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Structure, Design, and Gender in Inka Textiles

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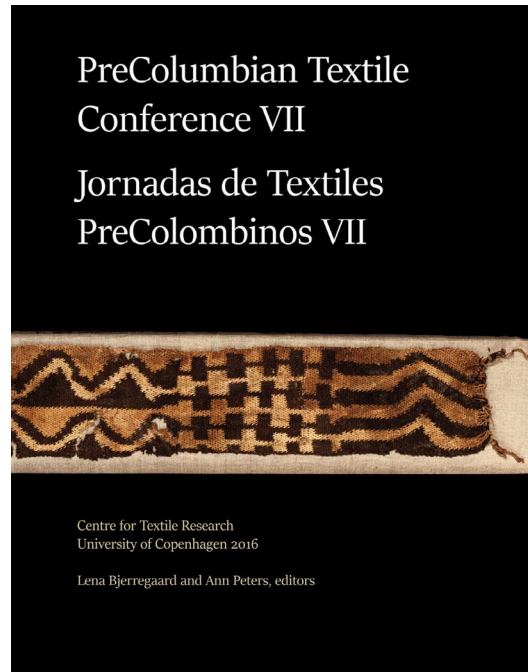
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Structure, Design, and Gender in Inka Textiles

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Abstract

This paper focuses on Inka textiles that apparently were made specifically for or were used by males or females in pre-Columbian times. In particular, I address relationships among tapestry-woven objects (especially those featuring *tukapus*, rectangular design blocks) and those created using warp-patterned structures, centering on garments and personal accessories. While there are fewer extant full-size garments associated with females than with males, the availability of a large number of miniature female-associated garments both facilitates and complicates gendered comparisons.

Estructura, Diseño y Género en Inka Textiles

Resumen

Este ensayo se enfoca en textiles Inka que aparentemente fueron creados o utilizados específicamente por personas masculinas o femeninas en tiempos pre-columbinos. En particular, se abarcan las relaciones entre los objetos tejidos en tapiz (especialmente los que incluyen *tukapus*, bloques rectangulares de diseños) creados con estructuras en patrones de urdimbre, en particular vestimenta y accesorios personales. Aunque existen menos ejemplares de prendas al tamaño pleno asociados con individuos femeninos que los asociados con individuos masculinos, la existencia de gran número de prendas en miniatura con asociaciones femeninas tanto facilita como complica las comparaciones de género.

Introduction

In this essay, I assess current research into Inka textiles and their gendered dimensions, and offer possible future directions for their continued study. Especially through considering extant Inka garments, I attend to the ways in which relationships among textile structure and design articulate conceptually and practically with gender. I begin by considering salient features of Inka culture and society in terms of how we know what we know about the Inkas and their garments. These features include gendered aspects of Inka society that are conveyed in representations of the body. A closer look at key points about Inka textiles includes characteristic woven structures, design motifs, and layouts that connect significantly to garments used by male and female persons. Ruminating on the ways in which the existing research has been shaped by the character of the material record, I consider possibilities for continued explorations of Inka dress and gender.

Central to my exploration are Inka textiles that apparently were specifically made for or used by males or females in pre-Columbian times. In particular, I address relationships among tapestry-woven objects (especially those featuring *toqapus*, rectangular design blocks) and those created using warp-patterned structures. My analysis includes both garments and personal accessories. While there are fewer extant full-size garments associated with females than with males, there are a large number of small-scale, or “miniature” female-associated garments; that availability both facilitates and complicates gendered comparisons.

Representations of the Inkas

Our understanding of the Inkas is strongly influenced by the character of the available evidence, which is connected to several unique features of preservation and destruction. In the 1530s, the Inkas controlled a large extent of western South America; in terms of contemporary nations, the

territory stretched from Colombia into Chile and inland as far as central Bolivia (Morris and von Hagen, eds. 1993; Matos and Barreiro, eds. 2015; Shimada, ed. 2015). When the Spanish invaded, the Inkas' political control of this large expanse was far from stable; this situation created several paradoxes related to the preservation and destruction of society overall, and of the material record in particular. The character of the evidence that remains is heavily imbued with the worldviews of both the European colonizers and the diverse Andean people who became the colonized.

