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

Minkes, W.

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11.1 Introduction

Archaeological textiles have been demonstrated to be useful instruments in the determination of the cultural identity and social-political complexity of ancient populations. Textile studies for the Osmore, Azapa, and San Pedro de Atacama valleys by Boytner (1998), Cassman (1997), Clark (1993), Oakland (1992), Reycraft (1998), and Uribe and Agüero (2001) have proven to be very informative on this matter, but all, except the latter, lack a (detailed) interregional synthesis. This final chapter is intended to widen the scope of archaeological textile studies. It will focus on the Tiwanaku sphere of influence in the South Central Andean region, with an emphasis on the textile traditions from the western valleys, as the highland climate allows no organic preservation.

The Tiwanaku culture has been shown to have had great impact on the Osmore valley, both by its economic exploitation as by its stylistic influence. Direct or indirect Tiwanaku presence has been claimed for the Osmore valley in southern Peru and in the valleys and oases of Azapa, Tarapacá, and San Pedro de Atacama in northern Chile, separated by vast stretches of desert (see Paragraph 6.5). The textile studies from these areas will be revised to assess the intensity of contact between their populations during and after Tiwanaku's state organization had collapsed. Had people striven to maintain their supraregional Tiwanaku identity and its trade network, or had they soon returned to their ancient and smaller regional exchange networks, resulting in manifestations of unique local identities?

11.2 Textile traditions from the Middle Horizon

The Middle Horizon is characterised by the flourishing of the Wari and Tiwanaku cultures over large areas of modern Peru and Bolivia. Textile collections dating from this time period have been found in the Osmore and Azapa valleys^[1], in the Tarapacá and San Pedro de Atacama oases in the extreme north of Chile, as well as in

the valleys near the modern town of Arequipa to the north: the Vitor valley, Siguan valley (higher region known as Mina), and the Camaná valley (mid-section known as Majes, highest section as Colca) (fig. 11.1). The latter valleys are located at about 150 km to the north of the Osmore valley, that is, roughly as far away from the Osmore valley as the Azapa valley to the south. In these northern valleys, the cultural influence of both the Wari and Tiwanaku culture has been claimed, as was the case in the Osmore valley. Few more small and dry valleys intersect the desert both to the north as to the south of the Osmore valley, but no survey reports or archaeological studies from these valleys are known to the author.

11.2.1 SOUTHERN VALLEYS

The Azapa valley and San Pedro de Atacama oasis are no doubt the most intensively studied archaeological areas of Chile. A summary of its Formative textile tradition is given in Appendix 11. Twenty "Tiwanaku" sites have been identified in the Azapa valley over the past few decades (Berenguer and Dauelsberg 1989; Focacci 1982, 71-75; Kolata 1993, 250; Mujica 1985; Mujica *et al.* 1983; Rivera 1991, 30). However, Goldstein (1995) has reinterpreted these sites as "*multicomponent*" cemetery areas "*with variable proportions of Tiwanaku material*", while Sutter (1997, 81-85, 269-270) showed that Azapa's population was genetically closer related to the archaic coastal Chinchorro population than to the Tiwanaku highland people (see Paragraph 6.5.3). In their ceramic and textile study, Uribe and Agüero (2001, 421-422) concluded that the relationships between the Tiwanaku and local populations of Azapa, Tarapacá, and San Pedro de Atacama in northern Chile were selective and likely representative of exchange of prestige goods between elites, rather than colonies. Genuine Tiwanaku ceramics and textiles are rare, whereas local imitations with high potential for innovation are common. They interpreted these artefacts as evidence of an almost voluntary incorporation of these populations into the Tiwanaku realm, stimulated by the proximity to Tiwanaku's colonies in



Fig. 11.1 Area of interregional textile comparison

the middle Osmore valley (for the Azapa and coastal Osmore region) and in the Cochabamba valley (for the San Pedro de Atacama region). For instance, in the Azapa valley, all Tiwanaku textiles were found in funerary contexts with contemporaneous local Cabuza and Charollo style ceramics (see figs. 7.17 and 7.18). Uribe and Agüero (2000; 2001, 421-422) concluded that the Tiwanaku strategy appears to have started with appealing shamanistic practices that vinculated groups or individuals in marginal areas. In the later stages of the Tiwanaku culture, at about A.D. 800-900, the Azapa

region may have become more politically integrated with perhaps some Tiwanaku settlers at the site Azapa 141.

In the oasis of San Pedro de Atacama in the middle of the Atacama desert, a larger number of genuine Tiwanaku artefacts have been found despite its 800 km distance from the Tiwanaku's centre (a three month round trip by llama caravan, see fig. 6.4). Lying at the foot of the Andean mountains, San Pedro de Atacama occupied a key location for controlling Tiwanaku's long distance trade between the coast and the altiplano. Among the

local style burials from various cemeteries, several burials have been found containing gold *keros*, wooden snuff trays, pottery and textiles, all portable objects with ritual-laden Tiwanaku iconography (Goldstein 1989, 42-43; Kolata 1993, 276-277; Mujica 1985, 116). Oakland (1986a, 42-84) identified six Tiwanaku-style interlocked tapestry camisas and mantas among the funeral bundles from the cemeteries of Coyo Oriental and Solcor 3, which had been draped as outside layer over some funeral bundles (see figs. 7.11a and 7.16). In addition, ensembles of narrow fajas, interlocked tapestry or cross-knit loop embroidered bags were found in association with snuff trays and tubes for the hallucinogenic rapé cult of the Tiwanaku people (see figs. 7.6 and 7.19). Neither such Tiwanaku-style textiles nor the carved snuff trays have been found in the lower Osmore valley, and they are extremely rare among the remains of the Tiwanaku colony in the middle Osmore valley and the Azapa valley (Conklin 1983, 12). Oakland (1986a, 42-84; 1994, 117) concluded that as the high quality Tiwanaku artefacts are rare and no purely Tiwanaku burial, cemetery, or settlement has been identified in San Pedro de Atacama nor in the Azapa valley, they must represent imports from the Tiwanaku core area. In all, Tiwanaku's influence on the local tradition was found to have been only moderate.

