



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Wrap the Dead : The funerary textile tradition from the Osmore Valley, South Peru, and its social-political implications

Minkes, W.

Citation

Minkes, W. (2005, September 13). *Wrap the Dead : The funerary textile tradition from the Osmore Valley, South Peru, and its social-political implications*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/13715>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/13715>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

8.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to make a contribution to the discussion of the cultural affiliation of the three lower Osmore sites through the use of their textile assemblages. Because, as stated in Chapter 1 and 2, garments represent the most personal expression of one's ethnic and social identity. The textile material of this dissertation has been derived from eight separate excavations at four sites: Chen Chen (1988 and 1995), La Cruz (1993 and 1998), Algodonal Ladera (2000) and El Descanso (1998, 1999 first period and 1999 second period). However, not all excavations have been radiocarbon dated and the determination of the cultural identity of Algodonal, La Cruz and El Descanso has been disputed. While Owen (1993) identifies the sites of El Descanso and Algodonal as Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza, Guillén (pers. com. 2004) and Carpio (2000a,b,c) claim a Tiwanaku presence at Algodonal, El Descanso and La Cruz.

First then, the characteristic structural and decorative features of each site's textile assemblage will be briefly presented in this chapter. Some textile specimens are illustrated in the text, whereas all diagnostic specimens can be consulted on the CD-rom through their unique textile specimen number. Additional data on structural details are briefly mentioned in the text, but have been summarized in the Appendices 6 through to 10. In the next chapter, the textile characteristics of each site will be compared to earlier publications on Tiwanaku, Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza and Chiribaya textiles, whose characteristics have been summarized in the previous chapter. Especially Chen Chen's textiles will serve for the identification of possible Tiwanaku colonists in the lower valley, as this site's population has been identified as settlers from the Tiwanaku altiplano region, by means of their ceramics, architecture, head deformation style and DNA (Blom 1999; Blom *et al.* 1998; Buikstra 1995; Goldstein 1989).

Table 8.1 summarizes all textiles of this study, subdivided by site. In this table, no distinction is made between

textile material obtained from Chen Chen's different sectors, or from La Cruz' two different cultural groups. Such further distinction will be made below, when the textile characteristics of each of the four sites are described. In addition, 114 specimens from El Descanso (1999), derived from a dry sieving procedure of the sand from excavation units and of backfill from tombs, have been excluded from the table. The sieving resulted in a great number of very small textile fragments or mere yarns, which would have gone unnoticed in non-sieved contexts of the other three sites of study. The results of the analysis of the dry sieve specimens are summarized below.

8.2 Textile preservation

Before moving on to the various categories of textiles, a word needs to be said about the preservation of the material. The textile condition is not identical for all four sites. In general, the preservation circumstances of the lower Osmore valley are better than those of the middle valley in which Chen Chen is located, mainly due to the increased humidity at higher elevation of the Chen Chen site in the Middle valley (100 to 200 masl versus 1500 masl). In addition, the extreme looting of the Chen Chen site has exposed the majority of the textile specimens to the elements. In the lower valley, wind and water erosion and heavy looting of shallow tombs are the main reasons for the poor preservation of the Algodonal Ladera textiles. La Cruz and El Descanso textiles are best preserved due to the accumulation of aeolean sand which sealed off and thus protected the intact tombs. In particular, the La Cruz (1993) collection has yielded well preserved textiles, due to the careful unwrapping of the mummy bundles from intact as well as disturbed contexts. The La Cruz (1998) collection, however, is in much worse condition due to the illegal road construction that left 78.3% of the textile specimens exposed and torn at the surface.

Function	Chen Chen		La Cruz		El Descanso		Algodonal	
	n =	%	n =	%	n =	%	n =	%
Camisa (tunic)	25	41.0%	69	32.9%	61	49.6%	37	48.7%
Poncho (open tunic)	1	1.6%	2	1.0%	2	1.6%	—	—
Manta (mantle)	7	11.5%	9	4.3%	3	2.4%	4	5.3%
Pañuelo (small cloth)	7	11.5%	2	1.0%	11	8.9%	3	4.0%
Paño (rag cloth)	—	—	36	17.1%	6	4.9%	2	2.6%
Costal (large bag)	—	—	1	0.5%	—	—	—	—
Talega (medium bag)	1	1.6%	3	1.4%	—	—	1	1.3%
Ch'uspa (small coca bag)	—	—	5	2.4%	7	5.7%	2	2.6%
Bolsa faja (belt bag)	—	—	4	1.9%	1	0.8%	—	—
Miniature	—	—	3	1.4%	—	—	—	—
Malla (net bag)	—	—	1	0.5%	1	0.8%	1	1.3%
Taparrabo (loin cloth)	—	—	1	0.5%	—	—	—	—
Faja (belt, 30 mm >)	—	—	5	2.4%	3	2.4%	—	—
Cinta (belt < 29 mm)	—	—	1	0.5%	1	0.8%	—	—
Tocado hilo (headgear)	—	—	3	1.4%	—	—	—	—
Tocado palito (headgear)	—	—	1	0.5%	1	0.8%	—	—
Tocado woven (headgear)	—	—	1	0.5%	—	—	—	—
Turbante (turban)	—	—	2	1.0%	—	—	—	—
Gorro (knotted headgear)	1	1.6%	2	1.0%	—	—	—	—
Top of tomb offering	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1.3%
Bolitas (wrapped balls)	1	1.6%	—	—	—	—	—	—
Portahilo (yarn spool)	—	—	1	0.5%	—	—	—	—
Ramitas (wrapped twigs)	—	—	1	0.5%	—	—	—	—
Trenza (wrapped braid)	—	—	1	0.5%	—	—	—	—
Hilo de sandalia (sandal)	—	—	1	0.5%	—	—	—	—
Fibra cruda (unprocessed fibre)	—	—	—	—	1	0.8%	1	1.3%
Fibra cruda (processed fibre)	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2.6%
Almohadilla de fibra (fibre pad)	—	—	4	1.9%	—	—	—	—
Hilo (<1 mm) (yarn)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Cuerda (1-7.9 mm) (cord)	1	1.6%	19	9.1%	6	4.9%	7	9.2%
Soga (>7.9 mm) (rope)	5	8.2%	4	1.9%	2	1.6%	2	2.6%
Too fragmented	12	19.7%	28	13.3%	17	13.8%	13	17.1%
Total:	61	100.0%	210	100.0%	123	100.0%	76	100.0%
Camisa Boca del Río							1	
<i>Total:</i>							<i>47¹</i>	

Table 8.1 Numbers and percentages of all textile types from the Osmore Valley sites

Comparison of the average percentage of integrity of the camisas is illustrative of the difference in textile preservation between the four sites. Each camisa has been given an estimated percentage of what remained of the original fabric, which ranged between 100% to as little as

2%. The results are represented in Table 8.2. When all camisas are grouped per site, the average percentages of camisa integrity range between 18.8% for Chen Chen and 57.6% for La Cruz. The differences become even more dramatic when looking at the camisa integrity per

Site	Camisas n =	Average % preserved	Year Excavation	Camisas n =	Average % preserved
Chen Chen	25	18.8%	1995	13	7.7%
			1988	12	31.8%
La Cruz	69	57.6%	1998	27	38.2%
			1993	42	70.1%
El Descanso	61	40.8%	1999	28	41.0%
			1998	33	40.2%
Algodanal	37	30.7%		37	30.7%
Boca del Rio	1	98.0%		1	98.0%
<i>total</i>	<i>193</i>		<i>total</i>	<i>193</i>	

Table 8.2 Average percentages preserved of camisas

excavation: camisas that originate from careful unwrapping of both intact and disturbed fardos from La Cruz (1993) have an average of 70.1% preserved, versus a mere 7.7% preserved of the camisas from the Chen Chen (1995). These fragments usually represent the thicker parts of the camisa, the lateral seam with arm opening, or the bottom and/or neck split, that fortunately are also the parts that contain most diagnostic features of each camisa, so that even the smallest fragments can provide useful data such as the type of design, quality score, and so forth.

8.3 Textiles from Chen Chen

All tombs and their contents the 1995 excavation have been positively identified as belonging to the Tiwanaku V cultural phase, locally known as the Chen Chen phase, and the sectors excavated in 1988 have identified as both Tiwanaku IV and V. The site is dated between A.D. 800 and 1000 using stylistic Tiwanaku V style ceramics and radiocarbon evidence (Owen 1997; Vargas 1994).

Fibre

Camelid wool is applied in all specimens except in one pañuelo (#02546) that was made of cotton warps and wefts. All warps and all but two specimen's weft elements were $\frac{1}{2}$ plied. The weft heading cord is replied with 6 to $18\frac{1}{2}$ plied elements. The camisa's warp diameters

average 0.46 mm (1988) and 0.50 mm (1995) with 80% tightly twisted, while the weft diameters averaged 0.52 mm (1988) and 0.62 mm (1995), mostly medium twisted. Compared to the lower Osmore sites, the people of Chen Chen put least amount of energy in the twisting of warp and weft elements, and contented themselves with weaker elements for the weaving of their garments. These warp and weft elements are slightly thinner, resulting in finer woven camisas. Natural wool colours dominate the palette, and only once were dyed weft elements used that are hidden from view by the warp elements.[1]

Camisa (tunic)

It is interesting to compare the camisas worn by the people living in the 1988 sector and in the 1995 sector. Unfortunately, Chen Chen's preservation of organic materials is quite poor, with an average of 31.8% of the original fabric preserved of Chen Chen (1988) camisas (n = 12), versus only 7.7% of the 1995 excavation's camisas (n = 13), making precise determinations difficult. Chen Chen's camisas are square to rectangular shaped and made out of one fabric. The camisas are all warp-faced plain woven in predominant natural wool colours. The neck opening is created by discontinuous wefts.

Comparison between the 1988 sector's camisas and the 1995 sector yield the following percentages: 8% versus 39% seem to have been practically new when

entombed, 42% versus 46% moderately worn, heavily worn 8% each, and extremely worn 33% versus 0%. That is, despite its fragmentary preservation, the 1995 camisas appear to have been in better condition when used to bundle up a deceased individual.

Repair work has been applied in 58% of the 1988 sector's camisas versus 46% of the 1995 sector, mostly warp and/or weft darning. However, those camisas from 1995 with warp darning have been darned over very large areas while the fabric itself does not appear to have been that heavily worn. This seems to imply that extensive warp darning may have had more of a decorative as well as a functional purpose.

Likewise, it was difficult to determine the preference of reinforcement techniques to be used for the bottom, neck slit and arm openings due to the fragmentary state. Three more or less complete camisas have none of their selvages reinforced or only the arm openings strengthened by overcast stitches. The 1995 sample showed that one of the five identifiable camisa bottoms was unaltered, while the other four showed a variety of options (solid overcast, one file of cross-knit loop and a combination). The neck openings of at least half of all camisas is not preserved, while three of the remaining specimens of the 1988 sample are unaltered and two neck slits strengthened by a single file of cross-knit loop, versus three specimens of the 1995 sample. None of the arm openings from the 1995 camisa sample has been preserved, while a variety of reinforcement options were observed among the 1988 camisas (three with no arm reinforcement, three with a single file of cross-knit loop stitches, one with solid overcasting and one with a combination).

The most common decorative techniques of the Tiwanaku colonists' camisas are embroidery (type 3A) and polychrome multiple lateral striping (type 5A) (Table 8.3). In addition, completely plain camisas are known at both sites, and one completely striped camisa was found in the 1988 sector. The latter (#02544) is child-sized, as is the completely striped poncho (#02556) from this same excavation year. In addition, the 1988 collection contains two child-sized embroidered 3Ab camisas (#02561, #02543) and one child-sized plain specimen from both sectors. However, the latter contains many fragmented specimens that originally may have been children's garments. Not one fragment has been found of the characteristic Tiwanaku interlocked tapestry camisas.

camisa lay out	1988		1995	
1A	1	8%	3	23%
3Ab	3	25%	3	23%
3Adb	1	8%	—	—
3Ac	1	8%	2	15%
4Aa	1	8%	—	—
5A	2	17%	2	15%
5Ad	—	—	2	15%
5Aa	1	8%	—	—
6A	1	8%	—	—
unknown	1	8%	1	8%
<i>Total</i>	12	100%	13	100%

Table 8.3 Camisa design patterning, subdivided according to Chen Chen's two sectors

No significant differences could be observed concerning the appearance of camisas from both sectors, except that the 1988 sample showed slightly little more variety. The embroidered plaques of the 3A camisas have been made with a minimum of four files of cross-knit loop stitches (type 3Ab) to a maximum of nine files (type 3Ac) (*fig. 8.1*). All embroidered plaques have been subdivided into rectangular units with a contour in a dark colour, most of them in natural black ('01') (n = 6), plus in the 1988 sample one contour in olive green ('85') and one in Prussian blue ('31'). As such, this embroidered design obeys to the typical Tiwanaku lay out of tapestry weavings, in which motifs are contained within square or rectangular blocks. Perhaps these embroidered warp-faced camisas were produced as crude and mass-produced imitations of those tapestry camisas.

The embroidery is often extremely fragmented, but reconstruction of the design shows diagonal lines and/or meanders with checks that are alternated by units with L shaped hooks inside and/or angular S shapes (*Plate 4.1*). Similar types of cross-knit loop embroidered designs are described by Oakland (1986a) for Tiwanaku-state manufactured bolsas and pañuelos found in Bolivia, Northwest Argentina and Chile (see Paragraph 7.2).

No specific designs or colour combinations can be observed among the 1988 and 1995 sectors. Various shades of green ('33', '34', '36', '85'), red ('09', '23', '92'),

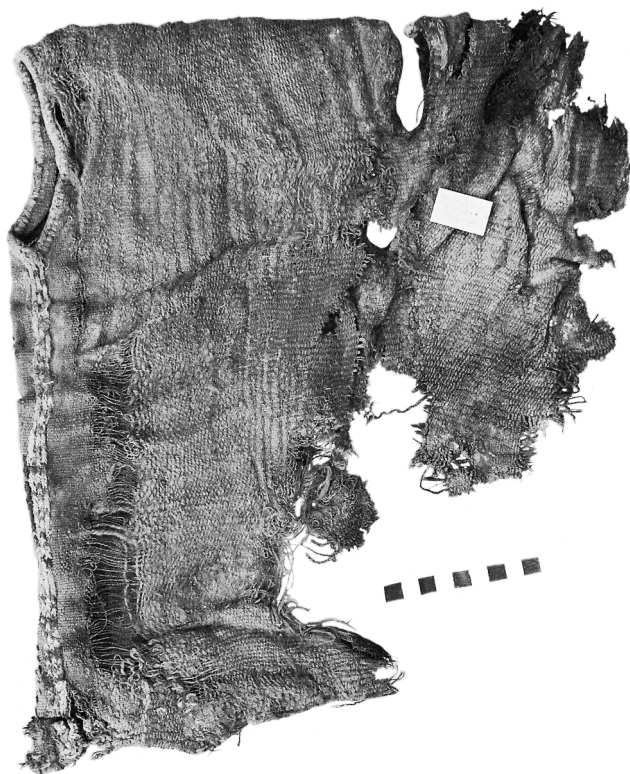


Fig. 8.1 Chen Chen: child-sized type 3Ab camisa (#02543; 25 x 32.5 cm; colours '05' with '14', '21', '23', '30', '36')

blue ('31', '38', '93'), dark brown ('02'), with golden brown ('07', '15') and black ('01') are used and alternate at random. A striking lateral embroidery, for its large size and choice of colours, is found in a single specimen in both sectors (#02549).

Neck plaques are rare in the embroidered type 3A camisas: only one type 3Ab camisa (1988) was found with fragments of a neck plaque in dark green cross-knit loop stitches.

The lateral stripes of Chen Chen's type 5A(d) and 5Aa camisas show no dominance of a particular colour (combination). The camisas from the 1988 sector show a little more colour variation. Applied colours are yellow ('15'), cream ('14'), blue ('30', '31', '35', '38'), green ('36', '85'), red ('96', '99', '21', '23'), and in rare cases purple ('94'). The plain central field has been preserved in three camisas only, and were found to be dark brownish red ('28') or Prussian blue ('31'). Most lateral stripes are solid (0.7 to 3.2 cm wide), each or every other stripe separated

by two to four very thin stripes in various colours, found in six camisas (Plate 3.1).

Two type 5A fragments from the 1995 sector (originating from two adjacent and disturbed tombs so that the fragments in fact may originate from a single original camisa) show a striped design of broad stripes divided by three thin stripes in two colours, using beige ('08'), greyish green ('36'), Prussian blue ('31') and pale red ('23') (Plate 3.2).

In addition, one type 5Aa specimen (#02547), characterized by lateral and central stripes, is found among the 1988 camisas (Plate 1.1). The lateral stripes (in blue ('38'), black ('01') and reddish brown ('09') colours) are only 3 cm wide in total and therefore modest compared to the central group of stripes, of which 23 cm remains, believed to represent exactly half of the central group. The only other specimen of this type is found at La Cruz (1998) (#99371).

Embroidered neck plaques are present in two 5A camisas (1995), both executed in horizontal satin stitches. Both are large: a complete neck plaque measures 2.2 x 15.6 cm (Plate 6.4). Oakland (1992, 335) observed that the Tiwanaku commonly applied two rows of horizontal satin stitches to create a checkerboard motif in two alternating colours (usually maroon with gold and green with blue) in both tapestry and warp-patterned camisas. In fact, she found that the checkerboard plaque had been applied so often that they probably had served as one of the principal emblems of Tiwanaku affiliation. However, no such checkerboard neck plaque was found among Chen Chen's camisas, although the horizontal lines of specimen #02527 are in fact made of fine, multiple checkerboard motifs in the colours mentioned.

