archaeological artifacts

at the CDF Museum

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archaeological artifacts at the CDF Museum

Text and edition by Edgardo Civallero
Photographs by Juan Manuel García

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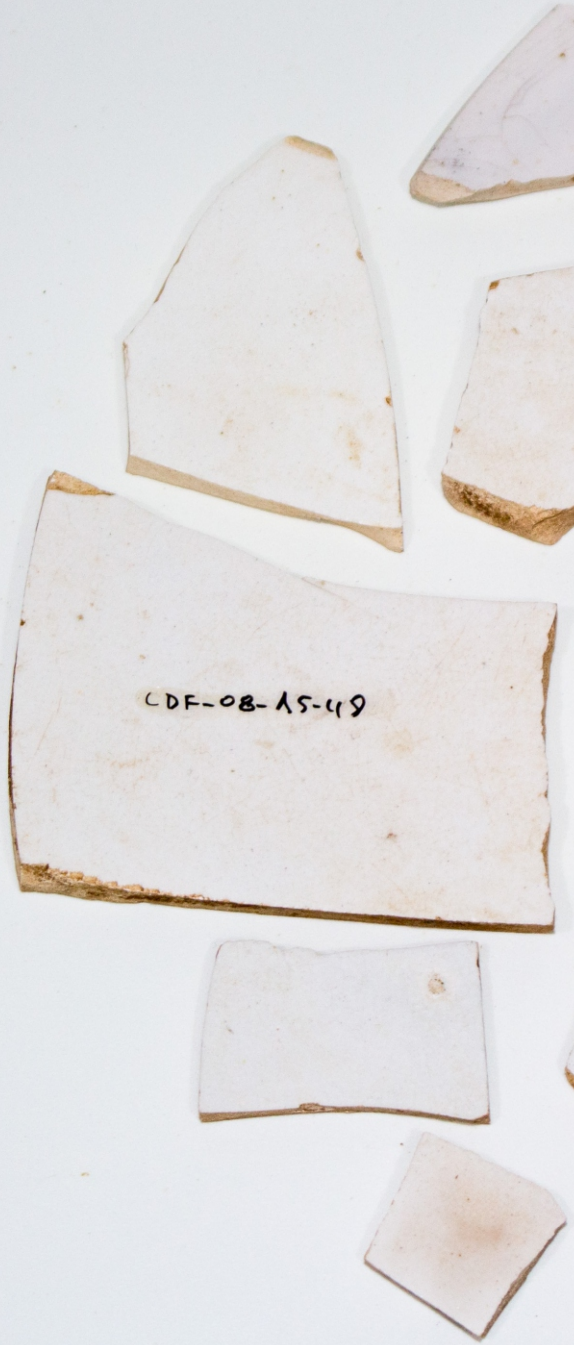
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Introduction

In personal communications, the oldest residents of the Galapagos islands —including many scientists who spent time in the archipelago— tell stories about objects found in the vicinity of slopes, on hidden paths to the highlands, or at certain points along the coast: a copper cup, English and Spanish pottery, broken bottles and vessels, some daggers, pipes, even a Spanish real.... Many of these discoveries are urban legends; others, however, are very real, and are part of the Galapagoan historical heritage. A little studied, poorly revealed and poorly protected heritage.

A part of those materials is directly related to the many theories about the early settlement of the islands and the potential visits of pre-Hispanic peoples who inhabited the nearby South American coasts. Other is directly related to the different historical stages of human occupation in Galapagos, from pirate landings to current colonists. All of those elements constitute the islands' tangible memory: one that tells a fragment of their social, economic and cultural evolution.

The Library, Archives & Museum area of the Charles Darwin Research Station, managed by the Charles Darwin Foundation (CDF) near Puerto Ayora, Santa Cruz Island, houses a small collection of archaeological artifacts that currently serves as a representative sample of the islands'


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history. Through a handful of images of that limited collection, this document aims to serve as an introduction to the archaeological work that, according to the available bibliographic sources and with varying degrees of academic depth, has been carried out in Galapagos, and which eventually gave rise to the collection itself.

Beyond disclosing a minimal fragment of the archipelago's archaeological record, the intention of this document is to advance the development of an incipient "history of archaeology" in Galapagos, to highlight the commitment of the Charles Darwin Foundation to this process and its results, and to underscore the urgent need to regulate the collection of materials in the islands and to protect such elements as part of the local heritage.

Editor's note

This work is complemented by the contents of the digital platform *Galapagueana*, led by the Library, Archive & Museum area of the CDF, and, specifically, by its publications, its chronology, and the documents displayed in its historical bibliography.

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Bottle neck. CDF Collection

The geographic framework

The Galapagos Islands or Archipelago of Colon (Galapagos province, Ecuador) are a volcanic archipelago composed of 19 islands, 42 islets and 26 rocks, located in the eastern Pacific, about 563 miles off the west coast of South America.

Isolated by the sea for hundreds of thousands of years, the islands have witnessed the development of a very particular flora and fauna, which eventually transformed these small fragments of land into a true evolutionary laboratory, with their environments populated by a unique biodiversity.

A biodiversity that includes the only marine iguanas on the planet, flightless cormorants, tree-sized prickly pear cactus, marvelous finches, and the giant tortoises that gave the place its name.

A mixture of rocky and desolate lowlands and green highlands, usually covered by clouds and mists, the Galapagos were "discovered" accidentally by the Spanish bishop Tomás de Berlanga in 1535. Over time they ended up being nicknamed "las Encantadas", The Enchanted Islands, due to the difficulty that early Spanish navigators had in placing them on their charts: they thought they changed places by magic, and believed them to be


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bewitched, victims of an enchantment. That difficulty in locating them made them a safe harbor for the pirates and privateers who laid siege to the Spanish dominions of Latin America's Pacific coasts during the 17th and 18th centuries, and for sealers and whalers a century later. After the American colonies won their independence from the Iberian crowns in the early 19th century, the newly born Republic of Ecuador claimed the archipelago and occupied it with small populations with a history of their own. And after the *H.M.S. Beagle* stopped on its shores during its famous expedition around the world and Charles Darwin collected specimens and made his observations there, they became a favorite destination for naturalists and biologists from Europe and North America.

