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## **Paracas Cavernas, Paracas Necropolis and Ocucaje: Looking at appropriation and identity with only material remains**

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### **A history of the cemeteries:**

Paracas Cavernas, Paracas Necropolis and Ocucaje are groups of burials made some 2000 years ago on the south coast of Peru. The Peruvian coast is a desert, and textiles, basketry and other artifacts made from plant fiber and animal fiber and other organic materials are preserved there in ancient tombs. The Andes is known for funerary traditions that emphasize the dressing of the dead, with documented preservation of mummified ancestors or funerary bundles, and in some cases their participation as ancestors in kin group and community ritual.

The Cavernas and Necropolis are two different burial areas at the Paracas site. They were excavated in the 1920s by Julio Tello, Toribio Mejía Xesspe and their team from the National Museum. The most detailed analyses of Cavernas and Necropolis materials were published by Eugenio Yacovleff in the early 1930s (Yacovleff 1933; Yacovleff and Muelle 1932, 1934). Textile studies were published by Lila O'Neale (1932, 1942) and Rebeca Carrión Cachot (1931). Many subsequent studies focused on the elaborate embroidered garments from the excavated burials or on materials from looted burials, found in museum collections in Peru, the United States, Europe and elsewhere. A series of catalogues culminated in the Junius B. Bird and Louise Bellinger (1954) catalogue of the Textile Museum collection. Jane Dwyer (1971, 1979) developed a style seriation of the textiles. Recent and ongoing work by Anne Paul (1982, 1983, 1985, 1986, 1990a, 1990b, 1991) focuses on the reconstruction of funerary bundles, production processes, and the analysis of imagery. Mary Frame (1986, 1991) has worked on textile structures and their representation in imagery. I have worked on animal and plant representation, directly and as images (Peters 1991), and on the environmental and social context of the Necropolis burials.

Ocucaje includes contemporary burials from several sites around the Ocucaje basin in the Ica Valley, over 75 kilometers (almost 50 miles) to the south of the Paracas site. Burials have been excavated in Ocucaje since Max Uhle's time at the turn of the century, but most presumed gravelots available for study were dug up by *huaquero* (looter) teams working for local collectors in the 1950s. Collector Aldo Rubini kept good notes, and Larry Dawson of the Hearst Anthropology Museum at the University of California at Berkeley studied his collection, contributing to the Menzel, Rowe and Dawson (1964) seriation of Paracas ceramics. Pablo Soldi's collection was divided between the American Museum of Natural History and the Textile Museum: the textiles have been studied by Mary Elizabeth King (1965), Larry Dawson (1979) and Anne Rowe (1977).

Tello (1929, 1959) first defined Paracas Cavernas and Necropolis as a sequence of two distinct "cultures" at the site, followed in the region by the Nasca "culture". He considered Ocucaje materials to be part of the Paracas Cavernas culture. Bird and Bellinger (1954), among others, divided Necropolis style textiles into "Paracas" and "Nasca" textiles based on similarities in imagery with ceramics. Based on his fieldwork and that of Dwight Wallace (1979, 1986), Edward Lanning (1960) defined a sequence for Topará tradition ceramics: most ceramics of the Necropolis fit into it, as did some of those from Ocucaje. Menzel, Rowe and Dawson (1964) defined a longer sequence for the Paracas tradition in Ica and specifically in Ocucaje. They noted strong interaction with the Topará tradition in the phases discussed here. Edward and Jane Dwyer (1975) noted the overlap between Cavernas and Necropolis

"occupations" of the same site; they argued for cultural continuity, with "temporal and functional" distinctions between the two burial areas.

I agree that there are strong cultural continuities of various sorts between Paracas Cavernas, Paracas Necropolis and the contemporary burials at Ocucaje. However, I follow Lanning in considering Cavernas and Necropolis to be two separate cultural traditions that overlapped in the late Early Horizon (Phases 9 -10, about 200 BC to 0) at the Paracas site, but never mixed there to form a single burial complex. Contemporary burials from Ocucaje are dominated by several types of Paracas ceramics, related to those of Cavernas. They also contain selected trade wares or imitations of Topará ceramics, in form and decoration identical to those of Paracas Necropolis. Some time around the year 0, Cavernas burials cease at the Paracas site. Necropolis burials continue there in the Early Intermediate Period (Phases 1-2, about 0 to 200 AD), while to the south Ocucaje burials contain innovative ceramics that draw on both the Paracas and Topará traditions. These are called by Dawson and others Nasca 1, and have also been called "Proto-Nasca". The Nasca 2 phase at Ocucaje resembles other Early Nasca sites to the south, while to the north habitation and burial sites (except the Necropolis) are associated with "Carmen" ceramics that combine Topará and Nasca characteristics.