Even to record terms for objects in Quechua—the language of the Inkas—and to provide Spanish language equivalents was a daunting task. Among the earliest sources that offer information about garments and textiles is Diego González Holguín's 1608 Quechua-Spanish dictionary, first published 66 years after the Spanish invasion (González Holguín 1608, 1952, 2007; Yapita, Arnold, and Aquilar 2007). In the early seventeenth century as well, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala produced a letter to the king of Spain in which he documented colonial abuses and offered his views of pre-Columbian as well as contemporary Andean societies (Guaman Poma 1980 [1615], 1987, 2001). One point that Guaman Poma makes is that the conquistadors destroyed persons and objects illegitimately because they did so outside the context of war as Andean people understood it. For example, he accuses Francisco Pizarro personally of burning alive some of Guaman Poma's own ancestors (2001: 396[398]; on "ancestor/mummy," Quechua *mallqui*, see MacCormack 1991: 406 and Salomon 1991: 20). Such willful destruction of human beings and their property contributes to the paradoxes to which I refer. In the 1530s, the Inkas were the currently dominant Andean society; logically, we would expect more Inka textiles to survive than those of any other pre-Columbian group. That is not the case. In Inka mortuary practices, bodies were often preserved, kept above ground, and periodically removed for rites of veneration. Other, earlier societies, such as Paracas, had buried the dead deep in the ground, where they were not disturbed for many centuries, and the textiles on and around the bodies were both plentiful and well preserved (see, among others, Paul 1991).

The Inkas themselves burned textiles as sacrificial offerings, according to several Spanish chroniclers (Murra 1989: 281). From 1532 on, the Spanish destroyed thousands of Inka garments incidentally while burning the living and dead persons who were wearing them and in the process of looting tombs for gold and silver objects (MacCormack 1991, Ramos 2010, Salomon and Urioste 1991). They also burned many warehouses in which cloth was stockpiled at strategic points throughout the empire, but the Inkas themselves destroyed warehouses filled with their cloth to keep textiles

and other precious goods out of Spanish hands during the wars of conquest (Murra 1989: 288).

Today few of the surviving Inka textiles that inhabit museums and collections come from archaeological contexts, so establishing provenance is generally impossible. Within the existing material record, technical specificity provides the most accurate means of identifying objects as Inka. The technical and stylistic evidence that the textiles themselves provide has been vital, therefore, in ascertaining their cultural affiliation: when structure and style are standardized, even small variants can be telling and those idiosyncrasies can suggest local or regional specificities (A. Rowe 1978, 1992; J. Rowe 1979).

In addition to entombing ancestors in stone structures, the Inkas also buried human bodies at very high altitudes on snow-capped peaks. A few examples had been known since the mid-twentieth century, such as Cerro El Plomo in northern Chile (Mostny 1957, von Hagen 1993). In recent years an increasing number of such burials have come to light, notably in southern Peru and in Argentina. Many of them have been excavated archaeologically, such as at Llullaillaco, Salta, Argentina (Beorchia 1975, Ceruti 2003). Taken together, these finds have substantially added to the corpus of provenanced textiles as well as provided examples of additional variants of the Inka repertoire, such as full-size and tiny garments, many now in the Museo de Arqueología de la Alta Montaña, Salta, Argentina (Abal 2010; <http://www.maam.gob.ar/index1.php>; <http://mariastenzel.photoshelter.com/image/I0000.KspEm7bBjE>).

Certain characteristics of Inka art contribute to even as they limit our ability to understand both Inka garments as specific types of textiles and the bodies that the garments cover and adorn. Realistic representational art tends to be the exception rather than the norm. Stylistic regularities in the depiction of human forms do not effectively encourage the visualization of how Inka garments looked as *garments*—how they were reshaped and transformed while people were wearing them and after being removed, as the bodies within them affected the fibers' memory.

Inka full-size, three-dimensional sculptures of human forms, which sixteenth-century Spanish chroniclers mention seeing displayed in Inka buildings, do not survive (MacCormack 1991: 258). The 3D sculptures that remain are metal figurines of nude males and females, ranging from about two to six inches high, such as those in the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections, Harvard University (PC.B.474, <http://www.doaks.org/resources/bliss-tyler-correspondence/art/pc/PC-B-474.jpg/view>) and the National Museum of the American Indian (5/4120, <http://nmai.si.edu/inkaroad/inkauniverse/cusco/cusco-experience.html>). Similar, relief-carved thorny oyster (*Spondylus*

princeps; Quechua *mullu*) shell figurines also exist. Often they were associated with the high-altitude burials, such as the figurines in the Museo de Arqueología de la Alta Montaña, (<http://www.maam.gob.ar/index1.php#>). In addition to the garments identifiable as Inka that were preserved on frozen human bodies in the burials, tiny garments made were made for the figurines. The more recently discovered burials often contained numerous figurines, fully dressed in clothes identical or similar to those of the humans they accompany. Among the figurines known previously, dressed figurines had been the exception as many of them had survived nude, with the surviving garments scattered in many collections and difficult to identify. Numerous aspects of the figurines have increasingly drawn the attention of scholars (see, especially, Abal 2003, 2010; Dransart 1995; Martínez 2007; McEwan n.d. [2016]; Phipps 2004; and A.P. Rowe 1997).