In the early 20th century, the Galapagos received prisoners and settlers from large Ecuadorian cities, as well as international scientific expeditions. One of these resulted in the publication of a book, *Galapagos: World's End* (1924), which became a bestseller and inspired a handful of modern European Robinsons to populate its inhospitable landscapes. Human presence put intense pressure on the islands' natural life: many of its native species, hunted as food or sources of lighting oil, or captured to augment the insatiable collections of Western museums and zoos, were on the verge of extinction.

Beginning in the 1940s, a group of renowned scientists focused on convincing the Ecuadorian government to declare the Galapagos a National Park. This occurred in 1959, at which time strict conservation measures were established for the archipelago. Only four islands (Santa Cruz, San

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Pottery fragments. CDF Collection

Cristóbal, Isabela, and Floreana) were allowed to be inhabited, and only in two sectors, which to date account for 3% of the total island area: a small portion of land on the seashore (the port) and another in the highlands for agricultural use. That same year, the Charles Darwin Foundation (CDF) was created — a non-governmental organization dedicated to developing scientific research focused on the conservation of the archipelago and its biodiversity.

Later, the Galapagos were also proclaimed a Biosphere Reserve and a UNESCO World Heritage Site. And in 1964, the Charles Darwin Research Station (CDRS), the CDF's first facility in the islands, was inaugurated in Puerto Ayora, Santa Cruz Island.

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Early stories

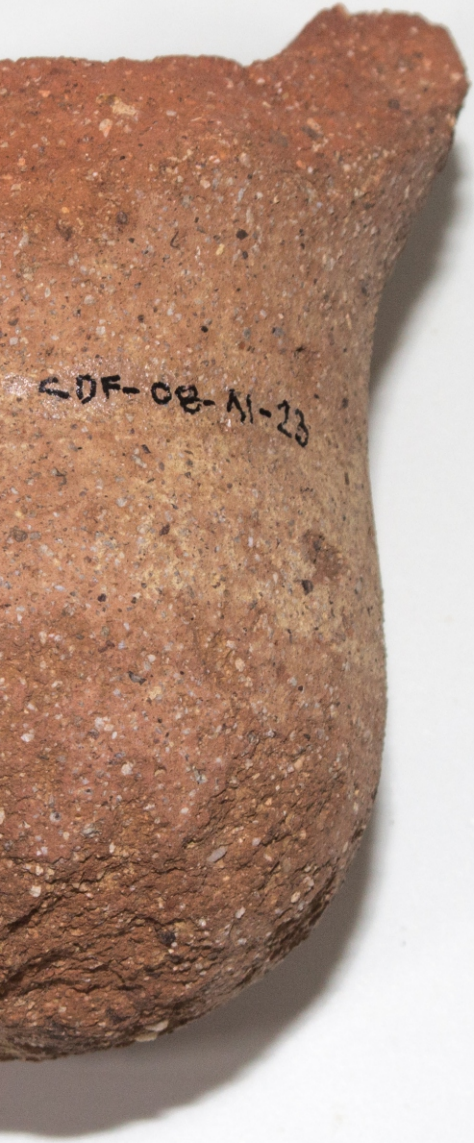
One of the earliest documents on which the Galapagos Islands appear is the map entitled *Nova et Aucta Orbis Terrae Descriptio ad Usum Navigantium Emendate Accommodata* (1569), by the Flemish geographer and cartographer Gerardus Mercator.

Based on Mercator's work, the Brabantian cartographer, geographer and cosmographer Abraham Ortelius included the "ye. de los galopegos" in his *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, one of the first European geographical atlases.

But the archipelago was known long before. Or, at least, so the legend goes.

The Spanish chronicler Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa mentioned the matter in *Historia Índica*, second part of his *Historia de los Incas* (1572):

> When Topa Inga Yupanqui was conquering the coast of Manta and the island of Puna and Tumbez, some merchants who had come from the sea towards the west sailing in rafts with sails, arrived there. They informed of the land from whence they came, which were some islands, called one Auachumbi and the other Ninachumbi, where there were many people and gold. And as Topa Inga was of high spirits and thoughts and was not content with what he had conquered on land, he determined to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tempt by sea the happy fortune that helped him. But he did not trust the navigating merchants, for he said that merchants should not be believed easily, since they were people who talked a lot. And to get more information, and as it was not an easy business, he called a man that he brought with him in the conquests, called Antarqui, which was said to be a great necromancer, so much so that he flew through the air. To him, Topa Inga asked if what the sea merchants said about the islands was true. Antarqui answered him, after having thought it over, that what they said was true, and that he would go there first. And so it is said that he went by his arts, and found his way and saw the islands, people and riches of them, and returning he gave certainty of everything to Topa Inga.

Who, with this certainty, was determined to go there. And for this, he made a very numerous number of rafts, in which he embarked more than twenty thousand chosen soldiers.

Topa Inga sailed, and went and discovered the islands Auachumbi and Ninachumbi, and returned from there, from where he brought back black people and much gold and a brass chair and a horse's hide and jaws; those trophies were kept in the fortress of Cuzco until the time of the Spaniards. The skin and jaw of horse were kept by a main inga, that today lives and gave this relation, and was ratified by the others, and is called Urco Guaranga.

