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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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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)

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10.1 Introduction

In order to understand the importance of clothes for a group of people, it is important to know how they function within their society. As garments are worn on a daily basis and in all kinds of circumstances, their stylistic message will be picked up by those familiar with their cultural meaning and increase the amount of information exchange within that group and among adjacent groups. In this way, clothing style can promote the social integration by summarizing the economic and social position of each individual and their ethnic identity. Or, in contrast, it can stimulate social differentiation by indicating the uniqueness of the status of an individual (or group) among his peer (see Paragraph 2.4).

By studying the garments in their context, we can learn more about their functional and symbolical use. The contextual data allow some insight in the burial practices of each of the four examined sites, and in the significance of the textiles and other grave gifts for their (cemetery) population. Therefore, it is all the more frustrating that many textiles come without contextual information. Partly because of the looting of the sites, but also because the field notes, lists of associated grave goods, etc. were found to be unavailable or missing for several excavations (see *Table 3.1*). As a result, the potential of this textile study has been seriously diminished.

In this chapter, the tombs in which the individuals had been buried and their position inside them will be described, followed by an illustrated example of the Osmore preparation of their dead. Then attention will be directed to the quality and quantity of clothing and the other grave gifts of each of the four Osmore cemetery populations. These artefacts will be linked to information on the individuals' age and gender, to find out if and how these social identities were expressed and valued among the populations.

Difference in social status on intrasite hierarchy may have been expressed by differences in quantity and/or quality of the textiles and other artefacts placed with selected individuals. On intersite level, differentiation in

social status may be measured through comparison of the total textile quality indices of each site.

Stylistic elements of garments shared by the majority of one population regardless of their age or sex, and not found among the population of all other cemeteries, are thought to express the presence of ethnic groups who had felt a need to maintain their unique identity despite their close cohabitation in such small valley. Therefore, the general stylistic appearance of each site's clothing tradition will be compared to identify unique cultural identity expressions among the (more or less) contemporaneous valley cohabitants. However, proper identification of ethnic groups requires an examination of a wider area. Such comparative regional study is the subject of the final chapter.

10.2 Modes of interment

The great majority of this research's textiles were taken from human interments. Artefacts found in intact burial contexts had been placed there intentionally by the mourners of the deceased individuals. During their lives, every man and woman create their '*social persona*' through their social relations with different individuals and groups. The social persona is therefore directly related to the individual's position in his society, including his private family life. Therefore, the social identities considered appropriate to be expressed during the funerary rituals need to be carefully selected by the mourners. As a consequence, the treatment of the body, the associated artefacts and the tomb itself are highly informative of the deceased's social persona as well as of the mourners responsible for the burial and their society (see Paragraph 2.6). The tomb and associated artefacts will be described below, but the position and orientation of buried individuals will be looked at first.

10.2.1 WRAPPING THE DEAD

The Tiwanaku colonists at Chen Chen buried their dead in seated and tightly flexed position, nearly always a



Fig. 10.1 Cylindrical tomb of adult man facing east
(El Descanso tomb 22, 1999 1st period)

single individual per tomb. The arms were placed in the fold between the legs and the body, with the hands usually folded against the chest. The individuals were facing east, northeast or southeast, while leaning against the western tomb wall (Goldstein 1989, 164; Owen 1997, 6; Vargas 1994). A similar burial tradition has found in a high status necropolis linked to the Putuni palace at the metropolis of Tiwanaku, and also at Tiwanaku-related cemeteries of Coyo Oriental site at San Pedro de Atacama (A.D. 500-900) (Janusek 2001, 263- 264, 282; Oakland 1986a, 53-54; 1992, 323; Stanish 2003, 200; Torres & Conklin 1995, 90-92).[']

No information is available on the orientation of the dead buried at La Cruz, but the descriptions, tomb numbers, and drawings made during the unwrapping

of La Cruz' mummy bundles reveal that both Tiwanaku-like and Chiribaya individuals had been buried inside separate tombs and in seated and flexed position. Similar position was found at the Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza sites of El Descanso and El Algodonal. The five individuals from El Descanso whose orientation could be determined were buried facing east or southeast, for instance the burial of an adult man in tomb 22 (1999, 1st period) (*fig. 10.1*). Six individuals from Algodonal had been oriented in all four cardinal directions, apparently regardless of their age, while all other tombs had been too disturbed to know the individual's original orientation (Carpio 2000a,b,c).

Nilda Juárez and Verónica Cruz (1996) of Centro Mallqui made detailed descriptions and drawings during the unwrapping of 29 mummy bundles from the La Cruz excavation (1993). These reports make clear that the preparation of children's and adults' bodies followed the same general procedures and that care was taken to bundle each individual with fitting and worn garments, therefore thought to be their own. Often various other offerings had been tucked into the bundle, thus preserving the social persona of the individual. Infants were usually placed inside an urn (type 'olla' with part of the neck broken away) before final placement inside a tomb.

The mummy bundles from the other sites had likewise been buried in flexed and seated position, but no unwrapping reports are known from these sites, and presumably are non-existent due to the fragmentary nature of the mummy bundles. However, excavation pictures and drawings of Algodonal Ladera (2000) and El Descanso (1999), plus the folds in fabrics wrapped around the bodies, and even the pattern of tearing of looted fabrics, help reconstruct the appearance of the mummy bundles from these sites: the bundling style of the dead from all lower valley sites appears to be similar to the bundles from La Cruz.

All adult bodies from La Cruz had first been placed in flexed and seated position, as described above. Then they had been covered by one *camisa* in such way that the arms were inside the garment and both sides of the neck splits or the whole shoulder parts were pulled over the head. Some neck splits had been sewn close to form a

sack. Six adults from this site had been given one extra *camisa* and one even had two extra *camisas*, usually wrapped around the lower half of the body. Seven infants either wore a small *camisa* or had been wrapped from the head down to the feet by one or more *paños* torn out of worn adult *camisas*. All mummy bundles had thus been completely covered by at least one layer of cloth.

Paños are not common among the adolescents and adults, and if present, either cover the face of men and women, or are bundled with some vegetable contents or raw fibre inside and placed on or near the throat. *Pañuelos* are used in identical manner on two adults and an infant. *Ch'uspas* are likewise found with all ages and placed on the belly or tucked into the folds of a wrapped *camisa*. The one *taparrabo* (loincloth) (#02563) was worn around the loins of an older man. Two broad *fajas* were found wrapped up as a package to the side (#02565) or on the throat (#02412) of adult women, while the intact Tiwanaku-style *bolsa faja* (#02570) had been placed on the chest of another adult woman. That is, *fajas* and *bolsa fajas* were not worn belted as they would have been in life. *Mantas* are found with adults (men and women) only and usually form the outside layer of the funerary bundle, with the body wrapped in a *camisa*.

All bundles had been kept in shape by ropes wrapped around the dressed body from the head down to the feet, usually in horizontal and vertical alignment and often knotted at the crossings (*forma de canastilla*). All ropes made of camelid fibres seem somewhat fluffy so that it appears that the cords have been used for other purposes prior to being wrapped around the bundled individual. Fibre cords made from local *junquillo* reeds appear to have been made especially for the burial. According to Owen (1993, 96) and Carpio (pers. comm. 2004), practically all mummy bundles with Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza and Tiwanaku-style artefacts had been tied with vegetable ropes, while the Chiribaya usually bundled their dead with wool ropes.

As an illustration, the reconstructions of the making of two funerary bundles are given. One bundle belongs to a Chiribaya infant, the other to a Tiwanaku or Ilo-Tumilaca adult female.

Infant funerary bundle (fardo #1090.01, Tomb 22, Chiribaya culture)[²]

The infant's mummy bundle was found inside a broken *olla* (1) in the intact tomb 22 of the 1993 excavation (fig. 10.2). The burial has been identified as Chiribaya based on an associated *pañuelo* (15, #02573). The infant's bundle was placed against the wall of the urn, apparently leaning backwards on a bed of stalks (*tallitos*), and surrounded by various objects. The urn itself was filled with sand mixed with ashes, carbon, etc. that probably had streamed in during the centuries. The urn is estimated to measure about 50 x 40 x 60 cm, based on the drawing. It appears to be plain brown, with a pointed base, two lateral handles and a high and slightly flaring neck, maybe some 10 cm wide and high. Half of the urn's neck and shoulder are broken away (30 x 24 cm) to allow the infant's body to be placed inside.

The funerary bundle (2) is said to measure 46 cm x 33.5 cm and belongs to an infant of undetermined gender and about five months old, based on its teeth. The human remains had decomposed naturally, but little soft tissue remained. The skeleton was complete but affected by fungus. The child was placed in a flexed position with the arms and legs bent in front of the torso. The skull (13) was deformed in a fronto-occipital style, and the short hair of the infant was brown. No peculiarities were observed for the child's physical condition.

A large sized *pañó* (14, #99275), cut out of a worn adult-sized *camisa*, had been wrapped from the arms down to the legs around the infant's body. The *pañó* was tied by part of a long (439 cm) and fine (2 to 4 mm diameter) wool cord of unusual 2/ two-ply (17, #99274). To the left of the legs, on top of this *pañó*, a calabash cup (16) had been placed. Below the left arm, the remains of a guinea pig (*cuy*) were found. Coca leaves and maybe other organic remains had been placed on top of the left arm. The decorated *pañuelo* (15, #02573) had been placed between the face and the left shoulder with coca leaves inside. Then, a plain *camisa* (12, #99271) had been wrapped around the child from its head down to its feet. The *camisa* measures 55 x 50 cm, making it a large child-sized tunic. It looked worn and had been repaired. The right side of the *camisa*'s neck slit had been folded over the mouth and the left side of the face, while one shoulder part and arm opening had been placed behind the head, and the other shoulder had been folded up at the throat. This *camisa* formed the outer layer of the bundle and had

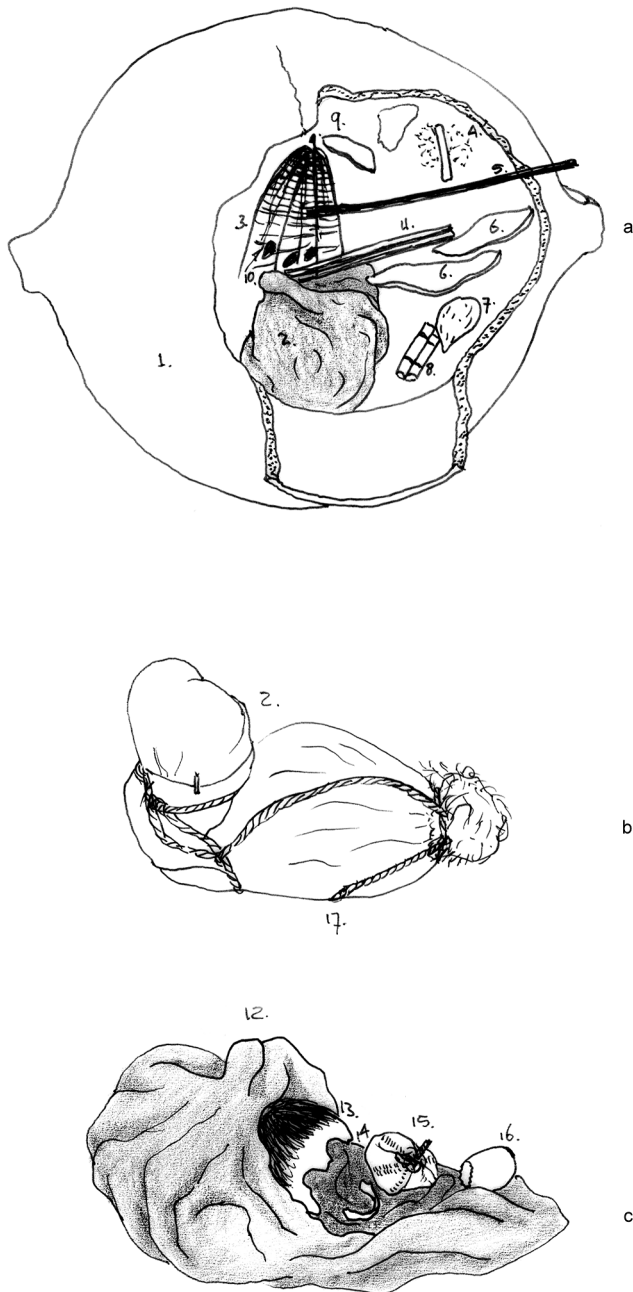


Fig. 10.2 Reconstruction of Chiribaya infant mummy bundle (after Juárez and Cruz 1996)

been tied up using the same wool cord (17) used for the first cloth. The cord had been wrapped around the individual from the throat down to the feet, and tied the camisa's bottom directly under the infant's feet. This outer layer of the bundle is in deteriorated state and full

of clayish stains. According to the report, liquids are thought to have been poured into the urn, which would be the reason why the camisa stuck to the inside wall of the urn.

