Andean aesthetics : textiles of Peru and Bolivia.

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Andean Aesthetics:

Textiles of Peru and Bolivia

BY BLENDA FEMENIAS

with Mary Ann Medlin
Lynn A. Meisch
Elayne Zorn

Elvehjem Museum of Art
University of Wisconsin–Madison

Andean Aesthetics: Textiles of Peru and Bolivia

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Selections from the
Helen L. Allen Textile Collection
School of Family Resources and Consumer Sciences

Elvehjem Museum of Art
University of Wisconsin–Madison

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Candelaria Bernal climbing over a stone wall, Coporaque, Peru. She wears the embroidered clothing and white straw hat typical of the Colca Valley. The bundle she carries is a lliklla wrapped around supplies for a ceremony. She carries an orphaned lamb so she can feed it. The woman walking away uses a commercial lliklla.

About the Authors

Blenda Femenias is Curator of the Helen Allen Textile Collection, School of Family Resources and Consumer Sciences, University of Wisconsin–Madison. She received her M.A. in Textiles and Clothing with focus on historic costume from Syracuse University in 1980. Her current research includes South American artistic and cultural traditions manifested in Andean textiles and costumes, and application of computerized systems to museum research and collections management. Her publications include *Two Faces of South Asian Art: Textiles and Paintings* and "Peruvian Costume and European Perceptions in the Eighteenth Century" in *Dress.*

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Lynn A. Meisch is a writer, photographer, and consultant on Andean textiles, and a founding director of Fundación Jatari, a nonprofit organization that assists Andean youths in continuing their education. She received her M.A. in Latin American Humanities from San Francisco State University in 1973. In addition to Tarabuco, she has conducted fieldwork in Saraguro, Cañar, Cuenca, and Otavalo, Ecuador, and on Isla Amantaní, Peru. In 1985–86, she worked for USAID in Otavalo, at the residents' request, teaching other textile techniques to augment the local weaving traditions. Her publications include several articles on Ecuadorian textiles, on conservation and travel in the Andes, as well as "Fullus: Ikat Blankets of Tarabuco, Bolivia" in *The Weavers Journal,* and "Weaving Styles in Tarabuco, Bolivia" in *The Junius B. Bird Conference on Andean Textiles.* In addition, she has led tours and treks to several Andean countries and is the author of *A Traveler's Guide to El Dorado and the Inca Empire (Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia),* published by Penguin Books.

Donald E. Thompson is Professor of Anthropology at the University of Wisconsin–Madison. He specializes in Andean archaeology and has a strong interest in Andean and European folk traditions. His numerous archaeology publications include *Huánuco Pampa: An Inca City and its Hinterland* (with Craig Morris).

Elayne Zorn is a Ph.D. candidate in anthropology at Cornell University. She received her M.A. in Latin American studies from the University of Texas in 1983; her thesis was on traditions, tourism and textiles in Taquile, Peru. During 1987–88 she is conducting field and archive research on textiles and ethnohistory in Sacaca, Bolivia. Previous research, in addition to that in Taquile, has been done in Potosí, Bolivia, and Vilque, Cuzco, and Macusani, Peru, on topics including herders' bundles, peasant organizations, and ethnomusicology. Her work has been published in the *Textile Museum Journal, América Indígena, The Junius B. Bird Conference on Andean Textiles, The Irene Emery Roundtable,* and numerous other journals.

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Lynn A. Meisch: Fieldwork was done during ten months in 1981–82 and two months in 1983, with shorter visits in 1974 and 1985. The 1981–82 visit was funded by a Learning Fellowship in Social Change from the Inter-American Foundation, whose support, especially that of Kevin Healy, is gratefully acknowledged. In Bolivia my thanks go to

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Notes on the Catalogue

Textile structure is presented using terminology suggested by Irene Emery, *Primary Structures of Fabrics,* and Ann P. Rowe, *Warp-Patterned Weaves of the Andes* (see Bibliography). In the photographs, the warp is shown vertical unless otherwise indicated; likewise, in the captions, warp dimension precedes weft.

Quechua language *(Runa Simi)* varies considerably both in dialects and in the orthographies used to represent them. Because this catalogue presents both Peruvian and Bolivian material, two dictionaries were used: for Peru, Cusihuaman, *Diccionario del Quechua Cuzco-Collao;* for Bolivia, Herrero and Sánchez de Lozada, *Diccionario Quechua: Estructura semántica del Quechua cochabambino contemporaneo* (see Bibliography). However, some linguists feel that existing dictionaries, in attempting to standardize orthography, do not accurately express the regional variations that characterize Quechua. In Chapter II, the orthography for the Tarabuco region was developed by Lynn Meisch following the methodology of Lawrence Carpenter of the University of Northern Florida; alternate spellings in parentheses are those given by Herrero and Sánchez. Also, throughout the catalogue, when a Bolivian term has a Peruvian equivalent, that spelling is given in parentheses when the term first occurs, e.g., *llijlla (lliklla).* Aymara spellings were provided by Martha Hardman, Francisco Mamani Cañazaca, Tomás Huanca, and Manuel Mamani of the Aymara Language Materials Program, Department of Anthropology, University of Florida.

In the figure captions, the language of the term used is abbreviated as follows: Q—Quechua, A—Aymara, S—Spanish, Q from S—Quechua based on Spanish influence, e.g., *ufanta,* from *bufanda.*

Chapter II was revised from a 1985 publication by Lynn Meisch: "Symbolism in Tarabuco, Bolivia, Textiles." *Andean Studies Occasional Papers,* vol. 2:1–15. Center for Latin American Studies, Indiana University.

A longer, related version of Chapter IV will appear in Spanish as "Society weaving weavers: Changes in the production and use of traditional textiles in Taquile, Peru," in *Runakunap kawsayninkupaq rurasqankunaqa. La tecnología en el mundo andino.*

PREFACE

Donald E. Thompson

I still remember when it first became apparent to me that cloth was important beyond its obvious function as a covering for the sake of warmth or modesty. I was travelling as a youngster to England with my parents in 1948, shortly after the end of World War II. Prominent among our gifts for war-rationed relatives were stockings and lengths of good quality material. I was very impressed with how gratefully they were received. Today, I and probably most Anglo-Americans, certainly appreciate good quality garments—a Harris tweed, an Aran sweater or an embroidered shirt or blouse from Eastern Europe or Mexico. Despite that appreciation, despite the assurances of the advertisements in *The New Yorker,* and despite teenage clothes-consciousness and the almost universal appreciation of T-shirt motifs, I am convinced that textiles are not quite as symbolically important to us as to those of many other times and places. Here, in this catalogue, we delve into a very different place and culture and, by extension, a different time. We thus glimpse a very different approach to cloth, its construction and its meaning.

The exhibition, *Andean Aesthetics: Textiles of Peru and Bolivia,* together with the publication of this catalogue are timely and important events. Except for the work of those dedicated persons specialized in the study of ancient and modern Andean textiles, weaving and the highly varied products thereof have received far less attention than they deserve. There are, of course, a number of notable exceptions: the recent posthumous publication of Junius Bird's (1985) long-awaited study of the preceramic textiles from Huaca Prieta represents a highlight at one end of the long history of Andean textile production. The research embodied in the essays in this catalogue and some of the publications cited in its bibliography represent the other. And, of course, there is much in between which has received highly varying degrees of attention.

There are more parallels between these two historical extremes than one might expect. From the essays that follow it is clear that textiles are a major contemporary form of visual expression; the same appears to have been the case some 4,000 years ago at Huaca Prieta. Contemporary textile artists in the Andes are clearly influenced by interchange with other communities and by commerce; so were the fisher-weavers of Huaca Prieta as the presence of carved gourds with Valdivia motifs from Ecuador clearly indicates. The iconographic richness discussed in some of the following essays is surely paralleled in the textile motifs from Huaca Prieta, motifs such as the serpent, feline, raptorial bird and crab, which recur through much of the Andean sequence in clearly ceremonial contexts.

One marked difference between contemporary and pre-Columbian artistic expression, however, is the apparent limitation by media of motifs today compared to most past Andean cultures. It seems clear that the textile designs discussed in these essays do not carry over to other media such as gourd carving, pottery or jewelry in any consistent or significant way. An exception, I suppose, might be the ubiquitous llama which turns up in tourist shops in a startling array of materials, but we are concerned only obliquely with this kind of airport art here.

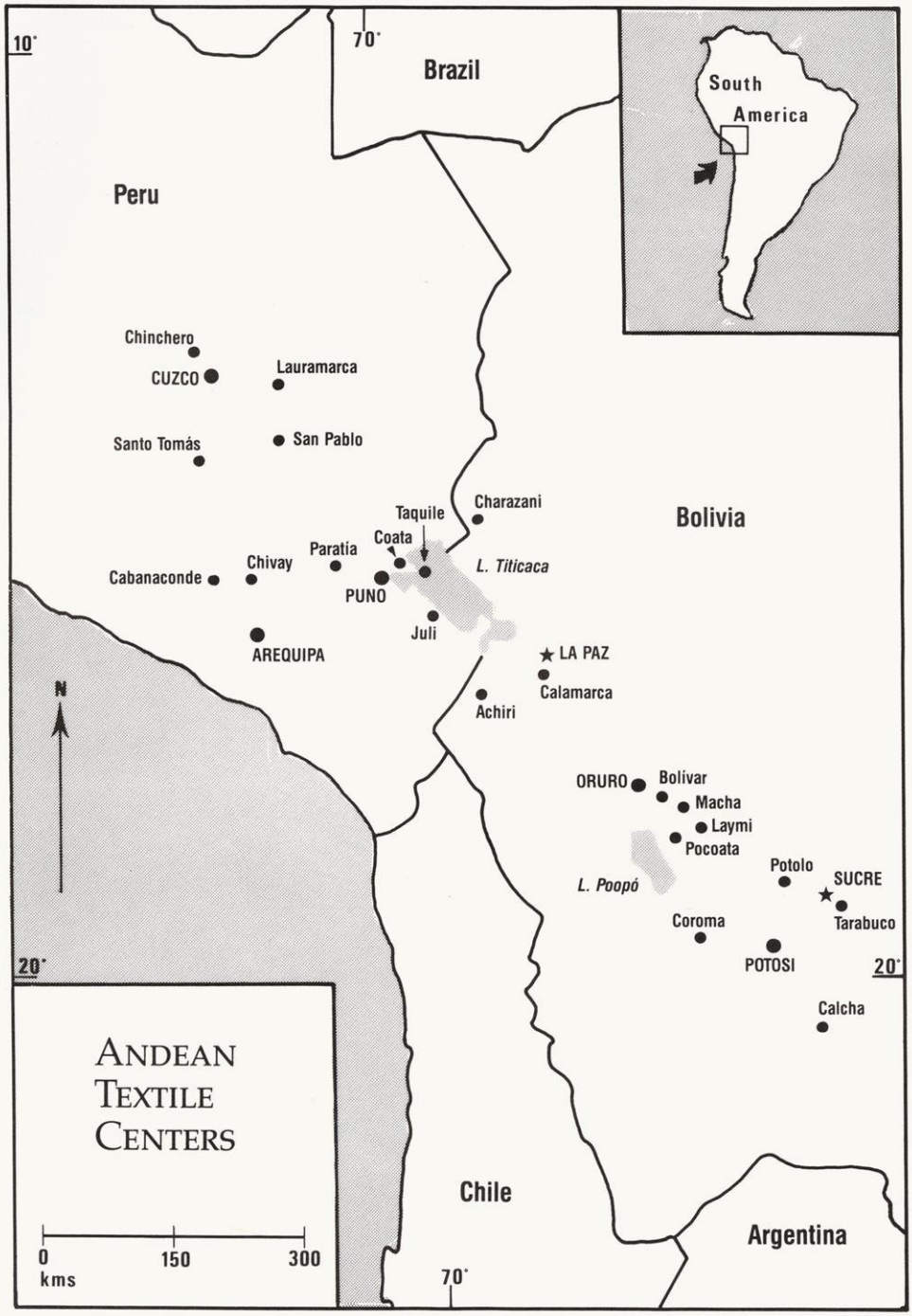
More to the point, for example, is the sharp contrast between the context of contemporary textiles and that of decorated Chavín textiles. In the latter case, one finds virtually the same array of Chavín stylistic elements in the textiles as one encounters in the stone carving of Chavín de Huantar, or in the ceramics from highlands or coast, or even in such goldwork as has survived. Virtually all media are used to express Chavín iconography. Another excellent case is Nazca where the bird motif, for example, appears on a huge scale in the famous desert geoglyphs, as well as on cloth and pottery. There is a kind of consistency here which appears to be largely absent today, partly no doubt because many communities do not work in multiple media, but partly also because of the disruptions caused by conversion to Christianity and the colonial period suppression of the symbols of paganism. Yet we know from the studies published here and from ethnographic work of the last decade or so that selected parts of the ancient order, especially with respect to landscape and cosmos, do survive and are incorporated into some aspects of the contemporary world view.

The parameters within which an individual weaver may innovate and elaborate today are touched upon in the pages that follow. This sets me wondering about the degree of artistic license and how the parameters were defined in pre-Hispanic times. The wonderful geometric variations played on the iconographic themes of the gateway of the sun at Tiwanaku, so well described and illustrated by Alan Sawyer (1963), immediately come to mind. What freedoms and restraints were enjoyed and endured by the Middle Horizon weavers who produced these wonderful, almost cubistic, motifs. Were they in any way analogous to the ones described here for contemporary weavers?