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Fragment of pottery vessel. CDF Collection

Hahuachumbi ("outer belt" or "outside island") and *Ninachumbi* ("belt of fire" or "island of fire") also appear in the accounts of the Spanish cleric and chronicler Miguel Cabello Balboa (*Miscelánea Antártica*, ca. 1586) and the Mercedarian friar Martín de Murúa (*Historia general del Perú*, ca. 1616). The former notes, in chapter XVII of his work:

> ...and by levelling and subduing those untamed nations, he was able to reach the valley of Xipixapa, and from there to Apelope, and the Topa Ynga learned that very near there was a good port in which to sail, and to see if there was any enterprise at sea in which he could win a name and reputation in the world, and having consulted with his elders about his deliberation and intent, he set out with his squadrons (already almost innumerable) and settled in Manta, and Charapoto, and Piquaza, because in less space he could not lodge or sustain himself in such a multitude of nations as he brought with him. In this place was where for the first time the King Topa Ynga saw the sea, to which, as he discovered it from a high place, he made a very deep adoration, and called it Mamacocha, which means mother of the lagoons, and he made a great quantity of the boats that the natives used (which are certain remarkably light sticks) and tying strongly one with another, and making on top certain roof of woven reeds, is a very safe and accommodating boat; to which we called balsas. Having gathered together a stock of those that seemed sufficient for the people he was determined to take with him, taking from the natives of those coasts the most experienced pilots he could find, he set out to the sea with the same vigor and spirit as if he had experienced its fortunes since his birth. From this voyage he went farther away from lands than one can easily believe, but it is certain that those who tell the stories of this valiant Ynga

affirm that he travelled by sea for the duration and space of a year, and they say more: that he discovered certain islands, which they called Hagua Chumbi and Nina Chumbi. That these islands are in the South Sea (on whose coast the Ynga embarked) I will not dare to say for certain, nor what land may be presumed to be found in such a navigation. The relations that the elders give us of this voyage are that he brought from there prisoners of black skin, and much gold and silver, and more: a brass chair, and hides of animals like horses...

The latter is in chapter XXV of his work:

On this occasion some old Indians say that he embarked at sea in some rafts on the island of Puna and went to Manta, and from there he went a year at sea and arrived at the islands called Hahua Chumpi and Nina Chumpi and conquered them, and from there he brought, for ostentation of his triumph, black people, and a very great quantity of gold, and a brass chair. He brought horse hides and heads and bones, all to show here, which was the ancient custom among these Ingas to bring all the showy things that could cause admiration and fright to Cuzco, so that they could see them and magnify their exploits and for memory of the things that were in the other remote provinces. All these trophies are understood to have been burned later by Quesques and Chalco Chuma, captains of Atahualpa, when they took Cuzco, making Huascar Inga

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> prisoner. There they burned the body of this Tupa Ynga Yupanqui, because no memory of all these things was found when the Spaniards came.
>
> Others say that this conquest of these lands and islands was made by Tupa Ynga Yupanqui during the life of his father Ynga Yupanqui, when he went to Quito and conquered it with his brothers. Both opinions can be had, because it does not go much in that it has been in a time or another.
>
> Of these islands that Tupa Ynga Yupanqui conquered in the sea, today there is no certain news, more than the confusing ones of those who say that there are islands with people somewhat black, and other old Indians, who say that in past times of the Ingas came to the coast of this kingdom by various parts, in some canoes or very large rafts, Indians of certain islands, to exchange gold and pearls and large shells, very rich and dressed in cotton. This has ceased completely...

Over time, this legendary Andean tale became associated with the Galapagos. The islands also became linked to certain stories of South American coastal peoples, such as the Puna and Huancavilca, who mentioned the arrival of their traditional rafts to islands in the high seas to the west. These stories were collected by several colonial chroniclers, and compiled in the early 20th century by a Nordic adventurer seeking to prove his theory of transoceanic voyages between Polynesia and the west coast of South America: the Norwegian Thor Heyerdahl.


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Fragments of gin jugs. Española (Hood) Island. CDF Collection

First investigations

During a stay in Fatu Hiva (Marquesas Islands) in 1936, Thor Heyerdahl came into contact with the archaeological remains of the ancient civilization that inhabited those territories and, finding certain external similarities with the monuments of the pre-Hispanic Andean cultures, developed the hypothesis of a settlement of Oceania from the east, from South America. In this context, the Galapagos archipelago represented a sort of vital stop on the hypothetical navigation routes that would connect the Pacific islands with the western coasts of South America.

The Norwegian demonstrated the physical possibility of traveling those routes through a pioneering experience with the famous *Kon-Tiki* raft, with which he sailed between the port of El Callao (Peru) and the Tuamotu Islands in 1947.

Heyerdahl's research prior to the construction of the *Kon-Tiki* and the development of his voyage focused on the raft models used by the pre- and post-Hispanic coastal peoples of northern Peru and Ecuador (Heyerdahl, 1955, 1957, 1963). Through this work, the explorer ended up finding historical accounts in which the presence of such vessels was mentioned on the high seas, in the middle of the Pacific Ocean. Such mentions demonstrated the capacity of small vessels to cover these types of routes,

and even to carry out these types of voyages. Using such accounts —and the Inca legends cited above— as the basis for his assertions (although without documenting them properly, ignoring previous work, and considering erroneous data), the Norwegian concluded that indigenous navigators could have reached the Galapagos (Heyerdahl, 1952, 1961).

The subject had been considered previously by historians specializing in Andean pre-Hispanic societies, from Markham (1907) to Means (1942). Lothrop (1932) assessed the possibility of such a journey, concluding that it was impossible, and Hornell (1946) wrote on the subject, also casting doubt on it.

Nevertheless, determined to prove his hypothesis of even partial pre-Hispanic occupation of the Galapagos, in 1953 Heyerdahl led an archaeological expedition to the islands, the first of its kind on record. The *Norwegian Archaeological Expedition to the Galapagos* was launched with the appropriate permits from the government and the Casa de la Cultura del Ecuador, and involved Erik K. Reed (regional archaeologist for the U.S. National Park Service) and Arne Skjølsvold (from the archaeology department of the University of Oslo), and "fishermen" Karl Angermeyer and Erling Graffer, two local settlers from Academy Bay (Santa Cruz Island) who acted as guides.

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Gin jug. CDF Collection

Early archaeology

The Norwegian archaeological expedition visited and excavated in four points of the archipelago, chosen for their particular geographical location and their possibilities for landing and provisioning: Buccaneer Bay and James Bay on Santiago Island, Whale Bay on Santa Cruz Island, and Black Beach on Floreana Island.