Three *tocado palitos* (18, #99272) had been placed to the right side and behind the infant's head, kept in place by a greenish black ('13') cord that encircled the head. The *tocado's* sticks measure 4 to 6 cm in length x 3 mm in width and had been wrapped on one end with a Prussian blue ('31') yarn. At the feet of the infant, a *capacho* (3) had been placed, a carrying device that appears to have been too small to have been used to carry the child itself. Inside the *capacho*, a second calabash (9) was placed together with *yuca* food (10). To the right of the fardo and slightly in front of it, several objects had been placed: a *balsa* (11, wooden raft), *pacae* fruit (6), *lúcuma* fruit (7), and an *antara* (8, panpipes). The remains of a second guinea pig (4) were found in front of the child's head. A 30 cm long wooden stick (5) leans against the right side of the urn's opening and has been interpreted as a probable miniature oar that once served a grave marker.

b *Adult funerary bundle (fardo #1014, Tomb 5, Tiwanaku or Ilo-Tumilaca culture)*

The adult's funeral bundle was found in the intact tomb 5 of the 1993 excavation of La Cruz, associated with Tiwanaku or Ilo-Tumilaca-style artefacts. The mummy bundle measures 85 cm x 43 cm x 20 cm (fig. 10.3). The body had mummified naturally and completely, and the bones and soft tissue were in regular state of conservation. Finger and toe nails, and even the tongue and eye balls were preserved. No foreign object was found inside the mouth. The only age specification given is that of 'adult', based on the length of the bones and facial features. The individual's gender was identified as female, based on the mummified genitals and a right breast.

The body was leaning back and slightly towards the right side, with the legs flexed towards the stomach, the right hand placed on the stomach and the left hand placed on the left shoulder. The head appears to be naturally shaped and was resting lightly on the left hand. The hair was of a brown colour, and worked into two simple three-stranded braids, one on each side of the head. The body showed no signs of trauma, nor decorations such as piercings or tattoos.



Fig. 10.3 Reconstruction of Tiwanaku or Ilo-Tumilaca adult funerary bundle (after Juárez and Cruz 1996)

A plain pañuelo (1, #02411) covered her face. Next, the body had been totally covered by a plain camisa (2, #99212), this one placed across the body, with the neck and arm openings towards the right side of the body, covering the individual partially. The two sides of the neck split had been pulled over the head, one side covering the other. Between the folds of this camisa and on the face, the remains of a cane mat made of *junco* reed stalks were found. To the right side of the body, nearby the hand, a highly decorated faja (3, #02565), thought to be an original altiplano Tiwanaku-style product, had been placed on top of a small wooden box which had been wrapped in very fine leather and tied close with yarn. Inside the box, unidentified organic material had been stored. A heavily worn and repaired plain camisa (4, #99213) of reddish brown ('11') colour was wrapped around the flexed body upside down. The head opening has been fumbled up around the feet and the bottom part around the shoulders, with the arm openings folded along the sides. To the right side of the body and below the knees, a totally striped camisa in natural colours (5, #99211) was placed, which may have served as a carrier when the body was lowered inside the tomb. No ropes were present at the time of the unwrapping, and possibly the body had been tied into shape with vegetable cords that had not survived, or had turned so fragile that they had broken into fragments when the bundle was removed from the tomb or while being stored.

10.2.2 OSMORE'S DEATH RITUAL

Based on the information given above and in Chapter 5, it can be concluded that in general, the inhabitants of both lower and middle Osmore valley buried their dead in cemetery areas located nearby but separate from the domestic area, although considerable numbers of individuals and even clusters of them may be found under and between houses. The alleged presence of distinct Chiribaya and Tiwanaku and/or Tumilaca sections at the La Cruz cemetery, divided by a straight line without any cultural mixing (Guillén pers. comm. 2004), as well as the location of three Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza cemeteries adjacent to predominant Chiribaya habitation areas at Algodonal (Owen 1993), both suggest a burial tradition in spatially defined and culturally segregated zones. Nonetheless, at El Descanso, only one Chiribaya burial (tomb 7, 1st period 1999) has been identified among the

otherwise purely Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza burial site. In addition, the concentration of adult individuals in the zones excavated at El Descanso in 1998 and 1999, versus the concentration of children in the second excavation of 1999 witnessed by the author, hints at the possible presence of burial customs according to age groups.

The data reveal that the altiplano Tiwanaku and descendant Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza people buried all their dead in cylindrical tombs with or without stone-reinforced walls, whereas the coastal Chiribaya mainly used rectangular tombs, but also cylindrical tombs with or without stone-reinforced walls. The majority of their dead were facing east (Guillén and Carpio 1995, 23). Nonetheless, the general procedure of bundling of the dead was similar for both groups: the deceased was placed in seated and flexed position, the arms close to the body and completely covered by at least one layer of cloth, and held in place by ropes. The Chiribaya preferred wool ropes, whereas the Tiwanaku and Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza used mainly reed fibre ropes. Both the construction of the tomb as the preparation of the dead could have been accomplished in several hours, as no indications of artificial mummification are found. Although the disposal of the dead does not suggest large amounts of energy expenditure or extensive mourning activities, it cannot be excluded that communal meals or celebrations accompanied the burial, without leaving any material traces.

The practice of bundling people in fetal position and burying them inside cyst tombs, capped by stone slabs and/or marked with a wooden stick, appears to be of altiplano origin, introduced at the coast during the Late Formative period: it has been found at Chiripa in the eastern altiplano, as well as at the coastal sites at Faldas del Morro and El Laucho in the Azapa valley (Sutter 1997, 62-63, 75-76). This burial practice spread over most of Bolivia and modern Peru in the Middle Horizon by the Tiwanaku and Wari cultures.^[3] The bundling people in fetal position remained en vogue until early Spanish colonial times.^[4] This habit of being seated with the knees up to the chest and covered by the *camisa* was not reserved for the dead. Cobo describes how the Andean people would sit down on the ground, with their feet together, the legs bend so that their knees came up so far that they almost touched their chins. *'On sitting, they drop their tunic down to their feet so that their whole body fits*

into the tunic, except for their head, and since their legs are supported by the tunic, it is pulled tight. And they are so comfortable in this position that they commonly stay in one place like that for a whole day' (Cobo [1653] 1990, Lib. 14, Cap. 5, 199).^[5] The funerary bundles differed from daily posture in the sense that the hands and head were kept inside the *camisa*.

In short, the mortuary remains suggest that the coastal Chiribaya people had adopted the altiplano death ritual and possibly more ideological issues from either the Tiwanaku colonists living in the middle Osmore valley, or from earlier traders travelling from or to the highlands (such as the Pukara). The sharing of multi-referential ritual practices would certainly have facilitated the cohabitation of a coastal Chiribaya population with highland Tiwanaku and descendant Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza groups in the Osmore valley, which appears to have been peacefully indeed (Burgess 1992; Owen 1993, 186-187).

The fact that the dead appear to have been buried in their own worn clothes and with some personal items, suggests that the mourners felt it was important to preserve the social persona after death. It also presupposes the existence of a belief in an afterlife in which people lived on in more or less similar conditions as in life. Some mummy bundles, such as the Chiribaya child described above, show possible traces of libations of unidentified liquids into the grave after burial. Continual feeding and caring of the deceased individual by his relatives seems to indicate that the deceased continued to be part of the household even after death, as was witnessed in Early Colonial times and in fact is still practiced during Todos Santos among Andean people today (Cieza [1553] 1995, Lib. I, Cap. CI, 277; Cobo [1653] 1990, Lib. 14, Cap. 19, 250-251; Duviols 1986, 12, 149, 170; Minkes 2000).

10.3 Age groups

In archaeology, the age as well as sex of an individual can be identified by osteological evidence and/or associated artefacts. Table 10.1 summarizes the composition of each site's cemetery population into age and sex categories as far as could be recovered from the field notes. As none of the mummies or skeletal remains had been examined by an expert yet, many human remains have been age-classified based on the mere size of their bundle or

Site	child			adolescent			adult			?	total
	♂	♀	?	♂	♀	?	♂	♀	?	?	
Chen Chen 1988	—	—	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	9	17
Chen Chen 1995	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	13	14
La Cruz Tiw./I-T/C	—	—	—	1	2	1	1	4	—	1	10
La Cruz Chiribaya	2	1	6	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	10
La Cruz unidentified	—	1	2	1	1	2	1	2	—	—	10
El Descanso	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	5	5	2	14
Algodonal	—	—	4	—	—	—	1	—	5	13	23
<i>Total</i>											98

Table 10.1 Age and sex identification of individuals per site (? = unknown age and/or sex)

bones. Only a considerable number of the unwrapped bundles from La Cruz (1993) with mummified human remains have their age and sex positively identified.

Unfortunately, the number of unspecified individuals from Chen Chen and Algodonal is so high that it is not even possible to tell if all ages and both sexes had been buried at the cemeteries. The identified bodies and other garments from the El Descanso population belong predominantly to adults, although in the 1999 campaign the author observed a majority of child-sized funerary bundles being excavated. This suggests that El Descanso's cemetery had been used by a complete population, possibly buried according to age in distinct sectors. Similar concentration of distinct age groups in separate sectors of cemeteries had been observed at the adjacent Chiribaya site of Chiribaya Baja by Lozada *et al.* (n.d., 11).

The cemetery population of La Cruz shows a striking subdivision into predominant (young) adult females of Tiwanaku and/or Ilo-Tumilaca affiliation, versus a predominant juvenile Chiribaya population, claimed to be buried in separate but adjacent sectors.

10.3.1 AGE GROUPS AND THEIR CLOTHING STYLE

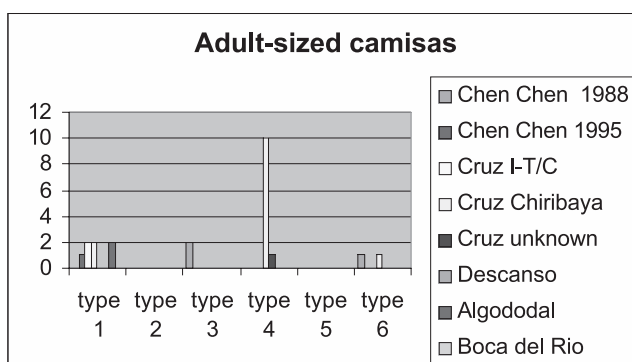
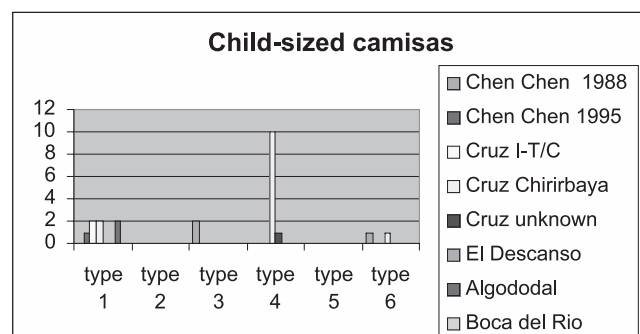
In general, the individuals had been buried with garments made to fit the person buried with it. If two or three camisas had been placed inside one tomb, their sizes would have been quite similar, regardless of their square, rectangular, or semi-trapezoidal shapes. However, three of the Chiribaya infants (tombs s/n 01, 09, and 24) had been buried with child-sized as well as adult-sized garments. The small camisas were worn directly on

the bodies while the larger camisas had been wrapped around them to form the outer layer of the funeral bundle. Presumably the large garment had belonged to one of the children's parents. Perhaps the garment was even chosen to accompany the child on its journey in the afterlife as a symbolic representative of that parent. Such animation of clothing was also observed in the Spanish colonial days, when women ritually washed their deceased husbands' clothes at a specific spot in a river to rinse out the essence of that person (Guaman Poma 1980 [1615], 272-273).

