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

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### 9.1 Introduction

For decades there has been a discussion among archaeologists whether Tiwanaku colonists had permanently settled in the lower Osmore drainage or not (see Paragraph 6.5.2). If the Tiwanaku colonists did settle in the lower Osmore valley, then considerable quantities of material culture should have been left behind, indicating the whereabouts of their settlements. Recent surveys and excavations in the coastal valley have identified La Cruz, El Descanso, and Algodonal Ladera, as possible, though disputed Tiwanaku settlements.

The cemetery area of La Cruz is said to contain two clearly differentiated sectors according to its tomb shapes, ceramics, and textiles. One sector was said to belong to early-Chiribaya individuals and the other sector to Tiwanaku and Tiwanaku-related individuals (pers. comm. Guillén 2004; pers. comm. Carpio 2004).

El Descanso's tomb shapes and ceramic remains have been identified as '*closely related to the Tiwanaku culture*', that is, to the final (Chen Chen) phase of Tiwanaku, and subsequent Ilo-Tumilaca phase (Carpio 2000c; Owen pers. comm.; Salazar 2001).

Owen (1993, 95, 424) states that the three cemetery areas of El Algodonal hold Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza-style ceramics, textiles and cylindrical stone-lined tombs exclusively, despite the adjacent Chiribaya habitation area with several burials. Nonetheless, Carpio (2000a, b) excavated Algodonal Ladera, the easternmost part of these cemeteries, and concluded that the ceramics found in practically all tombs were in Tiwanaku-style.

Finally, Chen Chen in the middle Osmore valley has been intensively studied and positively identified as a settlement of highland Tiwanaku colonists. Ceramics from the 1988-sector of this site belong to the Classic Tiwanaku IV (Omo) and Tiwanaku V (Chen Chen) phases (Vargas 1994). The Chen Chen (1995) sector was identified as Tiwanaku V (Chen Chen) phase based on ceramic artefacts, human remains, domestic and cemetery structures, irrigation canals, and petroglyphs (Owen 1997).

Here, the textile remains described in the previous chapter are applied to contribute to this discussion. Even in Andean archaeological studies of regions with excellent organic preservation, textiles are rarely used to trace a population's identity and contacts. Yet outer garments and especially headgear are found to form the ideal medium to express the identity of the owner as they are highly visible and used daily in many different contexts (see Chapter 2).

Archaeologists such as Buikstra (1995, 262), Owen (1993, 73–75), Owen and Goldstein (2001, 182), and Stanish (1985, 64–65) claim that the Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza people are the direct descendants of the Tiwanaku settlers of the mid section of the drainage. The Chiribaya are disputed to originate from the altiplano and maybe even have the Tiwanaku colonists as their ancestors (Owen 1993, 110–112; Stanish 1992, 91, 106; Sutter 1997, 273–379), or, on the contrary, be descendants of the indigenous coastal population, which would make them contemporary with Chen Chen's Tiwanaku population (Bawden 1989a, 204; Lozada 1998, 109; see Paragraph 6.6).

In order to distinguish Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza garments from their ancestral Tiwanaku weavings, their structural and decorative textile characteristics need to be compared. Tiwanaku, Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza, and Chiribaya textile characteristics have been summarized in Chapter 7. They allow the identification of Chiribaya specimens among this study's assemblage as opposed to the Tiwanaku-related textile style.

### 9.2 Distinguishing Tiwanaku from Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza-style textiles

#### 9.2.1 FIBRE AND STRUCTURE

The choice of fibres and structures is most basic to a population's textile tradition. However, in case of the Tiwanaku, Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza, and the Chiribaya textiles, the fibre and structural information yields identical outcome, as all weavers preferred camelid wool

over coastal cotton fibre and plied it into /2\ yarn of medium to tight twist and warp-faced weaving structure. This points to a shared origin of the textile tradition of the lower Osmore cultures, which in fact formed part of the larger South Central Andean region (see Chapter 11).

Comparison shows that the differences between the average warp and weft element diameters of each site are minimal, although the warps and wefts from Chen Chen (1988) are considerably finer spun and plied than the lower valley populations (*Table 9.1*). Algodonal and Chiribaya textiles contain the coarsest warp elements.

