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CLOTHING STYLES FROM A PROVINCIAL INCA OUTPOST

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My recent study of Inca Period clothing has involved textile collections from three south coastal areas of Peru (Figure 1): Pachacamac, a large Inca center and temple complex just south of Lima (Uhle 1903/1991: Ch XXI:89-96); Rodadero, a storage facility overlooking the Inca center of Tambo Viejo in the Acari Valley (Katterman and Riddell (1992:141-167); and Burial House #2, the western hillside cemetery affiliated with the Inca outpost of Quebrada de La Vaca in the Chala Drainage (Katterman 2003b). From the burial house (Figure 6), Dorothy Menzel and Francis Riddell collected and documented 120 burials plus an additional 140 items of clothing without burial associations (1954; Von Hagen 1956: 204). Gold flakes (Figure 7) over the eye orbits of many individuals in the burial chamber, including women and children, attested to their relatively high status. In spite of this, only a few burials at Quebrada de la Vaca West contained clothing of the quality identified as the fine and colorful weft faced garments of the Inca elite (A. Rowe 1997: 6-11; 1978:6-7).

Most garments from the burial chamber were very plainly woven in warp-faced tan cotton yarn. The typical outfit for a male consisted of a large cloak, a tunic (unku), loincloth (wara), small coca bags, and perhaps, a sling or two (Figure 8a-8e). Decoration on male garments was generally confined to seams and embroidered edges. Plain cross looping (Figure 29a) bound both ends of loincloths. Blanket stitching (Figure 29d) or overcast (Figure 29f) served as the base for carrying pairs of colorful yarns that crossed between stitches to form attractive patterns around the edges of cloaks.

Exceptions to the plain male garments from the burial chamber appeared in the form of colorful tunics. One of these was a finely woven dark brown tunic (M-54). Accompanying it in the burial were a plain tan cotton manta woven in two webs (120 x 70 + 70 cm) and bordered with decorative red and yellow yarn carried on blanket stitched base (Figure 29d); a loincloth (56 x 44 cm) woven in one web like the one in Figure 8c; and two slings. Bands of red, yellow and brown yarn in close figure-8 stitching (Figure 29e) joined the two panels of the dark brown tunic together in the center and under the arms openings. Damage to the tunic did not allow measurements to be taken beyond ascertaining that it had been about 60 cm wide and more than 70 cm long. A rendering of this once handsome tunic appears as Figure 12.

A large fragment of another colorful tunic from Quebrada de La Vaca West (X-5) displayed a pattern of two sets of yellow stripes between less frequent pairs of blue-green stripes on a bright red ground (Figure 5). While only the bottom, lower sides and part of the reinforcement under an armhole remained, this was sufficient to ascertain the construction of the tunic. It was of finely woven camelid yarn, weft-faced, and composed of two long panels seamed together up the center and under the arms. The seams and edge bindings were overcast in colorful bands of red, yellow and blue-green yarn. A decorative band about 0.7 cm wide clung to parts of the bottom edge. The tunic measured 83 cm across the bottom and 77 cm up to the broken area slightly above the reinforcement under the arm opening. Remnants of another camelid tunic with similar

striping on a red ground was collected from the nearby site of Pueblo Viejo, and the style must have been somewhat common to the region.

A third tunic from the burial chamber at Quebrada de la Vaca West displayed a series of classic Inca features. Just below the waist, this plain tan cotton tunic sported a band of *tocapu* pattern in green, red, yellow, brown and white camelid yarn. The tunic measured 80 cm in length by 70 in width. It was woven Inca style: horizontally, in one web, with the neck slot woven in. The weaving, except for the camelid facing of the *tocapu* pattern, was of fine weft faced cotton. Close figure-8 stitching (Figure 29e) in narrow bands of the same colors that appeared in the *tocapu* pattern (minus the white) provided the underarm seaming and continued as overcast around the arm opening and bottom. The tunic served in the burial chamber as the outer covering for a small child (C-22), perhaps the offspring of the site administrator. The child, presumably a male, was wrapped in a breechcloth and two small tunics more his size (Figure 10). Before burial, the tunic had been well worn and only a few tattered pieces of the band of *tocapu* pattern remained close to the side seams. The pattern, woven in small blocks four tires high, alternated opposing pairs of a stepped design and nested blocks with a tail (perhaps a fret). A stylistic rendering of the appearance of the tunic appears as Figure 11.

Two other tunics with a band of tapestry pattern just below the waist (#1003 and #1034) were reported by Max Uhle at Pachacamac in the respective burials of two males he considered to be Inca officials from Cuzco (1903/1991: 37-40, Pl. 7, Fig 19). Both men had the shortly cropped hairstyle reserved for males of royal Inca lineage. In a drawing by Guaman Poma (1615/1980:82, Fol. 102), Inca Roca and his young son are depicted wearing tunics banded with a *tocapu* pattern most likely affiliated with their royal lineage (Figure 2). In a similar manner, administrators with the *tocapu* style of tunic at Pachacamac and Quebrada de la Vaca may have had direct connections to the royal Inca family at the time or to a royal family from the past.