Along with the finite amount of extant material, the character of Inka art severely limits our understanding of the repertoire of pre-Columbian Inka garments and the ways in which they were worn. Our thinking, therefore, is disproportionately influenced by the colonial record. The chronicle of Martín de Murúa (1616, 1987) contains watercolor illustrations of Inkas, including several of the supreme or Sapa Inka and of the Coya, his female counterpart. The sixth Inka, Inca Roca, and his young son, Guaman Capac Inca, are both depicted wearing patterned tunics and large mantles in the Murúa manuscript; see also Guaman Poma (2001: 103[103]). Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, whose manuscript contains almost 400 images, is the most prolific and most widely cited colonial artist who depicts Inka attire (Guaman Poma 1980[1615], 1987, 2001). While he most likely did see garments that were produced before 1532, when the Spanish arrived in Peru, he was probably born about the same time (Adorno 1980) so many of his impressions are of post-contact production. He provides individual depictions of all 12 Inkas and Coyas who ruled the empire through just after the Spanish invasion (2001: 86[86]-143[143]). The eighth Coya, Mama Yunto Cayan, wears an elaborate ensemble of dress and mantle; the two small females flanking her wear similar but less ornate garments (2001:134[134]-135[135]). Many Guaman Poma drawings show design features that resemble but do not exactly match those on extant textiles.

Inka Garments and Their Gendered Features

The colonial illustrations, therefore, complicate rather than expand our knowledge of pre-Columbian gendered patterns of dress. It is the objects themselves that can provide reliable evidence. Overall, that evidence indicates that in the Andes before Europeans arrived, there were clear distinctions between male and female dress although some garments were

similar. The mantles worn by people of both genders are all large rectangles; those worn by males and females usually differ in size, proportions, and designs, and sometimes in woven structure. In Quechua, the male's mantle was called *yakolla* and the female's version, *lliklla* (González Holguín 1608).

The tunic, it seems, was exclusively a male garment and an important one (see discussion in Femenías 2013b). The basic rectangular tunic (*unku*) was generally sleeveless as are all the known Inka examples. Like most other pre-Columbian garments, it was not tailored to fit the human body but loosely surrounded the body and obscured its contours. In pioneering works, John Howland Rowe and Ann Pollard Rowe detail the stylistic unity and standardized set of design and structural options that generally characterize Inka textiles. The Inka tunic type shows remarkable technical consistency, from tapestry weave to embroidered edgings (A.P. Rowe 1978). It is immediately recognizable as well from its narrow iconographic repertoire (J.H. Rowe 1979). As the abstracting tendencies in the art of earlier cultures reached their zenith among the Inka, recognizable figural representations almost vanish.

One simple but elegant, standard layout of the Inka *unku* is a horizontal polychrome band of diamonds on a plain ground, sometimes with different colors above and below the band; J.H. Rowe (1979: 245) named this the "diamond waistband" type. The band is often a single row of repeated, identical, concentric stepped diamonds; those in museum collections include a white tunic in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (<http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/50007194?>; see Femenías 2013b) and several examples in the Textile Museum (A.P. Rowe 1978: 9-19). Other banded tunics feature two rows of geometric patterns such as those Murúa shows, one worn by the young Guaman Capac Inca discussed above and another worn by the Inka Lloque Yupanqui that closely resembles a tunic in Arequipa, Peru (Phipps et al. 2008: 127-128).