One structural detail found only at Chen Chen and not in the coastal valley, is the loops in the neck slit of two child-sized camisas, one attached to each side of the neck slit just below the shoulder fold (#02543 and #02510). The loops are formed by cross-knit loop stitches over a base of yarns (fig. 8.2). Apparently, the neck slit had been too large for the child, so that a cord pulled through the loops would have prevented the camisa from slipping down the shoulder.

Manta (mantle)

Chen Chen is the site with the highest percentage of mantas among its textile collection (11.5%). Examples of

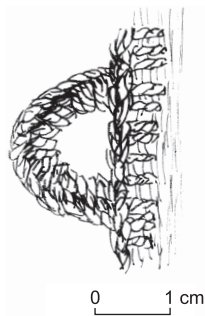


Fig. 8.2 Chen Chen: loop in neck slit of child-sized camisa (#02510)

typical Tiwanaku interlocked tapestry are not found among the textile sample, but dovetail tapestry was applied in two rather thick mantas, both from sector I of the 1988 excavation. Their 2\plied warps were worn in horizontal position and combine a light brown ('05') with a dark brown ('03') wool colour, with a 0.8 to 1.5 mm diameter. All weft elements are S spun only with a 0.7 mm diameter. The mantas are very fragmented: specimen #02553 consists of one fragment measuring 86 x 49 cm weft with one warp and one weft selvage

preserved of one specimen, while five fragments remain of specimen #02552, varying in size to a maximum of 44 x 37 cm. The former has been repaired in two different areas, indicating that it had been intensively used. Both mantas have their warp and weft selvages are reinforced by a single file of cross-knit loop stitches.

The mantas show large-scale designs in modest colours (natural colours light brown '05', dark brown '02', cream '14' and dyed colours olive green '85' and red '23') against a dark brown ('02') background. Manta #02552 is too fragmented to identify the motif, whereas the manta fragment #02553 depicts five solid vertical stripes flanking the selvage and a bent leg and foot with three toes, each with creamy white nails pointing downwards. The design was identified as a single and large-sized anthropomorphic running profile figure (*fig. 8.3*), quite similar to the Arica manta described by Oakland (1986a, #T7) (see *fig. 8.33*).^[2] Between the foot and the flanking stripes, an object is placed that may be a feather trophy hanging down from a vertical staff-like object or from a wing hanging down from the back, as in many small-sized Tiwanaku tapestry anthropomorphic or zoomorphic figures (see Paragraph 7.2.3). Comparison of



Fig. 8.3 Chen Chen: fragment of dovetailed tapestry manta with running anthropomorphic profile-figure (#02553; 86 cm (incomplete) x 49 cm (incomplete) colours '02', '05', '14', '23', '85') (Medy Oberendorff)

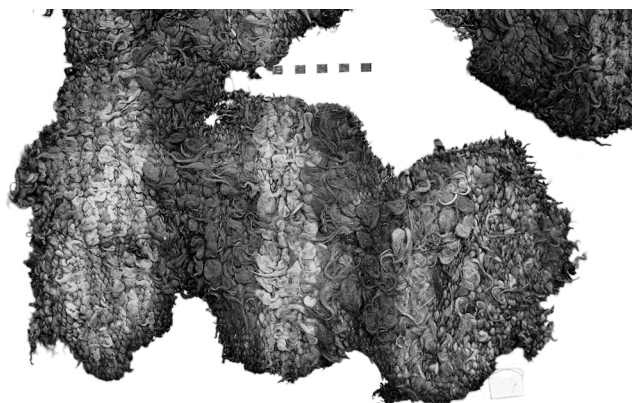


Fig. 8.4 Chen Chen: type 2B* manta, weft-faced with supplementary wefts standing out as a pelt (#02538; 52 cm (incomplete) x 69 cm (incomplete); colours '05' with '03')

the bent leg with other profile figures in Tiwanaku-style tapestries shows that the original width of the fabric would have measured about twice the 40 cm that remains today. Including a total of 46 cm of lateral stripes on both sides would have yielded a total width of about 172 cm wide. Of the weft direction, only 18 cm of the leg design has been preserved. A comparison with other running or kneeling figures as illustrated by Conklin (1983) and Oakland (1986a) results in a ratio of the bent leg to the rest of the body of 1 to minimally 4.2 and maximally 5.6. Assuming a comparable figure had been woven into this fabric, the figure would have measured between 75.6 and 100.8 cm. Including the 4 cm of framing of the solid background colour, the total weft length can be reconstructed as having measured between 84 and 109 cm. The manta is thus estimated to have measured about 172 cm horizontally x 84 to 109 cm vertically.

Four other mantas are warp-faced and probably of rectangular format with the weft elements longer than the warp elements. They are either plain ($n = 2$) or accentuated with one ($n = 1$) or two broad lateral stripes (type 2B, $n = 1$) in dark brown ('03') colour. The last manta is likewise decorated with two broad lateral stripes manta (type 2B) (#02538), but differs in structure. This specimen was woven weft-faced with supplementary wefts loosely inserted throughout the fabric and later cut, so that tufts of wool stand out as if imitating an animal's pelt (fig. 8.4).



Fig. 8.5 Chen Chen: type 1A* pañuelo, reinforced with double file of cross-knit loop embroidery (#02542; 25 x 32.5 cm; colours '05', '14', '21', '23', '30', '36')

Pañuelo (small cloth)

All seven pañuelos from the selected Chen Chen specimens are found in the 1988 excavation, three from sector A. Five are plain (type 1), although two pañuelos have modest but colourful cross-knit loop stitches embroidered in plaques at the corners covering both sides (type 1B*, #02551 and #02560), and another pañuelo has a double file of cross-knit loop embroidery on all four selvages (fig. 8.5). Their size ranges between 21 x 23.5 cm and 42.5 x 48.5 cm. Two pañuelos are striped all over (type 7), one of them with red and green dyed colours that change colour in the centre (type 7.5) and measures 20.5 x 27 cm (fig. 8.6). Like the mantas, the pañuelos are common at this site (11.5%).

Bolsa (bag)

Only one bag is found at Chen Chen, a small sized plain talega made of light brown camelid wool. No ch'uspas are found here, nor any bolsa faja or net bag. However, as the Chen Chen site was heavily looted, it cannot be excluded that the attractively coloured bolsa fajas and ch'uspas have been taken from the tombs.

Other specimens

One small fragment of looped hat (#02529) in dark brown colour and densely knotted structure contains

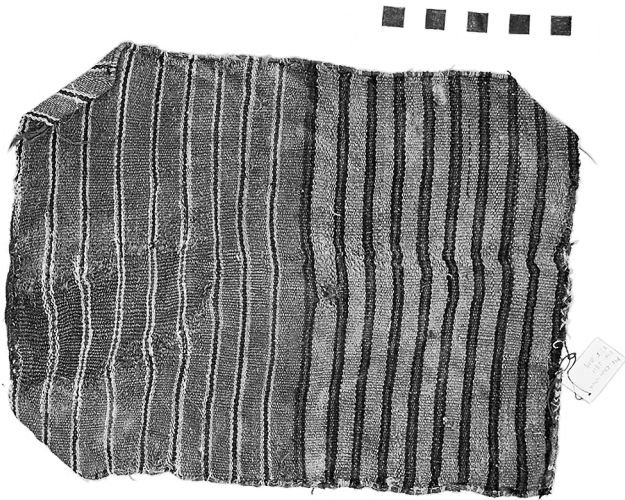


Fig. 8.6 Chen Chen: type 7.5 pañuelo, changing colour in the centre (#02554; 20.5 x 27 cm; '01', '03', '14', '23'; '38', '85')

structural decoration in the shape of crosses. In the 1995 collection, two tiny balls wrapped with light brown ('05'), bright blue ('93') and pale red ('23') yarn have been found (#02505).^[3] They measure only 5 mm and 6 mm in diameter and appear to contain a core formed by a tube of a hard material (nut or bone). they seem to be too small to have functioned as *porta hilos* (objects holding yarn for textile-related activities). The two small balls had been wrapped around length and width wise, alternating the colours with the wrapping direction, from light brown ('05') to sky blue ('93') to faded red ('23') and to dark red ('21'). Most ropes are made of a vegetable fibre, possibly *junquillo*, although a minority is made of camelid wool. No fajas nor taparrabos either are present among the sample, but again, they may have been robbed by looters.

In conclusion, the Tiwanaku colonists who lived and died at Chen Chen had a preference for camisas, mantas and pañuelos, but little interest in bags, belts, or belt-bags, and only one individual had been buried with a plain, knotted hat. No sandals were found inside the tombs.

The camisas were all warp-faced and either plain, or decorated with multiple lateral stripes or embroidered lateral plaques. Neck plaques in either cross knit loop or horizontal satin stitches are not commonly embroidered on these camisas. No fine Tiwanaku tapestry tunics have

been found among the specimens of this site. Mantas were rather crude and either decorated with large scale figurative designs in dovetailed tapestry technique, or warp-faced with two broad lateral stripes. Most pañuelos were plain with embroidered corners and selvages.

No clear stylistic difference has been found in structure and decoration between the camisas from Chen Chen's two excavation sectors. It does appear that the camisas from the Chen Chen 1988 sector have been woven out of slightly finer warp and weft elements, and with a little more variation in camisa design and choice of colour, suggesting slightly higher quality of the garments. In addition, most child-sized camisas come from the 1988 excavation, two of them with embroidered lateral plaques (3Ab). Most striking are the numerous mantas and pañuelos found in the 1988 sector versus hardly any from the 1995 sector. The specimens include both dovetailed tapestry mantas and all pañuelos. However, the wear and repair evidence in the garments from this sector is higher, suggesting restricted access to new garments for the people buried in the sector excavated in 1988.

8.4 Textiles from La Cruz

The La Cruz material has been excavated in 1993 and 1998. The excavation of 1993 concerns a small scale, organized campaign, while the 1998 specimens have been derived from a salvage operation after a clandestine dirt road had cut through a cemetery area behind Centro Mallqui and Museo Algarrobal, leaving the mummy bundles fragmented and exposed at the surface. The different circumstances of excavation are clearly visible in the preservation of its textile material: on average, 38% remains of the original camisa fabrics from the 1998 salvage campaign, versus 70% of the carefully excavated and unwrapped mummy bundles of the 1993 campaign (see Table 8.2).

It is interesting that about half of the textile specimens (camisas, mantas and ch'uspas) from both excavations are found to correspond to Chiribaya-style textiles, while the other half resembles provincial Tiwanaku textiles from Chen Chen, and Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza textiles from the Osmore and Azapa valleys. Carpio and Guillén (pers. comm. 2004) state that the La

Camisa	La Cruz Tiw/ I-T/C		La Cruz Chiribaya		La Cruz unknown		La Cruz total	
1A	11	37.9%	2	11.8%	12	52.2%	25	36.2%
1Aa*	1	3.4%	—	—	—	—	1	1.4%
1Ad	1	3.4%	—	—	1	4.3%	2	2.9%
2A	—	—	—	—	1	4.3%	1	1.4%
3Ab	3	10.3%	—	—	—	—	3	4.3%
3Adb*	1	3.4%	—	—	—	—	1	1.4%
3Adc*	1	3.4%	—	—	—	—	1	1.4%
4A	1	3.4%	8	47.1%	3	13.0%	12	17.4%
4Ad	1	3.4%	—	—	—	—	1	1.4%
4Aa*	—	—	1	5.9%	2	8.7%	3	4.3%
4Ab*	—	—	1	5.9%	3	13.0%	4	5.8%
4BW	—	—	3	17.6%	—	—	3	4.3%
5A	3	10.3%	—	—	—	—	3	4.3%
5Ad	1	3.4%	—	—	—	—	1	1.4%
5Aa*	1	3.4%	—	—	—	—	1	1.4%
5B	1	3.4%	—	—	—	—	1	1.4%
6A	2	6.9%	2	11.8%	—	—	4	5.8%
6Ad*	1	3.4%	—	—	—	—	1	1.4%
unknown	—	—	—	—	1	4.3%	1	1.4%
Totals:	29	100.0%	17	100.0%	23	100.0%	69	100.0%

Table 8.4 La Cruz camisa design patterning: subdivided according to Tiwanaku-like (Tiw / I-T/C) style, Chiribaya style, or unidentifiable

Cruz site contains “a clearly differentiated early-Chiribaya sector and a ‘pre-Chiribaya’ sector with tombs and artefacts that are not necessarily all Tiwanaku”. Tiwanaku and early phase (Ilo-)Tumilaca artefacts, including textiles, look very much alike and often lead to confusion about a site’s cultural identity. In the next chapter, an attempt is made to separate Tiwanaku textiles from Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza specimens with the aid of other publications on the textile tradition of both populations, summarized in Chapter 7. In this chapter, however, both textile traditions are grouped as “Tiwanaku-like”, in order to compare them to the Chiribaya material from the same site. For this purpose, the textile material from the 1993 and 1998 excavations has been grouped together. Among the 69 camisas from La Cruz, 23 specimens could not be culturally identified (Table 8.4).

8.4.1 TIWANAKU-LIKE TEXTILES

Fibre

The great majority of the Tiwanaku-like textiles is made of camelid wool only. In few specimens cotton fibre has

been applied, mostly as cords attached to a bolsa faja (n = 4), once as repair yarn in a camisa, and as weft elements in three fajas. All warps and practically all weft elements are $\frac{1}{2}$ plied and the weft heading cords, except for four specimens, are all replied with 4 to $\frac{11}{2}$ plied yarns. The warp diameters average 0.54 mm in tight twist, and the weft diameters average 0.71 mm, most of medium twist.

Camisa (tunic)

All 28 Tiwanaku-like camisas are square to rectangular shaped with either warp or weft side as its longest dimension, and none have supplementary discontinuous warps inserted to widen the shoulder area. Bottom, neck split, and arm openings are mostly left unaltered. The bottom and neck are sometimes reinforced with single file of cross-knit loop, while the arms may be reinforced with either solid or spaced overcast stitches or with a single file cross-knit loop stitches. All camisas show signs of wear, half of them moderate and half of them heavy to extreme, the latter mostly warp darned and/or re-seamed.

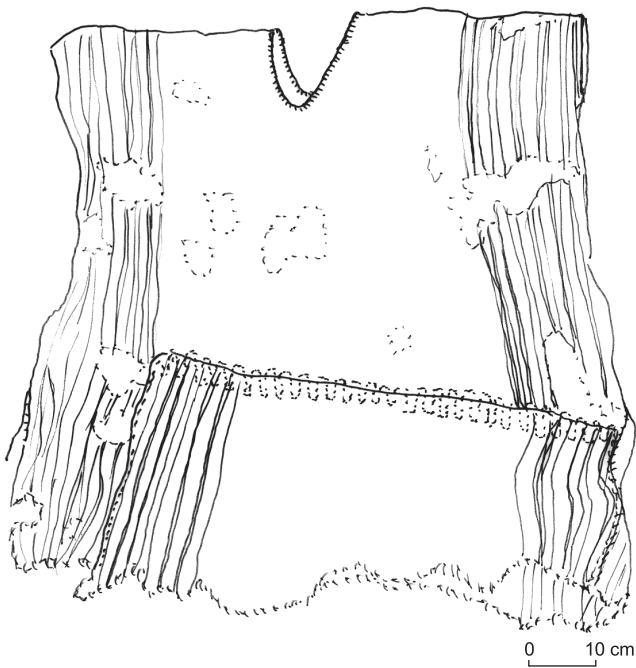


Fig. 8.7 La Cruz, Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza: repair work in type 5A camisa: bottom section is replaced by fragment of another 5A type camisa (#02567; 88 x 90 cm; colours '23' with '14', '24', '31', '34', '82', '85', '95')

Tiwanaku-like camisas are either plain (sub-types 1A, $n = 12$), or plain with embroidered cross-knit loop plaques covering the lateral seams (type 3A) ($n = 5$), or with lateral stripes (sub-types 5A and 5Aa, $n = 6$).

The type 3A camisas are made of five broad (3Ab) to eight fine rows (3Ac) of cross-knit loop embroidery (Plate 1.2). All plaques have their outer rows forming a solid contour, three camisas in Prussian blue ('31'), one in greenish blue ('35') and one in very dark brown ('02'). All these lateral embroideries except one (with the dark brown contour) resemble one another in choice of colour and design: the motifs are contained in units of various colour combinations, each about 3.3 cm long with a single rhomboid, angular S or S-like motif, or these motifs are connected resulting in a meander with check, or interspersed by a series of diagonal lines (Plate 4.2). Preferred colours are shades of yellow ('07' or '15'), pale red ('23'), shades of greenish blue ('13', '31', '34', '35'), sometimes joined by orange ('24'), pink ('91'), or blue ('37').

Tiwanaku-like camisas with multiple lateral stripes (type 5A) occur about as often as the embroidered camisa style. All five camisas have a plain centre in one of the red shades ('23', '28', '92', or '96'). Three 5A camisas have dominant mint green colour ('34') in their lateral stripes, separated and flanked by three groups of triple thin stripes in various colours, typical of Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza camisas. Three 5A camisas have two broad outermost bands in green ('34') and black ('01') (Plate 3.3). These colours and composition will recur at El Descanso.

