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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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APPENDIX 13:

SOUTHERN TEXTILE TRADITIONS FROM THE LATE INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

I. Ulloa (1981a,b): Playa Miller 9

Ulloa was the first to study the textile remains of the Azapa population and to establish the formal, technical, and ornamental development of its millennia old textile industry. She analysed textiles associated with Cabuza and Maytas-Chiribaya ceramics from the PLM 9 site and found that the 211 specimens represented twelve basic textile forms: camisa, manta, faja, cinta, taparrabo, gorro, ch'uspa, talega, bolsa faja, malla, pañuelo and honda. The majority belonged to the Maytas-Chiribaya culture. Camisas form the basic type of clothing for both sexes and could be subdivided into ten types by form, structure, decorative patterns, and technical quality (see *fig. 11.5*).

Cabuza ch'uspas are decorated with geometric designs by floating warps, including block-ladder variations, whereas the figurative design bands in Maytas-Chiribaya-style ch'uspas are woven with complementary warp structure.

Bolsa fajas are less common for both styles and associated with adults only. The Cabuza belt bags are woven with stripes and its corners embroidered, whereas the Maytas-Chiribaya specimens are decorated with figurative designs in bands or all over. The ch'uspas and bolsa fajas from both cultures strongly resemble the specimens from the Osmore valley.

Taparrabos and hats are rare. The taparrabos are trapezoidal shaped (*fig. 11.5*), while the knotted hats either round or square with points at its four corners (Ulloa 1981b, 111-122, 132).

II. Agüero (2000): Azapa coastal and valley sites

Agüero (2000, 217-218) analysed 225 textile specimens from 17 Azapa coastal and valley sites, found in association with either southern altiplano-style or coastal-style ceramics.^[1] She concluded that the Azapa valley sheltered a multiethnic population, with one group originating from the circum-Titicaca area ("Southern Highland Textile Tradition") since A.D. 500, while the other group was of coastal origin ("Western Valleys Textile Tradition"). The latter eventually took over the scene after Tiwanaku's collapse.

The Southern Highland Textile Tradition includes Tiwanaku-style artefacts (A.D. 870 ±70), such as rectangular

shaped, dovetailed tapestry camisas, or local adapted styles known as Cabuza (A.D. 500-1250) and Charollo ceramic tradition (A.D. 885 ±120). The tombs with Cabuza and Charollo style ceramics contain rectangular and semi-trapezoidal shaped camisas in warp-faced structure, woven with either one continuous weft or with multiple wefts. They are decorated with cross-knit loop embroidery in characteristic dark grey blue, yellow ocre, pink, red and grey blue colours against a light brown surface, or by multiple (discontinuous) lateral stripes in dyed and natural colours flanking a reddish brown or dark blue centre (*fig. 7.23* and *7.24*). The author recognizes type 3A and type 5A camisas in these descriptions.

In addition, the Cabuza and Charollo burials may contain ch'uspas, bolsa fajas and pañuelos with floating warp decoration. Cabuza style artefacts are concentrated in the Azapa valley but have also been found in Tarapacá (at Pica and Pisagua) and in the Loa valley (at Quillagua).

Multiple wefts ($n = 5$) have also been identified in two square, warp-faced camisas with $2\backslash$ plied elements from the Coyo Oriental cemetery from San Pedro de Atacama and appear to be local products. Both were wrapped around the body of an older man, covered by a square, Tiwanaku-style interlocked tapestry camisa, indicating that the man had been of some social standing. This funeral bundle seems to confirm a highland origin for the technique of multiple wefts (Rojas and Hoces 2000, 230-232).

The Western Valleys Textile Tradition comprises the coastal ceramic styles known as Maytas (A.D. 750-1300), San Miguel (A.D. 900-1430), Pocoma (A.D. 1250-1430), and Gentilar (A.D. 1250-1550), as well as imported Chiribaya and Churajón ceramics from the north. Uribe (1995, 81-96) agrees that the Maytas-Chiribaya ceramics represent a western ceramic tradition, and interprets this style as a reaction against earlier highland traditions.

The textiles associated with these ceramic styles are mainly camisas, most of them characterized by a trapezoidal shape in natural brown wool colour with a dark red and purple lateral stripe. That is, similar in style as the Chiribaya type 4A, 4B, and BW camisas from the Osmore valley.

The trapezoidal shape was also favourite for ch'uspas, which are decorated with figures in complementary warps, with zoomorphic, anthropomorphic, ornithomorphic, and geometric designs. These designs became more elaborate during the San Miguel phase, while the Pocoma style artefacts are characterised by similar designs that now cover the whole surface. All fabrics were woven with one continuous weft element (Agüero 2000, 222-224; Horta 1997, 84-97).