Later, Oakland (1992, 326-334) analysed other funerary bundles from the Coyo Oriental cemetery in the San Pedro de Atacama oasis, and identified a group of ethnic Atacameño individuals ("group A") whose camisas and headgear were not found outside the oasis, while another group was identified as Tiwanaku colonists ("group B"). The artefacts from group A and B were not found mixed in individual tombs. Group B included men, women and children who had been buried individually in cylindrical tombs without stone lining, the bodies tightly flexed and tied into a bundle. They were accompanied by non-local grave gifts, including a choice from seven types of garments (including tie dyed or interlocked tapestry camisas, and five types of polychrome warp-patterned camisas (fig. 11.2, see also Uribe and Agüero 2001, fig. 4), furry hats, hafted stone hammers and wool baskets, ceramics, baskets containing food, and carved tablets and tubes of the snuff complex (Oakland 1992, 322-323). She concluded that a considerable quantity of Tiwanaku-related people, 'whose original home was the Bolivian

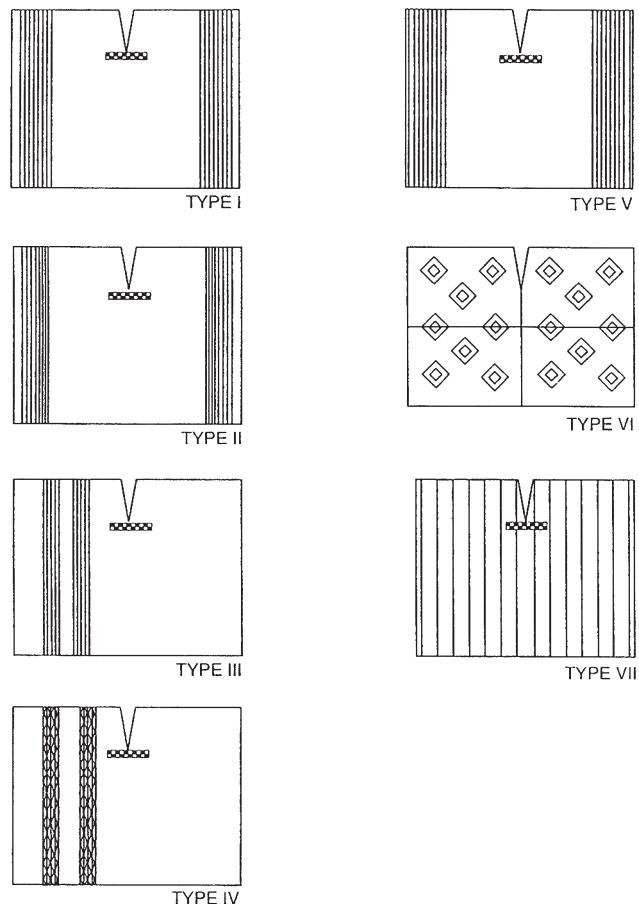


Fig. 11.2 Tiwanaku-related textiles from San Pedro de Atacama (Oakland 1992, 323); type I, II, and III with warp-striped pattern, type IV with transposed warp pattern, type V with horizontal satin stitches with or without warp stripes, type VI is tie dyed; type VII is tapestry camisa

altiplano', had come to live in the oasis of San Pedro de Atacama. There, the 'foreign Tiwanaku groups coexisted with local populations and were buried in spatially integrated, though partially segregated bounded cemeteries' (Oakland 1992, 336). Their Tiwanaku influence would disrupt the local cultural sequence for centuries.

Interesting is that the daily garments found with this group of Tiwanaku-related *altiplano* colonists obey to the same basic prescriptions for rectangular form, camelid fibre, warp-faced structure, and similar design layout as found with the Tiwanaku colonists who lived and died at Chen Chen in the Osmore valley (Oakland 1994, 114). Apparently, the Tiwanaku-sent colonists wore

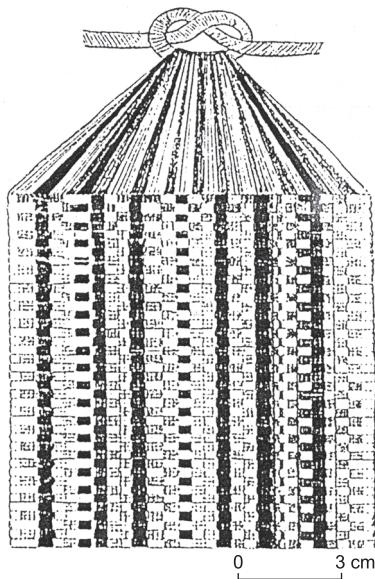


Fig. II.3 Faja with striped checkerboard pattern from Hornillos site in the Siguas Valley (Quequezana 1997, fig. 44)

“warp-faced garments as a coherent unit of interrelated style” (Oakland 1992, 336). Only in the decoration details and hairstyle do the groups differ: in the Atacama oasis, the Tiwanaku women wore their long hair rolled up on each side of the head, while the men wore their long hair in multiple braids that were interlaced and rolled up in one braid at the back. Apparently, the colonists were allowed to express their unique identity by these variations. It remains debatable whether the unique identifying features had already existed in distinct origins in the altiplano homeland, or had been developed after arrival in their new environment.

Another similarity between the San Pedro de Atacama oasis and the middle Osmore valley is that the Tiwanaku colonists seem to have shared their habitat peacefully though segregated with another ethnic group in both areas. Although the local Huaracane and Trapiche people seem to have vanished around the time that the Tiwanaku colonized the middle valley, the Tiwanaku did share the middle Osmore drainage with the Wari without overt signs of conflict. The direct descendants of the Tiwanaku, the Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza, likewise maintained their clearly recognizable identity and segregated domestic and cemetery area among the Chiribaya

people with whom they peacefully shared the valley (see Paragraph 6.6).

II.2.2 NORTHERN VALLEYS

In the Vitor, Siguas, and Camaná valleys of the Arequipa region, Wari administrative and strategic centres have been identified mainly in the higher reaches of these valleys, whereas Tiwanaku-affiliated sites have been claimed in the Socabaya area. Both cultures appear to have sent their colonists for the extraction of large quantities of maritime and agricultural (maize and cotton) products, and likely for territorial defence strategy and containment politics as well. The Tiwanaku appear to have mined obsidian in the Colca (higher Camaná) valley as well (see fig. 6.4) (Herrera 1998, 161; Quequezana 1997, 37; Stanish 2003, 192).