One of these camisas (#02567) is interesting for its peculiar repair work (fig. 8.7). Its bottom section has been replaced by the bottom of another 5A type camisa, the former fragment typical of the Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza style, whereas the latter fragment has a typical Tiwanaku striped pattern, that is, each (other) broad stripe is separated by a group of thin stripes (see Paragraph 7.2.3). This camisa from tomb 15 belonged to an adolescent woman and was found in association with the excellent preserved type 5B camisa (Plate 1.3), the only 5B type camisa found at this site. Its lateral stripes are of various widths and the two broad outer stripes change at the shoulder from bright red ('92') and blue ('93') into purple ('100') and dark brownish red ('28'), flanking a dark brownish red ('28') centre. The colour change is never found among Tiwanaku specimens from Chen Chen or Azapa, but it is typical for the Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza camisas from El Descanso, as well as for the camisas from coastal Cabuza and Maytas-Chiribaya context in the Azapa valley, and thus thought to be a coastal development (Agüero 2000, 218-224). In addition, this camisa is the only specimen with ladder stripes. Two broad solid stripes in bright red ('92') and yellow ('15') are flanked and separated by two stripes with double-ladder motifs, followed by multiple solid but thin stripes in repeating colours as well as cream ('14'), Prussian blue ('31'), greyish green ('36'), olive green ('85') and bluish purple ('100'). In short, this is a unique specimen. The only style 5Aa camisa from this site (Plate 1.4) is highly reminiscent of the Chen Chen specimen (Plate 1.1) mentioned above. The narrow lateral group of stripes measures only 4.2 cm and is separated by a plain light brown ('05') area from the 54 cm wide central group of stripes that are mirrored around a wider red stripe. Multiple colours are used without one dominant shade, and solid stripes are separated by three to four narrow stripes, just like the Tiwanaku specimen.



Fig. 8.8 La Cruz, Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza: type 2B manta with reinforced selvages (#02408; 87 x 165 cm; colours '05' and '11')

Embroidered neck plaques are found in six camisas. Four neck plaques are embroidered in horizontal satin stitches: one 1Ad camisa has a solid red plaque with green contour, and two other plaques show a check pattern with colour change along the vertical and horizontal axes (Plate 6.5). Another neck plaque is made of two files of checks in the colours that Oakland (1992, 335) said to be 'a principal emblem of Tiwanaku affiliation'. It measures 1.1 x 7.2 cm and was found in a type 4Ad camisa (Plate 6.6).

In addition, three neck plaques in cross-knit loop stitches are present in 3A and 1A camisas (#99600, #99219, #99305). All plaques are small (about 1.5 x 5 cm) and have a contour and asymmetrical colour blocks inside (Plate 6.7). Apparently, the two techniques of neck plaques were not mutually exclusive within one community.

Manta (mantle)

Nine mantas are found at La Cruz, six mantas within Tiwanaku-like contexts. Four mantas are of type 2B: they have two broad lateral stripes in a dark brown shade ('02', '03' or '11'), of which the outermost is the widest, set against a light brown background. Two 2B mantas are complete: one measures 87 x 165 cm with all selvages reinforced by three files of polychrome cross-knit loop stitches (fig. 8.8), while the other style 2B manta

measures 66 x 93 cm without reinforced selvages (#99258). Similar mantas are also found at Chen Chen and Algodonal, but not at El Descanso.

Another manta has groups of dyed stripes all over (#02566). One warp end is missing so that it is possible that this specimen represents one half of what originally was a camisa. It is decorated with solid warp stripes in dark red ('28'), greenish blue ('35'), green ('36'), and light brown ('05') as dominant colours.

Faja (belt)

The three fajas are exceptional in the sense that they are very broad, colourful and woven with replied cotton weft elements. All three fajas have $\frac{1}{2}$ plied wool warps with 14.5 to 17 warps/cm, and replied cotton wefts. The wefts are either $\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{3}{8}$ replied with white or coloured fibres, and result in a weft count between 4 and 5.5 wefts/cm. Only the taparrabo of this site contains cotton wefts as well, and only at El Descanso have more specimens with cotton elements been found.

Faja #02584 (found out of context) measures 13.3 cm wide x 89 cm incomplete length and has all four selvages reinforced with four rows of cross-knit loop stitching (fig. 8.9). The woven decoration consists of eleven stripes with triple ladders forming a checkerboard design (type 3), each stripe 8 mm wide and in the colour combination of pale red ('23') with golden brown ('15') or

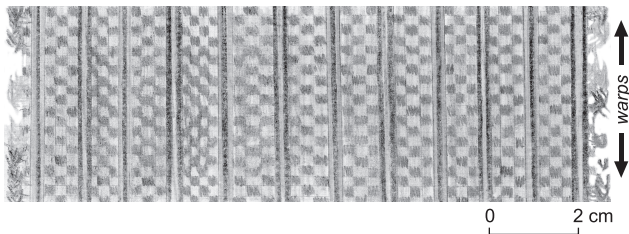


Fig. 8.9 La Cruz, Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza: type 3 faja (#02584; 13.3 x 89 cm (incomplete); colours '13', '15', '23', '34', '85', '91')

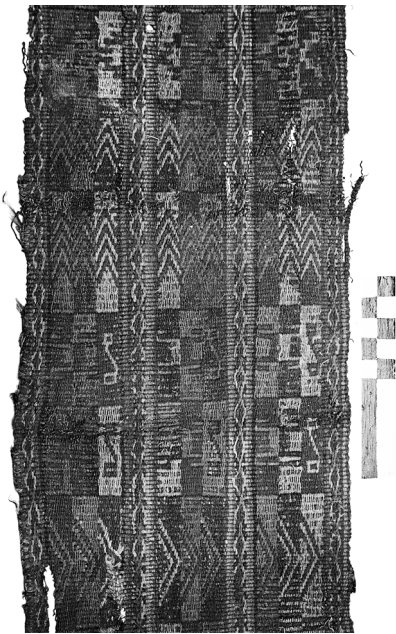


Fig. 8.10 La Cruz, Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza: type 4 faja (#02565; 15.5 x 189 cm; colours '08', '12', '15', '23', '31', '34', '85')

pale red ('23') with pink ('91'), separated by 3 mm wide triple thin lines in two colours: greenish black ('13') with mint ('34') or with olive green ('85'). Faja #02412 (found on an adult woman in tomb 8, 1993) and has a near identical design as this faja: the colour combinations are the same, but this faja contains ten instead of eleven rows of quadruple ladders forming a checkerboard design (type 3). It measures 15.5 cm wide x an incomplete length of 79 cm and lacks the embroidered reinforcement.

Finally, faja #02565 (found with an adult woman in tomb 5, 1993) has the same width of 15.5 cm wide x 189 cm complete length. The colours used for the design are nearly identical to the other two, but the design itself

is completely different (fig. 8.10). Three broad figure stripes dominate, each separated by narrow stripes (1.5 to 1.7 cm wide) with connected-rhomboid motifs (type 4). The three broad bands (3 cm wide) are each divided into triple stripes with units of different colour combinations but with identical design inside, which is repeated horizontally throughout the faja without mirroring. The colour combination of the central stripe is reversed to both lateral stripes. The motifs within each unit are chevrons, triangles, concentric blocks, hourglasses, stepped triangles, and S to key-like figures, while some triple colour blocks together form an hourglass or *chakana* (Andean cross) figure.

Bolsa faja (belt-bag)

One of the four bolsa fajas from this site (#02570) is perfectly preserved and was found with an adult woman in tomb 17 (1993) (fig. 8.11). The faja measures 15.5 x 97 cm, and is crudely repaired on both lateral sides over a length of about 10 cm. What makes this specimen stand out from the other three bolsa fajas of this site is the delicacy of its embroidery. Interesting is that its woven stripe pattern and colours have been found in an exact similar small cloth fragment (#99210) of another adult woman in tomb 2 (1993), indicating that the manufacturing of both bolsa fajas followed certain standards. The backside is divided into a greyish purple ('95') half and olive green ('85') half, while the front side is completely striped in an irregular pattern of bright colours. At $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{3}{4}$ of the surface, a double-ladder stripe is situated in dark red brown ('09') and orange ('24') floating warps, separated by multiple stripes in repeating colours plus cream ('14'), pale red ('23'), dark purplish red ('26'), Prussian blue ('31'), and mint green ('34'). Both warp ends and 8.5 cm around the corner have been embroidered with six files of cross-knit loop stitches on both sides with a dark red ('09') contour on the inside. The embroidered plaque has been subdivided into units with various geometric designs in contrasting colours and without repetition, and one unit looks like a Tiwanaku divided eye with snout (Plate 5.1).

Remarkable is that width of the bolsa faja falls within the 15 to 16 cm range just like the other bolsa fajas of this study and two of the fajas mentioned above.

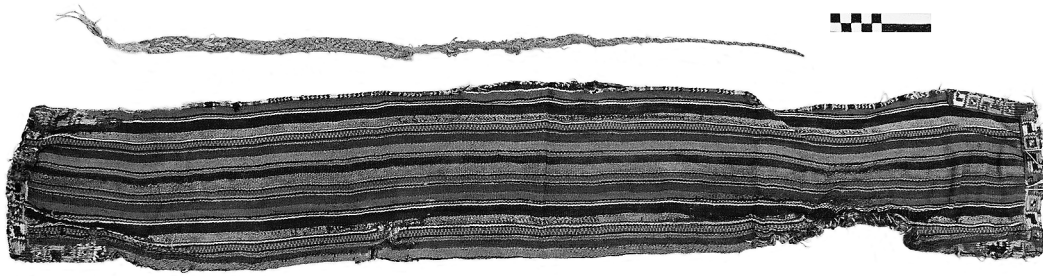


Fig. 8.11 La Cruz, Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza: bolsa faja (#02570; 15.5 x 97 cm; colours '09', '14', '23', '24', '25', '31', '34', '85', '95')

Gorro (headgear)

Nine fragments of a polychrome four-cornered hat were found among the surface finds of the 1998 campaign (Plate 6.2). The hat is not complete, with parts of the body, top and two points are missing. The hat is made with knotted loop structure in six colours: natural black ('01'), cream ('14'), yellowish beige ('07'), orange ('24'), pale red ('23'), mint green ('34'), and olive green ('85'). The top panel is divided into four triangles by white diagonals and filled with three rows of 2, 4, and 6 concentric squares. The side panels show squares with four L shaped hooks or concentric squares. The points show stepped diagonals with colour change in the middle.

Other specimens

Among the Tiwanaku-like textile artefacts, two objects are found that have yarn elements attached. One specimen has been identified as a '*porta hilo*' (fig. 8.12), formed by a small bone (human digit?) that served as a yarn spool.^[4] It was found in association with the polychrome knotted hat mentioned above. The central part of the *porta hilo* had been wrapped around by fine blue and red yarn wrapped in striped pattern. The fineness and small quantities of the yarn suggest that it may have been used for embroidery or for the manufacturing of the hat itself.

The other specimen is formed by two similar objects from tomb 17, referred to as '*ramitas envueltas*' (#99240). Both are 1 cm thick bundles of fine reeds or grasses, cut on one end and encircled by a yarn in golden brown colour ('15') (fig. 8.13). One specimen is larger (18 cm) than the other (12 cm). Field assistant Rosalía Choque identified the reeds as '*chajraña*' in the Aymara language, or '*caña brava*' in Spanish, and said that she had known the reeds to serve as an emergency comb in Carumas in the high valleys.

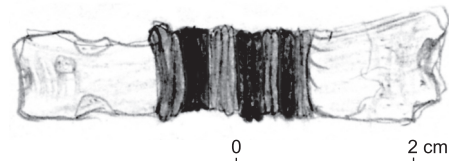


Fig. 8.12 La Cruz, Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza: porta hilo (#99587; 5 x 1 cm; colours '82' and '93')

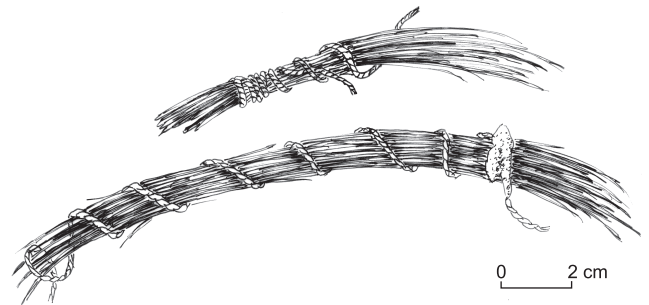


Fig. 8.13 La Cruz, Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza: bundles of fine reeds or grasses (#99240)

8.4.2 CHIRIBAYA TEXTILES

Fibre

All Chiribaya-style textiles are woven in warp-faced structure and made of camelid wool. The warps and wefts are $\frac{1}{2}$ plied and the weft heading cords, except for four specimens, are all replied with 4 to 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ plied yarns. The warp diameters average 0.58 mm of predominant tight twist, the weft diameters average 0.72 mm of medium twist. Textiles that can be clearly identified as Chiribaya are camisas, a manta, a pañuelo, and several bolsas.

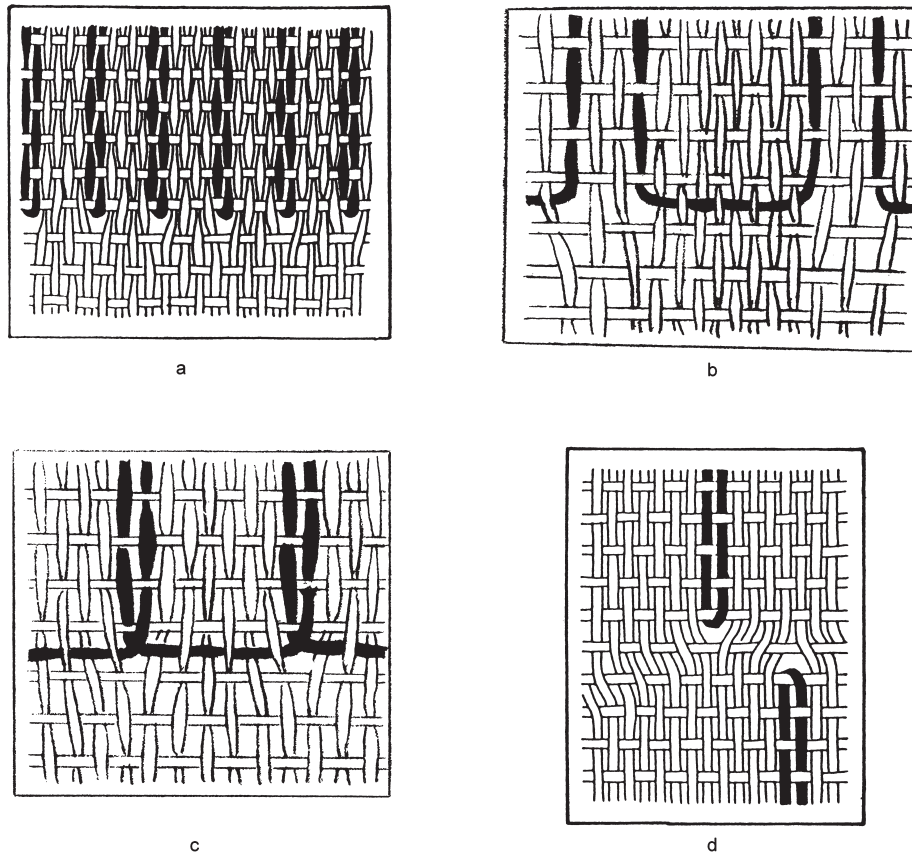


Fig. 8.14 La Cruz, Chiribaya: methods of inserting discontinuous supplementary warps (after Clark 1993, 228, 235)

Camisa (tunic)

The *camisas* that can be identified as Chiribaya ($n = 17$) are all semi-trapezoidal or truly trapezoidal shaped if supplementary discontinuous warps had been inserted at the chest line to widen the *camisa* at the shoulder. The Chiribaya people used three different techniques for inserting the supplementary discontinuous warps. As all three varieties have been found in fabrics from tomb 18 and 24 (1993), these techniques do not appear to have been related to different (sub-) groups within the society. The most common method of inserting supplementary discontinuous warps is by dovetailing the extra warps around a single or doubled shared weft, a procedure described in Paragraph 4.9 (fig. 8.14a). Less common is the technique of weaving the discontinuous supplementary warps in the weft shed through a number of warps before reversing their direction (fig. 8.14b), or with idem insertion but interlocking the discontinuous warps with the next extra

warp element (fig. 8.14c). The final option is dovetailing the discontinuous supplementary warps around a single weft without alignment, that is, as isolated joins (fig. 8.14d).

All Chiribaya *camisas* of this collection are made out of a single web, with the warp elements worn in vertical position. No embroidered neck plaques are found in these 17 *camisas*. Most bottoms, arm and neck openings are left unaltered or are reinforced with solid overcast stitches. All Chiribaya style *camisas* show signs of moderate to extreme wear and 50% had been warp and/or weft darned.

Most characteristic for the Chiribaya *camisas* is their specific colour combination. Preferred are shades of red, ranging from bright red ('92'), dark red ('21') to Bordeaux red ('27'). In type 4A *camisas* from La Cruz, a red colour is combined with a reddish purple ('25') to blackish purple ('94') colour, to form two broad

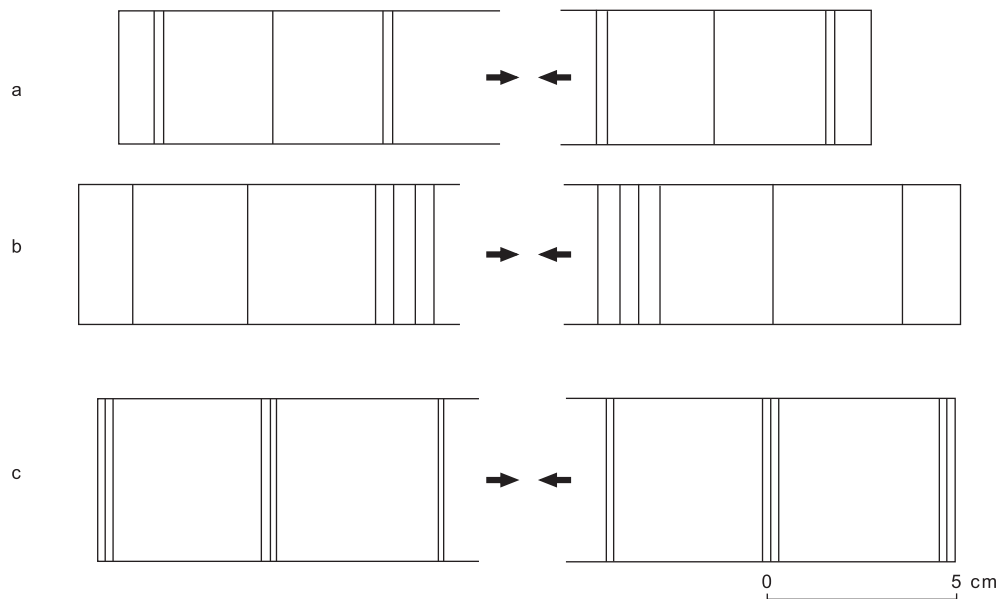


Fig. 8.15 La Cruz, Chiribaya: three examples of asymmetrical lateral striping: (a) (#99290); (b) (#99346); (c) (#99282) (Medy Oberendorff)

lateral stripes, flanked and/or separated by thin stripes in repeating colours (see *fig. 7.29*). The exact number and sequence of stripes were found to vary (*fig. 8.15* and *Plate 2.1*). Typical of these lateral stripes is that the right and left side repeat the colour sequence instead of mirroring them, resulting in an asymmetrical lay out. The lateral stripes do not change colour at the shoulder line. The central part is plain and woven in a light natural brown colour ('05' or '11').

