdahl's Early Ethnographical Attempts and their Importance for the Development of the 'Kon-Tiki Theory''	2019	Swedish
	'David's Weapon of Mass Destruction: The Reception of Thor Heyerdahl's 'Kon-Tiki Theory''		
	<i>The Coming of the White Bearded Men: The Origin and Development of Thor Heyerdahl's Kon-Tiki Theory</i>	2020	

One of Heyerdahl's most outspoken critics, the Austrian archaeologist, historian and ethnologist Robert von Heine-Geldern (1885–1968), agreed with the general scholarly consensus that Polynesia had been settled from the west and not the Americas. In 1952, he argued that most of the factors cited by Heyerdahl as evidence for trans-Pacific cultural diffusion from the Americas to Polynesia had Asiatic parallels, thus demonstrating Asian influence in Polynesia.<sup>696</sup> He also discerned Oceanic and Asiatic elements in the Americas, including megalithic monuments and the practice of trepanning which, although found in both Peru and Polynesia, was also common in Indonesia and surrounding areas.<sup>697</sup> Despite reversing the primary direction of settlement, Heine-Geldern was not entirely closed to the idea of certain contacts between Polynesia and the Americas, as evidenced by the South American origins of certain Polynesian

<sup>696</sup> Heyerdahl, 'The Voyage of the Raft Kon-Tiki', *Geographical Journal* 115 (1950), 20–41. See also Heine-Geldern, 'Heyerdahl's Hypothesis of Polynesian Origins: A Criticism', 183.

<sup>697</sup> Heine-Geldern, 'Voyaging Distance and Voyaging Time in Pacific Migration', *Geographical Journal* 118/1 (1952), 110; Heine-Geldern, 'Heyerdahl's Hypothesis of Polynesian Origins: A Criticism', 188.

words, such as *kumara*, sweet potato.<sup>698</sup> He praised Heyerdahl's 'brilliant achievement in crossing the Pacific with the raft *Kon-Tiki*' and acknowledged his additional achievement in considering and giving new significance to several Polynesian traditions that had been either understudied or overlooked.<sup>699</sup> They included a Marquesan tradition about an eastward expedition aboard a double canoe, leading to the discovery of a country called Tafari, which Heine-Geldern thought might have been South America. Another was a tradition from Rapa Nui recorded by the US scholar William Judah Thomson (1841–1909).<sup>700</sup> It described how Rapa Nui was discovered and settled by Polynesians who had first voyaged to the east, were faced with a harsh environment, and then headed back to the west, where they reached Rapa Nui. In Heine-Geldern's view, the climate described by Thomson could be attributed to the coasts of Peru and northern Chile.<sup>701</sup> In summary, Heine-Geldern considered that, although Heyerdahl's theory of the American settlement of Polynesia was unsustainable, his *Kon-Tiki* expedition marked 'a turning point in the general appraisal of relations between Polynesia and South America' in that he 'had shown that such voyages [to the Americas and back] were completely feasible'.<sup>702</sup>

Heyerdahl's basic theory underwent modifications over time. In publications subsequent to *American Indians in the Pacific* (1952), he no longer insisted that Polynesia had been settled from the Americas, but simply contended that South American balsa rafts were sufficiently solid to traverse the Pacific favoured by prevailing winds and that, following their traditions, the Incas informed the Spanish about lands to the west, which inspired the voyages of Mendaña and

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<sup>698</sup> Ibid., 183.

<sup>699</sup> Ibid., 183, 190.

<sup>700</sup> William Judah Thomson, *Te Pito te Henua; or Easter Island* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1889), 526–528.

<sup>701</sup> Heine-Geldern, 'Heyerdahl's Hypothesis of Polynesian Origins: A Criticism', 190.

<sup>702</sup> Ibid., 191.

Quirós.<sup>703</sup> Heyerdahl's 'white bearded gods' were no longer mentioned as the original inhabitants of Polynesia but were transformed into 'islanders of Andean origin', that is, 'white bearded men' who had found refuge in the Pacific after deserting their pre-Inca settlements in South America.<sup>704</sup> In 1961, Heyerdahl noted how, given the 'racial and cultural sub-stratum throughout much of Polynesia', 'the ancestors of the present Polynesian stock [...] were not the true discoverers of these islands'.<sup>705</sup> In the preface to *Early Man and the Ocean* (1978), Heyerdahl claimed that:

Most of the controversy [over human migration routes and cultural origins stemming from the Kon-Tiki and Ra expeditions] has been based on the erroneous belief that the captain of the balsa raft Kon-Tiki and the papyrus ships Ra I and Ra II had made the claim that the Maori-Polynesians had descended from the Incas of Peru, and that the Incas, Aztecs and Mayas had descended from the pyramid builders of ancient Egypt. Such theories are easy to refute, but have never been advanced either in my travel books or scientific volumes.<sup>706</sup>

In order to demonstrate ancient navigation from the Americas as well as find pre-Columbian habitation sites off the South American mainland, Heyerdahl organised an expedition to the Galapagos with the Norwegian Archaeological Society in 1952–1953. This expedition resulted in a long report which claimed that pottery found there was pre-Columbian in date and pointed to

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<sup>703</sup> Heyerdahl, 'The Balsa Raft in Aboriginal Navigation off Peru and Ecuador', *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 11/3 (1955), 251–264; Heyerdahl, 'The Inca Inspiration behind the Spanish Discoveries of Polynesia and Melanesia', Lecture presented at the 7th International Congress for Anthropology and Ethnology (1964); Heyerdahl, *Sea Routes to Polynesia: American Indians and the Early Asiatics in Polynesia*.

<sup>704</sup> Heyerdahl, 'Sea Routes to Polynesia', *Expedition Magazine* 4/1 (1961), 28; Melander, 'A Better Savage than the Savages...', 380–81.

<sup>705</sup> Heyerdahl, 'Sea Routes to Polynesia', 28.

<sup>706</sup> Heyerdahl, 'Preface', in *Early Man and the Ocean*, 7.

pre-Inca occupations in these islands off the coast of Ecuador.<sup>707</sup> Such claims for prehistoric pottery have since been refuted by further research.<sup>708</sup>

In 1955–1956 Heyerdahl organised and personally financed an expedition with the Norwegian Archaeological Society to Rapa Nui and the eastern Pacific. Its purpose was to bring ‘professional archaeologists to an area in the Pacific where stratigraphic archaeology had not yet been attempted’.<sup>709</sup> Leaving Panama on 13 October 1955), the expedition conducted archaeological excavations in Rapa Nui between 27 October 1955 and 6 April 1956. In April–May 1956, archaeological surveys were performed in the islands of Pitcairn, Henderson, Mangareva, Rapa Iti, Raivavae, Tubuai, and Tahiti, followed by visits to the Marquesas and then to Raiatea in the Society Islands. Following surveys in the Cocos Islands, the expedition returned to Panama on 29 July 1956.<sup>710</sup> Heyerdahl’s excavations during this expedition produced a two-volume set of reports jointly edited by Heyerdahl and Edwin Nelson Ferdon, Jr. (1913–2002), a US archaeologist and anthropologist who specialised in the Americas and Polynesia.<sup>711</sup> Along with Ferdon, Heyerdahl invited four other scholars to participate in this expedition to demonstrate academic professionalism.<sup>712</sup> They were the American archaeologist Carlyle S. Smith (1915–1993); the Norwegian archaeologist Arne Skjølsvold (1925–2007), who had also joined Heyerdahl’s Galapagos expedition; the Chilean archaeologist Gonzalo Figueroa García Huidobro

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<sup>707</sup> Heyerdahl and Skjølsvold, ‘Archaeological Evidence of pre-Spanish Visits to the Galápagos Islands’, *American Antiquity* 22/2 (1956).

<sup>708</sup> Iona Flett and Simon Haberle, ‘East of Easter: Traces of Human Impact in the Far-Eastern Pacific’, in Geoffrey Clark, Foss Leach, and Sue O’Connor (eds.), *Islands of Inquiry. Colonisation, Seafaring and the Archaeology of Maritime Landscapes*, Terra Australis 29 (Canberra: ANU Press, 2008), 281–99.

<sup>709</sup> Heyerdahl, ‘Introduction’, in Thor Heyerdahl and Edwin N. Ferdon, Jr. (eds.), *Reports of the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition to Easter Island and the East Pacific*, Vol. 1 (London: Allen and Unwin, 1961), 7.

<sup>710</sup> Anonymous, ‘The Norwegian Archaeological Expedition to Easter Island and the East Pacific (October, 1955 to July, 1956)’, *Boletín Bibliográfico de Antropología Americana* 19/1 (1956), 50–51.

<sup>711</sup> Heyerdahl and Ferdon, Jr. (eds.), *Reports of the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition to Easter Island and the East Pacific*, 2 Vols. (London: Allen and Unwin, 1961, 1965).

<sup>712</sup> Malcolm Coad, ‘Obituary: Gonzalo Figueroa: Archaeologist and key player in Heyerdahl’s Easter Island adventure’, *The Guardian*, London, September 4, 2008, 36.



(1931–2008), hereinafter Figueroa G.-H., who held an assistant position; and the American anthropologist William Thomas Mulloy (1917–1978).<sup>713</sup> Table 15 details certain biographical details of Heyerdahl’s team, along with their academic specialities and affiliations.

**Table 15.** Details of archaeologists who participated in Heyerdahl’s Norwegian Archaeological Expedition to Easter Island and the eastern Pacific in 1955-1956.<sup>714</sup>

<b>Name of Archaeologist or Anthropologist</b>	<b>Area(s) of Specialisation</b>	<b>Academic Affiliation</b>
Edwin Nelson Ferdon, Jr. (1913–2002)	The Americas and Polynesia	Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, New Mexico
Gonzalo Figueroa García Huidobro (1931–2008)	Conservation of Rapa Nui archaeological sites	University of Chile
William Thomas Mulloy (1917–1978)	Conservation of Rapa Nui archaeological sites	University of Wyoming
Carlyle Shreeve Smith (1915–1993)	The Great Plains region, USA; Rapa Nui and the eastern Pacific to a lesser extent	University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas
Arne Skjølsvold (1925–2007)	Polynesia and Scandinavia	Oslo University

Both Mulloy and Figueroa G.-H. held different opinions to Heyerdahl with regard to the interpretation of the Rapa Nui excavations.<sup>715</sup> Heyerdahl’s monetary offer for the locals to provide him with any materials that served as evidence of early contact with South America, for instance, was condemned by Figueroa G.-H., who maintained a friendship and professional relationship with Heyerdahl in the public eye, but reportedly ‘in private, ... could be scathing about Heyerdahl’s theory and behaviour on the island [of Rapa Nui]’.<sup>716</sup>

<sup>713</sup> Anonymous, ‘The Norwegian Archaeological Expedition to Easter Island and the East Pacific (October, 1955 to July, 1956)’, 50.

<sup>714</sup> Gonzalo Figueroa G.-H., ‘William Mulloy: 1917–1978’, *Asian Perspectives* 22/1 (1979), 101; George W. Gill, ‘Carlyle Shreeve Smith (1915–1993): Obituary’, *Rapa Nui Journal* 8/1 (1994), 1–3; R.A. Krause, ‘Obituary. Carlyle Shreeve Smith, 1915–1993’, *Plains Anthropologist* 39/148 (1994), 221–227; Paul Wallin and Helene Martinsson-Wallin, ‘Arne Skjølsvold 1925–2007’, *Rapa Nui Journal* 22/1 (2008), 78.

<sup>715</sup> Grant McCall, ‘Obituary: William Thomas Mulloy, 1917–1978’, *Oceania* 49, No. 3 (1979), 226; Coad, ‘Obituary: Gonzalo Figueroa: Archaeologist and key player in Heyerdahl’s Easter Island adventure’, 36.

<sup>716</sup> *Ibid.*

Despite Heyerdahl's negative reputation amongst academics, including some who collaborated with him, he continued to produce publications arguing for pre-Columbian westward contact with Polynesia from South America, citing as evidence the diffusion of plants and crops. In 1957, he drew attention to the use of guara boards for steering in pre-Columbian South American navigation, as well as to the cultivation of totora (*Scirpus*) and its use in the construction of Ecuadorian and Peruvian *caballito* (small horse) rafts, as well as larger reed boats from Lake Titicaca, Bolivia.<sup>717</sup> In 1958, Heyerdahl published a popular account of his Rapa Nui expedition as a sequel to *Kon-Tiki: Across the Pacific by Raft* (1950), further elaborating his speculations about trans-Pacific contact.<sup>718</sup> In *Aku Aku: The Secret of Easter Island*, he argued that pre-Columbian contact had occurred between Rapa Nui and South America,<sup>719</sup> as evidenced by the comparable stone architecture of the Rapa Nui *ahu* and the 'grand mural constructions of the Inca empire', analogous reed boats, as well as similar carved stone human statuettes.<sup>720</sup>

Heyerdahl's theory of sea routes from South America to Polynesia was summarised in a 1961 presentation at the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, in which he listed most of the material culture and anthropological/cultural evidence he believed demonstrated possible pre-Columbian interactions between these places.<sup>721</sup> They included fishhooks, the Polynesian *quipona* and the Peruvian *quipu* knotted strings' systems, megalithic stone architecture, anthropomorphic statues, and certain plants, including the 26-chromosome cotton (*Gossypium hirsutum*) found in both Polynesia and the Americas, the gourd (*Lagenaria siceraria*), the totora plant (*Schoenoplectus californicus* subsp. *tatora*) found in both Rapa Nui and parts of South America, and the sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*). In concluding remarks, Heyerdahl

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<sup>717</sup> Heyerdahl, 'Guara Navigation: Indigenous Sailing off the Andean Coast', *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 13 (1957), 134–135.

<sup>718</sup> Heyerdahl, *Aku Aku: The Secret of Easter Island* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1958).

<sup>719</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>720</sup> *Ibid.*, 96–97, 100, 105, 107, 110, 112, 202, 220, 262, 273, 325.

<sup>721</sup> Heyerdahl, 'Sea Routes to Polynesia', *Expedition Magazine* 4.1 (1961), 22–29.

noted how ‘a pottery-making culture actually did exist at one time in Polynesia’, which would have preceded the ‘final immigrants to Polynesia [who] came from an area where the earth oven and the bark beater took the place of pottery and loom’. This was evidenced by the ‘small fragments of different red wares [that] have been encountered archaeologically in both the eastern and western extremities of Polynesia, with the earliest date so far from the Marquesas group’.<sup>722</sup> He was, in fact, referring to the red-slipped Lapita pottery and plainwares of Tonga found there most recently by Jack Golson, from which the Marquesan sherds found by Suggs were plausibly derived.<sup>723</sup> The supposedly early Marquesan dates for these sherds were later refuted, and Lapita in Western Polynesia dated back to c. 2800BP.<sup>724</sup>

In 1963 Heyerdahl published ‘Feasible Ocean Routes to and from the Americas in pre-Columbian Times’ and ‘Prehistoric Voyages as Agencies for Melanesian and South American Plant and Animal Dispersal to Polynesia’.<sup>725</sup> In the second paper in particular, Heyerdahl argued for South American dispersals of plants to Rapa Nui, including totora reeds used to make rafts.<sup>726</sup> In 1968 he expounded his conviction that the Incas had led the Spaniards to Polynesia and developed the thesis four years later in a further book.<sup>727</sup> The later work summarised all Heyerdahl’s ideas about early navigation and migration from the Americas to Polynesia, as well as his belief that the Atlantic, like the Pacific, was a navigable ocean in pre-Columbian times.

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<sup>722</sup> Ibid., 28–29.

<sup>723</sup> Robert Carl Suggs, *The Archaeology of Nuku Hiva, Marquesas Islands, French Polynesia*, Anthropological Papers from the American Museum of Natural History 49, Part 1 (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1961); Suggs, ‘The Derivation of Marquesan Culture’, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 91 (1961), 1–10.

<sup>724</sup> Personal communication from Prof. Matthew Spriggs, 3 April 2020.

<sup>725</sup> Heyerdahl, ‘Feasible Ocean Routes to and from the Americas in pre-Columbian Times’, *American Antiquity* 28/4 (1963), 482–488; Heyerdahl, ‘Prehistoric Voyages as Agencies for Melanesian and South American Plant and Animal Dispersal to Polynesia’, in Jacques Barrau (ed.), *Plants and the Migration of the Pacific Peoples* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1963), 23–35.

<sup>726</sup> Heyerdahl, ‘Prehistoric Voyages as Agencies for Melanesian and South American Plant and Animal Dispersal to Polynesia’, 23–35.

<sup>727</sup> Heyerdahl, *Sea Routes to Polynesia: American Indians and the Early Asiatics in Polynesia*, 75–91; Heyerdahl, *Early Man and the Ocean*, 174–87.

In 1986 Heyerdahl returned to Rapa Nui. As part of this expedition and archaeological survey, he and his colleagues, who included the archaeologists Paul Wallin and Heléne Martinsson-Wallin, aimed to continue searching for the first settlers of this island. They managed to successfully move a 15-ton *moai* upright. This expedition confirmed that the first settlers of Rapa Nui were Polynesians and not South Americans as Heyerdahl had originally contended. Additional research, however, as discussed in Chapter 6, did suggest that contact between this island and parts of South America might have occurred.<sup>728</sup> This conclusion distanced Heyerdahl and his hypothesis from his colleagues and bolstered the idea of eastward voyages from Polynesia resulting in contact with South America.

During subsequent archaeological excavations at Túcume in Chiclayo, Peru, between 1988 and 1992, Heyerdahl uncovered what he considered further compelling evidence of pre-Columbian interaction between Rapa Nui and South America.<sup>729</sup> In particular, a wall uncovered at this archaeological site featured carved birdmen displaying the same elements as those of the Orongo birdman cult on Rapa Nui, leading Heyerdahl to highlight cultural diffusion.<sup>730</sup> He also reported the discovery of double-bladed paddles, closely resembling those from Rapa Nui.<sup>731</sup> Heyerdahl's conclusion that 'at the beginning of the second millennium A.D., [the pre-Inca site of] Túcume was at the center of a well-developed maritime high culture with [...] religious motifs [...] with bird-headed navigators [...] aboard totora vessels', convincing him of the feasibility of Peruvian trans-Pacific interaction with Rapa Nui.<sup>732</sup> In addition to Heyerdahl's paper, a recent

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<sup>728</sup> For example José Miguel Ramírez Aliaga, 'Transpacific Contact: The Mapuche Connection', *Rapa Nui Journal* 4 (1991/1992), 53–55; Ramírez Aliaga, 'Contactos transpacíficos: un acercamiento al problema de los supuestos rasgos polinésicos en la cultura mapuche', *Clava* 5 (1992), 1–28.

<sup>729</sup> Heyerdahl, 'The common occurrence of the birdman cult and the double-bladed ao paddle on Easter Island and Prehistoric Túcume', in C. Stevenson, G. Lee, and F.J. Morin (eds.), *Easter Island in Pacific Context. South Sea Symposium* (Los Osos: Bearsville and Cloud Mountain Press, 1998), 178–184.

<sup>730</sup> *Ibid.*, 180–184.

<sup>731</sup> *Ibid.*, 183.

<sup>732</sup> *Ibid.*, 184.

study by Anderson, Martinsson-Wallin and Stothert depicts comparable aspects of the birdman motif from Ecuador and Peru, and Rapa Nui.<sup>733</sup>

Heyerdahl's fame led to the construction of the Kon-Tiki Museum in Oslo, Norway. Originally opened in a provisional building in 1949, it was later moved to its current building in 1957 and expanded in 1978. It houses the actual *Kon-Tiki* raft, a library with approximately 8,000 books, as well as Heyerdahl's archives, comprising 'the manuscripts, research papers, personal notes, pictures and film material of this famous researcher and explorer', produced between 1947 and 2002, the year of his death.<sup>734</sup> On 25 May 2011, these archives were entered into UNESCO's Memory of the World Register, highlighting Heyerdahl's global renown.<sup>735</sup>

The persona of Heyerdahl, his speculations about trans-Pacific contacts, and the *Kon-Tiki* Expedition, have also been narrated and explored in a series of television shows and films. Table 16 illustrates some examples of films and documentaries that explore these themes.

**Table 16.** Examples of films depicting Heyerdahl's trans-Pacific contact theory or *Kon-Tiki* expedition.

Year	Title	Duration	Genre	Producer(s), Director(s) and/or Writer(s)	Country
1950	<i>Kon-Tiki</i>	75 minutes	Documentary	Thor Heyerdahl (Producer and Writer)	Norway, Sweden
1960	<i>Aku-Aku</i>	86 minutes	Documentary	Thor Heyerdahl (Producer and Writer)	Norway
1997	<i>Kon-Tiki: In the Light of Time / Kon-Tiki: Over tidens hav</i>	52 minutes	Documentary, Adventure	Morten Kolstad (Director and Writer)	Norway
2012	<i>Kon-Tiki</i>	118 minutes	Adventure, History	Joachim Rønning and Espen Sandberg (Directors); Petter Skavlan (Writer)	UK, Norway, Denmark, Germany, Sweden

<sup>733</sup> Anderson, Martinsson-Wallin and Karen Stothert, 'Ecuadorian sailing rafts and Oceanic landfalls', 128–29. See also Martinsson-Wallin, *Abu — The Ceremonial Stone Structures of Easter Island. Analysis of Variation and Interpretation of Meanings*, 116.

<sup>734</sup> Solsvik, 'Thor Heyerdahl as World Heritage', 71.

<sup>735</sup> Ibid.

*Kon-Tiki* (1950, released in the US in 1951), the first of these films, is a Norwegian/Swedish documentary produced and narrated by Heyerdahl himself which recounts his *Kon-Tiki* adventure.<sup>736</sup> It featured an explanation of Heyerdahl's theory, a detailed description of the voyage, including the construction of the raft, as well as narratives of encounters and incidents, including the sighting of a whale and the final shipwreck that terminated the voyage. It won an Academy Award or Oscar for best documentary feature in 1951. The 1960 documentary *Aku-Aku* was described as more entertaining than scientific and highlighted Heyerdahl's 'paternalistic attitude toward the local population' in terms of 'the sequences dealing with the exploration of the [Rapa Nui] family caves, as well as in the way he gets the people to cooperate with him'.<sup>737</sup>

The 1997 documentary *Kon-Tiki: Over tidens hav* (Kon-Tiki: In the Light of Time) revisited the *Kon-Tiki* expedition.<sup>738</sup> It addressed the media interest generated from the voyage, as well as the publication and translation of the book, *Kon-Tiki*, translated into seventy languages. Lastly, Heyerdahl's trans-Pacific expedition was again narrated in the 2012 historical drama *Kon-Tiki*, which eulogised Heyerdahl as a figure of 'enduring national [Norwegian] mythology'.<sup>739</sup> The film was nominated for an Academy Award and a Golden Globe in 2013 in the Best Foreign Language Film category. The release of a popular film highlights Heyerdahl's enduring reputation among the general public.

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<sup>736</sup> Heyerdahl (prod.), *Kon-Tiki*, Audiovisual document (1951).

<sup>737</sup> Heyerdahl (prod.), *Aku-Aku*, Audiovisual document (1960); Alexandra M. Ulana Klymyshyn, 'SOUTH AMERICA: Kon-Tiki. Aku-Aku. The Secret of Easter Island. Easter Island: Puzzle of the Pacific', *American Anthropologist* 78 (1976), 384–386.

<sup>738</sup> Morten Kolstad (dir.), *Kon-Tiki: Over tidens hav*, Audiovisual document (1997).

<sup>739</sup> Joachim Rønning and Espen Sandberg (dir.), *Kon-Tiki*, Audiovisual document (2012); Jenna Coughlin, 'Trouble in Paradise: Revising Identity in Two Texts by Thor Heyerdahl', *Scandinavian Studies* 88/3 (2016), 247.

## **Voyages after the *Kon-Tiki* and Heyerdahl's Expedition as Inspiration**

Many experimental voyages have been conducted during the second half of the twentieth century and beginning of the twenty-first, aiming to demonstrate the ancient Amerindian or Polynesian sailing abilities and techniques that might have enabled eastward or westward trans-Pacific contact between Oceania and the Americas. Since the 1970s, others have been conducted with the aim of reviving Polynesian and Micronesian traditional navigation techniques without consideration of American contact. Some expeditions tested the feasibility of ancient voyages in an east to west direction, while others recently sought to bring attention to the impact of climate change on small Pacific islands. These used sustainable sailing techniques, such as expeditions of canoes sailing across the Pacific organised by Okeanos Foundation and the Hokule'a Polynesian Voyaging Society. In 2010, Hiria Ottino's voyaging canoe *O Tabiti Nui Freedom* sailed from Tahiti to China with the aim of retracing the path of Polynesian expansion in reverse. This shows Heyerdahl's influence beyond trans-Pacific experimental expeditions with an American connection.

Seventeen additional expeditions seeking to demonstrate the feasibility of American-Oceanic sea voyages were conducted between 1947 and 2017. They include *Seven Little Sisters* (1954), *Kantuta I* (1955–1956), *Tabiti Nui* (1956), *Tabiti Nui II* and *III* (1958), *Kantuta II* (1959), *Tangaroa* (1965); *La Balsa* (1970); *Las Balsas* (1973), *Uru* (1988), *Mata Rangī I* (1999), *Mata Rangī II* (1999), *Viracocha I* (2000), *Viracocha II* (2003), *Tangaroa* (2006), *Kon-Tiki 2* (2015–2016), and *Viracocha III* (2017). Some of these voyages were specifically aimed at demonstrating pre-Columbian Amerindian sailing abilities, as was the case with *Tangaroa* (1965); *La Balsa* (1970); *Las Balsas* (1973), *Uru* (1988), *Mata Rangī* (1999), *Viracocha I* (2000), *Viracocha II* (2003), *Tangaroa* (2006), *Kon-Tiki 2* (2015–2016), and *Viracocha III* (2017). Others were undertaken to demonstrate Polynesian ability to sail across the Pacific and the potentiality of contact with the Americas, such as *Tabiti Nui I* (1956) and *II* (1958). Some were directly inspired by Heyerdahl, including *La*

*Balsa* (1970), *Las Balsas* (1973), *Kon-Tiki 2* (2015–2016), and *Viracocha III* (2017). Table 17 contains a complete list of these voyages.

**Table 17.** List of experimental expeditions and failed attempts between Oceania and the Americas (adapted from P.J. Capelotti, 2012).<sup>740</sup> Those marked with an asterisk (\*) are added by the author.

Name	Year	Vessel Type	Leader	From	To	Justification	Associated Publication
<b>Seven Little Sisters</b>	1954	<i>Balsa</i> raft	William Willis	Callao, Peru	American Samoa	To conduct a voyage comparable to Heyerdahl's but for non-scientific reasons	<i>The Epic Voyage of the Seven Little Sisters: A 6700-mile Voyage Alone Across the Pacific</i> (1955)
<b>Kantuta I</b> (Failed expedition)	1955–1956	<i>Balsa</i> raft	Eduard Ingris	Callao, Peru	-	To emulate Heyerdahl's voyage and prove that Peruvians would have reached Polynesia	<i>Kantuta. In the Wake of the Kon Tiki (Twice across the Pacific on a Raft)</i> (1968)
<b>Tahiti Nui</b>	1956	Bamboo raft	Eric de Bisschop	Tahiti	Juan Fernandez Island	To demonstrate the possibility to sail eastward in a bamboo raft	<i>Tahiti Nui: By Raft from Tahiti to Chile</i> (1959)
<b>Tahiti Nui II (and III)</b>	1958	Cypress wood raft	Eric de Bisschop	Constitución, Chile	Marquesas via Callao, Peru	To replicate Polynesian sailing abilities to (and from) the Americas	
<b>Kantuta II</b>	1959	<i>Balsa</i> raft	Eduard Ingris	Callao, Peru	Matahiva Atoll, north of Tahiti	To emulate Heyerdahl's voyage and prove that Peruvians would have reached Polynesia	<i>Kantuta. In the Wake of the Kon Tiki (Twice across the Pacific on a Raft)</i> (1968)
<b>Tangaroa</b>	1965	<i>Balsa</i> raft	Carlos Caravedo Arica	Peru	Fakarava Atoll, Tuamotu group, French Polynesia	To demonstrate ancient Peruvian seafaring skills	-

<sup>740</sup> P.J. Capelotti, 'The Theory of the Archaeological Raft: Motivation, Method, and Madness in Experimental Archaeology', *Experimental Archaeology* 1 (2012), <https://exarc.net/issue-2012-1/ea/theory-archaeological-raft-motivation-method-and-madness-experimental-archaeology>. Accessed 17 August, 2018.