The northern textile traditions as described by Haeberli (2001), Herrera (1998), and Quequezana (1997) (see Appendices 12 and 14), show that the people from the Arequipa area had been buried with textiles in a tradition with some elementary similarities with the Osmore tradition: the daily garments were made out of $1/2\lambda$ plied yarn and warp-faced plain woven fabrics, with camelid wool as the preferred fibre. Camisas and taparrabos were common forms, and ch'uspas and fajas from the Siguas valley were often decorated with checkerboard stripes (fig. II.3) that resemble the design of the fajas from La Cruz (see fig. 8.9) (Haeberli 2001, 94-118; Herrera 1998, 119, 154-158; Quequezana 1997, 121-135). However, similar checkerboard stripes were used by the Mojocoya culture of the eastern Cochabamba region during the Tiwanaku reign (Uribe and Agüero 2001, fig. 5c,d).

On the other hand, the textile traditions from these northern valleys clearly differed from the textile tradition found in the Osmore valley during the Middle Horizon. For instance, the use of cotton is more frequent, making up some 21% of all yarn and especially as hidden elements, while mixed camelid and cotton fibre was also more common (14%) (Herrera 1998, 119, 154-158).

Ch'uspas are likewise common, whereas camisas are not. The camisas are short and wide, and in case of the Camaná cemeteries apparently restricted to the male population. Fajas have been found in great quantities and were associated with males and females

(Herrera 1998, 124, 163). A variety of labour intensive structures had been applied that appear to have been unknown in the Tiwanaku influence sphere, including slit tapestry, double cloth, wrapped warps, discontinuous warps and wefts, and brocade (supplementary elements) (Haeberli 2001, 112; Quequezana 1997, 36, 201). As part of the people had been dressed in such labour intensive clothes, while others went dressed in simple, crude clothes, Quequezana (1997, 36, 201) concluded that some social hierarchy must have been present among the Early Intermediate and Middle Horizon populations of this region. She added the possibility that different textile traditions represented several ethnic groups cohabiting in the valley, without further specification.

Haeberli (2001) describes a recurrent design from this area, known as the '*Siguas Central Head Theme*', represented by a bodiless, frontal human face with appendices emanating from its head (fig. 11.4). The earliest representations of the face show similarities with the so-called "*Oculate Being*" from the Early Horizon (Ocuaje 8-period) in the Paracas/Nasca heartland located some 300 km further to the north. In time, the Arequipa area received stylistic influence from the Pukara culture (500 B.C.–A.D. 500) in the western Titicaca Basin, just like the incipient Tiwanaku culture had (see Chapter 6.4). At the Pukara type site, bodiless, radiating frontal faces were rendered on ceramics, different in style but clearly related to the earlier Oculate Being and Siguas Central Head (Haeberli 2001, 117). In time, the Tiwanaku transformed the frontal face into their own icon by giving it an anthropomorph body and paramount position (see figs. 7.1 and 7.2), whereas in the Arequipa valleys, the Provincial Pukara rendition remained bodiless, as it did in the Wari culture (Conchopata 1A-phase) (Haeberli 2001, 101–110).

In short, the textile evidence shows that the Arequipa region did not form an integral part of the Tiwanaku influence sphere whereas the Osmore and southern valleys did. During the Middle Horizon, this area experienced cultural influence mainly from the Wari culture in the north, like it already had experienced strong, northern Nasca influence in the past. The influence from the Titicaca Basin seems to have occurred during the earlier Pukara culture, while evidence of Tiwanaku settlers remains underexposed. In all, the Arequipa area represents a unique area that formed part not only

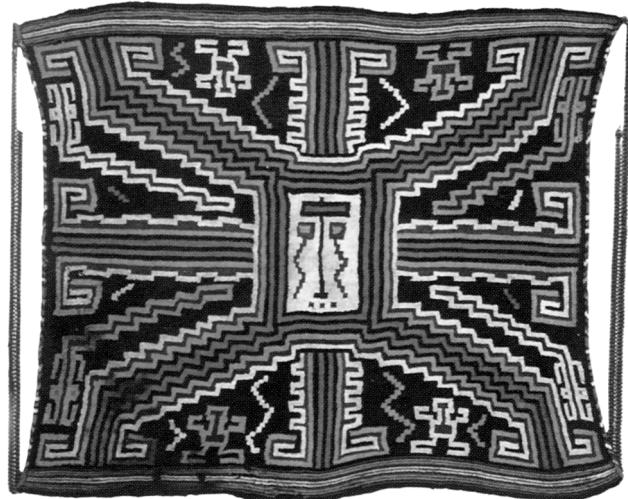


Fig. 11.4 Siguas Central Head Theme from Arequipa area (Haeberli 2001, fig. 12)

of the cultural South Central Andean region as the Osmore valley did, but also of the Central Andean cultural region that included the Paracas, Nasca and Wari cultures (Cornejo 1987, 67–77; Herrera 1998, 14, 161; Quequezana 1997, 36–37).

11.3 Textile traditions from the Late Intermediate Period

In the Osmore valley, both Tiwanaku and Wari settlements appear to have come to a sudden and violent end just prior to A.D. 1000, apparently as a result of internal revolts. A similar outburst of aggression towards Tiwanaku-related people has been observed in the Azapa valley, where Tiwanaku-style burials were desecrated as well (see Paragraph 6.5.4) (Dauelsberg 1985; Goldstein 1989, 181, 198–199; Owen and Goldstein 2001, 185; Sutter 1997, 93; Williams *et al.* 2001, 70). Once the Tiwanaku and Wari state control and trade network collapsed, their cultural influence in the marginal areas soon dwindled and numerous small-scale stylistic traditions arose in the relatively isolated areas, such as the Osmore, Azapa, and Arequipa valleys.