That is almost all I'm going to say about ceramics - and about chronology. I will now analyse these three groups of burials as different "burial complexes" that substantially overlap in time. Throughout their periods of overlap, each complex is distinct in some way from the other two. There are very interesting and complex relationships among their artifact traditions, expressed in artifact techniques, style and imagery. I consider that material remains - particularly textiles - in burials can provide information sufficient to start building models of social institutions that may have existed in social groups only known through archaeology. To varying degrees, it is possible to address issues of social practice and social organization like those we can explore ethnographically, based on analysis of the garments and other artifacts that "dress" the dead in these burial complexes.

#### A theoretical approach:

I will try to show you how materials in these three burial complexes reflect 1) lifelong ethnic and community cultural identity; 2) specialized social roles associated with high status and held in the Necropolis sample by older men; 3) specific local social institutions - be they gender roles, ritual societies, kin groups, and/or something else - that are intimately associated with the production of cloth and other artifacts. Both the high status roles and the undefined other social institutions mediate the exchange of images and ideas both within the largely ethnically defined communities associated with each burial complex, and between them.

I am using ideas drawn from Ian Hodder's ethno-archaeological studies of the material culture of east African communities (Hodder 1982). Like Hodder, I trace the presence or absence of types of artifacts found in related or neighboring communities. Within each artifact type, I look at relationships of style as they relate to the social identity of the user (the wearer, the possessor), to social boundaries among neighboring communities, and patterns of exchange among them.<sup>1</sup>

I assume the following: all artifacts found together in a burial came together in the process of the funerary ritual, so their production and use in life predates the moment of final interment. Where they came from, who made them, whether and how they were previously used, and how old they were at the time of burial are issues for further analysis. In a society that creates relatively elaborate burials, textiles (for instance) included in one burial

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<sup>1</sup> This essay outlines my approach to an analysis in progress: I have been working on study of materials from the Paracas Necropolis over the past 15 years and have more recently embarked on comparative work on the relationship with the Paracas Cavernas and Ocucaje burials.

assemblage may come from many different sources and reflect different aspects of that individual's social identity and/or the identity of the social group that mourned him or her.

Artifacts of all sorts - including the burials themselves as a composite "macro-artifact" - can be described and sorted: different "types" are given names. Like all typologies, the named categories can be more "specific" or more "generic," depending on what the analyst is trying to understand. Here I will use a number of different kinds of artifact classifications - some more general and others more specific - in order to define different sorts of contrast among burial assemblages.

In a "burial complex", independent aspects of these burials, like tomb structure, arrangement of the contents, and the style of the principal types of associated artifacts include a consistent range of formal variation. Not all burials are the same, but a set of consistent and recurring attributes characterize the burial complex and can be said to be "diagnostic" of it. Some burials have more "diagnostic" traits than others, but in general most burials from one complex can be distinguished from most burials from others.

A burial complex does not necessarily correspond to a physical location, and a single cemetery may contain burials from different periods or social groups. While individual artifacts can travel far and be preserved for generations, a burial complex can generally be well defined within a chronological period and geographic area. It reflects a funerary ritual and artifact traditions characteristic of a particular social group. Any given burial may include both textiles and other artifacts produced within that social group and others that come from elsewhere.

I rely on a concept of dress or self-presentation as a semiotic unit, that indexes social identity by being a part of it, and may also express it symbolically. Dress typically expresses (simultaneously) gender, age grade, job, national/ ethnic/ community origin, political or religious affiliation and role, and the particular occasion in which a person participates.

In the Paracas Cavernas, Necropolis and Ocucaje complexes, textiles and many other objects are wrapped around the body itself and may even be arranged in ways that imitate the way they might be worn or carried in life. The funerary bundle itself can be taken as a "dressed" unit, and can be addressed as a unit of meaning.

"Dress" can be considered the sum of the objects worn and carried at the moment of observation. It is a semiotic unit with shifting boundaries, as the dress of different moments, potential dress and the context of dress extends outward from our bodies into the contexts in which we live. In that sense, the "dress" of the buried individuals - an immediate context in which they appear that may potentially express aspects of their social identity - may include the entire gravelot. The entire burial context also includes ceramics, baskets, foodstuffs, and other implements that form the unit of symbolic statement left by the ritual of burial.

Dress may reflect an identity associated with daily life, with jobs and activities of subsistence and other production, and with the care and maintenance of family and home. Dress can also express a ritual and symbolic context of these activities, or a special event. All these kinds or aspects of dress may appear in a funerary context, which specifically reflects the concepts of social identity emphasized in the funerary ritual.

I use "ritual" to mean that an object itself and/or the context of its use (as found, depicted, or surmised) carries a heavy symbolic content relating to identity and belief. I look at the decoration or the placement of a ritual object as a product of its deployment by its makers and users in ritual practice. Ritual practice can range from daily habit and individual style -

product of a particular identity - to activities consciously expressed as ritual, which make conscious or intrinsic statements about identity, status and belief.