Name	Year	Vessel Type	Leader	From	To	Justification	Associated Publication
<b>La Balsa</b>	1970	<i>Balsa</i> raft	Vital Alsar	Ecuador	Mooloolaba, Australia	To demonstrate that South Americans could have reached Polynesia, and even Australia	<i>La Balsa (The Raft)</i> (1974)
<b>Las Balsas</b> (Of the three rafts, only two reached Australia)	1973	<i>Balsa</i> rafts	Vital Alsar	Ecuador	Ballina, Australia	To demonstrate that South Americans could have reached Polynesia, and even Australia	<i>¿Por qué imposible? Las Balsas (Why Impossible? The Rafts)</i> (1978)
<b>Uru</b>	1988	Reed ship	Kitín Muñoz	Lima, Peru	Marquesas Islands	To demonstrate that ancient sailors made contact with other cultures thanks to trans-Oceanic totora rafts; to prove that Polynesians had American origins; to emulate Heyerdahl's voyage	<i>La expedición Uru (The Uru Expedition)</i> (1990)
<b>Mata Rangi I</b> (Wrecked in Rapa Nui)	1997	Reed ship	Kitín Muñoz	Lima, Peru	Rapa Nui (wrecked)		-
<b>Mata Rangi II *</b>	1999	Reed ship	Kitín Muñoz	Arica, Chile	Marquesas Islands		-
<b>Viracocha I</b>	2000	Reed ship	Phil Buck	Chile	Rapa Nui	To demonstrate that the first settlers of South America crossed the Pacific to Polynesia five centuries before the arrival of the Spanish conquistadors.	-
<b>Viracocha II *</b>	2003	Reed ship	Phil Buck	Viña del Mar, Chile	Rapa Nui	To demonstrate that the first settlers of South America crossed the Pacific to Polynesia five centuries before the arrival of the Spanish conquistadors	-
<b>Tangaroa</b>	2006	<i>Balsa</i> raft (guara boards)	Torgeir Higraff	Peru	Polynesia	To replicate <i>Kon-Tiki's</i> feat	-

Name	Year	Vessel Type	Leader	From	To	Justification	Associated Publication
<b>Kon Tiki 2 *</b>	2015-2016	<i>Balsa</i> raft	Torgeir Higræff	Lima, Peru	Talcahuano, Chile (via Rapa Nui)	To demonstrate that balsa raft voyages from South America to the Pacific would have been possible	-
<b>Viracocha III *</b>	2017	Reed raft	Phil Buck	Arica, Chile	Sydney, Australia	To demonstrate that it is possible to sail long distances using rafts built like the Aymaras from Bolivia	-

The justifications and aims of these expeditions were varied, although most of these voyages followed Heyerdahl's inspiration from sixteenth-century Spanish chronicles, including those detailing Túpac Yupanqui's voyage, South American voyaging and oral traditions, and studies of pre-Columbian South American rafts and navigation capabilities, as discussed in Chapter 2. They were particularly inspired by descriptions of long-distance voyages to and from the Americas, and oral traditions pointing to coastal arrivals from the Pacific or departures to unidentified locations in the Pacific or the Americas. The early chronicles, together with additional oral traditions reported by later scholars, such as F.W. Christian's account of the arrival of a King Tupa in Mangareva, were influential in the production of twentieth- and twenty-first-century experimental expeditions to demonstrate that the Pacific was a navigable ocean for both Amerindians and Polynesians, as discussed in chapters 2, 3 and 4.

The *Kantuta II* expedition (1959) was organised by Eduard Ingriš (1905–1991), a Czech adventurer, composer and filmmaker who left then-Czechoslovakia for South America in 1947. He resided in Brazil and Peru, from where his first trans-Pacific expedition aboard the *Kantuta I* raft, also known as the 'Peruvian Motion Picture Expedition to the South Seas', departed in 1955 but failed to reach Polynesia. This raft had five members: Eduard Ingriš, then 45; the Argentine

Joaquin Guerrero, 30; Jaromir Gurecky, 30; the Dutchman Andy Rost, 26; and the Peruvian Natalia Mazuelos, 27, who was reportedly born in Lake Titicaca aboard a reed raft.<sup>741</sup> *Kantuta I* was followed by *Kantuta II* in 1959, which also set sail from Callao, Peru. The journey lasted 122 days, overcame a hurricane, covered more than ten thousand kilometres, and finally landed on Matahiva Atoll, north of Tahiti.<sup>742</sup> Ingriš's feats and their inspiration were detailed in his 1968 book *Kantuta: In the Wake of the Kon Tiki*.<sup>743</sup>

Ingriš's expeditions were preceded by that of William Willis (1893–1968) in *Seven Little Sisters*, a similar, but smaller raft compared to *Kon-Tiki*. Willis's solo journey departed from Callao, Peru, and reached American Samoa after 115 days, covering 11,000 km, a greater distance than *Kon-Tiki*.<sup>744</sup> Willis's published justification for his voyage was purely philosophical and an antithesis to Heyerdahl's scientific aims since he viewed it as a pilgrimage.<sup>745</sup> It was however, propelled by the success of Heyerdahl's *Kon-Tiki*.<sup>746</sup>

The French seafarer Eric de Bisschop (1891–1958) planned a return trip from Tahiti to Peru and back and embarked on journey from Tahiti in 1956, aboard a bamboo raft. *Tabiti Nui I* nearly reached the coast of South America but was destroyed by a storm off the coast of Juan Fernández Island. The raft *Tabiti Nui II* was built in Constitución, Chile, for the purpose of attempting to replicate the return voyage of *Tabiti Nui I*. The crew onboard faced difficulties due

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<sup>741</sup> 'RAFT TOUR BEGINS TODAY', *The New York Times* (1923-Current File), Oct 30, 1955. <https://search-proquest-com.virtual.anu.edu.au/docview/11330611?accountid=8330>.

<sup>742</sup> Rodrigo Tovar Cabañas, 'Las posibilidades de la navegación transoceánica antigua. Catálogo de experimentos modernos', *Revista de Historia Americana* 142 (2010), 69.

<sup>743</sup> Eduard Ingriš, *Kantuta. In the Wake of the Kon Tiki (Twice Across the Pacific in a Raft)* (Van Nuys, CA.: Ingriš Productions, 1968).

<sup>744</sup> Tovar Cabañas, 'Las posibilidades de la navegación transoceánica antigua. Catálogo de experimentos modernos', 68–69. See also Loren McIntyre, 'Rafting Fever', 41; William Willis, *The Epic Voyage of the Seven Little Sisters: A 6700-mile Voyage Alone Across the Pacific* (London: Hutchinson, 1955).

<sup>745</sup> T.R. Pearson, *Seaworthy: Adrift with William Willis in the Golden Age of Rafting* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2006), 45.

<sup>746</sup> *Ibid.*, 95.

to lack of rain and damage to the raft, which started to sink.<sup>747</sup> In addition, Bisschop's health was impacted and started to deteriorate, so an emergency third raft, *Tabiti Nui III*, was rapidly constructed to rescue the entire crew. However, Bisschop died in 1958 when a swell overturned this makeshift raft at Rakahanga atoll, Cook Islands. The raft was wrecked. This was also the year his memoir on the first voyage was published.<sup>748</sup>

These expeditions were followed by that of the Peruvian Carlos Caravedo Arica (1921–?) in *Tangaroa* in 1965. Aware of the previous expeditions by foreign adventurers and aiming to refute doubts about the nautical skills of ancient Peruvians, Caravedo Arica built his own vessel using eight Ecuadorian logs. He left Callao, Peru, on 26 July 1965 on the raft *Tangaroa* with a crew of two fellow Peruvians. After 105 days and around 7,000 km, they reached Fakarava atoll in the Tuamotu archipelago.<sup>749</sup> An interview in 2000 suggested that Caravedo Arica planned to write a book on his voyage, but it did not eventuate.<sup>750</sup>

Of all the explorers who took inspiration from Heyerdahl's voyage and attempted to replicate it, none did so in such accomplished fashion as the Spaniard Vital Alsar (1933–).<sup>751</sup> Alsar tried more than once to traverse the Pacific from the Americas. His first attempt on the logwood raft *La Pacífica* was unsuccessful due to attacks on the raft's integrity by *teredos* or shipworms, resulting in its loss of buoyancy. After 143 days sailing, the raft nearly sank and the crew had to be rescued.<sup>752</sup> Alsar again set sail in 1970 with a crew of three aboard the wooden

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<sup>747</sup> Loren McIntyre, 'Rafting Fever', 44–5.

<sup>748</sup> Eric de Bisschop, *Cap à l'Est: Première expédition du Tabiti-Nui* (Paris: Plon, 1958), translated into English as *Tabiti Nui: By Raft from Tabiti to Chile* (London: Collins, 1959). See also Loren McIntyre, 'Rafting Fever', 44–5.

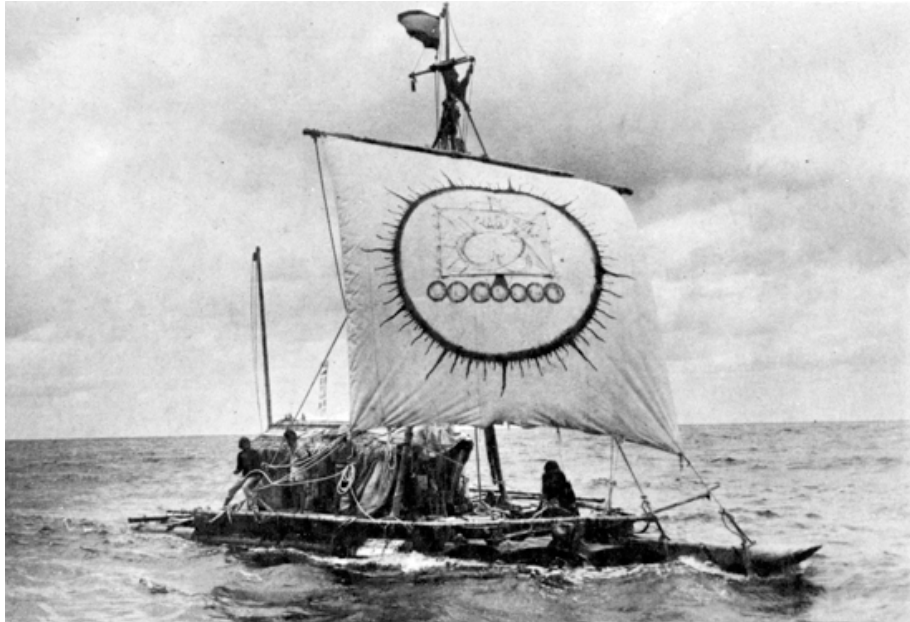
<sup>749</sup> Ibid. See also Tovar Cabañas, 'Las posibilidades de la navegación transoceánica antigua. Catálogo de experimentos modernos', 69.

<sup>750</sup> Loren McIntyre, 'Rafting Fever', 45.

<sup>751</sup> Ibid., 45–6.

<sup>752</sup> Ibid., 45.

raft *La Balsa*, followed in 1973 by a fleet of three rafts, collectively known as *Las Balsas*. Figure 20 illustrates *La Balsa*.



**Figure 20.** Image of *La Balsa* sighted off the Sunshine Coast, Australia, 5 November 1970 (Source: Sunshine Coast Libraries).

The single raft *La Balsa* sailed successfully from Guayaquil, Ecuador, to Mooloolaba, Australia, arriving 5 November 1970 after 160 days sailing.<sup>753</sup> Encouraged, Alsar then commissioned the construction of three new rafts: *Guayaquil* (after the initial departure point of the 1970 expedition), *Mooloolaba* (after its arrival point and the intended destination of the second expedition), and *Aztlán* (after Mexico, since one of the crew was from there). These were constructed as replicas of pre-Hispanic (i.e., pre-1526) native balsawood (*Ochroma* spp.) Ecuadorian rafts, following Huancavilca techniques using traditional guara boards. They departed Guayaquil on 29 May 1973 on a journey of 178 days, described as the longest raft

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<sup>753</sup> Ibid., 46.

voyage in history.<sup>754</sup> After crossing the Pacific, one raft made it to Mooloolaba, another ended up in Ballina due to bad weather, and the third was in such bad shape that it had to be abandoned and left to drift, to be found a few days later off the coast of Newcastle, New South Wales.<sup>755</sup>

Alsar captained both the 1970 and 1973 expeditions after his failed voyage on *La Pacifica*, and the Chilean Gabriel Salas (1944–2015) crewed on both Australian expeditions. Given the repressive political climate in Pinochet’s Chile following the coup d’état of September 1973, Salas was offered refugee status upon arrival in Australia aboard the raft *Aztlan*. He returned to Australia in 1980 to participate in efforts to salvage the raft in Ballina. The *Aztlan* can be currently viewed at the Ballina Naval and Maritime Museum, along with a replica of its sail, originally painted by Salvador Dalí who decreed that it be sold in case of monetary need. The sail was sold to a Ballina motel owner but its current whereabouts are unknown. Reflecting on the duration of the voyages of *Las Balsas* and the distance covered, compared to the fame and fortune amassed by the *Kon-Tiki* and its associated museum, Salas stated: ‘It is true that the *Kon-Tiki* was the first raft to plough the Pacific Ocean waves but it sank half way. In contrast, the *Aztlan* is a raft that fully crossed the Pacific Ocean [and didn’t get the same recognition]’.<sup>756</sup> *Las Balsas* also did not gain the same academic impact as *Kon-Tiki*. Although Alsar may not have been as adept at media appearances and academia as Heyerdahl, *Las Balsas* differed from Heyerdahl’s *Kon-Tiki* journey in that Alsar did not believe that Polynesia had been settled from the Americas. Instead, he believed that balsa raft voyages were a feasible means for pre-Columbian westward contacts between Polynesian islands and the Americas, resulting in material

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<sup>754</sup> Ibid. See also Samantha Turnbull and Joanne Shoebridge, ‘Maritime community mourns *Las Balsas* navigator Gabriel Salas’, *ABC Northcoast* 12 November 2015, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-11-12/maritime-community-mourns-las-balsas-navigator-gabriel-salas/6934360>. Accessed 13 August 2018.

<sup>755</sup> Vital Alsar, *¿Por qué imposible? Las Balsas* (Barcelona, Pomaire, 1978). See also Jenny Estrada, *La Balsa en la Historia de la Navegación Ecuatoriana* (Guayaquil: Instituto de Historia Marítima, 1990), 319–64.

<sup>756</sup> Gabriel Salas interview in Damien Murphy, ‘Gabriel Salas: Little fuss made of navigator’s achievement’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 September 2015, <https://www.smh.com.au/national/gabriel-salas-little-fuss-made-of-navigators-achievement-20151209-glizik.html>. Accessed 13 August 2018.

culture and crop diffusion.<sup>757</sup> Their repeat voyage of *Los Huancavilcas* or *Las Balsas* in 1973, with three vessels rather than one, aimed to demonstrate that it was possible to cross the entire Pacific and not just reach halfway like Heyerdahl.

Alsar's voyages were followed by those of *Uru* in 1988, *Mata Rangí I* in 1997, and *Mata Rangí II* in 1999, organised by the Spanish adventurer Antonio José Muñoz y Valcárcel (1954–), better known as Kitín Muñoz. He aimed to demonstrate that ancient sailors made contact with other cultures thanks to trans-Oceanic totora reed rafts; to prove that Polynesians had American origins; and to emulate Heyerdahl's voyage.<sup>758</sup> His rafts were made of totora reeds from Lake Titicaca, Bolivia, or Lake Cahuil, Chile.<sup>759</sup> *Uru*, the first raft in which Muñoz voyaged across the Pacific, was built by people from Lake Titicaca and weighed approximately twenty tonnes. It sailed from Lima, Peru, in mid-October 1988 with a crew of five men, aiming to reach New Zealand after stopping at Nuku Hiva. However, after sailing for approximately 150 days, they only reached the Marquesas Islands in March 1989.<sup>760</sup>

Muñoz's *Uru* expedition was followed in 1997 by the unsuccessful voyage of *Mata Rangí I*, with a crew of thirteen. A seventy-tonne raft constructed of totora reeds from the Chilean territory of Easter Island (Rapa Nui), *Mata Rangí I* disintegrated close to Rapa Nui, requiring the crew to be rescued.<sup>761</sup>

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<sup>757</sup> Estrada, *La Balsa en la Historia de la Navegación Ecuatoriana*, 321, 345.

<sup>758</sup> Tovar Cabañas, 'Las posibilidades de la navegación transoceánica antigua. Catálogo de experimentos modernos', 70; Rafael González Díaz, 'Frattini publica sus cuadernos de viaje de la Expedición Uru, 30 años después', EFE Verde, 1 November 2016, <https://www.efeverde.com/espana>. Accessed 13 August 2018.

<sup>759</sup> Tovar Cabañas, 'Las posibilidades de la navegación transoceánica antigua. Catálogo de experimentos modernos', 70.

<sup>760</sup> Rafael González Díaz, 'Frattini publica sus cuadernos de viaje de la Expedición Uru, 30 años después', EFE Verde, 1 November 2016, <https://www.efeverde.com/espana>. Accessed 13 August 2018.

<sup>761</sup> Anonymous, 'Spanish adventurer crosses Pacific in reed boat', *CNN*, May 13 1999; Anonymous, 'Epílogo', in *Americas*, September 2000, 47. Informe Académico, <http://link.galegroup.com/apps/doc/A65486079/IFME?u=anu&sid=IFME&xid=de82f9b9>. Accessed 15 August, 2018.

A final expedition organised by Muñoz was the May 1999 voyage of *Mata Rangi II*. The raft for this voyage was constructed from 13,000 totora reeds from Lake Titicaca, measured approximately twenty-nine metres, and weighed fifty metric tonnes. The bow was decorated with a representation of a mythological bird from Rapa Nui.<sup>762</sup> Aside from Muñoz, the crew comprised a Peruvian, a Bolivian, two Japanese, a Tahitian, and four Chileans.<sup>763</sup> *Mata Rangi II* departed from Arica, Chile, journeyed for 8,000 km, and landed in the Marquesas after an eighty-eight-day journey.<sup>764</sup> The original plan to reach Micronesia and then head to Taiwan or Japan to demonstrate pre-Columbian trans-Pacific inter-regional trade between the Americas, Polynesia, and Asia on seafaring vessels was not accomplished, due to damage to the raft and the crew's need to 'cut loose half the boat'.<sup>765</sup>

One year after Muñoz's expedition on *Mata Rangi II*, the American Phil Buck (1966–) embarked on another trans-Pacific voyage in 2000. Originally planned as a ten-year expedition to circumnavigate the world, Buck and a crew of eight set sail from Arica, Chile, on the raft *Viracocha I*.<sup>766</sup> Motivated by Thor Heyerdahl, Buck's vessel was named *Viracocha* after the Andean deity whose added name of *Con Tici* inspired the naming of Heyerdahl's *Kon-Tiki*. Buck's selection of Australia as his final destination was due to the putative link between Indigenous Tasmanians and South Americans who were believed to have built comparably-shaped reed boats.<sup>767</sup> This supposed link was also noted by Pearson in 1939, as discussed in Chapter 6.

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<sup>762</sup> Anonymous, 'Spanish adventurer crosses Pacific in reed boat'; Anonymous, 'Across the Pacific by reed boat', *BBC News*, 21 February 1999, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/279894.stm>. Accessed 15 August 2018.

<sup>763</sup> Anonymous, 'Spanish adventurer crosses Pacific in reed boat'.

<sup>764</sup> Tovar Cabañas, 'Las posibilidades de la navegación transoceánica antigua. Catálogo de experimentos modernos', 70.

<sup>765</sup> Anonymous, 'Spanish adventurer crosses Pacific in reed boat'; Anonymous, 'Across the Pacific by reed boat'.

<sup>766</sup> Anonymous, 'Around the world in a reed boat', *BBC News*, 7 February, 2000, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/634320.stm>. Accessed 17 August, 2018.

<sup>767</sup> Glen David Short, 'Sydney-bound reed raft nearing completion in Chile', [mysailing.com.au](http://www.mysailing.com.au), 19 September 2017, <http://www.mysailing.com.au/latest/sydney-bound-reed-raft-nearing-completion-in-chile>. Accessed 18 August 2018.



Buck's voyage was organised in such detail that a group of Aymaras from Bolivia were commissioned to construct a new raft for each section of the journey. Each raft was to measure 16.5 metres, weigh sixteen tonnes, and be built in Bolivia from 1.5 million totora reeds. The purpose of *Viracocha I's* voyage, as expressed by Buck, was to 'support the theory that it was possible for ancient civilisations to cross huge ocean expanses in reed ships, and that the vessels could have been a key factor in human migration and the spread of civilisation'.<sup>768</sup> Buck's first port of call on *Viracocha I* was Rapa Nui in April 2000.<sup>769</sup>

Rapa Nui was revisited by Buck in 2003 on *Viracocha II*, after setting sail from Viña del Mar, Chile, in a comparable raft to *Viracocha I*, again constructed with Aymara ancestral techniques using totora reeds and guara boards. This section of the voyage between mainland Chile and Rapa Nui lasted seventy-eight days and covered 3,800 km, although the aim to reach Australia was not achieved due to damage to the raft.<sup>770</sup> Buck completed a third trans-Pacific voyage in 2017 on *Viracocha III*, this time successfully reaching Australia. This eighteen-metre raft was also built using totora reeds and Aymara ancestral techniques. In March 2017, Buck sailed from Arica, Chile, planning to traverse the Pacific for six months.<sup>771</sup> Inspired by Túpac Yupanqui's alleged sixteenth-century return voyage to Mangareva, French Polynesia, described in chapters 2 and 8, Buck chose this island as the first stop following a planned sixty-day journey. Subsequent intended stops were in Tahiti and Fiji, with Sydney the final destination, a distance of about 10,000 nautical miles.<sup>772</sup>

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<sup>768</sup> Anonymous, 'Around the world in a reed boat'.

<sup>769</sup> Anonymous, 'Epílogo', in *Americas*, September 2000, 47.

<sup>770</sup> Tovar Cabañas, 'Las posibilidades de la navegación transoceánica antigua. Catálogo de experimentos modernos', 70.

<sup>771</sup> Carlos Valdez, 'American sets to cross Pacific in reed boat, reach Australia', [phys.org](https://phys.org/news/2016-10-american-pacific-reed-boat-australia.html), 20 October, 2016, <https://phys.org/news/2016-10-american-pacific-reed-boat-australia.html>. Accessed 17 August, 2018.

<sup>772</sup> Valdez, 'American sets to cross Pacific in reed boat, reach Australia'; Rosalba O'Brien, 'Reed boat expedition readies to cross Pacific, prove ancient journeys', *Reuters*, 20 October, 2016, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-bolivia-aymara-ship/reed-boat-expedition-readies-to-cross-pacific-prove-ancient-journeys-idUSKCN12J2DN>. Accessed 17 August, 2018. See also <http://buckexpeditions.com/en/the-viracocha-iii-expedition/>.

*Viracocha III* was not only constructed by Aymaras in La Paz, Bolivia, highlighting their ancestral boat-building expertise, but was also partly sponsored by the Bolivian Government. This official involvement perhaps signalled a political interest resulting from the nineteenth-century Atacama Border Dispute with Chile, given Bolivia's land-locked geography. *Viracocha III* has been described as the longest reed raft voyage in modern times and its success resulted in the construction of two open-air museums in La Paz and Arica, the locations where this raft was constructed and repaired following the inter-country journey.

Two other *balsa* raft expeditions were conducted between Buck's second and third voyages of 2003 and 2017 respectively. Again inspired by Heyerdahl's *Kon-Tiki*, his compatriot Torgeir Higraff (1972–) commanded the 2006 *Tangaroa* and 2015-2016 *Kon Tiki II* voyages.<sup>773</sup> *Tangaroa* was constructed following prior studies and experiments to perfect its sailing balance and ability, particularly in relation to the length of the guara boards used.<sup>774</sup> Setting sail from Peru, *Tangaroa* reached Raiatea, French Polynesia, one month faster than *Kon-Tiki* had reached the Tuamotus, further east in French Polynesia.<sup>775</sup> *Tangaroa's* crew of six included four Norwegians, a Swede, and a Peruvian. Among the Norwegians was Heyerdahl's grandson, Olav Heyerdahl (1977–), who sought to emulate his grandfather's feat.<sup>776</sup>

A Mormon adventurer, DeVere Baker (1915–1990), also participated in four failed and one successful experimental expeditions between 1946 and 1955 on home-made rafts, as illustrated in Table 18. Two of these, *Lebi I* and *II*, were conducted prior (1946) and in the same year as Heyerdahl's *Kon-Tiki* of 1947. The purpose of the *Lebi I-V* expeditions conducted by

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<sup>773</sup> Havard Jennsen, and Anders Berg, *The Tangaroa Expedition*, Audiovisual Document (2007), 49'40; Sergey Goltsov, *Kon Tiki II*, Audiovisual Document, 7 episodes (2017).

<sup>774</sup> Capelotti, 'The Theory of the Archaeological Raft: Motivation, Method, and Madness in Experimental Archaeology', *Experimental Archaeology* 1.

<sup>775</sup> Ibid.

<sup>776</sup> Anonymous, 'La dinastía Heyerdahl', *El Comercio de Perú*, 1 May 2006. Informe Académico, <http://link.galegroup.com/apps/doc/A145167115/IFME?u=anu&sid=IFME&xid=67abb606>. Accessed 21 Aug. 2018.

Baker was to demonstrate the Mormon belief that Hawai'i was settled from the Americas. Baker may also have been interested in undertaking these voyages due to a twentieth-century Mormon conviction that Polynesians are descendants of the Hebrew prophet Lehi, and consequently, that their origins are in the Americas.<sup>777</sup> For example, the Mormon leader Mark E. Petersen stated in 1962 that: 'As Latter-day Saints we have always believed that the Polynesians are descendants of *Lehi* and blood relatives of the American Indians, despite the contrary theories of other men'.<sup>778</sup>

**Table 18.** Experimental expeditions conducted by the Mormon DeVere Baker.

Name	Year	From	To	Associated Publications or Films
<b>Lehi I</b> * Failed expedition	1946	California	-	-
<b>Lehi II</b> * Failed expedition	1947	San Francisco, California	-	-
<b>Lehi III</b> * Failed expedition	1955	California	-	-
<b>Lehi IV</b> *Successful *Duration: 69 days	1958	Redondo Beach, California	Maui, Hawai'i	Book: <i>The Raft Lehi IV: 69 Days Adrift on the Pacific Ocean</i> (1959)  Film: <i>The Raft Lehi</i> (1962)
<b>Lehi V</b> *Failed expedition	1963	California	-	-

Baker's reasons for undertaking these voyages were comparable to Heyerdahl's. By conducting these voyages aboard self-constructed plywood rafts, Baker aimed to demonstrate the Mormon dictate that 'a great, fair, highly cultured race of people [had] sailed from the Old World to the New World on "caves of wood"'.<sup>779</sup> By planning and attempting these trans-Pacific voyages, Baker also sought to demonstrate that Polynesia had been settled from the Americas across the Pacific.

<sup>777</sup> William A. Cole, and Elwin W. Jensen, *Israel in the Pacific, A Genealogical Text for Polynesia* (Salt Lake City: Genealogical Society, 1961), 388; Norman Douglas, 'The sons of Lehi and the Seed of Cain: Racial myths in Mormon scripture and their relevance to the Pacific islands', *Journal of Religious History* 8 (1974), 100.

<sup>778</sup> Mark E. Petersen, 'New Evidence for the Book of Mormon', *Improvement Era* 65 (1962), 457; David W. Cummings, *Mighty Missionary in the Pacific* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1961), 63. See also Parsons, 'Hagoth and the Polynesians', 251.

<sup>779</sup> DeVere Baker, *The Raft Lehi IV: 69 Days Adrift on the Pacific Ocean* (Long Beach, CA.: Whitehorn Publishing, 1959), VII. See also Capelotti, 'The Theory of the Archaeological Raft: Motivation, Method, and Madness in Experimental Archaeology', 1.

Baker's rafts were all named after the Hebrew prophet Lehi.<sup>780</sup> His only successful voyage on *Lehi IV* was described in his 1959 book.<sup>781</sup> In all five voyages, Baker was accompanied by his dog Tangaroa, named after the Polynesian god.<sup>782</sup> One of Tangaroa's voyages was described by Baker's wife Nola in an adventure book written from the dog's perspective.<sup>783</sup> Baker sought to recreate the journey of *Lehi IV* in a documentary utilising his own hand-held recordings taken during the voyage with an 8mm home-movie camera. Described as a 'mediocre home movie', the film *The Raft Lehi* premiered in 1962.<sup>784</sup> Baker did not gain similar fame to Heyerdahl's following his 1947 expedition. Despite a brief, unsuccessful bid for the United States presidency, Baker died with little renown in 1990.<sup>785</sup>

## Conclusion

This chapter has explored the emergence, development, revision, reception, and impact of Thor Heyerdahl's theory of trans-Pacific contact between South America and Polynesia. The experimental expedition conducted on *Kon-Tiki* in 1947 was organised to demonstrate the navigability of the Pacific from South America to Polynesia by pre-Columbian balsa rafts and thereby show the plausibility of Heyerdahl's theory. Heyerdahl aimed to reproduce and recreate ancient rafts based on descriptions, demonstrating that South American settlers would have been able and sufficiently skilled to conduct long-distance voyages to Polynesia.

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<sup>780</sup> Samuel W. Taylor, 'Twenty-five Years on a Raft: The Odyssey of DeVere Baker', *Sunstone* 21/3 (1998), 72–6.

<sup>781</sup> Baker, *The Raft Lehi IV: 69 Days Adrift on the Pacific Ocean*.

<sup>782</sup> Taylor, 'Twenty-five Years on a Raft: The Odyssey of DeVere Baker', 74.

<sup>783</sup> Nola Baker, *The Raft Dog: Tangaroa Aboard the Lehi IV* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1960).

<sup>784</sup> Taylor, 'Twenty-five Years on a Raft: The Odyssey of DeVere Baker', 75.

<sup>785</sup> *Ibid.*, 76.

Heyerdahl's original theory proposed that Polynesia had been settled by 'white bearded gods' from the Americas who came originally from Mesopotamia and Egypt.<sup>786</sup> Despite scathing critique of this hypothesis, Heyerdahl's unwavering belief inspired additional studies in the 1980s and 1990s, producing further evidence suggestive of interaction between Polynesia and South America. His excavations at the prehistoric archaeological site of Túcume, Peru, for instance, uncovered what Heyerdahl claimed to be carved motifs on the walls of pyramids depicting birdmen, a common cult in Rapa Nui. He also maintained that double-bladed *ao* paddles discovered at this site were further evidence that pre-Inca peoples were responsible for diffusing these cultural elements to Rapa Nui. Heyerdahl also deduced that totora reed vessels, depicted in Mochica iconography and pre-Inca temple reliefs and still commonly used on Lake Titicaca, Bolivia, and by the Peruvian Chimú culture, must have been the mode of transport linking South America with Polynesia.