11.3.1 SOUTHERN VALLEYS

Chapters 6 and 7 already made clear that the Azapa and Osmore valley shared an almost identical cultural

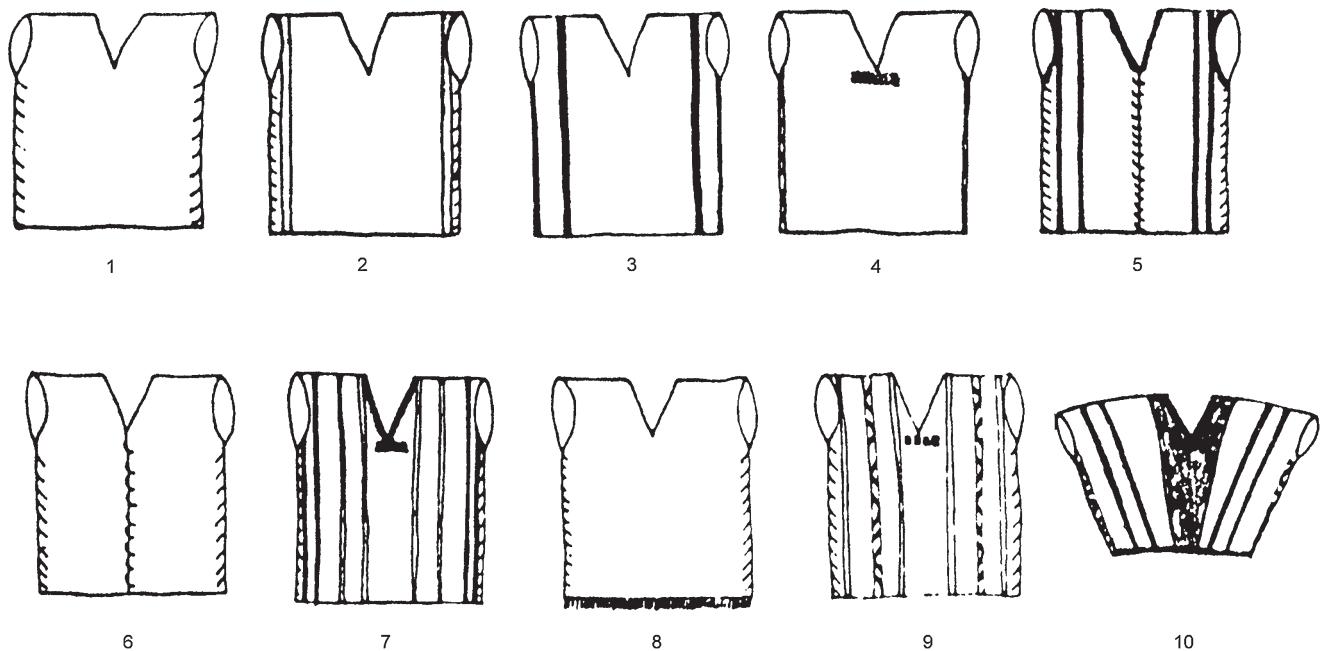


Fig. 11.5 Ulloa's camisa typology for Azapa Valley in Late Intermediate Period (Ulloa 1981b, 115-116)

tradition from the Archaic Chinchorro phase until the Late Intermediate Period. Uribe (1995, 81-96) concluded that the Maytas-Chiribaya ceramic style represented a western ceramic tradition, developed in reaction against the highland traditions. As for the burial tradition, Sutter (1997, 144-146) concluded that both the Cabuza-style burials from the site Azapa 6 as the Maytas-style burials from Azapa 140 were very reminiscent of the Osmore Valley's Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza and Chiribaya burial tradition, respectively: the sandy pits contained a single individual, placed in seated and flexed position, wrapped in one or two wool camisas of relatively poor quality. However, no rectangular tombs comparable to the Chiribaya tombs from the Osmore valley were mentioned for the Maytas AZ 140 site. The grave offerings indicated that the Cabuza had led an agropastoral life, whereas the Maytas combined an agropastoral with maritime subsistence. The Maytas burials from AZ 140 were found to show slightly more intrasite social stratification than the Cabuza AZ 6 site, including gender distinction, as males were often buried with fishing gear or model boats, and females usually with weaving tool kits.

Ulloa (1981a,b) was the first to study Azapa's textile remains and established the formal, technical, and ornamental development of its millennia-old textile industry. In contexts with Cabuza and Maytas-Chiribaya ceramics, camisas represented the most common type of fabric, and were found with both males and females. Loincloths and hats were found to be as rare as they were in Osmore study, whereas mantles, belts, ch'uspa bags, bolsa faja, and pañuelo cloths were rather common. She made up a camisa typology based on form, structure, decorative patterns and technical quality (fig. 11.5). Six out of Ulloa's ten camisa types (1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 10) were found to be present in the Osmore textile assemblage of this study as well (Ulloa 1981b, 111-122, 132, see Appendix 13).

Horta (1997)^[2] and Agüero (2000)^[3] analysed hundreds of textile specimens from dozens of coastal and Azapa and Lluta valley sites. They had been found in association with either southern altiplano-style ceramics, locally known as the Cabuza and Charollo style, or coastal-style ceramics, known as Maytas (A.D. 750-1300), San Miguel (A.D. 900-1430), Pocoma (A.D. 1250-1430), and Gentilar style (A.D. 1250-1550), as well as with imported Chiribaya and Churajón ceramics from the north. Agüero (2000,

224) subdivided these groups in a “*Southern Highland Textile Tradition*”, originating from the circum-Titicaca area and thought to have been present in the Azapa valley since about A.D. 500, and in an autochthonous “*Western Valleys Textile Tradition*”. Both Horta (1997, 83-84) and Agüero (2000, 224) concluded that the textiles associated with the highland-style ceramics were made with different structural details, shapes of camisas, and colour preference than the textiles associated with coastal ceramic styles (see Appendix 13). As the two styles were practically never found together inside a single tomb, they concluded that the Azapa area had sheltered a multi-ethnic population for many centuries.

Horta (1997, 83-84) noticed that the highland Cabuza people eventually copied several stylistic features from the coastal Maytas and San Miguel group. After Tiwanaku’s collapse, the Western Valleys Textile Tradition eventually took over the scene.