Other *camisas* found in association with these asymmetrical *camisas* may be rectangular and plain (type 1A) or completely striped with two natural colours (type 6A). They are never associated with *camisas* with embroidered lateral plaques (type 3A) or with multiple polychrome lateral stripes (type 5A or 5B).

Manta (mantle), *pañó* (rag cloth), and *pañuelo* (small cloth)
One *manta* (#99365) has been identified as Chiribaya style by the characteristic double lateral stripe in dark brownish red ('99') with blackish purple ('94') mentioned above. This lateral stripe combination had been placed along one lateral side only (type 20, see *fig. 3.21*). The *manta* is rectangular with the warps as the longest dimension and made of two webs (270 x 110 cm) and shows modest evidence of wear.

Plain dark brown *paños*, identified as Chiribaya through association, are usually associated with small children, suggesting they were used as square to rectangular shaped wrappings and/or nappies for the infants. A maximum of five cloths had been used per infant. Nearly all *paños* were and had been torn out of deteriorated *camisas*, and some still contain the supplementary discontinuous warps of the shoulder section of the original *camisa*.

Only one *pañuelo* has been found within a Chiribaya urn burial of an infant (see *fig. 10.2*). It is woven in typical Chiribaya colours (purplish red '84' and dark purplish red '25' with cream ('14'), with a design of grouped ladder-stripes (*fig. 8.16*). The warp selvages have been finished by S and Z weft twining.

As most textiles from La Cruz have been taken from unwrapped mummy bundles and as field notes are no longer present, it cannot be excluded that in fact more *pañuelos* and/or other artefacts had been present in the tomb as additional gifts, which could have been stored in other boxes than the textile material from the unwrapped mummy bundles. In particular, the Chiribaya tombs are known for their large quantities of grave gifts, for instance *pañuelos*. Nonetheless, Chiribaya mummy bundles from other sites are



Fig. 8.16 La Cruz, Chiribaya: pañuelo with ladder-stripes (#02573; 20 x 22 cm; colours '14', '25', '84')

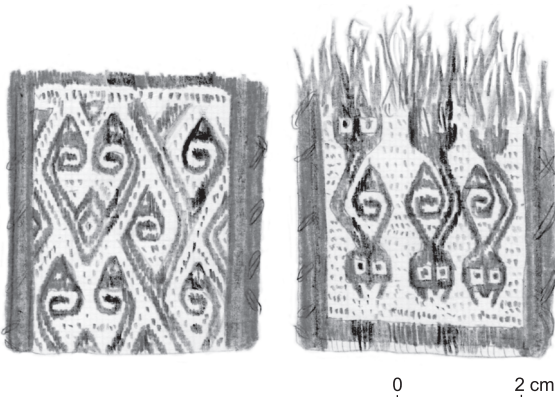


Fig. 8.17 La Cruz, Chiribaya: miniature bag with double-headed snake design (#02582; 5.7 x 4.3 cm; colours '11', '13', '14', '22', '90')

described as having various layers of *camisas* wrapped around the body and with *bolsas*, *pañuelos*, etc. tucked inside the folds (Clark *et al.* 1993, 1-29). Therefore, most if not all textiles from the Chiribaya tombs are thought to have been present in the funeral bundle itself, and therefore present in this study.

Bolsa (bag)

Chiribaya *bolsas* are recognisable by their characteristic geometric, zoomorphic, anthropomorphic or ornithomorphic decorations. The figures are created with two

sets of complementary warps, one in creamy white ('14'), the other a shade of red or in narrow, polychrome stripes of purple ('25'), dark green ('13', '33' or '36'), and light brown ('15') colours. The plain areas between the three figured bands are usually red ('21', '22', or '25'). *Bolsas* recognizable as Chiribaya in this collection are *ch'uspas* (n = 5) and a miniature bag (n = 1). The miniature bag (#02582) measures only 5.7 x 4.3 cm and the coca bags between 16.4 x 18.4 cm to 27.5 x 25 cm. They are usually stitched close with inconspicuous spaced or solid overcast stitches.

The miniature bag (fig. 8.17) and one *ch'uspa* (Plate 5.2) show zoomorphic creatures together with geometric figures of diagonal lines with hooked appendages emerging from one or both sides. In the wider central band of the latter, two alternating creatures are shown, one with a double headed with two ears and a protruding tongue and one hand with three fingers reaching up, the other with a zoomorphic creature with two similar ears, two arms reaching up with three fingers and two legs bend downward with three toes, rendered in negative colour combination. Both creatures hold four concentric hexagonal figures arranged in a rhomboid constellation against or inside their stomach.

The other four *ch'uspas* hold geometric figures, one *ch'uspa* (#02574) with three identical stripes of double zig-zagging lines in 2-span floats in alternating alignment (2/1), while the other three *ch'uspas* have two identical lateral stripes and a broader central stripe. One of them shows S shaped volutes only (#02580), another *ch'uspa* has zig-zagging lines with hooked appendages only (fig. 8.18), and a third *ch'uspa* has similar hooked appendages with a central stripe containing quadripartite compositions and with stair-stepped diagonals forming a rhomboid (fig. 8.19).

One of the *ch'uspas* appears to have been new when entombed, while all others show modest wear, and one of them has been warp darned along the bottom.

Finally, one *mallá* (net bag) has been found in tomb 11 (fig. 8.20). A cord of replied human hair formed a loop with a diameter about 21 cm, to which cotton yarn had been attached forming a net.

Taparrabo (loincloth)

Only one *taparrabo* (#02563) can be positively identified in the whole collection, found in tomb (#01, 1993) of a



Fig. 8.18 La Cruz, Chiribaya: ch'uspa with zig-zag lines plus hooked appendages (#02562; 18.5 x 18 cm; colours '21' with '10', '14', '100')

male adult of over 45 years old, thought to belong to the Chiribaya culture (*fig. 8.21*). The loincloth is made of two webs, each of trapezoidal shape, joined along the widest warp selvages, resulting in a hexagonal shape. This shape is not described for any other southern coastal culture, not even among Maytas, Cabuza or Estuquiña textile collections. The taparrabo was warp-faced woven with $\frac{1}{2}$ plied elements, and decorated with 1.3 to 2.0 cm wide stripes all over the garment, flanked on one side by a 2 mm thin adjoining stripe in repeating colours, dark brown ('03') against a beige ('08') background. The outer weft ends were embellished with a 3 cm wide patterned stripe using complementary warps. The figured stripe along the outer weft selvages can hardly be observed today due to the badly deteriorated colours (beige '08', dark brown '03', and faded red '23'). It shows a vertical line of connected rhomboid figures, each rhomboid measuring about 3 cm in length. The colours and



Fig. 8.19 La Cruz, Chiribaya: ch'uspa with quadripartite motif (#02564; 17 x 22 cm; colours '21' with '13', '14', '15', '25', '36')

pattern are repeated in the 1.8 cm wide weft twined bands along both warp ends (*Plate 6.1*).

Its three associated *camisas* are likewise unusual for the Osmore region.^[3] One of them is a type 4BW trapezoidal shaped *camisa* (#02407) with the two typical asymmetrical Chiribaya lateral stripes in dark brownish red ('99') and very dark brown colour ('02') plus unusual additional stripes in beige ('08') with light brown ('05') covering $\frac{1}{3}$ of each side (see *fig. 10.6*). Although unusual, comparable *camisas* have been found at La Cruz. For instance, the variation on the 4BW *camisa* has been found in a Chiribaya child's *camisa* from tomb 24 (*Plate 2.2*) and in an adult's *camisa* (#99322, 1/s) from this same site.

Faja (belt)

One *faja* (#02575; *fig. 3.22*, type 2) is found associated with the Chiribaya *fardos*, found below an urn containing the body of an infant. The *faja* measures 184 x 6 cm and is woven in very dark brown ('02'), intersected by two stripes at $\frac{1}{3}$ and $\frac{2}{3}$ of the fabric (type 2). Each stripe consists of three thin stripes in fuchsia red ('22') and dark reddish purple ('25'), a typical Chiribaya colour combination.

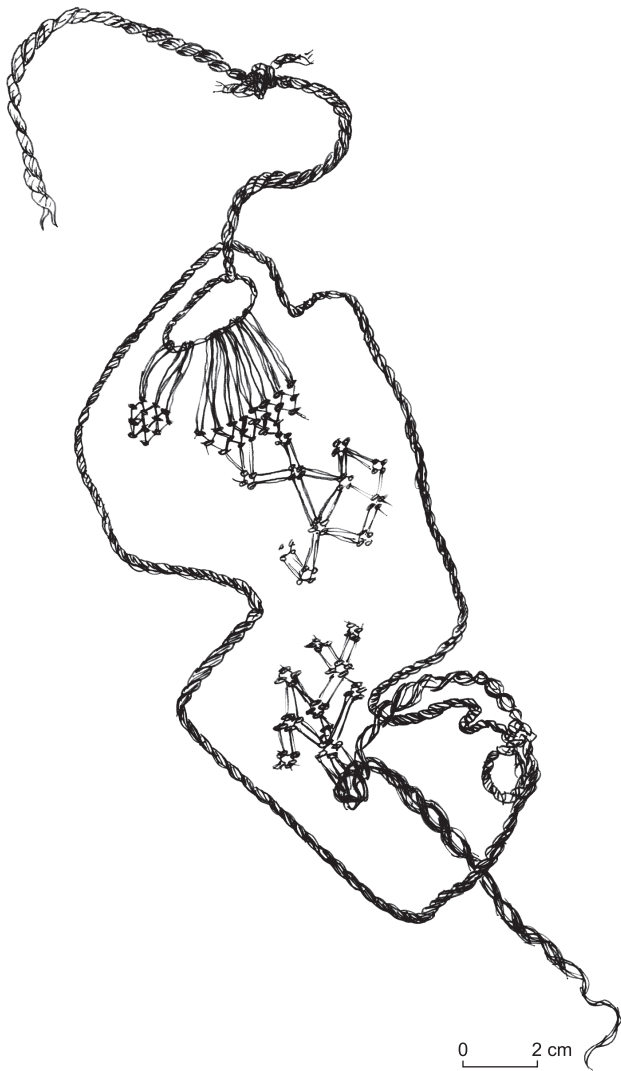


Fig. 8.20 La Cruz, Chiribaya: net bag of human hair with cotton (#99329; diameter 21 cm; colours '01' with '14')

Tocado (head ornament)

At La Cruz, tocados ($n = 5$) are found among Chiribaya contexts only, never with individuals with Tiwanaku-like garments. Tocados were associated with three infants (two of them male), and with two toddlers of unidentified gender. The two baby boys have identical tocado hilos draped around the outside of the funerary bundle's head (#02410, from tomb 3; and #02413, from tomb 18). Each tocado hilo consists of two yarns, one in cream ('14') $\frac{1}{2}$ /plied and one in Prussian blue ('31') $\frac{1}{2}$ /plied with a total length of 48 and 42 cm, knotted to

form 18 and 17 cm wide loops, respectively (fig. 8.22).

One tocado hilo has the shape of a miniature cinta, with a 52 cm long braided cord (0.2 cm wide), widening into a 0.8 cm wide and 5.5 cm long woven central section (#02405 from tomb s/n 02). The tocado palito found in tomb 22 consists of three sticks of a light coloured wood and of variable length between 4 and 6 cm and a diameter of 0.25 to 0.35 cm (#99272). Three sticks had a short yarn in Prussian blue ('31') wrapped around one end. Originally, a feather may have been stuck to this end, just like the specimen from El Descanso (see below).

8.4.3 SPECIMENS WITHOUT CULTURAL AFFILIATION

Camisa (tunic)

An unusual camisa (type 2A) is found on an older man in tomb 23 (1993). The man has an exotic hair style of braids tied together on top of his head, and appears to have been unusually fat, as the textile wrappings are greasy. This camisa is unusual because it is made of two webs, seamed together along the vertical central line, leaving space open for a vertical neck slit (#99231). It is made of a plain dark brown colour ('03') and measures 122 x 168 cm (see fig. 3.17, type 2A). The arm openings are placed horizontally against the lateral sides and measure a regular 19 cm wide. The neck slit, however, is exceptionally deep with 28 cm on each side. The whole shoulder line has been repaired with crude warp darning and the arm openings are doubled and resealed. The specimen is found with three unidentifiable paños and a large wad of wool.

Four other camisas are unusual for their bottom reinforcement, which changes colour at the centre of the front and backside and at the lateral sides, a feature found in camisas from La Cruz only. The reinforcement is carried out in the form of solid overcast stitches ($n = 1$) or a single file of cross-knit loop stitches ($n = 3$) applied on a rectangular or square camisa, but never trapezoidal. The colour changes from a shade of green ('35' or '34') into a pale red ('23' or '91') in the plain camisas (#99369, #99338, #99244) and from mint green ('34') into Prussian blue ('31') in the unique type 5B camisa (#02568) belonging to a young woman in tomb 15 described above. Only this latter camisa can be identified as Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza.

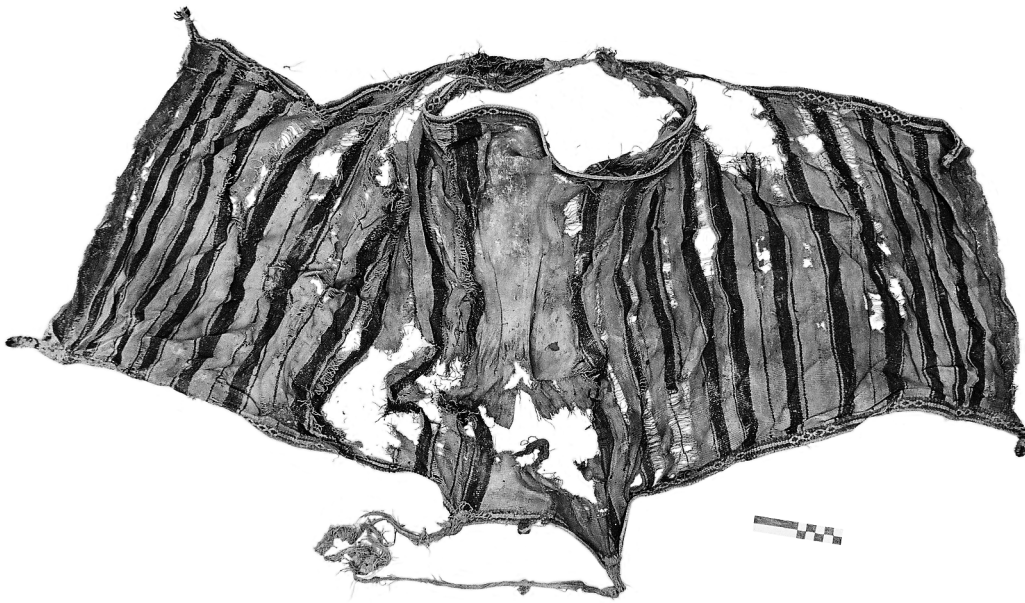


Fig. 8.21 La Cruz, Chiribaya: taparrabo of adult man (#02563; 60 x 118 cm; colours '08' with '03', '23', '28')

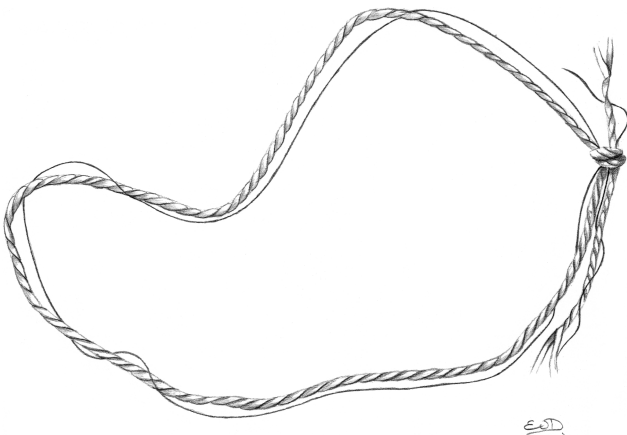


Fig. 8.22 La Cruz, Chiribaya: tocado hilo found with two baby boys (#02410 and #02413; diameter 18 cm; '14' with '30') (Erick van Driel)



Fig. 8.23 La Cruz: turban made of second-hand bolsa faja and thick bundles yarn (#02583; 32 x 13.5 cm; colours '07', '23', '31', '34', '36', '91')

Gorro (headgear)

Headdresses are very rare in this assemblage, and four out of the total five are derived from La Cruz (1998), unfortunately all found out of context. The fragmented Tiwanaku style polychrome four cornered is described above, the other three specimens concern two turban-like structures and a *chullo*-shaped hat.