Table 10.2 and Graphic 10.1 combine the general decoration types with camisa sizes and indirectly with age categories (the extended table is rendered in Appendix 6). What becomes clear is that children (n = 16) did not wear highly visible garments. Most often, small children wore completely plain garments (n = 5), followed in frequency by camisas with few lateral stripes in predominant natural colours (4A, 4Aa, and 4Ab) (n = 6), while all over striping (6A) was used for two camisas. A type of camisa that would require more time to produce is an embroidered (type 3A) camisa, two of which were found in child-size at Chen Chen, but none at the sites of the lower valley. Neither were any neck plaques found on children's camisas. The absence of embroidery on children's clothing may imply that the people found such time consuming finishing techniques too elaborate for camisas that would not be worn long before being outgrown by the child. Nor can it be excluded that the embroidered plaques were the material expressions of some social status for which the children were considered too young.

Camisa type	Size	Chen Chen 1988	Chen Chen 1995	La Cruz I-T/C	La Cruz Chir.	La Cruz unkn.	El Descanso	Algodonal Ladera	Boca del Rio
type 1	child	—	1	2	2	—	—	2	—
	adult	—	1	9	—	3	7	5	—
	unknown	1	1	1	—	10	23	10	—
type 2	adult	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
type 3	child	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	adult	3	1	3	—	—	—	—	—
	unknown	—	4	2	—	—	5	5	—
type 4	child	—	—	—	10	1	—	—	—
	adult	1	—	1	2	—	—	1	—
	unknown	—	—	1	1	7	11	6	—
type 5	child	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	adult	2	1	2	—	—	1	—	—
	unknown	1	3	4	—	—	11	—	—
type 6	child	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
	adult	—	—	2	1	—	—	1	—
	unknown	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—
<i>subtotal</i>		11	12	28	17	22	59	30	1
Total									180

Table 10.2 Camisa types subdivided by age category. Camisa types lumped into general categories



Graphic 10.1 General categories of camisa types, subdivided by age category

Adolescents were found buried with similar camisa types as the children, although the totally striped camisas (6A) lacks. This age group too appear to have been excluded from the time and dyed yarn consuming camisas styles (types 3A and 5A and 5B).

Almost exclusively found among adult sized camisas then, are those types which were most time consuming to produce (type 2Sa and all sub-styles of category 3) (n = 16), or camisas styles that consumed most dyed yarn (type 4A and 5A, n = 21 and n = 8, respectively), or both

	1A	1Ad	2A	3Ab	3Adc	4A	4Ab	4BW	5A	5B	6A	?	<i>total camisas</i>	<i>total individuals</i>
female	11	2	—	2	—	3	—	1	1	2	1	—	23	16
male	5	1	1	—	1	—	1	1	—	—	1	1	12	8

Table 10.3 Camisa design types and sex-distinction summarized

(types 4B, 4BW, and 5B, $n = 4$ and $n = 5$, respectively). This implies that such elaborate types were considered appropriate for adults, either because of the extra costs, or because of their association with certain social positions.

In short, camisa types indicate that the Osmore population knew some distinction between age classes. The fact that elaborate garments were exclusive for adults, may be related to the fulfilment of certain community tasks with social regard as is the case in modern indigenous communities (Ackerman 1996, 249; Medlin 1996, 270-271; Minkes 2000).

10.4 Sex differentiation

Gender distinction is generally described as a functional means to organize labour and to mark sexually appropriate partners. Although the notion of gender may be ethnocentric, variable gender behaviour appears to be universal, if only for the necessity of procreation. In fact, the sexe-differences may represent the key to the origin of social differentiation, even in egalitarian societies

(see Paragraph 2.5). In this paragraph, an attempt is made to detect sex distinction expressed by the textiles and other grave gifts.

10.4.1 CAMISA TYPES AND FORMS

Adding the information on gender to the age groups and the types of camisas they wore, makes clear what types of garments were typically worn by males and by females. Table 10.3 summarizes the camisa types of known sexes from Table 10.2 into crude categories.

Although the number of camisas worn by men and women are minimal, they do show that lateral and/or neck embroidered camisas, as well as all over striped and modestly lateral striped camisas are worn by both sexes. Although the polychrome lateral striped camisas (type 5A or 5B) are found with three adult women only, the number of unidentified adults ($n = 15$) associated with these types of camisas is far too large to exclude men from having worn them.

Table 10.4 summarizes the sex-identified camisas from both sectors of La Cruz and their shapes (chosen because

camisa form	female				male			
	Ilo-Tumilaca		Chiribaya		Ilo-Tumilaca		Chiribaya	
	child	adult	child	adult	child	adult	child	adult
square	—	4	—	—	—	1	1	—
rectangular warp >	—	5	—	—	1	2	—	1
rectangular weft >	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	1
semi-trapezoidal	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
trapezoidal	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
unknown	1	—	2	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Subtotals</i>	1	12	3		1	3	1	3
<i>Total</i>				16				8

Table 10.4 Camisa forms according to sex and age distinction (specimens from Ilo-Tumilaca and Chiribaya sectors of La Cruz)

this site has best organic preservation to allow such reconstruction). It indicates that various forms of *camisas* were worn by men and women, either square, rectangular or semi-trapezoidal. Not rarely are various *camisa* forms found with one and the same individual, male or female. Among the Ilo-Tumilaca men and women, there is a clear preference for long garments, while the trapezoidal (4BW) shapes are exclusive for the Chiribaya population.

10.4.2 FASHION SHOW AND CALCULATIONS OF YARN AND TIME EXPENDITURE

In order to get an idea of how the garments would have been worn, reproductions were made and worn by a 1.60 metre tall model, drawn by Erick van Driel. The type 6A *camisa* (#99211) was found wrapped around the body of an adult woman from tomb 5 from La Cruz (1993), together with a plain rectangular *camisa*.^[6] The striped style 6A *camisa* (#99211) is square (85 cm long x 84 to 90 cm wide) and would have reached down to the knees (*fig. 10.4a, b*). Producing this

camisa would have required two natural colours of camelid wool spun into 9.2 km yarn and 166 hours (see Appendix 5).^[7] As this woman was found buried with a broad *faja*, she is likely to have wore this *camisa* bound together at the waist.

The embroidered *camisa* (3Adb, #99305) is much longer (121 cm long x 97 to 103 wide, see *Plate 1.2*). Unfortunately, the age and gender of the owner (tomb 8, La Cruz 1998) are unknown, so that it is unknown whether this *camisa* would have reached down to the ankles or just half way the calves (*fig. 10.5*). The total amount of spun yarn to produce this larger *camisa* is 18.4 km. The fabrication of the woven fabric would have required 302 hours, but it is unknown how many hours would have been needed to produce the embroidery (see Appendix 5).

An example of how a trapezoidal shaped *camisa* (4BW) would have been worn is given by *camisa* #02407. This specimen was worn by an older man (tomb 01, La Cruz 1993) (*fig. 10.6a, b*). The *camisa* measures 85.5 cm long x 105

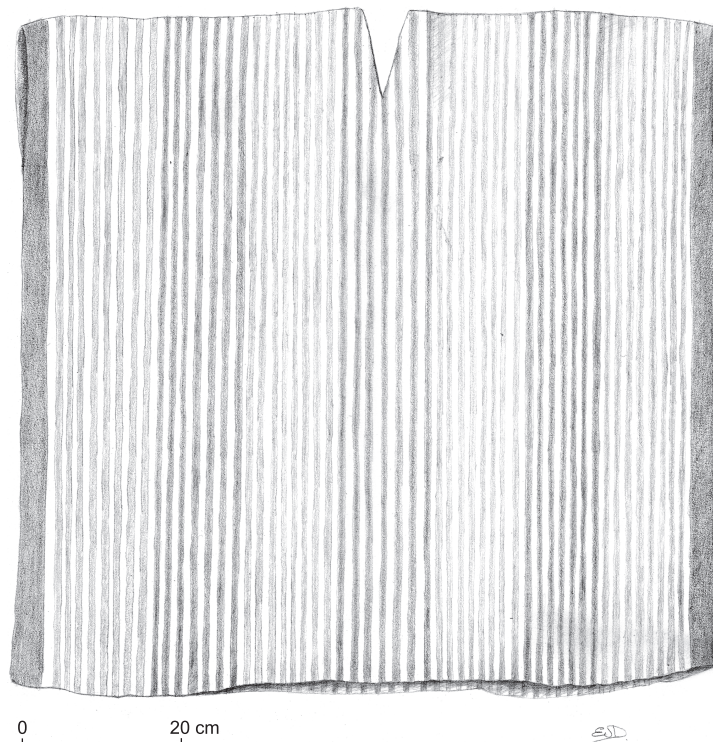


Fig. 10.4a Reconstruction of a type 6A *camisa* (#99211) (Erick van Driel)



Fig. 10.4b Type 6A camisa worn by adult woman from La Cruz (1993, tomb 5) (Erick van Driel)



Fig. 10.5 Reconstruction of a type 3Adb* embroidered camisa (#99305, see Plate 1.2) from La Cruz (1998, tomb 8) (Erick van Driel)

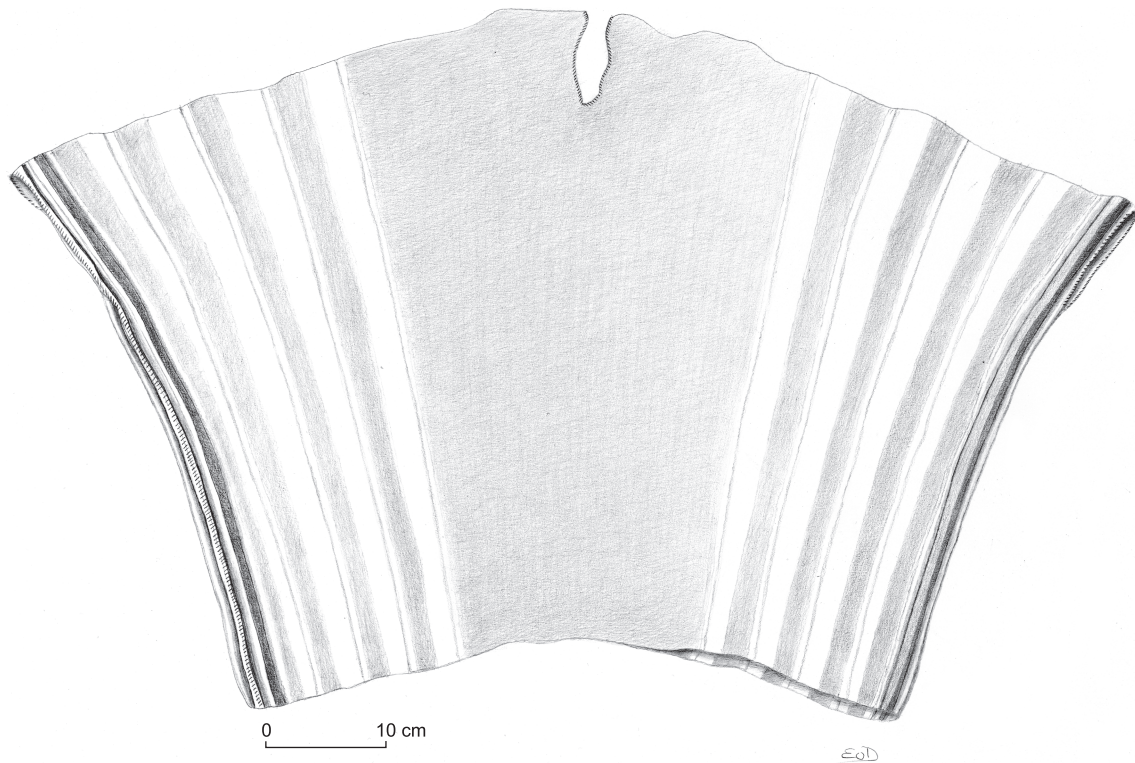


Fig. 10.6a Reconstruction of a trapezoidal shaped type 4BW camisa (#02407) (Erick van Driel)

widening to 175 cm wide by inserting discontinuous supplementary warps. The man wore a taparrabo underneath this short garment. As it is unknown how the discontinuous supplementary warps were inserted and how much time this procedure would have taken, no total amount and time for the yarn production can be calculated.