Cassman (1997, 48) questioned the ‘*simplistic interpretation*’ of some of the Southern Highland (Loreto Viejo and Cabuza style) versus the Western Valleys (Maytas, San Miguel, and Gentilar) ceramic and textile styles as expressions of a multiethnic population in the Azapa valley. She used mortuary textiles from three Azapa sites and their associated grave goods plus 32 new radiocarbon dates to look for evidence of expressions of ethnicity, social roles, or individual tastes (see Appendix 13).^[4] For this purpose, she redefined the camisa typology by Ulloa (1981b) into seven main types with 25 subtypes (fig. 11.6), and awarded each fabric with a quality score that allowed qualitative comparison of each individual’s textile assemblages. The radiocarbon dates learned that the five ceramic styles and all types of camisa designs were more or less contemporary and in use between A.D. 900 to 1400. None of the camisa types occurred in isolation, as would be expected if they had symbolized ethnic or temporally distinct cultural groups. In fact, 10% of the population from all three cemeteries had been buried with a combination of camisa types. Therefore, she concluded that ‘*the shirts could not be considered symbols of separate ethnic or archaeological cultural groups. Instead, there were many shirt styles to choose from and the variation could have represented a variety of social roles, such as clan memberships, or variations in personal taste, but the variation did not appear to be related to ethnicity*’ (Cassman 2000b, 254).

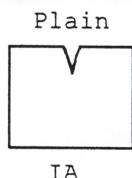
Sutter’s (1997) bioarchaeological research resulted in a similar conclusion that no multi-ethnic habitation had been present in the Azapa valley during the Middle Horizon and Late Intermediate Period. His biodistance comparisons showed that the people associated with the ‘highland’ Cabuza style artefacts in fact had been genetically closer related to the ‘coastal’ Maytas styles than to the Tiwanaku highlanders. In other words, the ancestors of both Cabuza and Maytas people are to be found among the maritime-oriented Formative Alto Ramírez and Archaic Chinchorro population (Sutter 1997, 268).

Unfortunately, Cassman’s camisa types 4A, 4B, and 4BW (‘less than ten lateral stripes’) do not allow a distinction between Cabuza-style camisas with modest striping and the asymmetrical Maytas-Chiribaya type camisa, so that these two groups could not be distinguished from Cassman’s tables. Her Table 24 (Cassman 1997, 120) does show that type 4B or 4BW camisas (most likely to be Maytas-Chiribaya type camisas) were not found mixed with type 5B and 5BW camisas (commonly associated with Cabuza people) in a single tomb at any of the sites. Despite Cassman’s claimed mixing of camisa styles, could it be that the Cabuza and Maytas people had considered it inappropriate to wear this particular garment combination, even if they had shared domestic and burial sites?

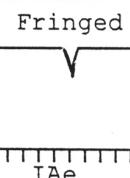
Cassman (1997, 112-113) and Horta (1997, 82, 103) both came to the conclusion that no particular type or shape of camisas had been used exclusively by men or women. Although Cassman (1997, 1126-117) found that more men than women had been buried with decorated camisas, the latter had been wrapped in finer quality fabrics, which is considered an important feature by modern weavers (Minkes 2000). Therefore, the time and steps taken for their production (expressed by the quality scores) were essentially the same for both sexes.

Likewise, Cassman (2000a, 264) found no camisa type to be exclusive for any of the age groups.

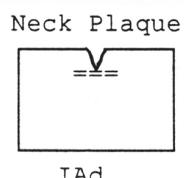
Based on the textile quality and associated grave gifts of the three sites, Cassman (2000b, 256) concluded that during the Late Intermediate Period, no complex chiefdom with formal positions of rank had existed in the Azapa valley. At the most, some men and women had achieved certain status through their skills which had



