

CLOTHING FROM QUEBRADA DE LA VACA WEST:
AN INCA CEMETERY ON THE SOUTH COAST OF PERU

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INTRODUCTION

In 1954, while working at the Peruvian south coast Inca center of Quebrada de la Vaca near the Chala Valley, Dorothy Menzel and Francis A. Riddell came upon a group of stone burial houses (tombs) on the hillside cemetery across the bay from the main compound (Figure 1; Riddell 2007; von Hagen 1956:204). Menzel and Riddell referred to the hillside burial chambers as Quebrada de la Vaca West. Lacking time to investigate all five of the above-ground chambers, they concentrated on the most promising and accessible, Tomb 2 (Burial House 2). Built upon a leveled earthen platform terraced with rock, the building measured approximately 4m by 6m (Figure 2). The upper walls and stone roof beams had caved in on the contents, but the build-up of sifting sand over the burials had provided some protection from the fall.

Riddell began removing the stones and unearthing the mummy bundles at the south end of the building, working his way toward the center. It was evident that the burials had been looted in the distant past before the roof beams and upper walls had collapsed on them. Many burials had been torn open in search of valuables and the contents scattered. Even so, various articles of clothing, some stitched together, still enveloped many of the mummy bundles. Riddell gathered up one bundle at a time, or as many bones and as much associated clothing as remained wrapped together and passed these over the broken wall to Menzel out on the terrace. There she examined burial after burial, systematically detailing the presence of each bone, each textile or fragment, and its order and placement on the skeletal re-

mains in the bundle. Her handwritten notes, deposited in the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology in Berkeley, California (Menzel and Riddell 1954:129-203), provide not only descriptions of garments and bones, but include an evaluation of the age and sex of each individual, as well as occasional drawings of clothing details.

Menzel noted that the common mode of burial was to envelope the body with an outer, blanket-shaped garment placed around the shoulders like a mantle (Figure 3, after Menzel's sketch on p. 142 of her notebook cited as Menzel and Riddell 1954 above). With the top slightly folded down at the neck, the two sides of the blanket were knotted together in front with looped stitches. A separate cloth placed over the head was stitched to the outer body garment at the shoulders. The bottom, gathered with a cord, was sewn to the front seam. Inside, other garments were often placed next to the deceased. In many instances, gold or silver laminae (called "flakes" in Riddell and Menzel's notes adhered to the inside of the head cloths. The laminae, originally laid over the orbits of the deceased, had been hammered and cut to approximately one square cm in size for adults and about half a square cm for infants. A group of four glass beads in Burial I-86 and two small copper ingots about 7cm in length from Special Bundle 2, both of Spanish origin, help establish the burials as most likely dating from late Inca times through the early Conquest. No Spanish techniques, such as overlapping of the selvage edges before seaming, were found among the burial clothing. It is unlikely that Spanish influence on clothing styles had reached Quebrada de La Vaca by the time of the burials.

Menzel and Riddell recovered, documented, and prepared 120 burials for transport to the Museo Regional de Ica (see Riddell 2007: Appendix 1), in addition to numerous items of clothing no longer associated with a burial. Their efforts involved approximately two thirds of the contents of the burial house. The bones were taken to Cusco where they served as a teaching collection at the Universidad Nacional de San Antonio Abad. Sadly, their whereabouts are no longer known. The textiles recovered by Menzel and Riddell remain in the Ica museum.

Riddell first showed me the textile collection from Quebrada de La Vaca West in 1989, and we worked briefly with it again in 1990. After the Sendero Luminoso guerrilla movement was contained, I continued to work on this important collection in the Museo Regional de Ica from 1996 to 2005. My initial goal was to locate, identify, and organize the burials and study the garment types that Menzel had recorded in her notebook. I undertook photography, conservation, and re-storage of the textiles in acid-free tissue with the help of American and Peruvian museum studies and archaeology students.

THE BURIALS AT QUEBRADA DE LA VACA WEST

Of the 120 burials collected by Menzel and Riddell from Tomb 2, 48 were composed solely of skeletal material without further associations. Four other burials originally had textile associations, but were of such a fragile nature that they could not be saved. The remaining 68 burials retained associations with clothing and other grave goods. Of these, six were identified by Menzel as adults of undetermined sex. I have designated these as (A). Ten are female (F) or probably female (f); 11 male (M) or probably male (m). Thirty-five are infants (I); and six children (C). To date, 58 of the 68 clothing bundles associated with the burials have been identified. The 10 yet-to-be-identified bundles (X) have unreadable tags or contain garments that do not seem to fit Menzel's descriptions for the missing burial numbers. In addition to the documented burials, Menzel and Riddell

collected approximately 140 items of unassociated clothing they did not have time to document (U). This latter group, in better condition than the documented burials, has provided an invaluable resource for assessing specific garment types that were repeated in the collection.

The garments Menzel and Riddell collected were generally in poor condition when they were recovered from Tomb 2. Exposure to the elements over time had caused them to become darkened and fragile. Most were fragmented. Nevertheless, enough selvage edges remained to establish the complete dimensions of many garments. Menzel was also able to ascertain garment types and take measurements of some textiles that fell apart as she removed them. Her descriptions can be used to reconstruct sets of garments that were severely fragmented or that no longer exist. Unless otherwise specified, the garments discussed below are of z-spun, S-ply cotton yarn (2z-S) woven in warp-faced or warp-predominant plain weave.¹ Dimensions refer to the warp distance times the weft distance in cm on the face of the garment. Garment types are depicted in the worn position which, in many cases, is opposite their woven position.

The following account summarizes Menzel's recognition of clothing types associated with the 21 burials she determined to be either male or female, or probably male or probably female. To read Menzel's original notes as she systematically recorded the burials is to experience an unfolding story. Her comparisons expand as she responds to differences observed in garment types. Clothing ensembles for men and women emerge. In her pioneering descriptions of garments from the site, Menzel used familiar English terms such as blanket, shirt, bag, and so forth to describe the appearance of the various items she recorded. To provide

¹ In this method of reporting the spin and ply of yarn, the initial spin is written first in lower case, i.e. as "z" or "s", as are any intermediary plies. The final ply is written last as an upper case "Z" or "S". Single spun yarn is also recorded in a capital letter as "simple S" or "simple Z" because this would be its outer appearance.

a link to Menzel's notes, her terms and clothing descriptions have been maintained in the summary below. Current terminology for these items will be explained at the end of the section.

MALE AND FEMALE BURIALS

Except for Burial A-7, an adult of undetermined sex, the first 11 burials Menzel and Riddell encountered were mainly skulls without associations. With Burial f-12, containing the long bones, two scapulae and an innominate bone they encountered the first group of textiles associated with what appeared to be a female. An ensemble of three tan, rectangular, blanket-like garments enveloped the body. A small lamina of bluish silver was found inside the garments. A purple-black warp stripe formed a narrow border on two garments. Heavy threads, neatly inserted in the warp direction over large areas, appeared to be an embroidered design. Menzel noted that the three garments comprised an ensemble. All were woven in the same warp-faced technique. While this set of garments has not been found, Menzel's written descriptions provided information on their dimensions and woven decoration (Figure 4).

The first burial found that is likely to be a male is Burial m-13. The long bones, pelvis, and mandible were associated with a large blanket-sized textile, a similar smaller textile, and the remnant of a one-piece shirt. The shirt resembled one Menzel had seen in Burial A-7. Both had been woven in one piece of warp-faced tan color yarn with the neck opening made during the weaving process. Menzel described an especially notable side seam on the shirt embroidered in red camelid yarn. It was made using "a special stitch . . . in sets of three stitches alternating on opposite sides of the seam" (Menzel and Riddell 1954:142). Its appearance caused her to refer to it as the "arrow" stitch (*ibid*). The condition of this set of clothing was fragmentary and it did not survive in storage. However, a sketch of this type of shirt and the colorful stitching from Menzel's notebook (*ibid*) along with an illustration of the accompanying textiles are presented as Figure 5.

Although the sex of Burial A-24 was not determined, narrow black striping appeared along the weft edges of another small rectangular garment. A large, warp-striped, cotton bag accompanied it, covering the head (Figure 6).

The long bones, pelvis, and sacrum in Burial m-25 seemed to indicate a male. The finely woven textile associated with it was so fragmentary that only two very fragile sections could be saved. Its original dimensions could not be determined. Areas of green striping formed the woven pattern. A small piece of gold adhered to the textile.

When Menzel (*ibid*:151) came upon another warp-striped bag and large portion of blanket-sized wrap in Burial f-33, she wrote, "This consistently seems to be associated with other than men's shirts and wrappings, so may well be the typical female costume" (*ibid*). The outer wrap had a narrow warp stripe along one edge accompanied by another narrow stripe and a line of crosses (checkers) along the side where the central seam had been. The wrap has darkened and the pattern is obscured in the photograph in Figure 7, but a complete representation of this type of female garment is shown in Figure 10.

Burial m-41 consisted of what seemed to be a male about 16 years old, represented by long bones, innominate bone, skull, and mandible, and a number of fragmentary wrappings. It was found in a niche formed by two short protruding walls in the center of the back wall of the burial house. In association were two loincloths, a large blanket-sized cloth, string, two small bags, and fragments of two shirts. Menzel's descriptions and the fragmented remains of the garments in this burial were used to reconstruct the clothing ensemble shown in Figure 8.

Although the adult woman in Burial F-44 was so poorly preserved that only a knot and a few textile fragments could be saved, Menzel continued to confirm her identification of the female ensemble with Burial f-45. It contained what appeared to be an adult female skull inside another warp-striped bag sewn to part of a plain

blanket-sized garment bound around the edges (Figure 9).

A head cloth and a large fragment from the center of a two-piece blanket appeared with Burial F-46, an elderly female. The blanket displayed a stripe and checkered design flanking the central seam, much like the design on the garment in Burial F-33. In this example, the area flanking the central seam, between the checkered design, was much lighter than the rest of the garment. The edges of the blanket had been bound all around (Figure 10).

Burial F-48, represented by a female pelvic girdle and long bones, contained the remnants of an unusually fine weft-faced tapestry cloth. Its pattern of wide and narrow bands of red and yellow camelid wool (Figure 11) stood out from the tan coloring of the other garments. A colorful border of red, yellow, and black yarn had been embroidered along its edges. It and a fragmentary cloth of llama wool adhered to the pelvis. All were wrapped in the remains of a medium-sized cotton blanket, also in very poor condition. Close by, a fragmentary infant burial, I-49, seemed associated.

In Burial f-50, the long bones, pelvis, and sacrum of what appeared to be a female were wrapped in the remnants of two blanket-sized garments. Only part of one garment could be saved (Figure 12). It retained portions of the same stripe and checkered design that appeared in the garments with Burials f-33 and F-46.

Burial m-51 contained the innominate bone, sacrum, and long bones of what appeared to be an adult male. The body wrappings, in such fragmentary condition that they could not be saved, were accompanied by a small intact bundle. Inside were a wooden spoon, a spondylus shell pendant, a wooden vessel, and a bone bead. Two small coca bags, two slings, and a bag for carrying sling stones were also associated (Figure 13).

In Burial F-52, the warp-striped bag appeared as the head covering, adding further support for its association with female burials. Inside the frag-

mented bag, adhering to its inner surface, opposite each of the deceased's orbits, were two small laminae of gold and parts of a hairstyle. According to Menzel's description, "The long hair of this individual was parted in the middle with a braid on each side" (*ibid*:158). Menzel commented that these and other braids found in the tomb suggest that the most popular style was to inter-braid the plaits at their ends, making a continuous (connecting) strand. Menzel's sketch (*ibid*:158) of a woman's hair style is presented as Figure 14.

Burial M-53 contained the entire articulated top part of the body of a young adult male. The textile wrappings could not be saved due to decay, but a special bag beside the burial seemed to have been associated. Inside it were a ball of white yarn, a small bag, a lump of lime, a wooden spoon, a rare bone spindle, and a wooden spindle.