### Community or "Ethnic" identity:

The first kind of social identity I want to define is "ethnic identity," a lifetime identity that for a majority stretches from the cradle to the grave. In these societies, it appears to be marked by cranial alteration binding that established a person's head form by the age of two (Weiss 1961), by the specific wardrobe, pantry and toolkit that dominates and recurs among the funerary offerings, and by the structure and arrangement of the tomb itself. In textiles, ethnic or community identity is associated with a specific set of garment types produced with a range of techniques in certain proportions and with a characteristic set of colors.

Cavernas burials are classically made in groups in bottle-shaped tombs with wood-floored antechambers above - the so-called "cavernas." However, they may be made in simpler pits in areas of the Paracas site where the soil is not suitable for the deeper, more elaborate tombs. People were buried in a squatting position, wrapped in irregularly shaped bundles of cloth. They have either a elongated "Tabula erecta" head form or a broad "Bilobal" head form.<sup>1</sup> The two forms are sometimes found in different tombs, and sometimes together. They are not gender correlated, and are apparently contemporary. Because of the historically known importance of headdress in signaling community identity in the Andean region, I argue that there are two different kinship-based ethnic communities buried together in the Cavernas complex, but that over this period they form part of a single cultural community on a more general level, sharing a single funerary tradition and in some cases even the same tomb.

Necropolis burials are characterized by massed funerary bundles set with "signal" staffs and accompanying artifacts into abandoned architecture. Unlike Cavernas burials, they have consistently conical funerary bundles, and some are larger and more elaborate than any known from the other complexes. Most of the people buried in large and small bundles have a very elongated "tabular cylindrical" head form. Unlike in Cavernas burials, headdresses are seldom worn on the body - instead, they form "false heads" in various layers of the bundle. At the Paracas site, there are a few "crossover" burials, e.g. Bilobal or Tabula Erecta individuals wearing headdresses and buried in a generally Necropolis style bundle. But I consider these exceptions to underline the fact that in general the Necropolis complex reflects an ethnically differentiated, separate community with a distinct burial ritual.

Ocucaje burials may have multiple chambered tombs with adobe walls and wood and clay plaster floors/ceilings, simple cylindrical pits, or a combination of the two. They were found in several cemetery areas around the oasis of Ocucaje. Funerary bundle and artifact placement may vary, but in general each tomb is associated with an individual burial. Little is preserved or recorded about the bodies, but heads are described as "elongated" and known examples resemble the Tabula Erect form of the Cavernas. Where textiles of the funerary bundle were preserved and described, they form a generally conical bundle that often is topped by a painted cotton "mask" and associated "headdress." Based on the general range of tomb forms and the "masks" unique to Ocucaje, I would argue that in the late Early Horizon this is a culturally distinct community based on a distinct funerary ritual. With the passing of the "masks" in the Early Intermediate period, some burials may not be very distinct in form from some of the burials of the Necropolis.

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<sup>1</sup> Only the "Tabula erecta" head form is frequently associated with the surgical procedure of trepanation, opening the cranium through finely scraping the bone with a sharp instrument. This specialized medical procedure is further evidence for a difference in social identity between these individuals and those who underwent different forms of head alteration binding in early childhood.

But what is the style of the textiles in the funerary bundles, and other artifacts in the tomb? Keep in mind that in terms of ceramic styles, the Paracas tradition is characteristic of Cavernas burials, the Topará tradition is characteristic of Necropolis burials, and there is a mixture of the two, with innovations, in Ocucaje. Soft, reed twined baskets are found in some Cavernas and Ocucaje burials and hard, "willow" twined baskets in all three complexes. Looped net scoops are characteristic of Cavernas burials, found in some Ocucaje burials, and very rare in Necropolis burials.

Based on the work of Mary Elizabeth King and others, in the Early Horizon there is basically the same range of textile techniques, garment types, proportions, design and imagery in textiles described and illustrated from the Cavernas burials and those analysed from Ocucaje. The principal garment category preserved in both burial complexes is the tunic shirt, produced in a wide range of techniques that include plain weave with embroidered borders, warp/weft interlocked plain weave, gauze, double-cloth, triple-cloth borders, warp-patterned borders, and polychrome single-element looping. "Hood" structured headcloths are made of double-cloth, gauze or "sprang" interlinking. From Cavernas there are some loincloths preserved and skirts with embroidered borders.<sup>1</sup> Large mantles are made of plain weave with embroidered borders, warp/weft interlocked plain weave, and doublecloth. Mantles painted with shellfish dye, usually with a hand-and-dot motif, are only known from Ocucaje. Examples of tie-dye are reported from both sites. Feathered cloaks and ponchos occur in Ocucaje burials.