All woven cloth is warp-faced plain woven, except for three mantas from Chen Chen (1988). Two of them have been made in dovetailing tapestry structure, which is an unusual structure in Tiwanaku textile production, and show large scale motifs: other known Tiwanaku tapestries are all made by interlocking the weft elements, with small scale motifs. However, the weft-faced structure and large sized decoration have been found in the camisa from Boca del Río, and in the coarse manta from Arica, thought to represent a late-Tiwanaku local product (see previous chapter). The large sized anthropomorphic profile figures are thought to be characteristic of provincial rather than state controlled products (Oakland 1986a, 121).

	warp diameter (mm)	weft diameter (mm)
Chen Chen (1988)	0.46	0.52
Chen Chen (1995)	0.50	0.62
La Cruz (Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza)	0.54	0.71
La Cruz (Chiribaya)	0.58	0.72
El Descanso	0.50	0.70
Algodonal	0.57	0.72

Table 9.1 Average diameters of camisa warp and weft elements per site

#### 9.2.2 FORM, FUNCTION, AND DECORATION

##### *Camisa*

Chen Chen's textile collection shows that the Tiwanaku colonists wore warp-faced camisas as daily outfit, just like the Tiwanaku-related altiplano population identi-

fied at the cemetery of Coyo Oriental in San Pedro de Atacama (Oakland 1992, 336). Tiwanaku warp-faced garments are basically either plain (type 1A), striped all over (6A), embroidered with modest cross-knit loop plaques over lateral seams (3A), or woven with colourful multiple lateral stripes (5A and 5Aa). No significant differences can be observed among the looks of camisas from Chen Chen's 1988 and 1995 sectors, except that the camisas from the former sector show little more variety.

In comparison, plain camisas (type 1A) in natural wool colours have been found in large quantities at all three lower valley sites, whereas all over striped camisas (6A) in two natural wool colours are found at all sites but in small numbers. Both type 1A and 6A are found to be not diagnostic. Embroidered camisa styles (3A) are quite rare at El Descanso and La Cruz and their embroidery is bolder and/or broader than on camisas from Chen Chen. At Algodonal, however, embroidered camisas are more common and their modest appearance, variety of colour and design are quite similar to Chen Chen's.

Chen Chen's striped camisas (5A and 5Aa) usually consist of a pattern of one or two solid stripes separated by multiple thin stripes in a variety of (dyed) colours, although two specimens show solid stripes divided by three thin stripes. No dominant colour is found, unlike the dominant greenish blue colour in many camisas from La Cruz and especially El Descanso. In the lower valley, the patterning of solid stripes separated by multiple thin stripes is found in few camisas from La Cruz only. Camisas with patterning by multiple divided stripes are common at El Descanso, but practically always present in camisas with dominant greenish blue colour flanking a red centre. Such patterning and colour application in type 5A and 5B camisas are said to be typical of Cabuza style camisas from the Azapa valley (Agüero 2000, 218–220; Horta 1997, 84). In addition, about half of all these camisas from El Descanso show a colour change in the outer stripes at shoulder level through discontinuous warps (style 5B), a structural feature never found in Tiwanaku camisas. Therefore these El Descanso camisas are identified as Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza products.

Type 5A or 5B camisas were not worn by the people of Algodonal.

In short, Chen Chen-Tiwanaku style camisas have not been found at El Descanso, in rare cases at La Cruz (type 5A) and possibly at Algodonal (type 3A).

#### *Pañuelo*

At Chen Chen, large numbers and various types of pañuelos are found, ranging from plain with or without cross-knit loop embroidery to pañuelos that are completely striped. Their sizes vary considerably, ranging between 21 x 23.5 cm and 42.5 x 48.5 cm.

Three pañuelos were found among Algodonal's specimens, one of which (#02452, see *fig. 8.31*) was found to be similar in style to the Chen Chen pañuelo with cross-knit loop embroidery covering both preserved corners. Its design and colour combination are nearly identical to two camisa's lateral plaques from Chen Chen (#02549 and #02502).

Similar style pañuelos are found among El Descanso's cloths but with a brighter palette of colours and with its warps forming the shortest dimension (#01064 and #02404, see *fig. 8.25*). Such cloths are identified as original altiplano-Tiwanaku type of pañuelos by Oakland (1986a, 310, fig. 37; 314-316). However, at this site, red pañuelos with solid lateral stripes dominate. One fragmented specimen of this same type is found at Algodonal as well, but none at Chen Chen. This particular lateral striping and its colour combination has been identified as typical Cabuza style pañuelos in the Azapa valley (Horta 1997, 84). No pañuelos are found among the Tiwanaku-like specimens of La Cruz.