A combination of repetition and symmetry with alternation characterizes another typical Inka tunic design, which consists of diagonals with blunted points and dots or rectangles, often nearly square (for an example in the Textile Museum, see <https://www2.gwu.edu/~textile/Ahead-ofHisTime/timeline3.html>). This design has been widely referred to as the "Inka key" since J.H. Rowe (1979: 245) so christened it. Although the arrangement in tunics is often a checkerboard, the motif also appears alone, as it does in numerous places in several colorways on a tunic in Dumbarton Oaks (PC.B.518, <http://www.doaks.org/library-archives/dumbarton-oaks-archives/historical-records/75th-anniversary/images/PreColumbianTextile.jpg/view>; see Femenías 2013a: 29, Fig. 3; Stone 2007). The individual rows of the checkerboard can also be seen as sets of alternating colors

and directions of the motif, forming zigzags with flattened points. Both the individual motif and sets of two facing motifs occur in different forms in garments woven in other structures and in many other Inka art forms (Femenías n.d.c [2013], Phipps 2004: 21-22, A.P. Rowe 1997), and the abstraction is an aspect of representations of body parts including arms and hands, and mouths and teeth (Cummins 2002: 93-94).

In addition to the numerous examples of full-size tunics in collections, tiny tunics exist; some male figurines found in burials were dressed in Inka key tunics. Two such tunics are associated with figurines found in Aconcagua and Lullailaco burials (Abal 2010: 300-301, Imagen 133 and 364-365, Imagen 169). The overall layout, the organization of color alternation, and the finishing details of the tiny tunics correspond precisely to those of several full-size tunics. The blocks are red-on-yellow and green-on-navy blue, exactly as in the Dumbarton Oaks tunic and the Textile Museum tunic; the colored blocks, along with red and navy blue horizontal stripes, also alternate as in the Textile Museum tunic and several others. (Abal 2010: 332-335, Imagenes 56 and 57, shows a virtually identical tunic, Pieza N-33, but gives the dark color as black rather than navy blue). The tiny tunic from Aconcagua also has the embroidered edge finish and zigzag hemline embroidery that are characteristic of full-size tunics. While the small-scale garments have routinely been called “miniature” (e.g., see A.P. Rowe 1997), including by me, I now see that as a misnomer. This tiny tunic, for one, is not truly a miniature: it does not duplicate the larger version; rather, it has only two rows of blocks and three stripes where the Textile Museum tunic has eight rows of blocks and five stripes. The weaver chose to render motifs that include all the details of the full-size motifs rather than to simplify them and include the same number of motifs on the reduced-size garment; this choice seems to indicate that the elements selected were the important ones. These details include the blunted ends of the diagonals, the concentric rectangle of alternating color “dots” in the opposite corners, and placement of the red-on-yellow block in the top left corner.

A variant of this design, zigzags-and-squarish dots, is also prominently featured on woven bags found with the figurines (Abal 2010: 299-300, Imagen 132; 303-304, Imagen 135; and 308, Imagen 138). While the tunic seems to be tapestry woven, the bags closely resembles the complementary-weft and/or complementary-warp patterned bags discussed by A.P. Rowe (1997: 7-9, figs. 4-6).

In contrast to the standard male garments of tunic and mantle, which differ considerably in layout and structure, two female garments are apparently more similar to each other in both ways. One basic female garment was a

wrapped dress such as the one from Museo Sitio Pachacamac (MSPACH 595, Phipps 2004: 130-132, Cat No. 3). The dress was called in Quechua *aksu*, or, usually in Ecuador or northern Peru, *anaku* (A.P. Rowe 1997: 12). The other garment was the mantle or shawl, Quechua *lliklla* such as one in the Textile Museum (91.366, A.P. Rowe 1997: cover, 20, fig. 27). While Inka tunics are generally tapestry woven, Inka dresses may be tapestry but are more likely complementary-weft or complementary-warp patterned (as the Museo Sitio Pachacamac dress) in combination with plain weave; it is often quite difficult to distinguish the warp or weft direction, especially when the selvages are covered by applied edge finishes (A.P. Rowe 1997: 12-16, figs. 11-17; see also Phipps 2004: 21-22, who uses the terms “warp float” and “weft float,” and considers weft float and tapestry as conceptually equivalent in the Quechua term *qompi*, which I discuss below).

Many of the clothed metal figurines in the high-altitude burials represent females. Numerous tiny *aksus* and *llikllas* also survive, independent of the female figurines with which they were probably originally associated, in museum collections. The shawls found on the figurines are usually made to be worn folded, while the known full-size garments are more likely to have been worn unfolded. An *aksu* and a *lliklla*—which were likely often made in sets but have become separated—may be very similar in their woven patterning but can best be distinguished by their size and layout, and sometimes by the placement of holes made by pins that secured them when worn (A.P. Rowe 1997: 20).