Headdresses include knotted hairnets. Turban bands are made with close-knotted patterns, complex plaiting, tapestry, and cross-knit looping, alone or in combination. Embroidered borders are also used as "headdress" elements at the top of funerary bundles. The most recurrent form of headdress band has a knotted central panel flanked by plaited and wrapped sections and long fringe, the whole some three meters long.

All these turban techniques, and to some degree the same range of specific band types are found in the Necropolis bundles. However, most differ in color and proportions, imagery and their frequency of occurrence in the burials. The most recurrent form of turban band there is a wider band of complex plaiting that does not occur in Cavernas or Ocucaje burials.

There are no hoods in the Necropolis burials. Instead, there are light, relatively open weave cotton headcloths with embroidered borders in a unique color combination (unique among Necropolis embroideries and different from the other complexes). Some later burials have looped caps. There are no polychrome looped shirts, no triple-cloth, and relatively little presence of gauze among the described burials. Double-cloth occurs in some early burials, and examples of polychrome painted cotton and tie-dye occur in some later burials, but these are rare pieces with unusual imagery and color use and distinct technical features which seem likely to be products of tribute or exchange.

Tunic shirts, skirts and loincloths are common garment types at the Necropolis, though their numbers vary greatly among the large bundles. In the later burials, a short shoulder-poncho frequently occurs. According to King (1965), the only example of this garment at Ocucaje is embroidered in a later Block Color embroidery style like those of the Necropolis and early Nasca. A large number of mantles are found in many large bundles, together with unique oversized cotton wrapping cloths whose length and width has baffled researchers seeking to

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<sup>1</sup> Garments being worn by the buried person were not preserved: either they were discarded with the body (especially at Ocucaje) or stored with it, or they were not reconstructable in form, or have not been reconstructed. Perhaps for this reason, we know nothing about any relationship between garment type and gender. In Necropolis burials, personal garments were generally bundled near the body. Because the majority of burials studied are large funerary bundles associated with older men, and because textiles in smaller bundles are less well preserved, nothing about garment type and gender is known there either.

reconstruct their construction process. Feathered cloaks and ponchos, often incorporating deerskin panels, occur in many large bundles.

The plain weaves (and warp and weft interlocked plain weave) and embroidered borders (and in some cases figures on the central ground) are techniques shared in a majority of the decorated textiles associated with Cavernas and Ocucaje on the one hand and with the Necropolis on the other. But there are systematic differences in border width and arrangement, in the colors used in embroidery, and in the range of imagery that appears. In the Early Horizon, Linear styles characterize the Cavernas and Ocucaje embroideries, while diversifying styles at the Necropolis lead to development of the Block Color style. In the Early Intermediate period there is a shift at both Ocucaje and the Necropolis to more Block Color style embroidery, one of several aspects of parallel development that indicate ongoing contact and strong mutual influence. However, differences in the specific embroidery techniques and their use and in the yarns, colors and embroidery proportions reproduce the contrast between the two complexes.

Based on most textiles, Cavernas and Ocucaje look like one "culture" on a general level, though there are distinctions between the two complexes, and differentiation among burials within each complex. Although a set of general garment types is shared with the Necropolis complex, when specifics of design, technique and imagery are considered the Necropolis complex appears very distinct. Systematic differences include the presence of different fabric structures, difference in the proportions and placement of decorative borders, and the use of color. These factors are closely related to production processes of the textiles<sup>1</sup>, suggesting that different communities of artisans are involved in the production of the dominant and characteristic textiles of the Necropolis burials on one hand, and those of the Cavernas and Ocucaje burials on the other.

#### Status and identity:

The second kind of social identity reflected in the burial complexes is a specialized high status social role associated with burials of older men in large funerary bundles, at least at the Necropolis.<sup>2</sup> Gender and age correlations are less clear at the Cavernas, where the grouping of these associated artifacts is less marked. The artifact group clearly occurs in Ocucaje, but there no information on the bodies is recorded. In the Necropolis, most of these associated artifacts are found in the outermost layer of the funerary bundle, while others are on or tucked next to the body. The same artifacts are repeatedly depicted on embroidered imagery - and for that matter on doublecloth, painted imagery etc. in all three burial complexes.

The outer layer of a large funerary bundle typically includes:

1) A feathered and/or deerhide cloak or poncho, with blue, yellow and sometimes orange macaw feathers in most cases, and condor feathers in at least one case. They range in form from two independent panels tied at the shoulders to a single rectangular cloth with a horizontal neck slit to a single panel, evidently made to fall down the back: Ocucaje examples are shaped on the loom to a trapezoidal form. Some have feathers attached to cotton panels, some have deerhide flaps attached to cotton panels, and some have both. Because of their range of form and placement in the bundles, I consider that all these garments can be grouped as a single

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<sup>1</sup> The distinctions in style among Paracas tradition ceramics and Topará tradition ceramics are of the same nature, being based in such specifics of vessel form as lip form, thickness, and characteristic silhouette and on specifics of surface treatment and firing practices as well as the more obvious decorative techniques and imagery.

