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NEW**DIRECTIONS:** *Examining the Past,
Creating the Future.*

Dressing the Leader, Dressing the Ancestor: The *longue durée* in the South Central Andes

Ann H. Peters

The preservation and adornment of the dead in the South Central Andes can be traced over some twelve thousand years. The nature of social and political ancestry and its relationship to power change over time with the development of large-scale complex societies. These changes are reflected in the types of garments used to dress the outside of mortuary bundles and their references to socio-political roles and associations.

Archaeology has barely begun to develop the analytic approaches to take advantage of textile analysis in order to reconstruct – or theorize – multifaceted identities, networks of social and political relationships, and production and exchange practices embedded in particular environments.

While the Andean region provides some of the best environments for preserving textiles, and for natural mummification of the human body, the best conditions are relatively stable in temperature and humidity: the foggy deserts, dry high altitude caves, and glaciers. The potential for preservation of human bodies and fine textiles in these environments contributed to a continuing social and political role of the dead in the lives of the living and the conservation of a textile library in these mortuary contexts.

When the Spanish invaded the Andes in 1530, they quickly had to learn that the preserved and finely dressed bodies of previous Inkas and other Andean leaders were important agents in current politics, visiting each other, resolving disputes, authorizing marriages and being carefully attended to by their descendents (Pizarro 1921[1571]; Guaman Poma de Ayala 1980[1615]). Destroying the Inka mummies became an essential colonial project, carried out by Licenciado Polo de Ondegardo in 1559 (Cobo 1979[1653]).

Later documents from the persecution of idolatry in the 1580s (Arriaga 1999 [1621]; Duviols 1971, 2003) describe well-dressed mummy bundles of regional lords that participated in public ritual and could be cited as proof of heritage and to validate social and political leadership. Carefully preserving and attending to ancestral bundles was also essential to the wellbeing of the community as a whole, as the ancestors interceded with the forces of nature to ensure good harvests and ward off pestilence.

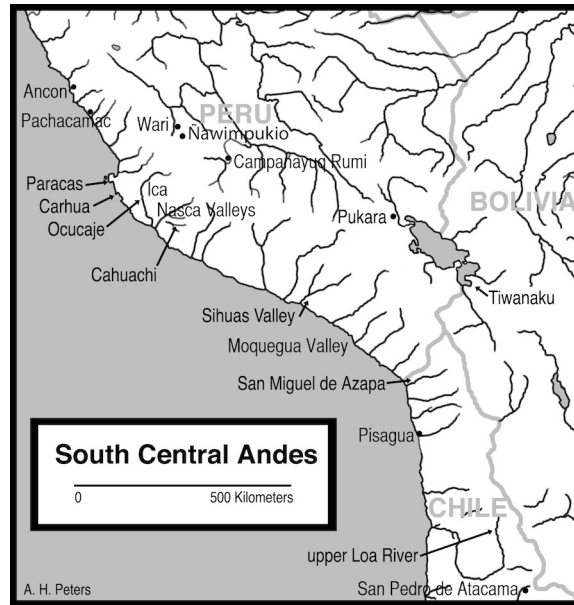


Figure 1. The south-central Andean region, with sites mentioned here.

The oldest examples of body preservation and adornment come from the ‘land of eternal spring’ at the great bend of the continent, where the Atacama desert spans the Tropic of Capricorn and, just to the north, a string of volcanoes separates the high Lake Titicaca basin from the Pacific coastal valleys. This is the sphere of cultural development that led to Tiwanaku, and the home of some of the greatest work on textiles by our colleagues Liliana Ulloa, Amy Oakland, Carole Sinclair, Carolina Agüero, Helena Horta, Bárbara Cáses and of course Paulina Brugnoli and Soledad Hoces de la Guardia. This paper considers their extensive analysis and draws on my 2003 study of museum collections.

The preservation of mummified ancestors predates the development of domesticated camelids and horticulture in this region. The remodeled and painted bodies of Chinchorro were placed by transhumant family groups between 6 and 10 thousand years ago. Found in rows along the steep talus slopes above sandy coves and beaches between rocky headlands of the Pacific shore from Pisagua to Moquegua, they are wrapped in twined mats, wear string aprons, and are accompanied by cotton cordage, nets and fishhooks. Arriaza (1995) considers them the earliest example of the Andean tradition of attending to the ancestors.

To trace evidence for the subsequent development of more complex societies, I will discuss mortuary traditions, particularly the social roles symbolized in the treatment of the dead. I focus on male garments and headdresses, looking at diversity or standardization in form as an indicator of whether garment types reference particular, local identities or equivalent social roles within a larger political system. I also consider their placement in a multilayered mortuary bundle.

Information on women’s garments is also essential, but at this time we do not know enough to compare them across Andean history. In my research, women’s garments appear to tell a somewhat different history than those of the men. Women played an

important role in social leadership and political relations in the Middle Horizon (Cook and Glowacki 2003; Tung and Cook 2006) and without a doubt in other historic periods.

In the South-Central Andes, burials with elaborate cordage headdresses (Fig. 2a) predate settled agricultural communities. However, in the same period in the Central Andes the ‘Cotton Preceramic’ (Engel 1966; Moseley 1974) is associated with early agriculture and ceremonial centers (Feldman 1985; Grieder et al. 1988; Shady 1997), indicating leaders mobilizing corporate social groups in their construction. Textile preservation is largely incomplete or de-contextualized, so we cannot yet trace garment systems so early in the Central Andes.

