

## MILAN STUHLÍK AND MAPUCHE: THE ETHNOGRAPHIC COLLECTION IN THE NÁPRSTEK MUSEUM

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**ABSTRACT:** Milan Stuchlík (1932–1980) was a renowned ethnographer, anthropologist, museologist, and academician. During his field research in Chile (1968–1973) he gathered a remarkable collection of material culture of the Mapuche ethnic group. This includes objects used for dining and food storage, textiles, simple tools, as well as artifacts associated with religious and festive life. Almost fifty years after the acquisition of this collection by the Náprstek Museum, the Stuchlík Collection is now published. Special attention is paid to the circumstances of the acquisition of the collection, the donors, and the original owners of the objects. The personality of Milan Stuchlík is also briefly introduced, with emphasis on his field research and collecting activities in Chile.

**KEYWORDS:** Milan Stuchlík – Chile – Mapuche – material culture – structural anthropology

### Introduction

The Náprstek Museum of Asian, African and American Cultures houses a collection of 123 Mapuche artifacts collected by anthropologist and museum employee Milan Stuchlík during his field research in the years 1968–1973. Some of these objects were exhibited at the Náprstek Museum as part of the permanent exhibition *Native Cultures of the Americas* (1965–2013) and were presented in the exhibition *Indians* (2017–2019). Separately, an exhibition entitled *Mapuche – People of the Land* (2001) and a short-term exhibition from *The World in Showcase* series entitled *Mapuche and Milan Stuchlík* (2022) were devoted to Milan Stuchlík and his collection. These exhibition projects included popularization catalogues that also presented some objects from the Stuchlík collection.

This work is intended to be the first more comprehensive scholarly presentation of the Stuchlík Mapuche collection at the Náprstek Museum and of Milan Stuchlík's personality as a collector and museologist, with an emphasis on his field research in Chile and his collecting activities in the Araucania region of Chile. This topic has not yet been professionally reflected in the Czech or international context, except for a few mentions in publications by his friends and colleagues. Stuchlík's research and collecting activities in Africa and the Middle East, as well as his academic activities as one of the pioneers of anthropology, especially in Czechoslovakia and in Great Britain, remain a topic for further separate studies and will therefore be given only a limited

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space in this article. Stuchlík's academic work in Chile, with overlaps into his later theoretical and methodological work, is mapped in the article *La Antropología en Temuco: clave, caminos y perspectivas* (2020)<sup>2</sup> and, in part, in the introductory study to Jarka Stuchlíková's (1938–) Spanish translation of *Flores de cobre* (2017).<sup>3</sup> A few works by Czech authors have then touched marginally on Stuchlík's academic work and thinking in the field of anthropology.<sup>4</sup> In the Czech context, the most detailed treatment of his life and professional career is Mirjam Moravcová's article *Vzpomínka na Milana Stuchlíka* [In Remembrance of Milan Stuchlík].<sup>5</sup>

The archival materials preserved at the Náprstek Museum cover mainly the period when Milan Stuchlík worked for this institution as curator of the Oceania collections and travelled in Africa and Asia. Stuchlík's work in Chile among the Mapuche is represented in the collections of the Náprstek Museum only by physical artifacts of the material culture of this ethnic group, although with precisely prepared documentation (inventory cards), created directly on the basis of the documents provided by Stuchlík. In addition to this documentation, the photographs taken by Milan Stuchlík during his field research were an important source for this article. Some of them remain part of the photo collection of the Náprstek Museum, while some belong to the private archive of the Stuchlík family. Last but not least, materials from the private archive of the Stuchlík family were used, including Stuchlík's diaries from the field research and testimonies of witnesses.



**Fig. 1.** Milan Stuchlík with school children, Guapi community, Lake Budi, Chile, 1968 (Photo: Václav Šolc).

## Milan Stuchlík

Milan Stuchlík (1932–1980), CSc. was born in Vienna to Herman Stuchlík and Růžena Stuchlíková née Jeřábková as the eldest of four children. The Stuchlík family had lived in Vienna since the 17<sup>th</sup> century and owned a small kitchen equipment factory. In the 1930s, due to the unfavourable economic situation, the Stuchlík family returned to Czechoslovakia. Stuchlík's father first worked in Baťa's factories as a mechanical maintenance worker in Zlín, and later the family moved to Teplice, where Milan Stuchlík graduated from grammar school. In 1951–1956 Milan Stuchlík studied ethnography and archaeology at Charles University in Prague. Already at that time he focused on the so-called foreign ethnography (as the contemporary term

2 Mora et al. 2020.

3 Porta Andrade 2017.

4 It concerns these contributions: Mácha 2016; Nešpor and Jakoubek 2004; Uherek 2001.

5 Moravcová 2002.

for the study of cultures of non-European areas was) and graduated with a thesis on the material culture of Melanesia.<sup>6</sup> In 1963 he received the degree of Candidate of Science (CSc.)<sup>7</sup> at the same university for his thesis on the social stratification of the Batak of Indonesia, based on the study of written sources.<sup>8</sup> From 1954 Milan Stuchlík worked at the Náprstek Museum, first as an assistant and then as curator of the Pacific and Indonesian collections. Among other things, he was involved in the preparation of the permanent exhibition of Asian cultures (1959) and was the author of the design and script for the permanent exhibition of cultures of Australia and Oceania (1965). In 1963, together with his colleague and collaborator Ladislav Holý (1933–1997), he became the first in Czechoslovakia to lecture on social anthropology.<sup>9</sup> In this pioneering work, which officially took place within the Department of Ethnography at the Faculty of Arts, they relied mainly on British theory and methodology.

As it follows from his studies and work at the Náprstek Museum, Milan Stuchlík originally focused on ethnography of Africa and Oceania. In 1957–1968, he published a total of nineteen articles and reviews in Czech, German, and English in this field, three popular science articles, and gave four scientific presentations at conferences in Moscow, Leipzig, and Vienna.<sup>10</sup> In cooperation with Ladislav Holý, he prepared a volume *Social Stratification in Tribal Africa*<sup>11</sup> (1969) as part of a state research programme. In addition, he completed a fellowship at the Volkskundemuseum Wien (1960) and spent three quarters of a year as a Visiting Fellow at Clare Hall, Cambridge, UK (1968). The publication *Social Structure and Individual Behaviour*<sup>12</sup> (1968) was the result of this fellowship.<sup>13</sup>

Before his long-term stay in Chile, Milan Stuchlík also made several short trips outside Europe, the main aim of which was to build cooperation between museums. Among others, he travelled to Morocco (1961), Afghanistan (1962–1963), Mali (1963), and Egypt (1965 – UNESCO Programme for the Preservation of Historical Monuments in Nubia). From all these countries he brought back new objects for his collections, which he acquired by field collection or purchase. In addition to the Mapuche artifacts, he acquired the largest collection of objects in villages in Nubia that were displaced by the construction of the Aswan Dam. During his travels, he also took photographic and film material<sup>14</sup> which is now partly housed in the photographic collection of the Náprstek Museum.

6 The work defended in 1956 was entitled *Kamenné nástroje v kultuře původních obyvatel Melanésie* [Stone Tools in Culture of the Native Inhabitants of Melanesia]; Holý 1981.

7 Older Czechoslovak equivalent of Ph.D.

8 Private archive of the Stuchlík family, *Curriculum Vitae of M. Stuchlík*, 1980. The work was entitled *Sociální a politická organizace Bataků* [Social and Political Organization of the Batak].

9 At that time, for ideological reasons, this field was referred to as ‘foreign ethnography’; see Kandert 1991.

10 Private archive of the Stuchlík family, *Curriculum Vitae of M. Stuchlík*, 1980.

11 Holý and Stuchlík 1969.

12 Stuchlík 1968.

13 This long-term study visit was the result of a collaboration with leading anthropologists from Cambridge, Professors Mayer-Fortes and Ian Cunnison. They first came to Czechoslovakia and spent several days visiting Milan Stuchlík at Liběchov, where the collections of Oceania of the Náprstek Museum were also housed. Subsequently, under their patronage, Stuchlík went as a visiting scholar to St. John’s College, Cambridge.

14 National Museum – Náprstek Museum of Asian, African and American Cultures, Ethnographic Photographic Collection, Inv. No. 27. dF1/2016/31a. The Film *Afghan Town*.