Finally, a colourful lateral striped camisa with colour change in its outer two stripes (5B, #02568) is worn by an adolescent woman (fig. 10.7). She wore a red, dark green and yellow coloured cinta wrapped around her head, ending in purple tassels. This camisa is 97.5 cm long x 80.5 to 114 wide. The finely woven camisa (46 warps/cm x 9 wefts/cm) would have required most spun yarn: 24.1 km. An estimated five hours is added to the total sum of production time to compensate for the extra activities of inserting and weaving discontinuous warps in the two outer stripes, resulting in a total of 372 hours (see Appendix 5).

10.4.3 CAMISA QUALITY AND SEX DISTINCTION

Quality score

Each camisa has been given a Quality score according to Cassman's (1997) calculation of production steps (Paragraph 3.10). Table 10.5 shows the minimum, maximum and average scores of camisas found for men and women of each site.

The average quality score for all male camisas is 5.7 and 6.0 for all female camisas. Although the male garments from Algodonal and the female Chiribaya camisas score high on average, their quality scores fall within normal ranges. Interesting is that the female garments of both Chiribaya and Ilo-Tumilaca from La Cruz contexts score considerably higher on average than their male counterpart. Unfortunately, the sample of gender-identified garments is too small to make any statements about structural differences in male and female clothing quality.



Fig. 10.6b Type 4BW camisa worn by older man from La Cruz (1993, tomb 01) (Erick van Driel)



Fig. 10.7 Reconstruction of lateral striped type 5B camisa (#02568, see Plate 1.3) worn by an adolescent girl from La Cruz (1993, tomb 15) (Erick van Driel)

name site	male				female				total indiv.	
	min	max	mean	n =	min	max	mean	n =	♂	♀
Chen Chen	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	0	0	0
Cruz/Tiw/I-T/C	2.5	7.5	4.8	4	3.5	10.5	6.2	13	2	6
La Cruz/ Chiribaya	4.5	9.5	5.9	4	7	7.5	7.2	3	3	1
El Descanso	—	—	—	0	4	7	6.5	5	0	5
El Algodonal	7	7.5	7.3	2	—	—	—	0	1	0
<i>Average</i>									6	12

Table 10.5 Camisa quality scores according to sex and site (n = number of camisas associated with sex-identifiable individuals)

name site	male				female				total indiv.	
	min	max	mean	n =	min	max	mean	n =	♂	♀
Chen Chen	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	0	0	0
LaCruz/Tiw/I-T/C	10.2	15.6	12.2	4	9.6	14.6	12.1	13	2	6
La Cruz/ Chiribaya	9.6	12	10.9	4	9.7	13	10.8	3	3	1
El Descanso	—	—	—	0	7.6	11.9	10.3	5	0	5
El Algodonal	11.1	13.3	12.2	2	—	—	—	0	1	0
<i>Average</i>			11.6				11.6		6	12

Table 10.6 Camisa fabric density according to sex and site (n = number of camisas associated with sex-identifiable individuals)

Fabric density

Another method of comparing the quality of various garments uses the fabric density score that shows the fineness of the fabric and thus of the quality of the yarn production and weaving process (see Paragraph 3.10). The fabric density was calculated according to Cassman's method (1997), resulting in the formula of: (warp diameter : warp/cm) + (weft diameter : weft/cm).

Table 10.6 shows the minimum, maximum and average scores of the fabric densities per site, like the quality scores before. The average fabric density for both male and female camisas is 11.6, indicating that there is practically no difference between the quality of spinning and weaving of male and female garments. Chiribaya garments score below the average fabric density due to their coarser warp and weft diameters (see Paragraph 8.4.2).

The consistently higher fabric density of the Ilo-Tumilaca-style garments from La Cruz versus its Chiribaya-style garments, may be the consequence of the large quantities of dyed yarn of the type 5A and 5B camisas, which on average had finer diameters than

the average natural coloured yarn: 0.42 mm versus 0.61 mm on average. This may imply that the dyed yarns from Ilo-Tumilaca-style garments had not been produced locally, but rather had been imported in dyed and spun or plied state.

Camisa wear and repair

At La Cruz, no distinction could be made between the amount of wear and repair work found in female and male dresses from either Chiribaya or Tiwanaku-like sectors. This means that neither one of the sexes appears to have had access to more new garments. The amount of wear of this site's garments seems to be slightly higher than the wear and repair in El Descanso's and Algodonal's garments (see Appendix 6).

10.4.4 SEX AND OTHER TYPES OF TEXTILES

Table 10.7 shows a selection of the other types of textiles and the sex with which they were associated. It shows that certain types of fabrics were exclusively associated with one sex. Textile types found with males or unidentified individuals, but never with positively identified

	Chen Chen 1988		Chen Chen 1995		Cruz/ Tiw/I-T/C		Cruz/ Chiribaya		Cruz unknown	Descanso	Algodonal	total	total				
<i>sex specification</i>	♂	♀	♂	♀	♂	♀	♂	♀	?	♂	♀	♂	♀	?			
number of individuals	17		14		2	6	3	1	6	5	9	1	22	6	12	80	98
type of fabric																	
Camisa (tunic)	12		13		4	13	4	3	10	5	56	2	35	10	21	161	192
Poncho	1				1		1				2			2		3	5
Manta (mantle)	3		4		1	1	4		1		3		4	1	1	21	23
Pañuelo (small cloth)	7					1			1	2	9		3		3	20	23
Paño (rag cloth)					1	2	8	1	6		6		2	8	2	34	44
Costal (large bag)																1	1
Talega (medium bag)	1				1			1	1				1			5	5
Ch'uspa (small coca bag)							1	4		7			2	1		13	14
Bolsa faja (belt bag)					2	2				1					2	3	5
Miniature								1		2						3	3
Malla (net bag)													1			3	3
Taparrabo (loin cloth)							1							1			1
Faja (broad belt)					2	1		1	1	3					2	6	8
Cinta (narrow belt)					1					1					1	1	2
Tocado hilo (headgear)							2		2					2		2	4
Tocado palito (headgear)									1	1					2		2
Turbante (turban)					2											2	2
Gorro simple (knotted hat)			1		1											3	3
Sandalia (sandal)								1							1	1	1
Fibra cruda (raw fibre)							1	1	2		1		3	1		7	8
Cuerda lana (wool cord)			1		1		3	2	14	1	4		7	4	1	28	33
Cuerda vegetal (vegetable cord)			5						3		3		2			13	13
Total														30	31	334	395

Table 10.7 Types of garments and other textiles associated with men, women or unknown sex

females, are ponchos, ch'uspas, tocado hilos, wads of crude fibre, and taparrabos: the one ch'uspa with identified sex belonged to an adult Chiribaya man (#02564), while the other Chiribaya ch'uspas were all found with very young children. El Descanso's chuspas were likewise found with both children and adults, unfortunately all of unknown sex. All tocado hilo specimens are found draped around the covered head of male or unknown Chiribaya children. The raw fibre specimens from La Cruz (either processed or not, or shaped into an almohadilla/pillow) are found with an adult man from the Chiribaya culture, with an unspecified boy, and with the adult man with the exotic 2A type camisa. Most wads of fibre are placed near the throat of the individuals. The only taparrabo (#02563) of this study was found with an older man.

On the contrary, textile types found with females or unidentified individuals, but never with positively identified males, are pañuelos, bolsa faja, faja and cinta. At La Cruz, one pañuelo had been found with an adult Ilo-Tumilaca female and another with a Chiribaya infant, whereas all six pañuelos from El Descanso with known context are associated with adults, two of them adult women. The fact that all three plain pañuelos of the latter site were associated with women, despite the fact that the majority of El Descanso's pañuelos were brightly coloured with lateral stripes, may suggest that women were less likely to possess highly decorated cloths. At Chen Chen and Algodonal, pañuelos were associated with both adults and children, once again without sex information.

Two of the three original Tiwanaku fajas and two of the bolsa fajas (with attached cinta) were buried with adult women. Both types of garments are broad, about 15 cm wide, and firmly woven despite their delicate patterning. This suggests that these items were appreciated by women in their child-bearing years for the physical support they gave to their waist.

Although it cannot be excluded that the garments mentioned above had been used by and buried with the other sex as well, it is interesting to find that ponchos in colonial times and today are considered typical male garments, while pañuelos and fajas are still more often used by women, although not exclusively. Bolsa fajas already had got out of use prior to the Inca era.

Although a large number of mantas is present in this study, only two Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza-style specimens from La Cruz could be sex-identified. One manta belonged to an adult Ilo-Tumilaca woman (type 2B) and another to a Ilo-Tumilaca boy (type 7). In colonial times and today, mantas are used as carrying cloths by both men and women, the male mantas usually somewhat larger (Adelson and Tracht 1983, 59-144, Minkes 2000; Ulloa 1982b, 119-120; Zorn 1987, 501).

10.4.5 SEX AND NON-TEXTILE ARTEFACTS AND FOOD ITEMS

Table 10.8 summarizes the items other than textiles that were associated with identified male and female burials from El Descanso, Algodonal, and La Cruz' two sectors. Chen Chen is excluded for not having any gender-identified individuals. The field notes listing the grave gifts per individual appear to be complete except for El Descanso, whose contextual data are practically all missing. Once more, as the number of individuals is minimal, so are the total numbers of their associated items.

Between one and five non-textile items are included in male burials, versus one to six items with women. The nature of the objects given to both sexes hardly varies: vegetable food, animal parts and wads of raw wool and cotton are found with both sexes. Only three ceramic items could be sex-identified, all three found with a male from various sites. As the numbers are so low, no exclusion of ceramic items for women is expected. The cactus pins, however, may have been exclusive for women, serving to pin a manta around the shoulders, as Andean women still do. None of the identified men and women appear to have been buried with craft-related items, including any recognizable weaving implements.

In conclusion, the artefact numbers and distribution are insufficient to make any strict divisions between gender-related items, nor can any labour specialization be observed among the sexes or sites. Interesting in this light is the remark by Owen (1993b, 13): *'Textiles and perishable plant material proved to be very important in the analysis. Ceramic vessels, the mainstay of many archaeological analyses, turned out to be almost incidental and did not play a role in gender differences and was only one of the variables contributing to age dependent patterning'*.

associated objects sex specified	La Cruz /Tiw/I-T/C		La Cruz / Chiribaya		El Descanso	Algodonal Ladera
	♂	♀	♂	♀	♀	♂
<i>number of individuals</i>	2	6	3	1	5	1
jarra (jar)			1			
vaso (cup)						1
tiesto (sherds)	1					
cajita (wooden box)		1				
undetermined wooden artefact				1		
alfiler (cactus pin)		2				
cane matting	1	4				
vegetable fibres	2	2				
wad of crude cotton			1			
wad of crude wool		2	1		1	
dog hair						1
animal bone (use unknown)		1				
cuy (guinea pig)				1		
fish bones	1		1	1		
fruit		1				
yuca	1					
maize cob	1	1				
maize kernels		1		1		
unidentified botanic remains		1	1			

Table 10.8 Non-textile grave gifts according to sex and site

10.4.6 SEX AND PERSONAL ADORNMENT

Hairstyle

No hairstyles are preserved or described for the individuals from Chen Chen, and the only identified man from Algodonal (tomb 19) had been buried with his hair hanging loose. Two unidentified adults from El Descanso had either multiple three-strand braids (1999, tomb 9) or a flat multiple-strand braid (*'tipo paño'*) (1999, tomb 22). The best information on hairstyles comes from the unwrapped mummified individuals from La Cruz. It would seem that all young children, regardless of their cultural affiliation, had their short hair hanging loose. None of the Tiwanaku or Ilo-Tumilaca women had their hair hanging loose, but commonly had their hair arranged in multiple small braids (found with two adolescent girls, one adult and one older woman), or in two lateral three-strand braids (found with two adult women). No hair lengths is given, but some sketches of unwrapped individuals show shoulder-length braids. The most intricate hairstyle, multiple three-strand

braids interworked into two large braids, is found on one adult woman. As for the men, the older Chiribaya man had his hair hanging loose, and two Ilo-Tumilaca adult men wear their hair braided into two simple lateral braids. The fat man from La Cruz (1993, tomb 23), who wore the exotic 2A-type camisa, had a matching aberrant hairstyle of multiple small braids tied together at the top of his head.