Another tunic style from the burial chamber at Quebrada de la Vaca West, with two adult and several child-size examples, had an all-over pattern of narrow brown and cream stripes (Figure 13). One example was woven in one web (83 x 70) and the other, in two webs (74 x 34 +34). Both were of undyed cotton yarn, woven warp faced and bound around the arm opening, but not elsewhere, with cross loop stitching. Another striped tunic (M-53), this time of camelid yarn, was also warp faced. It was woven in two panels of narrow, unusually vibrant earth-tone stripes (Figure 14). Fishbone stitches in brown yarn formed the center seam and those along the sides. Around the bottom, it was bound in cross loop stitching of the same color. This tunic and another plain tan cotton tunic had been used to bundle two small bags of special possessions. One bag contained several hunks of red, yellow, black and brown camelid hair, a skein of white camelid yarn (spun z) and a ball of cordage of the type used to tie men's hair. The other bag held four small knotted strings or *quipus* of natural colors of cotton. The male owner had, no doubt, been an important person at the site, a *quipucamayoc*, or keeper of the *quipus*, and seemingly, an overseer of weaving supplies and colored camelid yarns.

The combination of narrow earth-tone stripes in the tunic seemed familiar. The striping pattern was, in fact, very similar to those found on several women's shawls (Ilikllas) that Uhle recovered at Pachacamac (Figure 15). In the shawls (#331658, #31660, and #31661), either the middle third or the two outer thirds displayed the same type of vibrant earth tone striping as that on the tunic from Quebrada de la Vaca West.

This pattern appears, as well, to have been the type of narrow striping depicted by Guaman Poma in the drawing of the dress and shawl worn by Mama Coya (Figure 3). It must have been an official pattern in garment styles for both male and female.

The male garments just discussed were rare exceptions in the burial chamber at Quebrada de la Vaca West. Most men were buried with a long, plain warp faced, tan cotton tunic woven Inca style, in one web (Figures 8b and 9). The abundance of this type of tunic at the site indicates that it was the common style of dress or uniform for most males there. A special feature was the embroidered stitching, or lack of it, around the arm openings of the tan tunics. While smaller size examples (60-80 cm in length x 67-77 cm in width), had plain cross loop stitching (Figure 29a) around the arm opening or were left unfinished, most larger examples (85-97cm in length x 68-82 cm in width) displayed an edging of red and yellow camelid yarn embroidered in either cross loop stitching (Figure 29b) or herringbone stitching (Figure 29c). Sometimes blue, green or brown yarns were added. These color combinations are the same as those often found in elite Inca tunics. The presence of these same colors on the larger tan tunics indicates the owners' close affiliation with the Inca undertakings at the site, most likely as a lower level of the administrative staff. In a place where decoration on male clothing was quite restricted, the colorful stitching probably stood for something, perhaps special recognition of the skills, duties, or leadership qualities of some of the larger and/or older male staff members.

Large fragments of three plain, warp-faced, cream-tan tunics with colorful red bindings were also recorded at Pellejo Chico Alto, a lookout post close to the Inca center of Tambo Viejo. (Cheryl Fairchild, personal communication). The repetition of these garment styles at one site again suggested a type of uniform, similar to the tan tunics at Quebrada de la Vaca. The existence of plain tan tunic with colorfully embroidered seams and edging at both sites suggests that males who provided services to the Inca government at lower levels dressed in these styles.

Women of all classes wore a wrap-around dress (aksu) and a shawl (lliklla) as their major garments. Accessories included a handbag, belt and fastening pins at the breast (Figures 3 and 4). The best examples of elite women's garments are those accompanying "Juanita," the Inca Maiden discovered by Johan Reinhart high in the Andes (1996). Her wrap-around dress and shawl were finely woven, weft-faced, decorated with bands of weft patterning. At Quebrada de la Vaca West only part of one elite style female garment was recovered (F-48); a red and yellow striped cloth of camelid yarn, finely woven in a weft face weave. It seemed most likely to be part of a shawl (Figure 16).

The remaining female garments from Quebrada de la Vaca West were of tan or cream colored cotton, woven in fairly coarse warp-face weave. The wrap-around dresses consisted of two long panels, stitched together up the center to make a large blanket size garment about 150 x 145 cm, or close to square proportions. A few dresses were totally plain. Others had one or two narrow stripes along the outer weft selvages. The most common style of the wrap-around dresses, however, displayed a dark brown, dark red, or black stripe- and-checker design flanking the central seam (Figure 20). A panel of one of the better preserved dresses and a handbag appear as Figure 18.