In 1532, the beginning of the end of the long and mostly indigenous development of Andean civilization, the Inka ruled from what is now Colombia to Northwest Argentina and Northern Chile. Because the conquering Spaniards observed and selectively recorded Inka life as they saw it at the time of contact and shortly thereafter, we have unusual insights into the role of textiles in Andean life, insights lacking for earlier cultures. As John Murra (1962) comments in his major contribution to the subject of the role of cloth in the Inka state:

> There is nothing strange in the political use of prestige objects; the novelty consists in discovering that, in the Andean area, the artifact of greatest prestige and thus the most useful in peer relations was cloth. . . . A primary source of state revenues, an annual chore among peasant obligations, a common sacrificial offering, cloth could also serve at different times and occasions as a status symbol or a token of enforced citizenship, as burial furniture, bride-wealth or armistice sealer. No political, military, social, or religous event was complete without textiles being volunteered or bestowed, burned, exchanged, or sacrificed.

During the colonial period Spanish ideas merged with Andean ones, though as George Foster (1960) points out, what the Spaniards brought with them was a kind of streamlined Spanish culture, and as Craig Morris and I (1985) stress, there was a great amount of cultural variation within the Inka state. What emerged from the combination of cultures is probably more analogous to a series of chemical compounds than to mixture. Yet, despite the internal variety and the very difficult problems of interpretation, I feel strongly that the present can help elucidate the past, just as the past, as it is perceived, helps both to explain and to justify the present. The exhibition and the essays in this catalogue do much to accomplish this bi-directional end in the hitherto largely underemphasized area of textiles and their role in Andean society.



Introduction

Blenda Femenias

The Andes Mountains are the site of unique artistic developments, today as in the past. This catalogue presents art from Peru and Bolivia, in the south-central Andean region. The fifty-four art works presented are textiles and costumes from the Helen Allen Textile Collection, augmented by private loans. I selected these objects according to criteria that relate them to Andean artistic traditions. All were produced within the last century by members of Quechua- and Aymara-speaking ethnic groups who live in the highlands of southern Peru and Bolivia. The garments or accessories were handmade by individuals for personal or family use, sale, or trade. Few have been exhibited, or described in print.

The contemporary Andean artist most often works with loom, yarn, and fabric. Although many of the woven garments present a flat surface, a garment is essentially sculptural: it is intended to appear in a three-dimensional form. The "fine" arts, traditionally the subject of western European art history, have their place in Andean art history, and creative forms are still made in other media, such as carved gourds and ceramic sculpture, but it is in the textiles and costumes that modern Andean culture has found its fullest range of artistic expression. Andean garments intrigue us because they represent at once mastery of disciplined formal properties and cultural stylistic traits, and spontaneous, individual creative expression. One goal of this exhibition and its catalogue is to give an overview of central Andean garments while highlighting their aesthetic qualities.

Many essential formal and stylistic qualities of Andean textiles are represented here, but spatial arrangement of design elements, or "layout", is the dominant organizing principle presented in Chapter I. The vertical, horizontal, and diagonal axes are considered. Each garment or personal accessory has a finite number of forms. For example, the man's poncho may be small or large, covering only the shoulders or most of the body, but it is always rectangular, with a slit for the head. Most ponchos are striped, though the stripes may be grouped into wide bands, scattered across the fabric, or otherwise arranged. Both layout and stylistic variants are examined as they relate to formal properties.

However, I do not discuss art and aesthetics in isolation here, but am concerned with the context of artistic expression. The cultural history and mythology of a given region provide an ample repertoire of motifs and styles for depicting those motifs. Individual design elements—whether they characterize specific Andean regions or seem to be pan-Andean—as well as the overall role of iconography, are addressed here, but with caution. While a motif may be consistently used, its meaning may vary from area to area and even between individuals. We must not presume that local or cultural tendencies are "rules" that a "craftsman" must follow. The role of the individual artist should not be, but all too often has been, overlooked. The artist reaffirms a shared vision by replicating the forms that characterize his or her society. Meanwhile, new forms and styles are continually introduced, as well as new tools, techniques,

An embroidery workshop in Coporaque, Peru. Susana Bernal and Leonardo Mejía are embroidering skirts on treadle sewing machines. Skeins of yarn hang on the wall between them.

Woman weaving on staked loom, on the *puna* or *altiplano* (high plain) near Lake Titicaca, probably in the Department of Puno, Peru. Photographer unknown, possibly Helen Allen, 1937.

and machines for creating those forms. I firmly believe that these introductions require us to broaden the field of inquiry beyond traditional designs and weaving techniques. In this catalogue I have included recent technology, such as sewing machine embroidery (see photograph on page 1), currently used to create typical Andean garments. All the authors examine cultural dynamics that allow innovation to enter, and then selectively to become established, within a society.

Until recently, preoccupation with technology dominated those few contemporary textile studies that dealt with objects, perhaps influenced by the notion that today's textiles were static, unchanging copies of antique works, preserving the form but not the content of extinct Inka culture (Kubler 1971 [1961]). Art history, however, has been more concerned with pre-Columbian artifacts. In this concern, it is many years out of synchronization with trends in ethnology, a field in which before the early twentieth century, "inquiry into Andean peoples was predominantly antiquarian, and did not make much effort to cross the frontier of colonial hierarchy into a contemporary indigenous society whose relevance to archaic splendors was thought marginal" (Salomon 1986: 93). In this respect, ethnology has outpaced art history; the relationship between these disciplines is specifically addressed in this catalogue in the Ethnoaesthetics section below, because I believe that only through an interdisciplinary approach can we hope to achieve an accurate image of Andean textiles and, more importantly, of the people who create them.

Many thousands of such weavings are now in museum and private collections outside of Andean countries, especially in the United States. Their beauty has drawn the attention of collectors, but unfortunately all too often this has led to the removal of the object from its context. (Ironically, one effect of legislation preventing the removal of pre-Columbian artifacts from the country of origin was "shortage" among collectors which enhanced the value and escalated trade of more recent textiles.) This is unfortunate because the object cannot fulfill part of its intended role as heirloom, and because documentation seldom precedes collection. That has partly been the case with the Allen Collection. The core holdings, a small group of about thirty ethnographic textiles and about one hundred pre-Columbian textiles, were largely assembled by Helen Allen during forty-one years on the University of Wisconsin faculty (1927–1968). In 1937, Allen traveled to Cuzco (see photograph), where she purchased several of the Peruvian textiles included in this catalogue and exhibition. The Andean ethnographic holdings now number over two hundred objects. I strongly feel that it is the museum's responsibility to find and disseminate as much information as possible about the objects in its possession, and that the contribution of the individual who created the object should be acknowledged as primary. As yet, no Andean artist has achieved the stature of the southwestern Native North American ceramist María Martínez, and in many cases, it is too late to learn who created some of the most magnificent Andean textiles.

However, it is not my view that nostalgia for the faded glory of the heyday of Andean weaving is an appropriate attitude. Andean people have valid reasons for creating fine textiles and for ceasing to do so. Dress is intimately connected to many aspects of daily and ceremonial life. We make special mention of gender and kinship structures, because most fine Andean textiles (in our area of study) are made by women, often within the domestic setting. These women are creative individuals and contributors to the continuity of their own cultural traditions, which men and women may construct differently, using varying patterns of gender relations. Kinship is crucial because it is a primary reason for creating an object, often providing the means to obtain the necessary materials and an arrangement that allows adequate time for the creative activity. In addition, changes in kinship, marriage and other social relationships influence changes in design and use of the objects.

We may be approaching the ability to comprehend these changes, and correct misconceptions; for in recent years, an unprecedented amount of ethnological fieldwork has centered on or included textile arts-related questions. Most of this research has been conducted in regions where handmade garments still have meaning for the individual as a means of cultural expression. As a result, we now have an important body of documentation about contemporary and historical changes in Andean garments. The present catalogue is intended to synthesize, critique, and complement some existing literature, and to expand on certain aspects of it. In it we have presented modern Andean textiles, most from this century, seldom attempting historical

comparisons between textiles of different periods from specific regions. Regional stylistic continuity over time cannot be proven in the absence of documentary evidence as A. Rowe noted ten years ago (1977a: 8), nor can an uninterrupted presence since pre-Hispanic times be supposed.

A major aim was to draw together the work of several scholars of Andean textiles, art and culture, who have conducted fieldwork in Peru and Bolivia (see About the Authors preceding Preface). Their fieldwork has given them insight into the nature of creativity as expressed in textile production, and the relationship of the object and its maker to the culture. Although we may speak loosely of Andeanness, or *lo andino,* we should remember that regional and local variations occur throughout the Andes, and that generalizations based on a small number of field studies are dangerously misleading. Therefore, each author presents her own findings in a separate chapter. The authors were asked to contribute because their work deals with distinct, but related, aspects of Andean textiles and the people who create them. Their essays will, it is hoped, make a significant contribution to the growing body of literature on Andean textiles, and their questions and methods should encourage us to keep seeking new avenues of research.

In Chapter II, Lynn Meisch discusses concepts and motifs evident in the textiles of one region in southern Bolivia. Numerous small communities in the Tarabuco area wear stylistically similar costumes, which represent their ethnic identity as Tarabucans, but each community is distinguished by the specific motifs woven into the garments. Meisch finds that the complete costume, the individual garments and accessories, and the woven motifs all have significance on different levels. Furthermore, many individual motifs have meanings which relate to a larger body of Andean thought.

In Calcha, Bolivia, however, Mary Ann Medlin (Chapter III) finds that, although the designs have names, women weavers there consistently deny any associated meaning. Medlin therefore focuses on the role of weaving, and especially of creating the woven designs in Calcha. Again, the overall association of distinctive dress with ethnic identity is important. But the women's constant involvement with a dynamic creative process is both socially and individually desirable among the Calcha. Medlin's work stresses the high level of skill needed by the weaver, the uniqueness of the cloth she produces, and the overriding importance of this cloth in daily life, where it serves to connect the woman to her society at every level. Of special interest is her discussion of how new designs are introduced, which should add considerably to our ability to analyze regional and local styles.

The Calcha produce textiles almost exclusively for their own use. A very different scenario is presented in Chapter IV by Elayne Zorn, who discusses the impact of tourism on the island community of Taquile, Lake Titicaca, Peru. While Taquilean textiles resemble in many respects those of mainland lakeshore communities and of other islands, a tourist boom in the last ten years has given Taquile international fame. This has affected not only the physical appearance of the object, but even the social relations between women weavers and male vendors. Zorn discusses the economics of aesthetics: the pragmatic considerations that influence aesthetic choices weavers make. She has also found that if looking "authentically Indian" is central to their marketing strategy, increased textile sales make Taquileans look more conservative than they act. Zorn's analysis of these varied effects is important for future application to other communities that may turn to tourism as a means to increase their income.

ETHNOAESTHETICS AND ANDEAN ART

Ethnoaesthetics[1] is an interdisciplinary field of study that relates culture to art. The impulse behind ethnoaesthetics has come from anthropologists and been embraced by some art historians and critics. Its primary tenet is that aesthetics is rooted in culture, so that the study of art should be grounded in ethnology. Aesthetic principles are not absolute standards, and an art work cannot be judged by its adherence to or deviation from such standards. Nearly thirty years ago, d'Azevedo advocated rejecting the notion of intrinsic aesthetic value. "The significance of any object—its 'form'—can be ascertained only with reference to the esthetic values of the members of a given sociocultural system for whom it functions esthetically. Furthermore, it must be viewed in the context of specific action-situations which reveal its meaning and function for the individual members of a society" (1958: 706).

The quality of the action that goes into the creation or use may also give the object artistic qualities not apparent from visual observation only. Art is a dynamic process that constitutes a relationship between artist, concept, culture, materials, and audience. For example, in northern Chile the simplicity of striped patterns in Aymara storage bags belies the complexity of the cultural concepts they embody (Cereceda 1978, 1986).

Ethnoaesthetics gives us a clearer window through which to view the art of many cultures. While other cultures define art differently than ours, most still make aesthetic distinctions. In such cases, aesthetic quality may be close to the object's essence, and a term meaning right, good, or appropriate, rather than beautiful, may be used.

Art collecting has preceded systematic research about art production in most of the world and all too often we judge art outside its context. Connoisseurs and art historians, confronted with objects very new to them, have sought out affinities in works from their own culture. They often had no other basis for comparison or evaluation. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, when artifact collecting by colonialists was unrestrained, art criticism and anthropology shared the same biases, seeing other cultures and their art as less evolved versions of our own. "Primitive" was simply a synonym for colonized (Graburn 1976: 4).

In addition, "primitive" implies an "assumption that there is some fundamental distinction between 'primitive' and 'civilized' art" (Hatcher 1985: 3). That is, arts produced by all cultures outside the western Mediterranean heritage, the traditional domain of art history, are considered together, as if their very difference from that tradition renders them somehow similar. Until recently, this ethnocentrism obscured the pursuit of the real differences and similarities that can only be determined by careful field work. Use of the term "primitive" art unfortunately persists to this day, although now usually with a disclaimer from authors who do not consider it pejorative.[2]

A single adequate replacement term would not suffice, for there are numerous art traditions that are "non-Western." Haselberger, for example, proposed "ethnological art" (1961). Graburn's scheme of seven types of "changing arts of the Fourth World" (1976: 4–9) is the most successful, as it takes into account factors that characterize widely divergent arts. The primary division is audience or intent, for example whether artifacts are made by and for use within the ethnic group, or produced for sale.

