Messages Woven into Textile from Andean *Capacocha* Burials

Connecting Technology to Symbolism in Inca Ceremonial Clothing

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1. Introduction

1.1 Context and objectives

In Latin American archaeology, the Inca Empire is among the most thoroughly researched societies. The empire, referred to by the Inca as *Tawantinsuyu*, extended from the Peruvian highlands up to southern Colombia and down to central Chile, developing into a highly complex political unit between AD 1438 and the Spanish Conquest in AD 1532 (Ceruti 2015a, 2).

The Spanish chroniclers made accounts of rituals of human sacrifice performed by the Inca, known as *Capacocha*, and in the early 20th century the first physical evidence was found (Ceruti 2015a, 4). The naturally mummified body of a child was discovered in 1905, buried along with various items on the peak of Mount Chañi in Argentina, almost 6000 metres above sea level (ibid., 4). More Capacocha victims were discovered in the course of the century (ibid., 4). Such mummies were subjected to extensive bioarchaeological research in recent decades, made possible due to the excellent state in which the mummies were encountered (Previgliano *et al.* 2003, 1473). It is this high level of preservation that allows the in-depth investigation of clothes that the children were wearing at the time of sacrifice.

Because not every Capacocha mummy can be discussed within the time given for the BA thesis, this research will focus on the three individuals from mount Llullaillaco, the female adolescent from mount Ampato, and the young boy from mount El Plomo. This selection of five ritual burials is based on the good state of preservation of the textiles associated with the mummies, and the amount of information available on their funerary bundles.

Textile, and clothing in particular, is strongly tied to identity (Phipps 2009, 237; Costin 1998, 123; Julien 2000, 73-74; Good 2001, 216; Minkes 2005, 23-24). The vast Central Andean region, with its many weaving traditions, represents this notion clearly. In her work on Paracas ritual attire, Paul states that “dress is a form of communication, functioning as an overt expression of identity” (Paul 1990, 16). The fabric contains indicators that can be deciphered into information about the wearer. Among the

indicators that she mentions are ethnic group, cosmology, family ties, economic status, gender, and age (Paul 1990, 17). In the case of the Inca, it is on the one hand challenging to understand what the variations in style indicated, as there are no written sources directly from the Inca perspective. On the other hand, this opens the discussion as to how they used textile instead of writing to communicate, and how this can be interpreted (Heckman 2005, 105).

Under specific environmental conditions, archaeology has access to textiles. Optimal preservation of natural fibre occurs in freezing conditions, extreme aridity, or nitrogen-rich bogs that prevent oxidation (Good 2001, 211). The high-altitude burials of the Andean mountain range meet the first two conditions, hence the excellent state of funerary bundles (Previgliano *et al.* 2003, 1477). Provided that the preservation is sufficient, archaeological textile can aid our understanding of how clothing worked as an identity marker in past societies (Good 2001, 216). Such seemingly mundane objects can actually have a defining and distinguishing role in society. It can offer valuable information on a society's preferences, and what were considered appropriate practices of dress and display.

The textile associated with the Capacocha mummies are a significant point of discussion in many scholarly papers that cover the rituals, as cloth was the foundational fabric of the Inca economy and its ideological power. Conquered lands would pay tribute in both fine and rough cloth, for which the Inca established workshops across wide regions under state control. The Inca ruler redistributed finely woven cloth to provincial nobles to maintain political ties (Costin 1998b, 124). Textile was, in this sense, inextricably interwoven in the political system and social relations through a diplomatic gift economy between local leaders and the Inca state (ibid., 126-27).

Research on these materials recovered from the Capacocha burials has focused on how the cloth was made through examination of the material (Reinhard and Ceruti 2010, 106-115), and on its social and ceremonial meaning, mainly through archaeological and anthropological interpretation within the context of Andean civilisation (Conklin 1996; Conklin 1997). But rarely do these two approaches meet, resulting in a dichotomy that overlooks the links between technology and symbolism. My aim for this thesis is to bridge that division between these two schools of thought, specifically by exploring how weaving technique and textile imagery are connected within the context of Capacocha.

In doing so, I aim to demonstrate the potential of textile as an archaeological proxy for identity and ideology. Archaeology places a heavy emphasis on pottery, lithics, and metals in studying past material culture. In turn, textiles are less frequently considered, while representing an equally fundamental aspect of material culture in society. To a degree, this is because textile requires specific preservation conditions, lacking in many parts of the world, but ultimately it is all the more reason to focus on areas where such remains are indeed found in the archaeological record.

1.2 Terminology

Following Lechtman's perception of style and technology and how they relate to one another, technology can be considered to have style (Lechtman 1993, 4-5). By executing specific technological procedures, natural elements are transformed into cultural objects by people. These technological procedures involve culturally specific values, skills, and choices (ibid., 4). The performed technologies are in this sense strongly related to the style of the object. This notion is what drives this investigation on the link between style and technology in the case of Andean Capacocha textiles. In order to do so, the definitions that are wielded in this thesis will first be clarified.

1.2.1 Style

The concept of style has been a matter of discussion amongst archaeologists for the past decades. Though most archaeologists generally agree on a common ground of what is meant by style, they establish various definitions of the term (Hegmon 1992; Sackett 1982; Minkes 2005, 23-24). Some common views are discussed here.

Considering style as an active phenomenon rather than passive emerged in 1977 in Wobst's work on the so-called information-exchange theory. Style is, according to this theory, only that part of material variation that conveys information (Minkes 2005 and Hegmon 1992, 519 - 521, following Wobst 1977). Sackett describes style as something that is by its very nature tied to a specific time and place, as it involves a choice between various alternatives that do not change the practical function (Sackett 1982, 64). The result of these choices are variants that are "equivalent in use" (Sacket 1982, 72-73). Wiessner's definition of style stresses its communicative function: "style is a form of non-verbal communication through doing something in a certain way that communicates information about relative identity" (Hegmon 1992, 518, following Wiessner 1990, 107; Sackett 1985,154).

Though the approach of Sackett is contrasted to that of Wiessner, both ideas can contribute to a complete definition of the meaning of style. I would argue that they can even complement each other. Style is that aspect of the material that can be changed without influencing the practical function. Human agency plays a part in this process, as the development of a style includes a choice, something that can and will be done

differently depending on time and place. This is precisely why style conveys a message. Style communicates information about that time and space. To a certain extent, style has the potential to inform humans about the time in which the object was produced, or to which cultural tradition in a specific geographical area it belonged (Sackett 1982, 64). This is what makes style such a powerful message conveyor for archaeology as well as in the past, and a valuable source of knowledge on a certain society to those who understand the motifs (see also Minkes 2011, 23). This is how the term style will be treated in this paper.

Closely related to style is the concept of aesthetics. The term is often used in relation to artistic beauty, and judgement on that beauty based on culturally and historically determined systems of value (Pollard 2001, 318). Gosden argues that though the term comes with intellectual baggage relating it to western, ethnocentric concepts of fine art, it is too useful to discard. Aesthetics can be perceived as not only the study of things that appeal to our senses, but also as forms of social action constructed in a skilful way, such as engagement with landscape and bodily disposition (Gosden 1999, 177). In this paper, aesthetics include both those descriptions.

1.2.2 Technology

In Miller's definition of the term, technology is not about the end product, but more so about the production process of an object. In fact, the terms technology and production are often used to refer to the same thing (Miller 2017, 18). This includes the organisation of production, defined by Miller as "the organisational arrangement within which production takes place" (Miller 2017, 18). This paper follows this relation between technology and production, and the inclusion of the organisation of production.