#### *Manta*

The mantas from Chen Chen are either dovetailed weft-faced structures or plain warp-faced fabrics. Type 2B mantas contain a wide outer stripe and a thinner inner stripe of dark brown colour against a light brown background. This lay out is similar to Tiwanaku tapestry mantas with colourful figures lined up in a broad and narrow lateral vertical band. An example of such tapestry mantas from Coyo Oriental at San Pedro de Atacama measures 80 x 150 cm (Oakland 1986a, 294, *fig. 21*; Uribe and Agüero 2001, *fig. 2a*). This size is congruent with two of the four type 2B mantas from La Cruz. Just like the tapestry mantas, the selvages are often strengthened by multiple rows of cross-knit loop embroidery (Oakland 1986a, 120).

Similar patterning of a double stripe in dark brown colour has been found in three mantas from Algodonal, but not at El Descanso. At this site, however, a fragmented manta is found (#00059, see *Plate 4.5a, b*) decorated with very wide woven polychrome stripes and its warp and weft selvage covered by fine and polychrome cross-knit loop plaques. This style is comparable in form and structure to Tiwanaku pañuelos illustrated in Oakland (1986a, 310, *fig. 37*). Especially the manta's colourful embroidered designs are reminiscent of Tiwanaku's tapestry and sculptural motifs, so that it is believed to be an original Tiwanaku specimen.

In short, pañuelos and mantas are prominently present in Chen Chen's textile assemblage (both 11.5%). In the lower valley, however, pañuelos are not common, although some Tiwanaku-style pañuelos are found at Algodonal and El Descanso. However, Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza style pañuelos dominate. Likewise, mantas are not frequently found in the lower valley, but if present, the type 2B manta dominates as it did at Chen Chen.

#### *Bolsa*

Bolsas are rare at Chen Chen, only one plain talega has been found. As no bags are found in intact contexts either, their absence cannot be explained by looting activities only, but the impact of looting activities should not be neglected at this site, nor at the lower Osmore sites.

No bolsa has been found among La Cruz' Tiwanaku-style specimens, and they are rare at Algodonal, with only one talega and two ch'uspas. Both ch'uspas are decorated with one set of floating warps forming patterned stripes, one bag identical to the bag style that is common at El Descanso. At the latter site, ch'uspas are a common type of artefact. All bags are red with three broad patterned stripes, usually with the central stripe broader. All three stripes contain block-ladder designs, using two or three colours of within one set of warp elements. This type of bag is said to be typical of Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza textiles (Boytner 1998, 330). Similar Cabuza ch'uspas have been found in the Azapa valley (Agüero 2000, 221; Ulloa 1981b, 122, *fig. 2*).

#### *Bolsa faja*

Only at La Cruz has a considerable quantity of bolsa fajas been found, all in Tiwanaku-like contexts (n = 4). One

perfectly preserved specimen (#02570, see *fig. 8.11* and *Plate 5.1*) and a fragment (#99210) show an exact similar pattern of paired solid stripes separated by multiple thin stripes in random colour sequence, comparable to the patterning of camisas found at Chen Chen. All four bolsa fajas show a choice of colour that is characteristic of Tiwanaku fabrics, and most have cross-knit loop embroidery, although no bolsa fajas from Tiwanaku contexts are known to the author. The delicate embroidery of bolsa faja (#02570) includes a Tiwanaku style design of divided eye with snout, which is reminiscent of the design in El Descanso's manta embroidery (#00059, see *Plate 4.5a,b*). The other two bolsa fajas (#99341, #9938) and the specimen reused in a headdress (#02583) show comparable woven lay out, colours, and if present, simplified embroidery.

At El Descanso, only one bolsa faja was found (#00061, see *Plate 6.3*). It has a different type of design (in floating warp structure) and choice of colours in its weaving and cross-knit loop embroidered plaques than those from La Cruz. Its colours repeat the palette of El Descanso's ch'uspas while the embroidered designs of triangles and serrated diagonal lines are identical to the Cabuza bolsa fajas from Azapa site 141, illustrated in Uribe and Agüero (2001, 408, *fig. 12d*) and in Santoro and Ulloa (1985, 49).

In short, no ch'uspas and bolsa fajas are found at the Tiwanaku site of Chen Chen. Nonetheless, the motifs and colours found in the bolsa fajas from La Cruz are typical for Tiwanaku-style fabrics such as camisas. Therefore, La Cruz' bolsa fajas may indicate that the Tiwanaku knew how to make these bags, or perhaps that their descendants translated Tiwanaku colours and motifs into a new type of artefact. The ch'uspas and bolsa faja from El Descanso are of Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza style.