Ethnoaesthetics also addresses the role of the artist. In Western civilization, the artist is often seen as the individual who stands in opposition to society, one whose role it is to express an authentic, essential feeling that may run counter to social preference. This professional artist creates "fine" art; that produced by other means may be termed "craft," "folk" or "decorative art." In many societies art is more integrated into life and the originality implied by the "cult of individualism" may not be valued; the skills and beliefs necessary to create art are commonly held by many people (Graburn 1976: 23). "Nonverbal personal characteristics in the work" may be detectable only by members of the local group (*ibid.*: 21; Cerny 1985). Objects thus produced, embedded as they are in daily or ritual concerns, are more overtly functional than "fine" art.

In Western society, merit is generally accorded to works with little or no practical function. This narrow view would effectively mean that very few cultures produce art, for in most other societies, utility is presumed (whether in a secular or a sacred context). A utilitarian object, when imbued with some aesthetic aspect, should be termed an art work.

No study published to date has focused exclusively on the aesthetic aspects of contemporary Andean textile arts, but Verónica Cereceda in a recent (unpublished) article (n.d. [1984]) discusses Aymara aesthetic concepts. Aesthetics goes beyond visual impressions of physical attributes; it deals with ideology as well as commonly accepted values. Aymara terminology "establishes relations between an idea of beauty and other ideas;" in Aymara thought, "we find not just 'one' idea of beauty, but a plurality of concepts (a semantic field of imprecise limits), and, even more, processes: according to the grade of intensity of beauty, its values are transformed, going from tranquil enchantment to sacred terror" (*ibid.*: 6, my translation).

Cereceda seeks the roots of contemporary ideas about beauty in six "texts": myths, drawings, textiles, and verbal expression; from her preliminary analysis some common themes emerge. First, Aymara terms may be general or refer to specific characteristics. Second, there is a relationship between aesthetic quality and other meanings. Third, terms for beauty often relate to verbs that imply certain operations done to an object, putting it into a state that is beautiful. Fourth, beauty is not a benign quality, it is related to danger and even to death.

For example, in an Inka myth a woman's beauty plays a central role, enabling the Inka Tupaj Yupanki to win a game of chance. Cereceda finds that the term *wayru*, which figures prominently in his victory, has multiple meanings which relate to many levels of Andean thought. It can refer to place, number, colors, seeds, textiles, or other concepts, meaning variously: the place of origin of the queen in the myth, the number one, highest quality (such as the relative beauty of Andean princesses), a color combination of red and black, an Amazonian seed or Puno textile featuring those colors, or, the opposition of brightness and darkness, such as fire, that red and black represent, or a funeral game. The meaning of juxtaposition of opposites is central to her interpretation that beauty can mean danger.

Cereceda began this line of inquiry after a conversation with women weavers in Isluga, Chile. When asked which of their designs was the most beautiful, they all replied it was the *k'isas*, gradated colored stripes, to the surprise of Cereceda who expected them to name a pick-up motif (*ibid.*: 43). Analyzing that choice she finds that this polychrome striped band is associated with the rainbow, which unites the natural and supernatural worlds, and thus with transformation.

Cereceda's experience suggests a *caveat*. While there is much to learn from the objects themselves, it is difficult, if not impossible, for us to avoid applying European and American standards of beauty in assessing these objects. While the work of Adelson, Tracht, Takami (1978, 1983), and others has greatly increased American exposure to Bolivian weavings, the works could not have been accepted if some of their qualities did not coincide with our concept of art. The exquisite coloring and compelling geometry of antique weavings coalesces with art and design trends of recent decades, such as Gene Davis's striped paintings.[3] While our desire for the handmade and unusual drives us to find and collect Andean art, it is the familiarity rather than the exoticism that enables us to "appreciate" it.

BACKGROUND OF ANDEAN COSTUME AND TEXTILE STUDIES

Since cloth pervades Andean society, it has drawn the attention of scholars from a variety of disciplines. Individual cloth objects may be prized as examples of fine art, or the collective production of one weaver or town may be noted for its social importance. The very richness of the Andean textile tradition has led to varied approaches, a review of which suggests a complexity characterized more by eccentricity than by cohesion. Few scholars have

focused primarily on textile-related questions; more often, the line of inquiry intersects with some aspect of textile production and use. The following preliminary overview should serve several purposes: to help classify these approaches in terms of a relational schema of larger categories, to provide an accessible guide to locating materials on many aspects of Andean textile studies, and to relate the existing literature to the present discussion of Andean aesthetics.[4]

When the Spanish invaded what is now Peru in 1532, they noted at once the tremendous quantity and quality of Inka textile production, and the importance of woven garments to Inka life (Murra 1962). It is on that early production that interest has focused until recently. Therefore, this review of Andean textile scholarship focuses on studies from the last decade, rather than previous ones. In 1977, the chairperson of the South American ethnographic panel of a major textile conference was forced to conclude that little data on the topic had been added since the 1950s (Seiler-Baldinger 1977: 17). The convening of scholars of both archaeological and ethnological textiles at the 1984 Junius Bird Conference was a significant event. In the publication that resulted, W. Conklin noted that before 1973, only two articles on Bolivian textiles had ever been published (A. Rowe, ed. 1986: 8). The intervening decade, however, has seen a proliferation of such studies.

Art and iconography

Approaches to Andean contemporary art have in general been regional, or schematic. Girault catalogued motifs woven in Charazani, Bolivia, and discussed them in sections on aesthetics and symbolism (1969: 36–52). Solari's work on Taquile (1983), in which she catalogued the motifs found on a woman's shawl, is perhaps more important for its influence on subsequent textile design, than for the information it imparts (see Chapter IV for further discussion). The very concept of iconography as a system of pictorial representation may be problematic, as C. Franquemont (1986) found in Chinchero. The larger problem of how Andean people characterize objects is dealt with in Chapter I.

Several schemes for classifying ''non-western" art dealing directly or indirectly with the Andes have been proposed. One is Stastny's volume on Peruvian folk or popular art (1984), in which he addresses both the modern functions and historical dimensions of Peruvian folk art. His analytic categories cut across media boundaries, but he also examines textiles and other media separately and he has developed the first comprehensive classification of Peruvian folk art. In his categories, class is paramount, linked closely to intent; folk art is made by individuals for their own use or by artisans for those of the same class; artifacts made for the upper class (e.g. woodcarvings for Peruvian churches) are not genuine folk art. Further, most folk art is first utilitarian and second decorative. When "folk" art is produced for or sold to tourists, the roles are reversed and the object loses all symbolic content while retaining the traditional form (*ibid.*: 18).

Nelson Graburn's (1976) more fully developed scheme for categorizing "fourth world" art can be contrasted to Stastny's. For Graburn intent is dominant; the authentic and the saleable may not be so easily separated. Zorn has discussed the question of intent and the effect of tourism on Taquile (this volume, Chapter IV; also Zorn n.d. [1985]). There, weavers now make a belt, wear it for a while, and then sell it; the use enhancing its value.

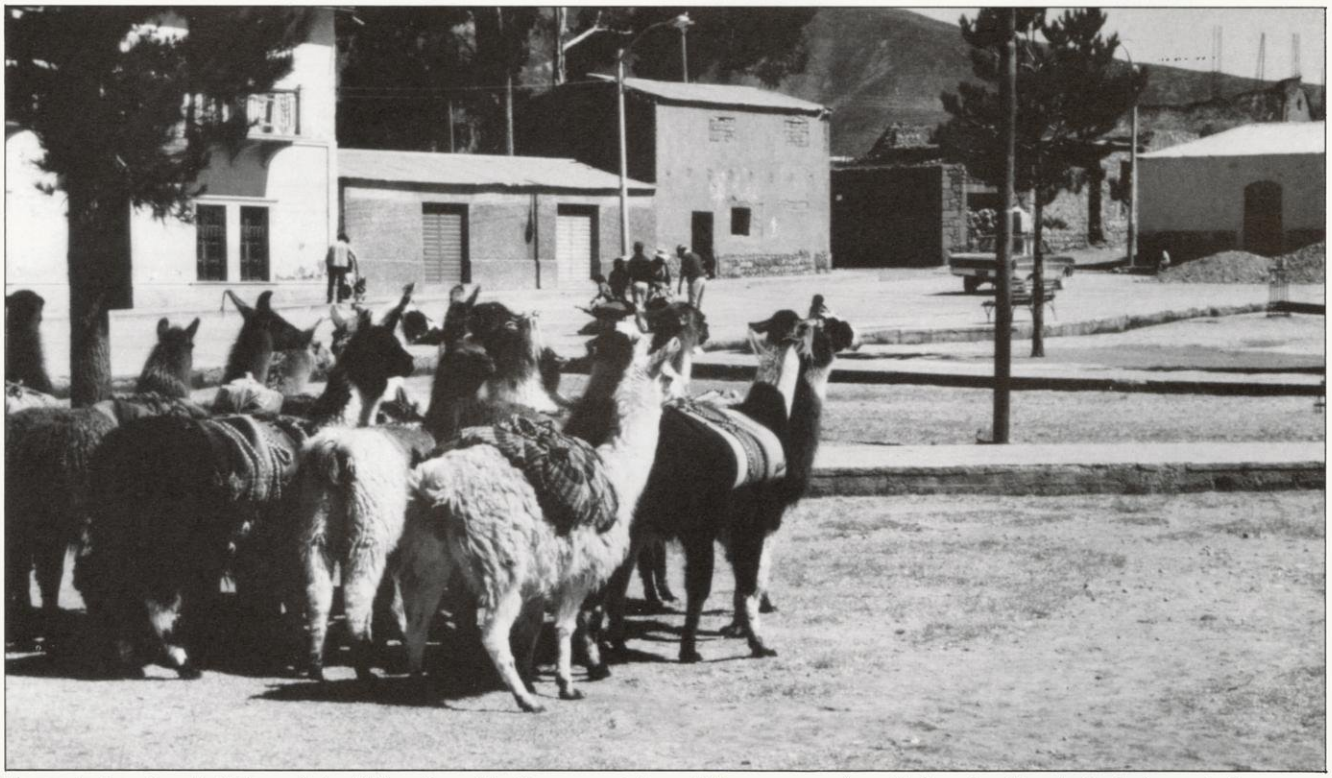
Under the intent umbrella, Graburn classifies seven other types of art: Extinction (a process rather than a type), traditional fine arts, commercial fine arts, souvenirs, reintegrated, assimilated, and popular (1976: 5–9). A given society may have all seven types. While the handwoven Andean textile is a traditional art form, according to Graburn, other costume items should be seen as reintegrated, using ideas, materials and techniques formerly characteristic of the dominant culture.

Costume, art, and ethnicity

The Peruvian costume as a visual art form has received little serious attention. Castañeda's (1981) pioneering overview of regional dress features short chapters on costumes from seventeen regions of Peru. Though a guidebook of this sort was sorely needed, because she uses watercolors rather than photographs, her visual representations are in no sense objective, and the very details that distinguish one costume from another are obscured. The long delay between her data collection and the volume's publication further impaired its usefuless by outdating some of its information. For Bolivia, most work has been descriptive rather than analytical (e.g., Adelson and Takami 1978).

The visual aspect of costume is far from its only importance. To an extent, adherence to traditional clothing indicates ethnic affiliation. The relationship between race, class, ethnicity and costume is problematic, however. Van den Berghe and Primov term style of dress "a relatively reliable objective index of ethnicity" for Cuzco (1977: 119). They enumerate certain diagnostic items of "traditional styles" but weaken their own argument of this "objectivity" by pointing out "complications that make such simple categorical judgments inaccurate" (*ibid.*). As Medlin (1983: 5) noted, van den Berghe and Primov's view of ethnicity takes an etic perspective—by asking how non-Indian observers can determine what is Indian (non-white), rather than an emic perspective by asking how indigenous people determine ethnic categories. Ethnicity is also closely associated with place of origin, because Andean people have a close association with the natural landscape which they view as the embodiment of vitality.

Furthermore, use of native dress is not based only on internal social factors. Racism and discrimination are prevalent in Latin American society, and since colonial times, adoption of European-style clothing has been forced by the government or chosen by native peoples for many reasons,



Llamas in the plaza in Chivay, Colca Valley, Peru. The llamas were brought in a caravan from higher elevations to trade for agricultural products from the valley.

including avoiding discrimination (see Medlin n.d.b, Femenias 1984: 61, van den Berghe and Primov 1977).

New studies that address the physical attributes of Peruvian dress, the social meaning of dress, and the ritual significance of individual components are on the increase (Femenias n.d., Ackerman n.d.).

Environment and culture

Environment has always had a significant influence on Andean cultural development. The Andes are dramatic and varied in their beauty, but they can be a formidable challenge to those seeking a livelihood. The relationship of indigenous people to their mountain environment has therefore been a major focus of ethnological research. While we are still far from achieving an accurate picture of the environmental adaptations, several factors have emerged that relate to textile studies. Such adaptations are most readily characterized as pastoral (highest altitudes) and agricultural (lower altitudes), but there are many variations between and combining these two strategies.