Despite limited academic support, Heyerdahl's theory of Polynesian settlement from the east and his experimental expedition were turning points in debates about trans-Pacific contacts. His voyage inspired seven later captain-adventurers to conduct a series of comparable expeditions from South America to islands in the Pacific between 1954 and 2017, with varying levels of success. Of these expeditions, Alsar's *Las Balsas* (1973) and Buck's *Viracocha III* (2017) were the most successful, covering greater distances than Heyerdahl's *Kon-Tiki* and even reaching Australia. Yet the *Las Balsas* voyages, despite their success and sponsorship by Salvador Dalí in the form of a (now lost) painted sail, have not received anything like the same attention as Heyerdahl's expedition. Buck's *Viracocha III* did receive media attention but has not yet acquired a comparable level of exposure to Heyerdahl, whose life and expedition have been explored in a feature film. Two voyages were conducted in 1956 and 1958 by Bisschop on *Tabiti Nui I-III* in order to replicate Polynesian sailing abilities to (and from) the Americas. Lastly, five attempts

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<sup>786</sup> Heyerdahl, *Kon-Tiki: Across the Pacific by Raft*, 17; Melander, 'A Better Savage than the Savages...', 379–96.

were made by Baker on *Lehi I-V* between 1946 and 1965, the first even slightly preceding Heyerdahl's own voyage, principally to demonstrate the Mormon doctrine that Polynesia had been settled from the Americas. Only one of these voyages, on *Lehi IV*, was successful. In total, twenty-two experimental expeditions have been conducted across the Pacific, most of them after Heyerdahl's *Kon-Tiki* with the exception of Baker's *Lehi I* of 1946.

These twenty-two voyages are exclusive of the numerous expeditions aimed at reviving Amerindian or Oceanic sailing traditions, which tend to follow routes between islands or along the Austronesian expansion route rather than investigating trans-Pacific contacts with the Americas. In contrast, the varied motivations impelling the Heyerdahl-inspired expeditions reveal limitations, academic impasses and changing perspectives in the trans-Pacific contact debate. Some American-based expeditions had a nationalistic bias or were driven by Indigenous pride in aiming to demonstrate that pre-Columbian cultures could conduct long-distance westerly voyages across the Pacific. The expeditions and their leaders' theoretical approaches have also been shaped by different media or academic reactions, in contrast to the reception of Heyerdahl's work. Similarly, the inexorable fading of support for pre-Columbian trans-Pacific voyages to Pacific islands from the Americas due to new archaeological and genetic data has meant that ideas about west-east trans-Pacific contact have gained strength while those asserting east-west contacts are now seen as less credible. Finally, it seems that some expeditions had pseudo-biological, even racist, undertones, in that they covertly sought to demonstrate a greater resemblance between Amerindians and Polynesians, not just culturally but morphologically as well. Similarly, Heyerdahl's hypothesis, in some respects coincidental with Mormon perspectives about pre-Columbian trans-Pacific contact, associated Amerindians with descent from 'superior' races and depicted Polynesians as remnants of such races, with no common ancestry with the perceived 'primitives' of Melanesia. Such prejudices sometimes underpinned insistence on the settlement of Polynesia via migration from the Americas, exemplifying how European views of racial superiority based on skin colour shaped debate about trans-Pacific contacts.

Heyerdahl's principal argument of Polynesian settlement from the Americas has been widely rejected by scholars with the ongoing refinement of archaeological and genetic chronologies. Consequently, post Heyerdahl, hypotheses about trans-Pacific contacts have generally been viewed negatively.<sup>787</sup> Nevertheless, this opposition has resulted in wider academic consideration and analysis of the likelihood and means of trans-Pacific contact between Polynesia and the Americas and the emergence of new perspectives. It is perhaps best exemplified in *Polynesians in America*, a wide-ranging recent survey of the current debate published in 2011.<sup>788</sup> Heyerdahl's popular legacy remains strong, as shown in depictions of his life and scholarly work in film and literature.

Heyerdahl's indirect academic contribution was to demonstrate that the Pacific was navigable from South America in pre-Columbian times. Such ideas had been postulated by Acosta and other sixteenth-century Spanish chroniclers. Acosta, for instance, claimed that the South Sea had been sailed many times prior to Spanish exploration, while other chroniclers described legendary coastal arrivals in South America and westward maritime expeditions to the South Seas.<sup>789</sup>

Building on chapters 5 and 6, Chapter 8 will explore concepts of trans-Pacific contacts proposed in the second half of the twentieth century and the emergence of new ideas in the twenty-first century. The aim of this analysis is to determine trends in the debate, outline new findings, and show how old theories have been revisited. Examining such ideas from the perspective of the history of archaeology will help reveal academic impasses derived from inherited representations of trans-Pacific contact. One such example relates to the long-distance

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<sup>787</sup> Terry L. Jones and Alice A. Storey, 'A Long-Standing Debate', in *Polynesians in America*, 75.

<sup>788</sup> Jones, Storey, Matisoo-Smith and Ramírez Aliaga (eds.), *Polynesians in America: Pre-Columbian Contacts with the New World*.

<sup>789</sup> José de Acosta, *The Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, 57.

sailing abilities of Amerindians, particularly in a western direction from the Pacific coast of South America, since this topic has been contentious in academia since the sixteenth century.



## CHAPTER 8 Ideas about Long-Distance Sailing Techniques, Traditions and Theories

### Introduction

The years between 1950 and 2020 brought a series of hypotheses about trans-Pacific contacts driven by scientific research on long-distance sailing techniques and traditions. Scholarship suggests a west to east migration route for the original settlement of the Pacific. However, as discussed in previous chapters, earlier studies arguing that evidence pointed to pre-Columbian interactions between Polynesians and Amerindians, have been revived since 1950 to suggest that Ecuador, California and parts of Chile were potential points of contact between the Pacific Islands and the Americas.<sup>790</sup>

In this chapter I argue that the archaeological, ethnohistorical and linguistic evidence for westward or eastward trans-Pacific contact with the Americas has not been thoroughly analysed to the same extent that evidence for north-south American voyaging has. I cover the recent findings surrounding this north-south trading network between Mesoamerica and northern South America in an early section of this chapter in order to contrast the research conducted about east-west trans-Pacific contact between the Americas and Oceania. The topics discussed in this chapter also include ethnohistoric sources and sailing vessel studies; sailing rafts from Ecuador and California; and comparative studies of vessels or rafts deemed able to cross the Pacific (e.g. Chumash plank canoes, Chilean *dalca* rafts, and Ecuadorian *balsa* rafts).

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<sup>790</sup> For example Jones *et al.* (eds.), *Polynesians in America: Pre-Columbian Contacts with the New World*.

## Pre-Hispanic Sailing along the Pacific Coast of Mesoamerica and Northern South America<sup>791</sup>

New studies and archaeological data are demonstrating the existence of long-distance maritime trade and contact between Mesoamerica and South America, along the Pacific coast, during pre-Hispanic times. When discussing long-distance oceanic contacts, reference must be made to the sailing technology that enabled it. In the Pacific coast of northern South America, a complex sailing tradition was developed, allowing the construction and use of great sailing vessels with large load capacities and able to safely travel long distances. This tradition can be traced back to pre-Columbian times and was described in some of the chronicles covered in Chapter 2. This sailing tradition enabled maritime contacts that led to exchange, particularly during the second period of interaction: from 600 AD onwards.

The earliest evidence recorded of the existence of rafts in northern South America comes from the Ecuadorian coast. It was there that a sculpted figurine was found of a raft made of silver from the period known as ‘Bahia’ (500 BC—650 AD).<sup>792</sup> In addition to this, stone anchors have been found under structural posts of constructions from this period, further demonstrating the existence of navigation on the Ecuadorian coast.

From 800 AD there are numerous representations of rafts with sails in the northern coast of Peru. This is perhaps best exemplified by the detailed murals of Huaca las Balsas, in Túcume, Lambayeque, a complex scene depicting the collection of *Spondylus* spp. from a raft with a triangular sail.<sup>793</sup> As well as the shape of the sail, the manual collection of *Spondylus* spp. stands out, as this bivalve is not common to the Lambayecan coasts near Túcume. Instead, it is more

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<sup>791</sup> A modified version of this section has been accepted for publication in *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Ocean*. See Andrea Ballesteros Danel, and Antonio Jaramillo Arango, ‘Mesoamerican-South American Pacific Contacts: Evidence, Objects, and Traditions’, in Matt Matsuda (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Ocean*, forthcoming.

<sup>792</sup> Santiago Ontaneda Luciano, ‘Territorio, Economía y Trabajo’, in *Guión Académico. Museo Nacional del Ecuador* (Quito: Ministerio de Cultura y Patrimonio, 2018), 196.

<sup>793</sup> Alfredo Narváez, ‘El Arte Mural de Huaca Las Balsas a través del Tiempo’, in Alfredo Narváez and Bernarda Delgado (eds.), *Huaca Las Balsas de Túcume. Arte Mural Lambayeque* (Túcume: Museo de Sitio de Túcume, 2011), 105–129.

commonly found further north, in Tumbes, Peru, and in Ecuador.<sup>794</sup> As well as iconographic representations of these pre-Hispanic rafts, there is an archaeological example of one of these vessels. It was found in Chan Chan, La Libertad, Peru, once the capital of the Chimu empire, where there is also a mural depicting the collection of *Spondylus* spp. from a raft, just like the one from Túcume.<sup>795</sup> This indicates that there was a constant communication at least between Ecuador and Peru, but that it also covered areas in Mesoamerica. Moreover, this may have implications in certain trans-Pacific contact theories since some of these geographical locations feature in theories of trans-Pacific contact involving Polynesia.

The frequency with which vessels with sails voyaged on the South American Pacific is confirmed by the Spaniards following an encounter with a large raft by Bartolomé Ruiz's vessel, navigator of Francisco Pizarro's second expedition to South America in 1526. Four sources have described this encounter. For this purpose, the description contained in the 'Samano Xerez' chronicle will be used, considering it was most likely written by Bartolomé Ruiz himself or by someone from his crew.

This vessel that I mentioned that he captured, appeared to have a cargo capacity of as much as thirty *toneles*, the floor timbers and keel were made of logs as thick as posts secured with ropes of something called *benequén* which is like hemp, and the superstructure [was made] of other thinner canes tied with these same ropes, where the crew and merchandise were placed because the lower deck was awash; its masts and lateen yards were fashioned in fine wood and its sails made of cotton of the same cut as those on our vessel...<sup>796</sup>

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<sup>794</sup> Benjamin P. Carter, 'Spondylus in South American Prehistory', in Fotis Ifantidis and Marianna Nikolaidou (eds.), *Spondylus in Prehistory. New Data and Approaches* (London: British Archaeological Report, 2011), 67.

<sup>795</sup> Joanne Pillsbury, 'The Thorny Oyster and the Origins of Empire: Implications of Recently Uncovered Spondylus Imagery from Chan Chan, Peru', *Latin American Antiquity* 7/4 (1996), 329.

<sup>796</sup> Colin McEwan, 'From Local to Global. Balsa Rafts and a Bountiful Harvest from Ecuador', in Yota Batsaki, Sarah Burke Cahalan, and Anatole Tchikine (eds.), *The Botany of Empire in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Washington, Dumbarton Oaks, 2016), 215.

There are two points to note from this description: the existence of a sail seemingly of triangular shape<sup>797</sup>, different to the rectangular or square sail shapes of galleons, and the load capacity of this vessel, thirty *toneles*, the equivalent of forty tons<sup>798</sup>.

The raft found by Ruiz in 1526 was part of the complex sailing tradition that can be traced back to pre-Columbian times. Different sources indicate that the populations of northern South America once manufactured a wide variety of sailing vessels for different uses, from fishing<sup>799</sup> to trade expeditions along the coast.<sup>800</sup> This nautical tradition did not disappear with the conquest in the name of the Spanish crown. It has been continuous in towns from Ecuador and northern Peru. As a result, there are excellent descriptions from the colonial and republican times of trading vessels comparable to that described in the ‘Samano Xerez’ chronicle. The description made by Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa in the eighteenth century is one of the most complete colonial references of these sailing vessels.

According to these Spanish naturalists, the local sailing vessels were manufactured from the joining together of large *Pucro* (*Ochroma* spp.) logs, also known as *palo de balsa*, using them so that the centreboard would stand out from the rest. A platform and cabin were placed over the *Ochroma* spp. logs to protect the goods and merchandise from the seawater. These vessels could measure up to twenty-five metres in length and seven metres in width. What impressed Juan and Ulloa about these vessels were their means of propulsion: they dedicated a large part of their description to the analysis of the quadrangular sails system with rigging and valves combined with *guares* (centreboards). The *guares* system assisting the keel and rudder vessels to stabilise and

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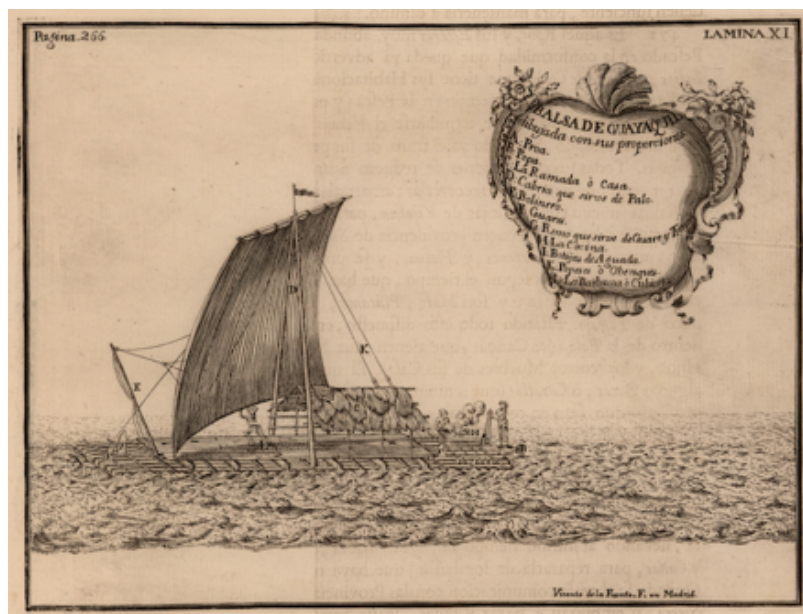
<sup>797</sup> Clinton R. Edwards, *Aboriginal Watercraft on the Pacific Coast of South America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965), 68.

<sup>798</sup> Cameron McPherson Smith, Greg Baker, John F. Hassett, and Iliana López, ‘On the Vessel Sailed by Bartholome Ruiz in 1526: Characterisation and Significance for the pre-Columbian Archaeology of Northwestern South America’, *Terrae Incognitae* 40 (2008), 47–59.

<sup>799</sup> Girolamo Benzoni, *La Historia del Nuevo Mundo (Relatos de su Viaje por el Ecuador, 1547-1550)* (Guayaquil, Ecuador: Banco Central del Ecuador, 1985), 112.

<sup>800</sup> William Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World* (Warwick: 1500 Books, 2007), 128–129.

steer the raft was unknown in Europe until the 18th century. Therefore, it made an impression on these Spanish naturalists. Juan and Ulloa also included a drawing of a large raft, depicted in Figure 21. Thanks to the complexity of the sails and *guares* system, the large trading vessels could easily sail for and against the winds and cover long distances, making them some of the most complex vessels used by the native populations of the American continent. The entire raft description is taken from Juan and Ulloa.<sup>801</sup>



**Figure 21.** Illustration of a raft accompanying the description by Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa (1748). Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library.

Numerous researchers have decided to test replicas of rafts like the one described by Juan and Ulloa to confirm whether these vessels could conduct long-distance journeys in the high seas, as discussed in chapters 7 and 8. One of the most famous projects of experimental archaeology with these vessels was that conducted by Thor Heyerdahl in 1947.<sup>802</sup> Subsequently, several expeditions set out to perform similar feats, including the *Seven Little Sisters* expedition,

<sup>801</sup> Jorge Juan, and Antonio de Ulloa, *Relación Histórica del viage hecho de orden de S. Mag. a la América Meridional. Primera Parte*, Vol. 1 (Madrid: Antonio Marín, 1748), 262–266.

<sup>802</sup> Heyerdahl, *Kon-Tiki*; Heyerdahl, ‘The Balsa Raft in Aboriginal Navigation off Peru and Ecuador’.

*Las Balsas*, *Tangaroa* and *Kon Tiki II*, as described in Chapter 7.<sup>803</sup> It is worth mentioning the efforts of John Haslett, who planned to sail from Salango, Ecuador to Acapulco, Mexico on board a raft that sought to emulate pre-Columbian sailing technologies.<sup>804</sup> Although Haslett and his crew did not manage to reach Mexico, they did demonstrate that it was technically feasible for rafts like the one described by Juan and Ulloa to travel long distances along the American Pacific coast. These experimental expeditions helped revive research into Amerindian sailing capabilities and attempts to better understand the routes, distances covered and sailing technology of the Mesoamerican and northern South American nautical traditions. It is precisely the experience of Haslett and his team that led to the population of Salango to revive a local sailing tradition. This has been continuously explored and celebrated since 1992 at the annual *Balsa Manteña* festival.

Besides the efforts of navigators who built large rafts and sailed on them, attempts have been made to prove that the great South American rafts could travel all the way to Mesoamerica. Richard Callaghan conducted a computer simulation taking into account historical sources, sea currents and winds, and demonstrated that the voyage between the south and north of the Americas by raft was possible using the local technology in as little as ninety-seven days.<sup>805</sup> In the same way Leslie Dewan and Dorothy Hosler conducted several lab tests on a raft with pre-Hispanic technology.<sup>806</sup> Following engineering calculations and the test results, these researchers were able to assert that the native rafts described in the sources were fully equipped to conduct return voyages between Ecuador and Mexico.

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<sup>803</sup> Willis, *The Epic Voyage of the Seven Little Sisters*; Alsar, *¿Por qué imposible? Las Balsas*; Jennsen and Berg, *The Tangaroa Expedition*; Goltsov, *Kon Tiki II*.

<sup>804</sup> John F. Haslett, *Voyage of the Manteño. The Education of a Modern-Day Expeditioneer* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2006).

<sup>805</sup> Richard Callaghan, 'Prehistoric Trade between Ecuador and West Mexico: A Computer Simulation of Coastal Voyages', *Antiquity* 77/298 (2003), 796–804.

<sup>806</sup> Leslie Dewan, and Dorothy Hosler, 'Ancient Maritime Trade on Balsa Rafts: An Engineering Analysis,' *Journal of Anthropological Research* 64/1 (2008), 19–40.

However, this sailing technology had a weakness: it could not be exposed to tropical waters for extended periods. Organisms that eat wood such as *Teredo Navalis* would make the rafts lose the majority of their load capacity and their commercial value after eight months at sea.<sup>807</sup> For this reason, vessels had to travel from Ecuador to Mexico and back in a period of less than eight months. A particularly long cyclonic season along the Mexican and Central American coasts would push the South American sailors to remain more than six months in Mexican lands, which would mean the ruin of their vessels and of their trading expeditions.<sup>808</sup>

The introduction of metallurgy from the Ecuadorian coast to western Mesoamerica enabled the continuation of these trading expeditions. It also prompted the development of the exchange technology of ‘axe-monies’ as currency. Thanks to these objects, sailors could make quick exchanges without the need to establish political alliances or conduct complex rituals that would delay the return to their place of origin. They would be able to accrue debts and have a form of payment that could be maintained long-term to carry out transactions involving more than one expedition.<sup>809</sup> After introducing the exchange technology of ‘axe-monies’ in western Mexico, South American sailors would not need to transport these objects across long distances. Instead, they could carry lighter and more valuable objects, including precious stones or shells, and exchange these objects for ‘axe-monies’ in the first port and, with these, obtain the objects they sought. For this reason, even though there are ‘axe-monies’ in Mesoamerica and South America, it has not been found that any of these objects travelled in a south-north direction.

An oral tradition indirectly related to the long-distance sailing between Peru and Mesoamerica involves the *mixe* population from the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, Mexico. It is reportedly the most widely accepted theory of origin for this group and it places their origin in

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<sup>807</sup> Ibid., 36.

<sup>808</sup> Antonio Jaramillo Arango, *Interacción y diversidad en el Corredor Pacífico en la época prehispánica*, PhD Thesis (Mexico City: National Autonomous University of Mexico, 2017), 115.

<sup>809</sup> Ibid., 157.

Huanchaco, Peru. Its details were collected in 1930 from the *mixe* priest Juan Nepomuceno Cruz by Louis Nicolas Guillamaud, a member of a French expedition that sought to colonise the area of Coatzacoalcos, Mexico. Guillamaud purportedly remained in the *mixe* region for eleven months and collected valuable details about the *mixe* history and culture.<sup>810</sup> This collection of data was published by Alejandro Sánchez Castro in 1952.<sup>811</sup> As reported in this oral tradition, the preceding settlers of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec are believed to have departed Huanchaco in 1294, following instructions from their gods to settle in an area inhabited by twenty gods with their respective temples. This area was allegedly Mount Cempoaltepetl, in the state of Oaxaca and the migration to this area was the start of a constant migration flow for trading purposes that continued until the sixteenth century.

Some of the studies listed in this section, then, developed from sixteenth-century ideas about Amerindian sailing capabilities and relied on assumptions about these skills. This is similar to the trans-Pacific contact debate in that some of the data and oral traditions for north-south trans-Pacific contact along the American Pacific coast has also been used to support east-west trans-Pacific contact theories. Such information includes the chronicles described in Chapter 2, as well as the description by Brasseur de Bourbourg of coastal arrivals from distant lands to the western Middle-American ports of Coatlulco and Pechugui, as discussed in Chapter 3. North-south pre-Hispanic contact between Mesoamerica and South America along the Pacific coast has been analysed using ethnohistorical and archaeological data, which has mostly been chronologically correlated and cross-checked. In contrast, there is no comparable analysis of the archaeological data for east-west trans-Pacific contact. This means that there is considerably more solid evidence for north-south contact than there is for westward contact from the

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<sup>810</sup> Carmela López Sánchez, 'Mito y migración mixe. Un análisis desde la arqueología y la historia', in Rosalba Díaz Vásquez, María del Carmen Díaz Vásquez, and Mario O. Martínez Rescalvo (coords.), *Migración y cultura popular* (Mexico: Universidad Autónoma de Guerrero, Dirección General de Culturas Populares/CONACULTA, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2012), 229–249.

<sup>811</sup> Alejandro Sánchez Castro, *Historia antigua de los mixes* (Mexico City: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1952), 5–34.



Americas to the Pacific, despite the evidence for long-distance sailing traditions in the Americas. This sailing tradition has implications for current understandings of trans-Pacific contact between Oceania and the Americas.

Evidence is showing that the use of ‘axe-monies’, diving weights, and mortuary vessels, the practice of similar modes of metallurgy, the diffusion of hairless dogs, iridescent painting, the use of shaft tombs, and the trade of valuable objects like the thorny oyster (*Spondylus* spp.) encouraged and maintained this north-south sailing tradition. Increasingly, the descriptions contained in sixteenth-century chronicles highlighting instances of this sailing tradition and long-distance trade match the archaeological data. Table 19 illustrates the trading objects, prized animals, currency, and cultural practices that evidence this sailing and exchange tradition along the western coast of Mesoamerica and northern South America.

**Table 19.** Evidence of pre-Columbian trans-Pacific trade between Mesoamerica and northern South America.

Evidence	Evidence from	References
‘Axe-monies’	Oaxaca and Guerrero, Mexico; Ecuador and Peru  Some sources point to an exchange rate between ‘axe-monies’ and Spanish reals in the early colonial period	Medina 1912: 57; Hosler <i>et al.</i> , 1990: 14, 18, 54; Stemper 1993: 50
Diving weights	Punta Mita, Nayarit, Mexico (900 to 1521 AD); Salango and Isla de la Plata, Ecuador, dating from the Machalilla (1500 to 100 BC) to the Manteño (650 to 1532 AD) periods	Beltrán 2001: 57; Gutiérrez Usillos 2002: 259–60
Thorny oyster ( <i>Spondylus</i> spp.) for jewellery and ornaments, or marine offerings in Mesoamerica, and for mortuary practices in Peru	Mesoamerica; Central Andes, Peru	Jaramillo Arango 2017: 132
Vessels for holding liquids or foods used in mortuary practices	Western Mexico (1870 to 1200 BC); Machalilla, Ecuador (1500 to 100 BC)	Kelly 1980: 35; Mountjoy 2001: 95; Zizumbo-Villarreal <i>et al.</i> 2009: 413–26
Hairless dog	Archaeological site of Guadalupe, Michoacán, Mexico (6th to 10th centuries AD); Chavin de Huantar, Peru (1500 to 500 BC)  Figurines from Mesoamerica, and Ecuador and Peru ( ca. 50 BC)	Valadez Azúa <i>et al.</i> 2010: 25–30, 36–37, 49; Carot and Hers 2016: 9–50

Evidence	Evidence from	References
Comparable textile representations	Figurines from Ixtlán del Río, Mexico (400 BC to 400 AD), and Ecuador (200 BC to 800 AD).	Rieff Anawalt 1992: 114–29
Iridescent painting	Ecuador — Chorrera period (1200 BC to 500 AD); Guatemalan Pacific coast — Ocos period (1500 to 800 AD); Nayarit, Mexico (200 to 700 AD)	Coe 1960: 363–93; Meggers 1998: 145–46; González and Beltrán 1998: 47; Klumpp 2017
Metallurgy	Objects from two periods: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 600–800 to 1200–1300 AD, reached western Mexico</li> <li>• 1200 or 1300 AD until European arrivals</li> </ul>	Hosler 1994: 89
Shaft tombs (a funerary custom of accomodating bodies in tombs with one or several chambers connected to the surface via a single well-like shaft of variable length)	Mexico (ca. 2nd and 3rd centuries AD); Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru and Panama (300 BC to between 1438 and 1532 AD)	Smith 1977–78: 189; Cabrera García and López Cruz 1997: 11–20; Olsen 1999: 36; Oliveros Morales 2000; Gárate 2017: 103

## Ethnohistoric Sources and Sailing Vessel Studies

The Ecuadorian balsawood raft is a key element in research on possible pre-Columbian trans-Pacific voyages by Amerindians. Such rafts have been recreated since 1947 for experimental trans-Pacific expeditions, first by Heyerdahl and then by Alsar and others, as detailed in Chapter 7. These endeavours, and John Haslett’s *Manteño* expedition along the South American Pacific coast in 1995 encouraged the revival of research into raft-building materials and techniques and Amerindian sailing capabilities and nautical skills.<sup>812</sup> This type of pre-Columbian sailing vessel is celebrated in festivals like the annual *Balsa Manteña* festival recognising pre-Columbian long-distance sailing traditions in Salango, Ecuador.

Amerindian capacity to sail across the Pacific has also been investigated in Peru by at least three historians in the light of Túpac Yupanqui’s alleged return voyage from Peru to Oceania. The study and interpretation of this voyage is tied with the growing sense of ‘Indigenous nationalism’ that has been prevalent in Peru since at least the start of the twentieth century. This posture was developed by Julio C. Tello (1880–1947), the most prominent figure of

<sup>812</sup> Haslett, *Voyage of the Manteno: The Education of a Modern-Day Expeditioner*; Estrada, *La Balsa en la Historia de la Navegación Ecuatoriana*.

Peruvian archaeology and founder of the Archaeology Museum of San Marcos University (1919), the Museum of Peruvian Archaeology (1924), and the National Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (1938).<sup>813</sup> He is mentioned here as providing context for post-1950 Peruvian scholarship relevant to trans-Pacific contacts. Tello's academic training was entirely funded by the Peruvian government and included a stint at Harvard University, where he graduated from the Master of Arts (Anthropology) in 1911. He also spent time in Berlin in 1912, where he became acquainted with the culture-historical (*Kulturkreislehre*) approach mentioned in Chapter 6.<sup>814</sup> His support for diffusionist perspectives, which are also reflected in the work of other contemporary Peruvian scholars like Hermann Buse, Busto and Kauffmann Doig, as described below, provided scientific backing to Peru's nationalistic discourse.<sup>815</sup>

Túpac Yupanqui's supposed pre-Columbian expedition is part of Peru's popular culture and collective memory, a posture that has perhaps limited Peruvian academia where 'myths and legends have been accepted as dogmas in our [Peruvian] archaeological representations' and 'the dominant ideology is always the one that's the best described of all'.<sup>816</sup> For example, an article published in 2017 in *El Comercio*, Peru's oldest newspaper, describes Túpac Yupanqui's voyage, the popular belief that it did in fact take place, and historian José Antonio del Busto Duthurburu's views, while also outlining his influence on another scholar and former student of his, Joseph Dager of Antonio Ruiz de Montoya University in Lima.<sup>817</sup> Strong ties between politics and archaeology in Peru are also evident in the academic and popular support for the

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<sup>813</sup> Henry Tantaleán, 'El pasado tras el espejo: arqueología y nacionalismo en el Perú', in Javier Nasti and Lúcio Menezes Ferreira (eds.), *Historias de Arqueología Sudamericana* (Buenos Aires: Fundación de Historia Natural Félix Azara, 2010), 145.

<sup>814</sup> Ibid., 147–48.

<sup>815</sup> Ibid., 150.

<sup>816</sup> Ibid., 154–55.