Some points on San Cristobal Island were also explored, although the cliffs on the eastern coast, where the presence of a waterfall was common, were not reached. Places such as Tagus Cove, on Isabela Island, famous in the chronicles for its watering hole, were not visited either (Heyerdahl & Skjølsvold, 1956). Expeditions to the interior of the islands, to the highlands, were attempted without success, and a carved head on Floreana Island, photographed by Philip H. Lord in 1949 and cited by Orcutt (1953), which turned out to be the work of a local German colonist, was discarded from the list of potential pre-Hispanic evidence.

The entire process —including the excavation work and the discovery of emblematic pieces, such as a whistle considered to be Tiahuanacoid— was filmed. The reels would give rise to a Norwegian film entitled *Galapagos* (1955), produced by zoologist and filmmaker Per Høst and with music by Sune Waldimir.

From an archaeological point of view, the best materials were those obtained in Santiago Island: as an example, eight sites (catalogued as "aboriginal camp sites") were found in the plain above James Bay. Apparently, there were previous references to the existence of archaeological remains, at least of pirate origin, on that island: Heyerdahl & Skjølsvold (1956) refer —although without citing the source— that in 1950 a certain Clinton Baverstock found an enormous "Spanish jar" in a dry river bed, 200 m. from Buccaneer Bay. A few years earlier, in 1938, Paulette de Rendón had found "remains of red pottery" in James Bay; she published this news in her book (1946) and showed Heyerdahl some fragments during his visit to Guayaquil (Heyerdahl, 1961).

Apparently, and always according to Heyerdahl (who cites "a manuscript from the British Museum"), in 1684 the buccaneers Cowley and Dampier, together with other companions, disembarked for twelve days in James Bay to divide a booty taken from Spanish ships near Guayaquil. They left there, among other things, eight tons of quince jam in large jars. The curious "treasure" was destroyed by envoys of the viceroy of Peru when he learnt that the islands were a buccaneer hideout. The fragments of those "Spanish jars" were so evident that they were found by Captain James Colnett in 1793, during his voyage on the *H.M.S. Rattler*, and mentioned in his journal (Colnett, 1798). In fact, in 1953 Heyerdahl and his team came across some of these fragments, embedded in lava flows.

Through local references, an additional site was identified at Cape Colorado, Santa Cruz Island, although Heyerdahl was not able to visit it either (it would

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Clay pipe tubes. CDF Collection

be explored in 1954 by J. C. Couffer and C. Hall, of the Walt Disney Galapagos Expedition). And he failed to see, on the same island, a "pirate farm" mentioned by local guides as located in the mountains, near a spring, a few miles inland from Whale Bay (Heyerdahl & Skjølsvold, 1956; Heyerdahl, 1961).

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Ideas and hypotheses

The materials collected by the Norwegian archaeological expedition (according to Heyerdahl himself, "1961 aboriginal ceramic sherds, representing at least 131 pots") are now housed in The Kon Tiki Museum, Oslo, Norway.

The expedition report (Heyerdahl & Skjølsvold, 1956) contains a detailed catalog of the finds, along with hypotheses and various analyses. At that time, it was assumed that the ceramics came mainly from the northern coast of Peru. Apparently, the pottery fragments identified as north-Peruvian were studied and identified by Clifford Evans and B. J. Meggers, of the Smithsonian Institution (Heyerdahl, 1961), although in the initial report of 1955 the identification of the artifacts is indicated as the exclusive work of the authors (with the occasional collaboration of third parties).

Since the hypothesis that the Norwegian sought to confirm had to do with pre-Hispanic societies, he seemed to ignore the post-Hispanic origin of many fragments and their clear relationship with buccaneers. After the expedition, Heyerdahl concluded that the islands would have been a fishing area for some indigenous societies of the nearby mainland coasts, and even a place for planting and harvesting cotton. He also assumed that the island settlements would not have been permanent, given that there is a continuous

supply of drinking water in the Galapagos only during the rainy season.

Heyerdahl's working methods and conclusions were strongly challenged by many authors: examples are the reviews by Ryden (1958) and Suggs (1967). The shortcomings of his 1956 report (including a notorious absence of bibliography, and the perpetuation of myths such as that the Malaspina expedition had visited the islands) were also highlighted (Olson, 2015). In general, scholars maintain that Heyerdahl unearthed materials from the time of the buccaneers and whalers, sometimes made on the South American coasts following traditional patterns, similar to pre-Hispanic ones.

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Nails, button and other items. CDF Collection

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Fragments of buttons. CDF Collection

The ESPOL expedition

In 1963, a decade after Heyerdahl's trip to the Galapagos Islands, ESPOL (Escuela Politécnica Superior del Litoral, Guayaquil, Ecuador) conducted a vacation internship on Santiago Island to study geology in the area: specifically, the origin of the "Dariegas" salt mine, located inside an ancient volcanic cone. Led by Dr. Jorge Kraglievich, the activity was possible thanks to Darío Egas, owner of the mine, who provided lodging and food for the group of professors and students. Taking advantage of the circumstances, and aware of the 1956 Heyerdahl & Skjølsvold report, another professor of the institution, engineer Raúl Maruri Díaz, proposed adding an archaeological component to the expedition.

The archaeological work focused on James Bay, on the sites marked A through L by Heyerdahl. In almost all of them, ceramic fragments were collected; in fact, at site J a frog-shaped *appliqué* was found, similar to those discovered by Heyerdahl at site L (and identified by the Norwegian as belonging to the Peruvian La Plata culture). The amount of fragments recovered by ESPOL was significantly less than those found by Heyerdahl, probably because the amateurish research was limited to a quick review of surface material. Back on the mainland, ESPOL members proceeded to analyze representative ceramic samples to identify the tempering materials

Buccaneer
Santiago

r Bay
, 12/66

contained in them and compare them with examples from the Ecuadorian coast. Such materials, apparently, were not similar, which left Heyerdahl and Skjølsvold's hypothesis of Peruvian origin intact.