Post-Chinchorro burials along the desert coast near Azapa relied on the natural desiccation of the body for preservation. These are small-scale societies and the sample is neither large nor, for the most part, professionally excavated, but magnificent yarn headdresses have been preserved. Among the earliest and best documented are the complex cordage and beaded plied human hair (Fig. 2b) on individuals buried in a flexed position at the Quiani site, dated to about 3500 BP (Ulloa 1974, Agüero 1994).

While the individuals from Quiani may have been travelers from another land, with their innovative flexed position, S-spun yarns and elaborate headdresses, the shell beads and diverse non-domesticated animal hair used in their headdress could all come from the coast-to-highland transects of the circum-Titicaca region. No two headdresses are alike and they appear to mark individual identity and prestige, though the practices no doubt were also emblematic of group identity for a knowledgeable viewer (Wobst 1977; Weissner 1988; Sackett 1990; Dieltler and Herbich 1998).

In the Pacific Watershed region between about 3000 and 500 BC, the development of domesticated camelids and their symbolic importance can be traced in the different color groups in yarn headdresses that tend to characterize each region: cream-white with beige, ochre or ‘vicuña’ and with madder-red and indigo-blue dyes in the Azapa region, dark brown with blue more prevalent in the Camerones valley to the south and cream-white with gray and black in the Tarapacá-Pisagua region (Agüero 1994, 1995; Gallardo 1993).

These seaside cemeteries are considered to represent relatively small communities who moved easily between the rich marine environment and springs in the coastal quebradas, seasonal pastures of the high desert, abundant vegetation of highland valleys and ‘*bofedal*’ marshes and hillsides of the high puna (Nuñez and Dillehay 1995 [1979]). In each coast to highland transect they were surrounded by herds of wild guanaco and vicuña, the native ancestors of the domesticated llama and alpaca. Camelid yarns were used in twined mantles, which were slowly replaced by similar loom-woven mantles: a generic garment used throughout the region for millennia.

But the forms and color of yarn headdresses appear to mark, for men and women, both individual and group identity: an identity built in place on the head after death but echoing that of life, linked to the color of the herds and the yarns produced in each community (Fig. 2c,d,e,f). Later headdresses from the Faldas del Morro (approximately

200 BC) incorporate more diverse and complex elements, including a reused looped bag (Fig. 2g). In a Middle Horizon (approximately 500 AD) child's burial (Fig. 2h) a polychrome looped cap is again combined with a yarn skein, but both the form and dyed colors of the cap and the spinning of the yarns have become finer and far more standardized.

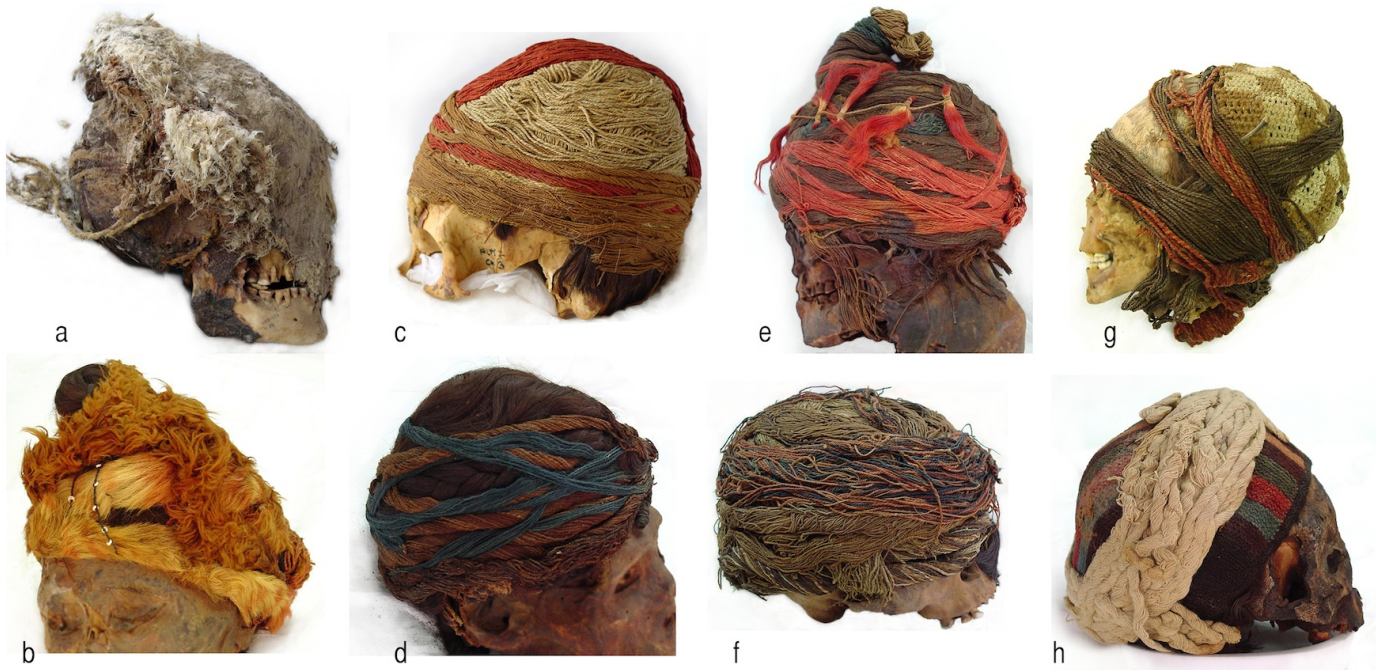


Figure 2. Some 3500 years of yarn skein “turban” headdresses in the Azapa region. Museo Arqueológico San Miguel de Azapa; drawing on data from Agüero (1994):