Menzel identified the adult male in Burial M-54 by its heavy muscular mandible, assorted ribs, vertebrae, sternum, and one humerus inside the body wrappings. The head covering, a loincloth stitched to the outer wrap, contained a wad of matted hair with a sling wrapped around it. Menzel noted that this was the first time she had found such an association (the sling around the hair). The outer body wrap resembled a large blanket. One of its ends had decayed, but the other survived along with a colorful border stitched around its edges. A finely woven, blackened, and badly decayed textile lay inside the body wrapping. The colorful seams and borders that outlined the garment in stitches of bright red, yellow, and dark brown camelid yarn indicated that this textile had originally been a fine shirt (Figure 15).

Burial f-72 contained another skull, mandible, and the remains of a hair braid inside a fragment of a large warp-striped bag in poor condition. The hairstyle resembled that seen with Burial F-52 (Figure 14).

Burial M-73 consisted of the skull and mandible of an adult male wrapped in a plain loincloth and covered by a plain cloth. Part of the hair and tying cord were still intact, reaffirming the hair-

style Menzel had previously noted for males. She recorded that the hairstyle was parted in the middle with each side coiled with cordage. An extension of the cordage wrapped in a clockwise direction around the head. A continuation of the wrapping under the chin seemed designed to hold the jaw in place. While the hairstyle had been especially arranged for burial, Menzel felt that the coiling of the hair most likely represented a style worn by males in life. Menzel's sketches of the hairstyle (*ibid*:166) are presented as Figure 16.

The bones in Burial m-74 suggested an adult male. The head covering was a loincloth sewn to the top of the large blanket-sized garment that served as the outer wrapping. Inside were a smaller blanket and another cloth, so fragmentary that Menzel could save only some of the upper portions. Close by was Burial m-75, a skull covered with a fragmentary loincloth. Menzel commented that it may have belonged to the mandible in Burial m-74.

Although the clothing in m-92 was in good condition, skeletal remains were not present. The garments, however, were consistent with those of an adult male. A large blanket-sized garment with a colorful border had been the outer wrap. Although now quite worn and faded, embroidered stitches in green, brown, red-brown, and dark purple had gone all the way around the outer edges. The head wrapping, stitched to the blanket, was a large plain cloth. It contained bits of hair and fragments of the type of cordage used with a man's hairstyle. The loincloth, similar to the head cloth in size, was elaborately embroidered in solid red and brown stitching along both ends. Menzel noted that this type of loincloth was "represented by several finds . . . sewn of two loom widths; the corners have heavily braided tassel-cords for tying" (*ibid*:167). Each end of the cloth, the part around the waist, is embroidered with red and brown wool in a stitch that covers the entire surface and gives it a thick, stiff, quilted effect. She described the solid embroidery as a technique where "small threads of the underlying cotton cloth are taken up in rows of plain stitching in such a way that the wool thread does not show in back" (*ibid*). The

embroidered borders extended across both ends to a depth of five cm. The ends themselves, both upper and lower, were finished with the same crochet-like finish found on the plain loincloths. The sketch of the embroidery technique from Menzel's notebook (*ibid*:168) is reproduced as Figure 17. Figure 18 depicts the loincloth and other garments that are part of Burial m-92.

Burial m-96 was the final set of remains designated by Menzel as most likely to be male. It consisted of fragments of two loincloths sewn to a blanket-sized garment in poor condition, sewn to one another (Figure 19). Both had the same type of embroidered border, but the stitching around the blanket retained remnants of a purple yarn. The skeletal material had fallen out.

A skull in Burial f-113, a female, had a fragmented warp-striped bag as the head covering. The final instance of a burial identified as an adult female was F-115. It contained the pelvis, sacrum, and one femur, entangled in a small blanket-sized garment woven in one web (Figure 20). A dark stripe went along the upper and lower edges, and an embroidered border of black and yellow yarn encompassed the visible edge.

The shape and exterior stitching evidently caused a small bundle to resemble an infant burial, and for that reason the looters probably neglected to investigate it further. It has been designated as Special Bundle 1. Its outer wrappings were a long plain cloth and a large tan shirt with red arrow stitching under the arm opening, the same as described for Burial m-13. Inside were three additional items: a camelid shirt in fragmentary condition that had been woven in alternating stripes of brown, tan, and cream and two medium-sized bags. The first bag contained several hunks of red, yellow, black, and brown camelid hair, a skein of white camelid yarn (spun Z), a ball of cordage of the type used to tie up men's hair, and two balls of brown camelid yarn (z-S; Figure 21). The other bag held several small knotted cotton strings or quipus, all of natural colors (Figure 22). The male who possessed the bundle with the quipus and other unique possessions may have

been a *quipucamayoc* or keeper of knot records, certainly an important person at the site (see Riddell and Menzel's account in Von Hagen 1956:129).

The above descriptions are only an outline of the discovery and characterization of male and female garments recovered at Quebrada de La Vaca West. Menzel's notes are considerably more detailed. The burials collected by Menzel and Riddell remain one of the largest and best documented garment collections yet recovered from a single Provincial Inca center. As archaeological work continues on the south coast, the garments from Tomb 2 serve as a type collection for future research (Katterman 2004, 2006a, 2006b). Many of the same garment types as those collected from Tomb 2 also appeared at the sites of Pueblo Viejo, Chala, also called Maycayacta or Maucayacta, under investigation by Roger Robinson, and at Amato (Acarí), being excavated by Lidio Valdez. In addition, some of the Inca clothing Max Uhle collected at Pachacamac displays similar characteristics.

WOMEN'S GARMENTS

The wrap-around dress. In current Andean terminology used by Andeanists, the large, blanket-sized garment that Menzel described from female burials is the wrap-around dress (Uhle 1903/1991:89-90; Rowe 1997:11-16). Its Quechua name is *aksu*. The Andean dress is composed of two, long, warp-faced panels stitched together up the center with a fishbone stitch. The resulting garment is close to square in shape, averaging 150cm in length (weft direction) across both panels by 145cm in width (warp direction). It enveloped the body from the upper torso to the ankles. To be worn, a dress was probably folded in half close to the central seam and positioned around the body under the arms. The upper corners were crossed in back and brought over one or both shoulders and pinned to the upper part of the garment in front (*ibid*:11, 14). At Quebrada de La Vaca West, long tree spines seem to have been the clothing fasteners.

Menzel noted that the common woven pattern on women's dresses was a narrow edge stripe with a pattern of woven crosses (checker design) decorating the center seam of the dresses. When folded in half just above the seam, the stripe and checker design would have run horizontally across the chest with the narrow edge stripes forming the bottom border. Examples of this type of dress appear in Burials f-33 (Figure 7), Burial F-46 (Figure 10a) and Burial f-50 (Figure 12). Another example in Burial f-12 (Figure 4a) shows only single narrow stripes running along the upper and lower borders. Two other dresses, respectively from Burial f-12 (Figure 4b) and Burial f-45 (Figure 9a) were devoid of woven decoration.

An additional dress design with a wide stripe of contrasting color running along the upper and lower edges was found in Tomb 2, although not in female burials. One appeared with an infant burial (I-112) and another (U-119) among the unassociated garments. Dresses and shawls with the wide striped design have been shown to be tribute garments collected and stored by the Inca government for use by females in their service (Baker 2001:278-280; Katterman 2006b; Katterman and Riddell 1994:141-167; Rowe 1997:12-14, figures 10 and 11; Uhle 1903/1991: 90, figure 105).

The shawl. The smaller rectangular garment, woven in one web, that Menzel described in women's burials is the shawl or *lliklla* worn over the shoulders with the two upper corners pinned together in front. At Quebrada de la Vaca West, the fastening arrangement seems to have been a pair of long tree spines tied together with braided cordage holding small shells, seeds, or carvings. They were worn with the short, weft distance, averaging 77 cm, across the shoulders and the long, warp distance, averaging 112 cm, more or less parallel to the axis of the body. The woven decoration was a narrow dark stripe running along the upper and lower borders as depicted in Burial f-12 (Figure 4c) and Burial F-115 (Figure 20).

The most elegant of the shawls from Tomb 2 appeared in Burial F-48 (Figure 11). The fine weft-faced weave in bands of bright red and yellow

camelid yarn indicate that this garment belonged to an elite woman. Its condition was so fragile that no measurements could be determined.

Ten additional shawls of measurable dimensions were found in the burials of infants and in the unassociated collection from Tomb 2. Two have a plain wide stripe along the upper and lower borders (I-81 and I-99), similar to the wide stripe design described above for women's dresses. Eight other shawls displayed sets of between two and seven narrow stripes in that position.

The drawing by Guaman Poma (Murra *et al.* 1980:116; Figure 23) shows the appearance of a dress and shawl with a striped pattern as worn by the Coya Mama Oello. The stripes are much farther apart in Guaman Poma's drawing and were probably more colorful than those that appear on shawls and dresses from Tomb 2. Nevertheless, the drawing depicts the manner in which these garments were worn and their appearance as a style of dress.

The handbag. Large warp-striped handbags (*ystalla* or *chuspa*) from Quebrada de la Vaca West were used as head covering for women's burials. They often remained stitched to the outer body wrap. Menzel observed that they never occurred with male burials, but only with those of females. The handbags were woven in one long piece that was folded in half across the bottom and seamed together up the sides with double running stitches and overcasting. Their common woven pattern consisted of alternating groups of stripes in brown and cream as shown in Burial A-24 (Figure 6), Burial f-33 (Figure 7) and Burial f-45 (Figure 9b). Menzel noted that the capacity of the women's handbags at Quebrada de La Vaca West was considerably more ample than the coca bags found with the men. The larger size suggests a more utilitarian purpose such as carrying and storing household goods.

MEN'S GARMENTS

The cloak. In today's terminology, the large blanket-sized garment Menzel encountered in

male burials is the cloak or cape that men wrapped around their shoulders. While the Andean name is *llacolla*, it is more often referred to as a *manta*. The cloaks were woven in two long webs seamed together up the center with fishbone stitches. Examples appeared in Burial m-13 (Figure 5a), Burial m-41 (Figure 8g), Burial M-54 (Figure 15a), Burial m-92 (Figure 18), and Burial m-96 (Figure 19). They ranged from 125cm to 152cm in length by 150cm to 166cm in width (across both webs). An additional 11 examples of measurable cloaks appeared in the burials of infants and children and among the unassociated collection. The largest of these measure 161cm by 170 cm. The plainness of the cloaks, woven in natural cream or tan cotton warp-faced weave, was usually offset by a colorful embroidered border. Most often, the border was created using spaced overcast or blanket stitching carrying seven or more pairs of colored yarn that crossed sides between stitches to form attractive diamond or zigzag patterns. Other examples of cloaks were simply overcast or cross-looped in plain tan yarn around their edges.

Menzel occasionally observed heavy yarns inserted in the warp direction over large areas of the cloaks, shirts, dresses, and other garments. On close inspection it was found that the inserted yarns were for mending, but so neatly stitched that they resembled embroidery. Sometimes the mending yarns over holes are inserted over one another in both the warp and weft directions, forming the appearance of an embroidered cross.

The loincloth. According to Menzel, loincloths or *waras* were commonly used in the burials as the head covering for men. She described three types of loincloths associated with male burials: those woven in one web, those woven in two webs, and those woven in two webs with embroidered sections across the upper and lower ends. Loincloths woven in one web appeared in Burial M-41 (Figure 8c, 8d) and Burial M-54 (Figure 15d). They ranged in size from 51cm to 66cm in length by 36cm to 50cm in width. Eight additional measurable loincloths woven in one web were found

among the burials of infants and children and in the unassociated collection.

A large fragment of a two-web loincloth was found in Burial m-96 (Figure 19). Its complete dimensions were no longer present. However, five measurable examples of two web construction from the unassociated collection ranged from 43cm to 74cm in length to 32cm to 76cm in width (across both webs). In her notes about the loincloths, Menzel wondered why some were woven in one web and others in two webs when it would have been much easier to weave them all in one web.