#### *Faja*

No fajas are found at Chen Chen, nor at Algodonal. Among La Cruz' Tiwanaku-like fabrics, however, three fajas are found, all three very broad (13.5 to 15.5 cm) and with colourful designs. One was found out of context, but two were found with adult women. The fajas were supposedly worn belted around the camisas: faja #02412 with a 1Ad-style camisa and a plain child-sized camisa, faja #02565 with a 6A and two 1A camisas.

Two fajas have been decorated with ten or eleven rows with checkerboard design by floating warps (#02412 and #02584, see *fig. 8.9*), with or without embroidered reinforcement. The third faja (#02565, see *fig. 8.10*) is decorated with three broad triple stripes with various geometric motifs and separated by narrow stripes with connected-rhomboid motifs. A similar lay out has been found in one of El Descanso's fajas (#00057, found out of context, *fig. 8.28*), but with motifs and colours similar to the Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza ch'uspas and pañuelos, suggesting that this faja is in fact an Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza specimen.

Typical is that all three fajas from La Cruz have been woven with replied cotton weft elements and plied camelid warps. Cotton elements are rare among the Chen Chen-Tiwanaku collection, and found in only a pañuelo (#02546). However, Oakland (1986a) mentions examples of Tiwanaku warp-faced and tapestry bolsas with hidden cotton elements. She supposes that the cotton fibre was obtained from Bolivian intermontane valleys near Cochabamba, and that the presence of cotton wefts in Tiwanaku-style textiles represent local characteristics of weavers working for state production (Oakland 1986a, 71, 244, 250).

However, cotton wefts with camelid wool warps are a common characteristic of Wari weavings. In addition, fajas are often depicted on huge anthropomorphic Wari vessels. As Wari colonists have settled in the middle Osmore valley, it cannot be excluded that some Wari weavings found their way to the lower valley. Checker-patterning was woven into fajas and bolsas from the Arequipa area, which stood under strong Wari influence, but also in warp-faced cotton bolsas from the Cochabamba area within the Tiwanaku influence sphere (see Paragraph 11.2) (Uribe and Agüero 2001, *fig. 5c,d*).

#### *Gorro*

At Chen Chen, one fragment of knotted looped fabric in plain dark brown with cross motifs has been found, which has been identified as the remains of a hat. At La Cruz (1998), the fragments of a polychrome four-cornered hat are found scattered at the surface (#99325, see *Plate 6.2*). This type of hat is typical for both Tiwanaku and Wari culture, and is considered to be indicative of a person of higher status (Cornejo 1994, 33-37; Sinclair 1998; Uribe and Agüero 2000).

## 9.2.3 CONCLUSION:

TIWANAKU OR ILO-TUMILACA/CABUZA PEOPLE  
BURIED AT THE LOWER OSMORE SITES?

At each site of the lower valley, a number of fabrics has been found that appear to be genuine Tiwanaku (state controlled) products after considering all their characteristics (La Cruz n = 3; El Descanso n = 2; Algodonal n = 1). In addition, a larger number of fabrics is found that may have been manufactured by altiplano colonists, but cannot be positively identified by their fabric characteristics alone (La Cruz n = 20; El Descanso n = 2; practically all textiles from Algodonal). Therefore, the contextual data of each site need to be considered in order to identify these textiles and their owners. A brief review of such contextual data follows below.

*La Cruz*

In all, genuine or possible Tiwanaku weavings that must have been manufactured by people who knew the altiplano state textile production very well, have been found on six mummy bundles from La Cruz, belonging to four adult women, one boy and one individual of unknown age and gender. Textiles identified as genuine Tiwanaku-state produced specimens are a type 5Aa camisa (#99371), bolsa faja (#02570) and four cornered hat (#99325). Typical Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza-style textiles were associated with three adolescents (two women, one unknown gender) and one adult man.<sup>[1]</sup> In addition to the textile material, Tiwanaku and Tiwanaku-like ceramic artefacts have been identified at La Cruz (Guillén, personal comm. 2004), and according to Carpio (pers. comm. 2004), “*Chen Chen style ceramics are found in practically all tombs of La Cruz (1993)*”. Unfortunately, it is not known if the tombs with Tiwanaku ceramics are the same as the tombs found to contain Tiwanaku textiles.

No architectural remains appear to be uncovered at this site, but the Tiwanaku tombs themselves have been described as cylindrical pits without the fieldstone lining typical of Chen Chen cemeteries (Carpio pers. comm. 2004). Cylindrical pits with or without stone lining have been found at Algodonal and El Descanso as well, containing individuals with Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza style artefacts. No stylistic determination has been given for the associated grave gifts listed on the unwrapping reports.