- a) Camarones 15d (adult): Complex cotton cordage and pelican feathers, c. 5-4000 BP (“before present,” equal to approximately 3-2000 BC)
- b) Quiani 7 (adult): Complex furred cordage of vicuña, guanaco and unidentified hair, camelid and human hair (Z(2s)) yarns with shell beads, c. 3500 BP.
- c) Playa Miller 7 context 3 (adult): Beige, cream-white and red-dyed (S(2z)) camelid hair yarns, c. 2500 BP.
- d) Azapa valley (adult): Dark brown, medium brown and blue-dyed (S(2z)) camelid hair yarns, c. 2500 BP.
- e) La Lisera “A” (adult): Dark brown, cream-white and red- and blue-dyed (S(2z)) camelid hair yarns, cotton cordage and unspun red-dyed guanaco hair, c. 2500 BP.
- f) Playa Miller 7 context 7 (adult): Light brown and polychrome dyed (S(2z)) camelid hair yarns, c. 2500 BP.
- g) Faldas del Morro 2 (child): Cap (reused bag?) of complex looping in ochre and cream-white, dark brown and red-dyed (S(2z)) camelid hair yarns, cactus spine pin, c. 2800-2500 BP.
- h) Azapa valley (child): Looped cap of polychrome and black yarns with fine cream-white (S(2z)) camelid hair yarns, c. 1400 BP (Middle Horizon).

By about 250 BCE more complex headdresses are arranged on the deceased (Fig. 2e, f, g), also typically buried in a seated position (Ulloa 1974; Santoro 1980). This is not universal in the Andes at this time, nor later: where it occurs, it marks arrangement of an individual at the time of death in a position appropriate for a postmortem social life. Complex looping appears in rectangular bags in the Azapa tradition and also in cylindrical bags constructed of finer yarns, recovered throughout the coastal valleys of the greater Titicaca region. Stepped patterns recur in these bags (Fig. 3e).



Figure 3. Textiles identified as Late Formative, Azapa phase or Alto Ramirez (c. 2200-1600 BP). Museo Arqueológico San Miguel de Azapa; drawing on contextual data from Muñoz 1980, 1987, Santoro 1980, Agüero and Cases 2004; Agüero 2012:

- a) Azapa 6: Tunic (lower part): warp-dominant panel with warp stripes, weft-faced panel at bottom.
- b) Tarapacá 40: Loincloth (end): warp-dominant panel with warp stripes, weft-faced panel on same warps with yellow, red and blue-green stripes. Another loincloth from Camarones 15 has a tapestry zigzag pattern in similar colors.
- c) Azapa 6: Fragmentary tunic: warp-dominant panel with warp stripes, weft-faced panel at bottom. The extensive repairs reproduce warp striping in yarns of similar color.
- d) Azapa 70: Tunic (lower part): warp-dominant panel with warp stripes, tapestry panel on scaffolded warps.
- e) Azapa 71: Bag of complex looping with opening at top: yarns on each side differ in both gauge and color.
- f) Azapa 115: Bag constructed of a tunic-like warp-striped panel. Opening is on left; loops on right for wear at waist.
- g) Alto Ramirez: Looped cap with stepped design, “chenille” cord and chin ties.
- h) Azapa 70 tomb 32: Tunic-type tapestry panel used to construct a pouch, associated with snuff instruments.

Between about 200 BC and 500 AD, warp-striped panels are used in loincloths and tunics, combined with a weft-dominant panel at each end (Fig. 3a-d): in some cases the locus for tapestry imagery. Agüero (2012) has traced this distinctive weaving practice and the associated garment types in disturbed cemetery sites throughout the region from Azapa to the Rio Loa. However, they have not been described *in situ* dressing an individual or a mortuary bundle. In some cases they were found as a cache in a tumulus mound of earth mixed with plant stalks, also a location for burials (Muñoz 1980, 1987, 1993, 2004).

The Rayed Head image has been cited as evidence for Titicaca basin influence, but this icon, along with the stepped motif, is depicted in a distinctive regional style developed in a weaving tradition pervasive in the Atacama/ Pacific Watershed region. Unfortunately, contemporary textiles have not been recovered in the highland basins. However, as in other periods, envisioning contrasting identities of ‘altiplano vs. coast’ may be a false dichotomy as people travelled constantly up and down the Andean cordillera to access different resources (Mujica 1985).

Parts of these tunics have also been found repurposed (Fig. 3f, h): a warp-striped panel used to construct a bag with a looped closure at one end, and the weft-patterned panel used to construct a pouch, said to have been found with a snuff tube. This repurposing

underlines the emblematic character of the tunics. Both the structure and color combinations are highly standardized, and can be understood to mark an important social role that recurred throughout the region. The production techniques appear to be distinct from those of the Titicaca region, as an apparently contemporary bag with Pukara-like imagery, also from Azapa, is completely different in yarn quality, spinning, dyes, and weave technique.

I have previously argued (Peters 2004, 2006) that the cylindrical looped cap (Fig. 3g), also a highly standardized artifact type always associated with a stepped design in a similar set of colors, was invented by adapting the form of the cylindrical bags to create a new type of headdress that could be placed over the hair and yarn arrangement of any individual or region to express an equivalent social role. Although these artifacts are both found in tumulus mounds, both the spin and ply of the yarns used to create these caps and their range of colors are not similar to that of the tunics and loincloths. They have been associated in museum display and reconstruction drawings, but what they really have in common is their standardization.