A good example of a two-web loincloth with embroidered ends was found as part of Burial m-92 (Figures 17, 18c). Menzel noted that several other fragments of similarly embroidered loincloths were discovered in the burial chamber. The upper and lower borders of the loincloths were so consistently finished with a plain crochet-like stitch (cross looping) at the top and bottom that Menzel considered the edge finish a man's stitch. She did not take time to identify the various types of seams or embroidered edges found on the garments, referring to most as simply "crochet or crochet-like". They would be classified today as cross looping, overcast, button hole, herringbone, and other types of seam and edge finishes. More comprehensive explanations of these embroidery stitches are contained in Emery (1980:241-243). Of significance is the indication that during Inca rule, not only were specific garment types repeatedly woven and worn on the south coast, but each type tended to be finished in its own particular kinds of seams and embroidered edgings (Katterman 2006a:341-353).

The sleeveless shirt or tunic. Also associated with men's burials is a sleeveless shirt or tunic called an *unku*. This garment was usually woven in one long web of warp-faced cotton with the neck slot made during the weaving process. The tunics averaged 85cm in length and 75cm in width. Guaman Poma depicted the manner in which the cloaks and tunics were worn by Inca males (Figure 24).

While the mantas and loincloths worn by men were plain, the tunics from Tomb 2 exhibited a variety of colors and woven patterns (Katterman 2004:267-270). A unique dark cotton tunic woven in two webs with colorful, Inca-style embroidered seams and edge stitching is part of Burial M-54 and is discussed above (Figure 15b). While this example was the only one of its kind found in the chamber, Uhle (1903 [1991]:37-38; see also Rowe 1997:33) reported a black camelid tunic of similar appearance (number 27570), but woven in one web of camelid yarn, from Grave B in front of the Inca Temple at Pachacamac.

Another unique example of a tunic from Tomb 2 was woven in narrow brown, yellow-tan, and cream (earthtone) stripes. This garment was described as part of the contents of Special Bundle 1. Other types of tunics were more common. Menzel recorded remnants of a brown and cream striped tunic with the male in Burial M-41 (Figure 8f), but only fragments could be saved. Two similarly striped tunics appeared in infant burials. The example from I-81 was woven in two webs and measured 74cm in warp length by 68cm in width, across both webs. The other example, I-82, was woven in one web measuring 83cm by 70 cm. I have also seen similar examples of the brown and cream striped tunics from the nearby site of Pueblo Viejo.

By far, the most common type of tunic from the burial chamber at Quebrada de la Vaca West was woven in one web of tan cotton. Examples of this type were discussed with Burial m-13 (Figure 5c) and with the contents of Special Bundle 1. An additional 16 measurable examples of tan tunics were found in the burials of infants and children and in the unassociated collection. All but two were woven in one web. They exhibited a wide range of sizes, measuring from 60 to 97cm in length by 57 to 85cm in width. Menzel noted that a bright red camelid seam in the arrow stitch (Figure 5c) often appeared as the side seam of many tan tunics, and a colorful finish decorated the armholes of many of the larger examples. The preponderance of tan tunics from Tomb 2 suggests that this garment was utilized as a type of male

uniform for lower level functionaries or technicians at the site.

According to Riddell (personal communication, June 1999) the group of men who wore the tan tunics were most likely not the primary laborers at the site. Workers who carried out the day-to-day activities at the main compound across the bay were buried there in a group of low, beehive shaped tombs. The burial of men with the tan tunics and their families on the western hillside in the rectangular, Inca-style tomb indicates their higher status. As mentioned earlier, many individuals, including females and infants, had gold lamina placed over their eyes, a privilege bestowed by the Inca government only to those of rank (Menzel 1977:10). Similar examples of tan tunics appeared at Pueblo Viejo, nearby, and at Amato in the Acarí Valley. Another example (number 27571) is among the tunics collected by Uhle (1903 [1991]: 37; see also Rowe 1997:33) from an elite Inca burial (Grave B) in front of the Inca Temple at Pachacamac.

Of interest to readers may be two additional types of tunics from Tomb 2, although not from the male burials discussed above. One was a well-worn elite-style tunic with a band of *tocapu* pattern (decorated squares typical of Inca elite clothing) in interlocking tapestry just below the waist. It was used to wrap the infant in Burial I-22 (Figure 25). Its longer-than-wide proportions (88cm by 77 cm), weft-face weave, and colorful Inca-style stitching for the seams and borders (Rowe 1978:7, 16, figures 22-24) confirm its relationship to the classic Inca model (*ibid.*:19-21, figures 26-30; Rowe 1979:251, figures 7, 8, 14). Except for the *tocapu* band, the tunic was woven in fine weft-faced cotton (now quite brown), suggesting a coastal manufacture. Menzel's notes suggest that the infant wrapped in it was most likely the male offspring of an important Inca official. Sewn to the inside of the tunic was a plain loincloth in poor condition. The infant himself was wrapped in two small tunics more his size. Menzel's sketch (Menzel and Riddell 1954:142) of this garment and its fragmentary band of tapestry appear as Figure 25.

Another impressive tunic style (X-5) from Tomb 2 appeared as a large fragment of a red camelid tunic with repeated sets of narrow blue and yellow vertical stripes. It was woven in two weft-faced panels seamed together under the arms and up the center in colorful bars of overcast stitches in the same colors. Fragmentary examples of similar tunics have also appeared at the sites of Pueblo Viejo (Chala) and Amato (Acarí).

ACCESSORY ITEMS IN MALE BURIALS

Small bags/coca bags. The numerous small bags found in male burials are referred to as coca bags because they are usually stuffed with dried coca leaves and placed in male burials as grave offerings. One was found in Burial M-41 (Figure 8b) and two with Burial m-51 (Figure 13). In addition, Menzel and Riddell collected over 20 examples of these small bags that remain undocumented. For the most part, these small bags are of tan cotton, warp-faced plain weave stitched along the sides with running or overcast stitches or display a few simple warp strips in the center. In size, they range from 9cm by 9cm to 18cm by 15 cm, with a good mix of lengths and widths. Medium-sized bags in male burials did not contain coca but unique personal possessions such as lumps of lime or colored yarn as in Burial m-51 (Figure 13), Burial m-53, and Special Bundle 1 (Figures 21, 22).

The sling (honda). Several slings were among the garments with male burials from Tomb 2. Two appeared among the items with Burial m-51 (Figure 13, upper right and upper center) and two in Burial M-54 (Figure 15c). Another appeared with infant Burial, I-43. Two more were found among the unassociated items. All are made of coarse camelid yarn. The center section of the slings, where rocks are placed, measure from 11cm to 13cm in length. Braided ends on both sides extend approximately 45 cm. Menzel noted that, a sling often wrapped the forehead and hair of male individuals.

Sling-stone bag. Small bags for carrying the round stones used in slings appeared in the burial chamber. The example with Burial m-51 (Figure

13, lower right) was woven of plain warp-faced weave. The cordage affixed to the top served as the carrying device. Other sling-stone bags from the unassociated collection were looped.

DISCUSSION

A summary of Menzel's original notes on the garments documented from burials collected from Tomb 2 at the Inca outpost of Quebrada de La Vaca West composes the first section of this article. The second section adds a summary of my further study of this collection. Together, the sections present a fairly clear picture of the garment types common to south coast sites with an Inca presence.

Both government regulations and local traditions seem to have influenced the clothing styles at Quebrada de la Vaca West. While the large range in the sizes of the garments indicates a personal arrangement for their manufacture, other factors suggest organized control. The simple warp-faced weave, natural cotton coloring, and design features confined to the edges of garments suggest specific guidelines were being followed. The limited types of colorful edgings on the garments suggest a dominant underlying control over personal identity within a framework of what it meant to be male or female. Adherence to such a framework by most persons in a community is quite impressive. Still, subtle variations in the meager design presentations regularly occurred and it is evident that some individual interpretation was involved. In a society as regulated as this one appears to have been, design variation would most likely have meant something. For this reason, considerable attention has been given to the placement and coloration of woven designs on the garments as well as the seaming and embroidered edges that finished them (Katterman 2006a:341-353).

Management of resources such as fiber and dye stuff by the central Inca government has been reported as a major form of economic and social control over populations (Murra 1962:711-722; Niles 1992:51). The meager supply of dyed fiber to

a far away outpost such as Quebrada de La Vaca, whether by intent or neglect, would have limited the community to clothing woven primarily in the natural colors of cotton grown locally and explain the abundance of plain clothing at the site. It also indicates that the central government was successful in reserving colorfully dyed yarn and clothing to those of more elite status than the majority of persons at this particular outpost.

Of additional importance is the fact that garment types from Quebrada de la Vaca West described here have been found in other sites along the south coast with an Inca presence. The repetition of various standardized styles for both men and women at these sites suggests that all levels of functionaries who served the Inca government, not just the elite rulers, had their own form of dress.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I dedicate this article to the memory of Francis A. (Fritz) Riddell who passed away on 8 March 2002 while this article was in progress. His knowledge and love of Peru, his humor, his sharing spirit, encouragement to all around him, and the numerous adventures and opportunities his presence in Peru afforded will always be a significant part of the lives of those who knew him. This article could not have been written without the foresight of Dorothy (Dolly) Menzel and Fritz Riddell in making the original collection of garments from Quebrada de La Vaca West. They recognized the value of documenting and preserving a large group of Inca Period clothing from one particular site. The author greatly appreciates the opportunity to work with this outstanding textile collection.

I also express gratitude to Susana Arce Torres, Director of the Museo Regional de Ica, as well as to Mario Olaechea, Guillermo Morón, and Jesús Huamanculi of the museum staff for the many times they transported 20 large boxes of textiles from the repository to the study room across the museum grounds. Further gratitude goes to Connie Frisbee Houde, Ellen Reardon, Frances Durocher, Mario Arcos Hinostroza, Pierina Rivas Guillén, and José Del Solar Celestino for their timely assistance. Special thanks go to Omar Bendeزú de la Cruz and Henry Falcón Amado for their dedicated assistance in the documentation, photography, and conservation of the collection.

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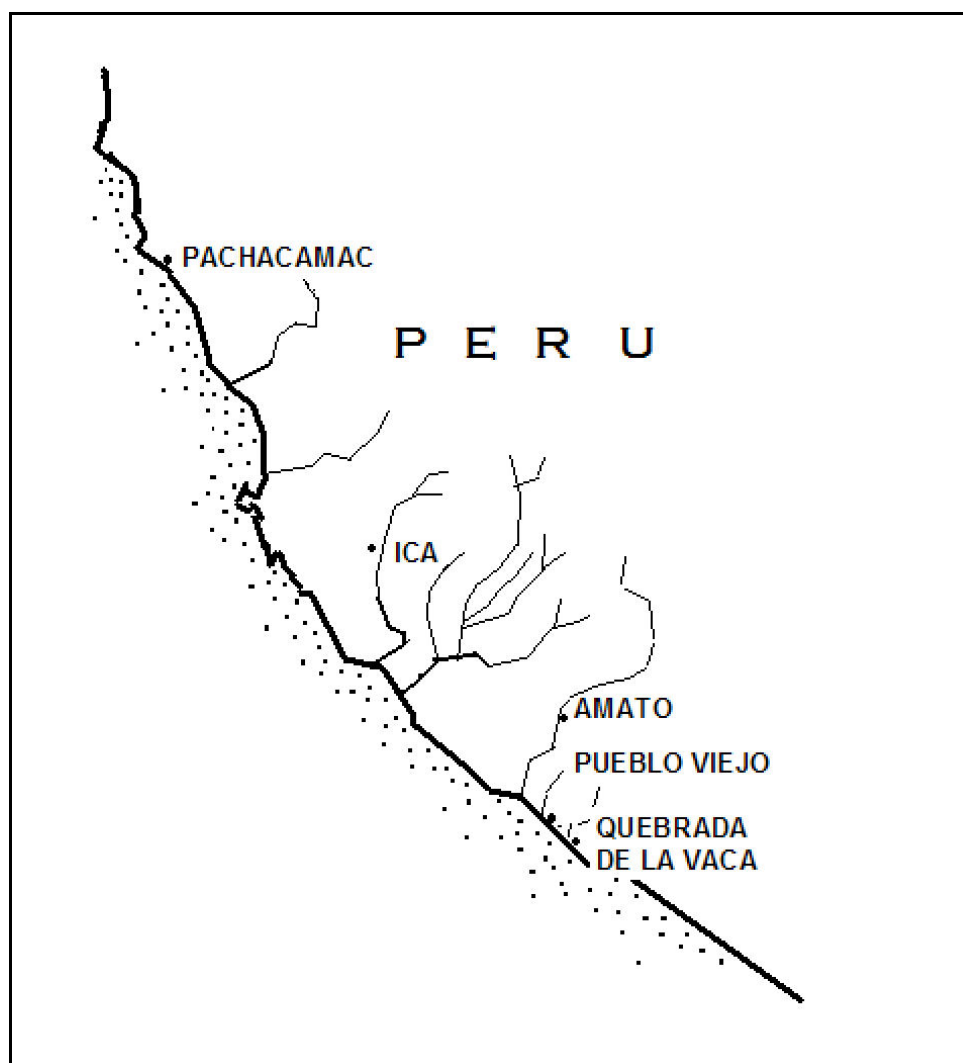


Figure 1. Map of Southern Peru showing Pachacamac, Quebrada de la Vaca, Amato, and Pueblo Viejo. The present-day city of Ica is included for orientation.