*El Descanso*

The textile assemblage of this site is strikingly colourful compared to the other three sites, with a clear dominance of warp-patterned garments with colourful lateral stripes with shades of red and bluish green as dominant colours. Embroidered lateral plaques are relatively rare, but if applied, they are often broad with bold design in a dominant fuchsia red ('22') colour, which was found to be a typical colour for this site. In addition, the population had mastered weaving structures unknown to the Chen Chen population, such as warp float-patterned stripes in ch'uspas, the application of discontinuous warps to change the colour of camisas' lateral stripes, and possibly twill weave as well. Structure, design, and colour of the textiles are unlike the Tiwanaku textiles from Chen Chen, but highly reminiscent of the Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza textiles from Algodonal and Chiribaya Alta described by Boytner (1998) and Owen (1993). They are also very similar to the Cabuza textiles from the Azapa valley (Agüero 2000, Horta 1997; Horta 1998; Santoro and Ulloa 1985; Uribe and Agüero 2001).

Owen (1993, 192, 414) tentatively subdivides the Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza culture in an early Ilo-Tumilaca phase (A.D. 950-1050), characterized by (ceramic) artefacts that are much more sophisticated than the later Ilo-Cabuza style artefacts (A.D. 1000-1250),<sup>[2]</sup> although he does not exclude the possibility that the different degree of artistic sophistication in fact expresses status distinction. The colourful decoration of a great number of El Descanso's camisas buried with the dead suggests that the cemetery population belonged to the Ilo-Tumilaca tradition.

In all, only two textiles from this site have been identified as genuine Tiwanaku products, a manta (#00059, fig. 8.46) and a pañuelo (#02404, fig. 8.47), so that these fabrics may be interpreted as heirlooms. The custom of guarding ceremonial bundles for generations is known among indigenous people from both modern Bolivia and Peru. Adelson and Tracht (1983, 17) and Zorn (1987, 494-497) describe these bundles (known as *señal q'epi* in Quechua) as composed of male mantas, female pañuelos, and old ceremonial camisas and ponchos (see Paragraph 4.10).

The attractive textiles hint at a special status for El Descanso, as Salazar (2001) already suggested. It may

be no coincidence that El Descanso is located at the foot of the elite site of Chiribaya Alta, where rich Chiribaya and Ilo-Tumilaca burials have been found. As no Ilo-Cabuza style textiles have been found there, it appears that during the later Chiribaya people had taken over the whole elite site or that the poorer Ilo-Cabuza had been excluded throughout the use of the prestigious site (Owen 1993, 247). Likewise, no individuals buried with Ilo-Cabuza style garments have been found among the El Descanso assemblage.

#### *Algodonal*

The majority of Algodonal's textiles are reminiscent of the crude garments used by Tiwanaku's colonists living at Chen Chen. However, Owen (pers. comm. 2004; 1993, 414) believes that these particular Algodonal Ladera textiles may just as well be characteristic for the Ilo-Cabuza style artefacts, using less dyed yarn in woven fabrics. Unfortunately, no illustrations or descriptions of ceramics and burial characteristics from Algodonal Ladera are known to the author.

In addition, Owen (1993, 423-424) identified Algodonal's three cemeteries, of which Algodonal Ladera formed one segment, as containing Ilo-Tumilaca and Ilo-Cabuza-style burials. This fact implies long term and integral use of this burial site. No Chiribaya-style burials were found. Boytner (1998, 326) confirmed that the textiles found at these cemeteries were of Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza style only. He illustrates an Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza-style neck plaque (Boytner 1998, 342; *fig. 7.23*), which is near identical to the neck plaque of one camisa (#02427) studied here, and also comparable to a neck plaque from a Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza camisa from El Descanso (#00053). Two type 4B camisas from Algodonal contain discontinuous warps changing colour at the shoulder, a feature unknown among Tiwanaku's camisas but typical for El Descanso Ilo-Tumilaca camisas, Azapa's Cabuza camisas (Agüero 2000, 218-224), and Chiribaya camisas from Chiribaya Alta (Boytner 1998). In fact, only one specimen from Algodonal Ladera, a pañuelo (#02452, see *fig. 8.31*), has been identified as a genuine highland Tiwanaku product.