Technology is often highlighted in discussions on material culture (Miller 2017, 19, following Lechtman and Merrill 1977). "Material culture is about interactions between people and things, and especially about information encoded in things" (Miller 2017, 20). Lechtman uses the term to indicate all artifacts that belong to a society, and as the physical manifestations of a culture and in that way an aspect of human behaviour (Lechtman 1993, 4). Material culture is about the interaction between people and end products, while technology focusses on the processes that are involved in the production of the object. Because researchers often study the production process as well as the end product, the terms tend to merge/overlap (Miller 2017, 19).

Miller uses the term technology in a broader sense which encompasses “the active system of interconnections between people and objects during the creation of an object, its distribution, and to some extent its use and disposal” (Miller 2017, 19). She adds consumption and discard to her definition of the term. In this BA thesis, I will focus mainly on the physical creation of the object. This includes the people involved, and the objects and materials used, during the process. In this case, those are the Inca state, represented by the king as the one who demanded the production of goods, the raw material and the people assigned to obtain it, the craftsmen and women who physically produced the cloth, the looms that they worked with, and the different weaving techniques that were used to obtain the desired result. Use and disposal are excluded in this discussion on technology.

2. Background

Over 115 high altitude sanctuaries were discovered before the turn of the century (Horne 1996, 153). Seventeen individuals are discussed in Ceruti's publication on the bioarchaeological analysis on the mummies from these sanctuaries (Ceruti 2015a, 4–6). This thesis will focus on five case studies from that publication. Each individual case will be introduced here.

Since this research involves sacrificed individuals, some words of ethical consideration seem appropriate. One point of controversy that I would like to address is the nomenclature of the individuals. As of today, there seems to be a general consensus as to how the children are referred to. They are known by the names of the mountains on which they were found, followed by the noun that describes their gender and age group (e.g. 'El Plomo Boy'), and some are given a Spanish nickname (e.g. 'Juanita'). Though this immediately clarifies which individual it concerns, an ethical conflict may arise, where the sacrificed individual is reduced to an archaeological find in a certain geographical area, or labelled in colonial terms.

How should archaeologists go about naming these young individuals that lost their lives to ritual sacrifice? The answer is not clear-cut, and the matter deserves more attention than can be covered in this paper alone. Considering that the Quechua-speaking indigenous people of the Andean highlands are the descendants of the Inca (Saroli 2011, 311), their opinion on how their deceased cultural relatives are best addressed should be determinative. Records of such ethnographic survey are unfortunately not available, so for the sake of this paper, a secondary solution is required.

In short, I would argue that the individuals should be addressed in accordance with the context in which they lived. In other words, they will each be given a common Quechua name in this paper. A personal name acts as a constant reminder that the research involves human beings, and the Quechua origin of the name honours their cultural and linguistic background. The places of burial and discovery will still be used in support to the names to prevent confusion, considering most papers on the Capacocha victims are structured in this way.

2.1 Mount Llullaillaco

The three individuals from Mount Llullaillaco in Argentina are considered among the best-preserved mummies ever discovered (Ceruti 2015b, 168). Their shrines form the highest archaeological site in the world with an altitude of over 6700 m above sea level (Previgliano *et al.* 2003, 1477). In March 1999 the mummy bundles were recovered through controlled archaeological excavation led by Johan Reinhard and Constanza Ceruti (Previgliano *et al.* 2003, 1473; Ceruti 2010, 108). Since their discovery, the mummies have been researched thoroughly (Previgliano *et al.* 2003; Reinhard and Ceruti 2010; Ceruti 2015a; Ceruti 2015b; Kawchuk 2008; Mignone 2015). Palaeoradiology determined the age of the Capacocha individuals based on scans of their teeth and long bones (Previgliano *et al.* 2003, 1473-1474). CT scans and X-rays established their general health, and the associated goods and textiles were investigated (see Ceruti 2015a, 7; Ceruti 2015b). DNA analysis was executed on hair samples, to establish their geographical origin (Reinhard and Ceruti 2010, 103).

The young boy that was found on mount Llullaillaco will be called 'Paqari', a common Quechua name that translates to 'dawn' (www.todopapas.com; www.behindthename.com). Paqari was seven years old when he was sacrificed. He had a textile bag with him that was filled with coca leaves and a smaller bag made out of skin, containing his own hair (Ceruti 2010, 110). Within his funerary bundle were two extra pairs of sandals, and two extra slings (Ceruti 2010, 110). The boy was most likely from a location in present-day Peru or Chile (Reinhard and Ceruti 2010, 103).

The six-year-old female individual is popularly known as the 'Lightning Girl', because her tomb was struck by lightning after her burial (Ceruti 2015a, 6). She will be referred to as 'Llipya', which means 'lightning' in Quechua (www.behindthename.com). Llipya was the youngest individual discovered during this investigation. Four woollen bags filled with food and a small bag that contained hair were placed around her body (Ceruti 2010, 111). She also had an extra pair of sandals and moccasins in her bundle (Ceruti 2015b, 174). She probably came from a location in present-day Bolivia or Peru (Reinhard and Ceruti 2010, 103).

The oldest individual found on Mount Llullaillaco will be referred to as 'Awaq', which means 'weaver' in Quechua (www.behindtename.com; www.todaspapas.com). She is presumed to have been part of the '*acllacuna*'. According to early colonial records, these girls were chosen to live in seclusion from prior to puberty until their mid-teens (Ceruti 2015b, 168, following De Acosta 1962 [1590]). They lived in an *acllahuasi*, where they learned to weave, hence her given name, and were trained in religious knowledge. Eventually, some of the girls were chosen to serve as priestesses of the Sun, considered as the Sun's wives, daughters, and sisters (Costin 1998b, 153), whereas others would be given as wives to elites. On rare occasion, some would be chosen to be offered to the mountain deities (Ceruti 2010, 114 following De Acosta 1962 [1590]; Kawchuk 2018, 3). Awaq appears to be one of these chosen girls (Ceruti 2015a, 7).

Awaq became a Capacocha victim at the age of fifteen. She was buried inside two sand-coloured mantles. One covered her lower body, and the other her head and upper body (Ceruti 2003, 266). Her burial also contained woollen belts, a small bag containing hair, and six woven bags that contained food, all placed around her body (Ceruti 2010, 112). She was most likely from a location in present-day Peru or Chile (Reinhard and Ceruti 2010, 103).

Following the discovery of the three Llullaillaco individuals, the mummies and their assemblages were thoroughly investigated over the course of the last two decades (e.g. Ceruti 2012; Ceruti 2015; Previgliano *et al.* 2003). Notable, though, is the lack of report on the clothes that the children were wearing. They are described in simple terms, focussing mostly on colour and material, but barely include weaving technique or going in depth on the designs, and often lacking the Quechua name for the garments as well. Considering the exceptional state of the textiles, this gap should by all means be filled in further research, especially since female Inca garments are lacking in the archaeological record (Femenías 2017, 345). To keep the information on these clothes superficial would be a loss.

2.2 Mount El Plomo

The body of a nine-year-old boy was discovered in 1954 on the El Plomo mountain, at a height of approximately 5,400 metres (Horne and Kawasaki 1984, 925; Durán Serrano 2005, 339). In this paper, he will be referred to by the common Quechua name 'Sinchi', which means 'chief' or 'leader' (www.behindthename.com). He had already been extracted by looters, but the National Museum of Natural History of Santiago managed to purchase the mummy and associated grave goods, which nonetheless allowed for detailed investigation. Roentgenograms of the body were taken in that same year (Horne and Kawasaki 1984, 925) Also, the skin and teeth of the individual were evaluated, and paleoparasitological studies were executed. His clothes and the associated artefacts were also analysed (see Durán Serrano 2005, 341–342). On his left arm he had a heavy silver bracelet, a marker of high status (Horne and Kawasaki 1984, 926).