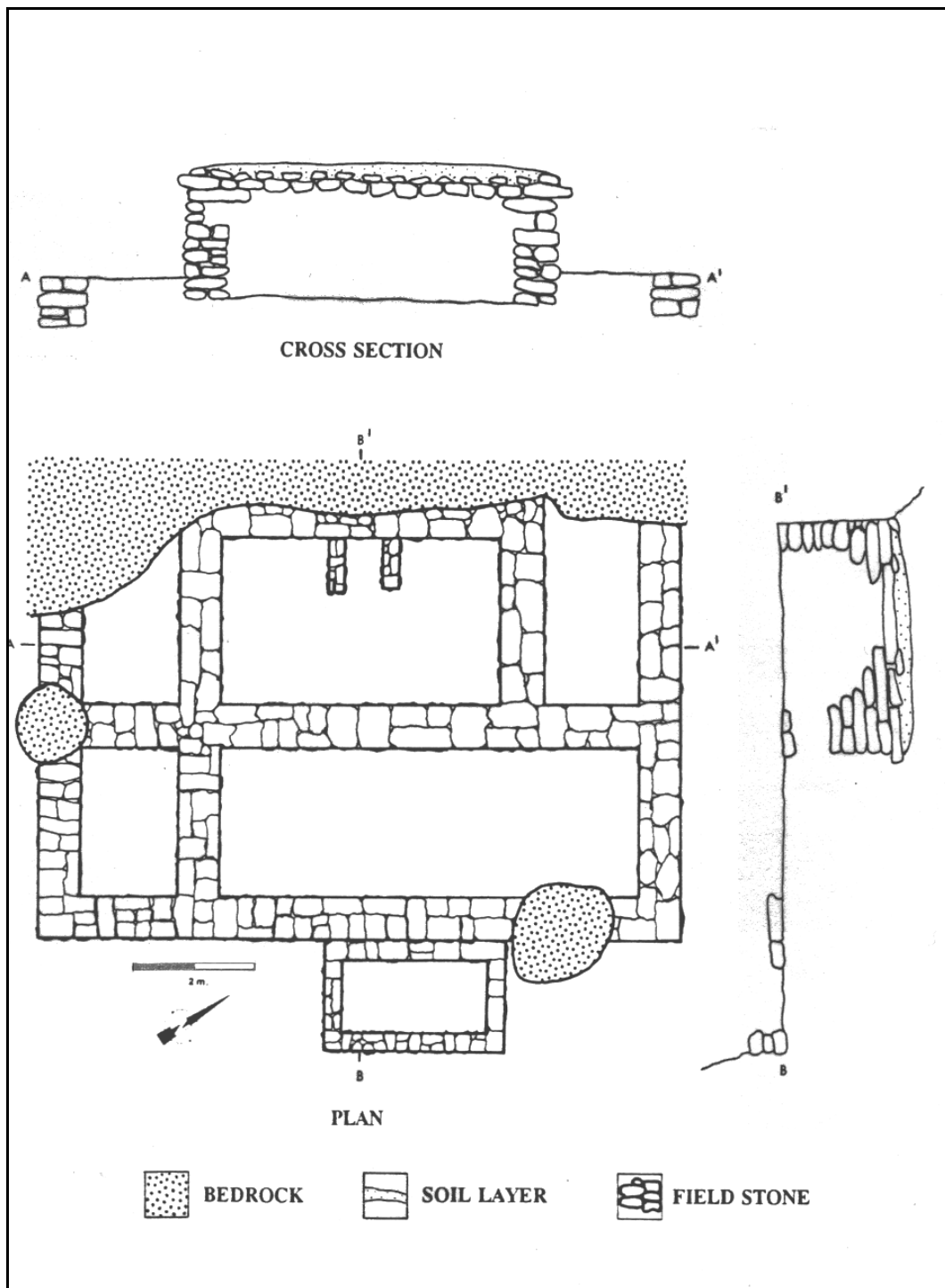


Figure 2. Burial House 2, Quebrada de la Vaca West (from Riddell 2007: Figure 17).

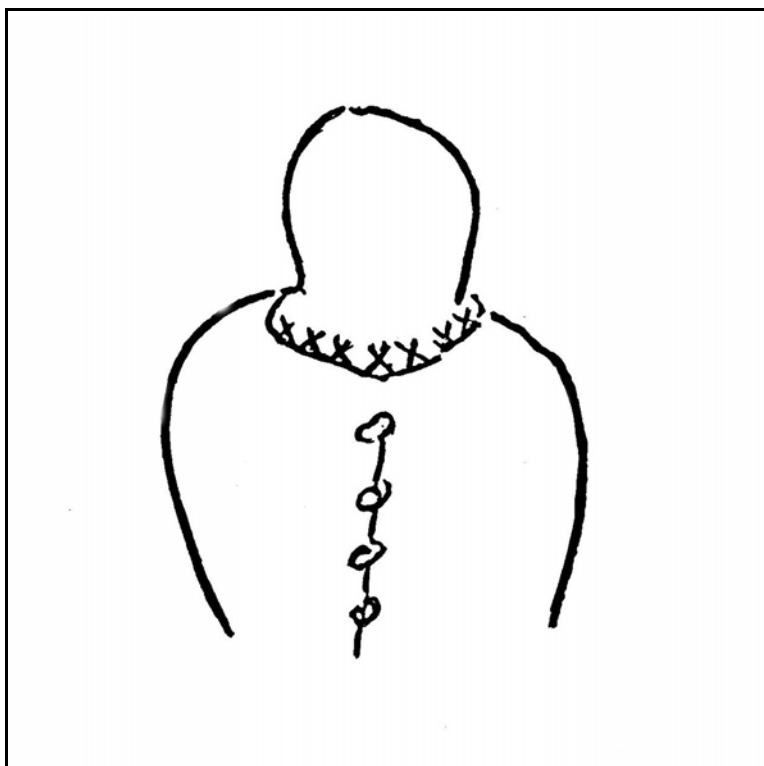


Figure 3. Sketch from Menzel's notebook of the appearance of a mummy bundle (from Menzel and Riddell 1954:142).

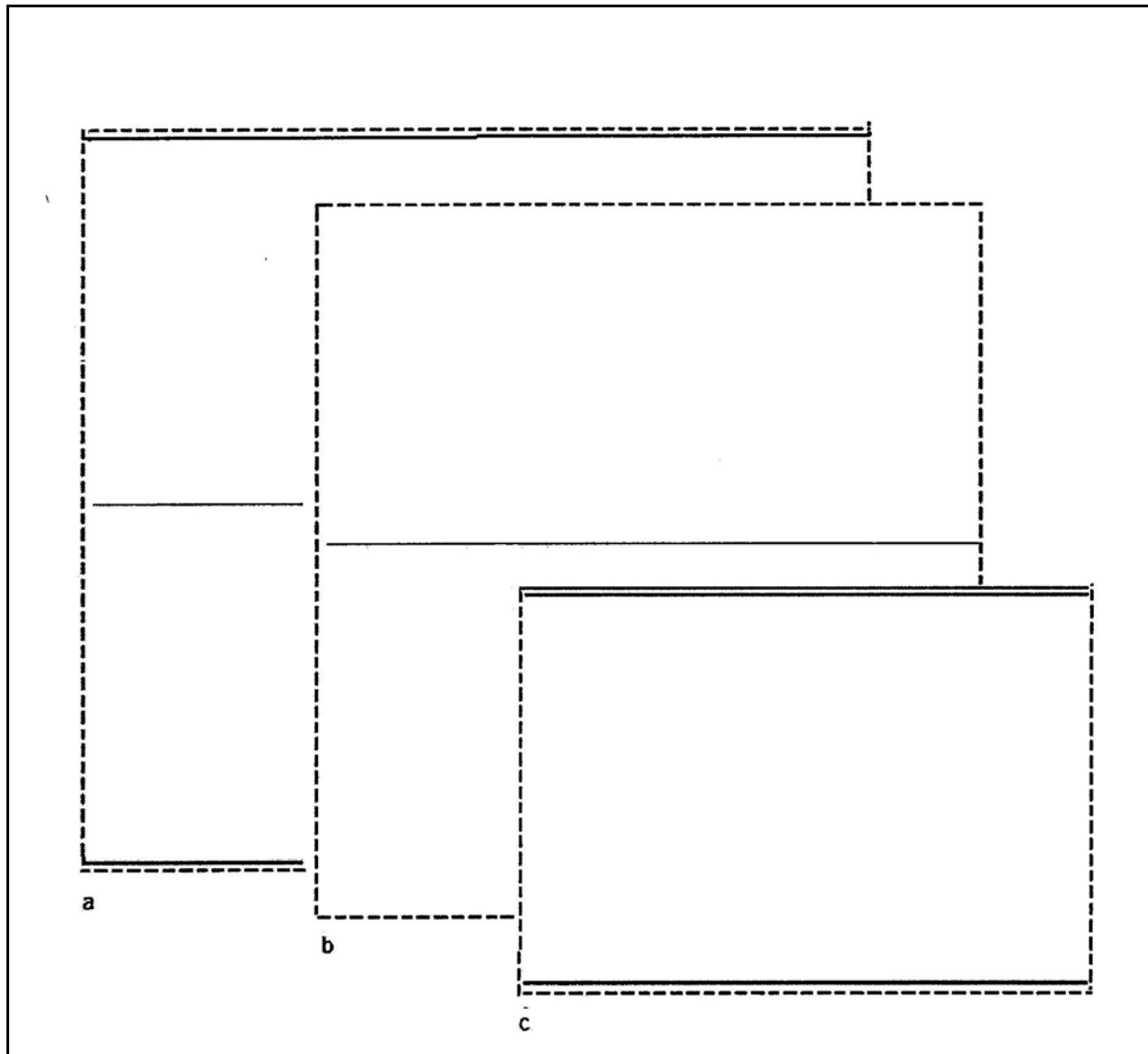


Figure 4. Schematic depiction of garment types associated with Burial f-12: a. aksu (wrap-around dress), two webs, 160cm by 70+70 cm, plain weave cotton, probably warp-faced, light brown z/s cotton yarn, inserted yarns present, probably in mending, purple-black stripe present along both weft edges; b. aksu, two webs, 130cm by 67cm+67 cm, plain weave, probably warp-faced, light brown cotton z/s cotton yarn, no design present; c. lliklla (shawl), one web, 105cm by 80 cm, plain weave, probably warp-faced, light brown z/s cotton yarn, purple-black stripe present along both weft edges.