<sup>817</sup> Diego Suárez Bosleman, 'Túpac Yupanqui, el inca que descubrió Oceanía [Infografía]', *El Comercio*, Ciencias sec., Oct. 17, 2017, <https://elcomercio.pe/tecnologia/ciencias/tupac-yupanqui-inca-descubrio-oceania-noticia-465851>.

importance of this pre-Columbian voyage, where the official political ideology dictates particular theories as facts and even weaves support for particular academics, like Tello, in relation to the stories they adduce as part of the ‘official history’.<sup>818</sup> The works of Hermann Buse de la Guerra (1920–1981), José Antonio del Busto Duthurburu (1932–2006), and Federico Kauffman Doig (1928–) are therefore shaped by dominant nationalistic and ethnohistoric viewpoints in defence of an Indigenous past. These works are also located at the interdisciplinary crossroads between history and anthropology or archaeology, with a strong grounding in indigenist perspectives.<sup>819</sup> Research by these scholars on the plausibility of Túpac Yupanqui’s voyage draws mainly on the sixteenth-century Spanish chronicles of Sarmiento, Cabello de Balboa and Murúa, who transcribed traditions of this venture, as mentioned in Chapter 2. All three historians analysed the navigational capabilities of ancient Peruvians and the possibility of trans-Pacific contact, albeit mainly from a historical perspective, and concurred that Túpac Yupanqui’s journey was a highly plausible pre-Columbian historical event.<sup>820</sup>

Buse and Busto participated in a trans-Pacific voyage in 1967.<sup>821</sup> *Crucero de Verano*, or ‘Summer Cruise’, retraced and commemorated Mendaña’s voyage in 1567 during which he ‘discovered’ and named the Solomon Islands, as discussed in Chapter 2. *Crucero de Verano* was a cruise organised by the Peruvian navy rather than an experimental expedition inspired by pre-Columbian South American rafts. However, it evidently inspired Buse and Busto to produce books on trans-Pacific contacts and voyages from Peru to Polynesia.<sup>822</sup>

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<sup>818</sup> Tantaleán, ‘El pasado tras el espejo: arqueología y nacionalismo en el Perú’, 138, 145.

<sup>819</sup> Fred Bronner, ‘Peruvian Historians Today: Historical Setting’, *The Americas* 43/3 (1987), 245–277.

<sup>820</sup> Hermann Buse, *Los peruanos en Oceanía* (Lima: Villanueva, 1967); Busto D., *Túpac Yupanqui, Descubridor de Oceanía*; Buse, *Época Prehistórica. Vol. 2 Historia marítima del Perú*; Busto, *Historia Marítima del Perú. Vol. 3*, 2 bk. (Lima: Editorial Ausonia–Talleres Gráficos, 1972); Kauffman Doig, ‘Proyección marítima: la expedición de Túpac Yupanqui’, in *Historia y Arte del Perú Antiguo*, Vol. 4 (Lima: PEISA–La República–Gloria, 2002), 669–675.

<sup>821</sup> Buse, *Los peruanos en Oceanía*, 14–15.

<sup>822</sup> Buse, *Los peruanos en Oceanía*; Busto D., *Túpac Yupanqui, Descubridor de Oceanía*.

## Hermann Buse de la Guerra (1920–1981)

Hermann Buse de la Guerra was a writer, journalist and historian mainly specialising in the maritime history of Peru. I can find few details about his life but it is known that he completed a History degree at Peru's National University of San Marcos. A prolific writer, he wrote several books mainly on the ancient history of Peru and was a member of Peru's Institute of Maritime History Studies.

Buse's book on Peruvians in Oceania, published to commemorate the quadricentenary of Mendaña's expedition to the Solomon Islands, included a critical discussion of the plausibility of Túpac Yupanqui's expedition. Following his participation with Busto in the *Crucero de Verano* in 1967, Buse produced a two-volume study of the maritime history of Peru, including a comprehensive account of ideas about eastward and westward trans-Pacific journeys, mostly with present-day Peru and Ecuador as points of pre-Columbian contact with Oceania.<sup>823</sup> Busto also contributed a two-volume work to this series.<sup>824</sup>

Amongst Buse's most noteworthy arguments supporting trans-Pacific contact between Eastern Polynesia and the Americas was his observation that the start of the Inca Empire coincided with the first occupation of the Marquesas by Polynesians in the tenth century, following their supposed departure from Raiatea and Tahiti. According to Buse, the Polynesian colonisation of the Marquesas in the eleventh century and the settlers' ongoing connection with the inhabitants of the Tuamotus and Society Islands might have enabled a final advance to South America and back around 1250, resulting in contact between the Polynesian and Inca cultures. Buse suggested as evidence three main cultural parallels between Rapa Nui and South America.<sup>825</sup> First, he observed supposedly Inca-style construction at the Vinapu temple (Ahu Vinapú) in

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<sup>823</sup> Buse, *Los peruanos en Oceanía*; Buse, *Historia marítima del Perú: Época Prehistórica*, Vol. 2 (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Histórico-Marítimos de Perú, 1977).

<sup>824</sup> Buse, *Los peruanos en Oceanía*; Busto, *Túpac Yupanqui, descubridor de Oceanía*; Buse, *Historia marítima del Perú: Época Prehistórica*, Vol. 2, 2 bk.; Busto, *Historia marítima del Perú*. Vol. 3, 2 bk.

<sup>825</sup> Buse, *Los peruanos en Oceanía*, 53–55.

Rapa Nui. Secondly, he noted Inca influence in Rapa Nui in the form of earlobe deformation from heavy adornments used by both the inhabitants of Cusco and the so-called ‘long ears’ from Rapa Nui. Third, he analysed the plausibility of the alleged trans-Pacific journey of Túpac Yupanqui, although he did not take a stance on whether it actually occurred, in contrast with his contemporary Busto.<sup>826</sup>

### **José Antonio Del Busto Duthurburu (1932–2006)**

A personal acquaintance of Buse, José Antonio del Busto Duthurburu was a Peruvian historian, genealogist and university professor born in Lima in 1932. He obtained his doctorate in History from the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru. A firm believer in the possibility that ancient Peruvians crossed the Pacific and reached Polynesia, his views are best expressed in his book arguing that Túpac Yupanqui was historically the ‘discoverer’ of Oceania.<sup>827</sup> Published after Busto made a field trip to Rapa Nui in 1999 to test this hypothesis, the book focussed on potential locations for the islands of Auachumbi and Ninachumbi. Having considered Australia and the Galapagos, he finally concluded that they are actually Rapa Nui and Mangareva and that Nuku Hiva in the Marquesas was also probably reached by Túpac Yupanqui around 1465.<sup>828</sup>

Busto based his conclusion on his estimates of the resources that would be required to reach the destinations in question, the seasonal trade winds and currents, as well as the geology and geography of the islands. His dating of Túpac Yupanqui’s expedition referred to winds and currents, to an approximate time-frame for building *marae* (temples) during stopovers (since Pacific *marae* traditions were allegedly imported by Túpac Yupanqui), and to calculations of the

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<sup>826</sup> Ibid., 53–55, 211–12, 216–19, 235–36.

<sup>827</sup> José Antonio del Busto, *Túpac Yupanqui, descubridor de Oceanía*.

<sup>828</sup> Jorge Humberto Rosales Aguirre, ‘José Antonio del Busto Duthurburu (1932–2006)’, *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia* 17 (2008), 414–18; Busto, *Túpac Yupanqui, descubridor de Oceanía*, 132.

duration of such a voyage in the chronicles by Sarmiento, Murúa and Cabello de Balboa.<sup>829</sup> Busto argued that the arrival of Túpac Yupanqui remains in the Polynesian collective imagination, an essentialist understanding pertaining to Peruvian nationalism. He presented the evidence of the Mangarevan tradition of the arrival of a king Tupa and an associated commemorative dance. His unsubstantiated claim that Polynesians were in a neolithic, pre-textile era prior to Túpac Yupanqui's journey argues that this Inca ruler revolutionised Oceania. Busto reaffirmed the Inca influence in Polynesia in an interview in 2017, proposing that the Incas arrived in *pae pae* or equatorial rafts with sails, which did not capsize and were unknown in Polynesia at the time. They supposedly introduced metallurgy, textile-weaving and pottery to Mangareva and Rapa Nui. However, no archaeological evidence of these technologies has ever been found on those islands.<sup>830</sup> Busto's beliefs on Inca influence in Polynesia are therefore most likely derived from the nationalistic bias prevalent among Peruvian academic circles, as described above.

Aside from identifying apparent Inca architectural influence in Rapa Nui, Busto also argued that Túpac Yupanqui guided the construction of *marae* or temples in the locations he visited. Nevertheless, despite listing twenty elements pointing to Inca presence in Polynesia, Busto recently acknowledged that his hypothesis was only probable rather than factual and that more research is required to demonstrate the presence of Túpac Yupanqui on these islands around 1465.<sup>831</sup>

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<sup>829</sup> Busto, *Túpac Yupanqui, descubridor de Oceanía*, 125–31.

<sup>830</sup> Busto expresses this view in an interview available online. See Legion Kuntur *Los Inkas descubrieron Oceanía - José Antonio del Busto Duthurburu* [video file] (2017, March 24). Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yro7ZMK5x4U>; Busto, *Túpac Yupanqui, descubridor de Oceanía*, 103–04, 106–08, 110–20, 122–23.

<sup>831</sup> Legion Kuntur. *Los Inkas descubrieron Oceanía - José Antonio del Busto Duthurburu* [video file]; Busto, *Túpac Yupanqui, descubridor de Oceanía*, 103–04, 122–23.

## Federico Kauffman Doig (1928–)

Federico Kauffman Doig is a Peruvian archaeologist and historian who studied archaeology at the National University of San Marcos, completing a PhD in Archaeology in 1955. He also holds a PhD in History (1961).<sup>832</sup> Kauffman contended neither that Peruvian exercised significant influence in Polynesia, nor that ancient Peruvians settled Rapa Nui. Nonetheless, he pointed to certain comparable elements suggestive of some episodes of trans-Pacific contact, such as the architecturally similar constructions of Ahu Vinapú and Ahu Te Peu in Rapa Nui and those of Saqsaywaman, Cusco. While acknowledging the difficulty of identifying the exact location of Auachumbi and Ninachumbi, he had no doubt that Túpac Yupanqui's voyage did in fact take place, possibly around 1500.<sup>833</sup>

The viewpoints expressed by these three scholars exemplify the importance attributed to Amerindian sailing skills by Latin American scholars at the time. Voyaging and vessel construction is a key element in debates about trans-Pacific contacts. Although Ecuadorian history is viewed separately from Peruvian, since there is a denial of an Inca past in Ecuador, there is no doubt in Peru that ancient Peruvians were skilled sailors and may well have traversed the Pacific, as in the story of Túpac Yupanqui.

### Sailing Rafts from California and Ecuador

In the more recent part of the period covered in this chapter, three studies have provided new evidence for the potentiality of pre-Columbian trans-Pacific voyages by Polynesians to the Americas, around A.D. 1000. In 2006 Atholl Anderson *et al.* proposed that, in the late-Holocene, El Niño — Southern Oscillation (ENSO) 'periods of reversal in wind direction toward

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<sup>832</sup> Alberto Bueno Mendoza, 'Julio C. Tello y la arqueología del Perú en la Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos', *Investigaciones sociales* 14, No. 25 (2010), 38.

<sup>833</sup> Kauffman Doig, 'Proyección marítima: la expedición de Túpac Yupanqui', 670, 674–75.



westerlies' facilitated the west to east migration route in the Pacific.<sup>834</sup> According to this hypothesis, this 'window' of voyaging opportunity coincided with the timing and settlement patterns of the Pacific islands, 'palaeoenvironmental sequences' (i.e. sequences from the past environment of an area during a specific period of its history), and the 'advent of the sail'.<sup>835</sup> Second, a computer simulation by Scott Fitzpatrick and Richard Callaghan in 2009 calculated a 40% probability of landfalls on the Pacific coast of South America from various islands in Oceania, particularly Tonga and Samoa.<sup>836</sup> They further concluded that departures from northern South America, particularly from the coasts of Ecuador and Peru, would have facilitated landfalls on Polynesian islands.

This research was complemented in 2011 by Scaglione and Cordero, who speculated that there was a sudden intensification of sailing along the Ecuadorian Pacific coast around A.D. 1000.<sup>837</sup> They posited Ecuador's Gulf of Guayaquil as a possible locus of Polynesian landfall for various reasons. First, the Cañari term for the sweet potato, *cumar*, closely resembles Polynesian *kumara*. Second, the Gulf of Guayaquil, the settlement area of the Cañari people, is the 'only large, sheltered body of water along 5,600 miles (9,000 km) of South American coast'.<sup>838</sup> This Ecuadorian gulf is also the only area along the American Pacific coast with a firmly established pre-Columbian presence of vessels with sails and advanced sailing technology.<sup>839</sup> According to

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<sup>834</sup> Atholl Anderson, John Chappell, Michael Gagan, and Richard Grove, 'Prehistoric maritime migration in the Pacific islands: an hypothesis of ENSO forcing', *The Holocene* 16/1 (2006), 1.

<sup>835</sup> Ibid.

<sup>836</sup> Fitzpatrick and Callaghan, 'Examining dispersal mechanisms for the translocation of chicken (*Gallus gallus*) from Polynesia to South America', *Journal of Archaeological Science* 36 (2009), 215.

<sup>837</sup> Scaglione and Cordero, 'Did Ancient Polynesians Reach the New World?', in *Polynesians in America*, 171–193. See also Scaglione and Cordero, 'Camote ecuatoriano en Polinesia: posible evidencia de su difusión en tiempos prehistóricos', *Revista de Antropología* 19 (2007), 78–114; Cordero and Scaglione, '¿Camote ecuatoriano en Polinesia en tiempos prehispánicos? El Golfo de Guayaquil como posible punto de origen', *Boletín* 13 (2012), 10–14.

<sup>838</sup> Scaglione and Cordero, 'Did Ancient Polynesians Reach the New World?', 172.

<sup>839</sup> Scaglione and Cordero, 'Did Ancient Polynesians Reach the New World?', 173. See also Edwin Doran, Jr., 'The Sailing Raft as a Great Tradition', in Carroll L. Riley, J. Charles Kelley, Campbell W. Pennington, and Robert L. Randy's (eds.), *Man Across the Sea: Problems of Pre-Columbian Contacts* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1971), 115–38.

Scaglione and Cordero, Polynesians might possibly have influenced the sudden development of these Amerindian sails and the intensification in Ecuadorian sailing technology.<sup>840</sup> This ‘would explain the apparent explosion of long-distance trading using balsa rafts during the Integration Period of Ecuadorian Prehistory’ (ca. AD 700–1500).<sup>841</sup>

Earlier scholarship on the development of the Chumash plank canoe, or *tomol*, on the Californian coast had already provided potential evidence for pre-Columbian trans-Pacific contacts between Polynesians and the Chumash and Gabrielino tribes of Southern California. The nineteenth-century archaeologist Charles Rau was one of the first scholars to report trans-Pacific similarities in an element of material culture: fishhooks from California and the Pacific Islands, as described in Chapter 4.<sup>842</sup>

Ideas on the trans-Pacific diffusion of sailing vessels were also entertained. They were a continuation of the 1939 work of Kroeber, whose work is discussed in Chapter 6. Kroeber’s hypothesis was revisited, expanded, and contested by US and Pacific scholars in a series of publications and responses between 2005 and 2010. In 2005, the linguist Kathryn A. Klar and the archaeologist Terry L. Jones (1952–) initiated a debate on the apparent similarities between Polynesian and Californian sewn plank canoes, which they attributed to diffusion from Polynesia to the Americas, excluding the possibility of a common origin in Taiwan or Southeast Asia. In their view, ‘at least one episode of prehistoric contact between Polynesia and Native California’ had taken place, resulting in the trans-Pacific diffusion of this particular mode of canoe-building.<sup>843</sup> In response, US archaeologist Jeanne E. Arnold (1955–) and New Zealand archaeologist Atholl Anderson (1943–) presented separate contrasting viewpoints for the

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<sup>840</sup> Scaglione and Cordero, ‘Did Ancient Polynesians Reach the New World?’, 173–74.

<sup>841</sup> *Ibid.*, 173.

<sup>842</sup> Charles A. Rau, *Prehistoric Fishing in Europe and North America*, 129–138.

<sup>843</sup> Kathryn A. Klar and Terry L. Jones, ‘Linguistic Evidence for a Prehistoric Polynesia-Southern California Contact Event’, *Anthropological Linguistics* 47/4 (2005), 369.

authors' consideration.<sup>844</sup> Arnold argued for an autochthonous invention of these canoes. In sharp contrast, and more in line with Klar and Jones's thesis, Anderson argued that Southeast Asia should be considered as a probable point of origin for the diffusion and development of the sewn-plank canoes in the Chumash area. In 2006 and again in 2009, Jones and Klar rejected both responses and reinstated their original argument.<sup>845</sup>

Anderson was also involved in debate about the origins of South American balsa rafts – whether they developed independently or were a product of Polynesian or Asian influences. In collaboration with fellow archaeologists Heléne Martinsson-Wallin (Sweden) and Karen Stothert (USA), he argued that South American rafts would more likely have made landfalls in Polynesia than the reverse, given the intricacies in motifs and style of the monumental architecture demonstrating parallels in Eastern Polynesia and South America. They maintained: 'On grounds of sailing conditions, technology and the record of experimental voyaging, we regard the probability of a Polynesian landfall by an Ecuadorian sailing raft as substantially greater than that of a round-trip by Polynesian double-canoe'.<sup>846</sup> This claim invites further research into the chronology, modes of construction and motifs of the 'distinctive pillow-faced blockers and polygonal masonry' of Inca architecture which resemble the *abu* from Rapa Nui, and the '*tupa* structure and its parallel *chullpa* form found in Peru in the early second millennium AD',<sup>847</sup> and analogous aspects of pre-Columbian material culture like the birdman motif found in both South America (Ecuador and Peru) and Rapa Nui.

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<sup>844</sup> Atholl Anderson, 'Polynesian Seafaring and American Horizons: A Response to Jones and Klar', *American Antiquity* 71/4 (2006), 759–763; Jeanne Arnold, 'Credit Where Credit is Due: The History of the Chumash Oceangoing Plank Canoe', *American Antiquity* 72/2 (2007), 196–209.

<sup>845</sup> Jones and Klar, 'On Open Minds and Missed Marks: A Response to Atholl Anderson', *American Antiquity* 71/4 (2006), 765–770; Jones and Klar, 'On Linguistics and Cascading Inventions: A Comment on Arnold's Dismissal of a Polynesian Contact Event in Southern California', *American Antiquity* 74/1 (2009), 173–182.

<sup>846</sup> Atholl Anderson, Heléne Martinsson-Wallin and Karen Stothert, 'Ecuadorian sailing rafts and Oceanic landfalls', in Atholl Anderson, Kaye Green and Foss Leach (eds.), *Vastly Ingenious: The Archaeology of Pacific Material Culture in honour of Janet M. Davidson* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2007), 130.

<sup>847</sup> *Ibid.*, 129. See also Martinsson-Wallin, *Abu — The Ceremonial Stone Structures of Easter Island. Analysis of Variation and Interpretation of Meanings*, AUN 19 (Uppsala: Societas Archaeologica Upsaliensis, 1994), 116.

## Conclusion

As discussed in this chapter, the Amerindian long-distance sailing capacity of the populations of northern South America and Mesoamerica during pre-Hispanic times is increasingly becoming accepted. Studies on this topic, which analyse ethnohistoric sources such as chronicles, as well as archaeological data, reveal a complex trading network that existed between Mesoamerica and parts of Ecuador and Peru during pre-Hispanic times. Recent studies combining analyses of descriptions from sixteenth-century Spanish chronicles and new archaeological data are demonstrating a north-south sailing tradition between Mesoamerica and northern South America during pre-Hispanic times which has great relevance to questions of trans-Pacific contact that are as yet perhaps not fully realised. The archaeological evidence cited includes the trade of objects with iridescent paint from Guatemala and Ecuador and its adoption as a technique in Mesoamerica, the use of diving weights, and metallurgy. Some of the sixteenth-century references analysed in these studies have also featured in certain trans-Pacific contact ideas documented in this thesis. The implications of these studies in the trans-Pacific contact debate are worth considering. The presence of these objects in the Pacific coast of Mexico, Ecuador and Peru, and above all, the shared use of them show that in these two regions there was a commercial system in place based on financial exchange with 'axe-monies'. This was clearly not just occasional contacts.

Many of the trans-Pacific contact theories from the sixteenth to the twenty-first centuries have relied on assumptions about Amerindian sailing capabilities. In contrast, instead of breaking down previous theories and ideas of trans-Pacific contact, recent authors on this topic have conducted archaeological research to find evidence to demonstrate their contentions. Ethnohistoric sources and archaeological data featured in these studies have also been used in theories for trans-Pacific contact.

Since the 1950s, researchers have developed new approaches to investigating trans-Pacific contact between Oceania and the Americas with a focus on sailing routes, traditions and

techniques. Most hypotheses proposed since the 1950s suggest that Polynesians, rather than Amerindians, were able voyagers, capable of conducting long-distance return trans-Pacific voyages to the Americas. Apart from the nationalist perspectives of the Peruvians Buse, Busto, and Kauffmann Doig, few scholars proposed a westward route from the Americas.

## CHAPTER 9 Stone Tools, *Kumara*, Chickens and Languages: Twentieth-Century Ideas about Contact

### Introduction

The years between 1950 and 2020 brought a series of hypotheses about trans-Pacific contacts driven by ideas and research on the diffusion of material culture (i.e. stone clubs and fishhooks), crops (i.e. the sweet potato), animals (i.e. the chicken), and languages. While several theories were a continuation of previous ideas, others have been reassessed with modern techniques including archaeology, modern DNA and ancient DNA studies.<sup>848</sup> Linguistic studies have also been proposed as evidence of notions of trans-Pacific contacts during this period. For example, the Argentine D.E. Ibarra Grasso continued to highlight supposed linguistic and material culture similarities between the Americas and Oceania and to endorse Imbelloni's ideas about trans-Pacific contact linking Argentina and Chile with Polynesia, as illustrated in Chapter 6, although he hypothesised in later papers (see especially his 1961 paper) that the so-called Oceanic influence of certain stone artefacts from the Andean region of South America dated earlier to when Polynesia had been settled and had a probable Indonesian origin.<sup>849</sup> Nomenclature for certain stone artefacts with Oceanic parallels was refined and clarified, as in the case of the redefinition of South American stone clubs and adzes by Juan Schobinger (1928–2009), a Swiss scholar whose entire academic career was developed in Argentina.<sup>850</sup>

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<sup>848</sup> K. Ann Horsburgh, and Mark D. McCoy, 'Dispersal, Isolation, and Interaction in the Islands of Polynesia: A Critical Review of Archaeological and Genetic Evidence', *Diversity* 9/37 (2017), 1–2.

<sup>849</sup> For example D.E. Ibarra Grasso, 'Hachas planas con agujeros posteriores de tipo oceánico, en la Bolivia prehispanica', *Journal of Austronesian Studies* 2/2 (1961), 52–55.

<sup>850</sup> Juan Schobinger, 'Las "clavas insignias" de Argentina y Chile: Descripción de nuevos ejemplares procedentes de las provincias del Neuquén y Mendoza, y análisis por conjunto', *Runa* 7/2 (1956), 252.

The distinctions established by historical linguistics in relation to Polynesia greatly shaped debate on trans-Pacific contacts in this period.<sup>851</sup> Since 2000, a limited number of publications have argued for trans-Pacific contact between the broad geographical area of Oceania (including Melanesia and Australia) and the Americas, following the publication trend from previous centuries.

Most hypotheses proposed between 1950 and 2020 that centre on archaeological data fall into one of the following categories based on the supporting evidence used: stone tools and languages; DNA studies; the sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*) debate and theories on the diffusion of the bottle gourd (*Lagenaria siceraria*); and the chicken (*Gallus gallus*) debate; recent archaeological work on trans-Pacific contact. This chapter argues that despite the limited tangible evidence, the trans-Pacific contact debate still persists and has been largely shaped by the repetition of old theories, or by new interpretations of past theories and evidence. This chapter also details significant contributions to the trans-Pacific contact debate by Mormon scholars in the later twentieth century. Developed mainly by Argentine, Peruvian, Chilean, and US scholars, the central theme in such hypotheses is diffusion via human transportation or dispersal between these geographical areas. Some recent research has incorporated data produced by novel techniques developed and refined in archaeology and genetics. For example, innovative mtDNA and ancient DNA studies have identified pre-Columbian crop and animal diffusion and human migration involving trans-Pacific contacts between the Americas and Oceania. Of particular interest is work on human admixture, and work on domestic plant or animal lineages, notably the sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*) and the chicken (*Gallus gallus*). Such techniques have at times displayed shortcomings and inaccuracies, resulting in contestation.

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<sup>851</sup> Horsburgh and McCoy, 'Dispersal, Isolation, and Interaction in the Islands of Polynesia: A Critical Review of Archaeological and Genetic Evidence', 1–3, 10–13.

## Stone Tools and Languages

During the second half of the twentieth century, research has been published on linguistic and material culture similarities between Oceania and the Americas, some written by South American adherents of Imbelloni, who mainly linked South America with New Zealand.<sup>852</sup> Others, however, incorporated Formosa (Taiwan) into their hypotheses, building on the work of the anthropologist Ling Shun-shen (1901–1978) at the Academia Sinica, Taiwan’s national academy and leading science and humanities research institute. Taiwan had previously featured in nineteenth-century ideas on trans-Pacific contacts, such as those expressed by Buckland in 1879.<sup>853</sup> However, Ling Shun-shen’s discovery of several *patu*-like stone tools in Taiwan contributed to reconsideration of the earlier belief that New Zealand was the source of South American *patu*.<sup>854</sup> Comparable ideas had already been developed by the Japanese scholar Nenozo Utsurikawa, as outlined in Chapter 6 (Table 8).<sup>855</sup> H.D. Skinner noted that Ling Shun-shen’s publications appear to have further developed Utsurikawa’s research.<sup>856</sup>

Nearly a century later, Menghin, who we encountered in Chapter 6, contested Lane Fox’s interpretation of the diffusion of *patu* and *mere okewa* to South America. Following the work of the Taiwanese anthropologist Ling Shun-shen (1901–1978), Menghin held that prototypes of these weapons were to be found in Formosa (Taiwan), rather than Polynesia, and that they might have been introduced to South America during historic times, perhaps by seventeenth-century

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<sup>852</sup> For example Imbelloni, ‘On the Diffusion in America of “Onewa”, “Okewa”, “Paraoa”, “Miti”, and Other Relatives of the “Mere” Family’, *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 39 (1930), 322–345.

<sup>853</sup> A.W. Buckland, ‘Ethnological Hints afforded by the Stimulants in use among Savages and among the Ancients’, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 8 (1879), 239–53.

<sup>854</sup> Ling Shun-shen, ‘Patu Found in Taiwan and Other East Asiatic Regions and its Parallels in Oceania and America’, *Bulletin of the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology*, National Taiwan University 7 (1956), 1–22, 82–104.

<sup>855</sup> Utsurikawa, ‘Distribution of Patu Type of Stone Implements in the Pacific Area, and Similar Stone Objects Discovered in Formosa’, 1.

<sup>856</sup> H.D. Skinner, ‘Review of American Indians in the Pacific. The Theory behind the Kon-Tiki Expedition. Thor Heyerdahl, Allen and Unwin, 70s’, *Landfall* 7/1 (1953), 84. See also Jan van Bremen, ‘The Japanese and Dutch anthropology of insular South-East Asia in the colonial period 1879–1949’, in Jan van Bremen and Akitoshi Shimizu (eds.), *Anthropology and Colonialism in Asia and Oceania* (Richmond, Surrey: Routledge, 1999), 369.



European traders exporting stone clubs from Formosa to the New World during the periods of Spanish or Dutch colonial influence.<sup>857</sup> Ling Shun-shen's belief in Formosa as the origin of certain elements of evidence of trans-Pacific contact between Polynesia and the Americas also included Ecuadorian and Peruvian rafts and ceremonial constructions of the *marae* in Formosa and Polynesia, and their comparable counterparts: the *huaca* of Peru and the *teocalli* of Mesoamerica. He believed that the prototypes of these rafts and construction types were ultimately Chinese.<sup>858</sup> Ling Shun-shen was the first director of the Institute of Ethnology within Taiwan's Academia Sinica. For this reason it was important to consider the typology, provenance and dating of objects before presuming Polynesian connections in support of trans-Pacific contact. Menghin called for a reconsideration of Imbelloni's theory and a reanalysis of his evidence to determine the origin of the South American specimens.

The purported connection between the Americas and Taiwan via the Pacific Islands did not disappear in the literature, as exemplified in 1962 by the Austrian prehistorian Oswald Menghin (1888–1973) in an article on 'Trans-Pacific Relations of Araucanian Culture'.<sup>859</sup> Menghin claimed that the prototype of the stone South American and Formosan clubs was to be found in Mongolia and cited in evidence the Neolithic stone artefact findings from Linn-si, China, reported by the French scholars Emile Licent (1876–1952) and Pierre Teilhard de Chardin (1881–1955).<sup>860</sup>

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<sup>857</sup> Menghin, 'Relaciones Traspacíficas de la Cultura Araucana', Offprint of *Jornadas Internacionales de Arqueología y Etnografía* (Buenos Aires, 1962), 90–99; Ling Shun-shen, 'Patu found in Taiwan and other East Asiatic regions and its parallels found in Oceania and America', *Bulletin of the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology* 7 (1956), 1–22.

<sup>858</sup> Ling Shun-shen, 'Formosan Sea-Going Raft and its Origin in Ancient China', *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica* 1 (1956), 25–54; Ling Shun-shen, 'The Sacred Enclosures and Stepped Pyramidal Platforms [Altars of Heaven and Earth, etc.] at Peking, [and the History of Chinese Cosmic Religion and its Temples]', *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica* 16 (1963), 83. See also Joseph Needham and Lu Gwei-Djen, *Trans-Pacific Echoes and Resonances; Listening Once Again* (Singapore and Philadelphia: World Scientific Publishing Co. Pte. Ltd, 1985), 19.

<sup>859</sup> Menghin, 'Relaciones transpacíficas de la cultura araucana', *Jornadas internacionales de Arqueología y Etnología: Segunda Mesa Redonda Internacional de Arqueología y Etnografía, vol. 2: Continentales y extracontinentales* (1962), 91.

<sup>860</sup> Emile Licent and Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, 'Note sur deux instruments agricoles du néolithique de Chine', *L'Anthropologie* 35 (1925), 63–74.