Investigations then resumed in 1982. The body was re-examined through radiography, which established the boy's age, and the skin was again analysed for palaeopathological indicators (see Horne and Kawasaki 1984, 926). Chemical analysis and microbiological analysis also took place during this interdisciplinary study (see Durán Serrano 2005, 343–344).

The final research executed on the boy dates to 2003, during which samples were taken for molecular studies, in order to identify blood group and conduct DNA analysis (see Durán Serrano 2005, 345). He came from northern Chile or southern Bolivia, based on specific geographical indicators in his dress (Horne and Kawasaki 1984, 929).

Thorough investigation of the clothes that Sinchi wore, is clearly lacking. The garments are described only in broad terms. This is a shame, considering the excellent state of preservation of the textiles. They could be analysed on microscopic level to determine, among other things, the exact weaving technique and use of dyes, which could provide valuable insight into highland garments from the Inca period in general. For this research, there is unfortunately no access to the material. But in the future, such research should by all means be considered.

2.3 Mount Ampato

The mummy found in 1995 by Johan Reinhard on Mount Ampato is by many scholars considered the most important Capacocha discovery. It has been of considerable impact on the knowledge on the role of sacred textiles among the Inca, and how these textiles were placed in relation to the Inca cosmos (Conklin 1996, 107-110).

She will be referred to as 'Sumaq', meaning 'beautiful' in the Quechua language. It concerns a 13 to 15-year-old female adolescent (Reinhard 2005), presumably an aclla as well (Ceruti 2015a, 7). She most likely came from present-day northern Peru (Reinhard and Ceruti 2010, 103). She was found at an elevation of 6,300 metres in the crater of a volcano, as she had fallen down from her platform along with her offerings after the eruption of a nearby volcano. The heat melted the ice, causing the collapse of the platform (Conklin 1996, 104; Dye 2007, 10). The archaeological context of Sumaq was thus disturbed by post-depositional processes.

Research executed on Sumaq includes DNA analysis, a needle biopsy of the content of her stomach, a CT scan of her cranium, and analysis of her teeth (see Kawchuk 2018, 3-6). Special attention has been given to the associated offering goods, among which the garments she was wearing. Inside the grey and white striped outer wrapping was a spare belt, and a carrying cloth that contained her personal possessions, human hair, a *spondylus* shell, some loose string, and a bag with coca leaves (Conklin 1996, 107–108).

2.4 The ceremony

According to Spanish written sources, the Capacocha rituals were performed during natural catastrophes and key events in the life of the Inca emperor, such as succession to the throne, the birth of a son, illness, and death. The children were the messengers that were sent on behalf of the Inca to appease the deities of their pantheon, and to represent the Inca in the world of the ancestors (Previgliano *et al.* 2003, 1476).

Children were chosen from the elite class to be sacrificed. The radiographic scans of their bones, muscles, and fat tissue support this statement, as they demonstrate that children were well-nourished (Ceruti 2015a, 8–9). This was likely done intentionally to reinforce alliances between the king and these elites (Reinhard and Ceruti 2005, 16–17, after Cobo 1983 [1653]).

As noted by various chroniclers, a criterium for the children to be elected was purity. This included virginity and the absence of blemishes on the body (Reinhard and Ceruti 2005, 18-19, following Cobo 1983 [1653]; Reihard and Ceruti 2005, 18-19, following Ramos 1976 [1621]). Archaeological investigation confirms this in most cases, though a minor blemish appears to have been permitted (see Kawchuk 2018, 4).

The pilgrimage that the children had to complete to reach the high mountain sanctuaries was a strenuous road requiring months of foot travel (Ceruti 2015a, 8–9). The ceremonial complex on Mount Llullaillaco consists of multiple sites connected by a trail that reaches up to the shrines. There was a base-camp at 5200 metres above sea level and two intermediate stations. Based on architectural analysis of these camps, Ceruti estimates that the ceremonial party consisted of some ten to fifteen persons (2010, 108). When they moved through an area, inhabitants participated in carrying offerings and supplies until they reached the territorial boundary, where the inhabitants of the next region would take over. This process continued until the destination was reached (Reinhard and Ceruti 2005, 14, following Rostworowski 1988).

The most likely cause of death for the three individuals from mount Llullaillaco and Sinchi is live burial, based on the historical texts that account for this practice in Capacocha sacrifices, and CT-scans that exclude death by strangulation or trauma

(Previgliano *et al.* 2003, 1476; Durán Serrano 2005, 341). They were sedated with coca leaves and maize beer before burial, as demonstrated by hair samples and remnants of coca in the Awaq's mouth (Wilson *et al.* 2013, 13323). Sumaq from mount Ampato, however, appears to have died from a blow to the head, as radiological studies confirmed cranial trauma (Ceruti 2015a, 8–9).

3. Methodology

The aim of this thesis is to answer the following central research question: How are the production process and symbolic meaning of the textiles worn by the Capacocha mummies of the Andes at the time of sacrifice linked? This is done through the means of reviewing existing literature.

In order to answer the research question, four sub-questions are composed that each cover an aspect of the central issue. Each sub-question requires a different approach to the literature.

- How can the clothes of the Capacocha mummies be categorised, and what are their characteristics?

The first part of this research is of descriptive nature, as it presents the data. It proposes categories by which the material can be divided into types of garments, per case study, and describes characteristics including fibre, designs, and colours. This information is collected from academic papers that discuss the garments of the five Capacocha mummies specifically. A detailed description of each garment is required, in order to provide answers to the subsequent question.

- What is the nature and diversity of Capacocha textile production processes?

This sub-question traces the production processes of the Capacocha textiles. It covers how the clothes were physically made, including labour division, the infrastructural logistics of the Inca Empire in this process, the craft itself, and the technology used. The definition of 'technology' is established in chapter 1.

Because not all required information has been published on the garments from mount Llullaillaco and El Plomo, textiles that share strong similarities with those discussed in the previous sub-chapter are included in this part of the analysis. It is owing to the high degree of standardisation of Inca state textiles (Rowe 1979; Costin 1998b, 125, following Rowe 1978; Femenías 2013, 165) that such a parallel is possible. Chapter 4.2 also further elaborates on the nature of this standardisation.

- How was the aesthetic tradition of ceremonial Inca textile interpreted by scholars over the years?

The third part is dedicated to the shifts in views of scholars over the years since the first mummies were discovered in the early 20th century (Bray *et al.* 2005, 82). Through a diachronic approach, it provides a chronological overview to the different interpretations about the garments and their symbolic meaning. This covers the style and stylistic value of the clothes, see chapter 1.2 for the definition of this term.

Finally, the main research question is answered in the subsequent chapter where technology meets style and its meaning. In this discussion, the three above mentioned chapters come together with the help of literature that specifically discusses the link between style and technology regarding archaeological material, and how archaeologists should approach this. The aim here is to unify all the data and results into a whole that bridges the gap between the two approaches within archaeological research on Capacocha textile, specifically these five case studies.

4. Results

4.1 The garments

This research will focus exclusively on the woven clothes associated with the five case studies. This excludes woven bags and mantles that were used for wrapping the bundle together, as dress was not the purpose of these textiles. Feather headdresses and leather shoes could have textile attributes, but this is not the main material in these objects. Therefore, they will not be discussed here. Reinhard and Ceruti (2010) provide useful further discussion of headdresses and shoes.