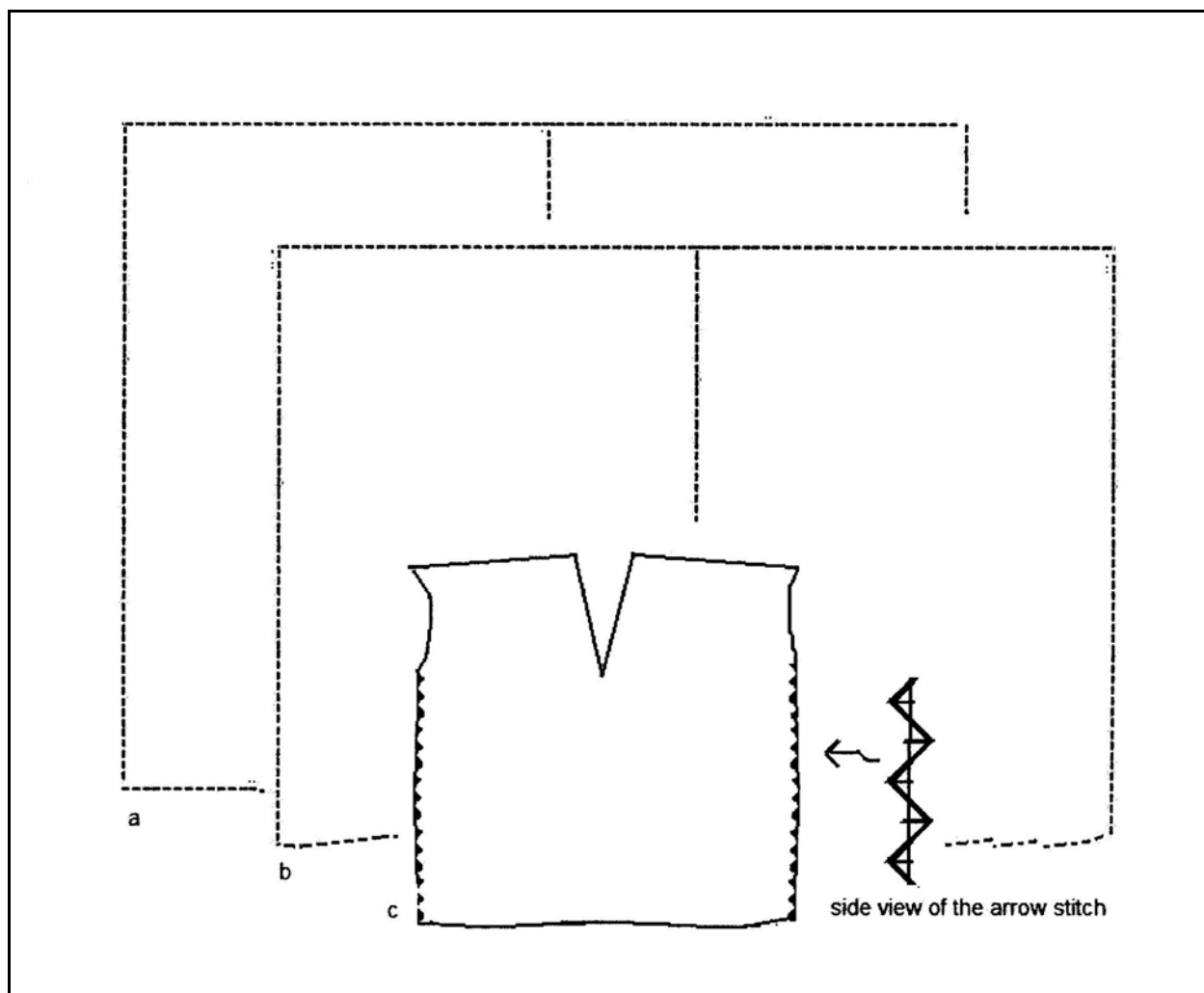


Figure 5. Schematic depiction of garment types associated with Burial m-13; a. large cloak (*manta*), two panels, 130cm by 150cm, warp-faced cotton weave, designs on ends; b. smaller cloak in poor condition; ? by 140cm, two panels, warp-faced cotton weave; c. shirt (*unku*) with red arrow stitch under the arm openings (after Menzel 1954:142).

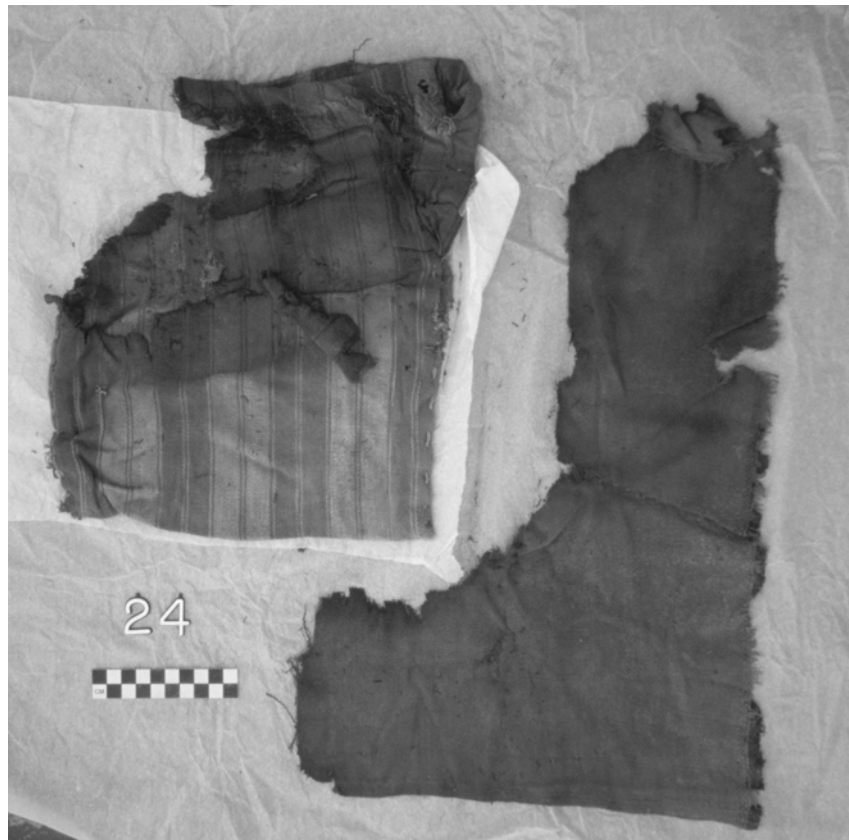


Figure 6. Garment fragments associated with Burial A-24. To the viewer's left is a handbag (chuspa), 33cm by 26cm made of a cotton, warp-faced weave with a yarn count of 28:9/cm². A running stitch closes the side seams. To the viewer's right is a fragment of a small shawl (lliklla), 50cm by 30cm made of cotton z/S yarn in a warp-faced weave with a yarn count of 30:8/cm². There is a woven design consisting of two narrow black stripes on one side, and one wider black stripe and three narrow ones on the other side. Scale is in centimeter intervals.



Figure 7. Garments associated with Burial f-33. Viewer's left: dress panel, one side of dress (aksu), 151cm by 71cm executed in a tan cotton, warp-faced plain weave with a yarn count of 36:11/cm². Remains of fishbone stitching form the center seam. The garment has a woven design consisting of a narrow black stripe along the outer edge and a stripe and checker design along the center seam. Viewer's right: handbag (chuspa), 30cm by 37cm executed in a cotton, warp-faced plain weave with a yarn count of 32:10/cm². Running stitches form the side seam. The garment has a woven design of warp stripes in brown and cream. Scale is in centimeter intervals.

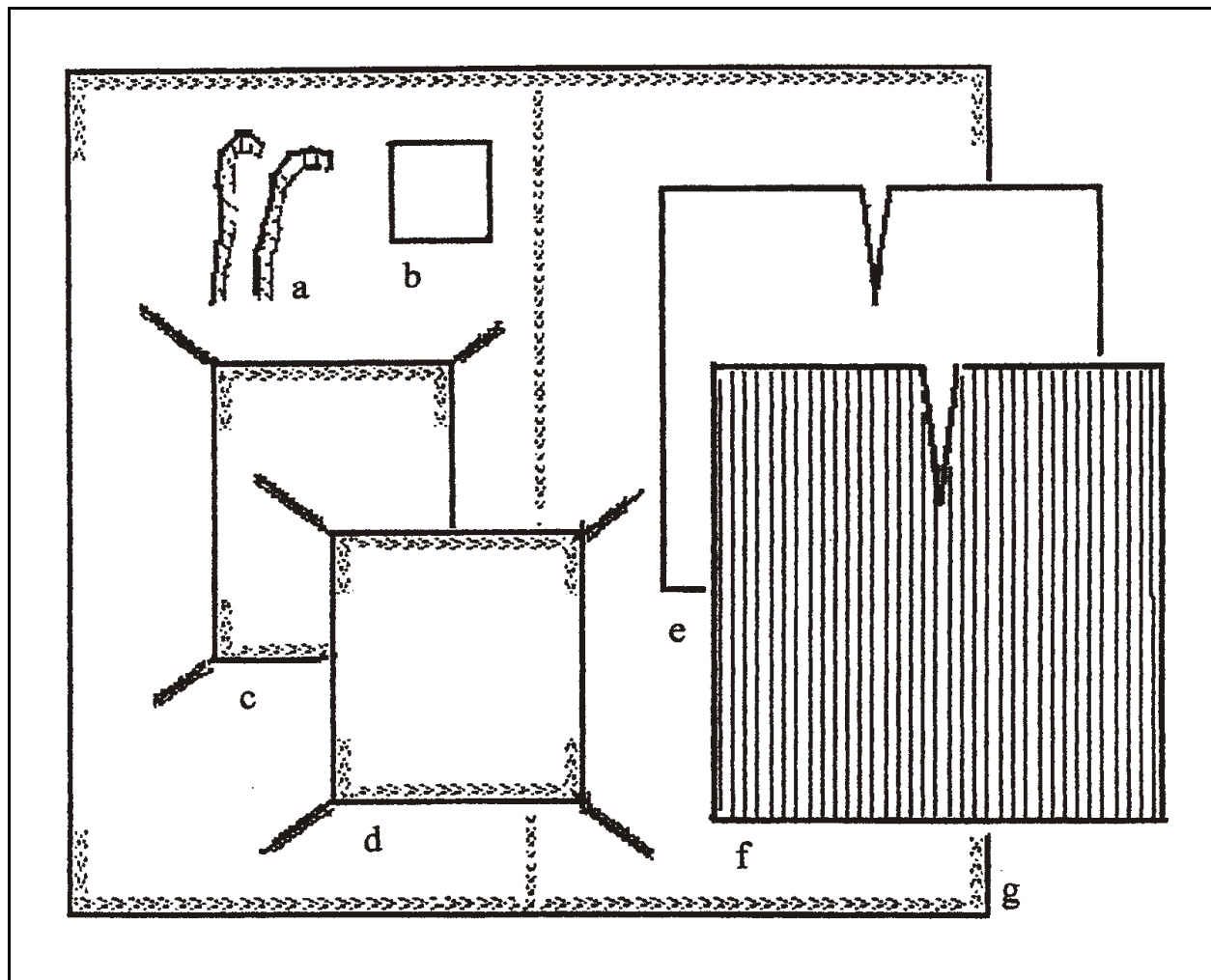


Figure 8. Schematic depiction of garments associated with Burial m-41. (a) two corner ties for a loincloth; (b) a small plain bag (coca bag), 14cm by 14.5 cm, executed in warp-predominant weave in tan camelid yarn with a yarn count of 10:5/cm². The side seam is done in whip stitch. There is applied decoration of a double running stitch across the top; (c) loincloth consisting of one web 51cm by 36 cm, executed in warp-predominant plain weave in tan cotton with a yarn count of 22:10/cm². There is cross looping along both ends extending around the corners. Remnants of the corner ties are attached. A long spine needle was found inserted; (d) loincloth; (e) tunic (unku) executed in plain brown cotton; (f) tunic executed with cotton yarn woven in warp-predominant plain weave. There are narrow brown and cream stripes; (g) cloak (manta).