The opportunity to study the Mapuche ethnic group in Araucania, Chile, arose from an agreement between Charles University and the Universidad de Chile on the exchange of researchers.<sup>15</sup> Milan Stuchlík's scholarship was initially awarded only from June 1968 to February 1969, with a later extension to March 1969.<sup>16</sup> His intention was to conduct long-term anthropological research on the Mapuche ethnic group there, with an emphasis on social organization. In 1969, partly due to the unfavourable political situation in Czechoslovakia after the invasion of Soviet troops, Stuchlík's family – his wife Jarka and their two children – came to Chile to join him. In the same year, Milan Stuchlík managed to extend his stay in Chile for another two years, when he received a scholarship from the Instituto Indígena in Temuco, run by the American Catholic missionary organization Maryknoll.<sup>17</sup> The aim of his further work was to complete his field research among the Mapuche and to train the staff of the Institute. His lectures were attended by intellectuals interested in Mapuche issues from all over the province of Cautín.

In addition to his own research, Milan Stuchlík became an active force in the Chilean academic world.<sup>18</sup> To mention the most important achievements, he taught at the Universidad Católica in Santiago de Chile (1971–1973) and lectured in anthropology at the Universidad de Concepción and the Universidad Católica Temuco between 1969 and 1973. In Temuco, he then pushed for the establishment in 1971 and subsequently himself headed the Department of Social Anthropology (1971–1973), which was part of the local branch of the Universidad Católica.<sup>19</sup> This institute survived the storms of the Chilean 20<sup>th</sup> century and still claims the legacy of its founder.<sup>20</sup> In the context of the collection at the Náprstek Museum, it is important that Milan Stuchlík also organized two student archaeological probes for the Centro de Antropología of the Universidad de Chile in Santiago.<sup>21</sup>

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15 In return, the Chilean archaeologist and historian Lautaro Núñez came to Czechoslovakia to explore Great Moravia. See National Museum – Náprstek Museum of Asian, African and American Cultures, Digital Archive of the Collection of non-European Ethnography – Central and South America, Audio recording 01/06/22 in mp3 format, interview with Jarka Stuchlíková (1938–), anthropologist and wife of Milan Stuchlík, who lived with him in Chile in 1969–1973, Prague, 2 June 2022.

16 Private Archive of the Stuchlík Family, *Letter from M. Stuchlík to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Passport and Visa Administration – Request for an Extension of Stay*, 25 March 1969.

17 Private Archive of the Stuchlík Family, *Contract between Instituto Indígena Temuco and doctor Milan Stuchlík*, 4 March 1969.

18 Already during 1968 he organized a series of lectures for the Universidad de Chile in Temuco, for the Instituto de Sociología in Concepción, and he also prepared internal methodological materials for this institute.

19 The institute was called 'Centro de Estudios de la Realidad Regional' (CERER) and was located in Temuco. At the Universidad Católica in Temuco, Milan Stuchlík was involved, among other things, in drawing up a plan for a new department to train students specialising as 'professor of the Mapuche school' and 'social work in Mapuche communities'; see Private Archive of the Stuchlík Family, *Attachment to a Letter from M. Stuchlík to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic – Work Schedule of His Stay in Chile in 1968–1974*; Private Archive of the Stuchlík Family, *Decree of the Rector of the Universidad Católica de Chile, 12 April 1971, appointing Milan Stuchlík head of the Department of Social Anthropology in Temuco*. Universidad Católica de Chile, Decreto No. 101/71.

20 Mora et al. 2020.

21 Private Archive of the Stuchlík Family, *Attachment to a Letter from M. Stuchlík to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic – Work Schedule of His Stay in Chile in 1968–1974*.



The Mapuche became the natural focus of Stuchlík's publications during his Chilean sojourn, and he devoted most of his scholarly output presented in Chile, Colombia, and Peru to them.<sup>22</sup> In a series of articles published between 1969 and 1973, he addressed the specifics of the Mapuche's contemporary position within Chilean society, their social organization, property relations, and principles of labour cooperation.



**Figs. 2-3.** Milan Stuchlík with his Mapuche friends at the Coipuco community, 1969.  
Private Archive of the Stuchlík Family.

22 Ibid.; Stuchlík's scholarly articles on the Mapuche are summarized at the end of this article.

Stuchlík's academic work in Chile was interrupted by Pinochet's military coup in September 1973, which meant another flight across the ocean for the then internationally established anthropologist and his family.<sup>23</sup> Milan Stuchlík decided to remain in exile with his family and never returned to Czechoslovakia. In 1974, he began teaching as a Visiting Fellow at St. John's College, Cambridge, and a year later moved to Queen's University, Belfast, where he and his colleague and friend, anthropologist Ladislav Holý, taught social anthropology. Later he became head of the anthropology department there and a member of the editorial board of the *Queen's University Papers in Social Anthropology*.<sup>24</sup>

Milan Stuchlík translated his research among the Mapuche into a scholarly monograph titled *Life on a Halfshare: Mechanisms of Social Recruitment among the Mapuche of Southern Chile* (1979).<sup>25</sup> He also expressed the knowledge gained from the Chilean phase in methodological and theoretical essays published in the *Queen's University Papers in Social Anthropology*, in which he dealt mainly with structural and methodological issues in anthropology,<sup>26</sup> and together with his colleague Ladislav Holý developed the Theory of Folk Models.<sup>27</sup> He worked on his second long-term field research, which took place in rural Aragon, Spain, together with his wife Jarka in 1977–1980, but he did not manage to complete it. His other seminal theoretical work *Actions, Norms and Representations* (1983) was also published after his death.<sup>28</sup>

In honour of Milan Stuchlík, Queen's University in Belfast organised an annual series of lectures by experts in the philosophy of social sciences, the Milan Stuchlík Memorial Lectures.<sup>29</sup> The credit for popularising his name goes mainly to his wife, anthropologist, and translator Jarka Stuchlíková, who moved to Prague after 1989. She published a memoir about their life in Chile, *Indiáni, politici, plukovníci* [Indians, Politicians, and Colonels] (1997),<sup>30</sup> which has been translated into English and Spanish.<sup>31</sup>

## The theoretical background of Stuchlík's research

Stuchlík based his academic work in Czechoslovakia and Chile, as well as his anthropological research, on the ideas of British social anthropology, which he and his colleague Ladislav Holý had brought to the Czechoslovak intellectual environment of the time.<sup>32</sup> Although an analysis of Stuchlík's anthropological

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23 They were by no means alone; many Chilean academics headed to the UK at that time. See Holý 1981.

24 Private archive of the Stuchlík family, *Curriculum Vitae of M. Stuchlík*, 1980.

25 Stuchlík 1976. In 1999 it was translated into Spanish; Stuchlík 1999.

26 Private Archive of the Stuchlík Family, *List of Publications by M. Stuchlík*, 1980.

27 In 1980 Milan Stuchlík organized the annual conference of the ASA in Edinburgh (held 8–11 April 1980), but he did not live to see the final written form of his output, which he presented together with L. Holý; see the article Holý and Stuchlík 1983b.

28 Holý and Stuchlík 1983a.

29 In the first year the philosopher Ernest Gellner was the opening lecturer, in the second year the sociologist Anthony Giddens. Private archive of the Stuchlík family, *Curriculum Vitae of M. Stuchlík*, 1980.

30 Stuchlíková 1997.

31 Private Archive of the Stuchlík Family, *A Brief Biography of the Translator Jarka Stuchlíková*, 2015.

32 Mácha 2016, p. 137; Moravcová 2000.

thinking and his academic work would merit a separate study and is therefore not the subject of this article (as mentioned in the introduction), it has been decided to mention Stuchlík's anthropological approach here in passing, given its influence on the building up of the collection. Stuchlík's personal involvement with the British social anthropology milieu can be traced back to the early 1960s, when he and Holý hosted prominent British anthropologists and professors from Cambridge – Meyer Fortes and Ian Cunnison – at Stuchlík's then workplace at Liběchov Castle (where the Australian and Oceanian collections of the Náprstek Museum were housed).<sup>33</sup> This contact led to Stuchlík's aforementioned several-month internship at St. John's College at Cambridge in 1968 and probably also facilitated Stuchlík's later emigration to the UK.