The shawls, considerably smaller than the dresses, were woven in one long, warp-faced web (Figure 17). Decoration on them was confined to a narrow stripe or series of stripes along the weft selvages (Figure 22). Figure 19 depicts all three garments of a

typical woman's outfit from Quebrada de la Vaca. Variations in the design flanking the central seam of the dresses appeared at the nearby site of Pueblo Viejo, a Late Intermediate/Late Horizon site devoid of formal Inca architecture. Wrap-around dresses there featured two dark narrow stripes on both side of a light (or dark) center (Figure 21). These types of striped designs along the central seam probably represent a local style of women's dress. During Inca rule, groups of people retained their native costumes with styles differing from region to region (Niles 1992:53)

Another style of wrap-around dress and shawl at Quebrada de la Vaca West displayed a wide stripe of contrasting color close to the outer weft edges of the garment. In Figure 23 the dress (U-119) has been folded in half along the center seam, placing the wide stripe close to the bottom. A warp-striped handbag is attached in the center. The shawl fragment in Figure 24 (I-81) has two wide turquoise stripes bordering a cream stripe in the center. Shawls and dresses like these have been identified as a type of standardized Inca garment resulting from the local labor tax or tribute imposed on all households by the Inca government (A. Rowe 1997: 14, 34). Tribute garments were collected annually by local overlords and stored at Inca centers with other products required in tribute by the government (J. Rowe 1979:239-240; Murra 1962: 715-717)

Just such a store house with a collection of dresses and shawls was discovered by Francis Riddell in 1985 at the hillside site of Rodadero, overlooking the Inca center of Tambo Viejo (Katterman and Riddell 1992: 141-167; Murra 1962: 716-717). From it, Riddell recovered 57 dress panels and 17 shawls, all with the same wide striped pattern. Figure 26 shows a pair of matching dress panels from this group, and Figure 25, one of the shawls. In addition to the consistent pattern of three wide stripes, the shawls typically displayed a narrow barred stripe close to the weft selvages. In a similar manner, the dresses always had a narrow stripe along the outer the outer weft edge that repeated the central color.

From the Cemetery of Sacrificed Women at Pachacamac, Uhle collected 19 shawls and 13 wrap-around dresses with the same wide striped pattern. Figure 27 shows a brown and cream shawl and Figure 28, a wrap-around dress from this collection, now housed at the University of Pennsylvania Museum. Other areas may have produced tribute garments with different patterns. As mentioned above, some shawls from Pachacamac had either the inner third or the two outer thirds filled with narrow earth toned stripes (Figure 15). As an important Inca center and temple complex, Pachacamac would have received tribute from many areas (Patterson 1986). Similar tribute garments can also be noted among the attire provided the two young female sacrifices discovered on Mount Lollailloca by Reinhart (1999: 48-55). The younger girl, age 8, has a cream colored wrap-around dress with a wide brown and narrow cream stripe along the weft selvage. The older girl, age 14, has a brown and tan shawl around her shoulders with an outer wide tan stripe and a narrow barred stripe visible along the edge.

Discussion

Women's style of dress Quebrada de la Vaca emphasized a stripe and checker pattern flanking the central seam, often accompanied by narrow striping along the outer weft selvages. Narrow striping was also the common pattern along the weft edges of the shawls they wrapped around their shoulders. The wide striped style of tribute garments for women were also present at this burial site as well as other contexts along the south coast and in the highlands.

Not as much is known about tribute garments for males. Men who held office or worked for the Inca government were provided food and clothing during the time of their service (Menzel 1977:6 Mosley 1992: 69-71) and it is likely that many of the garments worn by males at Inca centers were from tribute sources. The different styles of the more elaborate tunics from Quebrada de la Vaca probably represented their owner's office or position of responsibility at the centers (Niles 1992:53). The abundance of plain tan tunics at the site, many with Inca style banding around the arm opening, suggests these garments were worn by a lower level of the administration staff. The burial of their owners in the Inca chamber high on the hillside, many with gold flakes over their eyes, further indicates the relatively high position of these individuals within the Inca hierarchical system.

Of additional significance is the presence of garment styles at Quebrada de la Vaca that have been reported in other areas of the Inca Empire. The repetition of styles from center to center indicates that in areas under Inca control, clothing types were organized into specific styles not only for the ruling elite but for those who served in lower level positions of the administrative staff as well.

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FIGURES

Figures 2, 3, and 4 are from Guaman Poma.
All other figures, photographs and drawings
are by the author. Unless otherwise specified,
the images below are from Burial House #2,
Quebrada de la Vaca West.