These particular garments have been preserved in cemetery locations, where they were buried with an individual or on their own. Unlike the yarn headdresses, they exist independent of any particular person, social group, camelid herd and local spinners. Instead they express the kind of standardized roles that may be established in complex society and spread through political alliance. They express allegiance to and representation of a higher power.

That power may not be centered at Tiahuanaco. In the past 20 years research around the southern end of Lake Titicaca has demonstrated that at this period the early development of Tiahuanaco was parallel to that of other regional polities centered at Chiripa (Hastorf 2003), Copacabana (Chavez 2004), Kala Uyuni (Steadman), and Khonkho Wankane (Janusek 2006). Polities centered in the Pucara valley (Cohen 2010), and near the northern margins of Lake Titicaca (Plourde and Stanish 2003; Tantaleán and Leyva 2011) have a parallel, distinct development. Therefore, we now see the lake region as multi-centered. The bipartite tunics and loincloths may mark a distinct sociopolitical identity shared by contemporary leaders in the relatively sparsely populated Pacific watershed.

In the southern high desert Atacama region, the Topater tunic and loincloth style (Sinclair 1999; Aguero and Cases 2004) would appear to mark a different polity: perhaps the upper Rio Loa was a contested area (Horta and Berenguer 1995). To the north, the Moquegua region is part of this sphere of historic development, but little is known to date about the tumulus mound burials of that region.

Further north, in the Pacific watershed of the Arequipa region, looted materials from the Sihuas valley have allowed glimpses of a distinctive regional textile tradition based on discontinuous warp and weft and tapestry, square burial mantles and bands (Haeberli 2001) wrapped around individuals buried in a seated position. Tunics with distinctive shoulder panels were at first labeled 'provincial Pukara' (Haeberli 2001) but have subsequently been considered closer to early Tiwanaku ceramic imagery (Young 2004).

The mortuary contexts of the Sihuas-Ocona region have not been properly documented, but what is clear is that a distinctive regional mortuary tradition associated with an array of techniques and imagery is juxtaposed to tunics from a different textile production tradition marked by the yarns, the dye processes, the weaving, and the imagery. We have not seen the headdress that goes with these tunics. If they are authentic, they are much closer to Tiwanaku in style than are the Azapa/Tarapacá and Rio Loa textile traditions. They appear to trace a similar development: the use of a standardized male tunic form to symbolize equivalent social roles connected to a political and ritual center.

At this same period, about 350 miles (or 560 km) north, at the next great bend in the continent marked by the Paracas peninsula, a large group of seated individuals and their textile wrappings are very well preserved. The Ica-Paracas region is characterized by a set of watersheds – Chinchá, Pisco, Ica, and the Rio Nasca system – which converge in the highland valleys and puna grasslands of Huancavelica and the Rio Pampas region of Ayacucho. This region has long been theorized to be in contact on some level with the Lake Titicaca basin at this period (Chavez and Chavez 1975). Its long distance contacts in the Chavin sphere of interaction have long been noted (Tello 1929; Menzel, Rowe and Dawson 1964; Cordy-Collins 1979, Wallace 1991) and further documented by Kaulicke (Kaulicke et al. 2009).

The highland region near the later Huari site at this time was also part of the Chavin sphere and linked to the Paracas regions, as demonstrated by Yuichi Matsumoto's (2010) dissertation research at the site of Campanayoc Rumi. Jeff Splitstoser (2009) has documented complex textile structures in tiny fragments from the Paracas site of Cerrillos, dated to 800 BC (Splitstoser et al 2009): like the cordage at Quiani, the yarns and many interlace patterns are non-standardized. It looks like these early masters were inventing textile structures as each object was created. However, we lack documented mortuary bundle contexts from that period, about 1200-200 BCE.

The subsequent Paracas ceramic styles are associated with such a diverse textile assemblage that most major categories of off-loom and loomed structures are present. Paracas has been characterized as a textile-obsessed culture. Raoul d'Harcourt, Lila O'Neale, Junius Bird, Mary Elizabeth King, Jane Powell Dwyer and Edward Dwyer, Ann Rowe, Anne Paul, Mary Frame and Sophie DesRosiers have all looked beyond the spectacular imagery to consider how these textiles were made.

Here I will not present details about the Paracas mortuary bundle structure or the full range of textiles present. Instead I focus on the types of tunics and headdresses draped over mortuary bundles in contemporary contexts, including Paracas Cavernas shaft tombs (Tello and Mejía 1979; Tello et al 2009), Ocucaje chamber tombs (Rubini and Dawson n.d.), and Paracas Necropolis pit tombs (Carrión 1949; Tello 1959; Tello et al 2012). They demonstrate a different pattern when we consider the role of the tunic and headdress in marking forms of social identity and their usefulness for tracing local and long distance relationships. In all these cemeteries, characterized by different mortuary

practices and associated with ceramics of both the late Paracas and Topará traditions, the typical position of the interred individual is flexed and seated.

The Ocucaje tombs were excavated by collectors, who kept some records of variable quality. Aldo Rubini was the most careful, but Pablo Soldi recovered most of the textiles (King 1965). A face-neck jar from Ocucaje depicts a Janus-headed mythical personage wearing a tunic with shoulder medallions, like the early Tiwanaku tunics from the Sihuas Valley, but no such tunics exist in the Paracas assemblage.