In general terms, the influence of the contemporary British school of anthropology can be seen in the very concept and length of the fieldwork among the Mapuche: it comprised stationary and long-term research, originally planned for one year. In the spirit of similar contemporary British works, Stuchlík based his monograph *Life on a Half Share*<sup>34</sup> primarily on deduction, namely the formulation of a theory on the basis of which a comprehensive account of the functioning of the communities under study was to be provided, if at all possible. One can also trace parallels between Stuchlík's professional background as a museologist and academic in one person and that of the early anthropologists of the University of Cambridge, intertwined with the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology belonging to the university.

Stuchlík was also linked to British social anthropologists by his desire to make practical use of the knowledge he gained for the needs of the civil service.<sup>35</sup> Both Stuchlík's lectures for the Instituto Indígena in Temuco, aimed at a general public interested in the Mapuche, and the focus of the anthropology institute he founded, whose name could be translated as the 'Center for Regional Studies', reflected Stuchlík's desire to link theoretical research with practice, which was ultimately intended to contribute to improving the living conditions of the Mapuche and understanding their culture.

Stuchlík's interest in economic issues related to the Chilean indigenous population resulted in his involvement in the ongoing transformation of a politically divided Chile, which, after the victory of the Popular Front in 1968–1973, embarked on a path of transformation towards socialism. In 1971, he was invited by the Land Reform Commission to collaborate with it and produced a series of expert reports on the state of Mapuche society as an independent observer and expert.<sup>36</sup> As the extant sources indicate, his plans in this area were extensive and went beyond the Mapuche issue and beyond a purely scholarly approach. In his letter to the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry in 1971, he states of his further intentions:

33 Moravcová 2000; National Museum – Náprstek Museum of Asian, African and American Cultures, Digital Archive of the Collection of non-European Ethnography – Central and South America, Audio recording 01/06/22 in mp3 format, interview with Jarka Stuchlíková (1938–), anthropologist and wife of Milan Stuchlík, who lived with him in Chile in 1969–1973, Prague, 2 June 2022.

34 Stuchlík 1976.

35 e.g. in Stuchlík 1976, he cites a study by Evans-Pritchard which resulted from his research among the Nuer and Zande conducted on behalf of the government of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan; see Evans-Pritchard 1940.

36 See Stuchlík 1971c; Stuchlík and Šolc 1971.

I intend to carry out extensive research in this period thematically focused on the problems of contemporary Mapuche economics. [...] The results of this research [...] should shed light on some important problems of the position of ethnic minorities in contemporary states of the so-called Mapuche economy. [...] The current socio-political development in Chile poses a number of problems that require the collaboration of highly qualified experts to solve (the problem of Indian minorities, the problem of the multinational composition of the southern part of Chile, the formulation of new socio-economic models for the agricultural sector, etc.).<sup>37</sup>

Stuchlík then cites a number of British anthropologists in the theoretical foundations of his work on the Mapuche. The long-term stationary concept of research itself followed the tradition established by the British-Polish anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski; however, Stuchlík based the intellectual framework of his research more on the ideas of A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and his structural functionalism.<sup>38</sup> In formulating the initial premises of his research, Stuchlík drew, alongside A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, on the more recent studies of Evans-Pritchard, Raymond Firth,<sup>39</sup> and the aforementioned Meyer Fortes,<sup>40</sup> which were based on a synchronic approach and the perception of social systems as a structure of interrelated institutions.<sup>41</sup> The practical experience of life among the Mapuche itself marked a turning point in Stuchlík's thinking. In fact, Milan Stuchlík discovered during his research that none of the existing schemes of structural functionalism could be applied well enough to the Mapuche communities under study. Stuchlík, probably also influenced by the Manchester School and V. W. Turner,<sup>42</sup> decided to start from the analysis and interpretation of the social interactions among the Mapuche and to focus on exploring the social dynamics of their relationships, rather than on affecting the unchanging structure of Mapuche society, which had little basis in reality. The focus of his research was not on relations within the family, but on the principles of social recruitment, that is, the participation of Mapuche in collective activities or events of a purely economic nature, as well as ritual or ceremonial. An important component of his research was also the recording of how the Mapuche themselves perceived these relationships and, by extension, their own society. Stuchlík later developed this approach with his colleague Holý into the so-called The Structure of Folk Models Theory.<sup>43</sup>

In addition to information about the Mapuche themselves, Stuchlík drew on local archives and several works written by Stuchlík's contemporaries. One can mention the structuralist works of L. C. Faron titled *Mapuche Social Structure: Institutional Reintegration in a Patrilineal Society of Central Chile*<sup>44</sup> and *The Hawks of the Sun: Mapuche Morality and Its Ritual Attributes*. As well, one can refer to other publications: Alejandro

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37 Private Archive of the Stuchlík Family, *Attachment to a Letter from M. Stuchlík to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic – Work Schedule of His Stay in Chile in 1968–1974*.

38 In Stuchlík 1976, he quotes repeatedly Radcliffe-Brown 1952.

39 Firth 1951.

40 Fortes 1953.

41 Soukup 2017.

42 In Stuchlík 1976, he cites Turner 1957.

43 Holý and Stuchlík 1983b.

44 Faron 1961.



Saavedra's *La Cuestión Mapuche*,<sup>45</sup> Larissa Lomnitz's *Función del Alcohol en la Sociedad Mapuche*,<sup>46</sup> and Mischa Titiev's *Araucanian Culture in Transition*.<sup>47</sup> At the same time, Stuchlík did not accept the information from these works uncritically and carefully compared them with his own finds.<sup>48</sup> The focus of the field research and its theoretical underpinnings were then directly reflected in the form of the collection assembled, which includes a range of both utilitarian and ritual objects, often tied to a specific social event – be it ploughing, harvesting, the *ngillatún* ritual or the game of *palin*. Physical artefacts based on these specific events in Mapuche life are then directly complemented by a photographic collection that illustrates each event.

## Stuchlík's collection of Mapuche artifacts

The core of the Mapuche artifact collection was collected by Milan Stuchlík during the first year of his fieldwork (1968–1969) and during the following two years of his Chilean stay, when he and his family lived in the Araucanian countryside. As such, it reflects a specific period of Mapuche material culture before the advent of the military dictatorship, when the Mapuche lived in reservations (*reducciones*) mostly outside the major cities, practiced subsistence farming (wheat, corn, vegetables, fruit), raised cattle, sheep, and horses, and made many of their own tools and household equipment.<sup>49</sup> A lot of Mapuche were still speakers of the Mapudungun language and retained their own spirituality and associated rituals. Bartering was a relatively common way of acquiring goods, and this was also reflected in the Mapuche willingness to trade their products with M. Stuchlík in this manner. After Pinochet's accession, the country was industrialized, which also affected the countryside and the Mapuche exodus to the cities.<sup>50</sup> As such, Stuchlík's collection captures a specific historical phase of Mapuche culture in the 1960s and early 1970s.

After arriving in the Araucania region in June 1968, Milan Stuchlík first rode his horse around a selected rural area in the province of Cautín, inhabited mostly by Mapuche, to choose a community where he would conduct his research. The decisive criterion for him was the presence of traditional handicrafts and arts and crafts in the relatively remote settlement of Coipuco. Accessible only by a dirt unpaved road, Coipuco was 13 km from the market town of Cholchol and 45 km north-west of Araucania's capital, Temuco. Administratively, it fell under the larger community of Nueva Imperial and under one of the two Araucanian provinces, Cautín. At the time of Stuchlík's research, Coipuco consisted of three dozen traditional Mapuche thatched huts (*ruka*), heated by an indoor fireplace, and

45 Saavedra 1968.

46 Lomnitz 1969.

47 Titiev 1951.

48 See e.g. the critical assessment of Faron's work in Stuchlík's diary: 'What bothers me most about the book is that it is actually a description of a structure that is the result of the author's rationalization of facts, while Faron brings neither the facts nor the rationalization, but rather a generalized description.'; Stuchlík's entry from 16 March 1968 in Private Archive of the Stuchlík Family, Stuchlík, M. (1969). *Diary of Chile, January 1969–11 December 1969*.