Menghin completed his PhD in prehistoric archaeology at the University of Vienna in 1910. Eight years later, he became professor of prehistoric archaeology at this university. In 1938 he was appointed Minister for Culture and Education in Austria, but abandoned the position after fewer than two months, requesting to return to the university. Menghin's religious affiliations and academic philosophy were reportedly 'essentially at odds with Nazi Aryan ideology' although much of his writing in the 1930s clearly supported the Nazi project. He was discharged from state service in 1945, just before the end of the War, left the University of Vienna the same year, and was immediately after the War named a war criminal due to his affiliation with the Seyss-Inquart cabinet.<sup>861</sup> Following incarceration in American camps in West Germany for nearly two years, Menghin relocated to Argentina in 1948 after being invited by the Argentine government. Evidently, Menghin's prior support of the 'cultural goals of National Socialism' was overshadowed by his adherence to the ideas of Vienna's *Kulturkreis* school (see Chapter 6), particularly those of fellow Austrian Wilhelm Schmidt, whose views heavily influenced Menghin's. He shared these ideas with Imbelloni, who assisted Menghin to gain a professorial appointment at the University of Buenos Aires. He was later appointed as Associate Professor in Prehistory at the University of La Plata in 1957, following his founding of the Centro Argentino de Estudios Prehistoricos (Argentine Centre for Prehistoric Studies) that year.<sup>862</sup>

Argentine scholars continued the intellectual legacy of Imbelloni and Palavecino, as shown in Chapter 6, with diffusionist and hyperdiffusionist thinking persisting into the second half of the twentieth century. Schobinger, one of these scholars, was a student of Imbelloni, and

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<sup>861</sup> Philip L. Kohl and J.A. Pérez Gollán, 'Religion, Politics, and Prehistory: Reassessing the Lingering Legacy of Oswald Menghin', *Current Anthropology* 43/4 (2002), 562–65.

<sup>862</sup> *Ibid.*, 564–71.

Menghin, and the author of two biographical papers on the latter.<sup>863</sup> He completed his PhD in rock art from the area of Neuquén in Argentina in 1954 under the supervision of Menghin. He later moved to Mendoza towards the end of the decade following his appointment as Professor of Prehistoric Archaeology at the National University of Cuyo. His academic achievements and distinctions include his membership of Argentina's National Academy of History, his appointment as Emeritus Professor of Archaeology by the National University of Cuyo, and Honorary Member of the Argentine Anthropological Society.<sup>864</sup> He discussed similarities between eleven stone clubs found in Chile and Argentina and their Polynesian counterparts and argued that the Mapuche population retained and diffused these Polynesian-like clubs in their area of influence. He also addressed what he considered to be the erroneous denomination of *toki* used by Chilean and Argentinian scholars to refer to the semi-lunar shaped clubs found in diverse parts of Argentina and Chile.<sup>865</sup> He argued that they should be called clubs or *keulen* (German term), whereas *toki* should simply refer to adzes. He also reiterated similarities between such clubs and Māori *mere* or *patu*, which were used as ceremonial instruments and symbols of dignity in New Zealand, like in South America.<sup>866</sup> Schobinger noted that the occurrence of these clubs in parts of Argentina and Chile were the result of 'a Polynesian impact on the southern Chilean coast, probably carried out centuries before the definitive formation of the historical Mapuche culture'.<sup>867</sup> Schobinger also argued that American *okewa* clubs, particularly examples from Llaima (Chile) and the Limay River region (Argentina), were linked to Māori counterparts

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<sup>863</sup> Humberto Lagiglia, 'Juan Santiago René Schobinger. Arqueólogo', *Anales de Arqueología y Etnología* 59–60 (2005), 8; Juan Schobinger, 'Significación del doctor Osvaldo F. A. Menghin para el conocimiento de la prehistoria sudamericana', *Anales de Arqueología y Etnología de la Universidad Nacional de Cuyo* 14–15 (1959), 11–18.

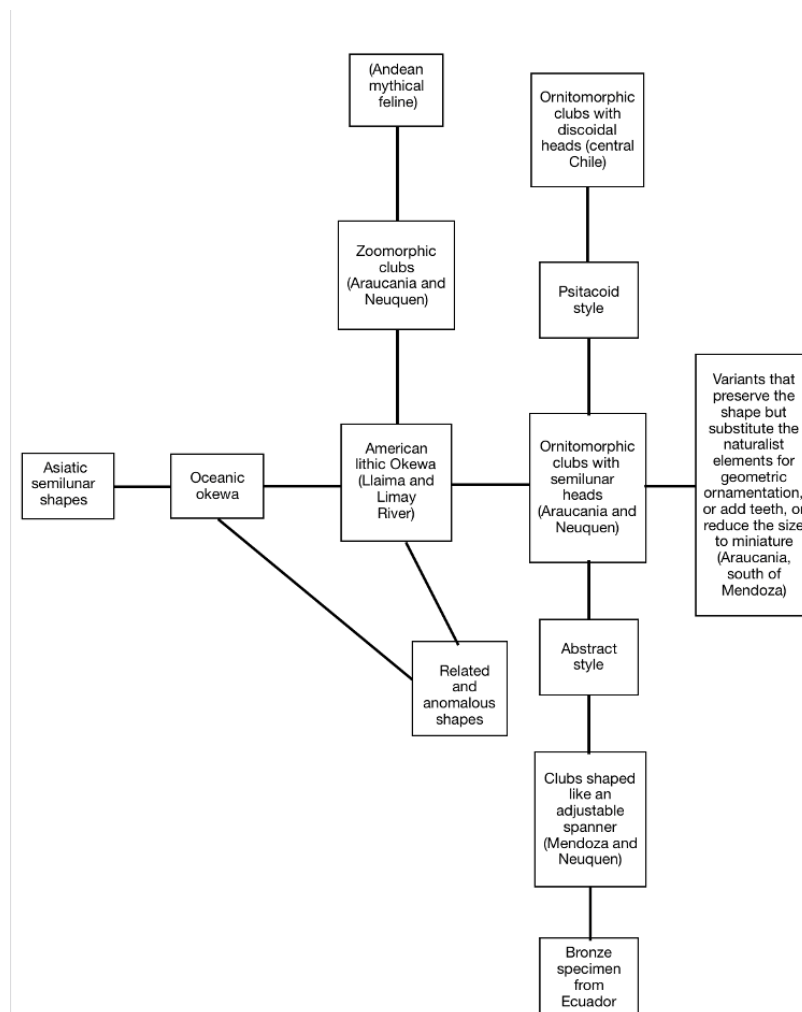
<sup>864</sup> Clara M. Abal, 'Juan Schobinger (1928–2009). Nuestro adiós a un "caballero de la ciencia"', *Chungara* 41/2 (2009), 179–80.

<sup>865</sup> Schobinger, 'Las "clavas insignias" de Argentina y Chile: Descripción de nuevos ejemplares procedentes de las provincias del Neuquén y Mendoza, y análisis por conjunto', 252.

<sup>866</sup> *Ibid.*, 252, 274.

<sup>867</sup> *Ibid.*, 274. Italics by Schobinger.

in New Zealand as well as to semilunar stone clubs and zoomorphic clubs from the Araucanía (Chile) and Neuquén (Argentina) regions. He believed that the analogous clubs of Oceania and South America had their prototypes in Taiwan and China.<sup>868</sup> Figure 22 contains a typological chart of stone clubs from Chile and Argentina drawn by Schobinger.



**Figure 22.** Typological chart of stone clubs from Chile and Argentina (adapted from Juan Schobinger 1957).

The Spanish anthropologist Salvador Canals Frau also conjectured about west-to-east migration from the Old World resulting in the settlement of the Americas via the Pacific Ocean. According to Canals Frau, Polynesia had been settled by Proto-Malays, who continued on to the

<sup>868</sup> Schobinger, 'Sobre los antecedentes morfológicos de las clavos semilunares oceánicas', *Runa* 8/2 (1957), 271.

Americas, as well as populations indigenous to northwest India or Iran, who became the proto-Polynesians. In his view, the Polynesian influence in the Americas was evidenced by megalithic constructions of great resemblance to the Polynesian *marae*, and the presence of the sweet potato indicative of a return voyage from Polynesia.<sup>869</sup> Canals Frau was one of a group of scholars who believed that Polynesia had been settled by two diverse populations, as had also putatively occurred in the Americas. He also believed in a closer physical and craniomorphological resemblance between Amerindians and Polynesians that did not exist between Amerindians and Melanesians. He succeeded Imbelloni as director of the Juan B. Ambrosetti Museum of Ethnography at the University of Buenos Aires. His appointment resulted from the overthrow of the Argentine president Juan Perón, which forced Imbelloni to abandon all his administrative roles. Canals Frau directed this important research centre, central to debates on trans-Pacific contacts, between 1955 and his death in 1958.<sup>870</sup>

Chilean scholars also carried on the work of other Chilean and Argentinian predecessors such as Oyarzún (Chile) and Ambrosetti (Argentina) by reporting additional finds of stone artefacts with Polynesian parallels, as mentioned in Chapter 6. The Chilean anthropologist Jorge Iribarren Charlin (1908–1977), for instance, in 1951 reported the finding of two *mere okewa* stone clubs at a Diaguita culture (AD 900–1600) cemetery in the Elqui Valley in northern Chile.<sup>871</sup> Iribarren Charlin, director and curator of the Archaeological Museum in La Serena, Chile, collaborated on a book with Oswald Menghin in 1950 on the diffusion of the practice of labret in the Americas and on archaeological observations of this element of material culture in the Old

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<sup>869</sup> Salvador Canals Frau, *Las poblaciones indígenas de la Argentina. Su origen, su pasado, su presente* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1973), 119–128.

<sup>870</sup> Germán Soprano, 'Entre la Universidad y el Estado. Análisis del proceso de constitución de un grupo académico universitario y su participación en las políticas públicas de una agencia estatal nacional (1930–1955)', *V Jornadas de Sociología de la UNLP*, 10, 11 y 12 de diciembre de 2008, La Plata, Argentina, [http://www.memoria.fahce.unlp.edu.ar/trab\\_eventos/ev.6448/ev.6448.pdf](http://www.memoria.fahce.unlp.edu.ar/trab_eventos/ev.6448/ev.6448.pdf); Andrea S. Pegoraro and Vivian Spoliansky, 'El Archivo del Museo Etnográfico Juan B. Ambrosetti: documentos para la historia institucional y disciplinar', *Revista Electrónica de Fuentes y Archivos* 4/4 (2013), 182.

<sup>871</sup> Jorge Iribarren Charlin, 'Dos "mere okewa" en un cementerio diaguita Del Valle de Elqui', *Revista Universitaria* 36/1 (1951), 131–137.

World.<sup>872</sup> A labret is a type of lower lip ornament made of hard materials like shell or stone, and usually decorated.

Iribarren Charlin also investigated the role of the Inca ruler Túpac Yupanqui in the expansion of the Inca empire to the Atacama desert in the mid-fifteenth century.<sup>873</sup> He contended that Inca cultural influences could be observed in the northern regions of Chile, as evidenced by the discovery in this area of forts or *puccara*, shelters or *tambo*, and ceramics with Cuzcan Inca forms like ‘the aryballus, a covered cup with pedestal and long, semi-vertical handles’.<sup>874</sup> The inconclusive tradition of a long-distance return voyage conducted by this Inca ruler in the fifteenth century, discussed at length in Chapter 2, has enticed several mainly Peruvian scholars to speculate on possible trans-Pacific contacts with Oceania involving ancient Ecuadorian balsawood rafts, with ancient Peru or Ecuador as the point of origin.

## DNA Studies

DNA studies have been integral to debates about trans-Pacific contacts from the late twentieth century. Since 1967, following the groundbreaking work by US biochemist Allan Charles (A.C.) Wilson (1934–1991) in collaboration with American anthropologist Vincent Matthew (V.M.) Sarich (1934–2012), genetic and genomic studies have become increasingly relevant to anthropology.<sup>875</sup> With Sarich and especially Wilson’s pioneering contribution to anthropology by bringing ‘the time component of genetic change to anthropological debates’, archaeology and

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<sup>872</sup> Iribarren Charlin and Menghin, *Notas preliminares sobre la dispersión continental de un adorno de labio en los pueblos aborígenes: el bezote, labret o tembeta* (Ovalle, Chile: Rústica, 1950).

<sup>873</sup> Iribarren Charlin, ‘Manifestations of Inca Culture in two Provinces of Chile’, in David L. Browman (ed.), *Advances in Andean Archaeology* (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, Inc., 2011), 443. Accessed September 24, 2018. ProQuest Ebook Central.

<sup>874</sup> *Ibid.*, 443–448.

<sup>875</sup> Elizabeth Matisoo-Smith and K. Ann Horsburgh, *DNA for Archaeologists* (Walnut Creek, California: Left Coast Press, 2012), 14. See also V.M. Sarich and A.C. Wilson, ‘Immunological Time Scale for Hominid Evolution’, in *Science* 158/3805 (1967), 1200–1203; V.M. Sarich and A.C. Wilson, ‘Rates of Albumin Evolution in Primates’, in *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 58/1 (1967), 142–148.

genetics have progressively united.<sup>876</sup> Genetic evidence has been incorporated into arguments about trans-Pacific contact in order to demonstrate the timing and modes of diffusion of crops and animals like the sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*) and the chicken (*Gallus gallus*). Such work has attempted to elucidate human migration movements linking Oceania with the Americas resulting in genetic admixture between Native Americans and Polynesians.

Specific links between Polynesians and Amerindians are addressed in three articles from 2009, 2012 and 2014, which show scholarly interest in the possibility of pre-Columbian genetic admixture between these two groups. The Norwegian immunologist Erik Thorsby (1938–) is a sole or joint author of all three. In 2009, Thorsby and his team argued on the basis of genomic analysis of blood samples taken in Rapa Nui that some admixture with Amerindians had occurred, probably before the first European arrival in 1722.<sup>877</sup> In 2012, Thorsby reiterated this inference of ‘a prehistoric Amerindian contribution to the Polynesian gene pool’ in Rapa Nui.<sup>878</sup> A 2014 report on a genome-wide analysis of Rapa Nui data inferred that ‘a pre-Columbian gene flow event between Native Americans and Polynesians’ had occurred between approximately AD 1280 and 1425.<sup>879</sup>

Rather than ‘admixture’, an actual Polynesian presence in eastern South America was suggested by the discovery of ‘typically Polynesian’ mitochondrial DNA in the cranial remains of two supposedly ‘Botocudo’ Indians from Lagoa Santa, eastern central Brazil. The skulls were held in the Museu Nacional in Rio de Janeiro until lost in the fire which destroyed the museum

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<sup>876</sup> Matisoo-Smith and Horsburgh, *DNA for Archaeologists*, 14.

<sup>877</sup> E. Thorsby *et al.*, ‘Further evidence of an Amerindian contribution to the Polynesian gene pool on Easter Island’, *Tissue Antigens* 73 (2009), 582–585.

<sup>878</sup> Erik Thorsby, ‘The Polynesian gene pool: an early contribution by Amerindians to Easter Island’, *Philosophical Transactions: Biological Sciences* 367/1590 (2012), 812–819.

<sup>879</sup> J. Victor Moreno-Mayar *et al.*, ‘Genome-wide Ancestry Patterns in Rapanui Suggest Pre-European Admixture with Native Americans’, *Current Biology* 24/21 (2014), 2523.

and most of its anthropological collections in 2018.<sup>880</sup> No clear timing could be adduced for the arrival of these individuals in Brazil and it may have been relatively recent.<sup>881</sup> The matter was revisited and complemented by whole genome analyses of the two anomalous crania which confirmed that they were of ‘Polynesian ancestry and no detectable Native American ancestry’, though the question of dating could not be resolved.<sup>882</sup> Some scholars are sceptical that these skulls were actually sourced from a Botocudo population and assert that they must have been mislabelled museum specimens originating from Eastern Polynesia.<sup>883</sup> However, this was strenuously denied by members of the original team on the basis of research in the museum’s archives and Polynesian collection.<sup>884</sup> On the other hand, three additional recent studies by two different research groups suggest a possible albeit weak Australasian genetic contribution to Amazonian Native Americans.<sup>885</sup> As noted by Llamas *et al.*, the study by Raghavan *et al.* ‘proposed a single founder population for all Native Americans, with an Australasian-related gene flow occurring after the initial peopling’.<sup>886</sup> Two other studies by a separate group ‘suggested either two migration waves (*i.e.* the Australasian-related and the First American lineages remained separate until both reached the Amazonian basin), or alternatively, one

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<sup>880</sup> Vanessa Faria Gonçalves *et al.*, ‘Identification of Polynesian mtDNA haplogroups in remains of Botocudo Amerindians’, *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 110/16 (2013), 6465–6469.

<sup>881</sup> *Ibid.*, 6466–6467.

<sup>882</sup> Anna-Sapfo Malaspinas *et al.*, ‘Two ancient human genomes reveal Polynesian ancestry among the indigenous Botocudos of Brazil’, *Current Biology* 24/21 (2014), R1035–R1037.

<sup>883</sup> André Strauss, *Paleoamerican origins and behavior: a multidisciplinary study of the archaeological record from Lagoa Santa region (east-central Brazil)*, PhD Thesis (Tübingen: University of Tübingen, 2016), 21–22.

<sup>884</sup> S. Reis *et al.*, ‘Supplementary 1: Botocudo Individuals: Sample Description’, in ‘Supplemental Information: Two ancient human genomes reveal Polynesian ancestry among the Indigenous Botocudos of Brazil’, *Current Biology* 24/21 (2014), 1.3–1.4.

<sup>885</sup> M. Raghavan *et al.*, ‘Genomic evidence for the Pleistocene and recent population history of Native Americans’, *Science* 349 (2015), 3384; P. Skoglund *et al.*, ‘Genetic evidence for two founding populations of the Americas’, *Nature* 525 (2015), 104–108; P. Skoglund, and D. Reich, ‘A genomic view of the peopling of the Americas’, *Curr. Opin. Genet. Dev.* 41 (2016), 27–35.

<sup>886</sup> R. Llamas *et al.*, ‘Genetic studies of the peopling of the Americas: What insights do diachronic mitochondrial genome datasets provide?’, *Quaternary International* 444 (2017), 28.



structured founding population with at least one subpopulation retaining the Australasian genomic signature'.<sup>887</sup> Despite the differing interpretations of their results, these studies demonstrate the enduring academic concern with establishing genetic connections between Oceania and the Americas.<sup>888</sup>

Studies of the likelihood of pre-Columbian admixture of Polynesians and Native Americans have produced conflicting results depending on the type and sophistication of the research methods used, complicating the debate. For instance, an earlier article to which Thorsby was a contributor concluded that the European and American admixtures with Polynesians in Rapa Nui had occurred around 1800.<sup>889</sup> Genomic analysis of ancient DNA from a site in Rapa Nui detected no 'Native American ancestry' in either 'pre- or post-European-contact Rapanui individuals' tested.<sup>890</sup> These genomic studies were preceded by DNA studies conducted to test for crop and animal diffusion linking Oceania with the Americas, particularly the dispersal of the sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*) and the chicken (*Gallus gallus*).

## **Theories on the Diffusion of the Sweet Potato (*Ipomoea batatas*) and the Bottle Gourd (*Lagenaria siceraria*)**

Since the 1950s, efforts to elucidate the route and mode of diffusion of the sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas* Lam. *Convolvulaceae*) from the Americas to Oceania have featured widely in publications on

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<sup>887</sup> Ibid.

<sup>888</sup> A recent paper by Ioannidis, *et al.* was published after the submission of this thesis. It argues in favour of a single prehistoric contact event between Polynesians and Native Americans around 1200 A.D. Given its publication date of July 2020, it is too early to be certain about its conclusions about the arrival of Indigenous Americans in Polynesia; however it illustrates that the scholarship on this topic continues to be vigorous. See Alexander G. Ioannidis *et al.*, 'Native American gene flow into Polynesia predating Easter Island settlement', *Nature* 583 (2020), 572–77. See also Lisa Matisoo-Smith and Anna Gosling, 'Did ancient Americans settle in Polynesia? The evidence doesn't stack up', *The Conversation*, July 13, 2020.

<sup>889</sup> B. A. Lie *et al.*, 'Molecular genetic studies of natives on Easter Island: evidence of an early European and Amerindian contribution to the Polynesian gene pool', *Tissue Antigens* 69 (2006), 10, 16–17.

<sup>890</sup> Lars Fehren-Schmitz, Catrine L. Jarman, Kelly M. Harkins, Manfred Kayser, Brian N. Popp, and Pontus Skoglund, 'Genetic Ancestry of Rapanui before and after European Contact', *Current Biology* 27 (2017), 3212.

trans-Pacific contact.<sup>891</sup> Table 20 details examples of some of these publications. Three main hypotheses are proffered: (1) that it was a pre-Columbian Amerindian introduction from South America; (2) that it was dispersed by Polynesians following pre-Columbian voyages to South America; and (3) that it was a European (Portuguese or Spanish) introduction or re-introduction to Oceania. A number of these studies examined the genetics of this plant in order to determine how and when this American crop might have dispersed to Polynesia from the Americas.<sup>892</sup>

**Table 20.** Examples of publications since the mid-twentieth century on the diffusion of the sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*).

Year	Author(s)	Title (A=Article; B=Book or Book Chapter; T=Thesis)	Theory
1950	E.D. Merrill	'Observations on Cultivated Plants with Reference to Certain American Problems' (A)	2
1951	J.S. Cooley	'The Sweet Potato: Its Origin and Primitive Storage Practices' (A)	Inconclusive
1956	P. Rivet	'Las relaciones antiguas entre Polinesia y América' (The ancient relationships between Polynesia and America) (A)	1, 2 and 3
1957	J. Barrau	'L'Enigme de la Patate Douce en Océanie' (The enigma of the sweet potato in Oceania) (A)	1 and 2
1960	D.E. Yen	'The Sweet Potato in the Pacific: The Propagation of the Plant in Relation to Its Distribution' (A)	1 or 2
1971	D.D. Brand	'The Sweet Potato: An Exercise in Methodology' (B)	3
1971	D.E. Yen	'Construction of the Hypothesis for Distribution of the Sweet Potato' (B)	2 and 3
1972	P. O'Brien	'The Sweet Potato: Its Origin and Dispersal' (A)	1, 2 and 3
1974	D.E. Yen	<i>The Sweet Potato and Oceania: An Essay in Ethnobotany</i> (B)	2 and 3
1991	J.G. Hather and P.V. Kirch	'Prehistoric sweet potato ( <i>Ipomoea batatas</i> ) from Mangaia Island, central Polynesia' (A)	1 and 2

<sup>891</sup> For example J. Barrau, 'L'énigme de la patate douce en Océanie', *Etudes d'Outre-Mer* 40 (1957), 83–87; D.E. Yen, *The Sweet Potato in Oceania: An Essay in Ethnobotany* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1974); T.N. Ladefoged, *et al.*, 'The introduction of sweet potato in Polynesia: Early remains in Hawai'i?', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 114 (2005), 359–374; C. Ballard, P. Brown, R.M. Bourke, and T. Hardwood (eds.), *The Sweet Potato in Oceania: A Reappraisal* (Sydney: Oceana Publications, 2005); C. Roullier, *et al.*, 'Historical collections reveal patterns of diffusion of sweet potato in Oceania obscured by modern plant movements and recombination', *PNAS* 110/6 (2013), 2205–2210.

<sup>892</sup> For example, J.G. Hather and P.V. Kirch, 'Prehistoric sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*) from Mangaia Island, central Polynesia', *Antiquity* 65 (1991): 887–893. See also T. Denham, 'Ancient and historic dispersals of sweet potato in Oceania', *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 110/6, (2010): 1982–1983; and T.N. Ladefoged, M.W. Graves and J.H. Coil, 'The introduction of sweet potato in Polynesia: early remains in Hawai'i?', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 114 No. 4 (2005), 359–373.

Year	Author(s)	Title (A=Article; B=Book or Book Chapter; T=Thesis)	Theory
2001	R.C. Green	'The Bamboo Raft as a Key to the Introduction of the Sweet Potato in Prehistoric Polynesia' (A)	2
2005	C. Ballard, P. Brown, R.M. Bourke, and T. Harwood (eds.)	<i>The Sweet Potato in Oceania: A Reappraisal</i> (B)	2
2005	T.N. Ladefoged, M.W. Graves, and J. Coil	'The introduction of sweet potato in Polynesia: Early remains in Hawai'i' (A)	2
2008	A. Montenegro, C. Avis, and A. Weaver	'Modelling the Prehistoric Arrival of the Sweet Potato in Polynesia' (A)	1 or 2
2009	A.C. Clarke	<i>Origins and Dispersal of the Sweet Potato and Bottle Gourd in Oceania: Implications for Prehistoric Human Mobility</i> (T)	2
2013	T. Denham	'Ancient and historic dispersals of sweet potato in Oceania' (A)	2
2013	C. Roullier, R. Kambouo, J. Paofa, D. McKey, and V. Lebot	'On the origin of sweet potato ( <i>Ipomoea batatas</i> (L.) Lam.) genetic diversity in New Guinea, a secondary centre of diversity' (A)	2
2013	Roullier, C., Benoit, L., McKey, D.B., Lebot, V.	'Historical collections reveal patterns of diffusion of sweet potato in Oceania obscured by modern plant movements and recombination' (A)	2 and 3

Studies argued that the origins of this plant lie in southern Mexico and central South America, or in Central America (Mesoamerica), while the remainder of South America is considered a secondary source.<sup>893</sup> Others contend that the origins of the Polynesian type of sweet potato can be found in South America, indicated by the comparable linguistic term. Following this reasoning, Polynesia could also be seen as a secondary source of genetic diversity for the sweet potato. Its wild form appears to be *Ipomoea trifida*, although it has also been suggested that *Ipomoea batatas* and *I. trifida* have a common ancestor and that *I. batatas* might have derived from a combination of several wild species.<sup>894</sup>

Linguistically speaking, *cumar*, the Quechua term for sweet potato, is central to discussion of the significance of the sweet potato in trans-Pacific contacts. Linguistic similarities between

<sup>893</sup> G. Rossel, A. Kriegner, and D.P. Zhang, 'From Latin America to Oceania: The Historic Dispersal of Sweet Potato Re-examined Using AFLP', in CIP Program Report (1999–2000), 315; Edelmira Linares, Robert Bye, Daniel Rosa-Ramírez, and Rogelio Pereda-Miranda, 'El camote', *Biodiversitas* 81 (2008), 11–15.

<sup>894</sup> S. Srisuwan, D. Sihachakr, and S. Siljak-Yakovlev, 'The origin and evolution of sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas* Lam.) and its wild relatives through the cytogenetic approaches', *Plant Science* 171 (2006), 424–433; C. Roullier, G. Rossel, T. Day, D. McKey, and V. Lebot, 'Combining chloroplast and nuclear microsatellites to investigate origin and dispersal of New World sweet potato landraces', *Molecular Ecology* 20 (2011), 3963.

South American and Polynesian terms for sweet potato also include the Polynesian *kumara*, *kumala*, *kumaka*, *kumá*, and *'umala*, and even *cumanca* from southern Chile.<sup>895</sup> Given the similarities between these Polynesian and South American terms, it is believed that pre-Columbian encounters between Polynesians and inhabitants of the Andean region of South America must have led to the sweet potato's diffusion across Polynesia. Richard Scaglione and María-Auxiliadora Cordero estimate that the tuber was introduced into Polynesia around 1000 AD and that the point of origin was most likely the Gulf of Guayaquil in Ecuador, where the cultivar is called *cumar*.<sup>896</sup> Despite this linguistic equivalence, other studies suggest that, given the wide variation of the Oceanic gene pool, the sweet potato might have reached Oceania by dispersal from Mesoamerica via Asia, rather than directly from Peru or Ecuador, since the plant's genetic diversity is greatest in Central America and least in Peru and Ecuador.<sup>897</sup> These ideas largely correlate with the Tripartite Hypothesis favoured by Pacific specialists to explain the introduction of the sweet potato to Oceania. First proposed by Barrau in 1957, it was revised by Yen in 1974 and recently restated by Green and Clarke.<sup>898</sup> According to this hypothesis, a single pre-Columbian introduction by Polynesians travelling to the Americas and back contributed the *Kumara* (South American) lineage of the sweet potato to Oceania between 1000 and 1100 AD.<sup>899</sup> The other two diffusion modes were historical, by the Spanish to the Philippines (*Camote* lineage)

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<sup>895</sup> Ramírez-Aliaga and Matisoo-Smith, 'Polinesios en el sur de Chile en tiempos prehispánicos: evidencia dura, nuevas preguntas y una nueva hipótesis', 94.

<sup>896</sup> Scaglione and Cordero, 'Did Ancient Polynesians Reach the New World?', in *Polynesians in America*, 171–193. See also Scaglione and Cordero, 'Camote ecuatoriano en Polinesia: posible evidencia de su difusión en tiempos prehistóricos', 78–114; Cordero and Scaglione, '¿Camote ecuatoriano en Polinesia en tiempos prehispánicos? El Golfo de Guayaquil como posible punto de origen', 10–14.

<sup>897</sup> Linares *et al.*, 'El camote', 11; Rossel, Kriegner and Zhang, 'From Latin America to Oceania: The Historic Dispersal of Sweet Potato Re-examined Using AFLP', 316.

<sup>898</sup> J. Barrau, 'L'enigme de la patate douce en Oceanie', *Etudes d'Outre-Mer* 40 (1957), 83–87; D.E. Yen, *The Sweet Potato in Oceania: An Essay in Ethnobotany*; Roger Green, 'Sweet potato transfers in Polynesian prehistory', in C. Ballard, P. Brown, R. M. Bourke, and T. Harwood (eds.), *The sweet potato in Oceania: A Reappraisal* (Sydney: Oceania Publications, 2005), 43–62; Andrew C. Clarke, *Origins and Dispersal of the Sweet Potato and Bottle Gourd in Oceania: Implications for Prehistoric Human Mobility*. PhD thesis (Palmerston North, New Zealand: Massey University, 2009).