These patterns of "verticality" have been defined by John Murra, and re-interpreted by numerous authors since (Murra 1972, Salomon 1986). Vertical relationships are ostensibly complementary relationships between different ecological zones; they echo both environmental factors that cause mutual interdependence and the social organization that stems from a dualistic structure. Understanding Andean dualism and complementarity is a vital part of understanding the textile arts and related rituals. Wool for weaving (and sometimes the textiles themselves) comes from the high Andean plateau (*puna* or *altiplano*) and is brought to the lower elevations for sale and barter; other items, including cotton cloth, are brought up from the coast. The wool is from sheep, or from several species of fur-bearing camelids native to the Andes—llama, alpaca, vicuña, and guanaco (see photograph).

Flores Ochoa (1968, 1977) documents the rhythms of pastoral life in which wool and woven textiles are important socially and economically. A vertical system tightly links social and economic relationships. Trade routes followed for centuries are secured by establishing bonds between individuals and families. Textiles are exchanged by sale or barter (*trueque;* see Casaverde 1977) for maize and other foods.

Among pastoralists, woven fabrics have a ritual role which carries over from pre-Columbian practices (see Murra 1962). Bodies were buried in textile-wrapped mummy bundles and removed at intervals for use in ceremonies honoring the dead. During the Spanish Conquest this "idolatrous" custom was violently discouraged by the Church, and *wakas* (mummies, tombs or sacred sites) were burned. Owing to this opposition, the textile itself, without the actual mummy, apparently took on added significance. In modern Bolivia and Peru *q'epi* (or *señalu q'epi*), textile-wrapped bundles containing numerous sacred items

including other textiles, are still part of the ritual paraphernalia of chiefly office and associated with camelid fertility (*enqaychu*) (Adelson and Tracht 1983: 17, Flores Ochoa 1977: 215, Zorn 1986: 292), symbolizing "the relation between the herder of the high puna and the natural and supernatural worlds that form his environment" (Flores Ochoa 1977: 217, my translation).

Gender and kinship

The links between textiles and gender are often noted in the literature but all too rarely elaborated on. Weaving is important in women's lives because they are often the primary textile producers, and stages of the production process reinforce kinship and other social ties through acquisition of materials and distribution of finished goods.

Harris (1978) relates weaving to the married couple, *chachawarmi* (literally manwoman). As in many areas, among the Laymi of Potosí, Bolivia, both men and women weave, but on different looms; men use the treadle loom to make yardage, and women the backstrap loom to make traditional shawls (*awayu*) and ponchos. The division is practical and symbolic, and implies need for exchange. "Neither sex knows how to do the weaving of the other and each possesses their own weaving implements. It is this unbreakable division of labour in weaving that is given as one of the most urgent reasons for marriage" (1978: 30). Chachawarmi is important not just socially and economically; conceptually, it embodies the complementarity and unity that characterize Andean society (*ibid.*: 22). Marriage is the desired unity because complementarity implies the union of opposites, not the combination of like things: "the fruitful cooperation of woman and man as a unity that produced culture [which] is based on duality, and contrasted with what has remained single when it should be paired" (*ibid.*: 27–8).

In Calcha, Bolivia, Mary Ann Medlin (1983) finds that weaving relates closely to women's other responsibilities. A Calcha woman produces cloth because someone needs it, perhaps her brother for his wedding. She relies on her kin to obtain necessary materials and to help her learn the requisite skills. Every Calcha woman is expected to become a proficient weaver for herself and her family, but in reality some women are more accomplished and may become specialists.

Medlin (1986) has also examined the process of learning to weave, which parallels the socialization process of becoming a woman. Similar research has been done by the Franquemonts (n.d. [1984]) in Chinchero, Peru. Both studies find that the crucial activity is learning, not teaching. Girls learn by copying finished works, imitating the actions of older weavers as they weave, weaving warps made for them by older weavers, and experimenting independently when adults are not present.

Women are at once producers and creators of cloth. While the cloth they produce must fall within certain formal limits and have specific social uses, the weavers still control the design process. Thus the woven art work expresses the woman's individuality as conditioned by the culture. Few other creative or expressive outlets may be available to women.

Among the Laymi, Harris (1980) finds that weaving and singing are considered female domains, while spoken discourse is male. Thus, although women are discouraged from public speaking, they are far from silent: "their involvement in the two major forms of artistic production gives them a voice" (*ibid.*: 73). Girls are expected and encouraged to compose songs and to sing at festivals. Married women are not; they "use language metaphorically . . . through weaving," and this "unbroken activity" continues to be theirs through adulthood (1980: 74–75).

Technology

While the technology of Andean textiles has been the aspect most often studied, we are still far from achieving a full picture. Research long focused on pre-Columbian examples, but modern textile studies began in earnest in the late 1960s with research on spinning and production rates in Cuzco (Bird 1968, Goodell 1968); Goodell (1969) also helped to popularize Quechua textiles. Ann Rowe's early work was also in Cuzco (A. Rowe 1975, 1977b). In her major contribution *Warp-Patterned Weaves of the Andes* (1977a), she builds on Emery's (1966) structural vocabulary to analyze the Textile Museum's Andean collections, comparing structures common to pre-Columbian and contemporary textiles. In *The Art of Bolivian Highland Weaving,* Cason and Cahlander (1976) go beyond structural analysis to replication. They document the techniques used in contemporary Bolivian textiles and provide instructions for handweavers to duplicate and adapt those techniques. Other notable studies include Zorn (1979), and E. Franquemont (1983), and most recently, follow-up studies build on earlier fieldwork, such as E. Franquemont (1986) and A. Rowe (1984).

Technical analyses have shown the weaving technology to be varied, complex, and enduring. A. Rowe, for example, has strived "to determine the degree to which the modern weaving tradition is derived from the ancient one" (1977a: 7). While the intended vindication of Andean capabilities is laudable, one unfortunate by-product has been that the authentically Andean is too often seen as *only* that extending from before the Spanish conquest. Other techniques have been neglected. Dyes and dyeing and treadle loom weaving have received only cursory attention (e.g., Zümbuhl 1980, Frame 1983). Embroidery, tailoring, knitting, crocheting are virtually undocumented; regardless of origin, many techniques have been in constant use for over four centuries, earning a secure place in Andean traditions. Scholars who aim to construct an accurate, balanced picture of Andean technology must address these, and other, more recent techniques. My own recent documentation of machine embroidered clothing in the Colca Valley moves in this direction (see photograph on page 1; also Femenias n.d.).

In addition, comparing the relationship between preferred textile structures and the overall structure of Andean society may prove fruitful. A. Rowe (1977a, 1984) names double-faced structures using two terms that figure prominently in many discussions of Andean society: the complementary and the reciprocal. This may be more than coincidental; the symmetry of a cloth with two like faces may coincide with the symmetry preferred conceptually. Indeed, *qompi,* the term used for the finest Inka cloth, long thought to refer to tapestry, may mean instead two-faced cloth. Desrosiers's (1986) analysis of a *qompi* belt weaving draft from a colonial manuscript proved that the term referred to a complementary warp structure rather than tapestry.

Franquemont, Isbell and Franquemont (n.d. [1987]) see the complex patterns woven in Chinchero, Peru, as mathematical permutations of structural cells, manifesting more abstract conceptual components. The practice of weaving is likened to larger cultural practices: "weaving is a powerful Andean strategy that organizes a network of relations and produces artistic means of representing a proper cultural place, and a proper cultural identity" (*ibid.:* 2). We are only beginning to learn about the concepts that motivate Andean artists (see, for example, Cereceda 1978, 1986). The value of technical studies can transcend description or structural analysis, leading us from the world of things into the world of ideas.

Design Principles in Andean Textiles

Blenda Femenias

Characteristics and concepts

Andean textiles are unique, possessing special characteristics that distinguish them from those made anywhere else. They can be divided into two basic types based on origin, native American or European. Most of the former use minimal construction, and can often be opened out "flat." In this chapter, both types are presented. Though the distinction sometimes blurs, the pre-Columbian origin and loom type of the flat textiles heavily influences the form; therefore, they are discussed first.

A textile is often called a pliable plane, for its smooth, planar surface can easily be manipulated into other configurations. However, the textile is actually composed of several planes intermeshed. At least two sets of warp threads interact with at least one weft. During weaving, the warps operate in different planes, and the weft in a third (the shed). I mention this distinction because recent research by Lynn Meisch (Chapter II) shows that the interaction of warp and weft, an element of the anthropomorphization of the textile as woven, is retained by the finished object.

Andean textiles woven on traditional, pre-Hispanic loom types (see A. Rowe 1977a, Zorn 1979) have four selvedges. They differ from fabrics woven on many other (especially European) type looms in that they are not intended to be cut. (An exception is the Tarabuco *kunka unku,* see Chapter II, Col. Pl. 6). The form of the textile is synonymous with its intended function(s). For example, while the same large, rectangular cloth may be used as a carrying cloth, shawl, or ground cover, a poncho would never be cut down for use as such a carrying cloth. Andean tailored garments, whose origins are not pre-Hispanic, are not cut from textiles made on Andean style looms. The four selvedge, uncut cloth conveys a sense of integrity.

No Andean textile is intended only to be used flat, such as for wall hangings, although some are at times spread on the ground. Andean textiles seen out of context may seem to have very rigid formats, being almost always striped or banded. But the weavers take full advantage of the pliable nature of fabric and an important component of the design of a garment is its appearance when used. At that time stripes and bands are pulled into new places, distorted, juxtaposed, to create a very dynamic mood. Zorn notes that the *unkhuña,* a small square cloth used in pastoral rituals, is always divided vertically (less often also horizontally) along the warp as woven. When the corners of the cloth are folded in and tied, however, a second square emerges, which is divided diagonally (Zorn 1986: 294). (I might argue that the final form is actually more circular than square because of the soft "walls" of the bundle.)

Spatial organization serves as the organizing principle for this chapter which begins with an examination of overall forms. Vertical linear elements are considered next, followed by the horizontal and diagonal and then the individual motifs. Color is always a significant element, and special attention is given to the objects shown in the color plates.

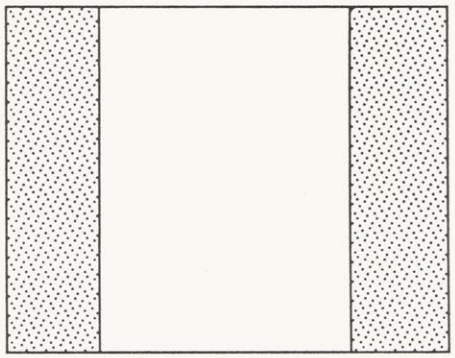
The basic Andean garments and accessories are identified first and then the characteristic layouts used are examined. In many cases, layout conforms to garment type, but this is not always the case since similar garments may use more than one layout. Though specific characteristics of individual garments have been documented, broader comparisons have rarely been attempted. Comparing layouts across garment types and geographic regions may help us conceptualize Andean garments.

Several recent studies have sought to find concepts underlying the weaving of Andean textiles. Veronica Cereceda pioneered this type of study, which incorporates structuralist thinking, with her analysis of grain storage bags woven in Isluga, an Aymara area of Chile near the Bolivian border (Cereceda 1978, 1986). She found that the bag as a whole, and specific design elements, embody a complex set of concepts. The bags have "an underlying concept beyond the plastic expression. The emotional fusion of being and fabric in the textiles woven by Isluga women imbues the textiles with qualities more complex than those possessed by cloths . . . in other cultures" (*ibid.:* 163).

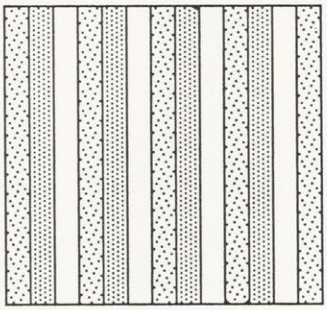
First and foremost, the bag is anthropomorphized (or possibly zoomorphized), possessing a heart and a mouth. The seed stored within feeds the bag, giving it vitality. The bags look very simple, with a series of plain warp stripes, a center warp patterned band, and sometimes side patterned bands. The center band is the heart, and the side selvedges the mouths. Other stripes have specific meanings that do not always relate to body parts. These divide the bag spatially and conceptually. The sides, which the center or heart divides, are called the body or, in Aymara *chhula,* half: that which is normally paired "in nature but is now missing its complement, such as a single ear . . ." (1986: 156). In each half, at the quarter and three quarter points, is one black band, the *allqu,* which means shadow or contrast: "not only a contrast of colors but also an opposition in natural and social phenomena such as day and night, female and male . . ." (*ibid.:* 161).

Lynn Meisch finds that textiles are also anthropomorphized in Tarabuco (Chapter II). Elayne Zorn has used Cereceda's approach to make a typology of layouts of *unkhuña* (wrapping or carrying cloths, variant spelling 'unkhuña) in Macusani, Peru (Zorn 1986). From among the eight basic types of unkhuñas, the following characteristics emerged: each was bilaterally symmetrical, with an odd number of components of which the smallest number was five: edge, axis, center, axis, edge (*ibid.:* 294–95). She views her efforts "to describe the 'unkhuña spatially and to attempt to classify it, as a beginning for analysis" (1986: 293). The classification in this chapter is also offered as a similar beginning.