In short, the textiles from Algodonal Ladera are difficult to identify culturally. They are both reminiscent of the modest Tiwanaku textiles from Chen Chen as well as of

Ilo-Cabuza textiles as described by Owen (1993, pers.comm. 2004) and Boytner (1998). One ch'uspa, pañuelo and camisa with neck plaque, however, are similar to El Descanso's more colourful Ilo-Tumilaca specimens. As Owen (1993) concluded that Algodonal's cemeteries had been used by both Ilo-Tumilaca and Ilo-Cabuza populations, some temporal and/or stylistic mixing is to be expected. Therefore, Algodonal Ladera's textile collection has been identified here as Ilo-(Tumilaca)Cabuza and not Tiwanaku. It is clear that radiocarbon dating will be required to validate this identification.

### 9.3 Chiribaya garments from La Cruz

#### 9.3.1 FORM, FUNCTION, AND DECORATION

In this study's assemblage, textiles that are clearly identifiable as Chiribaya style as summarized in Chapter 7, have only been found at the site of La Cruz, plus one Chiribaya pañuelo from El Descanso (#02381). Among La Cruz' Chiribaya-style fabrics are 17 camisas (either child, adolescent or adult-sized), a manta, a pañuelo and six bolsas, found in nine tombs belonging to small children and one older man.<sup>[3]</sup>

The miniature bag (#02582, see *fig. 8.17*) and one of the five ch'uspas (#02579, see *Plate 5.2*) contain zoomorphic and/or anthropomorphic designs together with geometric designs, while the other ch'uspas are decorated with geometric patterns only. All designs are woven in complementary warp structure using two warps sets of contrasting colours, which was found to be typical for the Chiribaya culture and not for Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza or Tiwanaku. Similar designs have been found in the Maytas-Chiribaya weavings from the Azapa valley. According to Rowe (1977, 69), complementary warps were first found in the coastal Paracas area as narrow figure bands in the Ocuaje fabrics dating to the end of the Early Horizon. Such origin would strengthen the theory of Chiribaya's coastal origin and preference for horizontal trade relationships. Rowe's idea (*ibid*) that larger designs in the typical three-span floats in alternating alignment originate from the highlands and from later part of the Middle Horizon, could not be confirmed by the Tiwanaku and Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza textile specimens known to the author.

Horta (1997, 86-99) reconstructed the stylistic development of Maytas-Chiribaya ch'uspas. According to her,

Maytas-Chiribaya zig-zagging or S shaped designs with hooked appendages, as well as creatures with (four) hexagonal figures in their stomachs are typical early phase expressions, while truncated appendages and other shapes inside bellies are typical of the later phase in the Azapa valley. Translated into the Osmore designs, all ch'uspas contain early Chiribaya characteristics, except for the ch'uspa found with an adult man (#02564, *fig. 8.19*), with a quadripartite design in the later Chiribaya style. If Horta's chronological determination is correct, then maybe this senior man was buried at this section of La Cruz at a later date than the children (see next chapter).

The Chiribaya style camisas are all decorated with asymmetrical lateral stripes in a red and dark purple colour that do not change colour at the shoulder (type 4A). Some are trapezoidal shaped by inserting discontinuous supplementary warps at the chest line (type 4BW). Such type camisa are believed to have been a standardized garment for the Chiribaya people (Clark *et al.* 1993, 7). Similar lateral striping has been found in a large sized manta (#99365, see *fig. 3.21*, type 20\*). The typical Chiribaya colours have also been used in pañuelos with weft-twined selvages (*fig. 8.16* and *Plate 5.3*).

The four tocado hilos and one tocado palito from La Cruz have been found in Chiribaya contexts only. However, at El Descanso two tocado palitos have been found as well, one of them in undeniable Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza context. Therefore, their use was not exclusive for Chiribaya people.

#### 9.3.2 CONCLUSION: DID CHIRIBAYA PEOPLE COHABIT WITH TIWANAKU AND/OR ILO-TUMILACA/CABUZA PEOPLE IN THE OSMORE VALLEY?

According to Owen's radiocarbon dates (1993, 410-411), the Early (Algarrobal-) Chiribaya and the Ilo-Tumilaca people were contemporary, cohabiting in the lower Osmore valley somewhere between about A.D. 950 to 1075. Buikstra's more recent radiocarbon dates from Chiribaya sites such as El Yaral reveal that Chiribaya's development was actually older, and thus contemporaneous with the Tiwanaku Chen Chen phase of the middle valley (pers. comm. 2004).