In 2003, Maruri prepared a purely narrative report of the 1963 expedition and its results (see Annex). In it, he presented a map taken from Heyerdahl in which, in addition to the sites explored by the Norwegian, he pointed out those visited by ESPOL. In the conclusion of this document, he recommended the construction of a site museum and the repatriation of the "Heyerdahl collection" to the islands.

The so-called "Maruri collection" remained at the ESPOL facilities, where, in the 1990s, it was reviewed by Ecuadorian archaeologist Amelia Sánchez Mosquera (Sánchez Mosquera & Freire, 1989). On June 17, 2005, Maruri, through the American archaeologist Karen Stothert, selected a number of those archaeological objects collected in 1963 and donated them to David Wiedenfeld, from the Vertebrate Ecology and Monitoring area of the Charles Darwin Foundation. The inventory was conducted by Stothert herself and broadly included the following types of material:

- Earthenware pot sherds with and without slip.
- Sherds of clay pots of different pastes with glaze.
- Red paste sherds with thick, well-polished red paint.
- Earthenware plates and cups of various shapes, with various decorations in different colors (made in England).
- Dishes of red paste and brown glaze, possibly of the type called "Guadalajara", produced in Mexico.

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- Fragments of fine paste bottles with light glaze and traces of turning inside (gin jugs, European liquor bottles, perhaps from Germany).
- White clay pipes.
- Thick sherds (reddish paste, well oxidized) corresponding to the "botijo español" (Spanish jars) type.
- Lithic artifacts (including flint fulminates of European origin and flakes of basaltic material).
- Metal fragments (such as nails, barrel bands and buttons).
- Shell and bone fragments.

From that moment on, the artifacts became the property of the CDF Vertebrates area, and remained housed at the Charles Darwin Research Station. After being temporarily managed by the Payashna Foundation and the Kayna Kunan Wiñaypash Museum (MKKW) between 2008 and 2019, the 54 pieces of the "Maruri collection" returned to the CDF and remained under the custody of the Library & Archive area, becoming since then the germ of the new institutional Museum.

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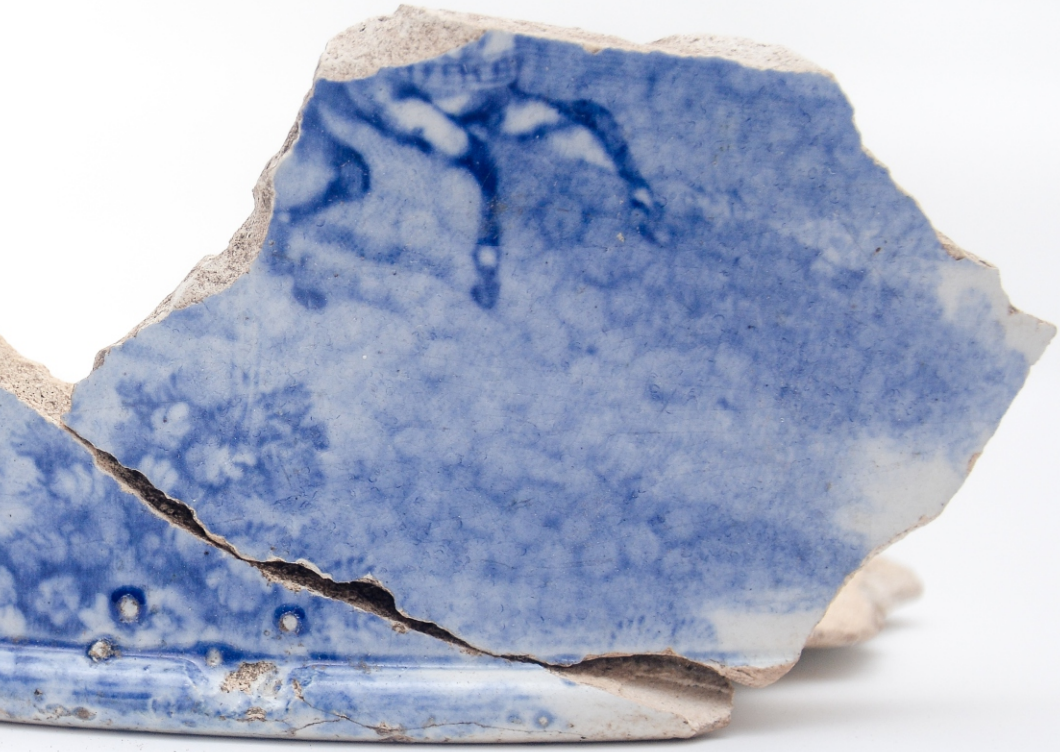

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Ceramic fragment. CDF Collection

The CDF Museum

Inaugurated in 1964, the Charles Darwin Research Station had a space that served as a library, archive, and museum. The latter housed both natural history specimens and historical artifacts found during fieldwork by CDF researchers, Galapagos National Park rangers, and naturalist guides. Since it was a sort of informal space for objects found by chance, no systematic and routine practices were ever developed to identify, catalog, and document those finds: the history, identity, and fate of the pieces that made up the collection could only be traced through the (now substantially reduced) oral history of the institution. In fact, the CDF *Annual Report* for 1980 states:

> Geology and Archaeology
> Important education tool. Lacks organization and cataloguing.
> Requires minimal keep-up (Keating, 1980).

One of the few published accounts of this collection is that of Sánchez Mosquera & Freire (1990). Both archaeologists were at the Darwin Station in 1988 observing the materials:

> Among the numerous post-Hispanic fragments (ceramics, glazed, English porcelain, metal pipes, shell buttons, etc.), 66 pre-Hispanic ceramic fragments were identified belonging to


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> two sites, Caleta Negra, Isabela Island and Cabo [Cerro?] Colorado, Santa Cruz Island; these would correspond to 27 different vessels, which by association with what is known of the Ecuadorian continental coast cultures, most would belong to the Bahia Culture, ca. 0-600 AD, a few to the Guangala culture ca. 100-800 AD, two fragments of the La Tolita Culture (?) and some others to the Manteño culture ca. 500-1500 AD.