<sup>2</sup> This statement is largely based on Tello's physical study of the bodies at the time they were unwrapped. Toribio Mejia, Dr. Pedro Weiss, and others studied Necropolis cadavers. Sex determination was largely based on characteristics of the skull, and on preserved genitalia where possible. Age was based on characteristics of the teeth and hair, and on cranial sutures where they were exposed.

garment type with some level of equivalence in their "function" or context of use. Feathered wrist and ankle bands are present in some burials.

- 2) A sinew-bound staff, made of huarango (Acacia sp. or Prosopis sp.) wood with bands of animal tissue, sometimes combined with feathers (may be adjacent to the bundle as a "signal staff").
- 3) A spear thrower, with an huarango wood staff and bone or ivory hand rest, often carved, and a bone or stone pin at the end, bound with sinews, cotton cord and/or resin (cane spear shafts with wood inserts fitted for an obsidian blade are often among the adjacent "signal staffs").
- 4) One or more feather fans with twined reed handles, usually of macaw feathers, though examples with condor feathers or other feathers are known.
- 5) Feather headdress ornament(s) made of feathers attached to a wood pin, often paired (feather tassels on headdress elements are also found).
- 6) A foxskin, usually with applied featherwork, draped as if part of a headdress (in Ocucaje, these may be made of an animal muzzle applied to a feathered cotton "pelt").
- 7) Plaited sling(s) made of maguey (Furcrea sp.) bast fiber, sometimes combined with cotton or wool cord, often used as a headdress element.
- 8) A stone-headed wooden club, made of an algarrobo wood shaft and spherical ground stone head, bound with sinew and resin.

Turban bands and other headdress elements may also grace the outer layer, which generally covers embroidered mantles, some draped as if worn, over cotton wrapping cloths. The cotton shrouds are bound with cotton cord and/or headdress elements at the apex of the conical bundle to form a "false head." Some of these artifacts - especially slings or the club - may appear not on the outer layer, but instead near the body, often in a cloth bundle. Other artifacts more typically found near or on the body include:

- 9) gourd containers or particularly a gourd rattle plugged with a wooden handle, sometimes pyro-engraved.
- 10) Gold face and head ornaments, including a bird-shaped "diadem" worn on the forehead, a whiskered "mouthmask" worn below the nose, gold disks suspended near the ears, and sometimes gold wrist and/or ankle bands or a gold headdress ornament.

These high status burials also frequently include a reed mat draped over the bundle, a large coiled basket in which the deceased is sitting, and a deerskin wrapped around the body. These funerary objects are not depicted in embroidered figures. Therefore, while considered to mark status, they are not considered among the specialized set of artifacts. The headdress elements, including the "foxskins," show style variation that appears to correlate with the burial complexes. The other objects do not: while they vary in form, the variation among the burial complexes is no greater than that within each complex. While further study may discern some technical and stylistic variation that corresponds to the burial complexes, it is not evident in the appearance of the artifacts.

The textile imagery, the nature of these objects, and their distribution in elaborate burials suggest that they are associated with a role of ritual specialist who wields power of a social and ritual nature, probably associated with political leadership of his community, and associated with warfare and hunting. The evidence from Ocucaje is complete enough to suggest that the same social role, with a shared ideology reflected in a shared set of associated and symbolized objects, also existed in that social group.

The identity of those who produce the textiles ...and the imagery:

What may be a third kind of social identity is marked by the existence of multiple "styles" in a single burial, and throughout the same burial complex. These styles imply different production traditions producing different sets of images on the same garment types.



They may rely on different fabric structures, or may use the same techniques in different ways. There are two major kinds of variability within burials.

First, there are the unusual or uncharacteristic pieces, whose style may be typical of one of the other complexes or unusual in all of them. If the style is different from those that dominate in the other complexes, it probably reflects contact with a social group not directly represented among these burials. If typical of one of the other complexes compared here, it reflects the kind of direct contact that can be expected among contemporary societies juxtaposed at the same site or in the same region. In either case, such pieces may be the product of strong influence, exchange, gift or tribute - possibly as part of the funerary ritual. Careful description of variations in style and the mapping of other artifact complexes in the region will provide a much better idea of the social and political geography behind each burial complex.

Second, there are multiple traditions of production and design within artifact types that are characteristic of each burial complex. The best-known example is within the Necropolis embroidered textiles: the Linear style embroideries and Block Color style embroideries that can each be used to create imagery on sets of garments. Each recurrent style has its own array of icons, or figure types, although some overlap. Each has its own development over time.