As said before, the La Cruz cemetery was found to contain two segregated sections, one with Tiwanaku-style burials and ceramics and the other with

Chiribaya-style material remains. This textile study confirms the mutual exclusion of (early) Chiribaya-style garments and Tiwanaku and Ilo-Tumilaca garments inside a single tomb. As the Ilo-Tumilaca and early Chiribaya-style are contemporary, this implies that the people who had produced these artefacts had shared the La Cruz cemetery and possibly the domestic space as well, without losing their cultural identity. Such strict segregation suggests the presence of two ethnic groups, an issue that will be further explored in the next chapter. Evidence of cohabitation of the Chiribaya and Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza people has been confirmed by Owen's survey of the lower valley. The two groups either lived totally mixed or in two adjacent areas with mixed refuse areas, as for instance at Algodonal (Owen 1993, 17-18, 423-424). El Descanso, on the other hand, seems to have been inhabited by Ilo-Tumilaca people, yet allowing few Chiribaya intrusions. However, as only data are known from burial contexts, it cannot be excluded that the domestic area had been inhabited by both Chiribaya and Ilo-Tumilaca people, while the cemetery area was claimed by Ilo-Tumilaca, as was the case at El Algodonal.

#### 9.4 Textile evidence of foreign contacts

Finally, three individuals should be mentioned who had been buried with garments that appear to be exotic among the Osmore valley's assemblage. In the light of the prehistoric and modern Andean tradition of expressing one's ethnic and social identity with conservative dressing codes (see Chapter 1), the burials may point to the presence of foreigners among the local populations. Although three possible foreigners among the 98 individuals analysed in this study hardly represent solid evidence for trade contacts, the identification of individual identities through such sensitive identity-markers as clothing, forms a promising addition to the tracing of interethnic contacts in archaeological studies. Finding the origin of exotic textile styles requires comparative textile study of the surrounding Andean regions.

##### INDIVIDUAL #1

At La Cruz (1993, tomb 23) a man older than 40 years was buried in a large dark brown camisa made of two webs (type 2A, #99231) with a central vertical seam with

vertical neck split and horizontal arm openings that would have reached down to his ankles (see *fig. 3.17, type 2A*). His hair had been braided in multiple braids and tied together at the top of his head. Both hairstyle and camisa are unknown to the author and not found in the nearby valleys. Camisas with vertical seams running down from a vertical neck split are known in the Andean region. For instance, the Wari made interlocked tapestry camisas with a vertical, central seam (see Paragraph 7.2.3). However, Wari camisas also hold two lateral seams plus vertical arm openings, unlike this camisa. Other warp-faced camisas made of two webs are described by Ulloa (1981b, 115–116) for the Azapa area, but these not only have a central seam but lateral seams as well as, and vertical arm and neck openings. Horizontal arm openings have been found in two-web camisas with a central vertical seam from the contemporaneous Chancay culture and at the Pachacamac site, but contrary to the La Cruz' specimen, they have a horizontal neck slit as well (Desrosiers 1992, 24–26; VanStan 1967, 16, *fig. 14b*). Finally, Gisbert *et al.* (1984, 92–93) illustrate a colonial camisa with a vertical central seam derived from Amarete in the Bolivian altiplano so that a highland origin of the Osmore specimen is plausible as well. In fact, the cold and wet highland climate would have favoured long and warm clothes such as this camisa, but unfortunately, the organic preservation is very poor in the highlands. The camisa and the presence of a large wad of camelid fibre within the mummy bundle may then tentatively be interpreted as indicative of the man's status of a highland trader.

#### INDIVIDUAL #2

At El Descanso (1998), tomb 5 contained an individual buried with a garment ensemble that appears to originate from the Azapa valley (see Paragraph 8.5). Unfortunately, the gender and age of the buried individual are unknown, as is the presence of other grave goods in the tomb. However, the individual had been buried with two adult-sized camisas, suggesting that the individual had been an adult. Both camisas (#00045 and #00044) are made of dark brown warps ('11' and '03', respectively), one decorated with a single broad lateral stripe (type 4Abd), and the other with multiple lateral stripes changing colour at the shoulder (type 5Bd). Both show traces of wear and one has been repaired by warp darning the bottom area. These are the only camisas

found in this study's assemblage with neck plaques (0.8 x 10.0 cm) made of zig-zagging satin stitches, forming polychrome horizontal stripes changing colour at the centre (see *Plate 6.7*). Zig-zagging neck plaques are indeed known in the Osmore valley, but are only described for Chiribaya camisas from Chiribaya Alta and Baja (Boytner 1998, 334, *fig. 7*; Clark *et al.* 1993, 20–21). In the Azapa valley, on the other hand, zig-zagging neck plaques are common in type 5A and 5B camisas associated with Cabuza ceramics. These camisas have a reddish brown ('11') centre and dominant blue and green colours in their lateral stripes (Agüero 2000b, 218–220).