Female garments, both full-size and tiny, employ warp- or weft-patterned zigzags-and-dots as a common motif. The alternation of dark- and light-background blocks, and the red-and-yellow color pattern also frequently appear on female garments. Among extant Inka dresses, the preponderance of the zigzag-and-dot pattern is striking, as is the variety of permutations of the basic pattern. A.P. Rowe notes that full-size garments with this type of patterning became known more recently than the tiny versions (1997: 14). Isabel Martínez, analyzing the use of variants of this pattern on numerous tiny female garments, notes that red-and-yellow is the dominant color scheme in the garments she examined, with isolated instance of red-and-purple (2007: 5). Regarding color and dyeing, however, she also asserts that the use of dyed yarns indicates high rank and that undyed yarns, correspondingly, lower rank (ibid.: 4). This idea cannot be substantiated, however, as there is extensive use of white in Inka garments, such as the Metropolitan Museum’s Inka tunic discussed above, and as the dominant color in numerous Inka dresses, both full-size and tiny, and of cotton and camelid fiber (A.P. Rowe 1997: 14, 16). Together these indicate that undyed and/or white yarn was probably another

indicator of high status—quite likely connected to the quality of the fiber used and the skill deployed in creating finely spun, tightly plied yarns (*ibid.*: 9).

The variability of the pattern is evident in a complex version of the zigzag and “dot” on a *lliklla* in the Textile Museum (91.366; see A.P. Rowe 1997: cover, 20, fig. 27). A wide band spanning the full width is composed of three patterned bands, with red-and-yellow flanking red-and-dark purple (almost black). The zigzags terminate in rectangular dots within each color block, and four diagonals often form a diamond containing four different color combinations. The “dots” do appear singly but are of various lengths, and most are in groups of three or four, sometimes doubled to six or eight. Each dot is rectangular rather than square, and one end often has an extended tab. They suggest, among other images, corn kernels.

The fact that Inka key and zigzag-and-dot designs in numerous permutations occur in both male and female garments suggests that the significance of specific alterations may be linked to gender. Dransart (1995) has linked the zigzag to a serpent, Quechua *amaru*, and Martínez (2007: 5) similarly cites R.T. Zuidema’s (1967) discussion of the connection between the Amaru name to females and a high-ranking pre-Columbian Inka lineage. While such associations seem logical, numerous other identifications are also possible; studies of zigzag patterning in twentieth-century Andean weavings have obtained the term *mayu kinku*, Quechua “winding river,” for this design.

Overall, there are considerable differences between male- and female-associated garments, which raises questions about the reasons for those differences. Within the corpus of extant Inka garments, complementary-warp and complementary-weft patterning seem to be more associated with garments for females, and tapestry with those for males. However, the size of that corpus is so small compared to the number of garments produced for Inka use—whether during or after the Inkas’ and Coyas’ lifetimes, and including for ceremonial offerings—that we must proceed with caution. Are the differences primarily an artifact of the material record?

It is striking that in the finest extant weavings that can be dated to pre-Columbian times, tapestry is used so often for male-associated garments and so rarely for female ones. Elaborately patterned *unkus* are almost all tapestry woven; elaborate *aksus*, hardly ever. Ann Rowe notes that a woman’s shawl (*lliklla*) in the Museo Regional de Ica that recently (as of the mid 1990s) had come to light was the “first known tapestry-woven woman’s garment” (1997: 18-19, fig. 23). The practical qualities of the fabric resulting from different woven structures account for some choices. As *aksus* are worn folded and wrapped, and held closed with pins, it

may be that tapestry weave provided a less desirable texture for that manner of use. Nevertheless, functionality cannot fully explain the gendered differences; in bags, for example, no advantage accrues to warp-patterning over tapestry, and both structures are used. Perhaps the situation is that more male-associated garments have been preserved. Disproportionate survival could be an artifact of the hierarchical structure that privileged male persons over females, a disparity that is likely to have increased in the early colonial era (Silverblatt 1987; Dean 1999; Graubart 2007). Design features associated with the highest ranks appear not only on garments. Those features are more readily woven in tapestry, which is better suited to forming discrete units. The association of those features with gender seems linked to colonial changes.