For instance, Linear style embroideries characteristic of early burials (Early Horizon 9 and 10) have a diverse imagery and array of style variations, indicating a period of innovation. They can be divided into many related sub-styles,<sup>1</sup> which have been classed as Linear, Broad Line and early Block Color, but there are fuzzy boundaries between these categories. In later burials, Linear embroideries on the same garment types<sup>2</sup> repeat a highly standardized set of characteristic images in a very consistent style, either because they are being conserved as heirloom textiles, because they are exactly reproduced, and/or for reasons connected with associated beliefs and social roles.

As soon as they emerge as a distinct embroidery style, the Block Color embroideries begin to carry a wide range of figure types that have roots in those found on earlier embroideries but develop into increasingly diverse images over time. Any given figure type is redesigned and reinterpreted in almost every known burial that contains iconographically related images. By the Early Intermediate period, there is little in common between the bewildering array of interrelated Block Color figures and the consistent set of classic Linear figures.

If I may revert for a moment to the consideration of ceramic styles, they will shed light on another aspect of the presence of multiple artifact styles within each complex. Among Ocucaje 10 and Nasca 1 ceramics, essentially bichrome ceramics (produced first by resist to fire-clouding and later by slip painting) carry a related set of imagery based on parallel and intersecting lines. At the same time, incised polychrome ceramics (polychrome resin paint applied after firing is replaced by polychrome slip painting) carry a set of imagery that develops parallel to that of the Broad Line and Block Color embroidered textiles. There are very close parallels in specific figure types between the small known sample of contemporary polychrome ceramics and embroideries from the Necropolis, where such ceramics are never found.

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<sup>1</sup> These sub-styles probably reflect both kinds of variation, indicating both diversity and innovation within the social group(s) burying at the Necropolis complex and contributions from other communities. I thank Mary Frame for emphasizing the importance of considering multiple origins for this material.

<sup>2</sup> The Linear style associated with embroidered headcloths is distinct in its use of color and in its body of characteristic imagery, showing a stronger relationship to the Block color style. I have elsewhere categorized these two Early Intermediate Period Linear styles as Linear 1 (dominated by saturated, primary colors, on mantles and other garments) and Linear 2 (dominated by pastel colors, on headcloths).

There must be a specific social institution associated with the production - and reproduction or renovation - of each artifact tradition and its associated imagery. There is a wide range of theoretical possibilities, including 1) gender divisions in ritual life and craft production, 2) kinship structures such as parallel exogamous moieties occurring in communities across the region, 3) different religions developing and competing throughout this historical period, 4) local communities of diverse cultural/ ethnic identity grouped in larger political entities, producing specialized goods for exchange or tribute, etc. and in combination. We are far from understanding the specific social institutions that structured life in this region during this period of history.

#### A conclusion, and a point of departure:

It is clear that there are continuing relations of contact, appropriation, and both social and ideological crossover occurring between ethnically and culturally distinct social groups associated with the "Paracas tradition" of the Cavernas and Ocucaje complexes and the "Topará tradition" of the Necropolis (and with some presence and influence at Ocucaje). People responsible for designing Necropolis Block Color embroideries are linked in some specific and ongoing relationship with people responsible for designing the polychrome ceramics of Cavernas and Ocucaje. Whatever parallel social institutions are connected to those production traditions, over this period they are associated with intense conceptual innovation. At the Necropolis, this process fosters the development and explosion of Block Color imagery and the production of vast quantities of embroidered textiles concentrated in high status burials of leaders associated with ritual and warfare. At Ocucaje, a parallel process fosters the cultural and social transformation from the locally diverse Paracas tradition to the more regionally unified Nasca tradition.

The extraordinary preservation of textiles in many of these burials enables this analysis of the "dress of the dead" through which I seek to define social institutions among communities only known through archaeology. I am confident that continuing research will enable us to develop more specific models of the social, cultural and historical relations among those who buried their dead in the Paracas Cavernas, the Paracas Necropolis, the cemeteries of Ocucaje, and less well documented cemeteries of the region.