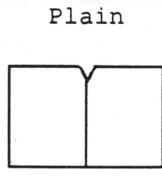
IA



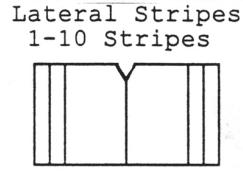
IAe



IAd



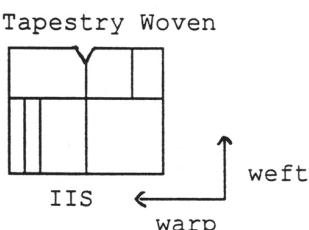
IIA



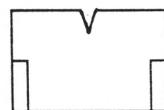
IIA1



IIA3

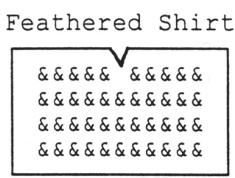


Embroidered
1-3 rows



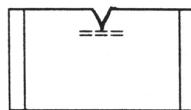
IIIAa

Embroidery:
4-7 rows or 7+ rows
or
IIIAb IIIAc



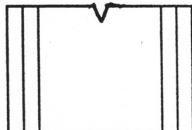
IIF

Embroidered w/
Neck Plaque



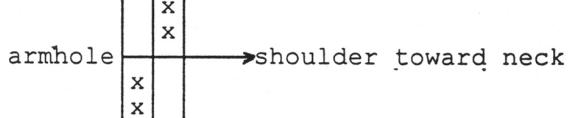
IIIA_d

Lateral Stripes
(continuous warps)
1-10 stripes



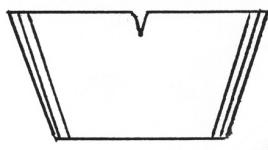
IVA

Discontinuous Stripes
(discontinuous warps)
1-10 stripes



IVB

Discont. Background Warps



IVBW

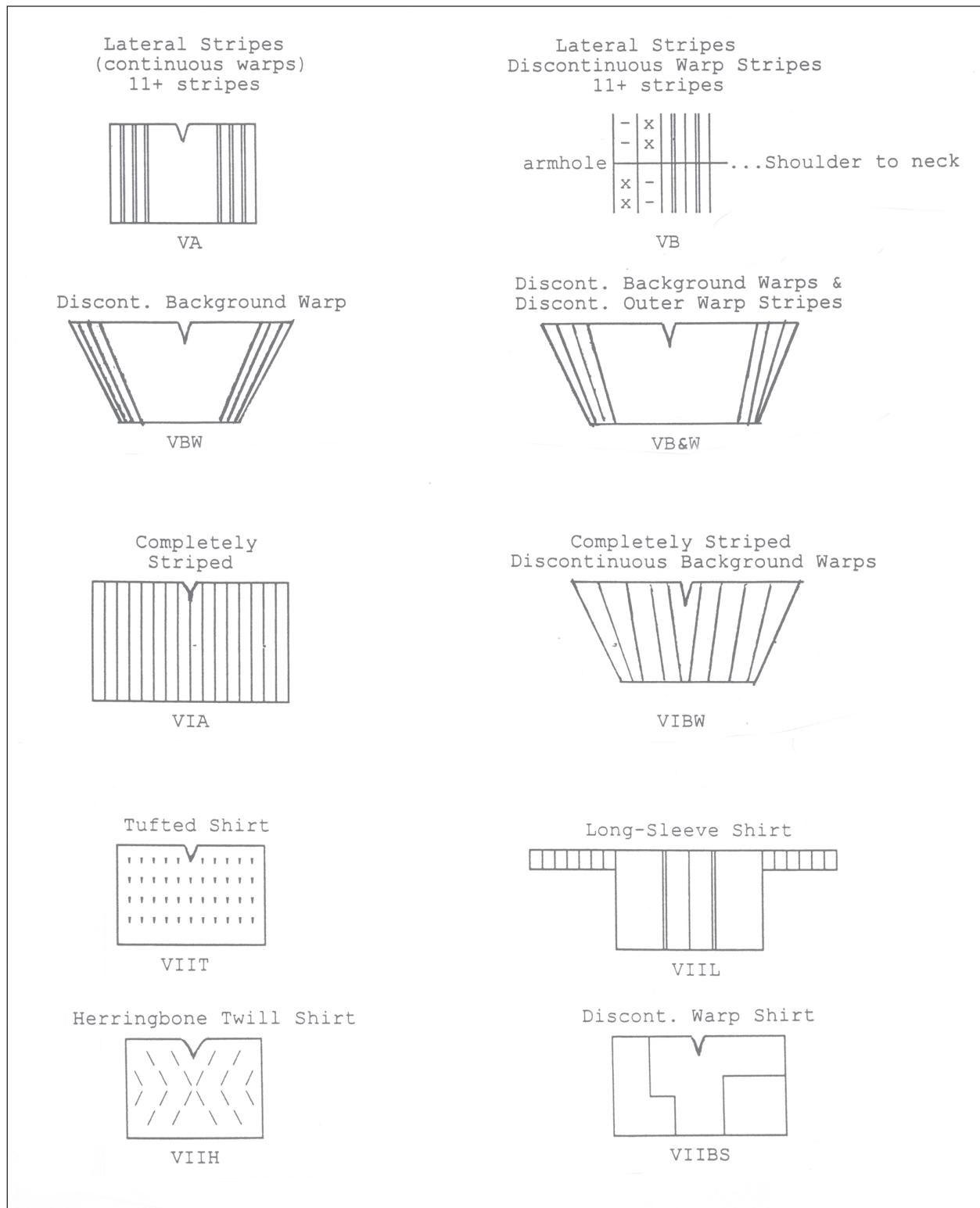


Fig. II.6 Cassman's camisa typology with 7 main categories and sub-types for Azapa Valley in Late Intermediate Period (Cassman 1993, fig. 9-15)

allowed them to accumulate more possessions, similar to the situation in the lower Osmore valley (see Appendix 13). Cassman's intersite analysis came to the surprising conclusion that the individuals from the coastal PLM-9 site with a predominant maritime subsistence, traditionally thought to be the poor people submitted to the agropastoralists with close relationship with the highland cultures, had not only been buried with a greater number and variety of grave goods, but also with qualitatively better textiles than the people buried at the two agricultural sites further up the valley (Cassman 1997, 163, 169–170; Murra 1972, 70–73; Rivera 1991, 21–24).^[5] Growing riches among maritime people living in northern Chile during the final days of the Late Intermediate Period (A.D. 1300–1450) was also observed by Horta (2000).^[6] She linked this increase in wealth to the growing demand of dried fish and guano fertilizer of the agricultural people associated with Cabuza, Maytas and San Miguel-style ceramics and textiles in the lower valleys Horta 2000, 238–240).

In summary, Azapa's Cabuza and Osmore's Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza people, as well as the Azapa's Maytas and Osmore's Chiribaya people, indeed had shared an almost identical ceramic, textile, and mortuary tradition, revealing that these groups had stood in close and long standing contact. Contrary to the Osmore valley, the Maytas and Cabuza people of the Azapa valley did not create an elite site such as the Chiribaya Alta site in the Osmore valley. Although the inhabitants of both valleys were genetically not closely related, their contact must have been frequent and strong. Apparently, the shared cultural features expressed highly appreciated economic and cultural relationships that overcame their distant homes and distinct origins, if they had memories of such distant past at all. But even without shared biological ancestors, they may have considered themselves a single ethnic group with similar agromaritime subsistence, and supposedly with shared gods and language as well (see Paragraphs 2.3 and 6.6.6).

II.3.2 NORTHERN VALLEYS

During the Late Intermediate Period through to the Inca era, the Arequipa area experienced strong influence from the Ica-Chincha culture further to the north. The Inca held the Ica-Chincha people in great esteem for their skills as merchants who had built their

fortune and power through far distance maritime trade covering the whole coastal area of modern Peru and Ecuador (Moseley 1997, 42). Some stylistic influence from this region reached the Chiribaya culture in the Osmore valley, so that it is likely that both cultures stood in contact via maritime transport.

A ceramic tradition known as 'Churajón' developed in the Arequipa region in the Post-Tiwanaku and Wari era. It had its influence mainly in the middle and lower ranges of the valleys, and covered the whole coastal zone of the modern Arequipa department and formed part of a macro-ceramic tradition known as '*Tricolor del sur*', or 'black-on-red ceramic tradition', to which the Chiribaya tradition from the Osmore valley belonged as well (Lumbreras 1974, 205–210; Quequezana 1997, 37).

Cornejo (1987, 67–77) and Risco (1997, 166, 173)^[7] described some Ica/Chincha style textiles. This tradition had a similar choice of fibre and structure as the southern textile tradition, with camelid wool as dominant fibre (70% versus only 9% of cotton), a 2/2¹ ply tradition, and most fabrics warp-faced woven. Like El Descanso's dry sieving samples from domestic areas, (fragments of) camisas were rare (4%) in excavations of domestic contexts. Apparently these garments were destined to accompany the dead into their graves and rarely discarded in refuse middens. Unlike the Osmore camisas, the Acarí garments were made from two webs and did not reach beyond the waist line (Risco 1997, 137–197). Ch'uspas and mantas had been woven weft-faced and with cotton warp elements hidden by the dyed camelid warp elements, and thus differed from the Osmore and Azapa specimens, although their dimensions (22x19 cm and 130x115, respectively) were similar (see Appendix 14). Nonetheless, both specimens contain a design that is characteristic of the Arequipa region during Late Intermediate Period: an eight-pointed star (fig. II.7a). Similar eight-pointed star motif was observed by the author of this study in Chiribaya-style ch'uspas in the Algarrobal Museum in the Osmore valley (fig. II.7b). In the Chiribaya specimens, the design had been woven with the typical complementary warp structure, suggesting that the motif had been copied by local, Chiribaya weavers from Ica-Chincha tapestry samples.