4.1.1 Mount Llullaillaco

Paqari (fig. 1) wore a red tunic, called *unku* in the Quechua language. Underneath him was a folded greyish-black tunic (Ceruti 2010, 109; Ceruti 2003, 265). A red with brown mantle, known as *yacolla,* covered his head and upper body and formed the outer textile of the funerary bundle (Ceruti 2003, 265). He had another additional tunic within his outer mantle (Ceruti 2015b, 174).

Llipya (fig. 2) wore a brown mantle and a cream-coloured sleeveless dress with a brown stripe along the weft selvage (Ceruti 2010, 111; Katterman 2002). This type of mantle was called a *llyclla* (Femenías 2017, 343, following González Holguín 1608). The dress was known as an *aksu,* a large rectangular cloth that was folded and wrapped around the body. The upper points were then crossed in the back, pulled over the shoulders, and fastened with pins (Conklin 1996, 108). To secure the aksu, a belt was placed around the middle, as the pins alone could not hold the weight of the dress. This belt was known as a *mamachumpi* (Reinhard and Ceruti 2005, 20; Phipps *et al.* 2004, 163). Llipya also wore a cloth that covered her head. Reinhard and Ceruti suggests that this may have been a *nañaca* (Reinhard and Ceruti 2005, 20-21).

Awaq (fig. 3) wore a sleeveless brown aksu fastened with a mamachumpi*,* and a grey llyclla with a red stripe around the edge, detailed with black and yellow thread (fig. 4). Like Llipya, she wore a head cloth. A woollen Unku was placed on her shoulder, on top of the outer mantles (fig. 5). It consisted of colour bands and a checkerboard design in

blue, red, and yellow (Ceruti 2003, 266), with the so-called “Inca-key” pattern on it (Reinhard and Ceruti 2010, 134). This tunic is unmistakably a male garment (Femenías 2017, 343).

Not much detail is available about the structure and quality of the garments from mount Llullaillaco, but Phipps mentions that they are considered ‘fine’ textile (Phipps 2004b, 128).

Fig. 1: The mummy of Paqari from mount Llullaillaco. Image by Constanza Ceruti, 2015.

Fig. 2: The mummy of Llipya from mount Llullaillaco. Image by Lisardo Maggipinto on behalf of the Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Sport of the Province of Salta. Via www.intomore.com.

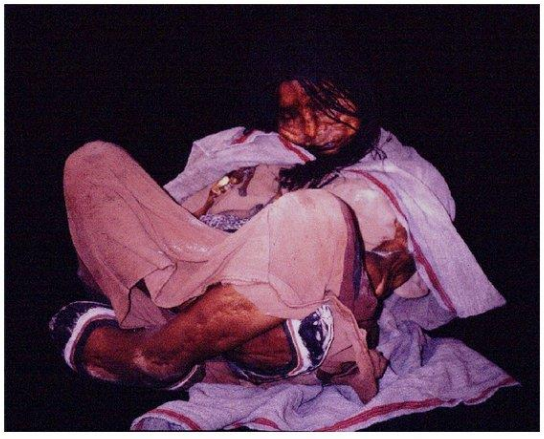

Fig. 3: The mummy of Awaq from mount Llullaillaco. Image by Constanza Ceruti, 2015.

Fig. 4: Detailing of Awaq’s llyclla, showing the red band with black and yellow detailing. Photograph courtesy of Johan Reinhard. Via www.nationalgeographic.com.

Fig. 5: The tunic associated with the funerary bundle of Awaq. Image via Reinhard and Ceruti 2010.

4.1.2 Mount El Plomo

Sinchi (fig. 6) wore a sleeveless unku made of black llama wool, 47 cm in width and 94 cm in length. It was decorated with narrow strips of white llama fur and red fringes at the end. A narrow slit in the centre of the cloth functioned as the opening for the head. The tunic was sewn shut down each side, leaving an opening for each arm (Horne and Kawasaki 1984, 926; Durán Serrano 2005, 339).

Sinchi also wore a yacolla of grey alpaca wool with a red edge (Horne and Kawasaki 1984, 926). According to colonial records, the yacolla can be considered the male variant of the female llyclla (Femenías 2017, 343, following Holguín 1608). This shawl was tied at the chest (Durán Serrano 2005, 339).

Fig. 6: The mummy of Sinchi Mount El Plomo. Image via latinamericanstudies.org.

4.1.3 Mount Ampato

The clothes that Sumaq wore (fig. 7 and fig. 8) were typical for adult Inca women, despite her age of merely 13 to 15 years. She had a finely woven llyclla around her shoulders with distinct Inca design bands and details on the edges. The llyclla had a broad red band on the top and on the bottom, and a central white band, with design bands in between. The designs had red, yellow and black attributes along the selvages (Conklin 1996, 108).

Her aksu consisted of colour bands without patterning. It was 242 cm in total length, but folded to fit her body. It was constructed of three pieces sewn together with two seams that occurred within the central colour area, made with such precision that they were almost invisible. The bottom, upper, and central colour band were of a plum shade. The other colour bands were red, orange, and yellow (Conklin 1996, 108). Both Sumaq's shawl and her dress were fine and weft-patterned (Katterman 2002). She also wore a mamachumpi with waves and dots patterning around the edge (Conklin 1996, 108).

Sumaq wore a head covering, possibly a nañaca, which had disintegrated and exposed her face. The rectangular cloth was pulled down over her head and fastened with the *tupu* pin that was also used to keep her llyclla in place. The head covering consisted of two colours and was constructed and patterned carefully. The high quality of the cloth

suggests that it was part of her ceremonial garments rather than the outer wrapping (Conklin 1996, 107-108).

Fig. 7: The mummy of Sumaq from Mount Amato. Image via latinamericanstudies.org.

Fig. 8: Reconstruction of Sumaq's clothing, showing only the aksu on the left, and the entire set on the right. Painting by Christopher Klein, courtesy of the National Geographic Society. Via Reinhard and Ceruti 2010.

4.2 Production process

Though the obtaining, dying, and spinning of the fibres are recognised as important parts of the process, this research will focus on the weaving process only. For discussion on dyes and spinning technique, see the early study by Rowe (1946) and more recent work by Wouters and Rosarios-Chirinos (1992).

4.2.1 Textile production in the Inca empire

Textile played a fundamental role in the socio-politics of the Inca empire. Almost every person living within the borders of Tawantinsuyu participated in cloth production to some extent (Costin 1998b, 124). The state demanded tribute from the people in the form textile, and provided the raw material as state fibres (Murra 1962, 715-16, following Polo 1916 [1571], 127).

Ancient Andean textile consisted in majority of llama wool in the highlands, and cotton in the lowlands. (Murra 1962, 710). The Inca kings intentionally expanded and encouraged llama herding throughout their reign (Murra 1962, 711), to ensure that there was sufficient fibre to produce the amount of cloth that was required as payment to the state. The raw materials were delivered to households as community fibres within villages that had their own cotton fields or animals, or through trade for the villages that lacked those (Murra 1962, 712, following Polo de Ondegardo 1916 [1571], 66).

It was the task of the women to produce textile for the household, but weaving was not limited to women alone. Various Peruvian mummy bundles of males contained weaving equipment (Stothert 1979, 9). Professional male weavers, called *qompicamayoc,* were usually responsible for the production of the most prestigious textile, together with the wives of administrative officials and acllacuna (Oakland Rodman and Cassman 1995, 34). These textiles were demanded by the Inca to be paid as tribute, and thereafter redistributed, a large quantity going to the army (Costin 1998b, 129).

Inca clothes were not tailored after weaving. Once the weaving was done, they were almost finished completely. This goes for commoner as well as royal garments (Murra 1962, 711). Typical for Inca weaving is how selectively they chose colours, designs, and weaving technology (Phipps 2015, 197).