One turban consists of fragments of thick bundles of Prussian blue ('31') dyed yarn (#99343), while the other turban is complete (fig. 8.23). The latter turban had a basis of woven cloth, wrapped around by thick bundles of $\frac{1}{2}$ yarn in dyed turquoise ('35') which partially had faded into greyish green ('36'). The bundle of yarn has a diameter and had been wrapped around the cloth about

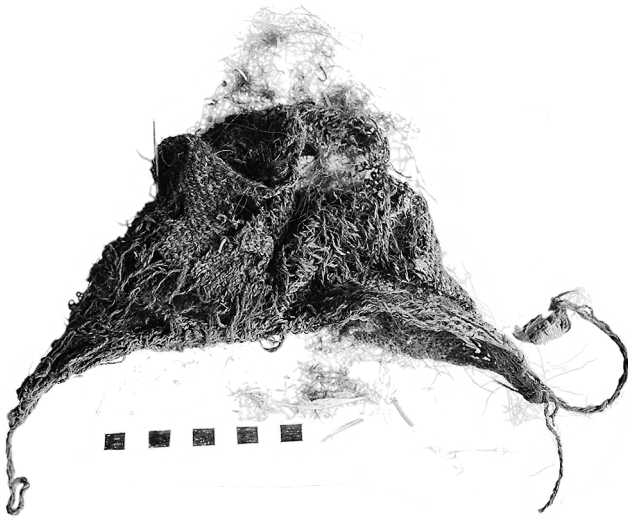


Fig. 8.24 La Cruz: chullo-hat made of human hair (#99310; 14 x 17 cm; colour '02')

ten times, forming a band of some 6 cm wide. The round head shape is still preserved, measuring 13.5 in height x internal diameter of 12 cm. This small size suggests that the turban was either worn either by a child, or more likely, by an adult with (annular) deformed head shape. The woven cloth had originally been a bolsa faja with Tiwanaku style striping of solid stripes separated by triple thin stripes, and the warp corners had been strengthened by narrow cross-knit loop embroidery.

The *chullo* is a typical Andean hat with triangular flaps covering the ears, similar in shape to hats worn by men to this day (fig. 8.24). It had been looped out of black human hair plied into a $\frac{1}{2}$ yarn. It has a height of 17 cm and a circumference of 61 cm, the triangular shaped ear flaps looped separately (7 cm long and 14 cm wide) and stitched to the bottom of the top. Short cords were attached to the earflaps allowing the chullo to be tied below the chin.

To summarise, the textiles from La Cruz agree either with the Tiwanaku-like style or with the Chiribaya style that have been described in Chapter 7. These two styles were not found mixed inside tombs, which agrees with the observations made by the excavators of La Cruz, who claimed that one half of the cemetery contained Tiwanaku and Ilo-Tumilaca-style burials and the other early (Algarrobal) Chiribaya-style burials, separated by a straight line (Carpio and Guillén pers. comm. 2004).

The Tiwanaku-like people were found to be buried mainly with *camisas* and *mantas*. In addition, *bolsa fajas* and *fajas* were quite common, whereas *ch'uspas*, *pañuelos* and hats were not. Tiwanaku-like *camisas* were either plain (type 1A) or decorated with embroidered cross knit loop plaques (type 3A) covering the lateral seams and/or neck bases, or decorated with multiple woven polychrome stripes flanking a plain red centre (type 5A). In some type 5A *camisas*, mint green colour ('34') forms the dominant colour, which is typical of Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza style *camisas*. Most *mantas* had been rectangular with two wide, dark brown lateral stripes. In the next chapter, the Tiwanaku-like textiles from La Cruz will be compared to the diagnostic Tiwanaku and Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza textile features described in the previous chapter in an attempt to identify the people buried at La Cruz.

Chiribaya-style textiles are mainly represented by *camisas* and *ch'uspas*, whereas *pañuelos*, *mantas*, *fajas*, and *taparrabos* occur in much smaller quantities. No headgear was found with Chiribaya-style mummy bundles. The fabrics are easily recognizable by their characteristic choice of colour, figurative *ch'uspas* and asymmetrical striped (type 4A or 4B) and often trapezoidal shaped (type 4BW) *camisas*. *Tocados* have been found in association with the Chiribaya-style mummy bundles, but never with Tiwanaku-like style.

8.5 Textiles from El Descanso

El Descanso's textile material originates from three excavations (1998, 1999 1st period and 1999 2nd period). According to Carpio (2000c) and Salazar (2001), the site of El Descanso has been occupied over a long period of time, from pre-Tiwanaku and likely even pre-ceramic times, followed by settlement during Tiwanaku's final phase (Chen Chen style) and the subsequent Ilo-Tumilaca-Cabuza phase. Salazar (2001) believes that this site may have been a high status burial ground for the Ilo-Tumilaca population of the valley, based on the presence of a large quantity of burials and extensive domestic area. As such, the site would have matched the elite Chiribaya Alta site lying directly above El Descanso on a bluff, where high status burials have been discovered, initially for both Chiribaya and Ilo-Tumilaca people, and in later times for Chiribaya people

Fibre	Units 17, 18, 19, 21		other units		Descanso (98-99)	
	n =	%	n =	%	n =	%
camelid wool	18	72.0%	74	83.2%	122	99.2%
cotton	6	24.0%	6	6.7%	1	0.8%
cotton & camelid wool	—	—	1	1.1%	—	—
human hair	—	—	3	3.4%	—	—
cotton & human hair	—	—	3	3.4%	—	—
dog hair	1	4.0%	1	1.1%	—	—
European sheep wool	—	—	1	1.1%	—	—
<i>Total</i>	25	100.0%	89	100.0%	123	100.0%

Table 8.5 Fibres from El Descanso, subdivided according to: no-tomb-holding units 17, 18, 19, and 21; versus tomb-holding other units; versus specimens from El Descanso 1998 and 1999 excavations

exclusively (Buikstra 1995, 255; Jessup 1991, 11-12; Owen 1993, 111, 151, 247).

Fibre

The organic preservation of the El Descanso site is very good. Nonetheless, the average percentages that remain of camisa fabrics score only 41% (1998) and 40% (1999), reflecting the severe looting going on at this site.

El Descanso's textiles are practically all made of camelid wool. However, part of El Descanso's specimens (1999, 1st period, n = 114) are derived from dry sieving the sand from tomb backfill and excavation units in cemetery and domestic areas.^[6] Interesting is that the specimens from units in non-tomb holding domestic areas yield substantial numbers of specimens with cotton fibre (24%), versus 6.7% found in specimens from units containing tombs (n = 89), and a mere 0.8% of cotton elements in specimens from El Descanso's tomb contexts (n = 123) (Table 8.5). These percentages indicate that cotton in fact may have played a significant role in the daily life of the El Descanso people, although it may have been considered inappropriate as grave gift.

Cotton has been applied in a variety of domestic utensils, especially in cords and open worked net bags, sometimes knotted looped together with yarn made out of human hair. These data indicate that cotton was a desired if not preferred fibre to produce open worked nets, especially for fishing activities or to carry wet products, as cotton fabrics do not stretch and loose form when wet as wool fabrics do. Cotton was also used in woven specimens.

Most fragments are too small to identify, but one specimen could be identified as a large sized cotton talega (#01194) and another as a fragment from an adult-sized warp-faced plain woven camisa (#01209).

Cotton fibre and camelid fibre alike are $\frac{1}{2}$ plied with a similar range of diameter, suggesting that the yarn production of both fibres was in the same hands. The warp elements have an average diameter of 0.50 mm, the weft elements of 0.70 mm. All weft heading cords are replied, using 4 to 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ plied yarns. The dyed warp elements from El Descanso have similar diameters as the warps of natural hues, in contrast to the finer diameters of the dyed yarn from Algodonal. This may suggest that El Descanso's natural and dyed yarns were produced locally instead of being imported.

Camisa (tunic)

Over half of all camisas is too fragmented to reconstruct their original shape. Square and rectangular camisas with wider wefts are represented by six specimens each, rectangular camisas with longer warps by half that amount. Semi-trapezoidal are quite common (n = 5), while trapezoidal by insertion of supplementary discontinuous warps are not (n = 1, a plain 1A camisa).

Camisa bottoms, neck splits and arm openings are not often preserved. Bottoms and arm openings have either been left unaltered (n = 16 and 15, respectively) or reinforced with solid overcast stitches only (n = 10 and 14, respectively), or reinforced with a combination of overcast and cross-knit loop stitches on top (6 arm openings). The latter technique is quite common for

neck splits as well ($n = 5$), together with a single file of cross-knit loop stitches ($n = 7$) or unaltered state ($n = 15$).

Compared to the other sites, El Descanso's camisas were in very good condition when placed inside the tombs. Ten camisas appear to have been as good as new when entombed, while 56% shows moderate wear only, yielding a combined score of 73%. 14% of the camisas show heavy to extreme wear. Repair by warp and/or weft darning is found in 33% of the camisas, and little over 3% by reseaming.

More than half of El Descanso's camisas cannot be culturally identified, whereas most of the other textiles are strikingly colourful. Like La Cruz and contrary to Chen Chen and Algodonal, decoration by polychrome lateral stripes (type 5A and 5B) is more popular than embroidered stripes (type 3A) (Table 8.6). Only decoration by a modest single lateral stripe (types 4Aa and 4Ab) in pale red ('23') colour formed a more common, though minimal, decoration.

	Ilo-Tumilaca		Unidentified		Total	
1A	5	17.2%	22	68.8%	27	44.3%
1Aa	1	3.4%	2	6.3%	3	4.9%
1Ad	–	–	1	3.1%	1	1.6%
3Ab	3	10.3%	–	–	3	4.9%
3Adc	2	6.9%	–	–	2	3.3%
4Aa	3	10.3%	6	18.8%	9	14.8%
4Ab	1	3.4%	1	3.1%	3	4.9%
4Abd	1	3.4%	–	–	–	–
5A	2	6.9%	–	–	2	3.3%
5A/B	5	17.2%	–	–	5	8.2%
5B	4	13.8%	–	–	5	8.2%
5Bd	1	3.4%	–	–	–	–
6A	1	3.4%	–	–	1	1.6%
Total	29	100.0%	32	100.0%	61	100.0%

Table 8.6 Camisa design patterning of El Descanso

Five camisas show multiple lateral stripes that change colour at the shoulder in the outer two or three stripes through the use of discontinuous warps (type 5B and 5Bd). Two camisas show multiple lateral stripes without colour change (type 5A), whereas five more camisas are too fragmented to determine whether the outermost lateral stripes are continuous or discontinuous

(type 5A/B). The high percentage of camisas from this site with lateral stripes changing colour at the shoulder (at least 17%) is exceptional compared to the other sites. In fact, the only other camisa with this feature is the well-preserved camisa from La Cruz (#02568) described above (see Plate 1.3).

The central plain area of El Descanso's type 5A and 5B camisas is either dark brown ('03' or '11') or a shade of red ('09', '12' or '28'). The patterning of the multiple stripes is similar to the Tiwanaku patterning: either by solid stripes of various widths ($n = 7$) or by stripes divided by a thin stripe ($n = 6$), apparently without preference for the 5A, 5B or 6A types. Four 5A and 5B camisas with solid stripes show a dominant greenish blue ('35') ($n = 1$) or greyish green ('36') ($n = 3$) in their lateral stripes (Plate 2.3). All four camisas have solid stripes of various widths and the greenish bands are separated by three thin stripes in two different colours. Another particularity of type 5A ($n = 1$) and 5B camisas ($n = 3$) is the presence of two broad outer stripes in two specific colours: dark red/brown ('03') and orange ('10'), followed by a whole series of thin stripes in various colours (about 17 to 22 cm in total). In case of the three 5B (#00021; #02382; #01100) camisas, these two broad red and orange stripes change at the shoulder into yellow ('07') or green ('85') with black ('01') (Plate 3.4). This strict sequence indicates that the choice of colours obeyed to certain prescriptions, unique to this site. An interesting detail is the fact that the combination of yellow/green with black outer stripes is never found in a 5A camisa at El Descanso, while such combination does exist in three type 5A camisas from La Cruz (#99354, 99370, 99342). Such preference of colour combinations per site strengthens the existence of a symbolic value for the choice of colour.

The other striping pattern, with a series of divided stripes, was found in six camisas. All of them have two or three solid outer stripes. The colours of the stripe series are red ('23', '27', or '28'), dark brown ('11' or '03'), yellow ('15'), green ('33' or '36') and/or blue ('31' or '35'), flanking a solid centre in a dark brown or red colour (Plate 3.5).

The only type 6A camisa from this site is patterned with divided stripes in various brightly dyed colours, instead of the usual two natural colours (#00029). Bordeaux red ('27') is the dominant colour for the

divided stripes, complemented by pink ('84'), blue ('93'), yellow ('15') and green ('36'). Its all over striping and choice of colour make it a unique specimen.

Only five camisas are found among El Descanso's collection with plaques of cross-knit loop embroidery covering the lateral seams (type 3A). One specimen's lateral plaque is so fragmented and repaired that its original design can no longer be determined (#00055). Two specimens (#00054 and #01067) show modest lateral embroidery of four files with diagonal lines and geometric figures (type 3Ab). The other two embroidered camisas (type 3Adc) are of exceptional quality and display an unusual choice of dominant fuchsia red ('22') colour.

Specimen #00053 has the widest embroidered lateral plaque of this collection with sixteen rows (4.2 cm wide), with design units of solid triangles and serrated lines that were repeated in mirrored position and alternating colours ('yellow' '15', Prussian blue '31', dark purplish red '28' and greenish black ('13') within a natural black ('01') contour (*Plate 4.3*). This type of embroidery and its designs is found to be unique for the El Descanso site. In addition, the camisa has a matching cross-knit loop neck plaque of concentric triangles with varying colours mirrored along a vertical axis, measuring 11.0 x 1.8 cm. This neck plaque closely resembles the specimen described by Boytner (1998, 342, fig. 4a) as typical Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza. Camisa #00051 is decorated with a repetition of mirrored swan-like 'S' and 'Z' shapes embroidered in ten fine files, executed in various colours (yellow '15', Prussian blue '31', greyish green '36', and reddish pink '82') against the fuchsia red ('22') background (*Plate 4.4*).

Only at El Descanso have neck plaques been found in zig-zagging stitches at the front and back of the garment. Both camisas have been derived from the same tomb (05, 1998). One camisa is of type 4Abd (#00045), while the other is a type 5Bd with dominant greenish blue stripes (#00044). The latter camisa's neck plaque is complete and measures 0.8 x 10.0 cm, formed by five horizontal lines in cream ('14'), turquoise ('35'), dark red ('28'), dark red (idem), and turquoise ('35'), with a colour inversion in the middle (*Plate 6.8*).

No neck plaques with horizontal stitches are found among El Descanso's collection.

Manta (mantle)

Few mantas are found among El Descanso's specimens (n = 3). One manta originally had been a type 5A or 5B camisa with a reddish brown ('11') centre and mint green (34') dominating in the lateral stripes (#02384). Another manta is plain but woven of unusual dark blue ('30') warps and made of two webs, sewn with a central vertical seam by polychrome figure-8 stitches (#02380). The third manta is likewise unique, unfortunately found fragmented and out of context (#00059). Two large fragments remain with 6.5 to 16 cm wide woven stripes and cross-knit loop plaques on a remaining warp and weft selvage. The woven stripes are yellow ('15'), natural black ('01'), dark red ('28'), pale red ('23') and bright blue ('93'). Six files of cross-knit loop plaque covers its warp selvages on both sides, while five files cover its weft selvage on both sides. The embroidered design shows units without contour in natural cream ('14'), yellow ('15'), and dark brown ('03'), and the dyed pink ('91'), Prussian blue ('31') and Bordeaux red ('27'). Prominently present are designs in the shape of a key, reminiscent of Tiwanaku's eye mask, and a motif of an upturned snout known from Tiwanaku tapestry weavings and wood and stone sculptures (*Plate 4.5a,b*). Its unusual woven pattern and especially its embroidered design (reminiscent of the bolsa faja embroidery from La Cruz (#02570) make the author believe that this was originally a Tiwanaku specimen.

Pañuelo (small cloth)

El Descanso yielded a considerable amount of pañuelos (n = 11) in a variety of patterning. Among them, an unusual pañuelo (type 1B) was found (#02404), similar in appearance to the original Tiwanaku-state produced pañuelos described by Oakland (1986a, 310, fig. 37; 314-316): like the manta described above, this pañuelo has remarkable cross-knit loop plaques embroidered around the two remaining corners. The reddish brown ('11') warps formed the shortest dimension (*fig. 8.25*). The corner plaques are eight files wide on both sides and the selvages are connected by a double file of cross-knit loop stitches. One corner shows diagonal stripes only, the other meanders with concentric checks in the same colours: natural cream ('14'), beige ('08'), reddish brown ('11'), and the dyed pink ('91'), red ('23'), greenish black ('13'), turquoise ('35') and green ('36'). The structure and design of the corner plaque are very

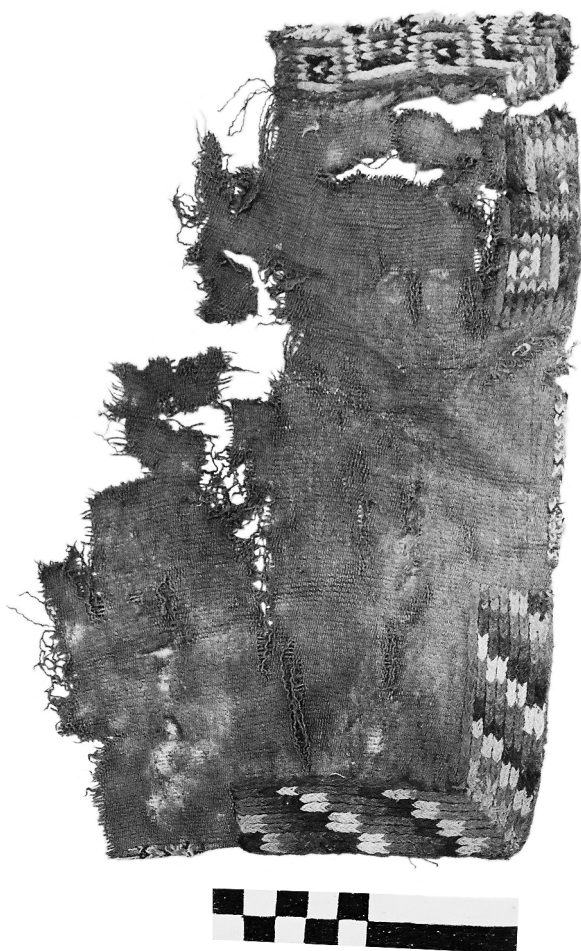


Fig. 8.25 El Descanso: embroidered pañuelo (#02404; 26 x 16.5 cm; colours '11' with '08', '13', '14', '91')

reminiscent of Algodonal's pañuelo #02452 (see *fig. 8.31*), although different colour combinations had been used (see below).