In short, just like their garments, La Cruz' men and women appear to have shared similar hairstyles to a great extent. The few hairstyle examples show no distinction among either man or woman, nor among adolescents and adults. The most intricate hairstyles in the Osmore valley are found among the adults.

Head deformation

There is no information available on the head deformation of the individuals from Chen Chen and Algodonal, while field reports from El Descanso identify only one adult female's head shape, which was naturally shaped.

The individuals from La Cruz do not show a specific type of head deformation limited to one of the sexes: among the women, one small Chiribaya girl (tomb 9) as well as an adult woman with Tiwanaku-style artefacts (tomb 8) had their heads deformed into fronto-occipital shape. The majority of La Cruz' women had their head naturally shaped, including the richly dressed Ilo-Tumilaca adolescent woman (tomb 15). Natural head shapes were found among the men (the one adult Ilo-Tumilaca man, an unidentified man and the older Chiribaya man), while fronto-occipital deformed head shape was observed for one older Ilo-Tumilaca boy. In addition, an annular head shape was observed for a Chiribaya infant boy.

This implies that men and women appear to have been entitled to similar head shapes, and that people with different head shapes lived mingled in the Osmore valley and even at the sites themselves. No pierced ears or tattoos are recorded.

Pathology

Some of the unwrapped individuals are said to show evidence of diseases. However, one has to keep in mind that the forensic examination was performed by non-specialists while unwrapping the bundles. One of the Descanso adult women is found with fractured bones (unspecified), and although her tomb was disturbed, the fractures appear to have been pre-mortem. Among La Cruz' Tiwanaku-like population, osteoporosis was observed among two adult women, caries with an older woman, arthritis with an adolescent girl, and anaemia with a young girl. The only identified adult man suffered from arthritis and caries. Among the Chiribaya population, one male child appears to have died of malnutrition, while another had suffered from an abscess and the older man from osteoporosis. All other individuals showed no obvious signs of diseases prior to their death.

It can be concluded that there was no apparent distinction among the men and women from the middle and lower Osmore drainage. Both sexes had been buried in similar *camisas*, both in form, size, design, and quality, so that it is very likely that men and women had been dressed in undistinguished attire in life as they had been in death. Only few textile types appear to have been gender-biased, such as *pañuelos*, *fajas*, and *taparrabos*. In addition, head shapes and hairstyles were not

reserved for either sex, whereas artefacts or food items were not exclusively held by males and females either. No gender-related tasks could be distilled from the associated artefacts. This seems to imply that men and women of Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza and Chiribaya affiliation alike, had been entitled to hold similar social positions.

10.5 Status

Status may have been achieved through specific abilities, or through fulfilling social duties within a society. Status may also have been ascribed through inheritance. In both cases, the hierarchy of rank is the result of competition over essential resources, either in the form of actual means of production or some knowledge. Garments are generally considered most apt to express distinct status, as they are omnipresent in daily life and form an intrinsic part of the mortuary treatment. If these features cross-cut gender and/or age distinctions, such symbols are probably indicative of ranking or ethnicity. Status can be recognized in the archaeological funerary context through the presence of more and qualitatively better or exotic grave gifts inside more elaborate tombs, and in favourable circumstances through the individual's garments, whereas expressions of ethnicity are of no intrinsic value and available to all (see Paragraphs 2.3 and 2.4).

Therefore, the characteristics of textiles and non-textile artefacts from the four sites are examined to make an assessment of relative status on intersite and intrasite level. The textile analysis includes several indices for textile quality and identifies the presence of exotic materials in the clothing. Non-textile grave gifts are also compared according to their quantity, quality, and use.

10.5.1 STATUS ON INTERSITE LEVEL

Textile quality evidence for status differences

Several indicators of textile quality for *camisas* have been summarized in Table 10.9, allowing a intersite comparison. The various indices indicate that the textiles do not differ greatly per site. However, both sectors of Chen Chen score slightly better than the lower Osmore sites, with considerably higher quality scores (indicating a greater number of production steps), little more dyes, and fabric densities below average (implying finer woven fabrics).

name site	quality score			fabric density			number dyes		camisa
	min	max	mean	min	max	mean	max	mean	n =
Chen Chen 1988	2	9.5	7.2	9.2	16.1	11.5	10	3.8	12
Chen Chen 1995	6	10	7.8	8.9	13.4	10.8	5	2.5	13
La Cruz/ Tiw/I-T/C	2.5	10.5	6.0	9.6	15.6	12.5	7	2.4	23
La Cruz/ Chiribaya	4	9.5	6.6	8.8	13	10.7	4	1.1	17
El Descanso	3	10.5	6.4	7.6	12.1	10.5	6	1.4	20
El Algodonal	3	9.5	6.0	7.8	19.3	12.5	8	1.8	29
<i>Average</i>			6.4			11.6		2.0	

Table 10.9 Camisa quality scores and fabric densities: range and averages

Among the lower Osmore sites, the differences in the camisas' qualitative scores are small and not consistent. Although the Algodonal and the Tiwanaku-like sector from La Cruz score equally low on quality and fabric density, both had access to a wider variety of dyed yarns in their camisas. However, the dyed yarns in Algodonal's camisas are largely restricted to modest embroidery, thus requiring a minimum of dyed yarns. In contrast, El Descanso weavers applied large amounts of dyed yarn in their 5A/B camisas, but of limited variety of dyed colours. Nevertheless, Boytner (1998, 330) believes that the Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza type 5A and 5B camisas with divided stripes are imbued with high prestige, as they were found at the elite site of Chiribaya Alta in Ilo-Tumilaca and in Chiribaya tombs. The fact that El Descanso is located at the foot of the elite site of Chiribaya Alta, and that a considerable percentage of its population had been dressed in highly visible 5A and 5B camisas with divided stripes or solid stripes, suggests that this site indeed may have been considered of higher standing. In comparison, no camisas with divided stripes have been found among the Tiwanaku-like sector of Chiribaya nor at Algodonal and two such specimens were found at Chen Chen. As El Descanso is located precisely at the gentle slope giving the easiest access to the Osmore valley for llama caravans from the highlands, it would have been the first coastal settlement that the travellers met upon arrival. No doubt, such strategic position would have given El Descanso some privileges, even if it had been one of *primer inter pares*. The culturally mixed burial ground of Chiribaya Alta may have been repeated at El Descanso, where at least one Chiribaya adolescent had

been buried (tomb 07, 1st period 1999) among Ilo-Tumilaca burials.

Interesting is that no Ilo-Cabuza textiles have been found at Chiribaya Alta (Owen 1993, 247). This implies that eventually, the Chiribaya people took over the whole elite site and that the descendants of the Tiwanaku lost their status of equality to the Chiribaya. Likewise, no Ilo-Cabuza style garments appear to have been entombed with El Descanso individuals of this study.

Textile quantity evidence for status differences

Table 10.10 shows the number of textiles and non-textile artefacts associated with the individuals inside the tombs of each site. The data have been taken from the excavation reports and inventory lists, so that it is more extensive than Table 9.8 listing artefacts from sex-identified tombs only.

The table only includes artefacts from tombs that had their field notes and/or inventory lists complete, that is: all tombs of Algodonal Ladera and both sectors of Chen Chen, but a selection of El Descanso (1999) and La Cruz (1993). Difference in quantities of textiles and non-textile grave goods per individual may indicate disparities in wealth accumulation and therefore disparities in relative status. In addition, the relative importance of textiles as grave gifts can be assessed due to the excellent preservation of organic material inside the tombs.

It is interesting to see that the number of textile and non-textile objects placed with the dead is almost equal. Exception is El Descanso, where each individual had been buried with 2.5 times more non-textile objects than with textile artefacts. Apparently, some level of wealth

	Chen Chen 1988	Chen Chen 1995	La Cruz I-T/C	La Cruz Chir	La Cruz ?	El Descanso	Algodonal Ladera
average textiles	1.6	3.6	3.8	6.8	2.1	2.6	3.1
range textiles	1 to 3	2 to 7	2 to 5	4 to 1	0 to 4	1 to 6	1 to 6
average non-textile artefacts	2.1	2.3	2.4	6.1	2.5	6.4	2.8
range non-textile artefacts	1 to 4	1 to 7	1 to 5	3 to 13	1 to 4	1 to 14	1 to 7
average textiles/artefacts	3.7	5.9	6.2	12.9	4.6	9.0	5.9
range textiles/artefacts	1 to 6	2 to 10	4 to 11	6 to 19	0 to 9	1 to 22	2 to 10
<i>tombs/individuals</i>	<i>8.0</i>	<i>12.0</i>	<i>9.0</i>	<i>7.0</i>	<i>4.0</i>	<i>10.0</i>	<i>16.0</i>

Table 10.10 Number of textile and non-textile artefacts per individual (? = unidentifiable)

accumulation was present at this site, or perhaps the textiles were needed by the living relatives, or perhaps Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza populations from the other sites considered large amounts of textile artefacts as inappropriate grave gift. No such objections appear to have been present among the Chiribaya. However, the relative high score for the Chiribaya individuals, most of them small children, can hardly be interpreted as accumulated wealth or even status indicators, as many textiles are mere second hand paños.

At Chen Chen, the amount of textiles buried with the Tiwanaku people from the 1995 sector is remarkable compared to the people buried at the 1988 sector. Not the differential preservation or impact of looting appear to be the reason, but rather a different intention of the mourners.

Exotic items

No evidence of foreign or rare items has been found in the Osmore textiles of this study: no metal, shell, feather, etc. objects had been attached to the textiles or entombed with the dead. However, considerable quantities of metal objects such as hammered pectorals and diadems of silver and gold have been taken illegally from the elite site of Chiribaya Alta, showing that metals indeed had been considered prestige objects by the Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza and Chiribaya populations, as in many other Andean cultures. Metal objects are known to have been inserted inside the mouths of Osmore individuals from other sites, and therefore are thought to have been present much more often in the past. Unfortunately, today the metals form the main incentive for grave robbery (Buikstra 1995, 260; Goldstein 1989, 166-167; Owen 1993, 463).

Although no chemical analysis of the dye stuffs was conducted for this study, an earlier study of lower Osmore textiles by Wallert and Boytner (1996) showed that many if not all vegetable dye stuffs could have been obtained locally, especially in the coastal lomas. In that case, dyed yarns would not have been exotic or rare, nor representative of higher status.

However, the basic material of the camisas itself, the camelid alpaca wool, may have been (partially) imported. Several studies have made clear that camelids, especially llamas, can be (seasonally) kept in the warm coastal regions, feeding in the lomas or on agricultural leftovers and marine algae, despite the fact that the animals originate from the cold altiplano. However, the breeding of alpacas, the main providers of wool fibre, is much less successful, and it is probable that these animals were mainly kept in the higher zones (Jessup 1991, 9-10; Owen 1993, 160-166; Shimada and Shimada 1985, 8-17; Topic *et al.* 1987, 834). Therefore, it seems safe to conclude that alpaca wool garments are not related to any special social status.