<sup>899</sup> Caroline Roullier, Laure Benoit, Doyle B. McKey, and Vincent Lebot, 'Historical collections reveal patterns of diffusion of sweet potato in Oceania obscured by modern plant movements and recombination', 2205.

and the Portuguese to the Moluccas (*Batata* lineage).<sup>900</sup> However, it cannot be determined by genetics alone whether the sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*) was introduced to Polynesia by returning Polynesian voyagers or by Amerindians

The bottle gourd (*Lagenaria siceraria*) is less central to thinking on trans-Pacific contact than the sweet potato. However, it is also cited as a South American cultivar, probably introduced to Polynesia by Polynesian agents around 1000 AD. Unlike the sweet potato, current scientific opinion is that the Polynesian bottle gourd is of double origin and varieties were introduced from both Asia and the Americas.<sup>901</sup>

### **The Chicken (*Gallus gallus*) Debate**

The chicken (*Gallus gallus*) has long featured in publications aiming to show its trans-Pacific diffusion to the Americas, particularly from Asia given the prevalence of haplogroups A, B and C in the Americas. As with the sweet potato, hypotheses on the diffusion of the chicken are based on either linguistic or genetic research. In the case of diffusion of Polynesian chickens to the Americas, the common trope is that Asiatic types were introduced by Europeans, coinciding with the haplotype of the majority of ancient chicken remains found in the Americas.

Invoking works by Latham (1922), Nordenskiöld (1922) and Castello (1924) on the pre-Columbian presence of chickens in the Americas, outlined in Chapter 6, the US zoologist Raymond Maurice Gilmore (1907–1983) agreed that the domestic fowl did exist in South America before European contact.<sup>902</sup> With reference to pre-Conquest Peru, Gilmore argued that

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<sup>900</sup> Ibid., 2206.

<sup>901</sup> Andrew C. Clarke, Michael K. Burtenshaw, Patricia A. McLenachan, David L. Erickson, and David Penny, 'Reconstructing the Origins and Dispersal of the Polynesian Bottle Gourd (*Lagenaria siceraria*)', *Molecular Biology and Evolution* 23/5 (2006), 893–900.

<sup>902</sup> Latham, *Los animales domésticos de la América precolombiana*, 176–79; Castello, 'The *Gallus Inauris* and the Hen which Lays Blue Eggs', 113–14; Nordenskiöld, *Deductions suggested by the geographical distribution of some post-Columbian words used by the Indians of S. America*, 9–30; Gilmore, 'Fauna and Ethnozoology of South America', in J.H. Steward (ed.), *Handbook of South American Indians*, Vol. 6 (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1963 [1950]), 394.

if the South American domestic fowl, sometimes sometimes described as tailless and laying blue eggs (*Gallus inauris Castelloi*), was not introduced from Europe, the only alternative explanation ‘must be sought in Polynesian trans-oceanic voyages’.<sup>903</sup> According to US geographer George F. Carter (1912–2004), this Polynesian attribution was commonplace amongst academics studying trans-Pacific contact in the mid-twentieth century.<sup>904</sup> Gilmore also noted Nordenskiöld’s research on the use of the term *walpa* for it. This theme was revisited in a note appended by US linguist William Oliver Bright (1928–2006) to an article by his colleague Eric P. Hamp (1920–).<sup>905</sup> Like Nordenskiöld, Bright explored the linguistic evidence pointing to the possible presence of fowl in pre-Columbian Peru given the term *walpa* which named it.<sup>906</sup> In 1953, Carter agreed with Gilmore on the pre-Columbian presence in South America of a tailless chicken that laid blue eggs.<sup>907</sup> In contrast to Gilmore’s reservations, however, Carter was explicit that these chickens had Asiatic origins and were the result of trans-Pacific contact.<sup>908</sup> In 1971, Carter revisited this debate and reiterated his position on an Asiatic origin.<sup>909</sup> Carter evidently believed not only in a common origin for both Polynesian and South American tailless chickens, but also in their pre-Columbian introduction to the Americas from Polynesia.

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<sup>903</sup> Gilmore, ‘Fauna and Ethnozoology of South America’, 394.

<sup>904</sup> George F. Carter, ‘Pre-Columbian Chickens in America’, in C.L. Riley, J. Charles Kelley, Campbell W. Pennington, and Robert L. Rands (eds.), *Man Across the Sea: Problems of Pre-Columbian Contacts* (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1971), 246.

<sup>905</sup> Eric P. Hamp, ‘“Chicken” in Ecuadorian Quichua’, *International Journal of American Linguistics* 30/3 (1964), 298–299.

<sup>906</sup> *Ibid.*, 299.

<sup>907</sup> George F. Carter, ‘Plants across the Pacific’, in Marion W. Smith (ed.), *Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology* 9, *Asia and North America: Trans-Pacific Contacts* (1953), 69.

<sup>908</sup> *Ibid.*, 69–70.

<sup>909</sup> George F. Carter, ‘Pre-Columbian Chickens in America’, 223–269.

In South America, the Chilean scholar Ottmar Wilhelm (1898–1974) wrote on the Araucanian chickens (*Gallus inauris Castelloi*, 1914) in 1963 and 1978.<sup>910</sup> His observations were grounded in the works of earlier scholars but he made no connections with Polynesia.

A paper from 2012, with a correction from 2019, addresses the possibility of diffusion of Polynesian chickens into the Americas during pre-Columbian times.<sup>911</sup> Evidence for this, the paper suggests, is the presence of a haplogroup D sample in ancient chicken remains from an assemblage from Peru. Despite this sequence uncovered in the Torata Alta site in Peru being identical to a Micronesian one, the authors caution that there is uncertainty as to whether this was the result of a prehistoric or a post-Columbian introduction. A post-Columbian introduction is consistent with other findings of chicken remains cited in the paper discovered in Bolivia, Peru, Haiti and Florida, all of haplogroups D and E but all known to be post-contact.<sup>912</sup>

The best-known study to base a claim for the presence of a pre-Columbian chicken in South America on archaeological and genetic grounds was published in 2007, following the finding of fifty ancient chicken bones in coastal Chile with a genetic mutation comparable to that of Pacific chickens.<sup>913</sup> The site of ‘El Arenal-1’, located in the Arauco Province, Biobio Region of Chile, and its associated DNA and radiocarbon studies contributed potentially significant evidence for pre-Columbian trans-Pacific contact in the form of a minimum of five sets of chicken bones. These bones, it was found, belonged to haplogroup E, signifying a Polynesian diffusion of this type of chicken into the Americas. However, subsequent publications have seriously questioned both findings and evidence, claiming sample contamination, statistical flaws,

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<sup>910</sup> Ottmar Wilhelm, ‘Observaciones acerca de la gallina araucana (*Gallus inauris Castelloi*, 1914)’, *Revista chilena de historia natural* 55 (1963), 93–107; Wilhelm, ‘The Pre-Columbian Araucanian Chicken (*Gallus inauris*) of the Mapuche Indians’, in Browman (ed.), *Advances in Andean Archaeology*, 189–196.

<sup>911</sup> Alice A. Storey, *et al.*, ‘Investigating the Global Dispersal of Chickens in Prehistory Using Ancient Mitochondrial DNA Signatures’, *PLoS ONE* 7/7 (2012), 1–11; Alice A. Storey, *et al.*, ‘Correction: Investigating the Global Dispersal of Chickens in Prehistory Using Ancient Mitochondrial DNA Signatures’, *PLoS ONE* 14/5 (2019), 1–2.

<sup>912</sup> Storey, *et al.*, ‘Investigating the Global Dispersal of Chickens in Prehistory Using Ancient Mitochondrial DNA Signatures’, 5.

<sup>913</sup> Alice A. Storey, *et al.*, ‘Radiocarbon and DNA evidence for a pre-Columbian introduction of Polynesian chickens to Chile’, *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 104/25 (2007), 10335–10339.

and lack of evidence for dispersals of Polynesian chickens to the Americas.<sup>914</sup> Other studies stress the importance of the original article despite its flaws.<sup>915</sup> Nevertheless, in a recent joint paper where Michael B. Herrera (University of Adelaide) appears as the lead author, Daniel Quiroz disavows himself from the main argument of a Polynesian introduction of chickens to South America, and the interpretive difficulties and contention surrounding the results. Instead, Herrera *et al.* argue for an Asiatic introduction of chickens to the Americas due to the limited evidence of a specific haplogroup of Polynesian chickens, haplogroup E, in the Americas.<sup>916</sup> Although Quiroz and the other authors of this paper do not dismiss the possibility of interaction between South America and Polynesia, they claim that previous studies on the chicken do not prove that, and that unambiguous evidence is required to demonstrate this.<sup>917</sup> To further complicate the debate, there are reports of pre-Columbian vessels of what appears to be chicken-like birds found in museum collections in Peru, as illustrated in Figure 23. Displayed at the National Museum of Anthropology, Archaeology and History in Lima, Peru there is a pre-Columbian ceramic vessel, attributed to the Vicús culture (c. 1000/200 B.C.E. to 300/600 C.E.), of what appears to be a chicken or a chicken-like bird. A similar effigy, attributed to the Chimú

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<sup>914</sup> For example Vicki A. Thomson, *et al.*, ‘Using ancient DNA to study the origins and dispersal of ancestral Polynesian chickens across the Pacific’, *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 111/13 (2014), 4826–4831; Jaime Góngora, *et al.*, ‘Indo-European and Asian origins for Chilean and Pacific chickens revealed by mtDNA’, *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 105/30 (2008), 10308–10313.

<sup>915</sup> For example A. Luzuriaga-Neira, *et al.*, ‘On the origins and genetic diversity of South American chickens: one step closer’, *Animal Genetics* 48 (2017), 353–357; Fitzpatrick and Callaghan, ‘Examining dispersal mechanisms for the translocation of chicken (*Gallus gallus*) from Polynesia to South America’, *Journal of Archaeological Science* 36/2 (2009), 214–223. See also some of the more recent papers by all or some of the authors of the 2007 paper on the diffusion of Polynesian chickens to the Americas, attempting to refute the criticisms of their claims, including: Nancy Beavan, ‘No evidence for sample contamination or diet offset for pre-Columbian chicken dates from El Arenal’, *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 111/35 (2014), E3582; Storey and Matisoo-Smith, ‘No evidence against Polynesian dispersal of chickens to pre-Columbian South America’, *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 111/35 (2014), E3583; Storey, *et al.*, ‘Polynesian chickens in the New World: a detailed application of a commensal approach’, *Archaeology in Oceania* 48 (2013), 101–119; Storey, *et al.*, ‘Pre-Columbian chickens, dates, isotopes, and mtDNA’, *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 105/48 (2008), E99.

<sup>916</sup> Michael B. Herrera, *et al.*, ‘European and Asian contribution to the genetic diversity of mainland South American chickens’, *Royal Society Open Science* 7 (2020), 1–13.

<sup>917</sup> *Ibid.*



culture (thirteenth to fourteenth centuries), has been reported by Sorenson and Johanessen, although it is unclear if it is displayed at the Museum mentioned above, or at the Museum of the Nation in Lima, Peru.<sup>918</sup>



**Figure 23.** Pre-Columbian pottery effigy of a chicken-like bird. National Museum, Lima, Peru (Left: Photograph by Andrea Ballesteros Danel. Right: Photograph by Carl L. Johanessen).

There are also reports of a 1557 publication by a German traveller in Venezuela, Nikolaus Federmann (c. 1505–1542), who noted having heard the ‘crow’ of roosters in this South American country in 1531, presumably brought in by merchants from the South Sea.<sup>919</sup> The Spanish edition of Federmann’s work, however, states that the chickens were reportedly

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<sup>918</sup> John L. Sorenson and Carl L. Johanessen, *World Trade and Biological Exchanges Before 1492* (New York/Bloomington: iUniverse, 2009), 350.

<sup>919</sup> Terry L. Jones and Alice A. Storey, ‘Myths and Oral Traditions’, in *Polynesians in America*, 50; Alice A. Storey, Daniel Quiroz, and Elizabeth A. Matisoo-Smith, ‘A Reappraisal of the Evidence for Pre-Columbian Introduction of Chickens to the Americas’, *Polynesians in America*, 166.

purchased by Indigenous Venezuelans from the Spaniards.<sup>920</sup> In light of the historical records and artefacts mentioned, and of the contentious archaeological findings of Polynesian chicken bones in southern Chile dating to pre-Columbian times, there is need to develop further research to clarify and advance the debate.

### **Recent Archaeological Work on Trans-Pacific Contact**

Most archaeologists currently working in Rapa Nui consider that pre-Columbian contact events did take place between this island and South America, resulting in the diffusion of certain items of material culture at least into parts of southern Chile. For instance, obsidian ‘spear points’ known as *mata’a* in Rapa Nui have been found in Mocha Island, off the coast of Chile. Chilean archaeologist José Miguel Ramírez-Aliaga has also conducted archaeological and research work in other parts of southern Chile and in Rapa Nui, discovering further evidence of possible pre-Columbian trans-Pacific contact between mainland and island Chile and Polynesia, predominantly in the Mapuche area.<sup>921</sup> In Ramírez-Aliaga’s view, in addition to the cited material culture and the sweet potato, both human and chicken bones represent compelling evidence that demonstrates that there was contact between Polynesians and the Indigenous peoples of Chile.

Ramírez Aliaga lists a series of archaeological, ethnographic, linguistic and biological features as evidence of pre-Columbian trans-Pacific contact at least between Polynesia and southern Chile, where the Mapuche lived. These features include *mata’a* ‘spear points’, stone adzes called *toki* which also imply linguistic parallels, anthropomorphic stone figures from Chiloé and Mocha Islands resembling Rapa Nui figurines, the Araucanian chicken, and the earth ovens known as *curanto* by Mapuche (particularly in Chiloé Island) and *umu* in Polynesia, and

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<sup>920</sup> Nikolaus Federmann, *Narración del primer viaje de Federmann a Venezuela* (Caracas: Lit. y Tip. del Comercio, 1916 [1557]), 93.

<sup>921</sup> See for example Ramírez-Aliaga, ‘The Polynesian-Mapuche Connection: Soft and Hard Evidence and New Ideas’, 29–33.

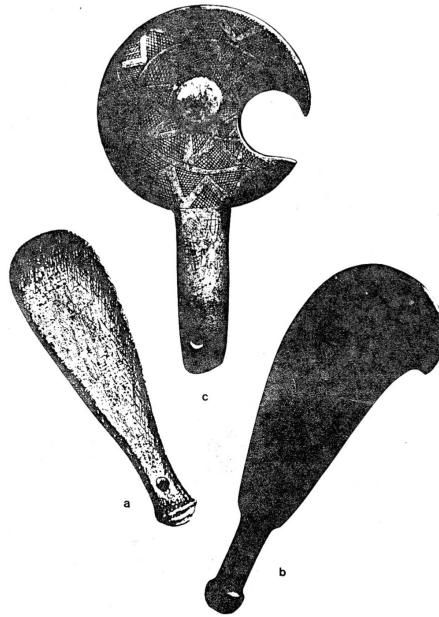
community work called *minga* by Mapuche and *umanga* in Rapa Nui.<sup>922</sup> They also include seventeen linguistic expressions derived from the work of Englert (1934) which parallel the Mapudungun (Mapuche) language of Chile and the Vananga language of Rapa Nui.<sup>923</sup> Also part of this list are a number of stone clubs resembling various types of Māori *patu* that have been found in North and South America (e.g. Peru, Mexico, and the western coast of North America), not all from archaeological contexts. In addition, Ramírez Aliaga recorded and classified 103 stone clubs from Chile and Argentina —some with unknown provenance.<sup>924</sup> Some of these are illustrated in Figure 24. Most of Ramírez Aliaga’s ideas and evidence have been explored before in other publications, particularly in the early- to mid-twentieth century, as discussed in chapters 5 and 6.

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<sup>922</sup> José Miguel Ramírez, ‘Transpacific Contact: The Mapuche Connection’, *Rapa Nui Journal* 4 (1991/1992), 53–55; Ramírez Aliaga and Matisoo-Smith, ‘Polinesios en el sur de Chile en tiempos prehispanicos: evidencia dura, nuevas preguntas y una nueva hipótesis’, 85–100; Ramírez Aliaga, ‘The Polynesia-Mapuche Transpacific Contact’, in Paul Wallin and Helene Martinsson-Wallin, *The Gotland Papers. Selected Papers from the VII International Conference on Easter Island and the Pacific. Migration, Identity and Cultural Heritage* (Gotland: Gotland University Press, 2010), 297–305; Ramírez-Aliaga, ‘The Polynesian-Mapuche Connection: Soft and Hard Evidence and New Ideas’, 29–33.

<sup>923</sup> Ramírez Aliaga, ‘Contactos transpacíficos: un acercamiento al problema de los supuestos rasgos polinésicos en la cultura mapuche’, 18.

<sup>924</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.



**Figure 24.** *Patu onewa* from Mendoza Argentina (a); *Mere okewa* or *wahaika* from Loquimay, Chile (b); and Ornitomorphic discoidal club from Paine, Chile (c) (Source: Ramírez Aliaga 1992).

In addition to the evidence listed above, Ramírez Aliaga has also argued that there are certain purportedly typical Polynesian characteristics found in skulls from Mocha Island, Chile, particularly the ‘rocker jaw’.<sup>925</sup> The ‘rocker jaw’ has been suggested as a common feature in Polynesian skulls. This term was coined in 1956, has been further analysed by Philip Houghton, and has featured in numerous studies since.<sup>926</sup> Houghton was a New Zealand scholar at the University of Otago with a background in medicine and osteology.<sup>927</sup> His support for the idea of a rocker form in Polynesian crania basically consists of the presence of ‘a very open cranial base angle’, and ‘a rather large upper facial height in the adult’.<sup>928</sup> Its supposed presence in certain

<sup>925</sup> Matisoo-Smith and Ramírez Aliaga, ‘Human Skeletal Evidence of Polynesian Presence in South America? Metric Analyses of Six Crania from Mocha Island, Chile’, *Journal of Pacific Archaeology* 1/1 (2010), 76–88. See also Ramírez Aliaga, ‘Contactos transpacíficos: un acercamiento al problema de los supuestos rasgos polinésicos en la cultura mapuche’, 1–28.

<sup>926</sup> Donald Stanley Marshall and Charles Ernest Snow, ‘An evaluation of Polynesian craniology’, *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 14 (1956), 405–27; Philip Houghton, ‘Polynesian mandibles’, *Journal of Anatomy* 127/2 (1977), 251–60.

<sup>927</sup> Hallie R. Buckley and Peter Petchey, ‘Human Skeletal Remains and Bioarchaeology in New Zealand’, in Barra O’Donnabhain, and María Cecilia Lozada (eds.), *Archaeological Human Remains: Legacies of Imperialism, Communism and Colonialism* (Cham, Switzerland: Springer, 2008), 97.

<sup>928</sup> Houghton, ‘Polynesian mandibles’, 256, 260.

skulls found in the Americas has been interpreted as indicative of trans-Pacific migrations from the west.

Despite the cumulative evidence, Ramírez Aliaga accepts that much research is still needed to fill in gaps and channel the debate. Much of Ramírez Aliaga's archaeological work has been done in collaboration with New Zealand archaeologist Elizabeth Matisoo-Smith. Ramírez Aliaga and Matisoo-Smith contended that Polynesians were engaged in trans-Pacific contact with South America from west to east and back. The most comprehensive exposition of their position is in the book *Polynesians in America* which they co-edited with Terry L. Jones and Alice A. Storey. The book comprises articles by scholars from the US, Europe, the Pacific, and Latin America whose evidence for such contacts includes similarities in fishhooks, sewn-plank canoes, traces of Polynesian influences in Mapuche material culture, and crop and animal diffusion.<sup>929</sup> Their case for sporadic west to east contact during pre-Columbian times is generally similar to that argued by Heléne Martinsson-Wallin and Paul Wallin, Swedish archaeologists who worked with Heyerdahl and accompanied his 1986 expedition to Rapa Nui. These archaeologists have rejected Heyerdahl's principal hypothesis of a founding Amerindian settlement of Rapa Nui and now argue that contact, as opposed to origins, best explains the similarities in material culture and certain aspects of the architecture technique specific to Rapa Nui and parts of South America. Such views were also held by the Peruvian scholars Buse, Busto and Kauffmann Doig.<sup>930</sup> Martinsson-Wallin and Wallin also investigated east to west contact from the Americas to Eastern Polynesia evidenced in the spread of the sweet potato across Polynesia.

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<sup>929</sup> *Polynesians in America* was published in 2011 with articles by Terry L. Jones, Alice A. Storey, Andrew C. Clarke, María-Auxiliadora Cordero, Roger C. Green, Geoffrey Irwin, Kathryn A. Klar, Daniel Quiroz, Richard Scaglion and Marshall I. Weisler. See Jones *et al.* (eds.), *Polynesians in America. Pre-Columbian Contacts with the New World*.

<sup>930</sup> Heléne Martinsson-Wallin and Paul Wallin, 'Spatial Perspectives on Ceremonial Complexes: Testing Traditional Land Divisions on Rapa Nui', in Heléne Martinsson-Wallin and Timothy Thomas (eds.), *Monuments and People in the Pacific* (Uppsala: Uppsala University, Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, 2014), 317–18. See also Anderson, Martinsson-Wallin and Karen Stothert, 'Ecuadorian sailing rafts and Oceanic landfalls', 117–133; Hermann Buse, *Los peruanos en Oceanía*; Busto D., *Túpac Yupanqui, Descubridor de Oceanía*; Kauffman Doig, 'Proyección marítima: la expedición de Túpac Yupanqui', in *Historia y Arte del Perú Antiguo*, Vol. 4, 669–675.

The main areas in Chile where evidence of Polynesian contact has been found are Tunquén, El Arenal (Arauco Province), Mocha Island and Chiloé Island.<sup>931</sup> Polynesians may have landed intermittently in these and possibly other parts of South America, including the Gulf of Guayaquil in Ecuador, resulting in the diffusion of certain linguistic expressions and stone artefacts and the presence of Amerindian human DNA in Polynesia, as well as claimed but much contested Polynesian DNA in bones of blue-egg chickens found in Chile.

### **Contributions to the Debate by Mormon Scholars in the later Twentieth Century**

Since 1950, a series of Mormon scholars have also written on trans-Pacific contact linking Polynesia with the Americas. Their scholarly interest was influenced by Mormon teachings, given the current Mormon belief that Polynesians are descendants of Lehi and consequently originated in the Americas, as discussed in Chapter 3.<sup>932</sup>

The 1952 MA thesis by US Mormon anthropologist John Leon Sorenson (1924–) contains some of the most detailed evidence for pre-Columbian trans-Pacific contact between Polynesia and the Americas.<sup>933</sup> Sorenson's principal stated motive for undertaking this research was to become more knowledgeable about archaeology. His topic selection was a reflection of his 'missionary experience in Polynesia [Cook Islands and Polynesia, 1947–49], his familiarity with and critical attitude toward speculation surrounding the Hagoth account in the *Book of Mormon*, and the excitement of Thor Heyerdahl's 1947 voyage'.<sup>934</sup> Sorenson's thesis also was the

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<sup>931</sup> Ramírez Aliaga, 'Contacto Polinesia-Mapuche: Un acercamiento a la historia de la investigación y nuevas evidencias bio-antropológicas', *Anales del Museo de Historia Natural de Valparaíso* 30 (2017), 46–54.

<sup>932</sup> William A. Cole, and Elwin W. Jensen, *Israel in the Pacific, A Genealogical Text for Polynesia* (Salt Lake City: Genealogical Society, 1961), 388. See also Norman Douglas, 'The sons of Lehi and the Seed of Cain: Racial myths in Mormon scripture and their relevance to the Pacific islands', *Journal of Religious History* 8 (1974), 100.

<sup>933</sup> Sorenson, *Evidences of Culture Contacts between Polynesia and the Americas in Precolumbian Times*.

<sup>934</sup> Davis Bitton, *Mormons, Scripture, and the Ancient World: Studies in Honor of John L. Sorenson*, Maxwell Institute Publications 55 (Provo: Brigham Young University, 1998), 18–19.

beginning of his ongoing interest in transoceanic diffusion.<sup>935</sup> In line with diffusionist perspectives, Sorenson summarised evidence for trans-Pacific contact. He dated contact between Oceania and the Andean region of South America to around 1,000 B.C. with a westward migration from Ecuador to Oceania between 300 and 700 A.D.<sup>936</sup>

Sorenson also wrote several publications on pre-Columbian trans-oceanic contacts with the Americas, including a comprehensive annotated bibliography, that has greatly facilitated academic research on the literature on trans-Pacific contact between Oceania and the Americas published since the sixteenth century.<sup>937</sup> In addition, his joint publication with the US geographer Carl L. Johanessen (1924–) lists approximately one hundred plant and animal species suggestive of pre-Columbian trans-Oceanic diffusion to and from the Americas.<sup>938</sup> Sorenson’s scholarship on the topic has brought together a wealth of pertinent evidence. His massive bibliography of sources and some of his other studies synthesise different lines of evidence – such as plant and animal species that are potential markers of trans-Pacific contact, as listed in Table 21. Further research on some of these is warranted.

**Table 21.** List of plants with decisive evidence for trans-Pacific movement (adapted from Sorenson and Johanessen, 2013).

Species	Common Name	Origin	Moved To	Moved By
<i>Ageratum conyzoides</i>	Goat weed	Americas	Marquesas?	1500 C.E.
<i>Ananas comosus</i>	Pineapple	Americas	Polynesia	600 B.C.
<i>Aristida subspicata</i>	Galápagos three-awn grass	Americas	Polynesia	1500 C.E.

<sup>935</sup> Ibid.

<sup>936</sup> Sorenson, *Evidences of Culture Contacts between Polynesia and the Americas in Precolumbian Times*, 152–153.

<sup>937</sup> Sorenson and Raish, *Pre-Columbian Contact with the Americas Across the Oceans: An Annotated Bibliography*, 2nd edition.

<sup>938</sup> Sorenson, and Johanessen, *World Trade and Biological Exchanges Before 1492*. N.B. This publication by Sorenson and Johanessen was revised and expanded in 2013.

Species	Common Name	Origin	Moved To	Moved By
<i>Aster divaricates</i>	Heart-shaped aster	Americas	Hawai'i	1500 C.E.
<i>Bixa orellana</i>	Achiote, annatto	Americas	Oceania	1000 C.E.
<i>Capsicum annuum</i>	Chili pepper	Americas	Polynesia	800 C.E.
<i>Carica papaya</i>	Papaya	Americas	Polynesia	1500 C.E.
<i>Cyperus vegetus</i>	Edible sedge	Americas	Rapa Nui	1000 C.E.
<i>Gossypium barbadense</i>	Cotton	Americas	Marquesas Islands	1500 C.E.
<i>Gossypium hirsutum</i>	Cotton	Mexico	Polynesia	1475 C.E.
<i>Gossypium tomentosum</i>	Cotton	Americas	Hawai'i	1500 C.E.
<i>Heliconia bibai</i>	Balisier	Americas	Oceania	1500 C.E.
<i>Hibiscus tilaceus</i>	Linden hibiscus	Americas	Polynesia	1500 C.E.
<i>Ipomoea batatas</i>	Sweet potato	Americas	Polynesia	300 C.E.
<i>Lagenaria siceraria</i>	Bottle gourd	Americas	Eastern Polynesia	1500 C.E.
<i>Luffa cylindrical</i>	Christmasberry	Americas	Rapa Nui	1500 C.E.
<i>Manihot sp.</i>	Manioc	Americas	Rapa Nui	1500 C.E.
<i>Maranta arundinacea</i>	Arrowroot	Americas	Rapa Nui	1000 C.E.
<i>Mucuna pruriens</i>	Cowhage	Americas	Hawai'i	B.C.E.?
<i>Osteomeles anthyllidifolia</i>	'Ulei (Hawai'ian rose)	Americas	Oceania	1500 C.E.
<i>Pachyrhizus tuberosus</i>	Jicama, yam bean	Americas	Oceania	1500 C.E.
<i>Physalis peruviana</i>	Husk tomato	Americas	East Polynesia	1000 C.E.
<i>Polygonum aluminatum</i>	Knotweed	Americas	Rapa Nui	1500 C.E.
<i>Psidium guajava</i>	Guava	Americas	Polynesia	B.C.E.?
<i>Saccharum officinarum</i>	Sugarcane	Oceania	South America	1500 C.E.
<i>Sapindus saponaria</i>	Soapberry	Americas	East Polynesia	B.C.E.?
<i>Schoenoplectus californicus</i>	Totora reed	Americas	Rapa Nui	1300 C.E.
<i>Solanum repandum / S. sessiliflorum</i>	Pacific tomato / peach tomato	Americas	Oceania	1500 C.E.
<i>Solanum tuberosum</i>	Potato	Americas	Rapa Nui	1500 C.E.
<i>Sephora toromiro</i>	Toromiro tree	Americas	Rapa Nui	1300 C.E.



## Conclusion

Some of the scholars featured in this chapter made mention of possible trans-Pacific contact with other areas of South America based on monumental architecture or material culture evidence. Heyerdahl, for instance, believed that the site of Tiwanaku in Bolivia, like Cusco in Peru, featured parallels with the monumental architecture of certain areas of Rapa Nui. In his view, this was explained by his theory of the initial settlement of the Americas and later Polynesia. Heyerdahl believed that after migrating from the Old World, the ‘white bearded men’ created the high cultures of Central and South America, and therefore settled near Tiwanaku, Bolivia. Around 500 AD they were forced out and took refuge in Polynesia.<sup>939</sup> In similar mode, D.E. Ibarra Grasso argued that Bolivian pre-Columbian megalithic structures predating the Tiwanaku culture originated in Oceania around 1,000 BC.<sup>940</sup> On the other hand, in line with Macmillan Brown, Paul Rivet believed that Polynesian earth ovens (*umu*) could be found in parts of Mexico, Peru and Chile, but were referred to by different names.<sup>941</sup>

Since the 1950s, researchers have developed new approaches to researching trans-Pacific contacts between Oceania and the Americas, have made significant new discoveries and uncovered evidence of viable sailing routes between the two regions. Most hypotheses proposed since the 1950s have centred on Polynesian-American connections, with Polynesians seen by many scholars as possessing sufficient skills and capabilities to conduct return voyages to the Americas, as discussed in chapters 8 and 9. This is the most common explanation for the diffusion of crops and animals like the sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*) and the chicken (*Gallus gallus*).