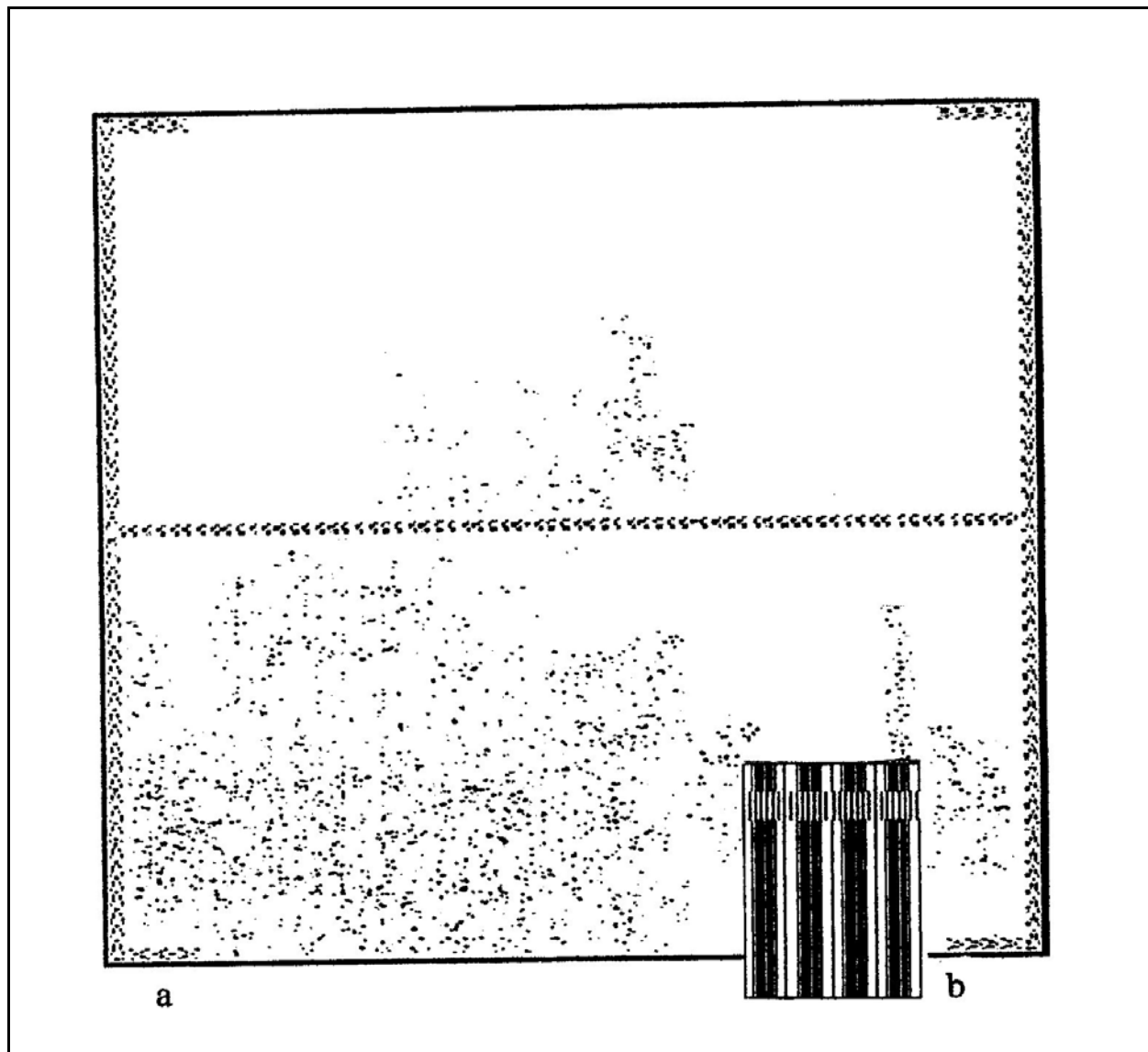


Figure 9. Schematic representation of garments associated with Burial f-45. (a) wrap-around dress (aksu) woven in two webs, originally 149cm by 70+ (70) cm, executed in warp-faced plain weave of tan cotton z/s yarn with a yarn count of 20:6/cm². The center seam was made with a fishbone stitch. There are cross loop stitches in tan cotton at the warp ends and around the corners. The weft edges are overcast; (b) handbag (chuspa) executed in a single web, 35cm by 25 cm, of cotton z/S yarn in a warp-faced plain weave with a yarn count of 34:7/cm². One side seam is done with a running stitch, the other with a double running stitch. The woven design consists of brown and cream warp stripes. There is an unwoven section towards the top.

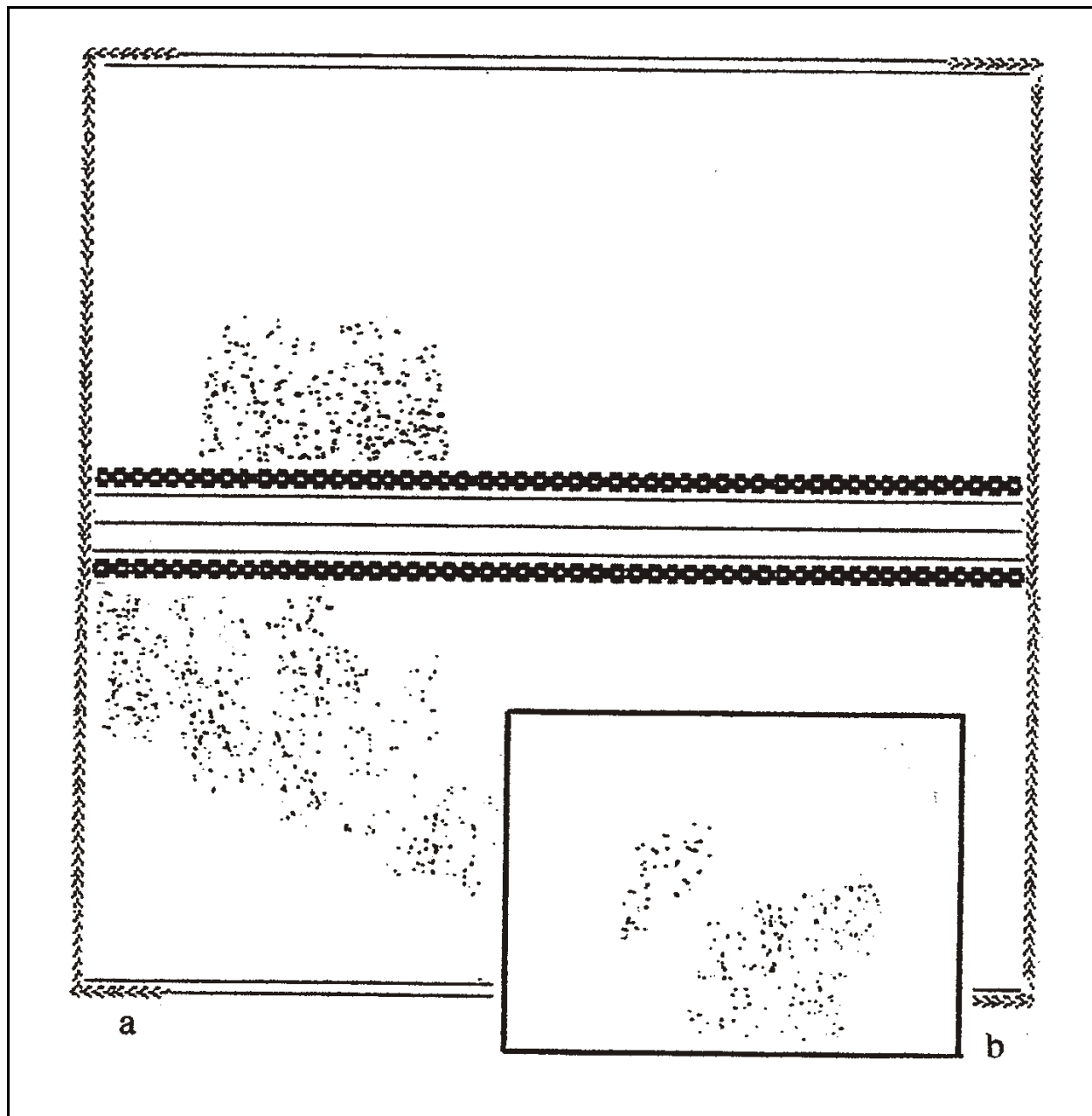


Figure 10. Schematic representation of garments associated with Burial F-46: (a) wrap-around dress (aksu) consisting of two webs, now incomplete, executed in tan cotton z/s yarn with a yarn count of 32:7/cm². The woven design is a strip and checker motif flanking a yellow center; (b) head cloth fragment executed in one web, now incomplete, approximately 60cm by 56 cm, with tan cotton z/S yarn and a warp-faced weave.

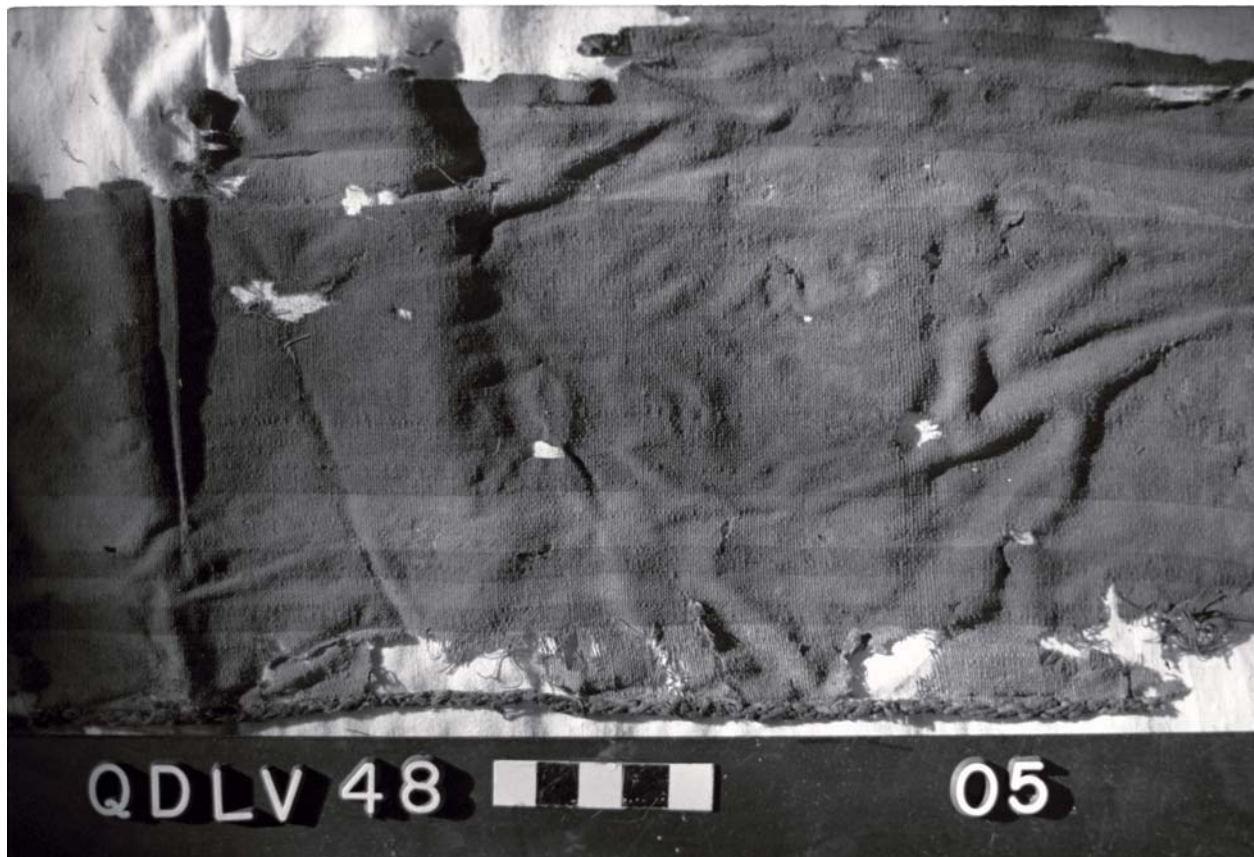


Figure 11. Detail of fragment of tapestry cloth associated with Burial F-48, most likely a shawl (lliklla). The garment consisted on one weft-faced, camelid wool web with a yarn count of 86:19/cm². A woven pattern is executed in red and yellow stripes. The edge finish consists of red, yellow, and black embroidered stitches all around. Scale is in centimeter intervals.