However, the most common pañuelos found at El Descanso are types 1 and 2. Type 1 is plain brown with or without a double file of cross-knit loop stitches along its selvages ($n = 4$). Type 2 pañuelos are dominantly red ('21', '22', '23' or '92') or brown ('03') with lateral stripes in blue ('31' or '93') and/or green ('33' or '36') and/or purple ('25' or '27') and/or yellow ('15') and vary in size between 18 x 27 cm and 42 x 44 cm ($n = 4$, *fig. 8.26*). Exceptional among the type 2 pañuelos is the specimen #02381 with additional broad stripes towards its centre in red (22') with purple ('25') and its warp selvages finished by eight



Fig. 8.26 El Descanso: type 2 pañuelo (#00006; 18.6 x 27.2 cm; colours '03' with '15', '23', '33', '35')

files of weft S and Z twining in rhomboid pattern (*Plate 5.3*). Weft twined finishing has only been found in one other pañuelo in the Chiribaya collection (La Cruz, #02573), and in the unique taparrabo from that same site (#02563). The rectangular shaped tomb in which this particular pañuelo from El Descanso was found seems to indicate that this burial belonged to a Chiribaya individual among the Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza cemetery population.

Another variant of this type of lateral striped pañuelo contains a completely striped centre (type 7A, #00027). A final pañuelo (#00049) is unique for its four narrow stripes with zig-zagging pattern by floating warps (type 9).

Bolsa (bag)

Seven ch'uspas are found at this site, representing a high percentage of its total textile assemblage compared to the other sites (5.7%). The coca bags measure between 18 x 18 cm and 25 x 35 cm. All are dominantly bright red ('22' or '23') with three broad patterned stripes evenly distributed over the surface. All three stripes may be identical (type 1A, $n = 1$) (*Plate 5.4*), or the central stripe may be nearly twice as broad (type 14, $n = 6$, for example #00058). All but one ch'uspa are decorated with block-ladder design by floating warps in two or three colours, which are alternately pulled up to the surface or

allowed to float over three wefts in alternating alignment (3/1) (see Paragraph 3.8.1). White or a shade of red colour is used for the even warps, while the uneven warps form polychrome stripes, usually a shade of blue ('31'), cream ('14') and/or yellow ('15') and green ('36'). One ch'uspa (#00062) is decorated with ladders in the lateral stripes and with unusual curving lines with dots by floating warps in the central stripe. It was found together with the unique *camisas* with zig-zagging neck plaques and the *bolsa faja* (tomb 05, 1998). Most ch'uspas have been stitched close with a double file of polychrome cross-knit loop stitches or inconspicuous spaced overcast stitches. The opening had usually been left unaltered.

Bolsa faja (belt-bag)

The sole *bolsa faja* found at this site measures 60 cm long in its wrapped up state x 15 cm wide (#00061). It shows no signs of wear or repair. Although the size and general design lay out are similar to La Cruz' specimens, this specimen has been made using different designs and colours (with fuchsia red '22' as dominant colour) for both the weaving and embroidery. The backside shows double divided stripes with a colour change in the middle. The front side shows solid stripes of various widths and three narrow figured stripes with zig-zagging motif by floating warps, distributed asymmetrically over the surface. The cross-knit loop embroidery covers both warps ends and 12 cm around the corners and is finely executed. The designs are a repetition of units separated by thin white stripes, with triangles and serrated diagonal lines made by running stitches (*Plate 6.3*). This embroidery is identical to the Cabuza *bolsa faja* from site Azapa 141, illustrated in Uribe and Agüero (2001, 408, fig.d) and another Cabuza belt bag illustrated in Santoro and Ulloa (1985, 49). It is also reminiscent of the designs in the exceptional wide lateral plaque of *camisa* #00053 in the same dominant fuchsia red colour. Interesting is that one corner was never finished. The embroidery had stopped at 3.5 cm and shows that the work advanced all the rows at a time. The loose ends of embroidery yarn were even left hanging.

Bolsa malla (net bag)

One intact *malla* made of camelid wool is found out of context (#02403). The *malla* measures about 34 x 9 cm, and is slightly broader at the bottom (*fig. 8.27*). It is knotted looped ('cow hitches') in spiral movement with a



Fig. 8.27 El Descanso: *malla* made by knotted looping technique (#02403; 43.5 x 9 cm; colours '03' and '14')

replied $\frac{2}{5}$ cord, alternating dark beige ('04') with cream ('14') colour to create broad horizontal stripes. This design is similar to the Chiribaya *malla* described by Clark *et al.* (1993, 11).

Faja and cinta (broad and narrow belt)

One *cinta* and three *fajas* are found at El Descanso. The braided *cinta* measures 11.5 cm (incomplete) long x 2.8 cm wide (#00056). The oblique interlacing of one strand of golden brown ('15') colour creates a rhomboid pattern along the central line, against a background of diagonal lines in three colours of each four strands (in dark brown ('02'), faded red ('23') and Prussian blue ('31') colours).

The three *fajas* are each very different. One specimen is in fact little more than 3 x 44 cm in size. It is warp-faced woven in light brown ('05') cotton yarn, and has straight cuts instead of selvages (type 1; #00028). A second *faja* is incomplete with 121 cm x 9 cm remaining (type 4; #00057). Three groups with triple rows repeat the same figure throughout the horizontal line, resulting in nine identical figures, not mirrored and rendered in different colour combinations (*fig. 8.28*). This patterning is in fact similar to *faja* #02565 from La Cruz



Fig. 8.28 El Descanso: faja with triple rows repeating the same figure horizontally (#00057; 121 cm (incomplete) x 9 cm (incomplete); colours '22' with '15', '31', '33')



Fig. 8.29 El Descanso: faja with twill woven design (#01068; 12.5 cm (incomplete) x 8.5 cm (incomplete); colours '03' and '23')

(see *fig. 8.10*). The woven figures consist of chevrons, angular and curved 'S', 'Z', and 'X' shapes, rhomboids, hourglass shapes, etc. It is brightly coloured in dominant fuchsia red ('22') with complementary warps in dark green ('33'), Prussian blue ('32'), and yellow ('15') for each figured stripe. These colours are identical to the ones used for the ch'uspas and very different from the La Cruz faja.

The third faja (#01068) is a fragment of 12.5 x 8.5 cm and represents the only twill weave specimen found in this collection, with 2-span floats in diagonal alignment (type 5; *fig. 8.29*). The typical twill weave design of zig-zagging diagonals ('herringbone'), together with a horizontal band with squares, is highlighted by the use of two colours for the warp elements, dark brown ('03') and faded red ('23'). Warp-faced twill structure is rare in the Osmore valley, and only one diamond twill faja from the terminal Chiribaya of Carrizal is known to the author (Reycredit 1998, 236).

Tocado (head ornament)

Two *tocado palito* specimens are found at El Descanso.[7] Specimen #00022 consists of two sticks measuring 3 cm x 0.2 to 0.3 cm with a yellowish feather attached to the top, kept in place by a greenish ('36') yarn wrapped around the stick (*fig. 8.30*). The wood of the palitos was identified by Rosa Choque as incense wood known as 'qoa' in Aymara (pers. comm. 2002). The palitos had been found with the individual of tomb 05 (1998). Despite the missing contextual data, the individual is thought to have been an adult, because he or she had been buried with two adult-sized *camisas* with unusual zig-zagging neck plaques, a ch'uspa, and the only *bolsa faja* of this site (see above).

In conclusion, many *camisas*, *pañuelos*, and *ch'uspas* have been found at El Descanso, versus few *mantas* and *bolsa fajas*. Compared to the other three sites, the textile assemblage of El Descanso is strikingly colourful, although only a limited number of colours had been used: various shades of red with additional green, blue, yellow, and dark brown colours. As a result, the average number of dyes per *camisa* scores below this study's average despite the large amounts of dyed yarn per specimen. The similar diameters of the natural and dyed warp elements from El Descanso suggest a local production of the dyed yarns instead of import.



Fig. 8.30 El Descanso: tocado palito (3 cm x 0.3 cm) with a yellowish feather attached to the top (#00022; colour yarn '36') (Erick van Driel)

The weavers produced figured stripes in *ch'uspas* and *fajas* by floating warps, applied discontinuous warps to change the colour of a type 5B *camisa*'s lateral stripes and produced the most complex cross-knit loop embroidered plaques found in this study. The appearance of these textiles, both in structure, design, and colour, had been unknown to the Chen Chen population and are rare at Algodonal and La Cruz. However, they are highly reminiscent of the Cabuza textiles from the Azapa valley. The complementary warp structure with which the Chiribaya-style designs had been woven were not present at this site, nor the trapezoidal shaped *camisas* or their asymmetrical lateral striping.

8.6 Textiles from Algodonal Ladera

El Algodonal is one of the sites believed to contain Tiwanaku style artefacts (Ravines 1969; Vescelius 1960). However, Owen's systematic PCCT survey (1989-1990) and excavations in the cemetery and domestic areas of this site plus the other alleged Tiwanaku sites, Loreto Viejo and Loreto Alto, led him to conclude that "*All this*

work produced little clear evidence of the Tiwanaku state in the coastal Osmore valley. Instead, Tiwanaku-like sites seem to pertain to Goldstein's subsequent Tumilaca phase, which is associated with the collapse of the Tiwanaku state. There were apparently no Tiwanaku state colonies in the coastal Osmore valley" (Owen 1993, 14).

Based on ceramic style and tomb construction from the cemeteries of El Algodonal, Owen (1993, 423-424) concluded that the site contained solely Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza burials, even though the adjacent habitation area yielded predominantly Chiribaya material. Boytner's (1998, 326) textile study confirmed that Algodonal's three cemeteries contained solely Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza style artefacts. Nonetheless, Carpio (2000a, b) identified the cultural remains from the Algodonal Ladera excavation as Tiwanaku-style products.

Fibre

Unfortunately, the preservation of organic material at this site is quite poor. As a result, most textile specimens are (very) fragmented, with a mean 31% of the original *camisa* fabric preserved. All textiles are woven in warp-faced plain weave structure and made of camelid wool. Cotton yarn is only applied as an attached cord or as repair yarn ($n = 6$). The warps and wefts are all $2\frac{1}{2}$ plied, and practically all weft heading cords are replied with 4 to 30 $2\frac{1}{2}$ plied yarns. The warp elements have an average diameter of 0.57 mm, versus 0.72 mm for the weft elements.

Compared to the other Osmore sites do Algodonal's fabric show considerable difference of diameter between their natural and dyed wool yarn: 0.57 mm versus 0.45 mm, respectively. The difference suggests that its dyed yarns had been imported from a different location where the spinners produced their yarn according to a finer wool spin tradition.

Camisa (tunic)

Camisas make up for nearly half of all textile specimens from this site. Few of Algodonal's 37 *camisas* are intact enough to identify their original form: rectangular *camisas* with warps as longest dimensions ($n = 4$) are followed by the semi-trapezoidal ($n = 3$) or square shape ($n = 2$). No true trapezoidal shapes are found here. The bottom is usually reinforced by a single file of cross-knit loop stitches or by solid overcasting ($n = 12$). The neck

slit and arm openings are less often preserved, but if present, either left unaltered or equally often reinforced with a single file of cross-knit loop or solid overcast or a combination of the latter two.

Despite their fragmentary appearance, Algodonal's camisas appear to have been in good condition at the moment they were entombed, and in fact in better condition than the camisas from the three other sites. Four camisas seem to have been as good as new, while 25 camisas (68%) show moderate wear only, versus eight specimens that had been heavily worn. Over half of the camisas are without signs of repair, while 38% was warp or weft darned and/or resealed.

Five camisas are too fragmented to identify their decoration, and nearly half of the remaining camisas are undecorated (type 1A) in light brown colour ('05') (n = 17) (Table 8.7).

Camisa Style	Algodonal	
	n =	%
1A	16	43.2%
1Ad	1	2.7%
3Ab	5	13.5%
3Adb*	2	5.4%
4Aa*	4	10.8%
4Ab*	1	2.7%
4B	1	2.7%
4Bd*	1	2.7%
6Ad*	1	2.7%
unknown	5	13.5%
Totals:	37	100.0%

Table 8.7 Camisa design patterning of Algodonal Ladera

Five light brown camisas (13%) have a hardly visible single lateral stripe (type 4Aa or 4Ab).^[8] Little more conspicuous are the embroidered designs of type 3Ab camisas (n = 7), although the lateral plaques are all only 5 to 6 files wide. All lateral plaques have a contour in Prussian blue ('31'), leaving only the middle three to four rows to create designs such as diagonal lines alternated by units with angular S shapes. Brownish purple ('90') and/or red ('23'), cream ('14') and/or golden yellow ('15'), and green ('33' or '36') and/or Prussian blue ('31') are most often applied. One type 3Abd camisa is exception

for its unusual colours of purple ('94'), mint ('34'), olive green ('85'), and bright blue ('93') and the unique curving figures in its lateral plaque and neck plaque (Plate 6.9). The latter measures 1.6 x 11.1 cm, with two mirrored, concentric hemisphere shapes with a check on its tail in cream ('14') and Prussian blue ('31') set against a bright red background ('92'). The design neck plaque slightly resembles the Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza specimen described by Boytner (1998, 342, fig. 4a).

Neck plaques in horizontal satin stitches are found in two camisas. One neck plaque is embroidered on a type 6A camisa (#02440) and measures 0.7 x 10.1 cm formed by two files of checks in golden brown ('15') with dark red brown ('09') and in Prussian blue ('31') with mint green ('34'), changing colour around a vertical axis (Plate 6.10). Its lay out and choice of colours is closest to Oakland's (1992, 335) description of a typical Tiwanaku neck plaque found in this study. The other neck plaque is small, measuring 0.7 x 4.1 cm, with one half in solid dark red brown ('09') and the other half in greenish blue ('35') with a contour in opposite colour (Plate 6.11). The type 4B(d) camisa itself is woven with one broad (2.6 cm) lateral stripe in dark red brown colour ('09') flanked by a thin stripe (0.2 cm) in dyed dark grey ('101') colour, that both change colour at the shoulder (#02471 and #02472, Plate 2.4). A similar decoration is described by Boytner (1998, 330), who refers to them as '*Chiribaya camisas from Algodonal*'. However, this design represents only half of the characteristic Chiribaya asymmetric stripes as found in types 4A, 4B, and 4BW camisas.

Manta (mantle) and pañuelo (small cloth)

All four mantas are in extremely fragmented state.

Three of the four Algodonal mantas are decorated with a double stripe in dark brown ('03' or '11') flanking a light brown ('05') centre (type 2B).

The camisa with unique undulating embroidery in its lateral plaque (#02427) mentioned above was found in association with a still bundled pañuelo with unknown contents and five cactus pins and needles pinned into it (#02428, tomb 14). The specimen is plain greenish blue ('35') with all four selvages embroidered with four rows of polychrome cross-knit loop stitches without pattern (type 1A). Not only the plain greenish blue lay out is unusual, so is the large warp with weft

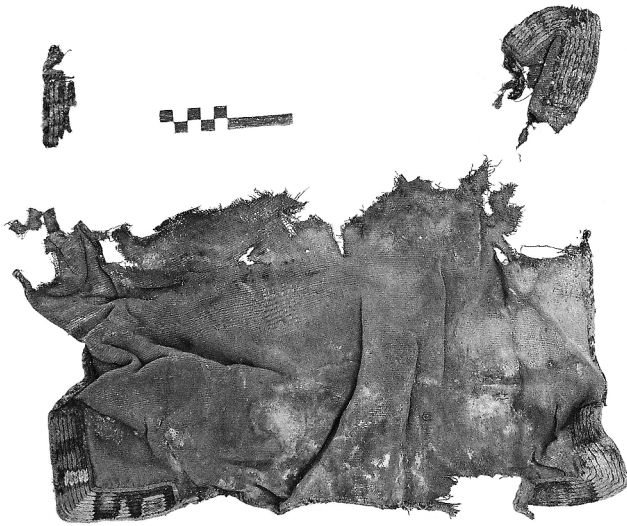


Fig. 8.31 Algodonal Ladera: type 1B pañuelo with cross-knit loop embroidered corner plaques (#02452; 25 cm (incomplete) x 43 cm; 8 files; colours ‘04’ with ‘02’, ‘09’, ‘15’, ‘23’, ‘33’, ‘85’)

darning that fixes a 3 x 2.5 cm sized hole in its centre, and reinforces a 8 x 4 cm area around the hole. Two more pañuelos are found, both very fragmentary. One very small fragment belongs to a pañuelo in fuchsia red (‘22’) with 1 cm wide stripes in Prussian blue (‘31’) and dark green (‘33’) (#02497), just like the type 2 pañuelos from El Descanso. The other pañuelo is plain dark beige (‘04’) with embroidery covering both preserved corners (type 1B). The corner plaques measure 8.5 cm on both warp and weft side, made by eight files on both sides. The design shows an irregular meander design in olive and dark green (‘85’ and ‘33’), golden brown (‘15’), dark red brown (‘09’) and very dark brown (‘02’) (fig. 8.31). The choice of its colours, number and width of files, and its design are strikingly similar to the lateral plaques of two camisas from Chen Chen (#02549) and (#02502), whereas the size and general appearance of embroidery is reminiscent of one of El Descanso’s pañuelos (#02404, fig. 8.25) mentioned above.