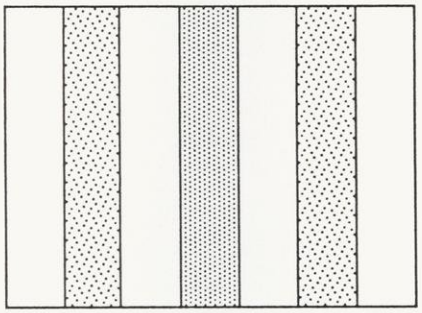
Type 1 Bands at sides only



Type 2 Stripes all the way across

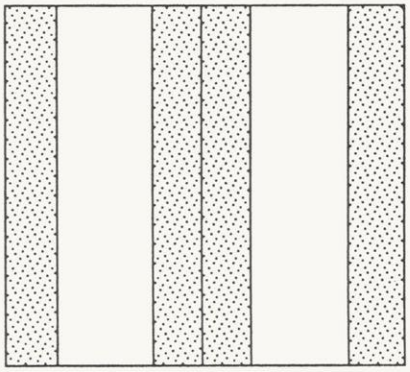


Type 3 Bands regular all the way across

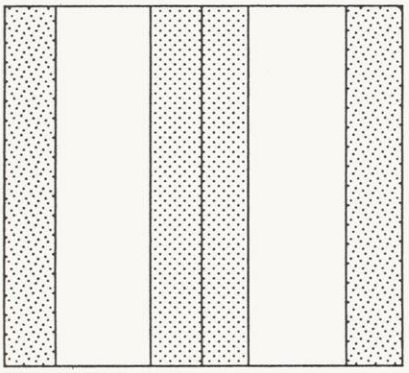


Type 4 Bands at center and sides, vacant between

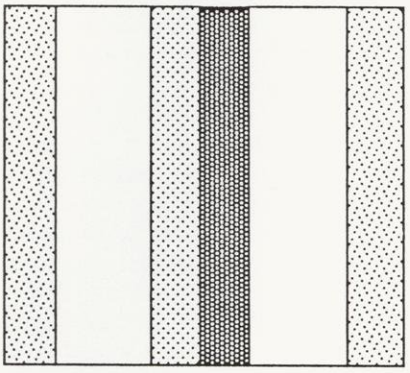
a) center and sides same



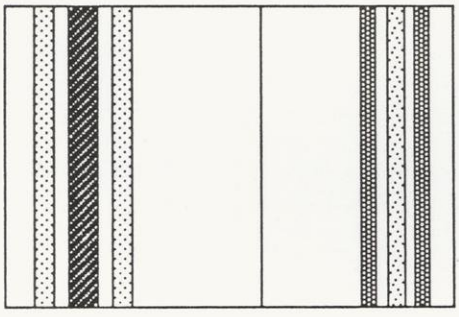
b) center and sides different, each half identical



c) center and sides different, two halves different



Type 5 Bands not matching, asymmetrical arrangement



Garments

At the time of the Spanish invasion in 1532, many indigenous garments were noted by chroniclers; some are still used, albeit in modified form. These are shawls and carrying cloths (used by both sexes), overskirt (women), and poncho (men, modified from tunic). There are numerous Quechua and Aymara terms for these textiles, and many variant spellings depending on regions.

The *lliklla* (Quechua; *awayu* in Aymara) is a rectangular, almost square garment made of two nearly identical woven rectangles seamed along one edge; woven or braided trim usually finishes the outside edges (Fig. 1, 1984.18.9). Striped, patterned and plain areas alternate, with the design determined by regional, local, family, and individual factors. Most llikllas are still handwoven by women on indigenous style looms, although in some communities men weave. Purchased shawls are now found in some areas.

Shawls are worn for warmth, but they are also standard feminine accessories. The word "shawl" does not really describe this garment which is closer to a "carrying shawl." Babies or objects to transport are bundled up and carried or tied across the back (large bags and baskets are carried on the back with a tumpline around the forehead, or lashed across the backs of llamas or burros). Other shawls or cloaks are known by various terms such as *phullu* (Quechua, *p'ullu* Aymara), *q'epirina* (Quechua), *manta* or *mantón* (Spanish) (see Meisch 1986, Zorn 1986 for specific terms; see Adelson and Tracht 1983 for glossary and Soldi n.d. for comparative glossary of terms used by chroniclers).

The *ajsu* (Quechua; *urk'u,* Aymara) or overskirt is now worn almost exclusively in Bolivia but also in Taquile, Peru (Fig. 2, 1984.18.10). Originally a wrapped dress, it was a woman's basic garment; when tailored blouses and skirts were introduced by the Spanish, the ajsu became an overdress, overskirt or apron, similar to the Spanish *delantera* (forepart) worn with sixteenth-century skirts (for the concept of garment substitution see Anawalt 1977). The ajsu is often worn over a wool dress (*almilla*). Those indigenous women who do not wear amilla and ajsu usually wear several *polleras,* European-style gathered skirts. The ajsu is fastened around the waist with a belt or sash (*chumpi,* Quecha; *w'aka,* Aymara; Fig. 3, 1984.2.1). In a few areas, such as Charazani, Bolivia, women still wear the *wincha,* a handwoven headband (Fig. 4, W.F.SA. 842).

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

The poncho, the most typical traditional Andean men's garment, is still worn today (Fig. 5, 1984.18.8). Its evolution and gradual replacement of the tunic (*unku* Quechua, *ccahua* Aymara) and large cloak (*llakolla* Quechua, *llacota* Aymara) for men is a complex problem. Bertonio's seventeenth-century dictionary characterized many types of striped llacotas (Adelson and Tracht 1983: 64, 84; these and other terms such as *ccahua,* because they refer to archaic garments, have no equivalent in modern Aymara). Together with the knitted cap (*ch'ullu,* Fig. 34, 1986.16.3), the poncho is the distinguishing feature of an *indígena* man's dress. The ponchos worn by middle class urban dwellers differ in designs and materials from those of the indigenous highlanders. The term *unku* is used in Tarabuco, Bolivia, for a small shoulder poncho (Col. Pl. 6, 1986.16.1), but its pre-Hispanic meaning was a tunic (Meisch 1986, J. Rowe 1979). Another man's garment used in Calcha, Bolivia, is a long scarf or sash (Fig. 7, 1986.16.2). Its name, *ufanta,* seems to indicate Spanish origin (*bufanda,* scarf), but it may be related to the *llakolla* as well.

Coca bags (*ch'uspa*) and small coca-carrying cloths (*unkhuña*) are also commonly used items. Men carry a supply of coca leaves for chewing in a shoulder bag (Fig. 6, 1984.18.20), while women wrap theirs in a small cloth. Such carrying cloths are made in a variety of sizes and patterns (Zorn 1986).

Design layout

Line and color are the two most essential elements of Andean design. Textiles are primarily organized into bands and stripes into which motifs may be woven. The fact that the terms band and stripe are often interchangeable has caused confusion. Here, *stripe* means a linear design element that is essentially monochrome but may be the background for design elements of other color(s). *Band* means a polychrome group of stripes which may vary in width. Wider bands may be composed of smaller bands. A single color is often inserted across a textile to separate bands. The textile is referred to as striped rather than banded when no constant color is inserted.

Five basic striped and banded layouts have been identified here. This taxonomy is offered as a preliminary step toward formulating a larger taxonomy of design, and is

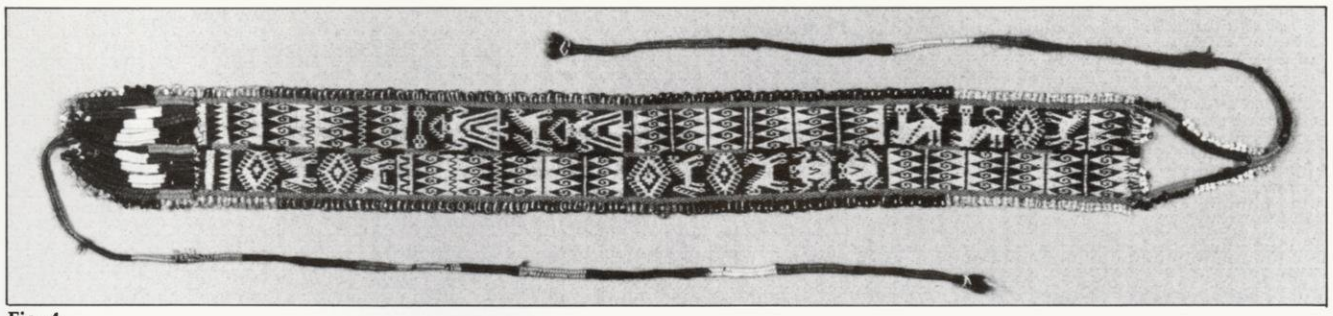


Fig. 4

Fig. 5

Fig. 6

Fig. 7

by no means intended as complete or exclusive. I have worked with a small sample of about 200 textiles, and the layout selection is not statistically based. Layout and garment type or region sometimes correspond, but one purpose of organizing the textiles spatially is to identify similarities shared by different garments and regions.

Relationship of parts

Balance is important in Andean textiles, which are usually made of one piece or two pieces sewn together.[1] Two basic arrangements are used: symmetrical, by far the most common, and asymmetrical. The woman's shawl (lliklla) is usually symmetrical (see Fig. 1). Two narrow rectangles identical in layout and size, but not always in design, are woven, then sewn along the weft selvedges, with one rectangle inverted. The man's poncho is likewise made of two symmetric pieces (see Fig. 5).

The woman's overskirt (ajsu) is usually asymmetrical (see Fig. 2). Two rectangles, often with different layouts and sizes and almost always different in design, are woven and sewn along the weft selvedge. Though asymmetrical in form, the woman's shawl may be symmetrical in design. A Bolivian shawl from the Laymi area has a violet ground and multicolor stripes (Fig. 8, 1984.2.3). The seam is not in the exact center, instead, it is at one side of the central design band. The same type of off-center seam is featured in Fig. 21 (1982.15.4).

The reasons for these arrangements are probably both conceptual and pragmatic. Ponchos and shawls are often worn with the stripes vertical, with the center along the body's center. The two halves are identical as are the halves of the body. Shawls are probably made of two different size pieces for practical reasons: when the central band is patterned, it is easier to weave one pattern band rather than two halves which must then be matched. Overskirts are worn with the stripes horizontal. The two halves are different as are the upper and lower halves of the body.

Fig. 8

DESIGN LAYOUT

Vertical elements

The bands and stripes characteristic of Andean textiles are most often the result of warp-patterning techniques which means that the layout is determined before the loom is warped. There is tremendous variety in layouts. I have identified five basic patterns of organization, and more patterns doubtlessly exist. Within these five, there are many variations. Only one or two types are illustrated at the point of discussion but examples of other types are to be found elsewhere in this catalogue.

Vertical here refers to the textiles as woven, that is, the warp direction. This does not always coincide with the appearance as worn, for the textiles are used in many different manners. This design orientation is emphasized because the weaver sees the cloth this way during the process of creation, although she keeps in mind the intended function as well. This will be apparent when we note that some individual motifs appear sideways or upside down when used (for example, the horses on Candelaria area overskirts, such as Fig. 37, 1982.16.1).

Type 1. Bands at both sides only

The simplest arrangement is a single band of color contrasting with a different color ground. A Bolivian poncho (Fig. 9, 1984.6.1) uses this arrangement, featuring a pink band at both selvedges, along either side of a brown ground. Such ponchos are woven in one piece, with the neck slit woven in, as were pre-Columbian and colonial tunics (see Adelson and Tracht 1983: 59, A. Rowe 1979).

A man's scarf from Calcha, Bolivia (Fig. 7) follows this arrangement. A gray ground is flanked on either side by two narrow bands of stripes and warp-patterning.

Type 2. Striped

Stripes all across the fabric need not be grouped into bands. In Type 2, stripes are monochrome, or may occasionally contain warp-patterned or dyed motifs.

A woman's shawl (*awayu*) from the Aymara region of Acora, Peru (Fig. 10, 1984.7.1) is a very successful example of striping. Brown, pink, black, and blue stripes alternate regularly. Each side stripe is set off by four narrow stripes, using the main colors plus a darker pink. The organization is similar to that described for Aymara bags and other textiles (Cereceda 1978, 1986, 1987). The narrow stripes provide a smooth transition between the colors by including elements of the larger color band. Such shawls are worn during a ritual vicuña hunt dance (Cohen 1986; see Adelson and Tracht 1983: Pl. 20 for a similar shawl, which they term *huallas*, an archaic term cited in Bertonio).

Elaborately striped textiles are found in the Tarabuco region of Bolivia (see Chapter II). The man's shoulder poncho *(kunka unku)*, intended for everyday use is striped all across the fabric (Fig. 35, W.L.SA. 3075). In our example, the arrangement is symmetrical from the center seam.