Figure 12. Garment associated with Burial f-50: large fragment of a dress (aksu) panel, 97cm by 65 cm, of medium brown cotton *z/s* yarn in 2 x 1 plain weave. Yarn count 15 paired warps:6 wefts/cm². The center seam was closed with fishbone stitches. The woven design is a reddish brown center stripe flanked by a narrow stripe and a checker design. Scale in 10 centimeter intervals.



Figure 13. Items associated with Burial m-51. Viewer's left to right: top row - two slings and a fragment of a strap; bottom row - three small bags. Scale in 10 centimeter intervals.



Figure 14. Woman's hairstyle found at Quebrada de la Vaca (after Menzel and Riddell 1954:158).

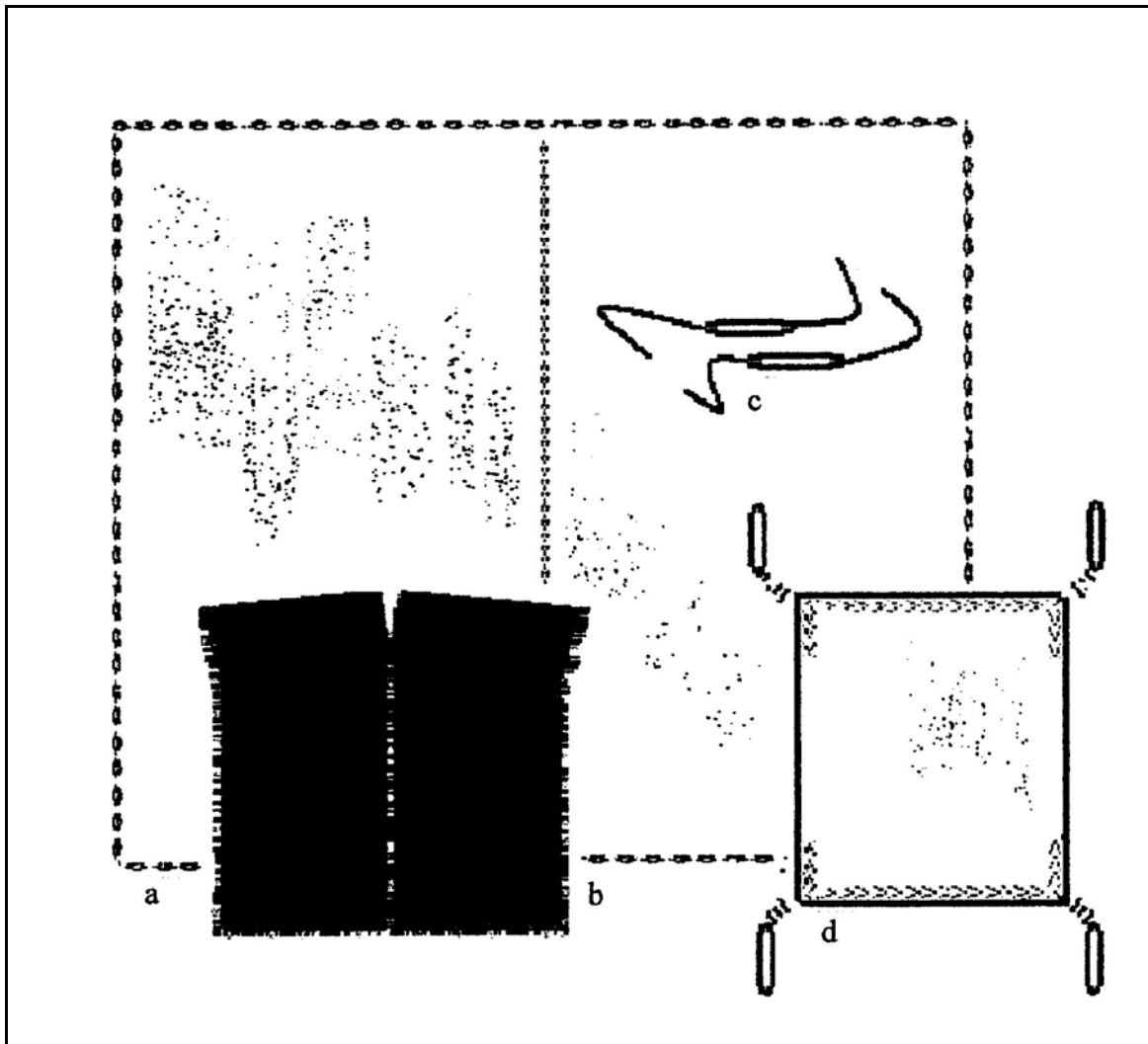


Figure 15. Schematic depiction of garments associated with Burial M-54; (a) cloak (manta) executed in two webs, now fragmented, c. 120cm by 70+ (70) cm, golden brown z/S cotton yarn in a warp-faced weave with a yarn count of 28:6/cm². The center seam is done in fine fish bone stitching. The edge finish consists of blanket stitches in tan cotton carrying a design in red and yellow camelid yarn around the perimeter; (b) tunic, woven in two webs, c. 55cm by 25cm+25 cm, in weft-faced weave with dark brown cotton z/s yarn made dark and fragile from black dye. The yarn count is 50:15/cm². The seams were closed with close figure-8 stitches in bands of red, yellow, and brown camelid yarn. The bottom and arm openings are overcast in red, yellow, and brown camelid yarn; (c) two slings; (d) complete loincloth executed in one web, 56cm by 44cm with a warp-predominant weave in medium brown cotton yarn with a yarn count of 28:12/cm². The edge finish is cross looping on the upper and lower ends, extending around the corners. The sides are overcast and there are single tassels at the corners.

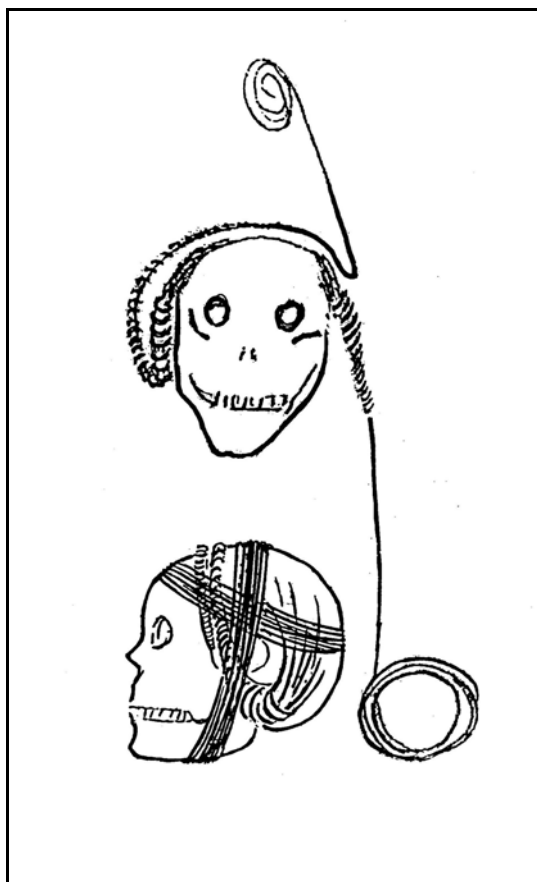


Figure 16. Man's hairstyle found at Quebrada de la Vaca
(after Menzel and Riddell 1954:166).

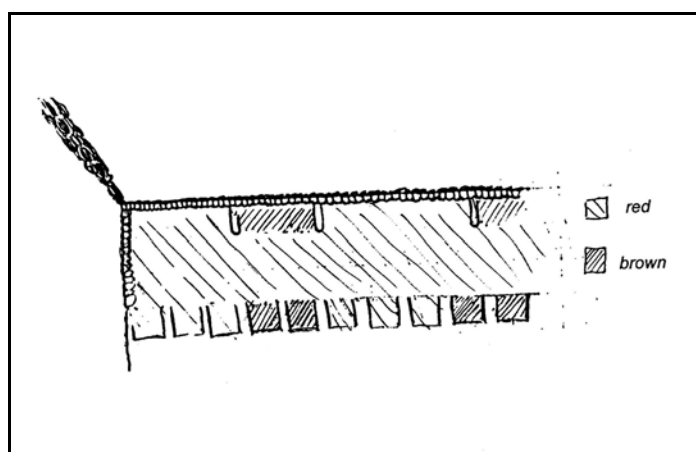


Figure 17. Detail of edge finishing on embroidered loincloth associated with Burial m-92
(after Menzel and Riddell 1954:168).

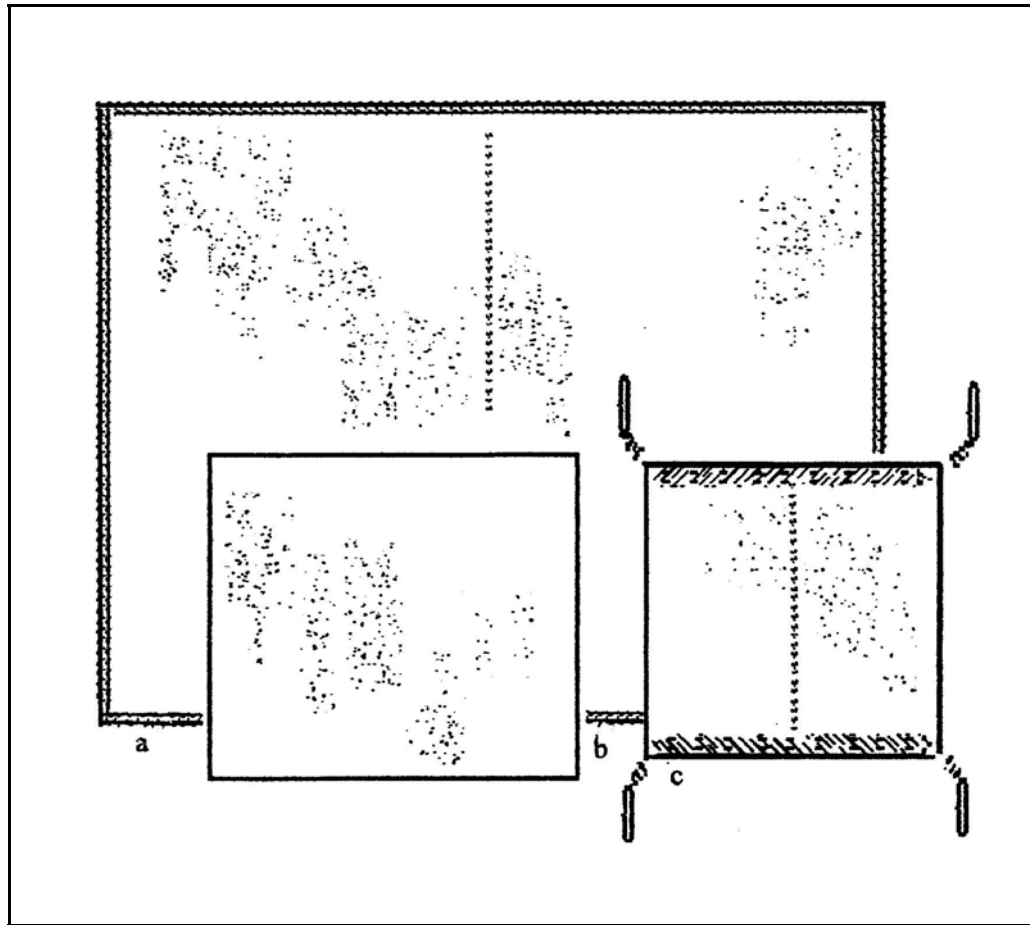


Figure 18. Schematic representation of clothing associated with Burial m-92 (a) complete large manta, consisting of two webs, 152cm by 83cm+83 cm, executed in a warp-predominate weave with golden brown z/S yarn. The yarn count is 34:1/cm². The center seam was done in fishbone stitches. The edge finish is round braided cord in green, brown, and red wool. There are whip stitches around the perimeter; (b) complete head covering, 77cm by 85cm executed in warp-predominant weave with tan z/s cotton yarn. The yarn count is 30:9/cm². There is no edge finish; (c) embroidered loincloth, complete, executed in two webs, 66cm by 33.5+34cm with golden brown z/S cotton yarn in a warp-faced weave. The yarn count is 32:8/cm². The center seam was done in a fine whip stitch. The edge finish consists of cross-looping at the top and bottom edges, extending around the corners, with the sides overcast. Applied decoration consists of a 5cm wide band of solid embroidery along the top and bottom edges in red and brown camelid yarn.