The individual in tomb 5 was found in association with two tocado palitos tied with Prussian blue yarn ('31') (see *fig. 8.30*), a ch'uspa with zig-zagging motifs within its vertical stripes (instead of the typical Ilo-Tumilaca block-ladder design), and the only bolsa faja of this site (see *Plate 6.3*), with totally different appearance than the Tiwanaku-like bolsa fajas from La Cruz). Its presence is even more peculiar as Owen (1993, 97) states that bolsa fajas are never found in Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza contexts. However, bolsa fajas do occur in Cabuza contexts from the Azapa valley, and this specimen's design is identical to the Cabuza bolsa fajas illustrated in Uribe and Agüero (2001, 408, *fig.d*) and in Santoro and Ulloa (1985, 49).

In short, this individual had been buried with Azapa Cabuza-style textiles, reminiscent of his or her Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza relatives living in the Osmore valley, yet aberrant enough to reveal a foreign origin. Most likely, the populations of the Osmore and Azapa valley maintained their contacts via balsa boats, just like the Archaic and Formative people had done before them. This Azapa Cabuza individual buried among Ilo-Tumilaca people of El Descanso indicates that the Azapa Cabuza style is contemporary with the Osmore's Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza style.

#### INDIVIDUAL #3

At Boca del Río (also known as San Gerónimo), a Chiribaya site specialized in maritime exploitation, an individual had been buried with Chiribaya style ceramics and a unique camisa. The camisa has been made of two trapezoidal shaped panels in dovetailed tapestry structure (see *Plate 2.5* and *fig. 8.34*). Both panels are woven on a trapezoidal adjusted loom with uneven warp lengths. Trapezoidal panels are unknown among the

Tiwanaku specimens, so that it is unlikely to have been a garment produced by Tiwanaku colonists. Although trapezoidal shaped camisas are common for the Chiribaya people, the required weaving loom and structure are completely different from their common camisas, so that a Chiribaya origin is unlikely too. In addition, the rendering of two profile personages within one unit is unlike the Tiwanaku (or Wari) tradition, but typical of the Formative Pukara style.

The camisa may have been brought in from some unknown area, presumably in the final days of the Tiwanaku state or just after its collapse. Although an altiplano origin (Pukara heirloom?) would seem logical for the thickness of the fabric, a more northern origin may be hinted at by the poncho with two mirrored profile personages from the Siguas valley near Arequipa, presumably dating from the early centuries of our era as well (Haeberli 2001, fig. 6). Another scenario is that the garment had been locally made, by weavers familiar with large-size Tiwanaku designs and dovetailed tapestry structures, which had been known at Chen Chen as the two manta fragments have shown. In that case, the weavers would have been innovators and not the clumsy copiers that Ravines (1965, 2), Conklin (1983, 13) and Oakland (1986a, 110, 119) believe them to be, as it is unlikely that copiers would have come up with a new shape requiring new structural solutions. Instead, the weavers strived for a new expression in both shape and design and replaced the profile human, bird, and feline creatures of the Tiwanaku ideology by the llama that was so vital for their survival. Whether locally made or imported, this semi-trapezoidal camisa may have inspired the Chiribaya to produce their unique trapezoidal garments.

So far then, the textiles themselves have been analysed. However, by placing the textiles in their contexts, they gain the ability to speak for the people with whom they had been entombed. In Chapter 1 and 2, clothes have been described as carriers of ethnic identity and social roles. The next chapter will search for such symbolic meanings hidden in the contextual data of the Osmore textiles.

#### NOTES

1. The Tiwanaku or possible Tiwanaku textile specimens from La Cruz (1993) have been found in tombs 02, 05, 08, 10, and 17

and in (1998) tomb 05. Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza textiles are found in tombs 07, 12, 14, and 15 (1993).

2. However, Owen (pers. comm. 2004) does not exclude the possibility that the stylistic and quality differences in fact represent status distinctions, or artefacts produced by either Tiwanaku immigrants versus autochtonous people.

3. Chiribaya textiles are found at La Cruz (1993), tombs s/no1, s/no2, s/nA, 01, 09, 11, 18, 22, and 24, and possibly tomb 02 as well.