49 Private Archive of the Stuchlík Family, Stuchlík, M. (1969). *Diary of Chile, January 1969–11 December 1969*.

50 Bravo and Pairicán Padilla 2020.



Fig. 4. Landscape around Coipuco with two *rehue* burial columns, 1968–1973. Private Archive of the Stuchlík Family.



Fig. 5. Traditional Mapuche thatched hut, 1968–1973. Private Archive of the Stuchlík Family.

a wooden school building, where Milan Stuchlík lived for the next year.<sup>51</sup> In June 1969, after his family arrived, Milan Stuchlík then moved from Coipuco to the nearby market town of Cholchol, also largely inhabited by Mapuche Indians. However, he continued to remain in contact with both Coipuco residents and other rural Mapuche communities.<sup>52</sup>

51 Stuchlíková 1997; Private Archive of the Stuchlík Family, Stuchlík, M. (1968). *Diary of Chile, 5 September 1968–31 December 1968*.

52 Cholchol was slightly more easily accessible than Coipuco, with a bus service, a church primary school, a mission station, shops and an irregular doctor; see Stuchlíková 1997.

Stuchlík's collection [Tabs. 1–2] includes contemporary used ceramics (23 artifacts: jugs, bowls, mugs,...), used wood products (28 artifacts: wooden utensils, seats, mortars, trowels,...), used leather and horn products (11 artifacts: cowhide bags, horn pots), textile products (4 artifacts: women's bedspread and belts), products related to play and ritual (23 artifacts: palanquin equipment, musical instruments, ritual statues), other products (10 artifacts), and archaeological finds – mostly pottery (24 artifacts).

The target institution of the collection was to be the Náprstek Museum from the very beginning. The collection was intended to complement the collection of 21 artifacts brought to this institution by Václav Šolc, an Americanist and curator of the Náprstek Museum, and Olga Kandertová, an Americanist, who travelled amongst the Mapuche and in the another part of the province of Cautín, around Lake Budi, in 1968–1969 (e.g. Inv. No. A7367, Inv. No. A7108, Inv. No. A7129). Financial aspects also played a role in building the Mapuche collection. Researchers at the time did not receive funding from either the sending or receiving institution to purchase collection items, and the common practice was that they either acquired objects through collecting, in exchange for a *quid pro quo*, or purchased them from daily allowances.<sup>53</sup> This circumstance therefore often posed a limitation on the type of artifacts they were able to acquire on their travels.

The form of Stuchlík's collection and the manner in which it was professionally processed were further influenced by the long-term nature of his field research, the close daily contact with the Mapuche and the personal, friendly relationships he managed to establish with the locals. The detailed documentation kept for the objects not only includes the exact specification of where they were acquired, but often also the name of the maker, finder or previous owner (the specific name of the object's originator is not known in only 19 out of 123 cases) and the name of the object in Mapudungun (recorded in 45 cases). 63 artifacts from the ethnographic part of the Stuchlík's collection of 99 objects come from Coipuco. The remaining recorded places of origin of the objects are other Mapuche communities from the province of Cautín around Nueva Imperial – Coigue, Cautínche, Malalche, and others.<sup>54</sup>

It is not too surprising that Milan Stuchlík acquired most of the objects for his collections from those Mapuche neighbours whom he became the best friends with. In the first place are the Huenchuman (19 artifacts), Tranamil (13 artifacts), and Cayul (10 artifacts) families, all from Coipuco.<sup>55</sup> Moreover, by studying the sources, it is possible to assign individual fates to some of the donors of collection items and reconstruct their relationship to the researcher. An example is Estela Tranamil, a potter from Coipuco. A widowed middle-aged woman left alone with eight children; pottery and weaving were an important source of her income.<sup>56</sup> The collections also include pottery from her daughter, Maria Barra. Another

53 National Museum – Náprstek Museum of Asian, African and American Cultures, Digital Archive of the Collection of non-European Ethnography – Central and South America, Audio recording 01/06/22 in mp3 format, interview with Jarka Stuchlíková (1938–), anthropologist and wife of Milan Stuchlík, who lived with him in Chile in 1969–1973, Prague, 2 June 2022; Private Archive of the Stuchlík Family, Kandert, J. (2020). *A Little Reminiscence*.

54 Other communities were as follows: Cautínche (10 artifacts), Coigue (9 artifacts), Malalche (4 artifacts), Cuyinco (1 artifact), Yahuayhuenche (3 artifacts), Carririñe (2 artifacts), Ancapulli (1 artifact), Nutromahuida (1 artifact), Cholchol (1 artifacts), Chilo (1 artifact), San Alfonso (1 artifact).

55 The names of the originators of all known collection items are listed in Tab. 1.

56 Stuchlíková 1997, pp. 55–58; Private Archive of the Stuchlík Family, Stuchlík, M. (1968). *Diary of Chile, 5 September 1968–31 December 1968*.

important Coipuco neighbour whose connection to Stuchlík is known was the blue-eyed Mapuche Segundo Huenchuman, known as a *gringo* because of his appearance. He felt a special kinship with Milan Stuchlík because of his similarly fair complexion and eyes and gave him a set of five pieces of carved crockery for his collection. The Stuchlík collection also includes other artifacts from Carlos' relatives. Antonio Millareal, whose family Milan Stuchlík acquired some of the wooden utensils from, was an informal leader of the Coipuco community, and the sick women of the Cayul family, whom some of the ceramic assemblage came from, in turn the Stuchlík couple provided with medicines.<sup>57</sup>



Fig. 6. Milan Stuchlík at the end of his one-year research stay in Coipuco with his friend Carlos Huenchuman, ca. 1969. Private Archive of the Stuchlík Family.



Fig. 7. Estela Tranamil creating ceramic jugs, 1968–1973. Private Archive of the Stuchlík Family.

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57 Stuchlíková 1997, p. 59.



The gathering of Stuchlík's collection occurred quite organically. At first, Milan Stuchlík acquired objects mainly from his neighbours in Coipuco. Word that he was buying up examples of material culture soon spread among the Mapuche in the area, and they themselves began bringing him objects they thought might be of interest. Milan Stuchlík would then either buy the objects or acquire them in exchange for whatever the Mapuche needed at the time, for example, helping them write letters or donating medicines provided by his doctor friends in Temuco.<sup>58</sup> He also traded ethnographic items for mass-produced products that were available in town and which the Mapuche expressed interest in, such as plastic bags or utensils.<sup>59</sup> At the same time, the purchase and exchange of objects in the first months of Stuchlík's stay, when he himself was still searching for how to conceptualize the whole research, was a way to approach the Mapuche and clarify research questions in contact with them. The way in which the sourcing of products took place is well illustrated by the following excerpt from Stuchlík's field diary. On one trip from Coipuco to the town of Cholchol, Milan Stuchlík was joined by Domingo Huircapan from the nearby community of Cautínche and asked if he was the one buying '*cosas antiguas*' (i.e. old things). The entry continues as follows:

He is said to have for sale one of those stones with a hole, also an old bridle with silver, a silver *trarilonko*<sup>60</sup> and other things. He said he would come to me on Sunday and show me all this. And that, while we were at it – perhaps I wanted to buy something that we had not yet seen in our country – he pulled out a lasso of cowhide and hair from under the manta, actually just a strip of leather (Inv. No. A7274). He wanted 35 escudos for it, and when I told him that was too much he went straight down to 20. For the sake of possible future bargains, I gave it to him, although it seemed expensive. I had no change and had to wait to do some shopping in Cholchol. Then I invited him to wine and before I could order, he ordered a litre, so it took us a nice long time to drink it, although the barman helped a bit. I explained to him what I was looking for, roughly, and he nodded at everything, saying that he would get it, since we now had an '*amistad*' (i.e. friendship) together.<sup>61</sup>

It is important to bear in mind the prices of consumer products in the Araucanian rural environment, where machine production was practically non-existent and these types of goods had to be imported from afar. While food and agricultural products were relatively inexpensive, consumer goods and handicrafts became considerably more expensive. A good example is a wooden bowl (Inv. No. A7252) from Stuchlík's collection, which its original owner acquired in exchange for a grown piglet. Another example: the price for a young horse at the time was 300 escudos, while

58 Entry from 26 December 1968 in the Private Archive of the Stuchlík Family, Stuchlík, M. (1968). *Diary of Chile, 5 September 1968–31 December 1968*.