Bolsa (bag)

Compared to the other two lower valley sites, remarkably few bolsas have been found at Algodonal, and all three ch’uspas are found out of context. One ch’uspa

(#02483) is bright red (‘92’) with three stripes of block-ladder motifs in two and three complementary sets of warps, identical to the ch’uspas from El Descanso (fig. 8.32).

The other two ch’uspas, however, are both very different. Specimen #02469 is very worn and its colours faded, but it demonstrates three identical stripes, with double zig-zagging lines and dots, nearly identical to the patterned stripe of a La Cruz Chiribaya-style ch’uspa (#02574). However, instead of a red background, the figured stripes are interspersed by two solid stripes in dark red brown (‘09’) and greenish black (‘13’). The third bolsa (#02468) is small like a ch’uspa (19.5 cm on both sides), but a design reminiscent of a modern talega. Solid stripes in natural wool colours (cream ‘14’, dark brown ‘02’, and light brown ‘05’) are mirrored around a plain beige (‘08’) centre, interspersed by four thin stripes in bright red (‘92’) and greyish green (‘36’). The bag is heavily worn and warp darned at several places. It contains raw camelid fibre of dark brown colour (‘03’) and three small skeins.

In short, camisas make up about half of all Algodonal’s specimens, whereas all other types of fabrics, such as mantas, pañuelos and ch’uspas are rather rare. Most of Algodonal’s textiles are modest in their appearance. In fact, they represent the least decorated or colourful weavings found in this study. The number of dyes, quality scores and fabric density indices were found to be among the lowest of this collection. Camisas are decorated with few files of embroidery and narrow lateral stripes at the most. Nonetheless, despite their fragmentary appearance, the camisas appear to have been least worn prior to being entombed, compared to the textiles from other the three sites.

8.7 Textile from Boca del Río

One camisa (#02379) from Boca del Río (San Gerónimo) was studied, as the author believes it to be a unique specimen for the Osmore valley: it appears to be the only tapestry weaving known to be found in the lower Osmore valley with a decoration directly related to Tiwanaku iconography (Plate 2.5).^[9] As such, it forms an important link between the lower Osmore textile tradition and the Tiwanaku tradition.



Fig. 8.32 Algodonal Ladera: type 14 ch'uspa (#02483; 24 x 23 cm; colours '92' with '14', '15', '31', '33')

Ravines (1969, 2) mentions that he supervised the excavations realized by the Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología in Lima (1965) at some '*old, looted cemeteries at the coast of Ilo*', near the mouth of the Osmore river, which would be '*Boca del Río*' in Spanish.^[10] Today this site is better known as San Gerónimo, today totally destroyed by Ilo's modern cemetery. This site was once a specialized maritime site belonging to the final phase of the Chiribaya culture (A.D. 1100-1400) (Jessup 1990; Lozada 1998, 50). The *camisa* is said to be found in association with Chiribaya style ceramics, then also known as Puquina style.

Although it is decorated with a typical Tiwanaku design, the structure and form of the *camisa* as well as the details and size of the design are unusual for both Tiwanaku and Chiribaya textiles. Though the mirroring of a figure is a common decoration principle in Tiwanaku iconography, the placement of the mirrored figures within one block is not. In the older Pukara iconography, however, profile figures are practically always represented in pairs, opposed and not identical, just like in this Boca del Río *camisa* (Uribe and Agüero 2000). Large size figurative designs are rare but known from Tiwanaku contexts, for instance found in two

mantas from Chen Chen described above, and in a coarse *manta* of unknown context from 'near Arica' (Oakland 1986a, analysed as #T7).^[11] The latter *manta* measures 106.5x92 cm and depicts a single large scale anthropomorphic profile figure holding a staff with trophy head in the hand stretched out to his front (fig. 8.33). This specimen was woven in dovetailed tapestry structure and contained spun-only as well as plied yarn for the weft elements. The colours were muted by combining dyed with natural yarn within one colour field. As such, this Arica *manta* comes closest to the Boca del Río *camisa* in style and structure.

The Boca del Río *camisa* is adult-sized and made of two webs with a horizontal seam running along the shoulder line (type 2Sa). It measures 109 cm in length x 75.5 cm at the bottom widening to 97.5 cm at the shoulder. The warp elements are oriented horizontally in the garment implying that a trapezoidal shaped loom has been used to create this garment (see Paragraph 4.9). The garment is woven in tapestry weave with the weft elements joined by dovetailing around a shared warp. As a result, the borders of colour fields of the design show serrated and thickened edges. It is not quite clear where this



Fig. 8.33 Dovetailed tapestry manta from Arica, northern Chile (106.5 x 92 cm) (Medy Oberendorff)

technique found its origin, but it was found in both fragmented tapestry specimens from Chen Chen and in the crudely woven late and/or local Tiwanaku style manta from Arica (#T7) as well (Oakland 1986a, 121). The neck split and arm openings are placed vertically and the neck split is made by discontinuous warps.

All warps are two-ply $\frac{1}{2}$ with natural wool colours (cream '14' and light brown '05'). They have a diameter of 2 mm and a warp count of only 2 warps/cm. The weft elements are predominantly Z-spun yarns, although some colours of weft elements are two-ply $\frac{1}{2}$. Their diameter varies between 0.5 and 1 mm, yielding a single face average weft count of 7 wefts/cm. The weft elements

are either of natural wool colours or natural plied with dyed yarns. However, the dyed wefts are different from the dyed yarn found in any other specimen: instead of using dyed yarns to create a solid colour field, the dyed weft elements are interspersed by weft elements of a natural brown colour or plied together with a spun yarn of natural hue. As a result, the impression of dyed colour zones was created with a minimal amount of dyed yarn. In all, five dyed colours have been used in the garment: pink ('91'), faded red ('23'), dark rusty red ('09'), turquoise ('35'), and greyish green ('36'). Very dark brown ('02') forms the background of the design, and creamy white ('14') and beige ('08') are used as solid colours in several parts of the design.

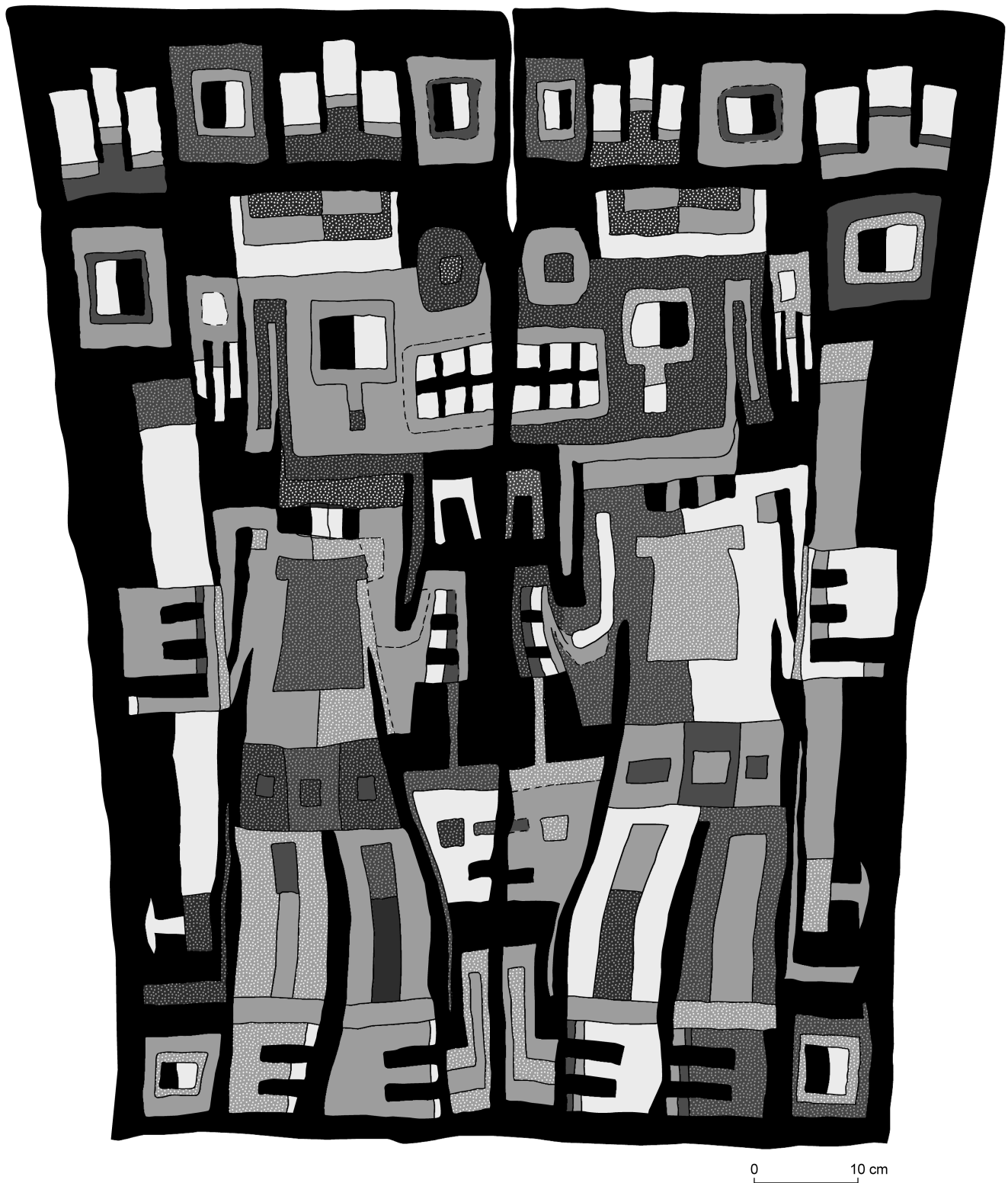


Fig. 8.34 Boca del Río: design of dovetailed tapestry camisa (Medy Oberendorff)

The garment has been repaired at minimally seven locations, but all repair work is modern, betrayed by the use of synthetic yarn in slightly aberrant colours. The left side appears to have been most affected, especially in the arm and chest section. The size of repair work is relatively small, mostly areas of 3 x 6 cm to 3 x 9 cm. The whole length of the shoulder seam may have been repaired as well, since the stitches appear to be spread over too broad an area necessary for mere stitching two webs together. Thick yarn in very dark brown ('02') had been used for this darning in weft direction.

Front and backside are decorated with a similar design of two standing anthropomorphic figures facing each other, as if mirrored along a vertical axis. The proportion, pose, and outfit of the two personages are practically identical and small variations in size and/or placement of a feature are the result of the weaving procedure: the weaving advanced from what is now the lateral side, that is, finishing one personage before moving on to the other figure.

The head is in profile, the trunk with outstretched human hands and legs frontal, while the feet are once more in profile (*fig. 8.34*). The head shows few human features: the mouth is large and U shaped with an upper and lower row of three square teeth. The nose is formed by a concentric circle placed on top of the forehead. One large, rounded rectangular eye is placed towards the back of the head, and is vertically divided into two colours, a light half at front and a dark half to the back. A tear mark is depicted below the eye and an elongated ear is hanging down the back of the head. There is a 'n' shaped object placed below the chin of both creatures.

The hand stretched out towards the lateral side hold a vertical staff-like object, while the other hand near the central axis holds a profile trophy head by the hair. The feet are formed by three parallel digits including nails and have an 'L' shaped object attached to them. The arms and legs are rendered with internal stripes following the length of the limbs. The coloured limbs seem to indicate that the personage was wearing long sleeves and leggings, although neither are known from Tiwanaku or Wari contexts. Perhaps body paint was meant. Profile feet in standing position are less common than the so called 'running' position, but was observed in tapestry #T3's profile and frontal figures (Oakland 1986a, 297, *fig. 24*).

Both figures wear similar *camisas* that are vertically divided into two colours, the left personage wearing turquoise with beige and the right personage faded red with creamy white. They wear a large pectoral or woven figure in the shape of a solid, trapezoidal 'T'. An actual Tiwanaku tapestry *camisa* with a red 'T' shaped design woven in its centre between lateral stripes, was found in a tomb in Caserones, northern Chile (Oakland 2000, 246, *Fig. 12.15*).^[12] Around the waist they wear a belt decorated by three nested squares, and immediately below the throat, they wear a horizontal bar divided into dark and light checks. Its form and pattern are reminiscent of the actual embroidered neck plaques executed in blocks of horizontal satin stitches in contrasting colours. Both wear a square cap with checkerboard design and a top construction of a feather trophy and concentric squares. The representation of the arms and legs with internal lining and in dyed colours seem to indicate that the personage was wearing long sleeves and leggings, although neither are known for the Tiwanaku nor Wari cultural area. Perhaps body paint was meant.

The figures of this garment are anthropomorphic from their head down, while the heads are purely zoomorphic. The nose and mouth are pronounced and placed in one front line as an animal snout, rather than with the protruding nose and chin of human faces. The author's guess is that the animal head is to be identified as a llama, instead of a feline as Ravines (1969, 2) sees it. Ravines based his identification on the nose's location on top of the head and the '*feline mouth showing its teeth*'. However, no fangs are indicated, while many Tiwanaku-style examples are known of tapestry figures with fangs depicted as a 'N' shape among square teeth (tapestries #T1, #T2, #T5 and *fig. 32* in Conklin 1983; #T5 in Oakland 1986a). However, a camelid with three square teeth in a U shaped mouth has been depicted on a Tiwanaku phase IV ceramic *tazon* from Ch'iji Jawira (Janusek 2002, 50) and in the carved snuff tray from the Solcor 3 site at San Pedro de Atacama (*fig. 8.35*) (Dransart 1991, 241; Torres 2001, 440, *fig. 10a*). In addition, the ear of both creatures is depicted as an elongated rectangular ear hanging down from the top of the head, comparable to the llama illustrated by Janusek and Torres (*ibid*), rather than a circular or triangular shape placed at the top corner at the back, as for instance in the feline figure of tapestry weaves #T2 and #T4 in Conklin (1983) and in



Fig. 8.35 Camelid figure with square teeth carved in snuff tray from San Pedro de Atacama (Torres 2001, 440, fig. 10a)

ceramics, as for instance the feline depicted on a pitcher (Asociación Contisuyo 1997, 62) or modelled into a ceramic incense burner or protruding from vessel (Asociación Contisuyo 1997, 64, 67). The eyes are vertically divided into a light and dark half, the latter positioned as the rear half, contrary to depictions of human eyes with a dark pupil near the profile. A final indication of the llama nature is to be found in the 'n' shaped object below the chin. Rather than describing it as an *'enigmatic inverted-U shape'* (Conklin 1983, 14), it is here interpreted as a bell that is known to be worn by leading llamas of a trade caravan, actually known as *'campanitas'* or *'sonajeros'*. These bells are made of copper or wood and make a tinkling sound when the animal walks, enticing the other llamas to follow (fig. 8.36). According to Clark (1993, 358 (fig. 4.8b, 360), "*wooden campanas (bells) of the distinct rounded trapezoidal form are found in many late (Late Intermediate Period and possibly late Middle Horizon) sites of South Central Andes*". Though they are rare in coastal contexts, they are regularly found in upland sites of northern Chile, northwestern Argentina, and southwestern Bolivia. Clark describes them as ranging in size between 7 to 4.7 cm long, 2 to 3.2 cm wide, and 3.3 to 5.2 cm tall, sometimes nested one inside the other, with small clapper sticks (*'badejos'*) inside of them, attached by leather thong in large sized *campanas*.^[13] Modern Bolivian herders still tie large bells on the leading llama's neck while crossing the Andes on long caravan trips (Torrico m.s., 8). Circular objects are shown to be hanging around the neck of llamas engraved in snuff

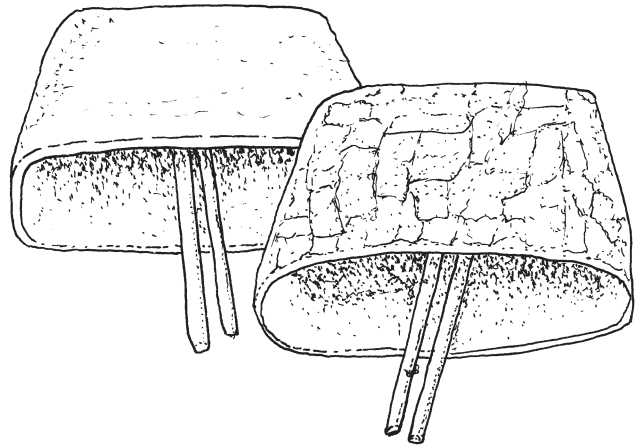


Fig. 8.36 Wooden *'campanitas'* or *'sonajeros'* from Estuquiña culture (after Asociación Contisuyo 1997, 90)

tray handles, which likewise may represent such bells (Torres 2001, 440).

The vertical staff shows a mushroom-shaped extension protruding from the outer lower end and a hooked object below. Ravines (1969, 2) leaves the identification undecided between *'cetro'*, a sceptre, or *'venablo'*, a throwing spear while Conklin identifies it as a spear-thrower, based on the throwing hook at its base and associated L-shaped bar (1983, 14). Indeed the archaic spear throwers were improved with a rectangular platform towards the end of the Formative phase in northern Chile, presumably due to trade contacts with the highland (Pukara) populations (Rivera 1991, 15, 21-27).