FIGURES :

The photographs and drawings in Figures 1 and 5-29 are by the author. Unless otherwise specified, the images below are from Burial House #2, Quebrada de la Vaca West. Figures 2-4 are from Guaman Poma (1615/1980)



Figure 3. Mama Occlo



Figure 4. Girl in a wide striped dress and shawl

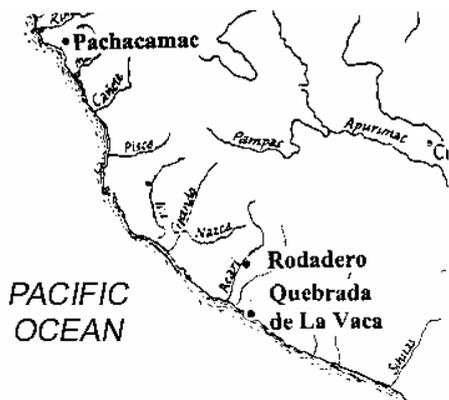


Figure 1. South Coast of Peru

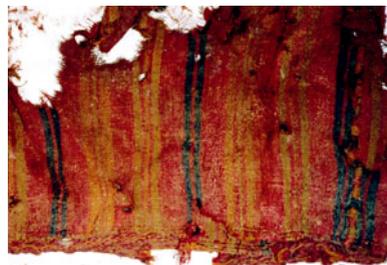


Figure 5. Stripped tunic (X-5)



Figure 2. Inca Roca



Figure 6. Inca Burial House #2. Quebrada de la Vaca West



Figure 7. Gold flakes



Figure 8d. Sling

Figures 8. Typical male garments from Burial House #2



Figure 8e. Small bag for carrying coca



Figure 8a. Manta



Figure 9. Rendering of tan tunic with embroidered arm openings



Figure 8b. Tunic



Figure 10. Clothing from Burial C-22



Figure 8c. Loincloth



Figure 11. Rendering of the tunic with a toqapu band from Burial C-22

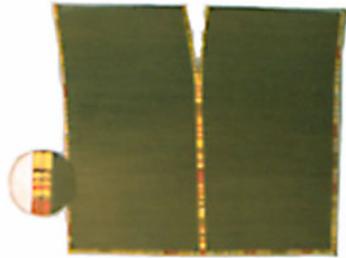


Figure 12. Rendering of the tunic in Burial M-54



Figure 13. Rendering of a brown and cream striped tunic



Figure 14. Tunic with earth tone stripes from Burial M-51



Figure 15. Shawl with earthtone stripes from Pachacamac



Figure 16. Woman's garment from Burial F-48



Figure 17. Shawl with narrow edge stripes



Figure 18. Clothing from Burial F-33. Large – panel of wrap around dress; small – warp striped hand bag

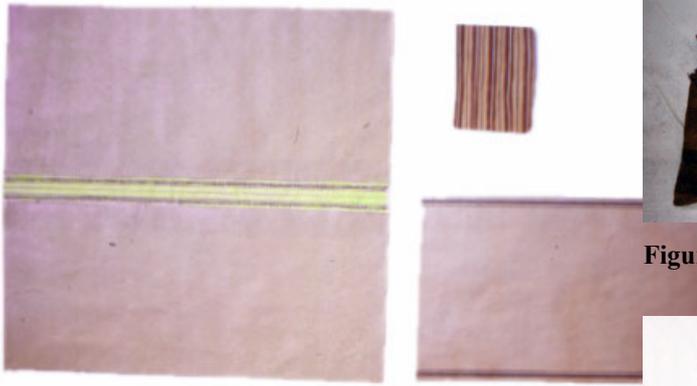


Figure 19. Rendering of a typical woman's outfit. Wrap around dress with stripe and checker design by central seam; shawl with narrow striping along with weft selvages; warp striped handbag



Figure 23. Tribute wrap around dress



Figure 24. Tribute shawl fragment



Figure 20. Strip and checker design



Figure 25. Tribute shawl, Rodadero



Figure 21. Striped design from Pueblo Viejo



Figure 26. Tribute dress panels (Rodadero)



Figure 22. Set of narrow stripes set along a weft selvage of a shawl



Figure 27. Tribute shawl (Pachacamac)



Figure 28. Tribute dress (Pachacamac)

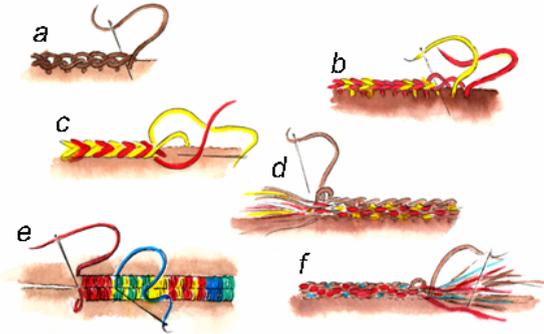


Figure 29. Common types of embroidered seams and edge stitching