Toqapu: Virtuosity and Gender

Inka woven clothing and objects made in other media often feature *toqapus*, complex geometric motifs, usually rectangles, frequently almost square, and generally framed. While use of this Inka motif was apparently confined in pre-Columbian times, it expanded significantly in the colonial era, as scholars have often discussed (Femenías 2003, Cummins 2011). *Toqapus*’ presence on Inka tunics has received consistent attention, but its more-recently addressed and significant presence in other media needs further attention (Cummins 2011). The singular tunic in the Dumbarton Oaks collection mentioned above represents, on several levels, the epitome of the complexity of Inka weaving (PC.B.518; see discussion by A.P. Rowe 1978; J.H. Rowe 1979, 1996; Stone 2007; and Hamilton 2014, among others). The technical virtuosity of the tapestry, including a very high thread count, and the apparently random assortment of many different motifs—some of which are identical and others that vary only by color or small details—are two prominent features to which analysts almost always point. In another way, however, the technical ability shown is less extreme than we might think. First, the object is not large but is a standardized tunic to fit the human body, measuring about 183 cm (folded at shoulder to 91.5 on longest side) x 77 cm; second, tapestry weave itself is not complicated structurally. Also, although exceptionally well woven overall, the tunic does contain more than a few flaws and irregularities.

Guaman Poma offers numerous drawings of Inka emperors who wear all-*toqapu* tunics, leading interpreters to label the tunic as “royal” (see discussion in Stone 2007). Yet among those who wear this type, according to Guaman Poma, one of the most important men he calls emperors ruled after the Spanish Conquest: Tupac Amaru, the last Inka to rule the Vilcabamba territory, whom the Spanish

executed in Cusco in 1561 (Guaman Poma 2001: 119[119]). This image of the Inkas' defeat is closely associated with a *toqapu* tunic, but the presence and evidence for continued use of many colonial *toqapu* tunics raises questions about the legitimacy and hierarchy of Inka rule (Dean 1999; Pillsbury 2002, 2006).

It is in the realm of *toqapu* as well that the gendered dimensions of the use of a design feature are most strikingly played out. While colonial female garments are often jam-packed with *toqapus*, in combination with other motifs and patterns, we do not have pre-Columbian female *toqapu*-patterned garments—despite the fact that Guaman Poma repeatedly shows pre-Columbian Inka women wearing them, such as Mama Yunto Cayan (2001: 134[134]). Thus, while the Dumbarton Oaks all-*toqapu unku* is certainly a paragon, it is unique in another way as well: it seems to be missing its mate. One question that remains unanswered is one I posed in an earlier discussion of gender and *toqapus* (Femenías 2003). Where is the “Dumbarton Oaks *aksu*”? Will we perhaps one day come to know an all-*toqapu* pre-Columbian woman's dress?

One factor connecting garments made in different woven structures is that the cloth is finely woven, Quechua *qompi*, a term long thought to apply to tapestry but now acknowledged to include a range of finely made cloth (as numerous authors discuss; see for example Murra 1989; A.P. Rowe 1978, 1997). Given the limited size of the sample of Inka textiles, however, we cannot know if textiles using all kinds of patterning would have been covered by the *qompi* rubric, or if the term refers more appropriately to the status of the persons using those textiles. The link between structure and hierarchy, that is, may be more social than technical.

Given that the recent advances in our knowledge of Inka dress rely so heavily on the figurines in the high-altitude burials, we can also wonder if such an *aksu* would be tiny rather than full size. As the tiny garments have already expanded our knowledge of gender and dress, in what ways might they do so in future? Overall, the garments corroborate available information about full-size garments, which indicate clear distinctions between male and female dress. Research by Clara Abal (2003, 2010), however, discussing a female figurine clothed in a tunic, indicates that bodies and dress are not always perfectly correlated by gender, reminding us that no isolated garment can definitively be considered “male” or “female.” Recent research on Spanish Christian colonial attitudes toward indigenous gender identities, sexual behaviors, and ritual transvestism provides paths for further insights into pre-Columbian concepts of social personhood that were likely not confined to rigid dimorphism (Dean 2001; Horswell 2005).

Along two interdependent avenues, examining gender

through the extant garments can also expand our knowledge and ways of thinking. The complexities of design, whether executed in complementary warp- or weft-patterning or in tapestry, need further investigation. The striking similarities between tapestry-woven motifs, including *toqapus*, and those achieved in different structures need closer examination in terms of the gender-associated tendencies they seem to demonstrate. Smaller-scale technical features, from fiber to spinning and dyeing—or the lack thereof—can also provide additional clues.

Perhaps most frustrating for students of dress is how little we know about what the Inkas looked like, nude or clothed. Bioarchaeology studies of Inka bodies from burials increasingly provide more information about people's physical appearance. Other technological developments, especially 3D modeling based on inputting multiple characteristics of extant garments, are likely to help make concrete our vision of the garments' appearance when living Inkas wore them, and how the meanings of dress provide glimpses into the larger dimensions of the Inka creative universe.

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