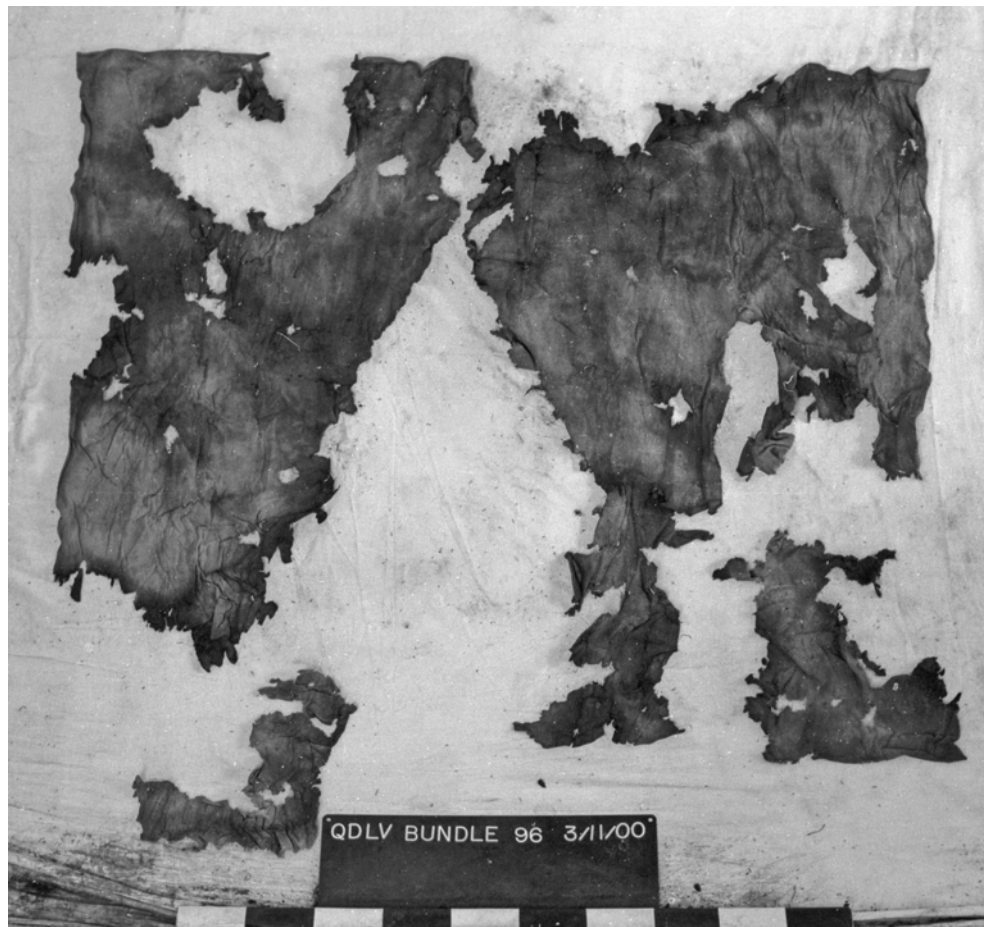


Figure 19. Clothing fragments associated Burial m-96. The large fragments at the top are an almost complete man's cloak (*manta*) woven in two long webs, 125cm x 72cm+72cm executed in a warp-face weave using tan cotton z/s yarn with a count of 32:6/cm². The center seam was made with fishbone stitches. The edge finish is blanket stitch all around carrying remnants of purple camelid yarn. The smaller fragments at the bottom are an incomplete loincloth woven in two webs with golden brown, cotton, z/s yarn with a count of 36:10/cm². The edge finish is cross-looping along the upper and lower ends and around corners. The sides are overcast. There are no corner ties present. Scale is in 10 centimeter intervals.

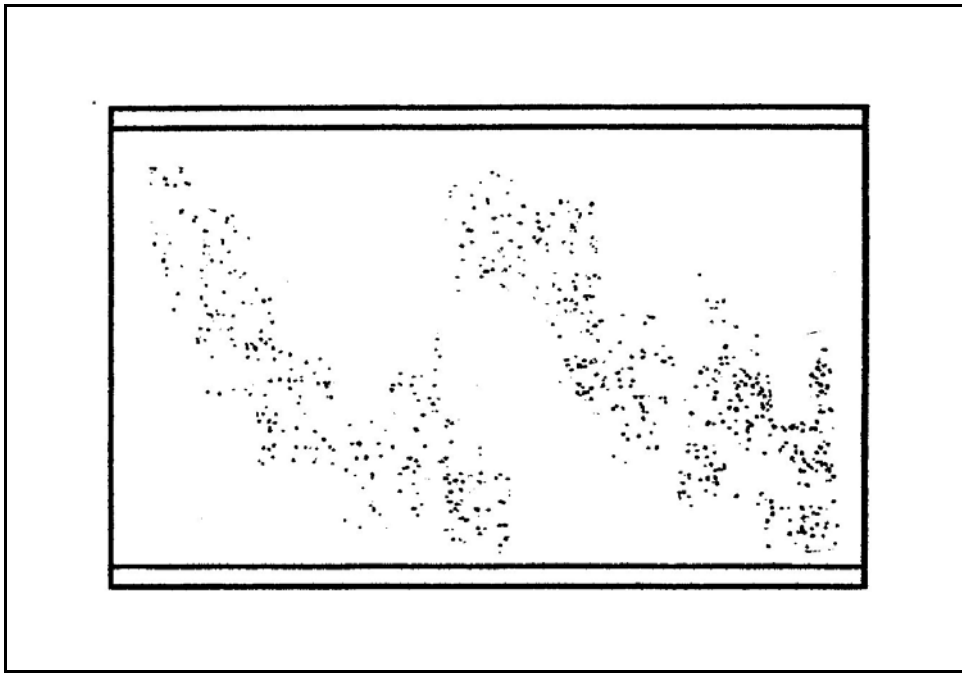


Figure 20. Schematic depiction of garment associated with Burial F-115. Woman's shawl woven in one web, 120 x 74 cm, in light brown cotton yarn with yellow-tan stripes along the top and bottom edges. The weave is warp-faced and the yarn count is 26:6/cm². The woven design consists of yellowish-tan stripes along the top and bottom edges bordered on the inside with a narrow black camelid strip. The edges are finished with blanket stitches that carry design in black and yellow camelid yarn.



Figure 21. Items from Special Bundle 1. (5) A bag (3) Several hunks of red, yellow, black, and brown unspun camelid hair mixed with a skein of white camelid yarn (spun Z), a ball [?] of cordage of the type used to tie up men's hair, and two balls of brown camelid yarn (z-S). (4) Several remnants of broken cordage. Scale is in centimeter intervals.



Figure 22. Items from Special Bundle 1 including a bag and several small knotted cotton strings or quipus, all of natural colors.



Figure 23. Illustration by Guaman Poma de Ayala depicting Coya Mama Ocllo wearing the wrap-around dress and shawl. From Murra et al. (1987:133).



Figure 24. Illustration by Guaman Poma de Ayala depicting Inca Roca wearing a tunic with a manta draped over his shoulders. From Murra et al. (1987:97).

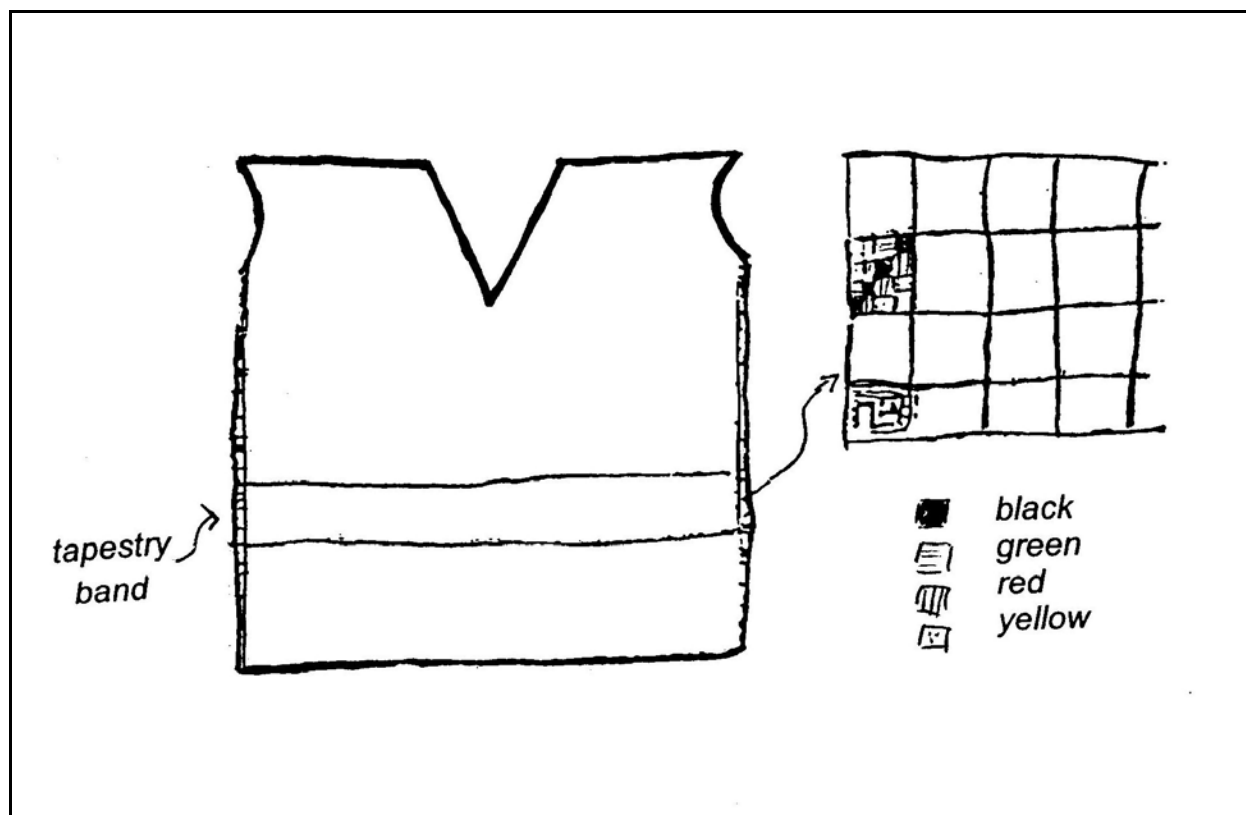


Figure 25. Unku or tunic from Burial I-22 as illustrated by Menzel with its tocapu tapestry band just below the waist (from Menzel and Riddell 1954:142).