Figure 4. Tunics from Ocucaje and Paracas Necropolis burials, representative of diverse textile production traditions contemporary with Paracas Cavernas (phase 10), Ocucaje 10 and Paracas Necropolis 10A and 10B, drawing on data from King (1965), Dwyer (1979), Paul (1982, 1990):

- a) Ocucaje 43: Looped tunic in cream-white and dark brown camelid hair, unspun fringe. Textile Museum 91.898.
- b) Ocucaje 62: Looped tunic in cream-white, brown, maroon and red camelid hair, unspun red dyed fringe. Textile Museum 91.934.
- c) Wari Kayan 157: Tunic of yellow-beige cotton with plied fringe at seams, lower margin and shoulders. MNAAHP RT1033.
- d) Wari Kayan 199: Tunic of ochre cotton with looping at neck plied fringe at seams and shoulders. MNAAHP RT25603.
- e) Wari Kayan 114: Tunic of dark blue camelid hair, woven fringe, plied polychrome shoulder fringe, borders of red-based plain weave with figures in supplementary warp substitution and matching embroidery. American Museum of Natural History 41.2/8763.
- f) Wari Kayan 157: Tunic of ochre cotton, plied fringe at seams, lower margin and shoulders, embroidery. MNAAHP RT3561.

Instead we find a group of close-looped tunics with large figurative designs and tufts of unspun, dyed camelid hair as an edge finish (fig. 4a, b). These heavy, flexible garments are appropriate for the chill of the ocean margin or the high Andes, or perhaps winter nights in the desert, though cotton garments are better adapted to hot days in the oasis-like Ocucaje basin where they were interred with the dead. The warmth generated by camelid hair and a sweater-like structure would be appropriate for herding in the puna, or long-distance travel with a llama caravan. Among the looped tunics, images of monkeys

and the rayed head indicate connections with distant lands and peoples. These motifs are common at Ocucaje, and also recur in the Cavernas and Paracas Necropolis textile assemblages. This particular group of tunics marks a connection between the Paracas region and the high Andes, both in the exclusive use of camelid hair, its quality, and the unspun yarn fringe, knotted and dyed in place.

A second group of tunics is made of cotton, with closed sides and shoulder fringe (Fig. 4c. d). I have documented two recurrent types placed in early Paracas Necropolis mortuary bundles, contemporary with Cavernas/ Ocucaje phase 10. They may have various types of cotton yarn fringe along the side seams and lower margin, and longer fringe at the armholes.

A third group has warp-patterned bands appliquéd to create neck borders and borders on the edges of a cotton or camelid plain weave garment (fig. 4e). Ann Rowe has characterized this structure as plain weave with warp substitution: the warps not in play float on the back. The repeating images also are embroidered on an inner border. Abundant shoulder fringe is constructed of polychrome camelid yarns like those used in the woven bands and the embroidery. Long narrow strips of woven fringe edge the bottom. This type of tunic is found in the same mortuary bundles as the cotton tunics, but is open-sided; some examples are draped over the top of the mortuary bundle as if dressing an ancestral figure.

A fourth group has embroidered borders in the Broad Line style (Fig. 4f). Some of these tunics have seen previous wear before placement on the Paracas Necropolis bundle, based on their patterns of deterioration. They also can be placed over the top of the bundle as if to ‘dress’ it – in some cases, layered immediately on top of a tunic of the previous type.

Since Paracas Necropolis was archaeologically excavated and mortuary bundle structure has been documented, we know that several types of headdresses are associated with these tunics (Fig. 5). These include fine gauzy headcloths with narrow embroidered borders (found with both men and women), coiled turban-like on the head, or on the peak of a male bundle. Men’s ‘*llautu*’-type headdresses come in several forms and techniques: warp-patterned bands, close-knotted bands flanked by panels of diagonal interlace, modified tapestry and lengthy yarn fringe (Medina 2009), and tubular looped bands ending in 2-3 ‘fingers’. These headdresses are contemporary, and may be combined on the same individual. All depict figures, the same icons depicted in weaving and embroidery. In some cases, I have been able to trace similar yarn and dye-lot characteristics in headdresses, tunics and mantles from a particular Paracas Necropolis burial.



Figure 5. Diverse types of headdresses worn by men and their mortuary bundles: Paracas Necropolis gravelots designated as EH 10 and EIP 1A, c. 2200-2000 BP.

- a) Wari Kayan 110: Adult man wearing a headband of plain weave with supplementary warp substitution. MNAAHP.
- b) Wari Kayan 97: Adult man with a cotton cord binding yellow feathers (back of head) and a yarn skein wrapped around topknot. MNAAHP.
- c) Wari Kayan 78: Young man with three diagonal interlace headbands with patterns in brown/cream-white or red/dark blue. MNAAHP.
- d) Wari Kayan 24: Adult man with maguay fiber sling tipped with yellow feathers, diagonal interlace headband, red with dark green and blue bands of close-set elements, three-strand braid pattern. MNAAHP.
- e) Wari Kayan 114: Headdress topping the mortuary bundle: two superposed close-knotted bands ending in long fringe, a tubular looped band creating a topknot, two yellow-feathered pins. American Museum of Natural History 41.2/8739, 8740, 8741.
- f) Wari Kayan 352: Adult man with close-knotted band (fragmentary) and panels of modified tapestry, ending in long fringe. Museo Regional de Ica.
- g) Wari Kayan 114: Headdress worn by an adult man, composed of an embroidered headcloth, red yarn, and a feathered cloth. American Museum of Natural History 41.2/8803.
- h) Wari Kayan 136: Headdress topping the mortuary bundle of an adult man: long fringe topped by a tubular looped band ending in two 'fingers' adorned with yellow feathers. Museo Regional de Ica. (From Lavallée 2008 and Verde 2009, where it is labeled as WK 352).