As the Tiwanaku state was centred in the altiplano, they had had ample access to the alpaca fibre sources. Their descendants, the Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza population, are thought to have maintained trade routes to the highlands, be it on much lesser scale. The Chiribaya are known to have established colonies in the middle and higher reaches of the Osmore drainage, presumably primarily for their camelid herds (Stanish 1990, 154-156). As the Chiribaya are considered to have been a coastal people, they must have copied their preference for wool over cotton from the altiplano people, just like the Formative Alto Ramírez coastal dwellers from the Azapa

valley before them. The presence of large quantities of camelid bones (including feet and crania) and fleece in the coastal domestic and cemetery contexts indicates that the animals had been locally butchered, so that it may be assumed that the animals were locally shorn as well, although additional import of fibre, dyed yarn, and dried meat cannot not be excluded (Feldman 1989, 215; Goldstein 1989, 84, 230-231; Goldstein and Owen 2001, 145; Kolata 1993, 75-77).

Non-textile evidence for status differences

Table 10.10 showed that the average number of items other than textiles ranges between 2.1 for an individual from Chen Chen (1995) to 6.4 for an individual from El Descanso. Interesting is that the individuals of most sites or sectors had been entombed with about two items, versus a doubled or tripled amount of items given to the Chiribaya individuals and the Descanso population. Table 10.11 demonstrates that these items include a great number of botanic and faunal remains, usually placed inside ceramic or calabash bowls, which are virtually absent at Chen Chen. The disparity among the lower valley sites suggests differential access of the Chiribaya population to certain items such as specific food and calabashes, and/or a different burial tradition. The quantity of burials and their associated food gifts are too few to determine any food preferences or taboos per site.

Artefacts and site specialization

Before moving on to the issue of intrasite status symbolism, the sites are revised for indications of site specialization. According to grave gifts, most items are omnipresent, although clear exception is made by artefacts that are directly related to navigation: these have been found within Chiribaya tombs from La Cruz only: one miniature *balsa* and *remo* (raft and oar) found with an infant (tomb 22), and another miniature *balsa* with a young child (tomb s/n 02). Unfortunately, none of the children had their sex specified, so that it remains unclear whether sea exploitation or trade was considered a gender-related work task. As both children are mere babies, the presence of the sea-related items may refer to craft specialization of (one of) its parents or perhaps of the whole Chiribaya community as opposed to the Tiwanaku and Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza agriculturalists. Both Chiribaya babies had their heads deformed

into fronto-occipital shapes, not in the annular form considered typical of Chiribaya maritime specialists according to Lozada (1998, 158-162).

The different types of ceramic artefacts found at the sites may refer to different food preferences or ritual significance: at Chen Chen, jarras and vasos or keros for liquids dominate, whereas at El Descanso and Algodonal a much more varied collection was found, including plate-like cuencos for dried food stuffs. Perhaps the Tiwanaku considered drinking rituals to be an inherent part of the funerary rites, as the production and consumption of *chicha* maize beer is known to have formed an integral part of Tiwanaku life in the middle Osmore valley (Goldstein 1989, 134). Lower Osmore people may have emphasized vegetable food and meat offering in their rituals.

Cucharas, wooden spoons, are found in considerable quantities at all sites except La Cruz. The spoon appears to have been the only utensil used for food preparation and consumption. They are often found inside a ceramic or calabash bowl with or without food content. At La Cruz and El Descanso, bivalve shell species *chorro* or *chanque* are found inside tombs, which are believed to have served as spoons as well, and as such may refer to an ancient coastal tradition. Carpio (pers. comm. 2002) feels that the shell spoons may have had ritual significance in the funerary context.

Evidence for textile production is minimal and found at all sites: a wichuña (bone pick for the weaving process), cactus needles, and a needle comb. Small and large wads of raw camelid fibre or small cotton wads are found with unknown and male individuals, often located near or on the throat. These wads may have had a symbolic function, rather than an utilitarian one. The quantities are far too low to suggest any specialized activity. Although textile production tools, such as spindle whorls or looms, were not buried with the individuals, considerable quantities of these items are known to be excavated and stored at Centro Mallqui.

Three panpipes (music instruments) have been found with two Chiribaya infants (tomb 22 and 24) and with one child from El Descanso (tomb 27, 1999, 1st period), all of unknown gender. Panpipes have been found in other Tiwanaku contexts in the middle Osmore valley as well as in Maytas-Chiribaya contexts in Azapa (Asociación Contisuyo 1997, 88; Santoro and Ulloa 1985, 59).

	Chen Chen		La Cruz			El	Algdonal
	1988	1995	I-T/C	Chir	Unkn.	Descanso	Ladera
CERAMICS							
cuenco (open bowl)						5	2
jarra (jar 1 vertical handle)	1			1		5	6
vaso/kero (drinking cup)	2	3		1		2	7
olla (pot with 2 vertical handles)						1	
urna (urn)				4			1
tiestos (sherds), diagnostic	1					1	3
tiestos (sherds), not diagnostic	1	5	1				1
BOTANIC ARTEFACTS							
balsa (miniature boat)				2			
remo (miniature oar)				1			
antara (panpipes)				2		1	
peine (comb of cactus spines)						1	
trompo (bottle stopper)				1			
cuchara (wooden spoon)	3	2				4	3
cajita (wooden box)			1				
bastón (staff)				1		2	
aguja (cactus needle)		2				1	1
alfiler (cactus pin)		2	1		1		
calabaza (gourd) with contents	1			3		3	
calabaza (gourd) without contents		1		2		1	
cane matting		2	4	1	1	1	1
undetermined wooden artefact		3		2			
BOTANIC REMAINS							
coca (leaves)				1		1	
maiz (cob)			3	2		1	
maiz (kernels)			1	2		1	4
fruits (lúcuma, guayaba, etc)			2	2			
pacay				2			
yuca			1	1		1	2
wad of crude cotton				1	1		1
vegetable fibre or sticks			3	1		1	
carbón (charcoal)		1	1		1	4	
unidentified botanic remains				2	1	4	4
FAUNA ARTEFACTS							
cuenta de crisocola (shell beads)							1
wichuña (bone pick)						1	
cuy: paw tied by yarn						1	
animal bone (use unknown)		1	1				1
camelid pelt	3	1				2	
dog hair/pelt						1	2

<i>continued</i>	Chen Chen		La Cruz			El	Algdonal
	1988	1995	I-T/C	Chir	Unkn.	Descanso	Ladera
FAUNA REMAINS							
camelid head						1	
wad of crude wool	5	4	1	2	1	2	3
cuy (mummified guinea pig)				3		5	
feather					1	3	
fish bones			1	2			
chorro (bivalve shell / spoon?)			1	1	1	2	
chanque (bivalve shell / spoon?)						1	
OTHER							
metal						1	
ocre		1					
lithic (tool?)					2		
external offering (undefined)						1	1
human body parts (offering?)						1	
<i>Total</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>43</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>63</i>	<i>44</i>

Table 10.11 Grave gift categories subdivided by site

Finally, the distribution of cane mats suggests that they were a Tiwanaku-derived custom rather than a coastal Chiribaya one. No cane mat specimen was observed in the depository during the fieldwork, but it is assumed that cane matting refers to mats twined or woven from local reeds (*tatora* or *junquillo*) that may have been wrapped around the funerary bundle and/or served to carry the deceased to his grave.

In short, on intersite level, no clear difference in material wealth and status items could be found. The Tiwanaku textiles from Chen Chen in the middle valley score higher on various quality criteria than the textiles from the lower valley sites, but the differences are modest and no exotic materials are present. Despite their colourful appearance, the El Descanso garments did not score high for quality. Indeed large amounts of dyed yarns had been applied, but the range of dyes is limited and presumably locally produced.

The larger quantity of non-textile artefacts present inside El Descanso and La Cruz' Chiribaya-style tombs partly reflects the presence of more food items, which are unlikely expressions of wealth accumulation. Likewise, the higher textile quality scores of Chiribaya

individuals, especially the young, are mainly due to the quantity of often second hand fabrics. Nonetheless, the grave gifts make clear that the Chiribaya buried their dead with more food and artefacts, supposedly reflecting a different burial tradition than the highland people.

10.5.2 STATUS ON INTRASITE LEVEL

Some buried objects in fact may have served as symbols of social standing of the deceased within their village and society. In the modern indigenous Andean communities, prestigious political and/or religious cargos are not only expressed through special attire, but through ceremonial staffs and precious metal items as well (Adelson and Tracht 1983, 59; Burger 1995, 135; O'Day 2000, 62).

Textile evidence for intrasite status differences

In order to find men and women who might have achieved some privileged position among the cemetery populations of all four sites, the total of textile possessions of each individual needs to be compared. Table 10.10 already showed that most populations buried their dead with a variable number of artefacts, ranging from one to three textiles plus one to four other items at Chen Chen (1988), versus two to eight textiles plus three

Site	number of individuals	Q score average	Q score range	Q score male	Q score female
Chen Chen 1988	17	8.2	1 to 14	—	—
Chen Chen 1995	14	13.7	5 to 37	—	—
La Cruz Tiw./I-T/C	10	18.5	3.5 to 38.5	19.5	3.5 to 29
La Cruz Chiribaya	10	26.7	10 to 40	16 to 40	30.5
La Cruz unidentified	10	7.6	2 to 15	5.5 to 12	3 to 9.5
El Descanso	14	14.5	3 to 48.5	—	29.5
Algodonal	23	12.7	3 to 32	14.5	—
Total / average	98	14.6	3.5 to 28		

Table 10.12 Range and average of individually accumulated textiles

to thirteen other items for a Chiribaya individual from La Cruz. Table 10.12 specifies these individually accumulated textiles using the average and range of quality scores per site and per sex.

The table shows that the individually accumulated quality scores vary between one to fourteen points for an individual from Chen Chen (1988) to ten to forty points for a Chiribaya individual, whereas the averages yield 8.2 versus 26.7 points, respectively. The total scores per Chiribaya individual does not vary greatly, and one has to keep in mind that most individuals score high due to the presence of a number of second hand paños. The highest individual quality score (40) among the Chiribaya pertains to the only adult man (tomb 1) among nine children, buried with three camisas, a taparrabo, a decorated ch'uspa, almohadilla and a rope. However, it cannot be concluded that his grave gifts make him an exceptionally rich man, especially since he is the only adult among the Chiribaya individuals. In fact, Chiribaya individuals from other sites, such as Chiribaya Alta, Chiribaya Baja, or El Yaral, are usually found buried with seven textiles on average and up to fifteen ceramic pots plus a variety of other tools and food items (Buikstra 1995, 255; Clark *et al.* 1993, 2; Jessup 1991, 11-12). These quantities make the Chiribaya adult in this sample a rather poor example of Chiribaya burial.

The highest textile quality score of 48.5 points belonged to an unidentified adult from El Descanso (1998, tomb 5), buried with two Azapa/Cabuza-like camisas, a bolsa faja, ch'uspa, tocado palito, unidentified fragment and a rope.^[8] This score surpasses the average El Descanso quality score of 14.5 by far.

The accumulate quality scores for men and women show great differences, but as the number of sex identified individuals is so low, an interpretation of the scores cannot be given much credibility.

In sum, the textile scores single out few individuals with relative high quality scores, but whether they enjoyed a higher status remains disputable.

Non-textile evidence for intrasite status differences

Ceremonial staffs and precious metals are common attributes to express leading authority in the Andean communities, both ancient and modern (Bruhns 1996, 183; Burger 1995, 135; O'Day 2000, 62; Moseley 1997, 206).

Among the artefacts found in tombs, three staffs (*bastón*) are listed without description of their appearance. However, one *bastón* was present in an unwrapped Chiribaya infant burial, described and illustrated in Paragraph 10.2.1. In the reports on the unwrapping of the mummy bundles, the *bastón* is also referred to as a miniature oar. It appears to be made of a short and thin stick, and considering its plain nature, length and position inside the urn, it may have served as a grave marker, without any symbolic meaning of status.

Only one adult individual was described as being buried with a metal object inside its disturbed tomb (El Descanso 1999, 1st period, tomb 9). No specification of its nature or location is known to the author. However, as looters are usually out for metal objects, it cannot be excluded that originally more metal objects (especially gold, silver, and copper) had been buried with certain individuals.