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<sup>939</sup> Heyerdahl, *American Indians in the Pacific*, 179–425, 621–764. See also Melander, ‘David’s Weapon of Mass Destruction: The Reception of Thor Heyerdahl’s ‘Kon-Tiki Theory’, *Bulletin of the History of Archaeology* 29/1 (2019), 2.

<sup>940</sup> D.E. Ibarra Grasso, ‘Anciennes cultures du territoire Bolivien (avant Tiahuanaco)’, *Antiquity and Survival* 1/6 (1956), 501–510.

<sup>941</sup> Rivet, ‘Early Contacts between Polynesia and America’, 82–83. See also Macmillan Brown, *The Riddle of the Pacific*, 264–270.

Genetic studies and a blossoming of archaeological research in Eastern Polynesia — in part inspired by Heyerdahl's example - also greatly shaped the debate during this period, together with limited direct archaeological findings, notably a series of prehistoric chicken bones in 'El Arenal-1', Chile, with genetic traits said to be comparable to those of Polynesian chickens.

European scholars based in South America or researching South America's past, such as Oswald Menghin and Canals Frau, continued to be active in the trans-Pacific contact debate of the late twentieth century. Other examples are Schobinger, and the Argentine Ibarra Grasso, whose diffusionist approach shaped their ideas. Nonetheless, Argentine scholarly contributions were less widely known than Imbelloni's earlier offerings. The most important European contribution to the debate during this period was that of Menghin, albeit in exile in Argentina, although he published less prolifically than Rivet, and his earlier Nazi sympathies and racial beliefs contaminated or overshadowed his later academic status, as did his connection to Schmidt's diffusionism. In North America, there was also a distinctive Mormon contribution to the debate on trans-Pacific contact, particularly by Sorenson with his detailed bibliography and other papers.

Trans-Pacific contact theories continue to be published, supported and critiqued despite limited archaeological evidence. Recent genetic studies and some archaeological findings have supported the possibility of trans-Pacific contact between Polynesia (but excluding other regions in Oceania) and the Americas. While robustly argued, the archaeological and genetic research discussed in this chapter is increasingly interpreted to suggest that the most probable route for any pre-Columbian trans-Pacific contact with the Americas was from west to east and was carried out by eastern Polynesians around A.D. 1,000, just at the moment that much of eastern Polynesia was first being settled.

## CHAPTER 10 Understanding the Hidden History of the Trans-Pacific Contact Debate

### Introduction

The thesis has examined the ideas of pre-Columbian trans-Pacific contact between Oceania and the Americas that have persisted since the sixteenth century. It has identified the evidence adduced, highlighted the main hypotheses and their proponents, and outlined the main ideas advanced across time and space, predominantly of west to east contacts and influence. I have shown the resilience of certain theories, as well as the evolution of certain ideas, and uncovered entrenched viewpoints, particularly regarding Amerindian sailing capabilities, and the means and timing of diffusion of the sweet potato. In other words, I have elucidated aspects of the “hidden history” of these ideas: i.e. historical, historiographical, and scientific details about trans-Pacific contact ideas that are understudied or unknown. As noted by Bevir, human cultures generate meanings and thus, ‘many of us find it hard to disentangle our interest in certain questions from our commitment to a particular approach’.<sup>942</sup> Through the history of ideas, we explore these meanings and uncover the multiple influences on a particular scientific debate. To understand the trans-Pacific contact debate, it is necessary to examine its logic and context throughout history. Exploring the impact of religious beliefs, colonialism as an ideology and imperialistic influences, racial prejudices, and romanticism on these theories of contact, as I have done in this thesis, provides a complete history of ideas of trans-Pacific contact.

More than a century ago, US scholar Herbert F. Wright (1892–1945) summarised debates about trans-Pacific contacts at that time. Quoting the Swiss archaeologist Bandelier, and making reference to the ideas of seventeenth-century Dutch scholars De Laet and Grotius, Wright stated:

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<sup>942</sup> Bevir, *The Logic of the History of Ideas*, ix.

The knowledge that these writers of the seventeenth century [including Grotius and De Laet] possessed and the evidence that they adduced seem all the more remarkable when it is remembered that ‘the question of the origin of the Indians is as yet a matter of conjecture. Affinities with Asiatic groups have been observed on the north eastern and western coast of North America, and certain similarities between the Peruvian-coast Indians and Polynesian tribes seem striking, but decisive evidence is still wanting’. In these words Bandelier sums up the state of affairs today, but in these words also De Laet might have summed up his own opinions on the same subject over two hundred and fifty years ago.<sup>943</sup>

Ironically, Wright’s assessment in 1907 is still where the debate currently stands and it highlights the fact that now, as then, the evidence for trans-Pacific contact is quite limited. There have been constraints in its analysis over time, and its incompleteness encourages conjecture surrounding the reality of pre-Columbian trans-Pacific contact between Oceania and the Americas.

The absence of any significant quantity of ‘hard’ evidence for trans-Pacific contact has at times been obscured by the multi-disciplinary approaches used to argue for pre-Columbian interaction between South America and Polynesia. These approaches range from linguistic to anthropological studies, some not well known, some widely rejected, and very few accepted as unequivocal truth by scholars. This situation has made for a complicated, fragmented flow of arguments, sometimes resulting in impasses when evidence for and against seem equally persuasive. As a result, current discussions of trans-Pacific contact have advanced little across the centuries, highlighting the ongoing need for more solid evidence.

## **Overview of Ideas of Trans-Pacific Contact**

The earliest-known published ideas about the possibility that trans-Pacific contact during pre-Columbian times linked the vast geographical area of Oceania with the American continent can be traced to the sixteenth century, as described in Chapter 2. During this period, a number of

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<sup>943</sup> Wright, ‘Origin of American Aborigines: A Famous Controversy’, 275. See also Adolph Francis Alphonse Bandelier, ‘America’ in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 1 (New York: The Encyclopedia Press, 1907), 411.

Spanish chronicles written by missionaries or explorers began to reflect on Amerindian origins and possible contact with other peoples. Other texts such as Antwerp's *Polyglot Bible* also explored similar ideas and possibly influenced the chroniclers' writings. However, the most prominent driving forces for the emergence of such ideas were colonial and economic interests, given the strong Spanish desire to control routes to East Asia across the Pacific Ocean and uncover imagined lands of supposedly untapped wealth. The Judeo-Christian understanding of geography and the origins of humanity also shaped the notions of trans-Pacific contact expressed in these texts. This understanding attempted to make sense of the origins of the newly encountered peoples. It also included the widespread belief in the existence of a vast southern continent which served to counterbalance the continental mass of the Old World and was inhabited by unknown heathen populations awaiting Christianity.

In subsequent centuries, as knowledge of the Pacific Ocean, its islands and populations grew, the number of publications arguing for contact between these islands and the Americas increased, particularly during the nineteenth century, laying the foundations for modern debates on trans-Pacific contact, as demonstrated in chapters 3 and 4. The almost concurrent discovery and exploration of the Americas and the Pacific meant that questions and ideas about the origins of Amerindians and of the Indigenous populations of the Pacific were developed at around the same time, sometimes even by the same scholars. Consequently, it is unsurprising that the regional histories of the Americas and eastern Oceania became entangled and that ideas emerged about the common origins of their populations. As very few known publications from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries discussed pre-Columbian trans-Pacific contact, I have mostly omitted these two centuries from the thesis. This paucity of information may have been due to a lack of identifiable factors amid a context where European colonial interests focused on Asia and the west Pacific. Table 21, below, provides a timeline for different categories of evidence cited in literature on trans-Pacific interactions from the sixteenth century, with the exclusion of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

**Table 22.** Timeline of development of trans-Pacific contact ideas between Oceania and the Americas.

Theory or Evidence	16 <sup>th</sup> Century	19 <sup>th</sup> Century	20 <sup>th</sup> Century	21 <sup>st</sup> Century
Accidental voyages (origins)	X	X	X	X
Long-distance voyages (contacts)	X	X	X	X
Coastal arrivals (contacts)	X		X	X
Ecuadorian or South American balsa rafts	X	X	X	X
Mormon Conceptions		X	X	X
Diffusionist Perspectives			X	X
Crop Diffusion (including the sweet potato)		X	X	X
Animal diffusion (including the chicken)		X	X	X
DNA				X
Skull morphology comparisons			X	X
Racial classification		X	X	
Experimental expeditions			X	X
Linguistic comparisons		X	X	X
Material culture parallels —South America (e.g. <i>toki</i> , <i>mere okewa</i> , <i>patu</i> )		X	X	X
Material culture parallels — North America (e.g. fishhooks)		X	X	X
Contact from Polynesia			X	X
Contact from the Americas (e.g. Túpac Yupanqui's supposed voyage)	X	X	X	X
Sewn-plank canoes (e.g. Chilean <i>dalca</i> and Chumash <i>tomol</i> )			X	X
Hookworm parasite diffusion ( <i>A. Duodenale</i> )			X	
Musical instruments		X	X	

During the twentieth century, schools of thought emergent in Austria, France, Argentina and Chile, the United States, and Britain further shaped the theories and hypotheses proposed about trans-Pacific contact, as described in chapters 5 and 6. The overarching theoretical systems were diffusionism and *Kulturkreis* (cultural circles), both of which posited the spread of cultural complexes or characteristics from centres of origin to neighbouring and distant regions. A noteworthy diffusionist was Paul Rivet, whose work on the anthropology and archaeology of Oceania and South America did much to introduce these previously little studied places to international scholarship. His proposition of an initial ‘Melanesian’ and ‘Malayo-Polynesian’ settlement of parts of the Americas was influential due to his academic reputation, as detailed in Chapter 6. Rivet’s ideas on American and Pacific archaeology and anthropology, like

those of other European scholars who settled in Latin America and became involved in its intellectual landscape, were integrated into local thinking. In Argentina, for example, the *Kulturkreis* school was openly adopted by trans-Pacific contact theorists keen to demonstrate that, contrary to Eurocentric thinking, pre-Columbian cultures could have conducted exploratory voyages across the Ocean. National pride and anti-imperialism became entwined with a new sense of the importance of studying Amerindian cultures. Paradoxically, however, the most popular of such theories – such as works of fiction or ‘pseudo-science’ – often sought to enhance national dignity by associating Amerindian or pre-Polynesian populations with ancient Indo-European civilisations.

Religion, the obvious driving force for the establishment of Christian missions in the Pacific islands, also shaped ideas on trans-Pacific contact. As shown in Chapter 4, Mormonism notably suggested that the Pacific islands had been settled from the Americas based on developments of ideas found in the *Book of Mormon*. Mormon adherents proffered such origin theories in order to be inclusive of the people they were trying to convert. A similar motivation may also help explain why early Pacific missionaries like Ellis felt the need to expound ideas on the origins and ethnology of Pacific Islanders.

Like the Mormons, Thor Heyerdahl also espoused an east to west migration route for the settlement of the Pacific. The Norwegian adventurer famously traversed the Pacific in 1947 aboard the *Kon-Tiki*, built in imitation of pre-Columbian South American balsa rafts and purpose-built to cross the Pacific in order to prove his theory that ‘white bearded men’ had settled the Americas and then Polynesia, as described in Chapter 7. Extensive media exposure and subsequent dissemination of Heyerdahl’s theory in films made him a popular celebrity.

Subsequent experimental expeditions have also contributed to the history of ideas of trans-Pacific contact. Most such practical experimentation since 1947 was intended to prove that westward contact might have occurred between the pre-Columbian Americas and Polynesia. In sharp contrast, most academic speculation argues that Polynesians travelled eastward and

perhaps taught their sailing ways — such as the use of the sail - to Amerindians, revolutionising their sailing techniques and methodologies as discussed in Chapter 9. In reaction to the popular acclaim achieved by Heyerdahl, scholars increasingly avoided the theme of trans-Pacific contacts, shown by the reduced number of publications dealing with the topic in the last four decades of the twentieth century. Renewed research and publication on this topic since 2000, fed by novel archaeological and genetic data, have generally reinstated the west-east direction of voyages and migration favoured by earlier researchers on the basis of linguistics and material culture evidence.

Developments in archaeology and the revolution that has taken place in genomics have revitalised thinking about trans-Pacific contacts in the twenty-first century, not least with respect to the long-debated diffusion of the sweet potato, as evidenced in Chapter 9. Ambiguous evidence for the presence of the Polynesian chicken in Chile has also been invoked as scientific evidence said to prove pre-Columbian links between South America and Eastern Polynesia. However, such claims have prompted spirited debates and controversy about research methodology and results. Scientifically, *Ipomoea batatas* and *Gallus gallus* constitute the strongest evidence thus far produced for trans-Pacific contacts in either direction. However, they are also a very limited basis on which to ground a coherent and convincing scientific theory as to how, when, where, by whom, and in which direction such contacts might have occurred. In this thesis I have provided biographical and historical contexts for the proponents of these theories, and an examination of their Pacific involvement, as well as the scholarly personal between theories and personal links between proponents. Below is a summary of the key themes of this research.

## **The Forces at Play in the Development of these Ideas**

### **Religion**

Since the first ideas of trans-Pacific contact were rehearsed in the sixteenth century, religion has been a dominant factor informing many of these ideas. We have seen how monogenist



perspectives became increasingly rejected in favour of polygenism given the discoveries of new populations and the attempts to explain their origins. This conflicted with the Christian vision of Adam and Eve as the ancestors of all people living today. In the particular case of trans-Pacific contact theory, Amerindians and Polynesians were usually conveniently paired together as the same race to attempt to comprehend their origins and to link the nature of humanity with teachings from the Bible. When these teachings could not satisfy understandings of racial differences, alternative explanations were sought, resulting in diverse theories of origins and migrations.

Missionary activities in the Pacific, and the development of Mormonism have also influenced the trans-Pacific contact debate. The missionaries-cum-scholars who participated in these nineteenth-century missions wished to understand the nature and origins of the people they were proselytising to in order to better carry out their duties. Similarly, the expansion of Mormonism to Polynesia resulted in the necessary inclusion of these peoples into their theory of the origins of 'the chosen people'. In Chapter 3 I discuss how interest in describing the inhabitants of the Pacific and understand their nature and origins to facilitate proselytism sometimes resulted in speculation upon their connection with the Americas. This was particularly the case with Mormonism, since it was believed that Polynesia had been settled from the Americas, making them relatable and defined as among the 'chosen people'. Contemporary Mormon scholars have continued to be involved in scholarship surrounding trans-Pacific contact: one major example being Sorenson.

## **Racism**

Racial classifications have also informed, either overtly or covertly, many trans-Pacific contact theories to date. Dumont d'Urville's belief that the population of Oceania was made up of two distinct races, the 'copper-skinned people' of Malaysia, Micronesia and Polynesia, and the 'black-skinned' people of Melanesia, seems to be one of the most prevalent distinctions that has

imbued trans-Pacific contact ideas and theories over time.<sup>944</sup> Visions of white gods or ‘white bearded men’ *à la Heyerdahl*, and ideas about the dolichocephalic and brachycephalic cranial morphologies advanced by Retzius are two further examples of how racism has shaped the trans-Pacific contact debate. Some experimental expeditions of the twentieth century sought to deny the possibility that Polynesians and Melanesians had common origins and believed that the former were more identifiable with Amerindians, a view that may have derived from Dumont d’Urville’s binary racial classification.<sup>945</sup> In South America in particular, nineteenth- and twentieth-century projects of nation building became tied up with the development of archaeology and anthropology; ideas about contact with certain populations may have been covertly favoured as they matched these political agendas. The arrival of expatriate European scholars in countries like Mexico and Argentina in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries respectively, were thus welcomed, not only because of their scholarly regard and expertise, but also because they were the embodiment of what these nations aspired to — Western ‘civilisation’.

### **Colonialism and Imperialism**

The expansion of European nations into areas in the Americas and the Pacific since the sixteenth century has impacted on ideas about trans-Pacific contact by imbuing them with colonial aspirations that have continued, often unremarked, into the present. As discussed in Chapter 2, the early modern European exploration of the Pacific coincided with the colonisation of the New World which defined sixteenth-century understandings of the region. The earliest known representations of trans-Pacific contact, including ethnographic and historical texts that are now considered as suggestive evidence, are from this period. Therefore, this colonial thinking has deeply influenced past and present understandings of trans-Pacific contact. A review of such

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<sup>944</sup> Dumont d’Urville, *Voyage pittoresque autour du monde: résumé général des voyages de découvertes ...*, vi—vii.

<sup>945</sup> Ibid.

early texts within their context, as undertaken in this thesis, has not been previously readily available and was a necessary first step for my research. One example of a colonialist text still used as evidence of trans-Pacific contact is Túpac Yupanqui's trans-Pacific voyage, allegedly to Polynesia, as described in three sixteenth century Spanish chronicles. There is uncertainty regarding the exact location of Ahuachumbi and Ninachumbi, the two islands this Inca emperor supposedly reached. Chapter 2 discusses how these descriptions may have been inspired by a desire to locate rich lands to the west of the Americas, in the Pacific Ocean. However, in view of the increasing archaeological and historical evidence for contact and trade of prestige exotic goods between Mesoamerica and northern South America during pre-Hispanic times, outlined in Chapter 8, the texts may in fact be historical references to this trading enterprise, rather than attempts to identify the exact geographical location of far-distant Pacific islands. An additional source that mentions Ahuachumbi and Ninachumbi, the 1656 'Probanza de los Incas nietos de conquistadores' ('Statements by the Inca Grandchildren of Conquerors'), describes them as provinces near the sea and not specifically as islands.<sup>946</sup> This manuscript was supposedly written by the descendants of Túpac Yupanqui for the purpose of witnessing and validating his conquest of particular regions. Despite this description as provinces rather than islands, the manuscript highlights the Inca interest in conquering new land; most likely piquing the interest of their colonial conquerors. Their interpretation as islands, however, stems from their own names — *Chumbi*, or belt, appears to refer to a strip of land surrounded by water. Therefore, as discussed in Chapter 8, the establishment of north-south trade routes along the American Pacific coast, and not just east-west ones, during pre- and post-Columbian times must be considered as evidence of voyages. This would explain the various raft sightings at sea of certain sixteenth-century reports, as well as the diffusion of certain crops and animals, linguistic expressions, and elements of material culture that have become intertwined in theories of trans-Pacific contact.

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<sup>946</sup> Rowe, 'Probanza de los Incas nietos de conquistadores', 210–11, 224.

This is evidence of how chroniclers interpreted Indigenous stories to suit their intentions; which were to seek out lands of wealth in the Pacific. The reliance on such texts over the ages has not readily identified the possibility that the chroniclers misinterpreted the true meanings of the oral traditions they reported surrounding Ahuachumbi and Ninachumbi.

French scholars and colonial interests have significantly shaped the trans-Pacific contact debate. The arrival of French scholars in Mexico in the nineteenth century, for instance, may have been facilitated by Mexico's admiration of France's imperial expansion and scientific achievement. This greatly bolstered the development of anthropology and archaeology in that American country, which in turn influenced the course of ideas on trans-Pacific contact. I discussed in Chapter 3 how a work by Brasseur de Bourbourg, a member of the *Commission Scientifique du Mexique*, influenced Le Plongeon's ideas on a sunken Pacific continent. The French influence on the emerging trans-Pacific contact ideas that emerged in the Americas continued into the twentieth century, particularly with the work of Paul Rivet, as discussed in Chapter 6. Rivet's publications on trade relations between Oceania and the Americas, and Polynesia and the Americas particularly, and his associations both with Americanist and Oceanic research institutions, resulted in the reinforcement of the belief in the possibility of migration waves reaching the Americas during pre-Columbian times.

In view of the colonialist and imperialist perspectives that have at times overlaid the evidence or sought to define trans-Pacific links in a certain way, it is important to address these sociopolitical or religious agendas as defining elements of the trans-Pacific contact debate.

### **Romanticism**

Several trans-Pacific contact ideas have been influenced by Romanticist views about exploration and seafaring, particularly in relation to Polynesian and Amerindian sailing abilities. Such views have also at times responded to vigorous trends in scholarship and popular culture, such as the influence of Heyerdahl in both these realms, despite his mostly negative regard among scholars.

Anthropology is associated with the establishment of links between specific populations and cultures. In some countries this has tied in with the development of forms of nationalism, as is the case with Argentina. These tendencies have also shaped the trans-Pacific contact debate. As discussed in this thesis, a series of Argentine scholars made important contributions to the trans-Pacific contact debate, particularly the discovery and perceived similarities between certain stone artefacts from Argentina with comparable ones from New Zealand. Moreover, nationalistic perspectives have influenced beliefs in the spread of particular valuable cultural traits specific to a certain country or region, such as the monumental architecture found in Cusco, Peru. These hypotheses, such as those of the Peruvian scholar José Antonio del Busto Duthurburu, have influenced the interpretation of certain examples of ancient monumental architecture as evidence of diffusion from the Americas to Polynesia.

### **Scientific Evidence**

Diffusionist perspectives and theories shaped by the Austrian *Kulturkreislehre* theory attempted to demonstrate connections between various distinct cultures from across the globe in the early twentieth century. These perspectives naturally counteracted the religious distinctions of race and the basis of their explanations of contact specific to the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. Tangible archaeological examples such as the South American stone clubs and their Polynesian counterparts have, in addition to linguistic and anthropological comparisons, increasingly shaped the trans-Pacific contact debate since the nineteenth century. More recently, studies of DNA have attempted to show migration flows, crop and animal diffusion between the Americas and Polynesia. Nevertheless, in view of limited evidence, conflicting studies and the lack of resolution about whether or not there was contact between Oceania and the Americas in pre-Columbian times, a Romanticist view linked to Amerindian and Polynesian seafaring continues to shape the trans-Pacific contact debate.

## Current Status of the Debate

The most plausible argument for some kind of pre-European trans-Pacific contact is the diffusion of the sweet potato from South America to Polynesia. Most recent studies suggest that this crop was introduced into Eastern Polynesia by Polynesian mariners who reached South America about 1,000 years ago and returned with the cultivar, which was subsequently dispersed throughout Eastern Polynesia.<sup>947</sup> Other studies also expect that this introduction occurred before Columbus, given similarities between the Ecuadorian or Peruvian, Chilean, and Polynesian terms for the sweet potato.<sup>948</sup>

Since the first supporting theories emerged, the trans-Pacific contact debate has been swayed by erroneous hypotheses, popular yet unsupported claims, and only occasional specifically archaeological research aiming to uncover more clues or disentangle and elucidate past supporting evidence and channel the debate productively. scholarship does not focus strongly on Pacific archaeology in general nor the history of its inhabitants, who are largely ignored in discussion at most recent international conferences. Moreover, historical and archaeological studies of the Pacific have been largely conducted in isolated and small-scale projects limited to particular islands or at best single archipelagoes. The early global archaeological conception of the Pacific Islands as difficult to access and not worth serious stratigraphic investigation had a significant negative impact on the development of ideas and debate about trans-Pacific contacts until after World War II, as did the widespread prejudice that Amerindians were incapable and unequipped to conduct long-distance westerly voyages across the Ocean. Nonetheless, a relatively small number of scholars did conduct research which aimed or hoped to produce the compelling evidence necessary to demonstrate that interaction did occur, including Imbelloni, Nordenskiöld, Palavecino, Rivet, and Sorenson. In other cases,

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<sup>947</sup> For example, Tim Denham, 'Ancient and historic dispersals of sweet potato in Oceania', *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 110/6 (2013), 1982–1983.

<sup>948</sup> For example, Ramírez-Aliaga and Matisoo-Smith, 'Polinesios en el sur de Chile en tiempos prehistóricos: evidencia dura, nuevas preguntas y una nueva hipótesis', 94.

notably the Peruvian scholar Busto, nationalist imperatives doubtless influenced claims that the evidence for westward trans-Pacific contact from the Americas was compelling, based on the purported diffusion of cultural practices such as construction techniques reported in Cusco, Peru, and the Vinapú *abu* (temple) on Rapa Nui.

The detailed critical survey in this thesis of the longstanding multilingual literature on Oceanic-Amerindian interaction suggests that any such contacts were most likely unplanned and produced no major cultural impacts. A natural situation resulting from Polynesian settlement of islands closer and closer to the American continent would probably make at least vicarious contact inevitable. Eastern Polynesian voyagers did not know that there were no more island groups able to be settled further to the east, but instead a continent. Amerindians might equally have launched accidental or intentional westward voyages, perhaps following interaction with Polynesians, or as an extension of exploration leading to trading contacts on a north-south axis that proved to be a source of prestige exotic goods. The possibility that long-distance voyages sailed westward from the Americas into the Pacific still remains contentious, while the likelihood of some long-distance Polynesian voyaging extending to the Americas is generally accepted among Pacific archaeology scholars.

Further studies of ancient DNA may give clues about migration flows, settlement dates and routes, and will also provide information about the genetic makeup of certain ancient populations. Other bioanthropological studies may also help fill in the gaps. Some scholars, however, consider that such studies remain racialised in approach, a continuation of previous approaches to human classification and skull shapes from the nineteenth century that still reverberate today. It is indeed the case that where religion greatly shaped the trans-Pacific contact ideas of the sixteenth century, ideas about race have largely shaped the debate in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Current researchers need to acknowledge and understand the intellectual legacy that has preceded their work.

The main geographical areas in the Americas where pre-Columbian trans-Pacific links with Polynesia have been claimed are the Santa Barbara region on the California coast; the Gulf of Guayaquil and Ecuador and Peru in general; parts of Mendoza in Argentina; Tunquén, Chillán and the Araucanía region in general in southern Chile; and Chiloé and Mocha islands in Chile. However, Pacific island links with Bolivia, Colombia, and Mexico have also been proposed, albeit to a significantly lesser extent. The site of Tiwanaku in Bolivia, like Cusco in Peru, has been said to feature parallels with the monumental architecture of Rapa Nui. It has also been argued that Bolivian pre-Columbian megalithic structures predating the Tiwanaku culture originated in Oceania around 1,000 BC, although this date does not fit with current understandings of the settlement of the Pacific.<sup>949</sup> The Colombian archaeologist Gregorio Hernández de Alba believed that the anthropomorphic figures of this Colombian archaeological site greatly resembled certain *moai* from Rapa Nui and other Oceanic ancient sculptures, but all of these date to the last thousand years or less that Eastern Polynesia has been settled.<sup>950</sup> Paul Rivet, like Macmillan Brown before him, believed that Polynesian earth ovens (*umu*) could be found in certain parts of the Americas like Mexico, Peru, and Chile.<sup>951</sup> The Austrian ethnologist Friedrich Röck argued that certain calendar systems from Mexico, particularly the Toltec, resemble Polynesian systems and spread to the New World from Southeast Asia via Polynesia.<sup>952</sup> Most proponents of such ideas agree that some form of low-impact contact between Polynesia and the Americas occurred. Ideas about a major settlement or origin event from either of these areas into the other are no longer entertained.

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<sup>949</sup> D.E. Ibarra Grasso, 'Anciennes cultures du territoire Bolivien (avant Tiahuanaco)', *Antiquity and Survival* 1/6 (1956), 501–510.

<sup>950</sup> Hernández de Alba, 'Nouvelles découvertes archéologiques à San Agustín et à Tierradentro (Colombie)', 57–68.

<sup>951</sup> Rivet, 'Early Contacts between Polynesia and America', 82–83; Macmillan Brown, *The Riddle of the Pacific*, 264–270.

<sup>952</sup> Röck, 'Kalender, Stern Glaube und Weltbilder der Tolteken las Zeugen verschollener Kulturbeziehungen zur Alten Welt', 43–136.



It must be concluded that little or no corroborated scientific evidence exists for direct contact between Polynesia and the Americas prior to European contacts, beyond the presence of the domesticated sweet potato in both regions. Traditions or conjectural accounts of such contacts reported by early European explorers or missionaries reflect their contemporary, mainly religious values and cannot be taken as unequivocal evidence for trans-Pacific contacts. Modern practical demonstrations of feasibility, as in raft voyages from the Americas to Polynesia or Australia, are not physical proof that similar pre-Columbian voyages actually occurred. It is historically anachronistic to attribute knowledge obtained in a colonial situation as necessarily providing direct information about earlier events. While long-distance voyages between far-flung islands and archipelagoes were certainly undertaken in Polynesia, it is unproven that Polynesian navigators actually crossed the South Pacific to land in the Americas. The claimed similarities in material culture, cultural practices, languages and ceremonial architecture between Polynesia and parts of the Americas could potentially have resulted from ancient shared ancestry rather than (or in addition to) pre-Columbian trans-Pacific contact. Ideas about Taiwanese prototypes of the objects of material culture used as evidenced of contact between Polynesia and South America, outlined in Chapter 9, may aid our understanding of their mode and timing of diffusion.

### **Recommendations for Future Research**

Whilst early, mainly Spanish concepts of trans-Pacific contact referred to the largely unknown region of the South Sea, later contributors offered more detailed hypotheses specifying certain geographical areas of the Pacific, such as Australia, Polynesia or Melanesia. Uncertainties, personal disputes, and romantic speculations mean that debate on the issue has always been fragmented. The extensive literature review and historiographical analysis provided in the thesis has uncovered a number of lacunae requiring the development of additional historiographical research. These limitations involve particular events and scholars that may have influenced the trans-Pacific contact debate more than has been able to be addressed in the thesis.

Comprehensive studies of the material culture objects that have been used to argue in favour of trans-Pacific contact would also help advance the debate. Lastly, an appraisal of the lines of evidence for trans-Pacific contact by updated techniques and methodologies would also help move the debate forward. Research on north-south trans-Pacific contact between Mesoamerica and northern South America could be used as a model of multidisciplinary work and inferences based on sophisticated theories of exchange, prestige goods, chronological studies, and cultural practices that have considerably advanced discussion of that topic. A similar level of effort has not yet been applied to east-west contact discussions.