A fifth tunic group is constructed of wide double-cloth bands depicting complex figures by alternating the foreground and background color of both warp and weft (Fig. 6a, b). Similar double-cloth bands are used to compose mantles. Note the combination with a warp-patterned appliquéd border on one tunic.

A sixth group is best known from a famous Ocucaje tunic (Fig. 6d) with the central fabric constructed from discontinuous warp and weft, and separately woven borders of a 'triple-cloth' band with substitution of both warps and wefts in three colors to create a plain-weave structure with unused warps floating on the back. Note the embroidered border on the end. Like the three previous types, this tunic is open-sided, and may have been worn by a mortuary bundle, converting it into an ancestral figure.



Figure 6. Tunics from Ocucaje and Paracas Necropolis burials contemporary with Paracas Cavernas (phase 10), Ocucaje 10, Paracas Necropolis 10 and Early Intermediate Period 1. Data from King (1965), Dwyer (1979), Paul (1982, 1990):

- a) Cerro Colorado test pit 99 tomb 2: Doublecloth tunic in yellow and dark brown camelid hair, red-based warp-patterned borders. MNAAHP RT1226. After Paul 1990.
- b) Cerro Colorado test pit 99 tomb 2: Doublecloth tunic in red and maroon camelid hair. MNAAHP RT3551. After Verde 2009.
- c) Wari Kayan 114: Tunic of ochre cotton, embroidered borders, polychrome fringe on margins and shoulders. American Museum of Natural History 41.2/8773.
- d) Ocucaje, tomb unknown. Plain weave tunic with discontinuous warp and weft; triple-cloth borders. Textile Museum 1959.11.1.
- e) Wari Kayan 421: Tunic of ochre cotton, embroidered borders, polychrome fringe on margins and shoulders. MNAAHP RT1422. After Verde 2009.
- f) Wari Kayan 421: Tunic of ochre cotton, embroidered borders, 'cross-knit' looped edging without fringe. MNAAHP RT2789.

These six tunic types are contemporary: two or three may be found in a single mummy bundle, but not all of them in the same cemetery. Here we do not see tunics and headdresses signaling a standardized social role distributed over a large region. Instead, contemporary garments differing in their production techniques are brought together in the same tomb, either at Ocucaje or at the Paracas site. Tracking variability in yarns, color, weave, stitching, image style and iconography I conclude that they mark origins in many different communities of textile production (Arnold and Espejo 2006).

I track a similar pattern in later tunic styles from Early Intermediate Period gravelots at Paracas Necropolis. Two embroidered tunic forms are found in 'transitional' mortuary bundles that include objects characteristic of both EH 10 and EIP 1 phases. The first has long shoulder fringe and short edge fringe (Fig. 6e), reminiscent of tunics in groups two and three. The second form is a smaller garment termed 'unkuña' or 'esclavina' by Tello and 'ponchito' by Paul, without any fringe at this period (Fig. 6f), that appears to come from a different textile tradition associated with the emergence of the Block Color image

style (Dwyer 1979, Paul 1990). These open-sided tunics may be layered together as a stack of offerings placed at the same time, or draped over the top to dress the bundle. While composed of plain-weave panels and almost all embroidered, nonetheless the variability in style is staggering.

Like the festival dress ethnographically described by Medlin at Calcha (Medlin 1991; Oakland 1992) design and production differences may reflect the hands of individual masters and work groups (Paul and Niles 1985) but on another level style reflect the techniques, habitus and emblematic style of a social group. I propose that the Paracas producers were corporate groups defined by a kinship discourse, like the historically and ethnographically described Andean *ayllus*, a model also proposed for the Middle Horizon by Isbell (1997).

I am forced to conclude that in Paracas Necropolis I am not looking at standardized social roles within a state system, as there are no uniform garment types that distinguish elite burials from others. Instead, the pattern suggests a network of production groups proudly expressing distinctive styles, with ritual and social power expressed in both reference to tradition and in innovation. Different styles would have been brought together in the same mortuary context through exchange relationships among powerful social leaders, like the *Curacas* documented in colonial accounts. Many different textile production groups have contributed the garments grouped in display layers, which alternate with re-wrapping layers, indicating a series of postmortem events that is longer for the most elaborate mummy bundles. The expression of social relationships and prestige must not only (or primarily) reflect the importance of the buried individual, but also (or instead) the prominence of those who later honored this person as an ancestor.

However, the pattern that arises in the Early Nasca style is different. The earliest Nasca-related textiles are highly diverse, and part of the political world I have just described. But the emblematic early Nasca textiles (phase Nasca 3-4) include painted garments (Frame 2005), embroideries replicated using samplers (Sawyer 1997) and widely distributed headcloths that have extremely similar ‘needle-knit’ looped edgings. Later, other types of highly standardized emblematic objects are placed in high status Nasca tombs, such as double-cloth tassels, and ‘proliferous’ tapestry bands, also distributed over a wide geographic region including the Sihuas valley (Haeberli 2003).

There is a huge world in Nasca textiles, but part of that world is marking standardized forms of social status through near-identical emblematic garments that are broadly distributed and recur in mortuary contexts. The textile evidence is consonant with other indications of class-like hierarchy in Nasca mortuary patterns (Isla and Reindel 2003) and state-like power in Nasca architecture (Orefici 2012) and the regional dissemination of centrally produced ceramics (Vaughn 2006). At this period in the adjacent highlands, rituals carried out in a circular structure at the Huarpa site of Ñawinpukyo presage the hospitality practices later associated with Wari sites (Leoni 2003).