59 Mrs. Jarka Stuchlíková states that he received some products from some Estela Tranamil in exchange for a plastic washtub. See also the entry from 3 October 1968 in the Private Archive of the Stuchlík Family, Stuchlík, M. (1968). *Diary of Chile, 5 September 1968–31 December 1968*.

60 *Trarilonko* is a Mapuche female headdress made of metal with silver.

61 Entry from 26 December 1968 in the Private Archive of the Stuchlík Family, Stuchlík, M. (1968). *Diary of Chile, 5 September 1968–31 December 1968*.



Fig. 8. The garden of the house in Cholchol, where the Stuchlík family lived after their arrival in Chile. On the left is a statue of a *rehue*, which later became part of the collection in the Náprstek Museum (Inv. No. A8143), ca. 1969–1972. Private Archive of the Stuchlík Family.

mending shoes in the larger town of Temuco cost 39 escudos.<sup>62</sup> Thus, a seemingly modest ethnographic collection was worth a great deal in the contemporary and local context.

An important feature of the collection is its partly archaeological character. The grave pottery was obtained during an archaeological survey of the long disused Mapuche burial site, where Milan Stuchlík and his students from several faculties where he was academically active made several probes. Another four objects from the archaeological part of the collection, two of which are probably of pre-Columbian origin, were then donated to Stuchlík by local Mapuche.

As already mentioned, his colleague from the Náprstek Museum, Václav Šolc,<sup>63</sup> also made research trips to Chile in 1966–1973, but unlike Stuchlík, he returned to Czechoslovakia after each expedition. It was Václav Šolc who, with the support of the Czechoslovak Embassy in Chile, helped to arrange for the transport of Stuchlík's collections to the Náprstek Museum in 1972.<sup>64</sup> Part of the collection, including

62 Private Archive of the Stuchlík Family, Stuchlík, M. (1969). *Diary of Chile, January 1969–11 December 1969*.

63 Stuchlík and Šolc collaborated in Chile; e.g. they held a talk together at the Instituto Chileno-Checoslovaco de la Cultura (1971) and prepared a report on the current state of Mapuche society for the Chilean Minister of Agriculture entitled *El estado actual de la sociedad Mapuche; algunas sugerencias para la solución de los problemas de su desarrollo integral*; Stuchlík and Šolc 1971; see also Private Archive of the Stuchlík Family, *Attachment to a Letter from M. Stuchlík to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic – Work Schedule of His Stay in Chile in 1968–1974*.

64 This transport of the collections took place with the full consent and knowledge of the Chilean authorities; see Private Archive of the Stuchlík Family, *Letter from M. Stuchlík to the Concejo de Monumentos Nacionales*, 26 October 1971.



a collection of ritual masks and women's metal ornaments, remained in the possession of the Stuchlík family.<sup>65</sup> Some of the objects from this private collection were presented to the public in the aforementioned exhibition *Mapuche – People of the Land* (2001).<sup>66</sup>

### Contemporary used ceramics [Pls. 1–3]

The collection of contemporary ceramics from the Stuchlík collection consists of tableware and decorative vessels for the home use. Mapuche pottery was exclusively the domain of women called *metahuete*. No potter's wheel or ceramic kiln was used to make the pottery; the products were made in summer from available and suitable clay by mixing it with mineral temper, drying it in the sun and firing it slowly on the edge of the hearth. Various jars, as well as bowls and pots (*olla*; e.g. Inv. No. A7233) are abundantly represented in the Stuchlík ensemble. The jars (*metahue*) are often zoomorphic in shape and represent domestic animals, most often a duck (e.g. Inv. No. A7220), which represented female fertility in Mapuche symbology,<sup>67</sup> or other domestic birds, a horse, or a dog. They were used as ceremonial containers for alcoholic beverages, such as wine or the traditional fermented drink *chicha*, but also for heating water.<sup>68</sup> Simple, unadorned jars were used to hold urine (e.g. Inv. No. A7224), which women used to rinse their hair.<sup>69</sup> Larger pot-shaped containers with handles were used to heat water or as a basin.



Figs. 9–10. Example of Mapuche pottery making – forming clay into the desired shape, 1968–1973.  
Private Archive of the Stuchlík Family.

65 Private Archive of the Stuchlík Family, *Attachment to a Letter from M. Stuchlík to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic – Work Schedule of His Stay in Chile in 1968–1974*.

66 Bađurová et al. 2001.

67 Montecino 1995, p. 48.

68 *Chicha* is a traditional South American alcoholic beverage that is produced by fermentation. *Chicha* typical of central Chile is made from apples or corn.

69 Entry from 27 December 1968 in the Private Archive of the Stuchlík Family, Stuchlík, M. (1968). *Diary of Chile, 5 September 1968–31 December 1968*.



Fig. 11. Example of Mapuche ceramics making – drying of finished ceramics near the fire, 1968–1973. Private Archive of the Stuchlík Family.

## Used wood products [Pls. 4–11]

Used wood and wicker products consist of four baskets of different sizes (*longo*; e.g. Inv. No. A808) and a diverse set of wooden kitchen utensils. The baskets had a practical purpose: they were used to preserve flour, beans, or eggs, but they were also used to offer sacrifices in the *ngillatún* ceremony. At the same time, basketry products had a firm place in the Mapuche system of exchange.<sup>70</sup> The wicker and fibers processed were often obtained from endemic plants found only in Chile.<sup>71</sup> Some baskets were not made of wicker, but used leaves resembling reeds to achieve a denser, less permeable structure. Basketry and the making of vessels from plant fibres were practiced among the Mapuche by both men and women (called *zamife*).

Wood for making utensils, sculptures, and tools was obtained at higher altitudes, most often from the endemic Patagonian oak (*Nothofagus obliqua*) and Chilean laurel (*Laurelia sempervirens*).<sup>72</sup> Wood products from these trees were an important part of Mapuche material culture, especially in the past when most of Mapuche territory was covered by native temperate rainforests. Stuchlík's assemblage of wooden utilitarian products includes stools (e.g. Inv. No. 23048), shovels (e.g. Inv. No. A7271), and various smaller kitchen utensils, especially bowls (*batea*, *patilla*; e.g. Inv. No. A7250). Mortars (*tratan trapihue*; e.g. Inv. No. A7215) were used to crush the red pepper (*aji*), which was used to make the traditional hot sauce. The spoons and ladles made from a single piece of wood are based on the form of the sacred *rehue* and *chemamüll* statues, and their visuals illustrate the blending of the sacred and the profane that is characteristic of Mapuche material culture.

70 Henríquez Carrasco and Cisterna Roa 2019, p. 5.

71 Ibid., p. 25.

72 Saavedra Zapata and Salas Olave 2019, p. 44.



**Figs. 12–13.** Example of the use of a scratch plough very similar to the one preserved in the collections of the Náprstek Museum, 1968–1973. Private Archive of the Stuchlík Family.

### Used leather and horn products [Pl. 15]

The raising of sheep, horses, and cattle, which the Mapuche learned from the Spanish, played an important role in their culture. They became so successful in cattle breeding that they controlled much of the cattle trade in southern Argentina and Chile in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>73</sup> At the time of Stuchlík's stay, cattle and horse breeding and the leather work associated with them were still a common part of Mapuche life. The bags

<sup>73</sup> Reccius and Furman 1983.



of cowhides, heads, and udders (*trontron*; e.g. Inv. No. 56583) in Stuchlík's collection demonstrate the ability to make the most of the product of animal husbandry. After skinning the cowhide was first cleaned, then scalded with heated stones, modelled into the desired shape, filled with bran or seeds and dried over a fire. The shape of the pouches is sometimes reinforced with wire or bent rod, the dried pods of the pouches serve as feet for the container, and they are usually fitted with a loop of twine for easier handling. Depending on their size, these containers were used to store roasted flour, salt, spices, rubbed peppers, or small objects. The impermeability of the containers made of ox horns (e.g. Inv. No. 66107) was a key feature: the larger ones were used to store leaven for baking bread, the smaller ones served as wine goblets. They were closed on one side with a round wooden stopper using resin and sometimes also had a string for hanging.



Fig. 14. Mapuche horseman in typical clothing, 1968–1973. Private Archive of the Stuchlík Family.