As the structural and decorative elements of the textile material from highland and coastal traditions are so characteristic and found together with clearly distinct ceramic artefacts (mixture of styles was found in only two burials), Agüero (2000, 224) concludes that they must have been made by two distinct and contemporaneous groups. One group was culturally if not ethnically affiliated with the highland, the other with the coast. Her conclusion agrees with the interpretation of the textile material from the sites AZ 71 and AZ 14 in the Azapa valley by Espouey *et al.* (1995, 122), as belonging to two different, but cohabiting groups, one group identified as Cabuza group of highland origin and the other a Formative coastal Alto Ramirez population.

III. Horta (1997): Azapa and Lluta valleys

Horta analysed some 900 textiles from the Azapa and Lluta valley and coast. She divided them into the five Late Intermediate Period styles mentioned above: Maytas (A.D. 750-1300), San Miguel (A.D. 900-1430), Pocoma (A.D. 1250-1430), and Gentilar (A.D. 1250-1550), and put the stylistic features of each group in chronological order. She concluded that the Cabuza people eventually copied the trapezoidal shaped camisa from the Maytas people, as well as the colour change in the camisa's lateral stripes by discontinuous warps, and the complementary warps for figured stripes in bolsas and pañuelos, as well as the habit of including other types of textiles inside tombs.

She too equated the highland style textiles to a physical presence of highland people and concludes that different ethnic groups cohabited in the Azapa valley and surrounding areas for many centuries. As the Cabuza population of the Highland Tradition cohabited with the Maytas and San Miguel group of the Western Valley tradition for over 400 years, they were bound to influence one another (Horta 1997, 83-84). She did not speculate about their origins, but added that the interaction between the coastal Osmore valley and Azapa valley may have included the Pica oasis further south (Horta 1997, 104).

She noticed no gender differentiation in the camisas worn by men and women in this region. Most camisas and taparrabos show signs of wear and repair, whereas the ch'uspas, pañuelos and bolsa fajas appear to be as good as new when placed inside the tomb (Horta 1997, 82, 103).

IV. Cassman (1997): Playa Miller 9, Azapa 140 and Azapa 71

Cassman (1997, 48) questioned the interpretation of ceramic and textile styles, known as Loreto Viejo, Cabuza, Maytas, San Miguel, and Gentilar, as expressions of a multiethnic population in the Azapa valley. She 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), plus the associated grave goods. 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. In addition, she had 32 samples radiocarbon dated to look for evidence of expressions of ethnicity, social roles, or individual tastes (Cassman 1997, 75).

For this purpose, she redefined the camisa typology by Ulloa (1981b) into seven main types with 25 subtypes (fig. 11.6), and added a typology for pañuelo and ch'uspa styles. In addition, she awarded each fabric with a quality score that allowed qualitative comparison of textile assemblages belonging to individuals as well as to sites as a whole. Cassman's typologies and quality assessment have been applied by the author of this study as well, in order to facilitate interregional comparison.

Apart from the results given in the main text, Cassman (2000b, 256) concluded that the textile quality and associated grave gifts indicated that there existed no complex chiefdom with formal positions of rank. Those individuals buried with the highest accumulated textile quality scores, did not necessarily have most non-textile grave goods as well, while some of them were not even given any other grave goods. As many of their textiles are worn and repaired, Cassman (2000a, 264) believed that these individuals represent men and women who had accumulated more possessions in their lives, indicative of achieved status at most.

A comparable level of social complexity was found among the populations from the lower Osmore valley: the author identified few individuals buried with considerable higher textile quality scores, which seems to refer to some level of

accumulated wealth for few members of a community. However, as these possessions often show signs of wear and repair or even re-use, they are hardly indicative of higher social status.

Intersite comparison of the Osmore sites showed a consistently higher number of grave goods and textiles buried with the Chiribaya cemetery population from La Cruz than with the Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza people (roughly 13 and 6 artefacts, respectively, see Table 10.10), suggesting that the Chiribaya people had access to more resources than the newcomers. Interesting is that these numbers are near identical to the Azapa cemeteries (6 and 7 artefacts per individual for the AZ-140 and AZ-71 site, respectively, versus 12 artefacts at the PLM-9 site; Cassman 1997, 128).