Documentation of variability and standardization in garment forms and the associated production practices, as well as mortuary practices, in these contemporary ‘Formative’

societies provides a useful perspective on the forms, production, and placement of similar garment types in Middle Horizon contexts. From this comparative perspective, the characteristic feature of later Middle Horizon burials is the recurrence of standardized emblematic forms of tunics and headdresses that dress the outer layer of mortuary bundles, above protective padding, garments and other objects that express locally diverse identities. As recent projects analyze archaeologically excavated Wari burials with preserved textiles (Flores et al. 2012, 2013; Frame and Ángeles 2014; Giersz et al. 2013), Reiss and Stübel's (1880-1887) beautiful images from 19th century excavations at Ancon are echoed and complemented by information on Middle Horizon mortuary bundles from other Central Andean coastal sites.

Women's mortuary bundles have been the subject of much recent research. Their flexed position and protective wrappings – camelid hide as well as cloth – indicate that the bundle was designed to be preserved and portable once initial body decomposition and desiccation had taken place. Garments present include the local style as well as other textiles whose production features, as well as their design, are typical of north coast Wari-influenced styles (Frame and Ángeles 2014). Frame and Ángeles point out that the local style at Huaca Malena incorporates well-established influences from distant regions, indicating that long distant contact and exchange were common and a source of prestige. Over the woman's body lay an unusual sack made of two panels of warp-faced, striped cloth joined by a flat figure-eight stitch (Frame and Ángeles 2014 p. 38), a join typical of male tunics (Hoces de la Guardia y Brugnoli 2006).

The repurposing of tunics, for instance their transformation into bags, offers a glimpse into their histories of use and significance prior to the mortuary context. A garment whose style is emblematic of social group or social role also has layers of meaning based on its particular history, linked to persons and events, which may inform its reuse. As the sample of archaeologically recovered Middle Horizon mortuary contexts grows, we will have the opportunity to explore these other ways in which textile histories index activities and relationships.

Most Wari tunics were worn by highly padded bundles – what Rowe (1986) has called 'bales' – with lifting cords, that usually encase a male burial but in some cases have contained a woman, or more than one individual. The typical bundle structure and the process of its creation are fundamentally unlike that of Paracas Necropolis, and unlike what is known about the other traditions I have described. This widely disseminated form replaces regional mortuary practices such as the extended Lima tradition burials (Kaulicke 2001) and survives in modified forms into the Late Intermediate Period (Kaulicke 1997).

In the Middle Horizon, the initial body preparation and textile wrapping of a person from a particular region reflect the textile tradition of their community and exchange objects from their regional social network. Then, around the seated figure a standardized bundle is built with plant fiber and cotton padding, with square 'shoulders' and a cylindrical 'head' where a mask is placed. This distinctive effigy is found throughout the region of Wari influence, and may be dressed either in regional garments or Wari textiles, (Reiss

and Stübel 1880-1887; Rowe 1986) both options emblematic of Middle Horizon political roles and relationships.

The squarely built effigy does not reflect the individual's body position, initial treatment and dress, and in some cases appears to have been created well after the end of life. The preservation of fine Wari tunics from looted sites is no doubt due to their position on the outer display layer of this type of bundle. The facial mask, hairpiece and headdress also are an integral part of an emblematic social identity projected by the ancestral bundle, transformed into a sociopolitical leader playing a role defined by the Wari state, in death also a mediator with that power.

There are many types of Wari tapestry tunics that can be grouped based on imagery, design and color. Susan Bergh (1999, 2012) has demonstrated that production features including fiber quality, spinning and weft count correlate with these differences in emblematic style and iconography. Different types of tapestry tunics, as well as distinctive tie-dyed tunics, have been recovered from Middle Horizon cemeteries in every central Andean region where textiles are preserved, from the Moquegua valley to the north coast site of Pacatnamu.

The production process of the tie-dyed tunics (Rowe 2012) also expresses relationships of empire, as many different tunic panels, each composed of discontinuous warp and weft segments, were tied and dyed separately in different colors. When each was deconstructed, combined with the segments from other equivalent tie-dyed panels, and constructed into a new, composite garment, the tunic structure expressed concepts of interchangeability and interdependence, like the social roles of a potential wearer.

A large number of women's burials and three elite chamber tombs excavated by Milosz Giersz at a Wari burial platform called El Castillo in the Huarmey Valley (Prümers, 2001; Giersz et al. 2013) may be evidence for a centralized textile production facility run by elite women, skilled labor power construed as wives, like the later Inka *acllawasi*. Composite tunics created in a context controlled by regional elites imbedded in a state system could have been disseminated as part of imperial 'gifts' like those described for the Inkas, that later transformed regional leaders allied with the Inkas into representatives of the empire in their region. The powerful political message inscribed in their production process may explain why Wari composite tie-dye tunics were also 'replicated' or represented in some tapestry tunics.

Although Wari tunics and cylindrical or four-cornered caps have been found in the South Coast and Central Coast wherever Wari tombs were excavated, as in the previous examples they are garment types that express the constant circulation between the low altitude valleys that cultivate cotton and the highland valleys and punas of the camelid herders. Though we have long had evidence of camelids on the coast and now have isotopic evidence that they lived there regularly, the more we know about coastal and highland textile traditions, the more we observe them interacting.