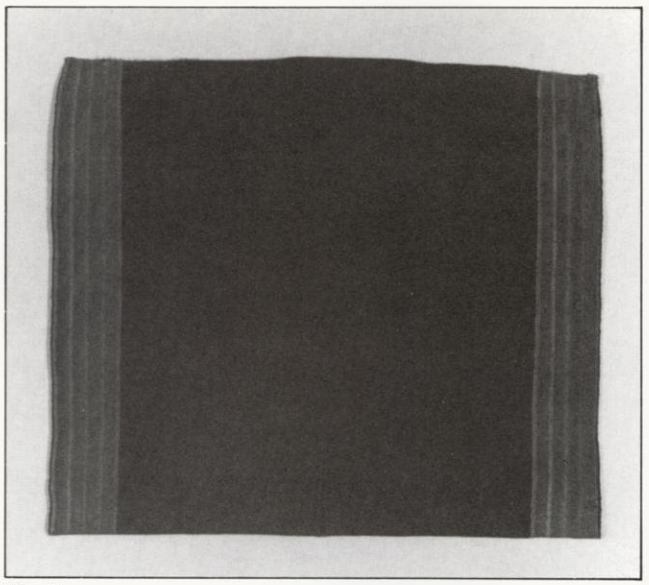


Fig. 9

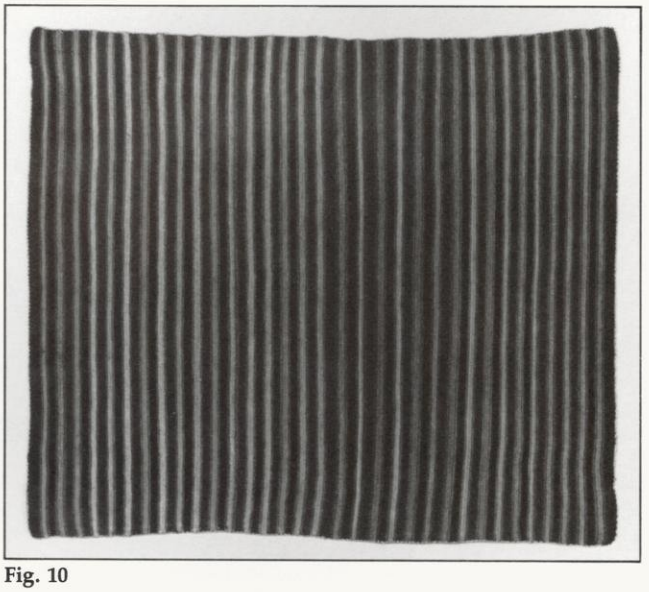


Fig. 10

Warm toned stripes gradating from off-white to dark orange, oscillate across the fabric, mixed with stripes of green, burgundy, and violet hues to create an effect that is rhythmic and harmonious.

The contemporary man's poncho of Calcha is known as the *poncho boliviano* because it uses the red, green and orange of the Bolivian flag (Fig. 41, 1984.18.11). The extreme brightness of the colored stripes is modulated only slightly by the constant but irregular insertion of three types of stripes: dark or dull stripes of burgundy, dark violet, and green; very narrow white stripes (two to four warps wide); or ikat patterned bands of white with burgundy, green or red. A minute amount of warp patterning is found near the borders.

Belts are commonly striped, such as the woman's belt shown in Fig. 20 (W.F.SA. 429). A symmetrical arrangement of orange and yellow stripes radiates from a violet center. Small double woven motifs appear white on the striped face.

Type 3. Bands regular across fabric

The third typical arrangement groups bands regularly along the fabric often featuring several different pattern bands. The bands and interspersed plain areas may be equal or of varying width, and bands may be composed solely of stripes, or of stripes and patterned bands. There is an overlap with Type 2.

A man's poncho from Tarabuco, Bolivia (Fig. 36 in Chapter II, 1986.12.1) is composed of four bands of narrow stripes set apart by plain areas of dark burgundy toned brown. The striped bands are similar to those in the Tarabuco shoulder poncho (Fig. 35, W.L.SA. 3075), with red rather than orange the dominant color in the modulated bands. The plain area at the center seam, narrower than the other four, is set off by a decorative embroidered seam finish.

Women's shawls also feature regular bands of stripes. An *awayu* from Achiri, Bolivia (Fig. 11, 1984.6.2) has a brown ground, with bands of blue and pink stripes. The central dark pink band with pale pink dotted stripes bisects the space; each half is then trisected by bright blue bands with pale pink stripes. The pale pink is extremely effective in guiding the eye's motion across the otherwise severely partitioned plane (see Adelson and Tracht 1983: Pl. 18 for a similar example, which they term *iscayo*, an archaic term cited in Bertonio; they note that black or purple is sometimes used for the ground).

A carrying cloth from near Juli, Puno (Fig. 12, 1986.9.2), uses striped bands differently. It features three wide and four narrow bands. Again the space is bisected by a wide band of narrow stripes, with navy blue at the edges and black-and-white dashes flanking red-and-brown at the center. All three wide bands use orange, green and aqua. The "plain" ground is a remarkable, modulated shade of orange achieved by plying orange and brown yarns together.

Bands of warp patterning are frequently integrated into regularly banded layouts. Nine textiles in this catalogue use this layout.

Fig. 11

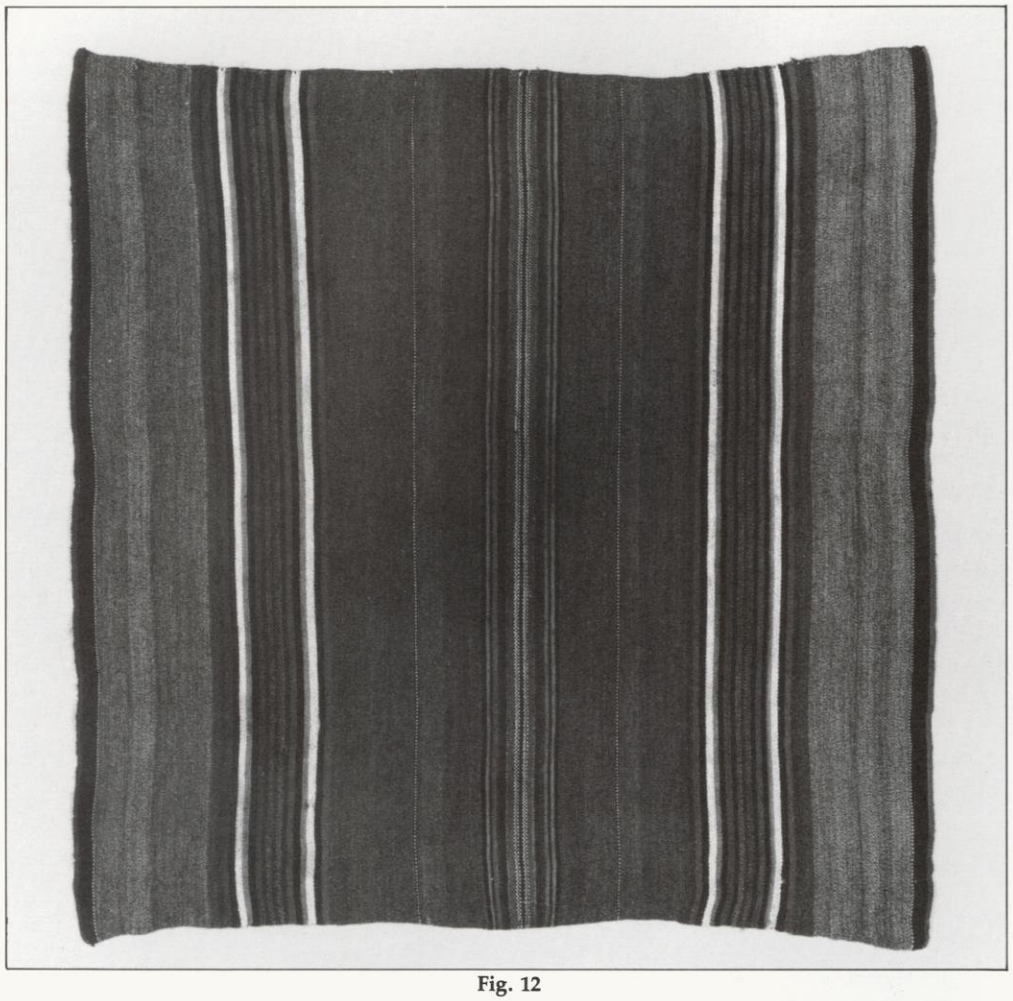


Fig. 12

A man's poncho from the Department of Cuzco, Peru (Fig. 13, 1984.19.1) uses one typical arrangement. Bands in three patterns, in combinations of red, green and white designs edged with multicolor stripes, are processed in a most orderly fashion, five on each side of the center seam, alternating with plain white ground areas. Undyed white wool in the plain bands gives this poncho a bright and lively appearance.

In contrast, the Calcha poncho (Col. Pl. 7, 1982.15.5) is more subdued. The deep burgundy ground color is punctuated by bands of bright warp patterning with a meander and dot design. White ikat in the burgundy edge bands draws the eye outward.

Other arrangements include very wide patterned bands separated by thin plain stripes (Col. Pl. 6, 1986.16.1 and Fig. 22, 1984.18.7), and alternating pattern bands in different colors and designs, separated by plain stripes (Fig. 1, 1984.18.9). A shawl from near Lake Titicaca (Fig. 24, 1984.18.13) has a layout similar to the striped shawl in Fig. 11, but it uses color differently, with narrow stripes and tiny designs composing the bands. In another small shawl or carrying cloth (Col. Pl. 1, 1984.18.12), probably from Puno, similar design bands are differently arranged: A vacant center (a plain ground not bisected by a central band) is flanked by two very thin pattern bands, with wide ones at either edge.

A large shawl or cloak from Puno, Peru, shows regular bands in shades of undyed wool (Col. Pl. 2, 1986.11.1). The large pattern bands at sides and center are identical in layout, and the narrow pattern band between them echoes the center of the wide band. That is, each wide band is composed of three narrow bands, with warp patterning at its center. The color sequence progresses from lightest shade to darkest and back to lightest in the two outside bands, and dark-light-dark in the center. The plain gray areas and outside borders provide a calm stage for the eye to rest on, working to mediate between the contrasts of black and white patterning.

By contrast an unquiet effect is created in a woman's shawl from Charazani, Bolivia (Fig. 21, 1982.15.4). Here, a rainbow of brightly dyed hues is used, in nine bands using three different patterns. The central band is unique, the other two each repeat four times.

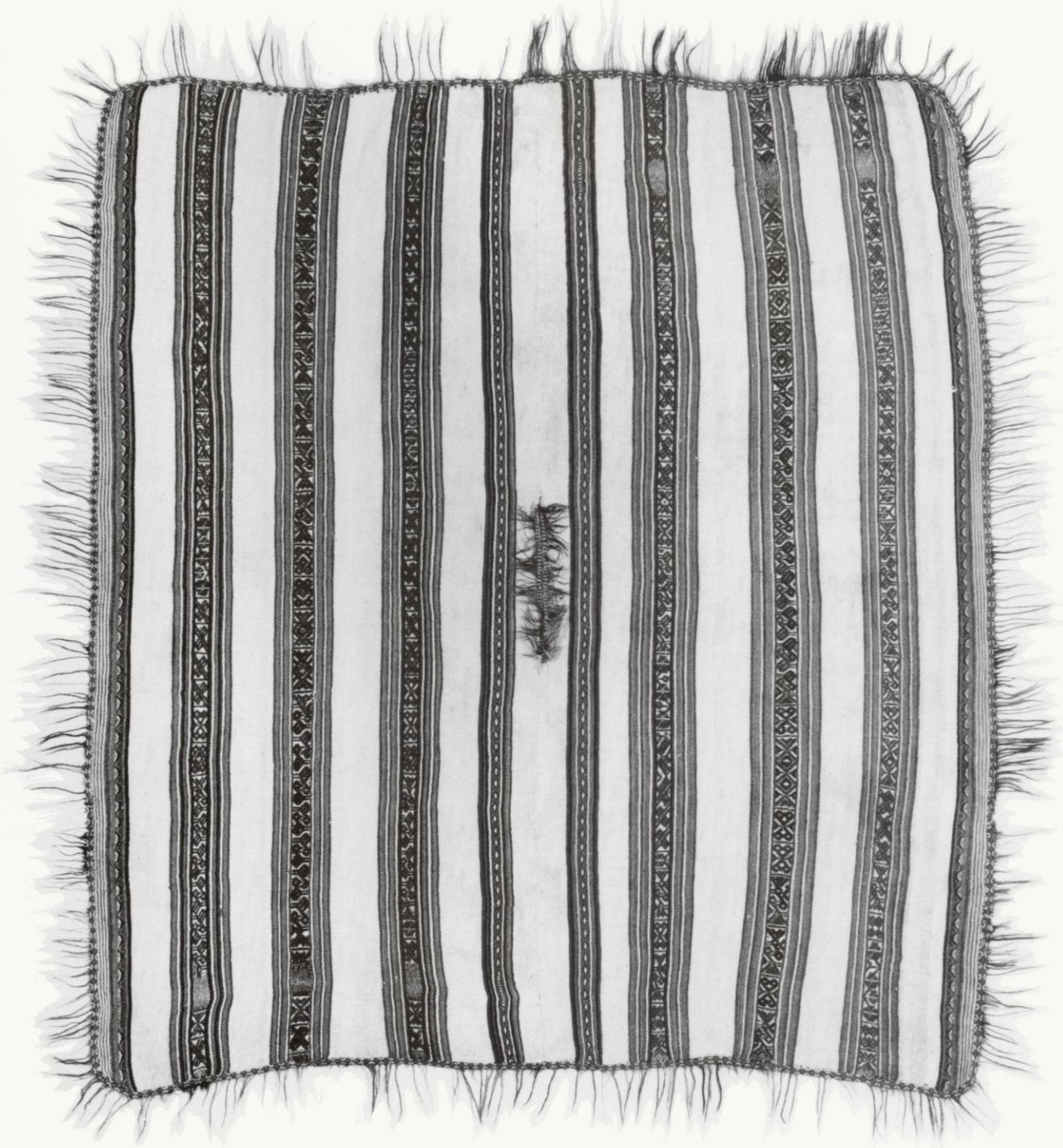


Fig. 13

Type 4. Bands at center and sides

In the preceding Type 3 layout, a central band that bisects the textile plane lengthwise is repeatedly used. In Type 4, all the design is in three bands, one at the center and two at the sides. These are separated by one plain stripe. There are similarities between Type 3 and 4 because the width of that plain area varies, sometimes to the extent that the pattern verges on regular repetition across the textile. However, the concentration of design into three distinct bands is a constant of Type 4.