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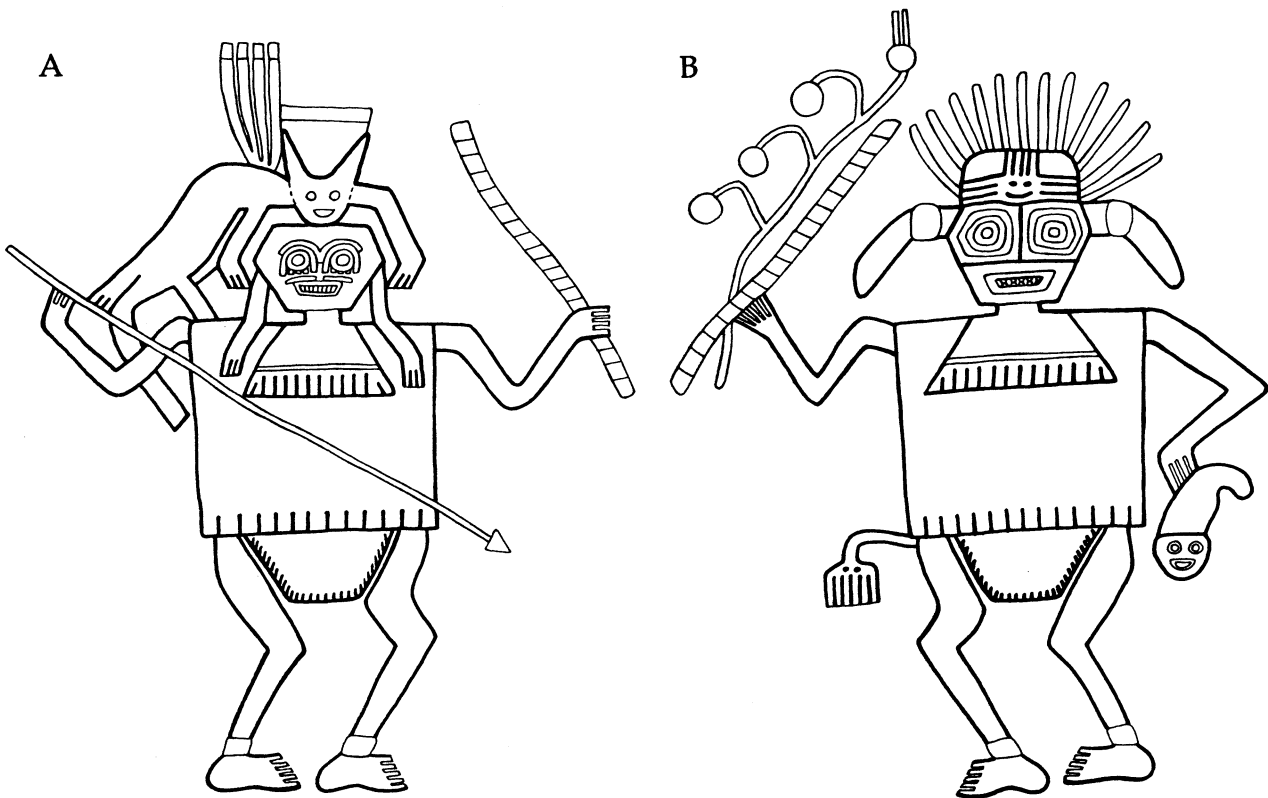


Figure 1: Paracas Necropolis funerary bundle No. 243, object No. 4. Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología, Lima.

These figures are embroidered on the central ground and borders of a large mantle. Examples A and B (half actual size) are taken from the central ground; example C (actual size) is from a border. Only winged figures appear on the borders, where pairs of figure C alternate with pairs of a similar winged figure with a feather headdress like that of figure B. The style of this textile corresponds to Early Horizon Phase 10, making it contemporary with burials at both Paracas Cavernas and Ocucaje. These figures wear and carry objects characteristic of the different burial complexes, and may allude to both "ethnic" differences and high status ritual roles.

All figures wear a *unku* tunic shirt, a *wara* loincloth and a smaller poncho-like garment over the shoulders. Figure A wears a fox skin on his head, with some other cap and a lateral feather ornament like many found in Necropolis burials. The fringed ends of his *llautu* turban band fall to the sides of his head. The banded (sinew-wrapped) staff and cane spear are found in burials of both the Necropolis and Ocucaje complexes.

Figure B wears a wide feather headdress like those placed over Ocucaje funerary bundles. The cap with flaps to the sides resembles the feathered cotton "skins" set with an animal muzzle that are found at Ocucaje. The gold "diadem" forehead ornament is most common at Ocucaje, though present in all the complexes. The flexible cord with attached balls may be a woven cotton band with cotton ball pendants, like those found wrapped around spears and staffs next to some Necropolis burials. Note the banded staff and human head - the so-called "trophy head." The fringed cord seen to the left of his waist may be either a tie to the loincloth or a band worn as a separate belt.

Figure C wears a condor or a condor skin on his head, with a net headdress visible above it. Long fringe at the shoulders of his tunic echoes wing-like feathers behind, and a triangular form like a bird tail is to the left of his loincloth. In this figure, the feathered "wings" look particularly like the feathered capes of the Ocucaje complex (related to feathered capes and ponchos of the Necropolis). He holds only a "trophy head."