The colonial replacement of camelid caravans by mules, by trains in the 19th century and in the 20th century by trucks has clouded our understanding of the multiple routes and rapid access between coast and highlands in the Andean past. 2-3 days, or up to ten days seems a long time to walk from the Pacific shore to the glaciated peaks of the continental divide. But it was not a long time. Likewise, people and goods constantly circulated between the coast and the upper Amazon watershed, as marked by the featherwork of both Paracas and the Middle Horizon.

They certainly moved north and south along the Pacific coast. They also moved north and south between what Tello called the ‘nudos’ (Peters and Ayarza 2013) and Nielsen (2006) calls ‘nodes’, a nexus of intersecting routes following river valleys emanating from the high plains around the lakes of Chinchaycocha, Titicaca, Uyuni and Atacama. We see these routes of trade and travel in the minerals (Fester and Cruellas 1934, among others), metallic alloys (Lechtman 2003, 2006) and types of obsidian (Burger 1993) that have been tracked, so far. Warm and emblematic clothing and relationships of political alliance made it possible for long distance caravans to reach their destination alive.

While relationships with Tiwanaku can be traced broadly across the Atacama / Pacific Watershed region (Unibe and Agüero 2001; Clark and Oakland 2004), the best preserved Tiwanaku tunics and headdresses from documented gravelots were excavated in San Pedro de Atacama. Oakland’s (1986, 1992) discussion of burials with their outer display layer adorned with a Tiwanaku tunic, and a red cylindrical pile hat or (one case) four-cornered knotted hat provide the best data set. Oakland notes that the embroidery and other features in two contemporary tomb groups associated with Tiwanaku tapestry tunics mark two distinct social groups. The local styles of warp-striped tunic are the basic garment for both men and women and – unlike the Tiwanaku tapestry tunics – often well worn. Oakland notes that the Tiwanaku tapestry tunics were all placed over men.

In Atacama cases where contextual data has been preserved, the emblematic Tiwanaku tunic is draped directly over the articles of regional dress, artifacts related to the person’s social identity and the body of the individual (Rojas and Hoces de la Guardia 2000). A distinctive local headdress is worn together with the Tiwanaku tunic, and the Tiwanaku headdress, if present. Body preservation and display without a massive padded mummy bundle is in accordance with mortuary practices characteristic of the Atacama/Pacific Watershed region.¹

Tiwanaku and Wari have very different architectural expressions that indicate differences in the concept of the political center and the activities that took place there. The particular mortuary practices that construct an ancestral and political effigy around the deceased also differ in the Wari and Tiwanaku spheres. However, they have analogous textile expressions of the relationship of regional leaders with the center of power. One of the

¹ Later Inka practices, as known from mountaintop sacrificial burials of children and colonial depictions, were similar. There, too, an emblematic Inka tunic, headdress and other Inka textiles were placed over regional dress worn by each child (Motsny 1957; Reinhard and Ceruti 2000; Schobinger 2001).

great mysteries of the Middle Horizon is the adoption of analogous forms of emblematic tunics and distinctive cylindrical or four-pointed caps. The yarns, dyes and construction techniques are different, but the garment types are parallel. This parallel in style and practice has been characterized as the ‘international’ character of the Middle Horizon (Kaulicke 2001, Isbell 2008). Both Tiwanaku and Wari have been characterized – in different ways – as “segmentary states” (Albaracin-Jordan 2003) in which power was negotiated and expressed in relationships among leaders at different levels.

The parallel garment types that express the power of Tiwanaku and Wari are reminiscent of the creation of equivalent garment types by many different producer groups, brought together in Paracas Necropolis mortuary bundles. But the Wari and Tiwanaku tunic and headdress styles are no longer symbolic of the individuals or groups who produced each garment. In both of the very different imperial systems that we call Tiwanaku and Wari, these equivalent garment types were emblematic of centralized powers whose spheres of influence stretched over vast regions of the Central and South-Central Andes.

The physical evidence indicates that types of tunics and headdresses were created by many different producer groups, and then disseminated widely. Despite careful study of yarn and weave characteristics what is known about their final deposition in mortuary contexts has not led us to the locales where they were produced. Whoever originally created each particular style, its meaning has been mediated by that gathering and dissemination process and transformed into –first and foremost– a representation of the central power. This indicates a role of the state like that described by Murra (2002) for the Inkas, and an analogous role for textiles in nurturing unequal exchange relationships between a dominant state and its allies - the essence of imperial power.

The antecedents we can observe in standardized garment forms distributed over large areas in the Atacama/ Pacific watershed region and in the Ica/ Arequipa region mark antecedent developments of political systems that included the sartorial expression of a standardized social role. They also mark specific polities, or networks of polities, whose influence and textile production and exchange systems spanned both the Pacific coast and the Andean highlands. The practices of combat, alliance and shared ritual (Mauss 1990 [1923-1924], Godelier 1999) that made long distance travel and exchange possible for these earlier societies informed the development of larger political systems.

The role of the dead as political actors in the lives of the living is a powerful and recurrent aspect of Andean history. In the Middle Horizon, the gifting of emblematic textiles as part of establishing and nurturing relationships of political alliance was followed by the public display of those textiles in the outermost garments of a seated mummified ancestor. The deceased leaders probably continued to play a public role in their community, and those textiles continued to be present as both an index and symbol (Peirce 1977, Gell 1998) of large-scale relationships of alliance and exchange. The dress of the ancestor became the dress of empire.

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