Ceramic and calabash pots, especially when decorated, may have been associated with certain

privileges. Although only few ceramic items have been found inside these tombs, the inventories and field reports learn that these items are in fact quite common gifts at all sites, especially at El Descanso and Algodonal, and supposedly at the Tiwanaku/Tumilaca sector of La Cruz as well. There is no indication of higher status.

Thus, comparisons on intrasite level make clear that each individual had been buried with a unique set of artefacts. These items likely represent personal belongings, showing that the mourners took care to preserve the *social persona* of the deceased. Some individuals were buried with little more objects, but no obvious symbols of higher social prestige are identified. Individuals of identified sex are too few to make a qualitative distinction among male and female total attire, and with it, a distinction in social status among the sexes. However, the sharing of similar camisa forms, decorations, and fineness of weaving by males and females suggests that gender distinction was of minimal importance in death, if any such distinction existed at all. In short, the grave goods seem to symbolize a subtly graded social hierarchy at most, with achieved rather than inherited positions for men and supposedly for women alike.

10.6 Ethnicity

Ethnic groups are commonly defined as groups of people whose members identify themselves and are identified by others as belonging to those groups. They are thought of as biologically self-perpetuating, its members forming a bounded social field of communication and interaction, while they share the basic cultural values manifested in overt cultural forms. Even if their relatives live far away, an ethnic group may maintain their ethnic marking. Or, on the contrary, various ethnic groups may live side by side and interact, and yet stress their distinctiveness, especially when the contact among the groups is competitive (Barth 1996, 75-82; Hutchinson and Smith 1996, 6; Weber 1996, 35-40).

In archaeological contexts, ethnicity is visible as superordinate to most other statuses, and found with young and old, men and women, just like status symbols. Unlike the latter, ethnic markers have little inherent worth so that the raw materials to produce them would have been accessible to every member of that society.

Most common ethnic expressions are clothes and headgear, but also hairstyle, head deformation, food preferences, and a variety of material culture, including domestic and burial structures. Different material traditions in one region thus may indicate the presence of populations with different origins, who consciously continued to distinguish themselves from their neighbours (see Paragraph 2.3).

10.6.1 TEXTILE EVIDENCE FOR ETHNIC IDENTITY

This textile study has shown that *camisas* are the most common type of fabric by far as well as a unisex garment regardless of age. Therefore, these garments are expected to have functioned as main carrier of ethnic identity. This implies that if two or even more ethnic groups had cohabited in the Osmore valley, they would have worn *camisas* in clearly differentiated styles. These *camisa* styles would not have been mingled within the tombs, and if competition between the ethnic groups had been serious, they would not have been mingled at a single cemetery.

Inventories on tombs and ceramics from various other Chiribaya sites in the Lower Osmore valley, such as Chiribaya Alta, Chiribaya Baja and El Yaral, confirm that the asymmetrical type 4A and 4BW *camisas* are common at these sites, whereas embroidered (3A) and polychrome lateral striped (5A/B) *camisas* are absent (Boytner 1998; Clark *et al.* 1993; Lazo 1990; Owen 1993). Only at the elite site of Chiribaya Alta have few Chiribaya graves been found mixed with Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza type 5A/B *camisas* (with divided stripes) or *camisas* with mixed style elements. Boytner (1998, 330-331) interprets these mixed graves as illustrative of the high prestige that these Ilo-Tumilaca *camisas* enjoyed, also among the Chiribaya.

Algodonal's cemeteries have been identified as purely Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza by Owen (1993, 424) and Boytner (1998, 326) based on their tombs, ceramics and textiles, despite the adjacent Chiribaya habitation area.

Table 8.3, 8.4, 8.6, and 8.7 summarized the *camisa* types of each site. These tables show that the Chiribaya-style *camisas* with two asymmetrical lateral stripes (4A) and the trapezoidal *camisas* (4BW) have been found at La Cruz only. These *camisas* have been buried with ten individuals, some of them wrapped with an additional plain *camisa* (type 1A, n = 2), all over striped *camisa*

(6A, $n = 2$), or with a single lateral stripe (4Aa or 4Ab, both 1 specimen). However, none of these ten individuals had been buried with embroidered camisas (3A), nor with the colourful striped type 5A/B camisas.

In contrast, type 3A and 5A camisas are present at the Tiwanaku site of Chen Chen, as well as in the lower valley at Descanso and La Cruz, while type 3A camisas had been given to individuals from Algodonal. At the latter site, the absence of Chiribaya burials at Algodonal Ladera has been confirmed by this study. The mummy bundles with the 3A and 5A/B types of camisas were often also wrapped in plain camisas (type 1A) with or without subtle striping due to supplementary warps (type 1Aa), or with camisas with a single lateral stripe (4Aa or 4Ab), symmetrical lateral stripes (4A) or all over striped camisas (6A), all of them with or without neck plaques.

Apparently, the Osmore people considered the combination of asymmetrical (4A and 4BW) camisa types with embroidered (3A) and lateral striped (5A and 5B) camisas inappropriate and allowed in rare instances of high prestige settings of Chiribaya Alta only, whereas (more or less) plain (1A), all over striped (6A) and camisas with a single lateral stripe (4Aa or 4Ab) were allowed to be worn by both Chiribaya and Tiwanaku-like groups. This subdivision confirms the existence of a strict separation between certain types of camisas, and seems to hint at the presence of two distinct groups among this study's cemetery populations: a Chiribaya group wearing type 4A and 4BW camisas found buried at one sector of La Cruz, and a Tiwanaku and Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza group wearing type 3A and 5A and 5B camisas buried at La Cruz' other, segregated sector, and at the other three sites of research. As the two groups are thought to have had such different ancestors, the Chiribaya of coastal origin and the Tiwanaku and Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza of altiplano origin, these two groups most likely would have considered each other and themselves as distinct ethnic groups. The Tiwanaku-style burials suggest that either altiplano settlers had been sent by Tiwanaku state representatives to exploit this part of the drainage, or that immediately after the Tiwanaku state structure had collapsed around A.D. 950, some altiplano settlers from the middle valley, from then on known as (Ilo)-Tumilaca people, had come down to the lower valley to start a new life. As weavings and ceramics are portable objects, the migrating Ilo-Tumilaca people could easily have brought

with them some old Tiwanaku-state produced pieces as treasured heirlooms.

A warning is in place here: the La Cruz' Chiribaya population does not represent a complete population, as nine out of ten are small children. Therefore, it cannot be excluded that the absence of types 3A and 5A/B camisas is in fact related to the age of the individuals buried with the Chiribaya textiles. As stated earlier, type 3A and 5 camisas required extra time or dyed yarn investment to produce and have not been found with children in the lower valley, possibly due to the specific social status of these camisas. Nonetheless, type 3A and 5A/B camisas lack at other Chiribaya sites as well, putting strength to the interpretation of two distinct ethnic groups. Both types of garments allow identification from afar, suggesting that easy recognition of members of each ethnic group was desired in life as well as in death, despite their close and peaceful cohabitation.

Textile evidence of a shared ethnic site? La Cruz revisited

The La Cruz cemetery was described by its excavators as being formed by two sections divided by a straight line, one sector containing early Chiribaya-style burials and the other Tiwanaku-like burials, some with genuine Tiwanaku-style artefacts inside (Carpio and Guillén, pers. com. 2004).

Although the 1993 excavation does not represent the whole population buried at La Cruz, as the presence of more mummy bundles from the 1998 rescue operation to the east of the earlier excavation area indicates, the composition of La Cruz' cemetery population is too suggestive to ignore: the sector with Tiwanaku-like burials shows a predominance of (two, maybe three) adolescent women and (four) adult women (plus one adult man, one unknown individual and one child), whereas the Chiribaya sector appears to have started as burial ground for nine young children, with one male adult thought to have been buried there at a later date (see Paragraph 9.3).

Instead of interpreting the burial pattern in two separate sectors as a reflection of strict segregation of two ethnic groups with two different ideologies determining where and how to bury their deceased, an alternative reading is possible: the sectors may reflect mixed marriages of the two populations. In this scenario, women of Tiwanaku-affiliation would have moved down

into the lower Osmore valley, either voluntarily or sent by Tiwanaku state representatives as part of a strategy to get more colonies founded or improve trade relations; or perhaps they had come looking for a new life soon after the Tiwanaku state structure had collapsed around A.D. 950. Pushing the interpretation even further: the fact that it had been (young) women who had moved down into Chiribaya territory, plus the presence of small children dressed in Chiribaya-style clothing, then seem suggestive of a Chiribaya society with patrilineal organization, in which the children received their fathers ethnic identity.

10.6.2 NON-TEXTILE EVIDENCE FOR ETHNIC IDENTITY

Other sensitive ethnic markers that may be found in archaeological context are tomb shapes, ceramic wares, and culturally modified human remains. To remind the reader once more:

For Chen Chen, ceramic artefacts, human remains, domestic and cemetery structures, irrigation canals, and petroglyphs have been identified as representative of the Tiwanaku V or Chen Chen cultural phase, while human remains were shown to originate from the Titicaca Basin (Blom 1999; Blom *et al.* 1998, 251-252; Owen 1997; Vargas 1994). La Cruz' cemetery, as said above, contained two clearly differentiated sectors, one with early-Chiribaya-style tombs, ceramics, and textiles, and the other in Tiwanaku and Tiwanaku-related style (pers. comm. Guillén 2004; pers. comm. Carpio 2004). El Descanso's cemetery contains tombs and ceramic remains that have been identified as '*closely related to the Tiwanaku culture*', that is, to the final phase of Tiwanaku (Chen Chen phase) and subsequent Ilo-Tumilaca phase (Carpio 2000c; Salazar 2001). Finally, Algodonal's three cemeteries are said to hold exclusively Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza-style cylindrical stone-lined tombs, ceramics and textiles (Boytner 1998, 326; Owen 1993, 95, 424). Nonetheless, Carpio (2000a, b) interpreted the ceramics found in practically all tombs from Algodonal Ladera's cemetery as Tiwanaku.

Unfortunately, the author found that not all excavation reports of this study had these categories described, while other field reports and inventory lists were incomplete or unavailable if not missing all together (see Table 3.1). At the most, the numbers of ceramics, types, and the absence or presence of decoration are mentioned. The available reports often lack

the details or illustrations necessary to allow the author to identify distinct material cultures herself. In that light it is fortunate that the textile characteristics have been made accessible now, as Owen (1993b, 13) found this type of material culture to be more informative than ceramics in his study. The available non-textile remains of this study that have some capacity to identify ethnic groups then, are the human remains and tombs themselves and will be looked at in more detail.

Human remains

As for the human remains of the Lower Osmore valley, Lozada's study on epigenetic cranial traits shows that the Chiribaya people were genetically related to the Formative coastal fisherfolk (500 B.C.-A.D.200), and not to the mid-valley Tiwanaku colonists from the highlands (Lozada 1998, 105, 176). The cranial shapes found among the individuals from La Cruz are either natural or deformed into fronto-occipital shape, both among the Tiwanaku and/or Ilo-Tumilaca as the Chiribaya individuals. Despite the minimal number of individuals of this study, it is clear that natural or fronto-occipital head shapes were not exclusive for either Tiwanaku people and their descendants, or for the Chiribaya. These data agree with the findings of Blom *et al.* (1998, 251-252) who state that fronto-occipital head shape is common in the middle Osmore valley, both among the Formative Huaracane as among the later Tiwanaku-Omo and Chen Chen people. Lozada (1998, 66-67, 158-162) found that in the lower Osmore valley, a part of both Chiribaya farmers and Ilo-Tumilaca populations had their heads deformed into fronto-occipital shape, regardless of gender, while the annular head deformation was restricted to the Chiribaya maritime specialists. Indeed the only annular head shape identified in this sample was found on a Chiribaya infant boy. Archaic populations from Osmore's coast and northern Chile, including the artificially mummies from the Chinchorro culture, already had practiced this annular deformation shape (Guillén 1992, 158), and thus strengthen the theory of Chiribaya's coastal origin.