II.3.3 HIGHER OSMORE VALLEY

In the Osmore valley, the highland colonists and autochthonous people had to adapt to the new circumstances

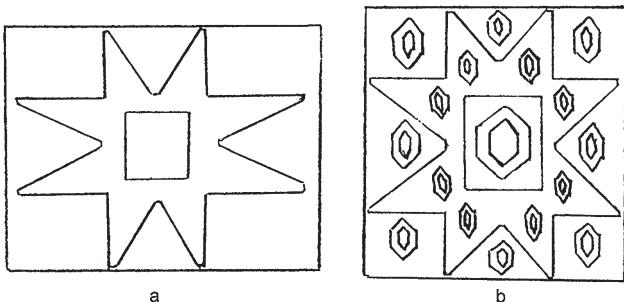


Fig. 11.7 Characteristic eight-pointed star motif from Ica-Chincha culture in Arequipa region (a) and from Chiribaya culture (b) (after Lumbreiras 1974, 197; after ch'uspa and cuenco from Museo Algarrobal)

caused by Tiwanaku's downfall, which resulted in the abandonment of the Tiwanaku colonies in the middle range of the valley. The Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza and Chiribaya cultures have been described in Chapters 6 through to 10. A new and austere cultural tradition known as Estuquiña (A.D. 1350-1450) developed in the higher reaches of the Osmore valley around the time when the (Ilo)Tumilaca/Cabuza had vanished from the coastal scene and the Chiribaya culture blossomed and eventually vanished as well. Contacts between the Estuquiña and the Chiribaya people are thought to have been strong, as the latter are known to have had settlements in the higher valleys and Estuquiña actively traded in the coastal region, especially after the devastating Niño event of A.D. 1350 (see Paragraph 6.7). From then on, the Terminal Chiribaya would imitate the austere plain looks of the Estuquiña ceramic and textile tradition (Reycraft 1998, 323-324; Stanish 1991, 10-12).

Based on the burial and textile analysis of the Estuquiña culture, Clark (1993, 443, 806, 873-878) concluded that the Tumilaca people were the most probable ancestors of this people, rather than some intrusive highland people.^[8] In her scenario, the Tumilaca had first spread over the whole Osmore valley, adapting to their new environments, before some of them regrouped in the higher valley.

The Estuquiña burial tradition was similar to the Tiwanaku and (Ilo)Tumilaca tradition: individual burial in subterranean cylindrical tombs, wrapped in layers of fabrics and facing east (Clark 1993, 320, 769; Clark and Williams 1990, 118-122). Just like the Tiwanaku and (Ilo)Tumilaca tradition, camisas once more formed the

main type of garment of the Estuquiña people. Compared to the previous Tumilaca-style camisas, the Estuquiña made modestly decorated garments (fig. 11.8). The disappearance of large quantities of dyed yarns in their garments may either hint at decreased access to dye stuffs or dyed fibre and perhaps suggest loss of trade routes, or instead it may hint at a radical ideological change, possibly due to the great influx of (highland) foreigners after Tiwanaku's collapse. Contrary to the Tumilaca, the Estuquiña did distinguish the sexes through their clothing and hairstyle. Clark found that the men were usually buried with more and a larger variety of camisas, up to five rectangular or square camisas per individual (fig. 11.8, types 1 to 4). Adult women, on the other hand, wore large, trapezoidal shaped camisas that covered their bodies from the neck down to the wrists and ankles, with very modest decoration (fig. 11.8, type 5). She interpreted the larger variety of male garments as “*a response to different physical and social requirements that were common to all Estuquiña males and to individual taste, rather than indicative of exclusive social groups (...) supported by the fact that the burial of a male individual often included two or more camisa types*” (Clark 1993, 650).

No such gender distinction has been found among the individuals from La Cruz, Algodonal Ladera, and El Descanso in the lower Osmore valley, although Buikstra (1995, 259) found that within Chiribaya cemetery populations, “*gender differences are reinforced by manner of dress, including systematic variation in shirt form, head coverings, and belts*”. Women were usually accompanied by looms and several large ceramic vessels, whereas men were commonly interred with fishing kits and non-utilitarian axes.

As for status distinction, Clark (1993, 866) concluded that “*while the clear spatial separation of burial areas suggests that they were employed by distinct social groups, an evaluation of the quality and quantity of textiles (and other artifacts) indicates no significant vertical differential between any of areas. In fact, the only apparent ranking is one consistently based on age and is found within each area*”. Thus the modest evidence of wealth accumulation represented individual expressions of achieved status at most. This conclusion was confirmed by Estuquiña's architecture, which indicated no status or functional distinctions either (Clark 1993, 445).