4.2.2 Coarse and fine cloth

The Spanish chroniclers wrote about the division between *'awasqa* and *qompi* garments. The first was described as a rough cloth made for domestic purposes and worn by commoners and low-ranking soldiers, and the latter as a decorated cloth made of finely spun wool, usually from alpaca or vicuña, and dyed in more brilliant colours. The border between the two categories may have been less rigid than was originally assumed, as not all retrieved 'awasqa were of the same coarseness, and not all qompi of the same fineness (Costin 1998b, 124). Moreover, it has been suggested that there ought to have been more categories of cloth than only this dual classification portrays (Murra 1962, 711).

What we do know, is that qompi was not worn by commoners. In fact, it was exclusively worn by the royal family, or by those who received qompi garments from the Inca king (Rowe 1979, 240). It was the main good used as gifts to reinforce loyalty or create obligation from the king to *curacas*, which were local chiefs (ibid., 240).

According to Rowe, qompi garments were predominantly tapestry woven (Rowe 1946, 242), which means that the warps, the vertical yarns on the loom, are covered by the wefts, which are the discontinuous horizontal yarns. Patterns are created through alternation between the often brilliantly coloured weft yarns, while the warps were usually plain in colour. The result of this technology is called "weft-faced" cloth, as the wefts are responsible for the pattern. This process requires an enormous investment and specific conditions, as opposed to the less elaborate "warp-faced" cloth, where the weft is covered by the warp (Oakland Rodman and Cassman 1995, 33; Katterman 2002).

Tapestry textile was woven on a wide vertical loom of almost two metres in width and no more than 78 centimetres in length, the warps oriented in the shortest direction. Wooden beams functioned as the looms, and attached to this were continuous string heddles that could be removed when the cloth was finished, so that the entire product stayed intact without cutting. This type of loom was used almost exclusively in the Andean highlands (Oakland Rodman and Cassman 1995, 3334).

However, in analysing the records of the chronicler Martín de Murúa, Desrosiers points out that the term qompi went beyond Rowe's definition. She argues, based on Murúa's

chronicle, that qompi rather referred to cloth that was finished on both sides, also 'double-faced'. This includes complementary warp weaves and, when fine, some warp-faced plain-weave cloth and warp-patterned textiles that were previously categorised as *'awasqa* (Desrosiers 1986, 228-29). Some of these techniques will be discussed later on.

What the term qompi in contrast to *'*awasqa entailed precisely remains ambiguous. To prevent confusion while staying within the limits of this thesis, qompi will refer to cloth that was double-faced, finely spun, and required extensive labour investment, leaning towards Desrosiers' definition.

4.2.3 Unku

The two male individuals Paqari and Sinchi both wore tunics, and one accompanied Awaq. These tunics are the most frequently occurring type of qompi garments within the archaeological record. They were tapestry woven (Costin 1998b, 125), and made exclusively by the acllacuna and qompicamayoc (Garcilaso 2006 [1609], 31; 137).

The weavers of such garments were under strict control of the Inca state (Femenías 2013, 165). This can be derived from "the high degree of standardisation in the format, metric attributes, manufacturing techniques, and formal design layout", as documented by Anne and John Rowe (Rowe 1979; Costin 1998b, 125, following Rowe 1978). Artistic motifs on these tunics are characterised by stylistic unity and technical consistency, portraying almost exclusively abstract design (Femenías 2013, 165).

Unku tunics were clearly labour-intensive garment to produce, which is what made them so valuable (Costin 1998b, 125). Much of the weaving was probably done with a needle (Oakland Rodman and Cassman 1995, 34). One centimetre could consist of eighty weft yarns in the production of some the finest tunics (ibid., 34).

The tunics were produced in their entirety on the wide loom described above, then folded once, so that the sides could be sewn closed (Oakland Rodman and Cassman 1995, 34). Notable is that these highland tunics were worn with the warps oriented horizontally, while they were oriented vertically on the loom. This contrasts with the more easily constructed coastal examples, which are made with a lengthwise warp. What makes this orientation more challenging is the width of the warp being beyond the reach of the weaver. It would require two weavers to make the process more

comfortable. Besides, the short warp length complicates the insertion of the weft, as shorter yarns are harder to separate.

4.2.4 Aksu and mamachumpi

The aksu was the dress worn by Inca women from all classes (Katterman 2002). Women from higher classes wore qompi aksus, which were often complementary weft- or warp woven (Femenías 2017, 344). Tapestry woven aksus occur, but are rare (ibid., 344).

Complementary weaving is built upon what Desrosiers calls the complementarity principle. This means that the threads are paired up on the loom. If a cloth is warp-patterned, the warps would form conceptual pairs, each thread within that pair of a different colour. During the weaving process, only one of each must be picked for a single weft. This results in the design showing up on each side, but in the opposite colour (Desrosiers 2014, 2).

The aksu that Sumaq from mount Ampato wore at the time of sacrificed was unmistakably a qompi garment, a rare tapestry woven dress (Katterman 2002). There is, however, no detailed study on the aksu of Llipya and Awaq from mount Llullaillaco. The best clue to how they were made, would be Phipp's claim that they were considered 'fine' textile (Phipps 2004b, 128). This most likely indicates that the dresses were complementary woven, considering the point above, but tapestry-woven is not out of the question.

Because of the large size of the aksu, it was woven in separate panels. These were thereafter sewn together. There were two types of aksus: large squares that were worn unfolded, and rectangles with a folded edge worn just below the armpits (Tiballi 2010, 270-71, following Rowe 1995-96, 12). The square aksus were usually made of two panels, whereas the rectangular ones were more likely to consist of three panels. The square one would be used for everyday dress, while the rectangular had a ceremonial function. This is based on the association between the folded rectangular style and religious offerings, including Capacocha sacrifice and sacrificial miniatures from offering assemblages, whereas most dresses recovered from burials and other archaeological context were of the square type, confirming the description in many Spanish chronicles of the usual women's dress as square (ibid., 271, following Rowe 1995-96, 16).

Sumaq's aksu was of the rectangular, folded type that consisted of three separately woven panels (Conklin 1996, 108). Again, this kind of information lacks for both girls from Llullaillaco. Considering Rowe's observation, their dresses were probably also rectangular and folded. This is supported by the statement of Reinhard and Ceruti that the female adolescent from Ampato and the two female individuals from Llullaillaco were dressed in the same fashion (Reinhard and Ceruti 2010, 111).

Characteristics of mamchumpi belts are their short and broad shape, warp-faced zig-zag and dot patterns, thicker weft-yarns than warp-yarns, and they are secured with braided cords at both end. This definition by Rowe is based upon highland samples (Tiballi 2010, 281-82, following Rowe 1995-96, 23). Sumaq's belt has this zig-zag and dot design on it, which can be recognised as distinctively Inca (Conklin 1996, 108; Tiballi 2010, 282, following Baker 2001, 86-87). It was complementary-warp patterned (Conklin 1996, 108). Awaq wore a similar qompi belt, made in the same colours but portraying a slightly different design, yet equally elaborate (Reinhard and Ceruti 2010, 114: figure 5.14a and b).

4.2.5 Nañaca

Information on these headcloths is limited. Only a few examples are known from the archaeological record, so the three examples that were recovered from mount Llullaillaco and mount Ampato are significant finds. These garments were worn only by women of high status (Reinhard and Ceruti 2010, 111, following Rowe 1997, 24). Whether these head coverings are indeed nañacas is not confirmed, but the quality of the weave suggests so. All three examples had finely constructed two colour warp and weft selvages (Reinhard and Ceruti 2005, 20-21; Conklin 1996, 107-108). It appears as though the nañacas were standardised, as those from Llullaillaco had the same two-colour design of light and dark brown as the one from Ampato (Reinhard and Ceruti 2010, 111-112). Though, the number of recovered headcloths is yet too small to make conclusions.