The trophy head held in other hand is quite commonly depicted in Tiwanaku tapestry figures and in Tiwanaku ceramics (especially keros), showing standing humans dressed as pumas or condors, or as gods with puma or condor powers and with trophy heads attached to their belt. Polished skulls have been found at the Tiwanaku site itself, indicating that the taking of trophy heads was a *'central symbolic element of Tiwanaku warfare and ritual sacrifice'* (...). *'If we can judge from the testimony of state art, the elites of Tiwanaku were obsessed with decapitation and with ritual display of severed heads'* (Kolata 1993, 124-126). In addition, human sacrifice, the cult of the sacrificer personage, and trophy heads formed intrinsic part of the Yaya Mama religious tradition, associated with the Formative Chiripa, Wankarani, and Pukara cultures

from the Titicaca Basin, and with the later Alto Ramírez phase of northern Chile as well (Rivera 1991, 21, 24, 27).

Thus the personages on this *camisa* are thought to represent two supernatural creatures with an anthropomorphic body and the face or mask of an aggressive leading llama, its power strengthened by the presence of a spear thrower and trophy head. Llamas were undoubtedly very important for Tiwanaku, Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza and Chiribaya populations, as they formed a crucial source of food, fibres for clothes, and bone utensils. In addition, they were the main carriers of cargo. Camelids are frequently depicted on Tiwanaku ceramics and woodcarvings. A prominent place of camelids in the ideology of the (coastal) populations is also hinted at by the numerous geoglyphs and petroglyphs in the region of modern northern Chile and southern Peru.

Now that all textile collections from the Osmore valley have been presented, a closer look will be taken at their stylistic features. In the next chapter, the textile evidence will be used to define the cultural identity of the people living in the lower Osmore valley.

NOTES

1. Chen Chen 1988, tomb I-734 (#02557, reddish brown orange ('96') in type 5Ad *camisa* with dominant Prussian blue ('31') warps. In fact, only in two other *camisas* have dyed weft elements been found: La Cruz 1993, tomb s/n 01 (#99286, dark reddish purple ('25') in type 4Aa *camisa*); Algodonal r/s (#02470, faded red ('23') wefts in type 4Aa *camisa*).

2. The general lay out of both specimens is remarkably similar: both specimens have a single, large sized figure placed in the central area which is placed against a very dark brown ('02') background and flanked by broad vertical stripes. In the Osmore specimen, five stripes together make up 46 cm, while the Arica specimens shows four stripes totalling 20 cm wide. Although very fragmentary, the Osmore figure appears to be an anthropomorphic figure in profile, while the more or less intact specimen from Arica shows a standing figure with its head, legs and feet in profile, and its trunk and outstretched hands viewed frontally. Both show a downwards oriented foot and knee at the back which may be interpreted as running, kneeling or flying, and can be found in a number of textiles (tapestries #T1 and #T6 in Oakland (1986a), and tapestries #T2, #T3, #T4, #T5, and #T6 in Conklin (1983).

3. Specimen #02505 from tomb 27-1580, Chen Chen (1995).

4. The bone of the *porta hilo* measures 4.9 cm long x 0.8 to 1.8 cm wide (#992587, r/s, La Cruz (1998).

5. The three associated *camisas* are one wide rectangular *camisa* (type 4Ab) with a single broad lateral stripe in reddish brown ('11') instead of red (#99235); another *camisa* (cut in half from the neck split down) is rectangular and striped all over with broad stripes flanked by a single thin stripe, all stripes in repeating colours (type 6A, #99234); a third *camisa* is trapezoidal shaped with the two typical asymmetrical Chiribaya lateral stripes in dark brownish red ('99') and very dark brown colour ('02'), plus unusual additional stripes in beige ('08') with light brown ('05') covering 1/3 of each side (type 4BW (#02407).

6. From among the 114 dry sieve specimens, 89 specimens originate from excavated tombs located in 16 excavation units (2, 3, 3a-2, 12, 15, 24-1, 24-2, 24-3, 24-4, 25-1, 25-2, 25-4, 26-1, 26-2, 27-1, and 27-2). However, the back fill from intact and disturbed tombs contains loose soil with small sized, deteriorated specimens from the surface that has streamed into the tomb's cavity throughout the centuries or after the looting activities. Therefore, these 89 specimens were considered unsuitable for further analysis. The remaining 27 specimens originated from unit excavations devoid of tombs: units 15, 17, 18, 19, and 21. Unit 15 was omitted as it was located in the cemetery area. Therefore, the specimens from units 17, 18, 19, and 21 were considered most promising to give a look into the functioning of textiles in domestic daily life, as opposed to the textiles purposely given to accompany the dead on their final journey, laden with cultural and symbolic meaning. Units 17, 18, 19, and 21 contained 3, 19, 2, and 2 textile specimens, respectively.

7. Only one *tocado palito* is listed in Table 1 as specimen #01161 (from tomb 20, 1999) was found among the dry sieve specimens from unit excavations, which were separated from the other specimens.

8. Five woven fragments from tomb 27 (#02448 together with *camisa* #02447) measure 7 x 18 cm at the most, and had been identified on the label as '*ofrenda externa*', external tomb offering. The fragments had been taken from a *camisa* and in fact seem to originate from the *camisa* placed inside the tomb. As the tomb had been opened and looted in antiquity, it cannot be excluded that rather than being an intentionally placed

external offering, the pieces of cloth had been torn of the mummy bundle and ended up outside the tomb due to looting activities.

9. Conklin (1983, 12) refers to an interlocked tapestry fragment (#T6) with vertical bands of profile figures as '*collected from a previously looted grave in a site in the Moquegua valley on the far south coast of Peru*'. However, Oakland mentions this same specimen as originating from Loreto Viejo in the Azapa valley (1986a, 109). Loreto Viejo is a site in the lower Osmore (Moquegua) valley.

10. On the MNAAH Museums data card, this specimen was identified with the numbers: 01352 (old) and 3479 (new); inventory 04-CS-02-03; Fotografía 01080; slide 01258; techo depósito H-4; Foto Digital Proyecto Telefónica 07-0909.

11. Oakland is not specific about the origins of this manta. She mentions 'Arica P.G.' as site name, but also states that '*The Tiwanaku textiles (...) are not from any one particular grave site, but from many different sites in the Arica area*' (Oakland 1986a, 109, 255).

12. The camisa was found on the body of an individual without further description in Tomb 3, section M, of cemetery Tr-40B at Caserones, valley of Tarapacá, covered by a camisa in Alto Ramírez style (Oakland 2000, 244-246). Similar figures but more like a 'I' shape, are rendered in small sized tapestry figures as identified by Conklin (1983, 12, 14) in camisa #T5 and in the profile and frontal figures of the camisas #T6 and #T3.

13. Another pair of campanitas is illustrated in the Contisuyo Catalogue (1997, 90): two hollow, bell shaped rattle measuring 7 cm in length x 5 cm in height, with two to six thin sticks attached to top side holes, said to be used as musical instruments or to be tied to llamas' necks when travelling in caravans across the Andes.

-
- Plate 1.1 Chen Chen: type 5Aa* camisa (#02547; 78 cm (incomplete) x 40 cm (incomplete); colours '01', '09', '14', '15', '23', '33', '38', '93')
- Plate 1.2 La Cruz, Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza: adult-sized type 3Ab camisa (#99305; 121 x 103 cm; colours '07' with 7 files of cross-knit loop embroidery '01', '15', '31', '37', '91', '92')
- Plate 1.3 La Cruz, Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza: type 5B camisa (#02568; 97.5 x 114 cm; colours '28' with '14', '15', '31', '36', '85', '92', '93', '100')
- Plate 1.4 La Cruz, Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza: type 5Aa* camisa (#99371; 74 x 77 cm; colours '05' with '09', '14', '23', '34', '37', '82')



1.1



1.2

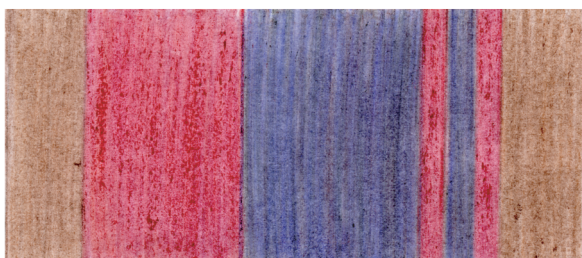


1.3

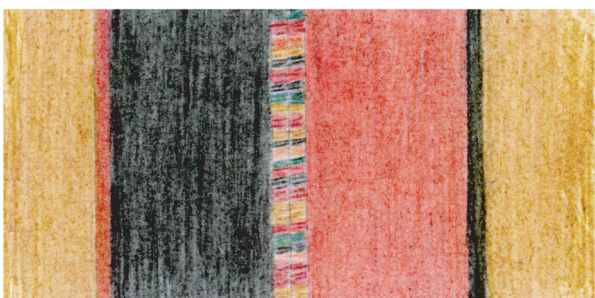


1.4

-
- Plate 2.1 Asymmetrical lateral striping in Chiribaya-style (#99346)
- Plate 2.2 La Cruz, Chiribaya: child-sized, trapezoidal type 4BW camisa with asymmetrical lateral stripes (#02576; 25 x 27.3 cm; colours '05' with '08', '21', '94')
- Plate 2.3 El Descanso: characteristic type 5A camisa (#02402; 88 x 102 cm; colours '12' with dominant green '35' in solid stripes plus '09', '12', '13', '14', '15', '25', '36', '85')
- Plate 2.4 Algodonal Ladera: Lateral stripe design in type 4B camisa (58 cm (incomplete) x 69 cm (incomplete); colours '05' with '09' and '101')
- Plate 2.5 Boca del Río: dovetailed tapestry camisa (#02379; 97.5 x 109 cm; colours '03', '04', '08', '14', '23', '28', '31')



2.1



2.4

0 3 cm



2.2



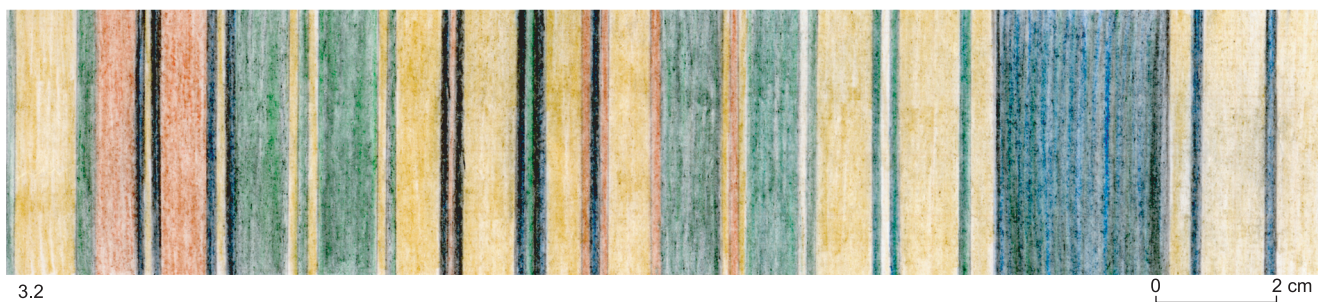
2.3



2.5



-
- Plate 3.1 Chen Chen: example of striped design with solid stripes separated by thin stripes (#02555; colours '14', '15', '21', '23', '35', '85', '94')
- Plate 3.2 Chen Chen: example of striped design with divided stripes (#02528; colours '10', '14', '31', '36')
- Plate 3.3 La Cruz, Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza: Type 5A camisa (#99342; 11 cm (incomplete) x 13 cm (incomplete); colours with outermost stripes in green ('34') and black ('01'), with '07', '15', '83', '92', '94')
- Plate 3.4 El Descanso: type 5B camisa changing colour at shoulder (#01100; 59 cm (incomplete) x 27 cm (incomplete); colours '09' with '01', '03', '07', '10', '85')
- Plate 3.5 El Descanso: type 5A camisa with divided stripes (#00019; 104 x 107 cm; colours '28' with '15', '23', '31', '33', '36')



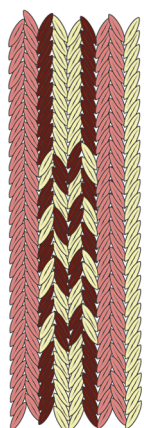
-
- Plate 4.1 Chen Chen: example of embroidery in 3Ab camisa (#02548; 7 files and 1.9 cm wide; colours '05' with '01', '03', '09', '14', '15', '35', '36', '91')
- Plate 4.2 La Cruz, Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza: typical embroidery in type 3Ab camisa (#99601; 5 files and 2.6 cm wide; colours '05' with '02', '14', '15', '23', '31')
- Plate 4.3 El Descanso: type 3Adc* camisa with lateral plaque of cross-knit loop embroidery (#00053; 16 files and 4.2 cm wide; colours '82' with '01', '15', '27', '28', '31', '36')
- Plate 4.4 El Descanso: cross-knit loop embroidery in 'S' and 'Z' shapes (#00051; 10 files and 2.0 cm wide; colours '22' with '15', '31', '36', '82')
- Plate 4.5 El Descanso: embroidery in type 1B* manta (#00059; 65 cm (incomplete) x 57 cm (incomplete): (a) 5 files and 1.5 cm wide in colours '02', '14', '15', '27', '31', '91'; and (b) 6 files and 2.1 cm wide in colours '01', '15', '23', '28', '93')



-
- Plate 5.1 Detail of bolsa faja and its embroidery (#02570; 15.5 x 97 cm; colours '09', '14', '23', '24', '25', '31', '34', '85', '95')
- Plate 5.2 La Cruz, Chiribaya: type 3A* ch'uspa with anthropomorphic and zoomorphic designs (#02579; 22.5 x 25 cm; colours '25' with '05', '14', '21', '29')
- Plate 5.3 El Descanso: type 2B* pañuelo with weft twining (#02381; 35 x 35 cm; colours '22' with '12', '25', '28', '31')
- Plate 5.4 El Descanso: type 1A* ch'uspa with block ladder stripes (#00050; 25 x 35 cm; colours '22' with '14', '15', '31', '36')



-
- Plate 6.1 Connected rhomboid pattern in weft twined fabric (#02563; 1.7 cm wide; colours '03', '08', '23') (Medy Oberendorff)
- Plate 6.2 La Cruz, Tiwanaku: fragments of a polychrome four-cornered hat (#99235; colours '01', '08', '23', '24', '34', '85')
- Plate 6.3 El Descanso: bolsa faja (#00061; 60 x 15 cm; colours '02', '14', '15', '22', '23', '31', '36') with embroidered plaques (11 files; colours '14', '15', '31', '36', '92')
- Plate 6.4 Chen Chen: example of embroidered neck plaque in horizontal satin stitches (#02527; 2.2 x 15.6 cm; colours '14', '28', '35', '85')
- Plate 6.5 La Cruz, Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza: neck plaque: example of horizontal satin stitches with check pattern changing colours along vertical axis (#99294; 1.0 x 5.2 cm; colours '28', '31', '82', '85')
- Plate 6.6 La Cruz, Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza: neck plaque: example of horizontal satin stitches with check pattern changing colours along vertical and horizontal axis (#99372, 1.1 x 7.2 cm; colours '02', '15', '23', '85')
- Plate 6.7 La Cruz, Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza: neck plaque in cross-knit loop stitches with asymmetrical design (#99600; 1.5 x 5 cm; colours '07', '23', '24', '31', '34', '82')
- Plate 6.8 El Descanso: neck plaque in zig-zagging satin stitches, changing colours along vertical and horizontal axis (#00044; 0.9 x 10 cm; colours '03' with '14', '28', '35')
- Plate 6.9 Algodonal Ladera: neck plaque in cross-knit loop stitches with mirrored design (#02427; 1.6 x 11.1 cm; colours '92' with '14', '31')
- Plate 6.10 Algodonal Ladera: neck plaque in horizontal satin stitches with check pattern changing colours along vertical and horizontal axis (#02440; 0.7 x 10.1 cm; colours '09', '15', '31', '34')
- Plate 6.11 Algodonal Ladera: neck plaque in horizontal satin stitches with colours changing along vertical axis (#02471; 0.7 x 4.1 cm; colours '09' and '35')



6.1

0 2 cm



6.2

0 2 cm



6.3

0 2 cm



6.4

0 2 cm



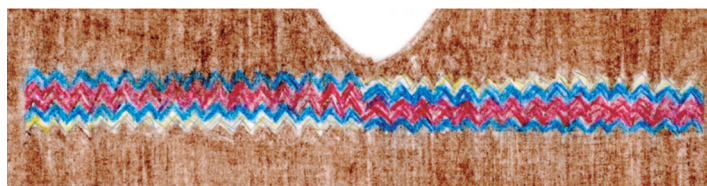
6.5



6.6



6.7

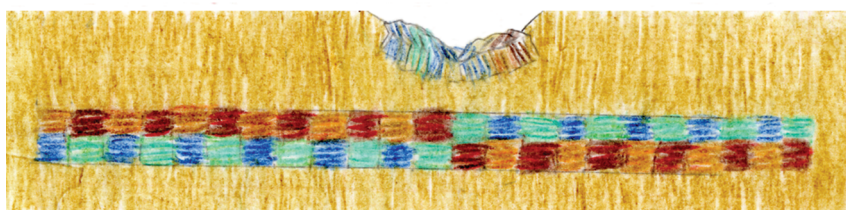


6.8

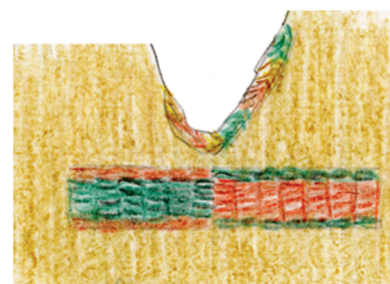
0 2 cm



6.9



6.10



6.11