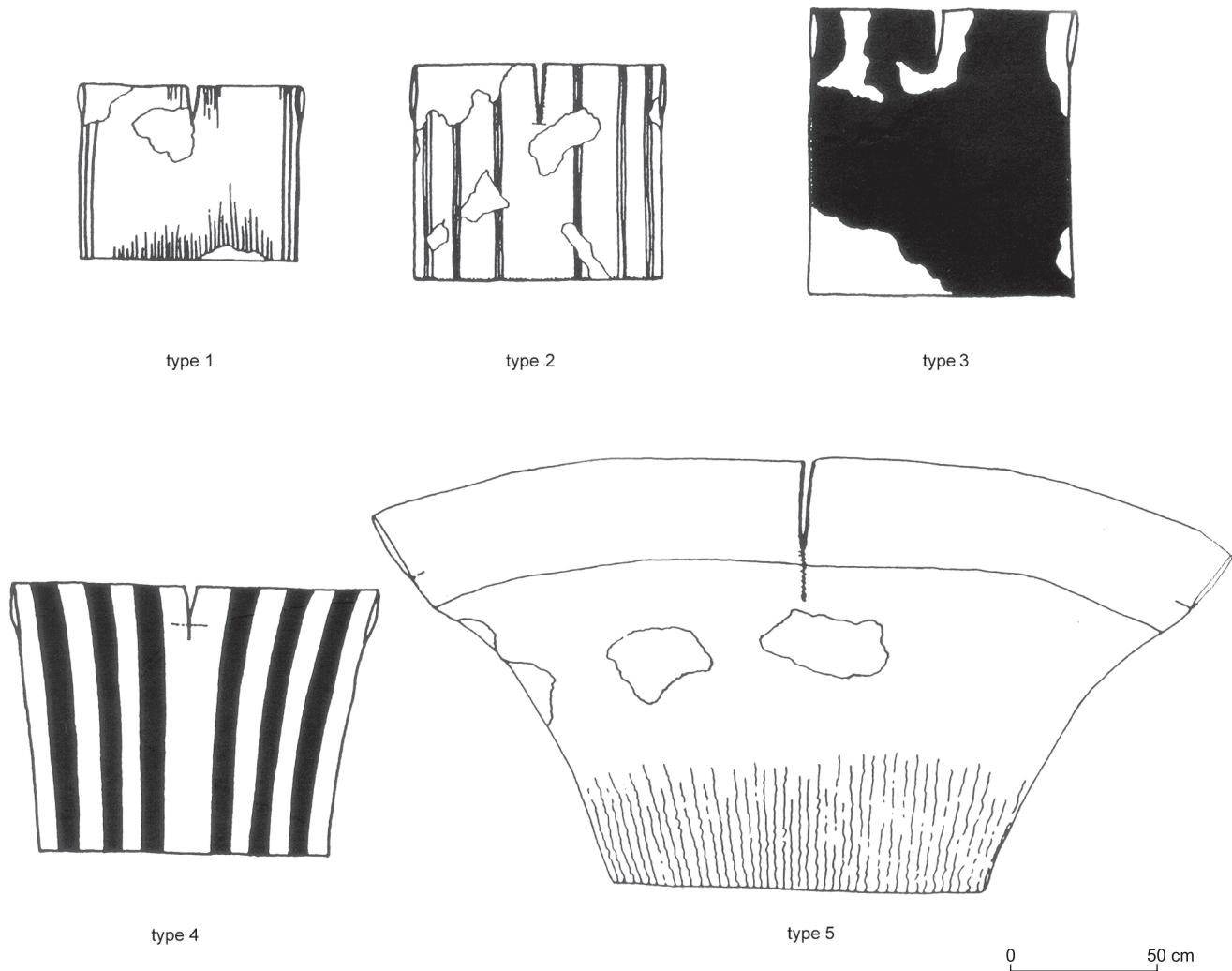


Fig. 11.8 Clark's camisa typology for the Estuquiña culture of the higher Osmore Valley (Clark 1993, 628-629)

In time, the Estuquiña tradition received influence from the expanding Inca culture. The Inca culture would soon be overthrown by the European conquerors, which was followed by great social upheaval and decimation of the indigenous population, especially in the coastal area. Despite the loss of lives, indigenous religion and artistic tradition, the textile tradition has not disappeared. The indigenous weavers of the South Central Andean region still produce their fabrics with similar spin and weave structures as the ancient weavers of the Osmore valley. Although synthetic yarn has largely replaced the home spun camelid and sheep wool, and the indigenous dress is commonly made of factory-made cloth, a variety of

(ritual) bags, cloths and mantles continues to be manufactured according to millennia-old traditions.

NOTES

1. The Azapa valley reaches the ocean at the modern town of Arica, together with a smaller valley directly to its north, the Lluta valley. Archaeological fieldwork has mainly been carried out in the former valley, which has more agricultural potential and up to present more population. Both valleys give easy access to the highlands, and in fact form the nearest western valleys from Tiwanaku centre's point of view. Since Archaic times, the populations of the Osmore valley and the Arica

region have stood in close contact with one another, expressed in their strongly resembling material culture from the Chinchorro phase through to the Maytas-Chiribaya culture of the Late Intermediate Period.

2. Horta (1997) analysed some 900 textiles from the Late Intermediate Period from the Azapa and Lluta valleys and from the Chilean shore itself.

3. Agüero (2000, 218) analysed 120 camisas from the sites AZ 3, AZ 8, AZ 13, AZ 21, AZ 70, AZ 71, AZ 75, AZ 79, AZ 103, AZ 105; Lluta 50 and Lluta 51, plus another 105 camisas from PLM 9 and PLM 3, AZ 6, AZ 71, and AZ 141. Unfortunately, no illustrations were included in the copy available to the author.

4. Cassman (1997, 75) analysed 1,046 of the 2,937 textile specimens from 592 mummy bundles that originated from three sites (PLM 9, AZ 140 and AZ 71). About half ($n = 575$) of these textiles are camisas which form the key of her research, minus the 408 non-diagnostic specimens which are either plain or decorated with a narrow lateral stripe.

5. However, the number of examined individuals from the coastal PLM-9 site is very low compared to the other two sites (PLM-9: 3 females and 4 males; AZ-140: 65 females and 64 males; AZ-71: 115 females and 91 males), so that the small sample from the coastal site may not be fully representative of the whole population and the site's position not quite as advantageous as claimed.

6. Horta (2000, 236-237) analysed cultural remains from the coastal sites PLM 2, PLM 3, PLM 4, PLM 6 from Arica, Pisagua, Camarones 9, Patillos, Bajo Molle, and Patache near Iquique. The coastal populations buried their dead with increasingly more miniature *balsa* boats, harpoons, and *capachos* for land transport. They also developed a variety of stylistic features in their textiles, ceramics and other artefacts.

7. Risco (1997) analysed a textile collection from the domestic area of the coastal site of Huaca Juana 1 in the Acarí valley, some 250 km to the north of Camaná, also related to the Ica-Chincha culture (Risco 1997, 5, 90, 135).

8. Clark analysed 1086 textile (sub-) specimens (half of them raw fibre or single element constructs) from 138 mummy bundles that represent 56% of the total amount of the excavated tombs from four distinct burial areas. The detailed textile

analysis method, summarized in the 'Master Catalog', has been used for this study as well. Clark uses the mortuary textile assemblage to detect horizontal and vertical social (sub) groups and their deviants (Clark 1993, 162, 180, 186).