## Textile products [Pl. 15]

Weaving, which has been the domain of women in Mapuche culture, has a centuries-old tradition. Woollen textiles were a prized commodity on the Chilean-Argentine border and Mapuche women were masters of their production. There are a large number of traditional textiles with their own names, symbolism, and even, for example, prescribed combinations of colours and ornaments.<sup>74</sup> However, textiles are only modestly represented in the Stuchlík collection. All four textiles are made of sheep's wool, which was carded, spun, and woven by hand. The basic tool was a vertical loom (*witram*) with a warp stretched by a weight. Originally the wool was also dyed with natural dyes, but by the time of Stuchlík's stay it was gradually being replaced by imported aniline

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<sup>74</sup> Mege Rosso 1990.

dyes. The rectangular fabric (*küpam*; e.g. Inv. No. 22765) is an essential component of women's clothing, the colour of which should be so deep black that it takes on a blue hue.<sup>75</sup> The plain black *küpam* was complemented in traditional women's clothing by massive jewellery which combined silver with copper and a decorative *trariüwe* belt, in which the predominant colour was red combined with green, or a white and black ornament. One of the main symbols woven into the *trariüwe* and preserved on all three women's belts in Stuchlík's collection (e.g. Inv. No. 56586) is the *lukutuel* ornament, which depicts a supplicant during the most important Mapuche ritual, the *ngillatún*.<sup>76</sup>



Fig. 15–16. Example of hand spinning of wool by Mapuche women, 1968–1973. Private Archive of the Stuchlík Family.

75 Ibid., p. 24.

76 Ibid., p. 31.



**Fig. 17.** A vertical loom (*witrám*) with an unfinished product in popular Mapuche colours – red and white. Private Archive of the Stuchlík Family..



**Fig. 18.** A woman wearing a black *kúpan* with silver ornaments, 1968–1973. Private Archive of the Stuchlík Family..

## Products related to play and ritual [Pls. 22–24]

Ceremonial objects from the Stuchlík collection relate to two important events in Mapuche festival life: the *ngillatún* ritual and the game *palín*. *Ngillatún* was a collective supplication ceremony led by a shaman (most often a woman), called *machi*, who communicated with the spirit world in an attempt to ensure a good harvest and good weather for the community. During the ceremony, the *machi* repeatedly ascended the steps of a wooden carved *rehue* pole chanting and drumming. The *rehue* was after her death placed on her grave. Such *rehue* statue, which originally towered over the grave of the *machi*, is also preserved in the Stuchlík collection (e.g. Inv. No. A8143). It was made by Augustín Poblete for his *machi* wife around 1930. The second variant of the funerary statue in the Stuchlík collection is the *chemamiül* (e.g. Inv. No. A8144), a post marking the final resting place of a respectable member of the community.

The *ngillatún* ritual included musical accompaniment. Stuchlík's collection contains several wind instruments that were used during the ritual. There are wooden whistles with a single conical bore (*pufülka*; e.g. Inv. No. A7263) that produce a rather relatively high-pitched sound, they were not tuned in any way, and in Mapuche culture evoked the sound of the nandu pampas bird (*Rhea americana*) calling its children. The assemblage also includes a hollow stem thistle trumpet called *ñolkin* (e.g. Inv. No. A7242), a nearly three-meter-long *trutrúka* trumpet (e.g. Inv. No. 56029) made from the stem of a bamboo-like plant with an ox horn at one end, a signal ox horn called *kulkul* (e.g. Inv. No. A7265), which was used in the past to summon the people before a ceremony, and a trump (*trompa*; e.g. Inv. No. A7283).



The set also includes several long ‘long sticks’ for the traditional game of *palín* (or also *chueca*; e.g. Inv. No. A7268) and a wooden ball. The game of *palín*, reminiscent of field hockey, was originally used as a means of non-violent adjudication of disputes and important community matters. By the time of the Stuchlík collection, however, it had already taken on the character of a sporting contest and entertainment.<sup>77</sup>

Another group of objects related to Mapuche religious ideas are stone products. The original purpose of the stone discs (*pimuntue*; e.g. Inv. No. A7243) is not entirely clear, but Milan Stuchlík recorded that during his time among the Mapuche, the *machi* blew on those who were ill through the holes in the heads during healing rituals. The Mapuche also placed these stones in grain chests or on the steps of the sacred *rehue* statue to ensure a good harvest. The stone blades of the axes (*tokikura*; e.g. Inv. No. A7249) were then called ‘thunder stones’ in Mapuche mythology, and M. Stuchlík recorded a Mapuche story that these stones fell from the sky with lightning, burrowed into the earth, and after seven years pierced the surface again.<sup>78</sup>



Fig. 19. *Rehue* above the *machi* grave, 1968–1973. Private Archive of the Stuchlík Family.

## Other products [Pl. 22–24]

Other products of the Stuchlík ensemble, difficult to classify in the groups above, include *kupelhue*, wooden baby carriers, complete with linen and wool blankets, two simple slings

<sup>77</sup> Course 2012, p. 13.

<sup>78</sup> Entry from 23 October 1968 in the Private Archive of the Stuchlík Family, Stuchlík, M. (1968). *Diary of Chile, 5 September 1968–31 December 19*; see also Menard 2018, p. 17.



Fig. 20. *Ngillatún* ceremony, 1968–1973. Private Archive of the Stuchlík Family.



Fig. 21. Men playing *palin*, 1968–1973. Private Archive of the Stuchlík Family.

made of coloured woolen yarn (e.g. Inv. No. A7243),<sup>79</sup> or a *bolas* (e.g. Inv. No. 66083) for hunting birds. Sandals with rubber soles were a fairly common male footwear in Coipuco (e.g. Inv. No. 56585), and Milan Stuchlík also sought out these rubber soles for

<sup>79</sup> Although we have no record of it, it is possible that the authors of the knitted slings were men. As Milan Stuchlík mentions in his diaries, unlike weaving, knitting was not perceived as a purely feminine activity, and he himself repeatedly met men who knitted. See this passage: ‘On another journey I met Lucho Millar: he was walking along the road, knitting a woolen sock. [...] This knitting is quite normal work for men, I have seen enough of them knitting. It takes about four days to knit one pair of socks.’ Stuchlík, Entry from 19 April 1969 in the Private Archive of the Stuchlík Family, Stuchlík, M. (1969). *Diary of Chile, January 1969–11 December 1969*.

his Mapuche friends. Metal products are only sparsely represented in the assemblage, although metalwork was present in Mapuche material culture from colonial times, not least because of the necessity to make weapons and horse harnesses.<sup>80</sup> The emblematic product of Mapuche metalwork was women's jewellery with an admixture of silver (headdresses, pins to fasten dresses, neck pendants), which was made by casting coins. Unfortunately, these are not part of the Stuchlík collection in the Náprstek Museum. Next to the part of the bolas, a single bell for sheep with cast floral motifs is represented in the Stuchlík collection of metal products (Inv. No. A7276).



Fig. 22. Mapuche family in front of their *ruka*, 1968–1973. Private Archive of the Stuchlík Family.



Fig. 23. Man and woman caught knitting, 1968–1973. Private Archive of the Stuchlík Family.

80 Reccius and Furman 1983.

## Archaeological finds [Pls. 25–27]

The vast majority of the archaeological portion of the collection comes from a disused Mapuche burial site near the banks of the Repucura River in the Nueva Imperial area. Milan Stuchlík and his students made several expeditions here in the autumn of 1969. The swollen river next to the cemetery caused a gradual landslide that led to the uncovering of old graves. At the time of the archaeological probe, the burial ground was about 100–150 years old, having last been used around 1880 during a plague epidemic. Some of the grave pottery was preserved in pits lined with stones, some in wooden coffins that had been opened long before the actual digging. The grave vessels corresponded to contemporary Mapuche ceramic production. These are mostly plain jars (one of them zoomorphic) with one handle and pots or jars with two handles (e.g. Inv. No. 66092). Inside one of the jars (Inv. No. 66094), sealed with a damaged dried clay stopper, a residue of a turbid liquid, probably *chicha*, was found during excavation. Milan Stuchlík then obtained two more archaeological artifacts directly from Mapuche – a stirrup (Inv. No. 66085) and other piece of grave pottery, very similar to the finds from the burial site at Repucura (Inv. No. A7237).