Conklin states that the striping and the warps of the headcloth were oriented vertically, aligned with her body (Conklin 1996, 107). Though not stated explicitly, this leads me to conclude that Sumaq's headcover was a complementary warp weave or warp-faced, as the warps were responsible for the colour bands. Considering their association with female nobility and the similarities between the Llullaillaco and Ampato colour scheme, I

deem it likely that the ñañacas from Llullaillaco were either complementary warp patterned, or fine warp-faced two-colour weave as well. Weft-faced weaving occurred mainly in male garments, so that would in this case be less probable (Femenías 2017, 345).

4.2.6 Llyclla and yacolla

The llyclla, the shawl worn by Inca females, was a relatively small piece of cloth, ranging from 70–80 cm in width and 90–120 cm in length, which allowed for the llyclla to be woven in a single panel (Tiballi 2010, 276, following Rowe 1995-96, 17-18).

The llyclla of Sumaq was a finely woven qompi garment, weft-faced and decorated with weft-patterned design bands (Katterman 2002). For Llipya and Awaq, details on the weaving technique of their llycllas are not available, but considering Phipps' comment on the garments qualifying as 'fine', we can assume they were of qompi quality (Phipps 2004b, 128). Following Desrosiers' definition, they could be finely warp-faced, complementary-warp woven, or even weft-faced, though the last option is less likely.

The yacolla was constructed in the same way as the llyclla, but it was tied in the front, instead of pinned (Julien 2000, 60). They are often represented on pottery and on illustrations of Spanish record (Tiballi 2010, 275, following Guamán Poma de Ayala 1980). In all of these depictions, they are represented as plain, single-colour fabrics, whereas the female variant of the mantles was often depicted as multi-coloured, with striped edge binding (Tiballi 2010, 275, following Rowe 1995-96, 14). The extant yacollas are weft-faced with a plain weave, either white or dark of colour with decorated edges (Tiballi 2010, 275, following Rowe 1995-96).

The yacollas that Paqari and Sinchi wore, are not described in much detail. Images show the mantles are of the plain, undecorated type as depicted by Guamán Poma de Ayala, but both consist of two main colours instead of one. Considering the above mentioned statement by Rowe (1995-96), it is likely that they were weft-faced, meaning tapestry woven, and thus of high qompi quality.

4.3 How was the aesthetic tradition of ceremonial Inca textile interpreted by scholars over the years?

4.3.1 1940s – 1970s

John Rowe was one of the earliest scholars to write about Inca textile. In his book on Inca garments (1946), he writes predominantly in descriptive terms. He goes into what the garments looked like and from what material they were made, but he does not make interpretations regarding the meaning of the garments. He touches upon the production process, mainly the dying and spinning of the wool, and how warp-patterning was achieved. The distinction between 'awasqa and warp-patterned cloth on the one hand, and qompi and tapestry-woven cloth on the other hand was established by Rowe, derived from Cobo's records (Rowe 1946, 240-42, following Cobo 1653).

In 1962, John Murra wrote about the function of cloth in the Inca empire. Much of the information provided in this work relies on early Spanish documents, such as notions on the division in status, gender, and labour. There would be no status differences in the tailoring of the clothes, but only in the quality of the cloth itself and ornamentation. He also acknowledges the role for textile as primary ceremonial good and as the preferred gift to provide "otherwise unavailable insights to the reciprocal relations of kinfolk." Going into what cloth represents, Murra places emphasis on its function in rites of passage, initiation, and death, describing the general customs among the Inca and how textile was applied to them (Murra 1962, 711-12).

4.3.2 Late 70s - 2000

Some notions that became important with the development of postmodernism are prevalent in work by Blenda Femenías. In her book published in 1987, the importance of individual artists is stressed, and their influence on new developments and change in material culture. Similar ideas are discussed in Costin (1998a and 1998b). The necessity of an interdisciplinary approach where textile studies, art history, and ethnology meet, with the objective to achieve an accurate image of Andean textiles and artists behind them, is also emphasised in her work (Femenías 1987, 2).

We also see the notion of the individual artist return in Franquemont's statement "The true equipment of Andean weaving is the mental agility of the weavers themselves, who find in the simple looms no mechanical limits to their creative vision." (Franquemont 1996, 283-84). The technology involved with looms in the Andes indicates that textile served not only as a medium that conveyed status, but also as a model by which the Andean peoples conceptualised fundamental ideas, such as mathematics and philosophy (ibid., 283-84).

In Franquemont's discussion on Andean dual thinking, the positive-negative contrasts that ancient textile seems to depend on is emphasised. Complementary warp weaving, the technique that creates the pattern on both sides as with the mamachumpis of Awaq and Sumaq, symbolises the importance of bipartite organisation in Andean thought. Society was divided into two social groups during the Inca reign, and according to Franquemont, there is evidence that the Inca perceived time as a reciprocal flow from one direction back to the other (Franquemont 1996, 286).

In a later work on this matter, Desrosiers remarks on this same link between symmetry in textiles and in society: "This is one expression among others of the reciprocity principle that animates many Andean political, economic, social and religious activities - a young girl learning this method of weaving intuitively learns at the same time how many aspects of her community life are structured." (Desrosiers 2014, 2).

The same theme reoccurs in the empire itself: Tawantinsuyu is the Quechua term for "the four regions" (McEwan 2008, 221). During the Capacocha ceremony, ritual specialists would be called to Cuzco from all four parts of the empire (Reinhard and Ceruti 2010, 122). The notion of repetition, reverse, equal numbers, symmetry, and division was clearly embedded into Inca thinking and governing, and manifested itself in the weaving techniques of sacrificial textile.

An observation by Heather Lechtman stands out on the topic of the motifs on Andean textile. While in many parts of the world, designs are added to an already finished cloth using suprastructural techniques, the Andean textile tradition exhibits a commitment to incorporating the design into the structure itself (Lechtman 1993, 8). The motifs are in this way part of the woven cloth, and cannot be removed without unravelling the weave. Decoration is achieved through elaborate loom yarn manipulation, as opposed

to having the completed cloth act as a support for the motifs that are added on top. This appreciation for creating design through the structure is a fundamental principle of aesthetical value to the Andean material tradition, in which the essence is incorporated into the core of the object, rather than added on superficial level (ibid., 6-7). “The essence of the object, that which appears superficially to be true of it, must also be inside it. In fact, the object is not that object unless it contains within it the essential quality” (ibid., 7).

This principle of essence on superficial level as well as inside of the object occurs clearly in the Capacocha garments. Sumaq’s llyclla (fig. 9) has the decoration embedded into the structure of the textile. The same goes for the tunic that was found with Awaq’s bundle, the mamachumpis of the three female individuals, and the selvages on Awaq’s llyclla.

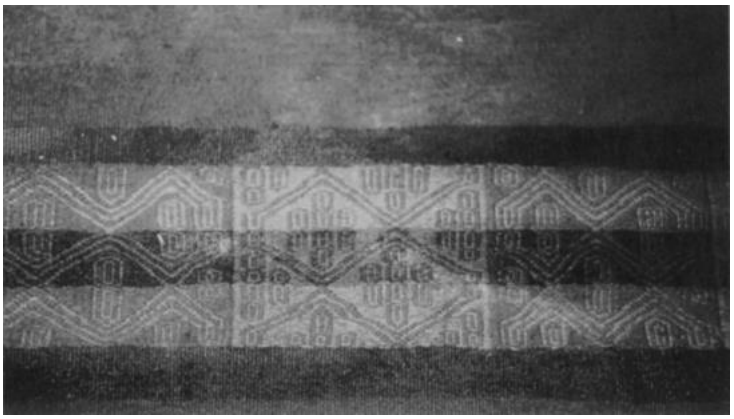

Fig. 9: The pattern on Sumaq’s mantle. Image by W. J. Conklin 1997.