Tombs

Table 10.13 summarizes the data on the tombs as given in the field notes. Algodonal Ladera had the most complete inventory on its tombs, even though the site was badly looted. Half of its tombs are shallow pits and half is

	Shallow pit	Cylinder shape	Cylinder + stone	Rectangular + stone	Urn burial	Not known	<i>total</i>
Chen Chen 1988	—	—	—	—	—	19	19
Chen Chen 1995	5	—	7	—	—	3	15
La Cruz Tiw./I-T/C	—	—	—	—	—	11	11
La Cruz Chiribaya	—	—	—	7	3		10
La Cruz unidentified	—	—	—	—	—	9	9
El Descanso	5	3	1	1	—	22	32
Algodonal	1	—	11	—	1	10	23

Table 10.13 Tomb types per site

cylindrical in shape, with the bottom of compact dirt slightly wider than the mouth. (Part of) the walls are reinforced by one to seven rows of irregular fieldstones, mainly depending on the depth of the tomb, which ranges between 50 and 89 cm. Four rows of stones are most common. The tomb diameter ranges between 30 and 65 cm and intact tombs had large, flat stones placed over the opening, covered by a layer of sand. According to Owen (1993, 101), stone-lined cylindrical to egg-shaped tombs without surface markers are typical Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza tombs.

Similar tomb shapes have been found at the Tiwanaku site of Chen Chen, reaffirming the close relationship between both populations. The 1995 Chen Chen excavation's inventory mentions the presence of burials in '*hoyos*' or in '*cistas*'. The latter are described as cylindrical shaped tombs that are reinforced with fieldstones with or without mortar, some with large stones placed vertically at the bottom. Most tombs have a compacted dirt floor. An '*hoyo*' has identical cylindrical shape but no stone reinforcement (Owen 1997, 6). The diameters could be reconstructed from the 1995 excavation maps, and were found to range between 25 and 95 cm.

Little information is present on El Descanso's tombs, but those described are of various shapes: Five shallow pits range between 30 and 90 cm in depth, with a diameter of 65 to 115 cm. Bare cylindrical tombs measure between 63 to 111 cm deep with a diameter between 67 and 120 cm. One of the stone lined tombs (tomb 09, 1999) is cylindrically shaped (99 cm deep x 67 cm) and made with seven files of stones, while the other (tomb 07, 1999) is rectangular shaped, 40 x 93 x 88 cm with six files of stones.

Rectangular shaped tombs are typical of Chiribaya-style burials, although they used cylindrical shaped tombs as well (Buikstra 1995; 258; Guillén and Carpio 1995, 23; Owen 1993, 101). Indeed the single identifiable textile specimen inside, a red pañuelo with weft twining (#02381), is aberrant from the site's characteristic Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza style pañuelos, but similar in colour and weft twining to a Chiribaya pañuelo (#02573) from La Cruz (1999, in tomb 22). Indeed, according to Carpio (pers. comm. 2004), the Chiribaya individuals from La Cruz and other Chiribaya sites had usually been buried in rectangular tombs as well. The final type of burial of El Descanso are urn burials. Although no urn burial was present among the sample of this study, the author did witness some urn burials and a concentration of children's burials in the 1999 El Descanso excavation campaign. Urn burials were common at La Cruz, where four and possibly two more of its nine small children or infants, identified as belonging to the Chiribaya culture, had been buried inside a large urn.^[9]

Thus the tomb descriptions tell that within one cemetery, the mixing of Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza cylindrical and Chiribaya rectangular tombs rarely occurred. Algodonal Ladera was found to contain only Ilo-Tumilaca and Ilo-Cabuza-style tombs and textiles, which agrees with Owen's (1993, 104, 266-300) findings of solely Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza tombs and artefacts at Algodonal's total of three cemeteries, whereas in the adjacent domestic area a mixture of Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza but predominantly Chiribaya architecture, artefacts and tombs had been found. Apparently the Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza people felt the need to separate their dead

strictly from the Chiribaya population, whereas in life no such physical segregation was required.

A similar segregation was observed at El Descanso, despite its sandwiched location between Chiribaya Alta and Chiribaya Baja sites (see *figs. 5.4* and *5.6*). Nonetheless, at least one individual had been allowed to be buried in their midst in a Chiribaya-style rectangular tomb. Mixed settlements and cemeteries indeed existed in the lower Osmore valley, as Owen's survey (1989-1990) shows, although it was not always clear whether the mixing had been a result of successive occupation or cohabitation of the same site. Nonetheless, the survey recognized more single-component sites: 11 Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza habitation sites with at least 9 single-component cemeteries, versus at least 28 Chiribaya habitation sites and 21 cemeteries, which generally had with much deeper, denser cultural deposits than Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza sites (Owen 1993, 17-18, 184-185).

In sum, the consistent association of Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza cylindrical tombs with Tiwanaku-like artefacts including specific textile styles, versus Chiribaya-style rectangular or cylindrical tombs with only Chiribaya-style artefacts, and the absence of cultural mixed burials, points to a deep felt distinctness among both groups in the lower Osmore valley, in life as well as in death. The material used as identity markers would have been easily available, and indeed all members of a community, men and women, young and old, appear to have been included in this expression of uniqueness. In other words, the textile and non-textile artefacts of the three sites of the lower Osmore valley point towards the presence of two ethnic groups: a Chiribaya population that Lozada (1998) has shown to be genetically related to the earlier, Formative coastal population, and a Tiwanaku population plus their Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza descendants of Titicaca Basin ancestry. Despite the long term peaceful cohabitation and apparent integration to some degree in the domestic and cemetery areas, the two populations nonetheless carefully preserved their self-referential identity.

The next and final chapter of this thesis takes a look at the textile traditions from the adjacent valleys, both to the north as to the south. A wider view allows an understanding of the impact of the Tiwanaku culture on this South Central coastal region, and highlights the

particularities of the local weaving traditions, both in stylistic features as in social connotations.

NOTES

1. The various sectors of the Tiwanaku metropolis show variations in burial style, presumably related to the different geographical origins of distinct groups of people living in these sectors (Janusek 2001, 263- 264, 282). In addition, secondary burials of children and adult males and females were found beneath the outer walls of the houses, facing the southeast together with gifts of basketry, textiles and ceramics. Elsewhere, the Tiwanaku buried many individuals in caves (Conklin 1991, 287; Kolata 1993, 160-163; Owen 1993, 49).
2. In this specific case, the Centro Mallqui four-digits code (1090) was given to the urn, as the basic unit of the burial instead of to the human remains. The author's # five digit code is added for those textiles actually studied.
3. In Middle Horizon times, the flexed and seated burial tradition was spread by the Wari from the southern highlands (A.D. 300-800) over northern Peru. Contemporary to the Tiwanaku culture and influenced by the Paracas (600-175 B.C.) through the intermediate Nasca culture (A.D. 0-800), the Wari usurped and influenced the descendants of the Moche people (200 B.C.-A.D. 600) at the north coast. This resulted, among others, in a radical change of burial tradition at the north coast: the dead were no longer buried in extended dorsal position, but instead in seated and flexed position within a chamber.
4. The final pre-Columbian Andean culture of the Incas (A.D. 1400-1532) practiced artificial mummification of their royal dead in order to keep them on display and actively include them in their political and social matters. The Inca mummies were also '*seated in the Indian fashion*', as Garcilaso describes it, with their hands crossed at their chests, the right one over the left, while their eyes were cast downward. The mummified bodies were dressed in their own precious clothes (Garcilaso de la Vega [1609] 1945, Vol. 1, p 286; in: Classen 1993, 90; Moseley 1997). Holguin [1608] describes the appearance of a corpse as '*shrouded in the ancient way, seated crouched with their hands on their cheeks and the knees tucked under their tunic, so that the tunic served as a shroud*' (in: McCormack 1991, 425). Las Casas confirms that the dead were buried in flexed position, the arms crossed over the chest and the legs pulled up, and kept in this posture by cords. He adds that the bodies were washed before

covering the face and body with mantas ([1561] 1958, Tomo IV, Cap. CCXLIX, 390). *'Because of the dryness of the sand, we find many bodies intact and dry; the skin is touching the bones; the hair, clothing, and implements of their occupations are intact also'* (Cobo [1653] 1990, Lib. 14, Cap. 18, 247). Cobo describes the proceedings of a general Andean burial ceremony in the seventeenth century: the funeral rites and lamentations by dancing and singing to the sound of drums would last for several days, and the higher the social status of the deceased, the longer the funeral would last. The mourners would cover their heads by black cloaks and visit the places the deceased had frequented in life, while singing the deeds of the person. Then the deceased would be buried in the countryside, or in their agricultural fields or pasturelands, or even inside the house. Often, whole generations of a lineage had been buried in the grounds belonging to that kin group (Classen 1993, 85; Cobo [1653] 1990, Lib. 14, Cap. 18, 246; MacCormack 1991, 95). They were buried in their finest cloths, together with more garments, food and drinks, and the tools of their craft. Small objects of precious metal were usually placed inside the mouth or hands. At the anniversaries of the death and during seed and harvest times, the mourners would return to the tomb, open it and replace the garments and food. The continual gifts of new garments, food and drinks, and blood of sacrificed llamas to the dead were considered vital to the survival of the relatives. They saw the recently deceased person as the intermediate between their community and the dead ancestors, with whom they shared their space. As such, the dead formed the protectors of the living by travelling as guides between their world and the supernatural world (Arriaza 1995a, 140; Cieza [1554] 1995, Lib. I, Cap. CI, 277; Classen 1993, 89; Cobo [1653] 1990, Lib. 14, Cap. 19, 250-251; Kolata 1993, 163; MacCormack 1991, 429). The Europeans could not comprehend how important the connection between the living, the ancestors and the gods was for the indigenous people of the Andes. After the establishment of the *reducciones*, forced resettlements, in the final decades of the 16th century, they forced the Andean people to bury their dead far away from their ancestral grounds. This unsettled the people deeply as they wanted the body to be interred in the ground *'from which it had come and out of which it was made'* (Bastien 1978, 172). In addition, *'Andean people considered the Christian burial, which Spanish clerics forced upon them, an affliction because it precluded feeding and clothing one's departed kin. Ancestors buried in Christian graveyards were imagined as starving and suffering while they decayed'* (Salomon and Urioste 1991, 130). The people feared that the deceased would blame them and feel vengeful, causing illness and crop failure. The dead were often seen walking

through the fields, dressed up in the cloths in which they had been buried. Therefore, the indigenous tradition of visiting and feeding the dead soon blended with the catholic celebration of All Saints, as this feast coincided with the onset of the rainy and agricultural season, and thus with the Andean connection of the dead with the productive fields (Arriaza 1995a, 140; Duviols 1986, 12, 149, 170; in: MacCormack 1991, 425-427).

5. Cobo [1653] was partially published in English translation in 1990. In this translation, Book I refers to Libro 13 and Book II to Libro 14. Here, Cobo's Libro numbers are applied to facilitate comparison with other Cobo editions.

6. The plain camisa (#99212) measures 113 cm long x 89 to 102 cm wide, and would have reached down halfway the calves. The amount of spun yarn to produce this camisa has been calculated to be 20.5 km, and the total amount of time as 326 hours (see Appendix 5).

7. In comparison, the poncho woven in the project of Franquemont (1986, 312, 319) in Chinchero, made of two matched panels, measuring 130 x 145 cm with 17 warps/cm and 5.5 wefts/cm, with a decoration of few warp stripes and a band of pickup patterning, took 288 hours to produce (yarn preparation 208.5 hours = 72%; loom preparation 7.5 hours = 3%; weaving 71.2 hours = 25%; and finishing sewing 2 hours = less than 1 %. These percentages are identical to the time spent on making the style 6A camisa #99211 from La Cruz (1993), Tomb 5.

8. Unfortunately, no information is present on other, non-textil grave gifts associated with this individual.

9. The wrapped bodies from infants from La Cruz (1993), found in tombs 09, 11, 22 and 24 (see Chapter 4) were still inside the urn when they were unwrapped in 1996. The mummy bundles of the infants of tombs s/n 01 and 02 (La Cruz 1993) are of similar size and bundled in similar style as the urn burials, but field notes lack to confirm a burial inside urns.