Following a reorganization of the general collections of the CDF in the late 1990s, the archaeological artifacts were integrated into the vertebrate collection and, consequently, the archaeological museum space within the institution disappeared as such. Of the original artifacts, a series of 65 surviving pieces were temporarily given to the Payashna Foundation and the Kayna Kunan Wiñaypash Museum (MKKW) in 2008, and they eventually returned to the Darwin Station in 2019.

With the return of this "CDF collection" and that of the "Maruri collection", and contacts for the recovery of other Galapagos archaeological artifacts, the museum space was recreated in 2019, generating the new Library, Archive & Museum area.

Previous pages
Nails. CDF Collection

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Glass fragment. CDF Collection

Comparisons and assumptions

Based on the data provided by Heyerdahl & Skjølsvold's report (1956), some Ecuadorian authors concluded that the remains found by the Norwegian archaeological expedition on Santiago Island in 1953 belonged to mainland Ecuadorian cultures (Sánchez Mosquera & Freire, 1990). In fact, in the XXXIII International Congress of Americanists, Carlos Zevallos Menéndez, from Guayaquil, vehemently defended that the sailors who arrived to the archipelago must be Ecuadorians: Heyerdahl, unaware of the archaeological works carried out in the peninsula of Santa Elena by Zevallos Menéndez himself and by Emilio Estrada, assigned them to Tomaval and Castillo ceramic types from the northern coast of Peru, from the Virú valley. Holm (1988) points out:

> When Heyerdahl made his ceramic classification of the Galapagos fragments, there was no archaeological literature on the Ecuadorian coast, and the verbal warnings we gave him when he invited us to see his material could not be taken into account because of the absence of scientifically published references. A complete review of the archaeological material from the islands will prove the Ecuadorian origin of 90% of the material.


CDF-77

Around 1988, Presley Norton examined both Heyerdahl's published collection and the pottery shards from the Charles Darwin Research Station (the remains of which today make up the "CDF collection"), and noted that, while the vast majority of them appear to be 16th century or later, "many shards definitely date to the Bahia culture."

At that same time, in the laboratories of the Faculty of Earth Sciences of ESPOL, comparisons were being made between the materials of the "Maruri collection" and various Ecuadorian coastal archaeological artifacts. Preliminary observations indicated that some of the materials were from the northern coast of Peru, while a large number were of Manteño and Bahia origin.

Sánchez Mosquera & Freire (1990) noted some of the many errors Heyerdahl made in his "archaeological" study. Holm (1988) refuted all of Heyerdahl's theories about the occupation of the Galapagos by pre-Hispanic peoples (to grow cotton, or as fishing outposts) and proposed that the Galapagos and Cocos Islands may have been mere stopovers in the voyages that Ecuadorian and Peruvian rafters made to Central America, taking advantage of the ocean currents.

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The Australian expedition

Discussions and debates about the first occupants of Galapagos remained open and continued to attract the attention of specialized researchers.

Taking into account all the activities carried out so far on the subject, the project "Human colonization and environmental change in the Galapagos Islands, remote islands of the East Pacific Ocean" was launched in 2005. Directed by Simon Haberle of the Department of Archaeology and Natural History at the Australian National University, the study was authorized by the Galapagos National Park (GNP) under permit PC 02-05. The research included, among others, Atholl Anderson and Karen Stothert.

The project had a paleoecological and an archaeological component; the latter was led by Anderson, also from the Australian National University. According to the first authorization of the GNP (2005), the work began on May 20, 2005 and ended on December 31 of that year. The archaeological team excavated in 5 sites and investigated in other localities of Santa Cruz, Santiago, San Cristobal, Isabela and Floreana Islands. They collected mainly pottery samples, which were dated and analyzed in 2006.

Interestingly, beyond 2005, paleoecological research activities continued, but the archaeological component was eliminated. According to the second


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and third authorizations from the GNP (2006 and 2007 permits), in the two extensions of the project (May 28 to December 31, 2006 and August 13 to September 30, 2007, both led by Haberle, but with different teams) only paleoecology investigation was conducted.

In archaeological terms, the intentions of the project were reflected in the introduction of the "Project Application for 2005-2006 to the National Institute of Cultural Heritage and the CDF":

> The distant and vast eastern Pacific Ocean divides two major migratory groups, the Native Americans and the Polynesians. One of the most significant questions of Pacific prehistory lies in the question of whether members of either group ever crossed this oceanic barrier. There is an ongoing project, based on archaeological and linguistic evidence, that suggests that in prehistoric times Polynesians had contact with members of the American Indian population. It would appear that the introduction of sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*) and squash (*Lagenaria siceraria*) to the Pacific Islands took place via the human route, prior to European exploration of the region. This could have been done only through direct exchange between Polynesians and Native Americans, since the natural distribution of these species was limited to South America. How and where this exchange could have taken place is still unknown, although speculation based on wind and ocean currents suggests that the islands of the far eastern Pacific,

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> including the Galapagos, may have served as links in the interaction between Polynesians and Native Americans ... We will employ archaeological and paleoecological techniques to (a) confirm the age and origin of the earliest human occupants; (b) construct the history of human impact on the Galapagos Islands environment.

Haberle had already conducted similar studies on Juan Fernández Island. His idea in 2005 was to excavate and collect from the sites explored by Heyerdahl and perform high-resolution radiometric dating, geochemical analysis of ceramics and thermoluminescence dating. He planned to conduct prospective investigations of other sites (by interviewing locals) for excavation in 2006, while at the same time conducting a basic analysis of Galapagos ceramics from the Kon Tiki Museum collection, with the participation of Drs. Paul Wallin, Helen Martinsson-Wallin, and Karin Stothert.