Thus Cassman's intersite analysis came to the surprising conclusion that the individuals from the coastal PLM-9 site with a maritime subsistence, traditionally thought to be the poor and submitted people, had not only been buried with a greater number and variety of grave goods, but also with qualitatively better textiles than the population of the two agricultural sites further up the valley (Cassman 1997, 163, 169–170; Murra 1972, 70–73; Rivera 1991, 21–24). However, the author found that the number of examined individuals from the 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.

Compared to the Osmore sites, Azapa's total textile quality indices score consistently higher, ranging between 0.49 points per individual from AZ-71 to 0.64 points for individuals from PLM-9, whereas the individual score in the Osmore valley ranged between 1.14 for Chen Chen (1988) to 3.48.5 points for an individual from El Descanso, with an average quality score of 3.5 to 28 points for the whole Osmore valley (see Table 10.12). Unfortunately, Cassman does not mention the total number of textiles per individual, so that it remains unclear whether the different individual scores of both valleys is the result of difference in textile quality or quantity.

IV. Minkes (2002): Azapa 6 and Azapa 71

The author indeed recognized the descriptions and depictions of the Cabuza textile, ceramic, and burial traditions as being highly reminiscent of the Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza textiles from the Osmore valley, while the Maytas and San Miguel style textiles sounded

very similar to the early and late Chiribaya textiles from the Osmore valley. In order to make direct comparisons, she visited the Museo Arqueológico San Miguel de Azapa near Arica in June 2002 to check on some of the textiles from the sites AZ 71 and AZ 6. In total, the analysis forms of 54 fabrics from AZ 71, plus 31 fabrics from AZ 6 were picked at random and revised.

The similarities between Osmore and Azapa garments were indeed remarkable, while the valleys' unique identity could be found in their details. About three quarters of the fabrics turned out to be camisas, followed in frequency by ch'uspas, and pañuelos, while bolsa fajas, fajas and ponchos appear to have been rare.

At both sites, about one third of all camisas was found to be plain (type 1A). Interesting is that compared to the Osmore valley, two-web camisas (type 2A) with vertical neck and arm openings were quite common in Azapa. Interesting too is that camisas with few asymmetric lateral stripes (type 4A and 4B, typical of Chiribaya fabrics in the Osmore valley) made up another one third of the camisas from AZ 71, while they were not present among the AZ 6 sample. At the latter site, however, camisas with multiple lateral stripes (type 5A and 5B, practically all with embroidered neck plaques and very similar to the Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza fabrics from Osmore) made up nearly half of all camisas, while they are rare at AZ 71. In addition, the only cross-knit loop embroidered (the most modest type 3Aa) camisa among the selected specimens was found at AZ 6.

The distribution of this small sample of camisa types at these two Azapa sites revealed a similar distinction into a Cabuza tradition (with type 3A, 5A, and 5B) at AZ 6, and Maytas-Chiribaya tradition (with types 4A and 4B) at AZ 71, as had been observed in the lower Osmore valley.

This cultural identification of the AZ 6 site was confirmed by Sutter who stated that the '*overwhelming majority*' of the cultural remains were associated with Cabuza-style ceramics. However, he also identified a similar majority of Cabuza-style burials at AZ 71, versus only two tombs with Maytas-Chiribaya ceramics (Sutter 1997, 144–145). Such low number of Maytas-Chiribaya tombs seems to contradict with the textile finds, unless the Maytas-Chiribaya style camisas had been inserted in tombs with Cabuza ceramics. Such mixing of camisa styles would agree with Cassman's (1997) findings, but contradict the Osmore situation (Boytner 1998; Owen 1993).

Compared to the Osmore textile assemblage, the Maytas-Chiribaya style camisas from AZ 71 showed more variation in

their lateral, asymmetrical stripes, both in number, width, as in colour. Likewise, comparing Cabuza type 5A and 5B camisas from AZ 6 to the Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza specimens from the Osmore valley, the Azapa Cabuza people used more truly blue shades in the lateral stripes (mostly sky blue '93', or greyish blue '38', identified by Munsell Colour Chart), whereas the Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza used more green or greenish blue shades (mint green '34', greenish blue '35' and greyish green '36').

In addition, the Azapan type 5B camisas were found to change the colour of the two or three outermost stripes in different colour combinations than in the Osmore valley. No standardized colour combinations were observed among the small sample as appeared to be the case in the Osmore valley. This seemed to indicate that the Cabuza people from Azapa and the Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza people from Osmore produced their dyed yarn and camisas locally, resulting in distinct shades of their dominant colours, rather than importing dyed yarn from some specialized highland community.

NOTE

1. 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.