In addition to the width, the design arrangement varies. Both sides may be identical to the center, both sides the same and the center different, or both halves of the center different. The small poncho from Acora, Peru (Fig. 14, W.F.SA. 1739) has two identical halves. If the cloth were folded along the center and then again along the red stripe dividing the patterned bands, those bands would align perfectly. This arrangement seems atypical, however. Worn during a ritual vicuña hunt dance (Cohen 1987), this type of poncho may date to the late nineteenth century.[2]

More commonly, while the side and central design bands differ, the textile's two halves are exact or inverted mirror images. In the woman's shawl from Pocoata, Bolivia (Fig. 15, W.L.F.SA. 3071), the central bands, which are wider than the side bands, display more intricate patterning, while using the same colors. The bands are also widely separated by a broad, brown plain area. The woman's shawl from the same or a nearby area (Col. Pl. 3, JJ.26) uses the same arrangement, but the center is far more elaborate than the sides. Other examples of this layout are shown in Figures 1 and 24.

A similarly laid out Bolivian poncho (Fig. 16, 1984.2.2) uses only striped bands. While the side and center bands likewise feature narrow, multicolor stripes, and some of the color sequences are constant (e.g., red/pink/dark green/yellow), the central band is wider and the overall color sequence differs between sides and center.

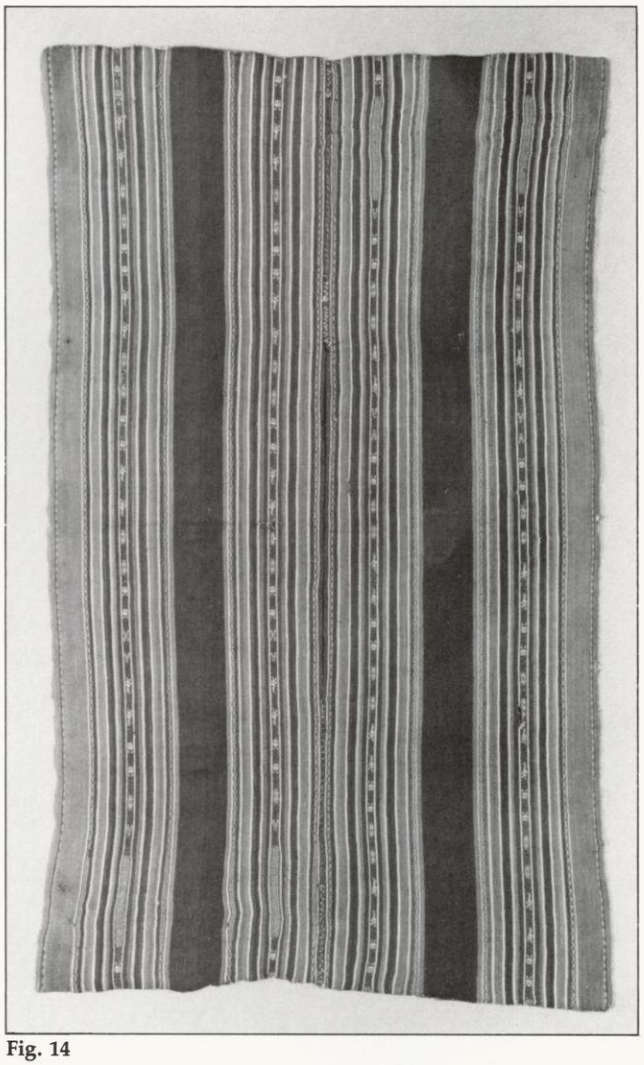


Fig. 14

Fig. 15

In a third variant of this layout, both halves differ, as well as center from side. In a Cuzco area woman's shawl (Fig. 17, 1984.18.1) not only do the designs in either central band vary, but three bands that compose each half vary in width. The designs in the side bands likewise vary and a further distinction is added by the fact that the two halves were apparently reassembled (the seam is clearly not original). Usually, both halves would display dark on light patterning, with the reverse face being light on dark. Here, one side is light on dark (white on red-brown), and the other dark on light.

A shawl from the Laymi area of Bolivia (Fig. 8, 1984.2.3) is unusual in that it has one central design band rather than two. A meandering vine design crosses the exact center, with the small figures above and below this zigzag similar, but not exactly identical, on each half.

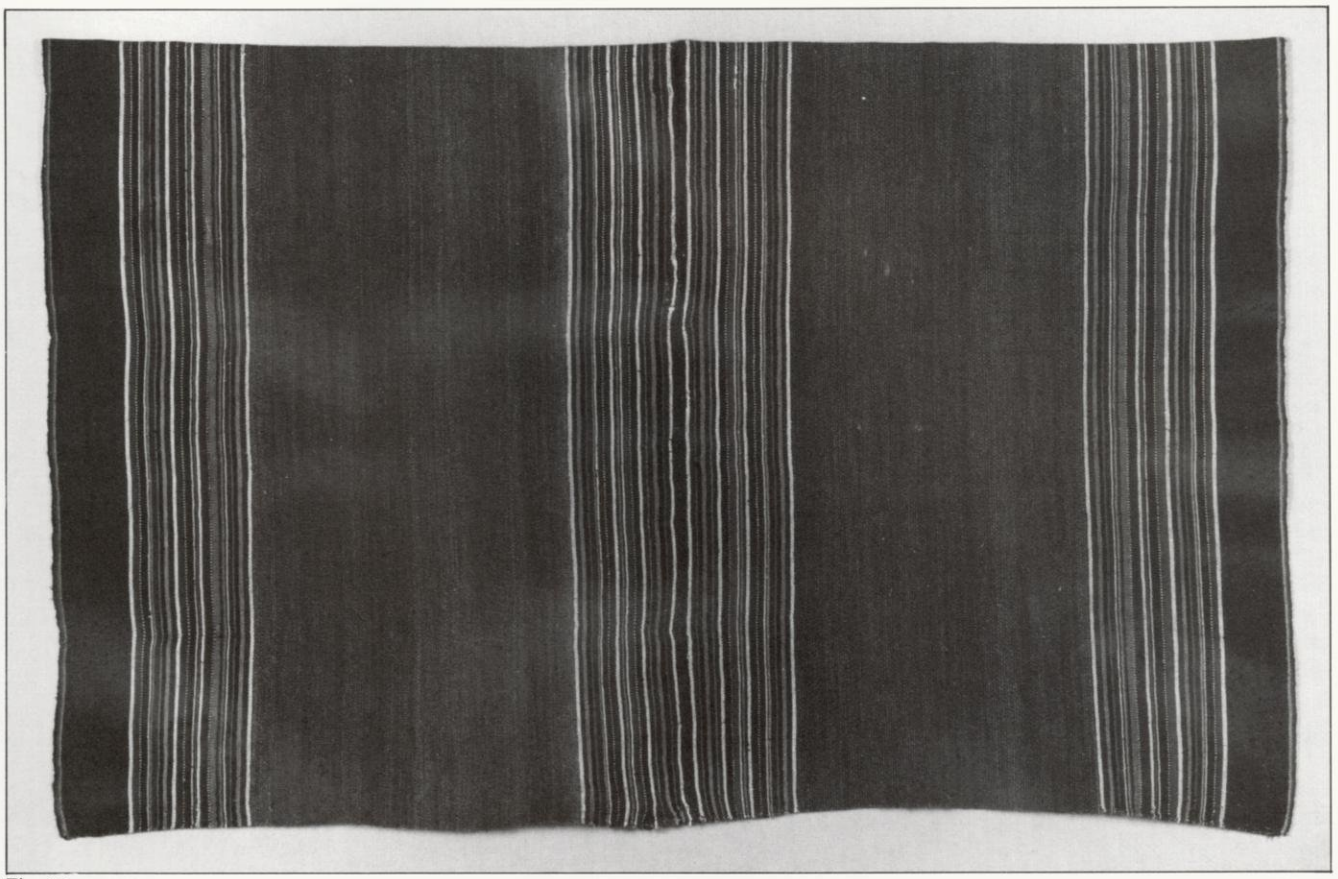
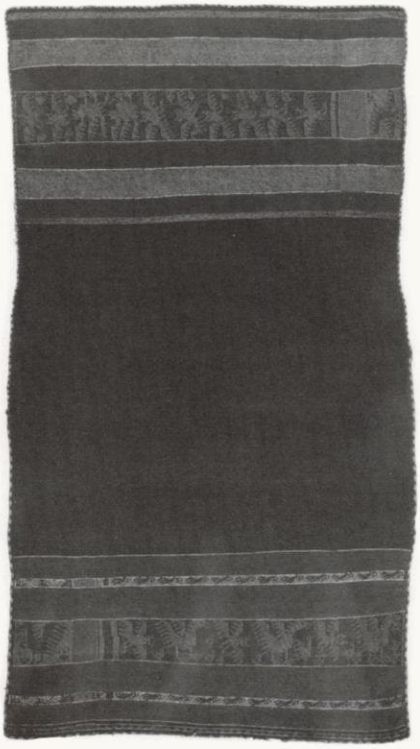


Fig. 16

Fig. 17

Fig. 18



Type 5. Bands at side, not matching

This layout type is apparently used exclusively on overskirts (*ajsu*). Generally, in other types, when bands flank a vacant center, they match (as in Fig. 9 and Col. Pl. 1). Some of the overskirts in the Allen Collection are incomplete—only one of two pieces composing the skirt being present (none of these are one-piece Aymara urk'u; see Adelson and Tracht 1983: Pl. 41–43). Since I cannot speculate about the appearance of the other half, I will treat them separately.

An overskirt may feature one or more bands of patterning on either side. The center is always vacant, and the center seam is not decorated. (It should be noted that overskirts are fastened with separate belts which provide a central design band when worn.) The warp length of the ajsu (or width when worn) also varies considerably, depending on how the garment is intended to be worn.

A pink and brown overskirt shows one design band on each side (Fig. 25, 1984.7.2). The bands are of different widths, and, although both sides use some of the same motifs and colors, they are organized differently. On the wider side, the burgundy, orange and green stripes that separate the pattern bands are uniformly narrow. On the narrow side, the orange and violet stripes vary in width. Another wide overskirt (Fig. 29, 1986.17.1) uses a similar layout of a single distinct band, composed of stripes and narrow pattern bands alternating, on each side.

Often, more than one pattern band is used, such as in the Potolo area overskirts. One of these has a nearly black center, and each side band has three distinct figured patterned bands, plus two outline bands (Fig. 18, JJ.17). The figured bands alternate bright motifs on dark ground with dark on bright, and are further set off by thin white or yellow stripes at their edges. The plain stripes are dark red. The other has a brown center, also with three to five pattern bands on each side (Fig. 26, JJ.16). On the narrow side, however, the three adjoining figured bands are separated by a thin white line and what seems to be an incompletely rendered pattern band.

The overskirt shown in Color Plate 4 (1984.6.4) appears to feature one wide pattern band on each side, but closer examination reveals that each band is actually two mirror-image bands divided by a third, distinct band. Dramatic choice of color, plus judicious use of limited amounts of patterning, set up a vibrant interplay of pattern and hue that make this a virtuoso achievement.

Thin white stripes and carefully modulated color contrasts create visual interest in the Macha overskirt (Fig. 2, 1984.18.10) where distinct bands of geometric patterns and multicolor stripes co-exist on a deep rose background.