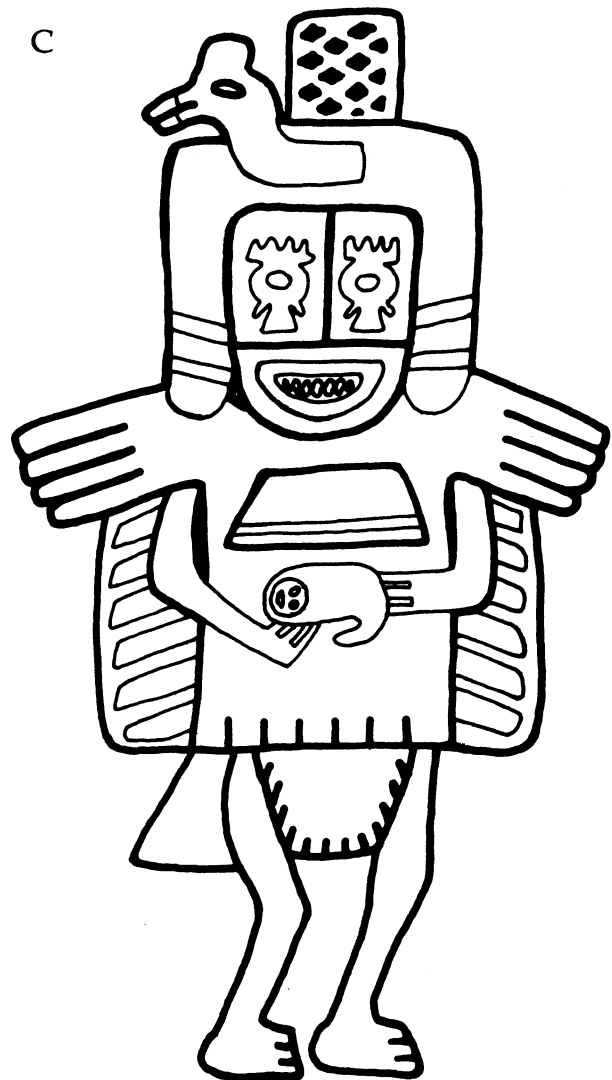


Figure 2: Paracas Necropolis funerary bundle No. 157, object No. 21. Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología, Lima.

This figure (half actual size) is embroidered on the borders and central ground of a large mantle, of which only fragments are preserved. The style is transitional between the Early Horizon Phase 10 and the Early Intermediate Period Phase 1. The figure wears a *unku* tunic and matching shoulder poncho, possibly combined with fringed leather panels like those associated with feathered capes or ponchos in the Necropolis complex. The headdress includes a *llautu* turban band, a gold "diadem" forehead ornament and a headcloth. Figures on the central ground have the headcloth bordered by narrow stripes, which would appear to designate the embroidered borders of the headcloths of the Necropolis complex rather than the overall patterning of the sprang or doublecloth hoods of the Cavernas and Ocucaje complexes.

Facial patterning varies in other examples of this figure.

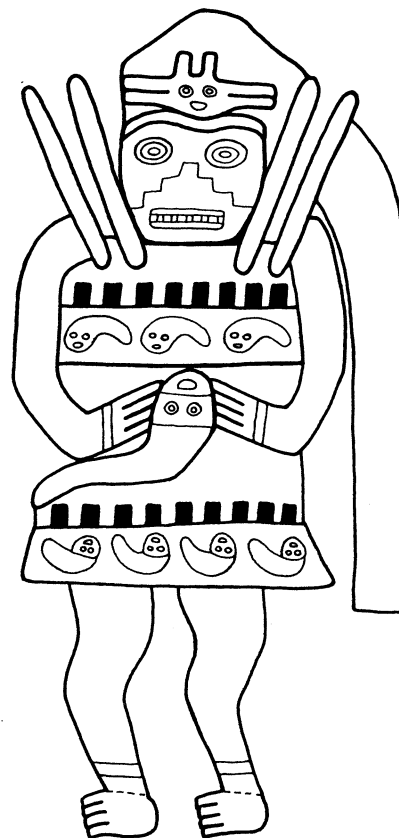


Figure 2

Figure 3: Paracas Necropolis funerary bundle No. 262, object No. 14. Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología, Lima.

These figures (half actual size) are embroidered on two fragmented borders from a large mantle. This winged figure corresponds in style to Early Intermediate Period Phase 1, represented only in the Paracas Necropolis and Ocucaje cemeteries. While clearly in the same genre or figure type as the winged figures of No. 243, here the (falcon) face patterning, the dress and the objects carried are not variable. The headdress alternates between figure A, which appears to represent a hood and an obsidian knife (characteristic of the Cavernas and Ocucaje complexes) and figure B, which includes ends of a *llautu* turban band, a gold diadem, and a lateral two-plumed ornament (characteristic of the Necropolis complex).

Figure 3