In the section "Archaeological investigation" of the "Report of results of the 2005 work" it was indicated:

> Our fieldwork in the Galapagos Islands focused on recognizing and surveying the sites identified by Heyerdahl and Skjølsvold during their 1953 expedition. The order in which the sites were investigated is as follows: Whale Bay, James Bay, Buccaneer Cove and Black Bay. We also worked at Cabo Colorado, where the Walt Disney Mission reported the existence of cultural material, and other localities where no archaeological sites have been reported to date. The methods used to locate the sites were ground survey and soundings ... No inland sites containing pottery or other pre-Hispanic cultural remains have been published to date in the Galapagos Islands. Our research was also directed to search for sites located inland, especially in

the highlands, where water sources with agricultural potential may have existed or still exist. Specifically, we concentrated on the highlands, in the currently agricultural areas of Santa Cruz (Santa Rosa, Salasaca, Bellavista, El Camote, El Cascajo) and in selected areas of San Cristóbal. For this we combined oral information provided by local people, mainly farmers living more than 30 years on the islands who were asked about water resources and if they have seen pottery or other vestiges that would lead us to determine the existence of an archaeological site. The most promising areas were surveyed on foot.

On the preliminary results of the field work, it was noted:

Whale Bay
[...] The archaeological remains collected from the Whale Bay site correspond predominantly to the beginning of the 19th century, as can be inferred from the ceramics, especially the Chinese ware. This site was mapped.

Cabo Colorado
[...] The systematic collection of surface cultural material produced an archaeological assemblage dominated by 19th century glass (bottle fragments).

James Bay
[...] The construction of facilities for maritime navigation, the establishment of a camp, the construction of a road for

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tourism and the entry of heavy machinery through the archaeological site has meant that a large part of the archaeological site has been destroyed. This is even more critical in area K, where the cultural material that once existed there has been completely removed for the construction of an improvised indoor soccer field ... In general, the cultural material collected is small and contains very few sherds of so-called "aboriginal ceramics." Because of the types of ceramics, earthenware and other materials, we believe that the occupation of the James Bay site can be placed chronologically at the beginning of the 19th century.

Buccaneer Cove
[...] From the four test pits conducted and what was collected in the two excavations, we can preliminarily conclude that this site shows a wide range of ceramic sites that include the so-called "aboriginal ceramics" associated with European cultural material.

Black Beach
[...] The four test pits conducted showed no signs of early cultural remains.

Conway Bay, Las Palmitas, Cerro Gallina, El Garrapatero, Tortuga Bay, La Bomba, Bartolome Island, Cormorant Bay, Post Office Bay, Caleta Iguana, Puerto Villamil Beach
[...] None of these sites produced archaeological evidence.

Santa Cruz agricultural area
[...] Some informants told us that in the past there were roads from Whale and Eden Bays that were used as routes to transport water from Santa Rosa and that "Spanish jars" and other historical remains are found near Santa Rosa.


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And, on preliminary archaeological findings, it was noted:

> Since our research is in its initial phase and considering that it is necessary to undertake a series of analyses, as indicated above, it would be very risky to issue definitive conclusions based solely on fieldwork. Nevertheless, our research allows us to draw two preliminary conclusions that, if confirmed, would clarify the archaeological panorama of the Galapagos Islands:
>
> 1. That in none of the sites reported by other researchers nor in any of the new areas investigated by us, there is evidence of any ceramic type considered by Heyerdahl and Skjølsvold as of pre-Columbian provenance.
>
> 2. Within the archaeological sites we could not find evidence to support Heyerdahl and Skjølsvold's statement that "aboriginal pottery" was found stratigraphically below European ceramic types. Ceramics rarely occur below the surface, but when they do, they were fragments of the so-called "Spanish jars".
>
> All this leads us to seriously question the hypothesis of a pre-Columbian colonization in the famous Galapagos Islands.

In her final report "Report on Pottery from Galapagos" (May 13, 2007), Karen Stothert repeated the same opinion, giving the topic a well-deserved closure:

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> It is clear from this report that a relatively small number of red earthenware vessels and other unglazed earthenware vessels have been described. The assemblage shows a narrow range of simple forms that bear generic similarities to other simple forms produced over time and space. However, it seems clear that these simple jug and bowl forms were probably made in South America in the early 19th century, at the height of whaling and seal hunting activity.

Much of the material collected by the Australian expedition was repatriated to Galapagos and is currently housed in the CDF Museum. The results of the project were discussed in several academic articles that addressed the process from different perspectives.

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Pathways to the future

Archaeological work in the Galapagos Islands, although not abundant, has been developed slowly over the last few decades. Although, as we have seen, they have focused primarily on the potential remains of a hypothetical pre-Hispanic occupation and on the marks and signs left by buccaneers and whalers, they have also begun to explore other areas and contexts. Proof of this are the numerous excavations at Manuel Cobos' hacienda El Progreso, in the upper part of San Cristóbal Island (Stahl *et al.*, 2020), the first attempts at underwater archaeology (Jijón Porras, 2019), and the investigations on the vestiges of the presence of the U.S. Army during World War II.

There remains an enormous task ahead in the recognition and study of the cultural heritage of the Galapagos Islands, both tangible and intangible. Archaeology has limited itself to scratching the surface, concentrating on the oldest and most colorful remains, and neglecting the broad spectrum of artifacts, buried or not, that can be recovered from the beaches, fields, and mountains of the islands. History, sociology, human geography, architecture and engineering have a wide field of study; something similar happens with librarianship and archival science, and with other disciplines belonging to the social and human sciences.

Heritage encompasses those elements that society considers relevant as part

of its collective and social memory. For Galapagos, it is time to begin to know them.

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Annex

Archaeological research in the Galapagos Islands
Raúl Maruri. Verbatim transcription

A. The Galapagos Islands were discovered by the Spanish when a Spanish ship, on its way to Panama, was diverted by currents to the Galapagos Islands. The ship was carrying Bishop Tomas De Berlanga.

Once the islands were recognized, the ship continued its voyage to Panama.

The discovery of the islands by Tomas de Berlanga only ratified the legends told to the Spaniards by the Punaes and Huancavilcas Indians, of the existence of these islands, which had already been visited, first accidentally by the Punaes and Huancavilcas navigators and then by the INCAS in a plan of conquest.

In all these cases the navigators had used the traditional Huancavilcas rafts.

B. A few years earlier, Thor Heterdahl had demonstrated with his Kon-Tiki raft on his voyage to Polynesia, that the Huancavilca rafts, not only could make voyages following the contour of the South American coasts, but were also capable of making voyages across the sea.