### **Historiographical Research**

Much of the evidence for trans-Pacific contact published more than thirty years ago, as noted by Seelenfreund, 'has not been independently re-examined in the light of more recent methodological or theoretical innovations'.<sup>953</sup> For example, as noted by Menghin in 1960, some of the arguments for trans-Pacific contact are backed by evidence that has neither been dated nor its origin determined, as is the case with the supposed *patu* and *mere okewa* stone artefacts from South America. I have collated evidence in this thesis and presented the evidence pertaining to each theory and the contexts in which they emerged. However, there are opportunities to develop further research programs addressing limitations in delineating historiographical contexts, locating biographical or intellectual data, and uncovering sources and details of the evidence adduced in support of the various theories.

Some recommendations for further historiographical research involve studies on the influence of scientific expeditions to the trans-Pacific contact debate. Others involve individuals whose biographical and intellectual details are not easily accessible such as Francis A. Allen, mentioned in Chapter 3. First, in light of reports regarding certain sixteenth-century texts which

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<sup>953</sup> Andrea Seelenfreund, 'Ancient Ocean Crossings: Reconsidering the Case for Contacts with the Pre-Columbian Americas', *Journal of Pacific History* 54/2 (2019), 286.

mention the presence of chickens in a number of Latin American countries prior to the Spanish conquest, there is a need to develop historiographical research into these accounts and compare them with archaeological evidence. One such case involves the German adventurer Nikolaus Federmann (c. 1505–1542), who supposedly heard the crow of chickens while travelling through Venezuela in 1531, as noted in Chapter 9. According to Jones and Storey, Federmann noted that these chickens were brought in by merchants from the South Sea.<sup>954</sup> The Spanish edition, however, states that the chickens were reportedly acquired by Indigenous Venezuelans from the Spaniards.<sup>955</sup> There are also at least two known pre-Columbian vessels of chicken-like birds in museum collections in Peru, as described in Chapter 9. Regardless of this, the presence of Polynesian chickens in South America remains inconclusive and requires further historiographical and archaeological research.

Given the paucity of information on trans-Pacific contact ideas from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a thorough research into the historical records for this period is recommended. The extent to which European colonial interests into Asia and the west Pacific influenced this paucity is worthy of a special investigation.

Developing a research program on the history, scientific contributions, and ethnographic and botanical collections resulting from the United States Exploring Expedition of 1838–1842, and the *Comisión Científica del Pacífico* of 1862–1865 with a particular focus on their scientific contributions to knowledge may give further clues in relation to the development of the trans-Pacific contact debate. These two exploratory expeditions may have had a more general intellectual input given their publications and fame. The crew of the United States Exploring Expedition carefully surveyed the Pacific and collected a vast quantity of materials and specimens that were sent to the US National Museum, currently the Smithsonian in Washington

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<sup>954</sup> Terry L. Jones and Alice A. Storey, 'Myths and Oral Traditions', in *Polynesians in America*, 50; Alice A. Storey, Daniel Quiroz, and Elizabeth A. Matisoo-Smith, 'A Reappraisal of the Evidence for Pre-Columbian Introduction of Chickens to the Americas', *Polynesians in America*, 166.

<sup>955</sup> Federmann, *Narración del primer viaje de Federmann a Venezuela*, 93.

D.C., and other US museums. The crew of the *Comisión Científica del Pacífico* surveyed the former Spanish colonies of the Americas and collected ethnographic and botanical specimens from this geographical area. It would be interesting to determine whether some of these materials have featured as evidence for trans-Pacific contact. The publications and reports that were published as a result of these two exploratory voyages should also be given attention in connection to the history of ideas of trans-Pacific contact. This is particularly so given the further research of some of the scholars involved, especially Horatio Hale of the United States Exploring Expedition, and Marcos Jiménez de la Espada of the *Comisión Científica del Pacífico*. Their academic networks, archives, biographies, and other scholarly works should be analysed to determine their possible influence on the development of ideas of trans-Pacific contact. This thesis has analysed their influence to some extent in chapters 3, 4 and 5, but more thorough research is needed to address properly the contributions of these scholars. Horatio Hale's archives are held at the Smithsonian Institution's National Anthropological Archives, in Washington D.C. Archival material relating to Marcos Jiménez de la Espada can be found in Madrid, Spain, at the National Museum of Natural Sciences (Museo Nacional de Ciencias Naturales), the National Museum of Anthropology (Museo Nacional de Antropología), the Museum of America (Museo de América), and the Marcos Jiménez de la Espada archives at the General Humanities Library (Archivo de la Biblioteca General de Humanidades), which is part of the National Research Council (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas — CSIC).

Research on a particular historical event, the Peruvian slave raids of 1862–1864 and their potential impact on the trans-Pacific contact debate has not been undertaken as part of this thesis. Such a study might reveal whether there were cultural or genetic exchanges between populations of Polynesia and South America, that have over-written any earlier contacts. Investigation of archives relating to ship's crews and documentation of voyages may reveal situations where traditional Pacific material culture could have reached South America at this time, to then enter the archaeological record.

Another recommendation for historiographical research would involve investigating previously inaccessible biographical details of certain scholars in order to fill in the gaps surrounding their scholarship and their contributions to the trans-Pacific contact debate. One example is Francis A. Allen. Despite a thorough search, I was unable to locate any biographical details on this scholar mentioned in Chapter 3.

There is also limited available biographical and intellectual information on the twentieth-century Chilean scholars Vergara Flores and Iribarren Charlin, mentioned in Chapter 6 of this thesis. Conducting research on the development of their ideas on trans-Pacific contact and the identification and examination of the sources, excavation accounts and reports relating to the bioanthropological and archaeological evidence mentioned in their works is imperative for a proper understanding and assessment of their theories.

In addition, it is recommended to develop historiographical research on trans-Pacific contact events in Mexican territory. This would include the 1895 ideas on Oceanic landfalls in Mexican territory by the Mexican scholar Conrado Pérez Aranda, which are mentioned in Chapter 3. Comparing and contrasting this scholar's ideas with similar ones by Brasseur de Bourbourg (chapters 3 and 4), González Casanova and Rivet (Chapter 6), may reveal whether research on trans-Pacific contact with Mexico is worth pursuing further. As discussed in the thesis, in 1861 Brasseur de Bourbourg noted the possibility of points of trans-Pacific contact in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.<sup>956</sup> Rivet actively pursued the inclusion of Oceania within Americanist research. And following Rivet's lead, in 1933 González Casanova sought to determine similarities between the Zoque, Trique and Cuicatec languages of Mexico and those of Eastern Polynesia that could denote a pre-Columbian trans-Pacific contact event.<sup>957</sup>

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<sup>956</sup> Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Popol Vuh: Le Livre Sacre et les Mythes de l'Antiquite Americaine, Avec Les Livres Heroiques et Historiques des Quiches*, XL.

<sup>957</sup> Pablo González Casanova, '¿Un idioma austronesio en México?', 203–210.

Historiographically and linguistically informed research on these ideas could also help understand the influences on their authors and reassess their arguments.<sup>958</sup>

The thesis has uncovered a number of individuals whose work or artefact collections informed or shaped the trans-Pacific contact theories included herein. The wealth of references included in the thesis have limited the scope to which these have been able to be researched. It is recommended to develop historiographical research programs on each of the proponents to uncover further webs of interconnection and evidence that have been used for or against trans-Pacific contact. Two examples are the nineteenth-century scholars Anacleto Cabeza and José Montes de Oca, who presumably had similar views to Agustín Barreiro and are cited in his work. Barreiro's 1920 ideas on the linguistic similarities between the Yapese language of the Caroline Islands and the Otomí of Mexico are described in Chapter 5.<sup>959</sup> Further research of nineteenth and early twentieth century references mentioned in the thesis would doubtless reveal a larger number of such little-known scholars.

The thesis has not made reference to the Pacific collections of Mexican ethnologist and artist Miguel Covarrubias (1904–1957) and to his ideas about the Pacific islands and of trans-Pacific contact. Covarrubias developed an interest in Polynesian culture and sought to represent the Polynesian islands as a unified geographical area connected to, and not isolated from Asia and the Americas in his art. He supported the idea of trans-Pacific connections and believed that Amerindians, the inhabitants of the Pacific Islands, and the populations of certain parts of Asia had a shared ancestry.<sup>960</sup> This is exemplified in some of his pieces, such as *Art Forms of the Pacific*

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<sup>958</sup> For example Rivet, 'Les Mélanéso-Polynésiens et les Australiens en Amérique', *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris, Comptes rendus des séances* (1924), 335–342; Rivet, 'Les origines de l'homme américain' (1925), 293–319; Rivet, 'Le peuplement de l'Amérique précolombienne', (1926), 89–100.

<sup>959</sup> Agustín Barreiro, *El origen de la raza indígena de las islas Carolinas*, 4, 125–26.

<sup>960</sup> Miguel Covarrubias, *Art Forms of the Pacific* sketch (1938). Miguel Covarrubias Archives, University of the Americas - Puebla, Archives and Special Collections Room.

(1938).<sup>961</sup> Covarrubias also reportedly amassed a large quantity of archaeological and ethnographic materials from the Pacific which are currently held in storage at the National Museum of Cultures in Mexico City and have not been displayed for a long time.<sup>962</sup>

A comparative analysis of Thor Heyerdahl's scholarship with the works of certain twentieth-century Latin American scholars may also reveal the extent to which his ideas were shaped by them. One example is Dick E. Ibarra Grasso, whose trans-Pacific contact theory involved similar geographical locations to Heyerdahl, including Bolivia.

It is also recommended to develop further biographical and historiographical research into the life and scholarship of twentieth-century scholar Juan Schobinger and to examine some of his findings in relation to the trans-Pacific contact debate. This Swiss-born scholar spent all of his academic years in Argentina and was instructed by Imbelloni and Menghin. An assessment of Schobinger's morphological classification of Argentinian and Chilean stone clubs of 1957, following a careful analysis of their provenance, may determine whether they provide evidence of trans-Pacific contact events with Polynesia. Given that these clubs feature as evidence in a number of trans-Pacific contact theories, it would be worthwhile to compare his classification with those of Polynesian stone clubs.

A more detailed historical and historiographical study on Vital Alsar's *La Balsa* and *Las Balsas* is also recommended, albeit solely based on the long-distance voyage achieved onboard pre-Hispanic-like rafts and not necessarily on their archaeological or historical foundations. As described in Chapter 7, Alsar first conducted a successful trans-Pacific voyage in 1970 aboard a recreated Ecuadorian-like raft. Given his success, he replicated this voyage in 1973 using three rafts that sailed across the Pacific and covered distances greater than Heyerdahl's, yet very little is known about them. The little information I have been able to find is that Gabriel Salas, one of

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<sup>961</sup> Mónica Alejandra Ramírez Bernal, *El Océano como Paisaje. Pageant of the Pacific: serie de mapas murales de Miguel Covarrubias*, Master's Thesis (Mexico City: National Autonomous University of Mexico, 2016), 60.

<sup>962</sup> Personal communication with Antonio Saborit, the current Director of the National Museum of Cultures, 20 September 2018.

the crew, passed away in 2015, with a daughter still living in Sydney. Vital Alsar is said to reside in Veracruz, Mexico. These voyages have not been entered into popular culture like Heyerdahl's, and details of their feat are not widely known. The only recognition I know of these voyages is La Balsa Park in Mooloolaba, Queensland. The Ballina Maritime Museum houses one of the original rafts, however not many people know about it. Ideally, this research program would involve interviews with the crew members who are still alive, or with their descendants. It would also involve the publication of papers considering Vital Alsar's 1978 book, *¿Por qué imposible? Las Balsas (Why Impossible? Las Balsas)*, and perhaps new editions in Spanish and English. The historiographical and biographical aspects behind Alsar's trans-Pacific contact ideas and his motivations for conducting such voyages could also be explored in film. These projects could be completed by 2023 to mark the fiftieth anniversary of *Las Balsas*. From a history of archaeology perspective, such projects would analyse Alsar's ideas of trans-Pacific contact, his motivations to conduct these voyages, and how the voyages changed or confirmed his views.

The success in recent archaeological work on the north-south trade network between Mesoamerica and northern South America, where the details of something that was essentially lost to the historical record have been reconstructed, should be an inspiration to and model for further research on trans-Pacific contact studies. The integration of historical sources, chemical analyses, historiographical research on archaeological discoveries and museum collections, chronological analyses, and the application of modern techniques have led to a significant increase in our understanding of this important pre-Columbian trading network. If a similar effort was made in relation to east-west contact, the debate may proceed more productively, as the many existing knowledge gaps would be filled.

### **Studies of Material Culture**

A proper analysis of the material culture objects that feature as evidence in trans-Pacific contact theories is another recommendation for future research. This analysis would involve identifying



artefact sources, and thoroughly examining excavation accounts and reports, and museum accession documentation. Little is known about the source and origin of most of the stone tools or clubs featured as evidence of trans-Pacific contact in the works by Aichel, Ambrosetti, Imbelloni, Ibarra Grasso, Lehmann-Nitsche, Oyarzún, and Rivero and Tschudi for South America; and Pitt-Rivers, Wickersham, and Wilson for North America. Otto Aichel's, and Oyarzún's argument regarding the presence of comparable obsidian 'spear points' (*mata'a*) between mainland Chile and Rapa Nui requires a more thorough analysis. A close examination of the one-hundred and fifty spear points studied by Bórmida, if still available, would illuminate Aichel's and Oyarzún's thesis. According to Bórmida, some of these specimens are held at the National Museum of Natural History and the National Historical Museum in Santiago, Chile, while others belong to private collections or are located on Rapa Nui.<sup>963</sup> Such a study should also include an analysis of the source, origin and chronology of the supposed *mata'a* from Chile featured in Aichel's and Oyarzún's studies. This research program would involve identifying the sources, chronology, excavation details, and museum accession details if applicable of these *mata'a*. This analysis may also help determine whether the Chilean *mata'a* represent actual evidence of trans-Pacific contact with Rapa Nui or were brought over from Rapa Nui in a more recent historical period.

Developing a research program specifically on the Oceanic-like North and Middle American stone clubs referred to by US and European scholars in the twentieth century is also recommended. This analysis would involve identifying the provenance, excavation details, museum accession reports, and chronology of each of the specimens mentioned by scholars like Pitt-Rivers, Schmeltz, Wickersham and Wilson. Thorough research into the details mentioned above in relation to the Māori *patu* and *mere* clubs that have featured in publications about

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<sup>963</sup> Marcelo Bórmida, 'Formas y funciones del matá, el más conocido artefacto de la arqueología de Pascua', *Runa* 4 (1951), 296–97.

contact with North, Middle, and South America would reveal whether there are grounds to claim trans-Pacific contact with Polynesia or not.

A final recommendation is to develop research into worldwide museum exchanges between New Zealand, and other Pacific institutions and those of the Americas and Europe that involved material culture objects featuring as evidence in the trans-Pacific contact debate. This research would determine the ways in which these exchanges influenced the course of the debate in the twentieth century. It would also determine whether some of the claimed Polynesian artefacts found in South America were in fact museum exchanges whose provenance was subsequently forgotten and which were later interpreted as having been found in South America. Particular attention must be given to Enrico H. Giglioli's scholarship and material culture collections and references in order to elucidate the extent to which his New Zealand collections influenced the Argentine debate on trans-Pacific contact, given his friendship with Argentine scholars. A number of the specimens that are featured in his works are also present in the works of certain Argentine scholars discussing trans-Pacific contact, including Imbelloni. This web of connection seems to also extend to the Chilean scholar José Toribio Medina, whose *Los aborígenes de Chile* (1882) contains an image of a stone club that Giglioli claimed as rivalling those from New Zealand.<sup>964</sup> In view of these internal networks of influence, the sparse available information on and uncertain provenance of these clubs makes their use as evidence suspect.

### **Appraisal of Lines of Evidence by Modern Techniques**

The degree to which Retzius's 1857 craniomorphological index has influenced the trans-Pacific contact debate has not been addressed in the thesis. This distinction between brachycephalic and dolichocephalic skulls was influential in the late nineteenth century in scholarly circles and continues to shape indirectly certain settlement theories for the Americas and the Pacific. A

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<sup>964</sup> Giglioli, 'Intorno a due singolari oggetti cerimoniali litici dall'America australe, cioè una grossa accetta votiva (pillan toki) dalla Patagonia ed uno scettro dalla Araucania conservati nella mia collezione', 444. See also Medina, *Los aborígenes de Chile*, 419.

recent study, for instance, highlights a generalised use of this distinction among researchers to infer multiple origin models for South America despite the availability of other more detailed analytical approaches.<sup>965</sup> Some of these models ‘contend that the dolichocephalic population [that settled the Americas] was biologically distinct and later replaced by brachycephalic individuals’.<sup>966</sup> Because of this, there is opportunity for further research into the extent to which the supposed distinction between brachycephalic and dolichocephalic skulls has influenced beliefs among scholars who have no bioanthropological expertise regarding putatively noticeable physical similarities between Amerindians and Polynesians as contrasted with Melanesians.

The direct methods of DNA at times contradict morphological studies since they provide direct knowledge about ancestry and relationship, whereas morphology can at most give hints about it. In the particular case of bioanthropological trans-Pacific contact theories, it is important to highlight these discrepancies in support of ancient DNA findings for the purpose of clarity. Ancient DNA could be applied to any archaeologically-sourced skull with firm chronological and provenance data from South America that is claimed to be of Polynesian appearance.

## **Conclusion**

In summary, since its inception, the history of ideas of trans-Pacific contact between the Americas and Oceania has been fragmented and backed by very little direct archaeological evidence. Certain ideas proposed have been resilient and recurrent, as for example ideas taken from the legend of the Inca king Tupác Yupanqui, who reportedly sailed to two unidentifiable islands in the Pacific. The history of ideas of trans-Pacific contact is also characterised by little known, disproved or widely rejected ideas, as well as fluctuating views regarding the general

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<sup>965</sup> Susan C. Kuzminsky, Nina Coonerty, and Lars Fehren-Schmitz, ‘A reassessment of human cranial indices through the Holocene and their implications for the peopling of South America’, *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* 11 (2017), 709–716.

<sup>966</sup> *Ibid.*, 709.

eastward and westward navigability of the Pacific. In particular, questions about whether Amerindians, Polynesians, and other inhabitants of the Pacific had the skills and equipment to traverse the Pacific, thus enabling regional interactions, have been at the core of the debate. A reconsideration of certain lesser known ideas about trans-Pacific contact theories may help the debate proceed more productively, as might more systematic multidisciplinary approaches. Should a reconsideration take place in the light of revolutionary new archaeological and genetic methods, debate on trans-Pacific contacts may be able to go beyond the limitations of past archaeological and scientific research and gain greater academic weight.

## CHAPTER 11 Conclusion

This thesis has described the trajectory of ideas about trans-Pacific contact linking Oceania with the Americas from early Spanish thinking to more recent genetic and archaeological investigations. From the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, thinking on the issue was driven by sociopolitical and colonial interests or religious conceptions of the world. Some more recent arguments show the limitations of archaeological research and the dangers of invoking limited evidence or museum specimens, as in the case of the Polynesian connections inferred for Araucanian chickens or the two anomalous ‘Botocudo’ skulls in Lagoa Santa, eastern central Brazil.<sup>967</sup> These skulls, formerly housed in the Museu Nacional in Rio de Janeiro, may have been recent Polynesian museum specimens that were wrongly catalogued, rather than remains collected in Botocudo territory.<sup>968</sup>

The analysis of the history of ideas of trans-Pacific contact in this thesis shows that solid evidence for interactions between Oceania and the Americas is limited and inconclusive. Notwithstanding this striking lack of fit between the recurring interest expressed in the theme across centuries and the evidence adduced in its support, the duration, variety, and attraction of such ideas justifies their careful study, not as facts demanding judgement of validity but as enduring expressions of the appeal of the exotic and the romantic to the human imagination. These ideas, as has been shown in this thesis, have been continually present in scholarship since the sixteenth century. Very few have been disproven and most have added to and complicated the debate. Breaking such ideas down by period, evidence, context and discipline, shows that these theories remain influenced by sixteenth-, seventeenth-, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century colonialist, religious and racist ideas, as well as the romanticisation of contact.

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<sup>967</sup> For example Vanessa Faria Gonçalves et al., ‘Identification of Polynesian mtDNA haplogroups in remains of Botocudo Amerindians from Brazil’, *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 110/16 (2013), 6465–6469; Anna-Sapfo Malaspina et al., ‘Two ancient human genomes reveal Polynesian ancestry among the indigenous Botocudos of Brazil’, *Current Biology* 24/21 (2014), R1035–R1037; and Storey et al., ‘Radiocarbon and DNA evidence for a pre-Columbian introduction of Polynesian chickens to Chile’, 10335–10339.

<sup>968</sup> Strauss, *Paleoamerican origins and behavior: a multidisciplinary study of the archaeological record from Lagoa Santa region (east-central Brazil)*, 21–22.

The emergence and development of ideas of trans-Pacific contact between Oceania and the Americas features varied protagonists. Explorers, missionaries, colonialists, nationalists, adventurers, racists, and scholars or scientists in history, biological anthropology, linguistics, archaeology, genetics and genomics from the Americas, Europe, Australia and the Pacific have explored these ideas in various forms. This thesis has traced the historical and intellectual conditions that shaped ideas of trans-Pacific contact. It addressed the influence of confirmation bias on the debate; how objects, cultural practices and certain words have been interpreted as evidence; and how these have been made to mean that contact between Oceania and the Americas did occur. Previous attempts had been made, but of limited scope or without providing substantial contextual background to illustrate this evolution. Works by Finney, Ramírez Aliaga, and Sorenson exemplify this.<sup>969</sup> In this thesis I have collated their efforts and those of others to present a more comprehensive analysis.

One aim of the thesis has been to identify the earliest forms of each trans-Pacific contact idea. Publications since the sixteenth century have been included in order to provide a full picture of the development of these ideas. The origins, popular forms, and evolution of each theory have been addressed by examining a comprehensive range of publications. These theories and ideas have been considered in relation to the intellectual and sociopolitical contexts that have shaped them. By doing this, the thesis has incorporated historiographical concepts to show that representations of trans-Pacific contact consist of non-linear, scientific progressions of thought. Archaeological theory has a tendency to represent the acquisition of knowledge about the past as an ‘inevitable progression’.<sup>970</sup> However, as I have demonstrated, the collection of knowledge in archaeology is fragmented, and at times, scientific errors or biases are hard to

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<sup>969</sup> Finney, *Voyage of Rediscovery: A Cultural Odyssey through Polynesia*, 2–34; Ramírez, ‘Transpacific Contact: The Mapuche Connection’, 53–55; Ramírez Aliaga, ‘Contactos transpacíficos: un acercamiento al problema de los supuestos rasgos polinésicos en la cultura mapuche’, 1–28; Ramírez Aliaga, ‘The Polynesian-Mapuche Connection: Soft and Hard Evidence and New Ideas’, 29–33; Sorenson and Raish, *Pre-Columbian Contact with the Americas Across the Oceans: An Annotated Bibliography*, 2nd edition, 2 vols. (1996).

<sup>970</sup> Gisela Eberhardt and Fabian Link, ‘Historiographical Approaches to Past Archaeological Research. Introduction’, 8.

identify and overcome. In the particular case of trans-Pacific contact theories and ideas, archaeological knowledge has been acquired as a result of visual examinations of material culture, but not by thoroughly dating and determining the source and origin of these objects. In general, the trans-Pacific contact debate has been fragmented and has featured several contentious theories and ideas, hindering its progress.

Heyerdahl and the legacy of his *Kon-Tiki* voyage are perhaps the most easily distinguishable episodes of the trans-Pacific contact debate. Heyerdahl's voyage inspired many others after him, and the evolution of this theory has been covered in detail, given the media involvement in the journey, as described in Chapter 7. The bringing together of ideas across time and around the world shows links between theories and theorists. For example, elements of Heyerdahl's ideas about the settlement of Polynesia from the Americas by ancient pre-Amerindians that came from the Old World before they moved on to the Pacific had already been entertained before him. For example, Grafton Elliot Smith argued in 1916 for an Egyptian origin of both Amerindians and Polynesians, suggesting that after reaching the Americas, they had migrated and settled in Polynesia.<sup>971</sup> Similarly, in the nineteenth century the Spanish historian Marcos Jiménez de la Espada proposed the possibility of 'white' populations entering the Americas and influencing Amerindian culture before Columbus.<sup>972</sup> A common underlying tendency is the role of confirmation bias in the attempt to find evidence in support of past trans-Pacific contact events. The vast literature on trans-Pacific contact that has been addressed in this thesis has uncovered lesser known ideas and presented them in context. The totality of evidence gathered together does not demonstrate trans-Pacific contact between Polynesia and the Americas. More archaeological and anthropological studies are required.

Speculations about contact have encompassed ideas about initial settlement and origins as well, perhaps at times complicating the debate. Given the evidence provided, most ideas of

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<sup>971</sup> See for example Grafton Elliot Smith, *The Influence of Ancient Egyptian Civilization in the East and in America*.

<sup>972</sup> Jiménez de la Espada, 'Del hombre blanco y signo de la cruz precolombianos en el Perú', 526–650.

trans-Pacific contact cover one of these themes: the settlement of Polynesia by Amerindians, the settlement of the Americas by Polynesians, crop and animal diffusion, and cultural diffusion and contact.

The trans-Pacific contact debate comprises limited 'hard' evidence and multi-disciplinary approaches: some obscure, some widely rejected such as much of the linguistic 'methodology' used by particular comparative scholars, and very few accepted as scientifically validated by academics. This has made for a complex, fragmented flow of arguments and often resulted in intellectual impasses. By elucidating the ways in which such ideas have been shaped by religious, intellectual, socio-cultural, racist, colonialist and nationalistic perspectives, the conjoined history of Pacific and American archaeology is clarified in relation both to the factuality of trans-Pacific contacts and the developing debate about it.

The current scholarly consensus on pre-Columbian trans-Pacific contact between Oceania and the Americas is that it did take place and was undertaken from west to east by Polynesian sailors between approximately 1,000 and 1,300 AD. A less widely accepted argument is that Amerindian voyagers were instigators of the contact. It is of course possible to accept both. Disregard, rejection and critique have at times curtailed expression of ideas about trans-Pacific contact and particularly origins. The limited significance of the Pacific in global scholarship has also influenced acceptance and circulation of ideas about trans-Pacific contacts.

Material evidence for trans-Pacific contacts is limited to the sweet potato, possibly the chicken, and certain stone artefacts including the *toki*, the *mere* and the *patu*. Historical linguists have identified comparable terms used to refer to these tools or clubs in the Americas and Polynesia more generally, and New Zealand and parts of South America more specifically. Other studies have focused on unlikely linguistic comparisons linking Mesoamerica with the Caroline Islands, or denoting linguistic links between Austronesian and Mesoamerican languages. Historical texts, particularly sixteenth-century Spanish chronicles from the Americas, have also reported oral traditions suggesting possible contact across the Pacific.



The history of ideas of pre-Columbian trans-Pacific contact between Oceania and the Americas spans several centuries and a literature of some 2,000 publications, ranging from the early notions of trans-Pacific origins and voyages in sixteenth century Spanish chronicles to more modern hypotheses invoking DNA analysis. The resultant debate is notable for ongoing contestation, refutation and critique, particularly with respect to the sweet potato, the Chilean chickens, and Amerindian sailing capabilities. In some cases, debate and controversy have advanced knowledge of material culture, as with Imbelloni's work on South American *toki* of Oceanic influence. In other cases, dated or erroneous perspectives have been reinforced, notably Heyerdahl's restatement of the theory of the settlement of Polynesia from South America. Nearly five centuries of speculation and dramatic recent scientific advances in genomics and archeological method have not progressed evidence for trans-Pacific contacts much further than it was fifty years ago: the presence and name of the American cultivar *Ipomoea batatas* in Polynesia; parallel monumental structures in Eastern Polynesia (*marae*) and parts of Ecuador or Peru; certain stone tools, such as *patu*, *mere* and *toki*; the probability that *balsa* rafts from the Americas could have traversed the Pacific; and the even greater likelihood that Polynesian canoes reached the Americas.

No convincing evidence suggestive of contact other than between Eastern Polynesia — settled only about 1000 years ago — and the Americas exists to date. Ideas about contact with Melanesia and even Australia, entailing even longer-distance connections, which have been entertained by a handful of scholars particularly in the nineteenth century, seem extremely unlikely given the sailing distances involved. Similarly, beliefs that the initial settlement of Polynesia was made by 'bearded white men' via the Americas or that Polynesians derived from the northwest coast of North America are entirely without foundation, even leaving aside the racial prejudices and colonial interests that have informed such theories. In short, the various trans-Pacific contact theories that have been proposed over the centuries have mostly been shaped by a keen interest to uncover contacts, thus interpreting the evidence to support

hypotheses despite it being limited and ambiguous. The fragmentation of the problem of whether or not contact between the Americas and Oceania occurred during pre-Columbian times, the divergent and controversial viewpoints, the multiplicity of sources and disciplines that shape the theories, echo the current status of archaeology at a global level.<sup>973</sup>

Most trans-Pacific contact theories have claimed strongly that contact did occur. Ever since the sixteenth century, such theories have been permeated with romantic, colonialist and racialised beliefs. Scholarly additions to the debate over time have turned it into an almost impenetrable discussion — one that is replete with uncertainty about its factuality. The thorough analysis of the context of each theory, as I have presented here, can reveal how the ideas emerged and how they were shaped. Reflecting on aspects like nationalistic bias, racism, colonialism and the history of the discovery, interpretation, collection and transfer of each piece of material evidence allows us to disentangle fact from fiction within the trans-Pacific contact debate.

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<sup>973</sup> Ian Hodder, 'Introduction: a review of contemporary theoretical debates in archaeology', in Ian Hodder (ed.), *Archaeological Theory Today* (Oxford: Polity Press, 2001), 1–14.

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