The textile assemblage from Sumaq’s funerary bundle was investigated thoroughly by William Conklin shortly after her discovery in 1995. In his paper on the structure as meaning in Andean textiles (1997), the intricate designs on Sumaq’s llyclla (fig. 9) are discussed. What he calls the over-and-under pattern would represent textile structure, a cross-section of woven cloth, and symbolises action and continuity. This design had been in use throughout the Andean region for around two thousand years. “its multi-cultural longevity speaks of its significance but also speaks generally of the importance of textile structure as a conveyer of meaning.” (Conklin 1997, 120).

4.3.3 Since 2000

In Phipps’ work from 2004, an aksu that was not associated with Capacocha context, but very similar to Sumaq’s dress, is discussed (Phipps 2004b, 130). It has the same red,

yellow, and dark purple colour bands. According to Phipps, the cloistered women that Awaq and Sumaq most likely belonged to, were divided into four groups according to status, age and beauty. Each group was associated with certain colours, and this particular colour group was associated with the *wairuru*, meaning the ones that were to dedicate their lives to the Inca king. The term expressed relative beauty, according to Bertonio's accounts from 1612 (ibid., 130). For Sumaq from mount Ampato, this account would mean that she, too, was dedicated to the Inca king, whereas the Awaq was possibly part of a different acllacuna category, as her clothes were brown and grey (Reinhard and Ceruti 2010, 111).

The parallel between the Capacocha children themselves and the textiles, woven with such precision and skill that both sides and even the embroidered edges were completely finished and unblemished, should also be addressed: "In this way cumbi [qompi] garments were conceptually similar to the children chosen for the Capacocha ritual, who were described in early colonial-period literature as being *sin mancha*: without "stains" or faults (Phipps 2009a, 24).

The following addition to the theory on the systematic design on Inca textile was developed by Andrea Heckman in 2005. There is a similar pattern in the organisation of Inca society, where the people were allocated into work units and goods were distributed over warehouses through strict administration, all recorded into the information storage system known as *quipu*. This ties into the reasoning of Franquemont and Desrosiers, mentioned earlier in this chapter. According to Heckman, Inca textiles reflect this state organisation of people, goods, infrastructure, and architecture in the geometric design units that portray duality, symmetry, inversions, specific colour arrangements, and the intentional placement of units, such as the design Sumaq's mantle (fig. 9). "Could they have been recreating a sense of the order of the universe in their artistic textile motifs, the finest of which accompanied every important event?" (Heckman 2005, 106).

A similar interpretation arises in Jeffey Splitstoser's dissertation on cloth, agency, and worldview at a Paracas site in Peru. The nature of weaving and how it involves the repetitive back-and-forth motion that connects the production of textile with cyclical time and the duality of the cosmos is emphasised in his discussion. "Textiles are mediating agents and are a perfect medium in which to express cosmological ideas,

especially those regarding dualism and animism that are so deeply rooted in Andean thought." "They literally wove the structure of their universe." (Splitstoser 2009, 480).

5. Technology and style

5.1 Style within structure

According to Lechtman, technology in itself has style, in the sense that it cannot be understood without its context, and that aesthetical themes may be expressions of cultural ideals and ideological concerns within that society. She also emphasises the active social role of technological style, the way in which it can express ideology and influence basic ideological concepts within a society (Hegmon 1998, 267, following Lechtman 1993, 273).

In Andean textiles, the appreciation for incorporation of the design into the structure of the cloth itself is pronounced, as demonstrated by Lechtman (1993, 1-8), discussed in the previous subchapter. The Inca chose to dress these children in garments that incorporated the pattern into the weave itself. In this sense, the essence of the motifs and their meaning is entirely embedded into the cloth. The meaning is inextricable from the structure, one can call it an interwovenness of the physical aspect and the symbolic aspect of the textile. This principle was fundamental in sacrificial cloth, the Inca offered textile to their gods that had the essence within itself (see Lechtman 1993, 1-8).

This notion of having the essence on the inside rather than added onto the surface opens a possible parallel. As discussed in chapter 2, Capacocha victims were described by the chroniclers as being children of nobility (Cobo 1983 [1653]). This is not definitive, but in multiple Capacocha cases there is supporting evidence. The children were well-fed, as shown in the thick layer of fatty tissue, and the absence of Harris-lines in the bones of all three Llullaillaco individuals and Sinchi from El Plomo (Reihard and Ceruti 2010, 104, following Previgliano 2001; Horne and Kawasaki 1984, 926). If the observations of the chroniclers were correct, the high status of the children would be, so to speak, in their blood, being born into an elite family. The children were not only dressed in clothes of nobility, the nobility was within themselves as well as on the surface.

Another prominent feature of the Capacocha clothing style the completeness of the garments, as they are finished on both sides. This can be said for sure about the tunics

of Paqari, Sinchi and Awaq, as they were tapestry woven. The dresses and headcloths of Awaq and Llipya, which were most likely complementary-warp woven, also demonstrate this. As Phipps (2009) pointed out, they were in this way ‘flawless’, as were the children wearing them (Reinhard and Ceruti 2010, 106), which appears to be another parallel between the garments and the individuals wearing them. The completeness of the structure, where all threads and edges are covered and the textile represents a whole, is a stylistic expression of the technology.

5.2 Structure within style

The tunics that the male individuals Paqari and Sinchi wore, and the one that was added to the bundle of Awaq, symbolised political power and wealth (Femenías 2013; Oakland Rodman and Cassman 1995). Their value was found in the time and effort that went into the construction of these garments (Oakland Rodman and Cassman 1995, 33). This was already the case among pre-Inca civilisations (Femenías 2013, 164). Such tunics were essential to Inca diplomacy, as they were given to local elites by the Inca king (Phipps 2009, 240). Guaman Poma wrote about the creation myths that described how the first people were already dressed when they entered the world, wearing pieces that determined their social status, among other indicators of identity. This is how central textile was to Inca cosmology (Costin 1998b, 123, following Guaman Poma de Ayala 1980 [1615]).

The repeating pattern of the Inca key that is depicted all over the tunic of Awaq was continuous over two millennia (Conklin 1997, 129). The pattern on the mantle and belt of Sumaq is a variation of this same design. According to Conklin, it represents the under-and-over dynamics of weaving (ibid., 129), as stated in chapter 4.3. However, it cannot be assumed that this design represented weaving in every case throughout the course of two thousand years, especially considering the material on which it is depicted is not limited to textile. Therefore, as concluded by Conklin, the design is also a reference to an underlying larger meaning: “something concerning the nature of continuous interactive action - something to do with an Andean sense of over-and-under-ness which is held in common by all of the references.” (ibid., 129).

5.3 The artisans

It is not uncommon for the makers of cultural objects to be portrayed as anonymous workers within the system that produce according to commands of elite and consumers demand (Costin 1998a, 4). In reality, the crafter is an individual with a status and a place in society, and eventually the person who gives meaning to an object through the process of production (Costin 1998a, 6).