C. In 1953, Thor Heyerdahl together with Arne Skjolsvold made an archaeological expedition to the Galapagos Islands, and conducted archaeological excavations on several islands.

The results of this research were published by The Society For American Archaeology, Part No. 3, Number 2, of Volume XXII of America Antiquity, October 1956.

In the aforementioned report, the authors make a quick review of the historical visits made to the Galapagos Islands since their discovery by Bishop Tomas de Berlanga, including the regular visits of the buccaneers who pursued the Spanish fleet that brought gold from the colonies to Spain.

Heyerdahl's archaeological research was not exhaustive, and was limited to the following sites: Buccaneer Bay and James Bay on Santiago Island; Whale Bay and Cape Colorado on Santa Cruz Island; and Black Beach on Floreana Island.

Major archaeological finds were made at James Bay on Santiago Island.

D. In 1963, the Escuela Superior Politécnica del Litoral (ESPOL) carried out a vacation internship on Santiago Island to study the geology and archaeology of the island, and specifically the origin of the "Dariegas" salt mine in an ancient volcanic cone located on Santiago Island.

The practice was oriented from the beginning in two directions: the geological, which would be in charge of the professor of Geology and Anthropology, Dr. Jorge Kraglievich; and the archaeological in charge of

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Bottle necks. CDF Collection

Professor Raul Maruri D., with the participation of several students of the current Faculty of Earth Sciences of the ESPOL.

This vacation was made possible by the kindness of Mr. Dario Egas, complainant and owner of the salt mine, who provided lodging and food for the members of the mission.

The archaeological work concentrated on James Bay on Santiago Island, and specifically on the sites identified from **A** to **L** by Heyerdahl in his report published in 1956.

A collection of pre-Hispanic ceramic fragments was made in practically all the sites investigated by Heyerdahl, and in Heyerdahl's site **J** an "appliqué" of a frog was found, probably the same as those found by Heyerdahl in site **L** and presented in **figure No. 33** of his report.

Heyerdahl identifies the appliqué frogs as similar to those found on the La Plata molded vessels from Peru, shown in **figure No. 34** of his report.

In his report Heyerdahl identifies the fragments as originating from the southern coast of Ecuador and northern Peru.

The amount of fragments recovered by the ESPOL commission was much smaller than that recovered by Heyerdahl. However, an in-depth campaign would allow the recovery of a better sample, which would allow the identification of the ceramic provenance.

Back in Ecuador, the ESPOL mission proceeded to prepare and analyze representative samples of the scarce ceramics recovered, in an attempt to make comparisons between the tempering materials used in them, for comparison with those tempering materials found in ceramic fragments from the Ecuadorian coast.

Unfortunately, this identification was not possible, which would confirm the assumptions made by Heyerdahl in his report.

E. With tourism revenues becoming one of the most important in Ecuador, it might be convenient to analyze the possibility of building at least one on-site museum in the Galapagos Islands, as an additional attraction for foreign tourists.

For this purpose, it would be necessary to try to repatriate the archaeological collection recovered by Heyerdahl and to carry out a new archaeological investigation, even deeper than the one carried out by Heyerdahl, with which one or more site museums could be presented, in which the original vessels from the southern and northern coasts of Ecuador and Peru would be compared, emphasizing at the same time the great importance that oceanic navigation had in the pre-Hispanic period.

Guayaquil, March 25, 2003

RAUL MARURI DIAZ

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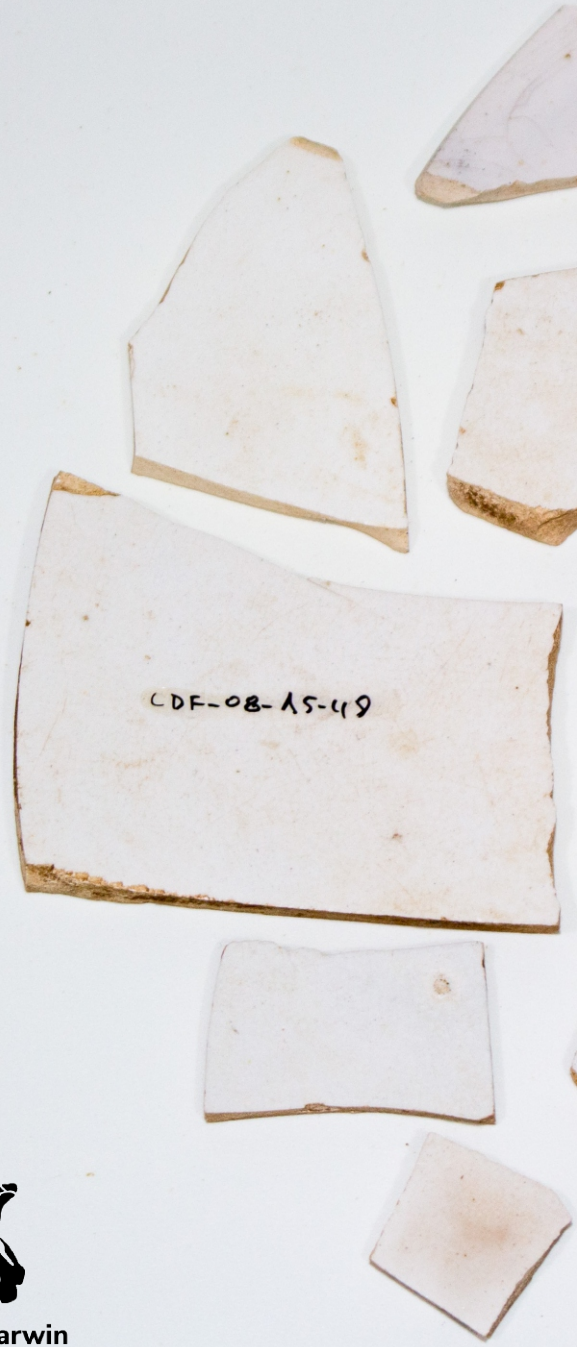

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