Stuchlík's collection also includes two objects that suggest an even earlier period of their creation. The first is a white and red painted jug. The vessel, with a bulbous body and a conical neck, can be assigned to the so-called Valdivian pottery, which developed between 1200 and 1400 CE in the area between the city of Angol and the settlement of Huilio (Inv. No. A7239).<sup>81</sup> The second object is a pipe head made of dark grey polished stone, the front of which is carved in a zoomorphic shape, probably representing a fish. Its classification is more difficult, but a comparison with available photographs of similar artifacts in museums in Chile shows similarities with other polished stone pipes, whose dating assumes the earliest period of 1240 CE (Inv. No. 66084). Both artifacts, as well as the entire archaeological part of the Stuchlík collection, require further expert treatment.

## Conclusion

Milan Stuchlík's collection represents the core of the Mapuche ethnic collection in the Náprstek Museum. It is complemented by 21 artifacts from the vicinity of Lake Budi by Václav Šolc and Olga Kandertová and four examples of jewellery added to the collections of the Náprstek Museum in 1896 by the merchant Eduard Tauer. The collection of Milan Stuchlík is significant not only for its size. The collection also documents many aspects of everyday life in Mapuche before the wave of modernization during the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet (1973–1990), which marked a radical change in the lifestyle of the Mapuche and thus in their material culture. The collection is also valuable in that it contains artifacts related to Mapuche ceremonial, sacred, and festive life, and also includes archaeological material awaiting further specialist treatment. The collection is unique in its surviving documentation regarding the originators of

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81 Interestingly, according to diary entries, the Mapuche did not consider this culture, although they inhabited the same territory, to be their ancestors. Milan Stuchlík noted in his diary, the Mapuche called the Valdivian pottery makers 'people like bread' (implying that these people were very small in stature).



the objects – Mapuche men and women from the Coipuco area and its surroundings. Careful interpretation of the sources, especially M. Stuchlík's field diaries and the documentation for the objects, has allowed us to expand our knowledge of the process of acquiring the collection and to uncover some new aspects of Stuchlík's field research and the forms of his coexistence with the Mapuche. Although field research among the Mapuche marked only one stage in the rich working life of anthropologist Milan Stuchlík, it was of crucial importance. Milan Stuchlík's long-term research among the Mapuche has been expressed in a number of scholarly publications, thus opening doors for him in the Chilean academic world, and subsequently allowed him to draw upon it in his professional work in the UK.

**Figs. 24–25.** Milan Stuchlík during archaeological probing at the old burial site near the Repucura River, 1968–1973. Private Archive of the Stuchlík Family.



**Tab. 1.** Ethnographical Items of the Collection of Milan Stuchlík.

Inv. No.	Item	Maker/donor/seller	Community where the item was made / community where the item was obtained
<b>Contemporary used ceramics.</b>			
A7213	small zoomorphic jug	probably made by a <i>machi</i> from Bolilche and obtained from the mother of Huenchuela Manquepi	made in Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín Province
A7214	small zoomorphic jug	probably made by a <i>machi</i> from Bolilche and obtained from Manquepi Huenchuman	made in Bolilche, acquired in Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín Province
A7218	small zoomorphic jug	obtained from Domingo Huircapan	made in Bolilche, acquired in Cautínche, Nueva Imperial, Cautín Province
A7219	small zoomorphic jug		acquired in Cuyinco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín Province
A7220	small zoomorphic jug		made in Cuyinco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín Province, acquired in Cholchol
A7221	small zoomorphic jug	made by and obtained from Mariquita Cayul	made in v Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín Province
A7222	amphora with two handles	made by and obtained from Mariquita Cayul	made in Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín Province
A7223	small jug	made by Mariquita Cayul, obtained from Paine Cayul	made in Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín Province
A7224	small jug	made by Mariquita Cayul (sister of Carmen Cayul), obtained from Carmen Cayul	made in Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín Province
A7225	small jug	made by Mariquita Cayul (sister of Carmen Cayul), obtained from Carmen Cayul	made in Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín Province
A7226	container with two openings	made by Maria Barra (daughter of Estela Tranamil)	made in Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín Province
A7227	ceramic zoomorphic jar	made by Maria Barra (daughter of Estela Tranamil)	made in Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín Province
A7228	pot	made by and obtained from Estela Tranamil	made in Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín Province
A7229	small ceramic jug	made by and obtained from Estela Tranamil	made in Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín Province
A7230	jug	made by and obtained from Estela Tranamil	made in Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín Province
A7231	jug	made by Delaida Barra (wife of Francisco Cayul)	made in Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín Province
A7232	bowl		made in Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín Province
A7233	bowl	made by Maria Barra, mother of Luisa Millara	made in Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín Province
A7235	bowl		made in Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín Province



A7236	bowl	made by Serafina Barra	made in Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín Province
A7238	jug	obtained from the son of Segundo Cayul	Malalche, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A7240	jug	obtained from the son of Segundo Cayul	Malalche, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
66106	jug	obtained from Juan Colipi	Malalche, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
Used wood products			
23048	stool	made by and obtained from Paine Cayul	Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
56694	scratch plough		Chilo, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
66080	ladle	made by Segundo Huenchuman	Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
66108	small wooden bowl	obtained from Marta Pichulman	Coigue, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A7215	mortar	made by Fernando Maquepi (father of Huenchuela Manquepi), obtained from the mother Huenchuela Manquepi	Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A7216	mortar	obtained from Marica Curiqueo	Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A7217	mortar	made by Antonio Huircapan (father of Domingo Huircapan), obtained from Domingo Huircapan	Cautínche, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A7250	bowl	obtained from Antonio Millareal	made in mountainous areas above the community Coipuco, acquired in Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A7251	bowl	obtained from Juana Huenchuman (sister of Carlos Huenchuman)	made in mountainous areas above the community Coipuco, acquired in Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A7252	bowl	obtained from Alberto Ñamcucho	Yahuayhuenche, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A7253	bowl	made by Antonio Millareal	Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A7254	small wooden bowl	obtained from Augustina Millareal	Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A7255	small wooden bowl	obtained from Augustina Millareal	Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A7256	small wooden bowl	obtained from Segundo Huenchuman	Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A7257	small wooden bowl	made by and obtained from Segundo Huenchuman	Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A7258	spoon	made by and obtained from Segundo Huenchuman	Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A7259	spoon	made by and obtained from Segundo Huenchuman	Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A7260	spoon	made by and obtained from Segundo Huenchuman	Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A7261	ladle	made by and obtained from Segundo Huenchuman	Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A7262	teaspoon	obtained from Domingo Huircapan	Cautínche, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A7271	shovel	made by and obtained from Carlos Huenchuman	Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín

A7275	wooden stool	made by and obtained from Daniela Tranamil	Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A7284	sieve	made by and obtained from Serafíny Barra	Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A8080	basket	obtained from the wife of Saturnino Ñamcucho	Yahuayhuenche, Cautín, Nueva Imperial
A8081	small basket	obtained from Domingo Huircapan	Coipuco, Cautín, Nueva Imperial
A8082	basket	obtained from Domingo Huircapan	Coipuco, Cautín, Nueva Imperial
A8083	small basket	obtained from Juana Curihual	San Alfonso, Cautín, Nueva Imperial
without Inv. No.	tracer		
<b>Used leather and horn products</b>			
56583	leather pouch		Carririñe, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
56584	leather pouch	obtained from Segundo Huenchuman	Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
66082	leather pouch	obtained from Domingo Huircapan	Cautínche, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
66087	leather pouch	obtained from Marica Curiqueo	Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
66105	leather pouch		Coigue, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
66107	horn	obtained from Marta Pinchuman	Coigue, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
66109	leather pouch	obtained from Chiwayhuena Neculan	Coigue, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
66112	leather pouch		Coigue, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A7278	vial from a horn	made by and obtained from Huenchuela Manquepi	Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A7279	vial from a horn	made by and obtained from Daniela Tranamil	Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A8084	leather pouch		Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
<b>Textile products</b>			
22765	woman's garment	made by and obtained from Marty Pichulman	Coigue, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
56586	woman's belt	obtained from Marta Pichulman	Coigue, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
66110	woman's belt	obtained from Marta Pichulman	Coigue, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A7280	woman's belt	made by Foyel Mulato – first wife of Juana Cayula	Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
<b>Products related to play and ritual</b>			
56629	trumpet <i>ñolkin</i>		Nutromahuida, Cautín, Nueva Imperial
A7241	trumpet <i>trutruká</i>	made by José Millan	Huesaco, Cautín, Nueva Imperial
A7242	trumpet <i>trutruká</i>	made by Saturnino Ñamcucho, obtained from the son of Saturnino Ñamcucho	Yahuayhuenche, Cautín, Nueva Imperial
A7263	whistle <i>pufülka</i>	made by and obtained from Daniela Tranamil	Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A7264	whistle <i>pufülka</i>	made by and obtained from Daniela Tranamil	Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín

A7265	bugle horn	obtained from Martin Duminghual	Carririñe Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A7266	bugle horn	found by Milan Stuchlík	Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A7267	'stick' for playing <i>palín</i>	made by and obtained from Carlos Huenchuman	Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A7268	'stick' for playing <i>palín</i>	made by and obtained from Carlos Huenchuman	Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A7269	'stick' for playing <i>palín</i>	made and obtained from Manquepi Huenchuman	Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A7270	'stick' for playing <i>palín</i>	made by and obtained from Segundo Huenchuman	Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A7277	ball for playing <i>palín</i>	made by and obtained from Carlos Huenchuman	Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A7283	trump in a pouch	pouch made by Julio Millareal	Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín; trump bought in Cholchol
A8143	ceremonial sculpture	made by Augustín Poblete – husband of the <i>machi</i>	Ancapulli, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A8144	ceremonial sculpture	obtained from Juan Colipili – son of the <i>machi</i>	Malalche, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
66111	stone disc	obtained from Marta Pichulman	Coigue, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A7243	stone disc	obtained from Domingo Huircapán	Cautínche, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A7244	stone disc	obtained from Daniela Tranamil	Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A7245	stone disc	obtained from Juan Alcapan	Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A7246	stone disc	obtained from Juan Alcapan	Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A7247	axe head	obtained from Domingo Huircapán	Cautínche, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A7248	axe head	obtained from Domingo Huircapán	Cautínche, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A7249	axe head	obtained from Carlos Huenchuman	Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
<b>Other products</b>			
56585	sandals from tyres	made by and obtained from Segundo Huenchuman	Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
66083	bolas	obtained from Domingo Huircapán	Cautínche, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A7272	stretcher for babies	made by and obtained from Juan Alcapan	Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A7273	stretcher for babies	made by and obtained from Daniela Tranamil	Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A7274	leather rope	made and obtained from Domingo Huircapán	Cautínche, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A7276	metal bell	found by Milan Stuchlík	Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A7281	slings		Cautínche, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A7282	slings	obtained from Carlos Huenchuman	Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A7300	ceramic whorl	made by and obtained from Estela Tranamil	made in Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín Province
A7212	ceramic whorl	made by and obtained from Estela Tranamil	made in Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín Province

Tab. 2. Archaeological Finds.

Inv. No.	Item	Collecting locality/finder <sup>1</sup>
66081	zoomorphic jug	disused burial site near the Repucura River, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
66086	jug	disused burial site near the Repucura River, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
66088	small jug	disused burial site near the Repucura River, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
66089	jug	disused burial site near the Repucura River, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
66090	container	disused burial site near the Repucura River, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
66091	small jug	disused burial site near the Repucura River, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
66092	pot	disused burial site near the Repucura River, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
66093	pot	disused burial site near the Repucura River, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
66094	jug	disused burial site near the Repucura River, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
66095	small jug	disused burial site near the Repucura River, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
66096	small jug	disused burial site near the Repucura River, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
66097	fragment of a ceramic vessel	disused burial site near the Repucura River, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
66098	jug	disused burial site near the Repucura River, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
66099	jug	disused burial site near the Repucura River, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
66100	jug	disused burial site near the Repucura River, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
66101	pot	disused burial site near the Repucura River, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
66102	small jug	disused burial site near the Repucura River, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
66103	jug	disused burial site near the Repucura River, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
66104	jug	disused burial site near the Repucura River, Nueva Imperial, Cautín
A7234	small jug	Coipuco, Nueva Imperial, Cautín, found by Juan Alcapan
A7237	jug	Malalche, Nueva Imperial, Cautín, found by the son of Segundo Cayul in Malalche
A7239	ceramic container	Malalche, Nueva Imperial, Cautín, found by the son of Segundo Cayul in Malalche
66084	pipe head	Tromen, Temuco, Cautín
66085	iron stirrup	Carririñe, Nueva Imperial, Cautín

<sup>1</sup> Note: Unless otherwise noted, the items were discovered by Milan Stuchlík.

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**Pl. 1.** Contemporary used ceramics. From left: Inv. Nos. A7213, A7233, 66106, A7238, A7218 (Photo: Jiří Vaněk).



**Pl. 2.** Contemporary used ceramics. From left: Inv. Nos. A7219, A7226, A7220, A7227, A7221 (Photo: Jiří Vaněk).



Pl. 3. Contemporary used ceramics. From left: Inv. Nos. A7232, A7224, A7236, A7228 (Photo: Jiří Vaněk).



Pl. 4. Used wood products. From top: Inv. Nos. A7261, 66080, A7260, A7259, A7262 (Photo: Jiří Vaněk).



Pl. 5. Used wood products. From left: Inv. Nos. A7215, A7217 (Photo: Jiří Vaněk).



Pl. 6. Used wood products. From left: Inv. Nos. A7250, A7252, 66108, A7256, A7253 (Photo: Jiří Vaněk).



**Pl. 7.** Used wood products. From left: Inv. Nos. A7275, 23048 (Photo: Jiří Vaněk).



**Pl. 8.** Used wood products. Inv. No. A7271 (Photo: Jiří Vaněk).



**Pl. 9.** Used wood products. Inv. No. 56694 (Photo: Jiří Vaněk).





**Pl. 10.** Used wood products. Inv. No. A7284 (Photo: Jiří Vaněk).

**Pl. 11.** Used wood products. From left: Inv Nos. A8083, A8081, A8080, A8082 (Photo: Jiří Vaněk).



**Pl. 12.** Used leather and horn products. From left: Inv Nos. A8084, 66109, 66087 (Photo: Jiří Vaněk).





**Pl. 13.** Used leather and horn products. From top: Inv. Nos. 66107, A7278, A7279 (Photo: Jiří Vaněk).



**Pl. 14.** Used leather and horn products. From top: Inv. Nos. 66105, 56583, 56584, 66112 (Photo: Jiří Vaněk).



**Pl. 15.** Textile products. Inv. Nos. 22765, 66110, A7280, 56586 (Photo: Jiří Vaněk).



**Pl. 16.** Products related to play and ritual. From left: Inv. Nos. A8143, A8144 (Photo: Jiří Vaněk).





**Pl. 17.** Products related to play and ritual. From top: Inv. Nos. A7265, A7263, A7283 (Photo: Jiří Vaněk).



**Pl. 18.** Products related to play and ritual. From left: Inv. Nos. A7242 (with detail), 56029 (Photo: Jiří Vaněk).





**Pl. 19.** Products related to play and ritual. From top: Inv. Nos. A7268, A7267, A7277 (Photo: Jiří Vaněk).



**Pl. 20.** Products related to play and ritual. From left: Inv. Nos. A7244, 66111, A7245 (Photo: Jiří Vaněk).



**Pl. 21.** Products related to play and ritual. From left: Inv. Nos. A7248, A7247, A7249 (Photo: Jiří Vaněk).



Pl. 22. Other products. Inv. No. A7273  
(Photo: Jiří Vaněk).



Pl. 23. Other products. From top: Inv. Nos. A7274, A7276, 56585 (Photo: Jiří Vaněk).



Pl. 24. Other products. From top: Inv. Nos. A7281, 66083, A7300 (Photo: Jiří Vaněk).





**Pl. 25.** Archaeological finds. From left: Inv. Nos. 66098, 66092, 66103, 66081, 66089, 66086 (Photo: Jiří Vaněk).



**Pl. 26.** Archaeological finds. From left: Inv. Nos. 66102, 66094, 66090, 66100, 66104 (Photo: Jiří Vaněk).



**Pl. 27.** Archaeological finds.  
From top: Inv. Nos. A7237,  
66085, A7239, 66084  
(Photo: Jiří Vaněk).