This point is addressed in the volume *Craft and Social Identity* edited by Costin and Wright. Even in controlled industries, such as textile production in the Inca empire, artisans can leave their unique fingerprints on the material in subtle ways: "They must share systems of symbolic codes and meanings with their sponsors and consumers in order to effectively produce the desired goods. Furthermore, while there is no question but that the artisan needs to get it right from the consumers point of view, it is also likely that within socially and politically defined boundaries, artisans are able to appropriate, translate, and perhaps even transform the message that is their medium." (Costin and Wright 1998a, 5).

For this reason, we must understand the background of the crafters before we can understand the textile. They create not only objects; they create expressions of ideology and values through the production process. This process itself is infused with perceptions and understandings of the world and the cosmos, wielded by individuals with a certain social identity.

The concept of camayo was described as "the ability of the artisan to breathe spirit into the object, to make it functional and useful" (Costin 1998a, 9, following Lechtman 1993). This would mean that the qompicamayoc, the highly skilled craftsmen, animated to the fine clothes that they wove. In a sense, they embodied the bridge between the technology and the meaning of the object. When producing a cultural object from natural material, the qompicamayoc wielded culturally specific preferences and choices that added style to the structure of the object, and provided the cloth with its value within that cultural context.

In the case of the acllacuna, their ethnicity was downplayed once they entered the acllahuasi, as they became women of the state. What remained intact was their social rank. Historic records on the topic always include elite status as an important criterium for the chosen women, along with beauty, age, and virginity. Their high social status infused the textiles that they wove with its prestige (Costin 1998b, 135).

The contrast between the qompicamayoc and the acllacuna is notable: The first were married adult men, the latter were virginal young girls (Costin 1998b, 134). Ethnicity was reinforced in the qompicamayoc and diminished in the acllacuna (ibid., 134). The qompicamayoc worked in traditional social groups and were seen as commoners, whereas the acllacuna were removed from their communities of origin and became metaphorical wives of the Sun and the Inca, which gave them their honoured status (ibid., 134).

Costin demonstrates these oppositional qualities in terms of social identity (Costin 1998b, 134-136). It is reminiscent of the complementary weaving technique, as discussed in chapter 4.2, where the design shows on both sides completely finished in opposite colour, as for example the headcloths of all three female individuals discussed in this paper. Even the identity of the artisans feeds back to this notion of parallelism, contrast, and complementarity.

Surette points out that Costin may be generalising in her argument that qompicamayoc were only men. Based on ethnographic research, she states that the entire household of the crafter would be involved in the production process. Surette does not provide counter-arguments for the other aspects, however, nor does she provide solid evidence to reject Costin's theory completely (Surette 2008, 120-24). While I agree with her that Costin's division between qompicamayoc and acllacuna may be oversimplified, I still consider it useful, as most differences in social identity between the two categories aside from gender are evident.

The qompicamayoc were most likely responsible for the clothing of the army, whereas the acllacuna primarily wove garments that would be distributed among nobles, and for ceremonial purposes (Costin 1998b, 137, following Benson 1991, 595 and Stone-Miller 1992, 172; Phipps 2013, 50). Considering the type of clothing that the children were

wearing, as discussed in chapter 4.1, these would then most likely be woven by the acllacuna.

Since it is highly likely that they were sacrificed acllas, Awaq and Sumaq probably had a different relationship to the textiles than the other children, themselves being artisans of such garments. They understood the meaning of symbols, and had been given the access and power to manipulate these “esoteric designs” (Surette 2008, 122). Though they were young, and weaving of high prestige items was generally the task of adult women (see Surette 2008, 25-28 for labour division tables), the acllacuna already learned to weave at the age of 4 (Guamán Poma 1980 [1615], 272-275). The two girls were surely familiar with the symbolism that their garments embodied.

6. Conclusion

Capacocha textiles are often investigated on technology and weaving structure, or on the symbolic meaning that they carried. Rarely are these different research angles combined. This dichotomy neglects the relationship between the two.

In this thesis research, I first established what types of clothes the five sacrificed individuals were wearing. Then, the technology involved in the production of such ceremonial garments was discussed. Interpretations of symbolic meaning by various scholars were thereafter summarised. Finally, the information gathered was combined into one chapter that covered the link between the production process and the symbolic value. In conclusion, technology meets style in the structure of the Capacocha garments, in the design, and in the artisans of the garments.

In the structure, we see a sense of completeness, without blemishes, as were the children that were selected for these sacrifices. In the textiles, this is expressed in how the cloth is completely finished, the edges are covered and there are no loose threads, resulting in a double-sided garment. Secondly, the patterns are embedded into the weave itself, and in that sense also part of the structure. This appreciation for having essence at the core of the material, rather than added on the outer surface, is strongly pronounced in Inca aesthetical preferences. This parallels with the high status of the children, chosen from elite families, as derived from ethnohistorical and bioarchaeological evidence. Not only did they have these markers of nobility on the surface in the form of high quality garments and ornaments, it was running through their veins as well.

In the design we see the intentional placement, repetition, inversion, and symmetry that is also prevalent in Inca society and worldview. Designs that show a repeating under-and-over pattern as to depict the weaving structure of the textile itself had been present in Andean symbology for millennia. The concept of complementarity was clearly respected and represented in various aspects of Inca worldview and how they arranged society.

The artisans embodied the transmission of the symbolic value into the material through the production process. The honoured status of the acllacuna seeped into the garments that they wove, and became part of these prestigious goods. The qompicamayoc, as the term literally translates, breathed spirit into the textiles, and gave them life. These two groups of specialised weavers were able to infuse the textile with meaning and value, and were, in that sense, active contributors to the messages that were woven into these garments, thus having a central role in the Capacocha ceremonies.

The potential of textile to provide information about what past societies deemed important and, essentially, how they perceived the world around them, deserves more attention within the field of archaeology. Cloth, as a cultural good, carries messages about identity and ideology; this goes for Andean societies, as well as beyond. To obtain an all-encompassing understanding of past civilisations, the role of textile in these civilisations should be considered equal to materials that are more prevalent in the archaeological record, whether due to differences in post-depositional preservation or because of archaeological bias. I hope this thesis has contributed to demonstrating that potential.

We have seen how the Capacocha clothing related to social status, to worldview, and to societal structure. New questions arise, where use-wear analysis could provide further answers. Whether the clothes were indeed made and worn specially for the ceremony can be determined through such methods, which would allow for further interpretation on the role of textile in Inca ceremonies. Furthermore, the largest restriction regarding the topic is posed by the limited size of the corpus. Obtaining more data through further excavation and survey can result in more concrete answers regarding Inca clothing in general, and Capacocha textiles specifically.

Abstract

Textile had a major ceremonial role in the Inca empire, and is therefore often researched in Andean archaeology. However, the focus is often on either the production process of the cloth, or on the symbolic value. These approaches are rarely combined. This research focusses on the clothing of five Inca Capacocha mummies: The three individuals from mount Llullaillaco, the young boy from mount El Plomo, and the female adolescent from mount Ampato. The connection between the technology and the meaning of the woven garments is investigated through literature analysis.

Technology and style meet in the structure of the textile, as the design is embedded in and part of the woven fabric itself, and the completeness of the structure can be considered a stylistic feature. The two aspects also meet in what the designs depict. These are abstract patterns that represent symmetry, repetitions, contrasts and inversions, all concepts that are found back in Inca socio-political systems, ideology, and the actual structure of woven cloth. Finally, technology meets symbology in the artisans, the people who infuse the raw material with meaning through the process of production. Their social identity and their investment of labour and time gives the textile its value and prestigious status.

Treating textile as the unity that it is, brings us one step closer to understanding the people involved in the production and consumption of these goods. When approached holistically, textile holds the potential to inform us on culturally specific ideas, preferences, and values within a society, through the messages that it carries within both its structure and symbols.

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Figures