The remaining overskirts are incomplete, so the design analysis offered here is inconclusive. An interesting and unusual overskirt piece is detailed in Figure 19 (1984.1.6).[3] Made of deep brown and black alpaca, it features a striped border at the edge. The subtle interplay of brown and black is compounded by the alternating spin direction of the yarns (see diagram), which gives a herringbone twill effect

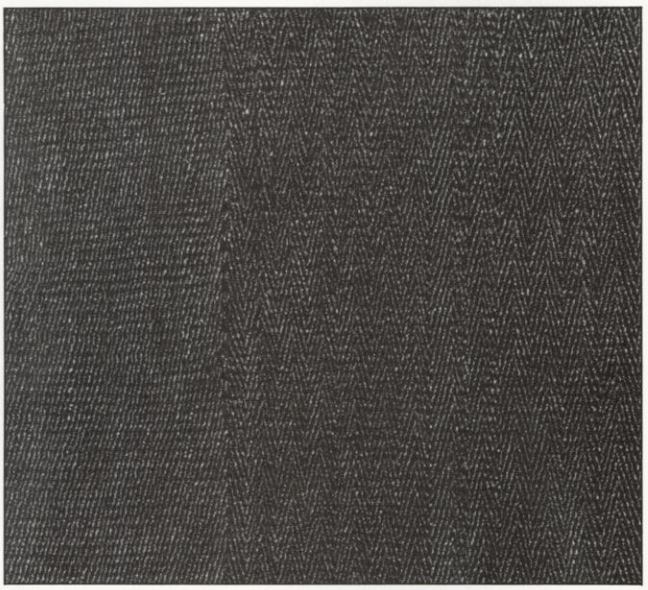
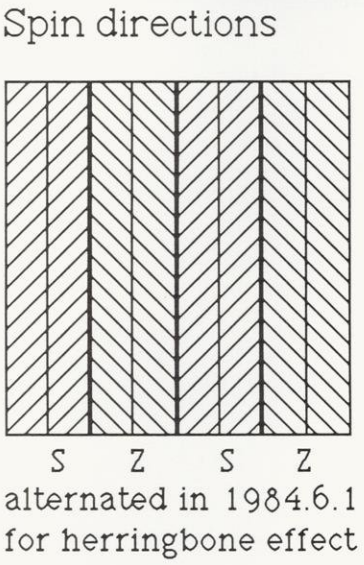


Fig. 19



to the warp faced plain weave structure. Left or S spun yarn, called *lloq'e* (left), has protective or healing qualities (Goodell 1968).

Three Tarabuco area overskirt halves use the same layout with varying designs (Figs. 37, 38, and 39 in Chapter II, 1982.16.1, 1984.3.2, W.L.F.SA. 3072). All use three patterned bands separated by striped bands with the outer bands identical. Tarabuco coca bags (Fig. 27, 1984.18.17) use a similar layout (discussed in Chapter II).

The Calcha overskirt half (Fig. 40, W.F.SA. 3073) has one wide pattern band, composed of three narrow pattern bands flanked by dark red stripes.

Horizontal elements

The horizontal orientation of Andean textiles is secondary to the vertical, as most textiles are first divided into

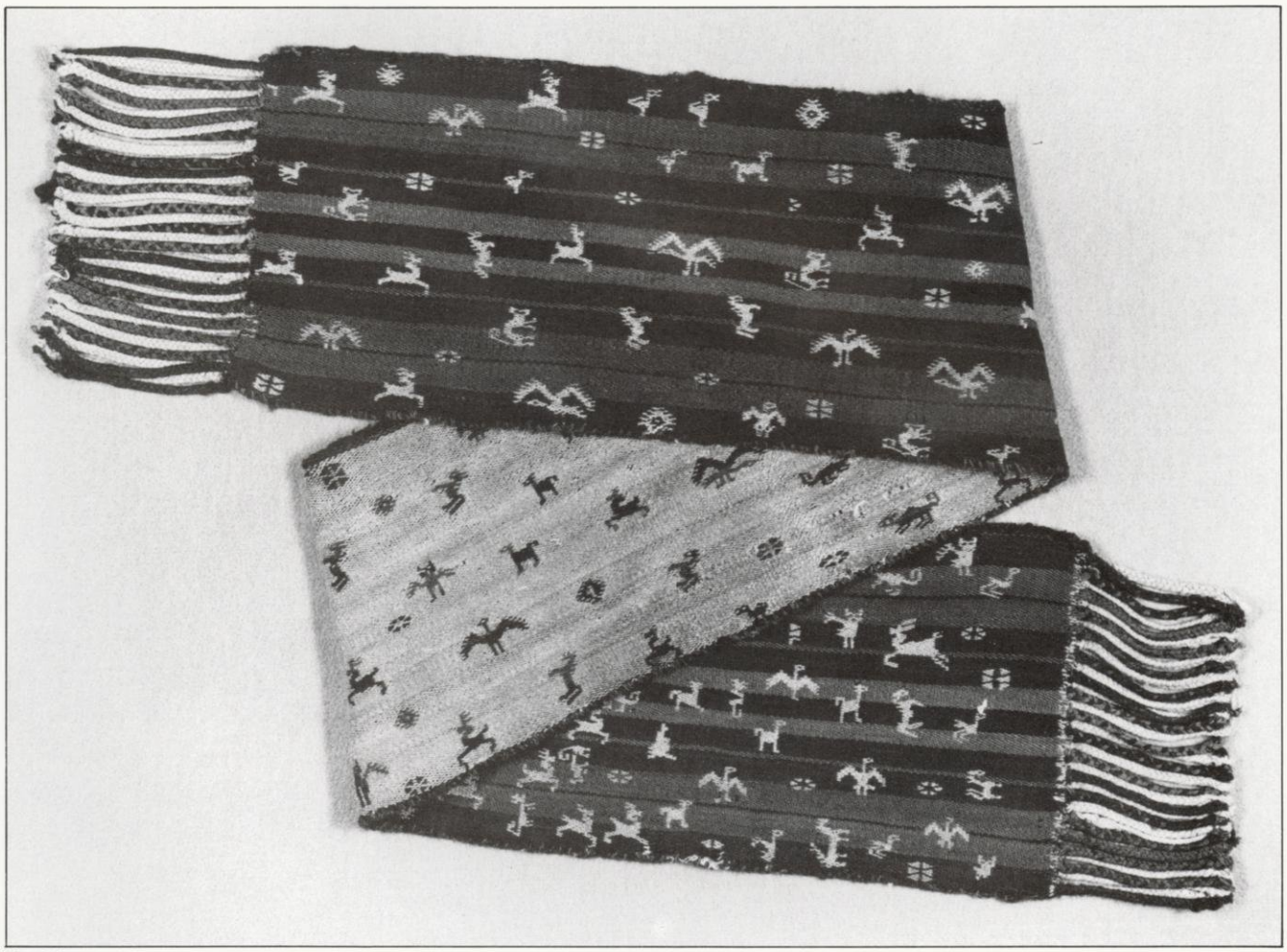


Fig. 20

bands. However, in wearing textiles, the warp is often turned, so the reader should remember that this catalogue discusses the textiles as woven, with the warp vertical.

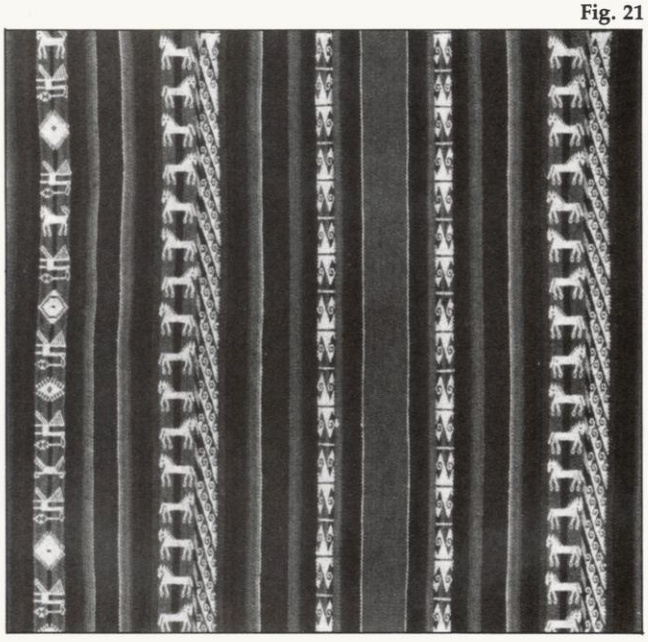
While only one vertical layout is used in a given textile, numerous horizontal arrangements are possible within the bands where motifs and designs usually occur. These are divided in several ways: with horizontal breaks, without horizontal breaks, and with a diagonal orientation. All of these can be inserted into a single color stripe, or cross over several stripes.

Occasionally, motifs do not appear to be vertically aligned. A Bolivian woman's belt (Fig. 20, W.F.SA. 429) from Calamarca has scattered motifs in white on a striped ground, or striped on white (it has a reversible, double cloth structure). The motifs not only cross stripes, which is common, but also cross striped bands, which is rare. (For a similar belt, see A. Rowe 1977a: Fig. 110.)

Type 1. Horizontal breaks

Definite horizontal divisions can be achieved by separating the motifs with a line or block, or by spacing the motifs

Fig. 21



on the background. The solid block type is shown in a woman's shawl from Pocoata, Bolivia (Col. Pl. 3, JJ.26) where light figures on a dark background alternate with dark on light, such as a pink llama (horse?) on a white ground. The same layout is seen on the shawl in Figure 15 (W.L.F.SA. 3071), where the blocks are sometimes solid and sometimes striped. The Macha woman's shawl (Fig. 1, 1984.18.9) also uses the block layout within the narrow vertical bands.

Several textiles, especially those from areas around Lake Titicaca isolate the motif on a monochrome ground. These include a poncho (Fig. 14, W.F.SA. 1739), and two shawls (Fig. 24, 1984.18.13, and Col. Pl. 1, 1984.18.12).

Other textiles use a solid motif on a striped ground, again sometimes broken into blocks and sometimes not. In addition to Figs. 15, 25, and Col. Pl. 1 mentioned above, textiles from the Charazani area of Bolivia use this method, namely a shawl (Fig. 21, 1982.15.4) and a headband (Fig. 4, W.F.SA. 842), where both blocked off and isolated motifs are seen.

Type 2. Without horizontal breaks

In several cases, motifs interact against the background rather than being broken apart. Often, several rows of motifs are intermeshed. This is quite difficult for the weaver, who must begin the lower edge of one figure before completing the upper edge of the other. Women's overskirts from Potolo (Figs. 18 and 26, JJ.17 and JJ.16) use this method to great effect in depicting birds. Candelaria style Tarabuco area coca bags and overskirts (Figs. 27 and 37) also feature interacting bands of animals, usually horses, with flags that often protrude between the legs of the animals above.

Type 3. Diagonal orientation

Patterns with a strong diagonal orientation are frequently seen in Andean weavings. (I am treating the diagonal as a horizontal element here because it does not involve the entire design plane, being confined by the vertical elements.) Zigzags, diamonds, X shapes, and chevrons are quite common. Again, these may be set against a plain or striped background, or the interaction of motif and background may be so complete that both are visually co-equal. (On techniques for weaving diagonals, see E. Franquemont 1983.)

In the Tarabuco overskirt (Fig. 37, 1982.16.1), the two side panels feature a strongly diagonal zigzag pattern. Another (Fig. 38, 1984.3.2) has three bands of diamonds, achieving an even stronger diagonal impression. The mourning overskirt, in black and white (Fig. 39, W.F.SA. 3072), has a central rayed diamond and two side zigzag bands. (For discussion of regional stylistic variation in Tarabuco textiles, see Chapter II and Meisch 1986.)

A woman's shawl from Cuzco (Fig. 17, 1984.18.1) is a splendid example of diagonalism. It features elaborate diamonds, zigzags, elongated S forms, and X shapes. Sometimes the designs are set on a solid ground, and sometimes on a striped one. Although the textile features strong vertical divisions, the preponderance of diagonally oriented designs gives an overall impression of liveliness and motion.

Fig. 22

Fig. 23

A striped background used in association with diagonal patterning is, if anything, more common than a plain ground. The mixing of patterns and stripes has been a fea-

ture of Andean textiles for many centuries (see A. Rowe 1977 for numerous pre-Columbian examples). There are more than ten examples of diagonals used in association with stripes in this catalogue. The effect is pronounced in a shoulder shawl from Cuzco (Fig. 22, 1984.18.7), where two large red diamond bands are bisected by a blue and yellow stripe; each diamond is further divided diagonally into four or nine smaller diamonds, or outlined with interior concentric diamonds. The concentric diamond was a common pattern on Inka tunics (A. Rowe 1978). Similar diamond variants are used, also in red, white, and blue, on a Cuzco poncho (Fig. 5, 1984.18.8).

The zigzag often takes the form of a vine, as in Laymi area shawls. The violet shawl in Figure 8 (1984.2.3) has a single vine, in white on a striped background, with small figures to either side. The brown shawl in Figure 23 (JJ.33) has a double vine, in dark color stripes on a brightly striped ground, which forms diamonds enclosing similar figures. The spaces outside the vine are filled with flowers. In both cases, the central vine-patterned band is flanked with narrow step and swirl pattern bands. The vine pattern, reminiscent of colonial Peruvian tapestry designs, may show a European influence (see Cavallo 1967 for examples).

Textiles from the Macha area of Bolivia are characterized by strong diagonal elements. The woman's shawl (Fig. 1, 1984.18.9) and overskirt (Fig. 2, 1984.18.10) both feature a zigzag across stripes rather than down the band; the overskirt uses a chevron and multiple diamond pattern as well.

The shawl in Color Plate 3 (JJ.26) uses zigzags in combination with horizontal blocks. The center of the larger central pattern band has three different zigzag patterns (some might be better termed bisected diamonds) in five color combinations.

Other textiles with significant diagonal elements include a Tarabuco shoulder poncho (Col. Pl. 6, 1986.16.1), and an overskirt (Fig. 25, 1984.7.2).

Color combinations of design types

As mentioned above, more than one type of horizontal orientation is found in each textile. In this section, the interaction of horizontal and vertical is explored with particular attention to color use. Patterns using two colors of warp at one time are discussed first, then those with three colors. Within those types, solid backgrounds, then striped, are considered.

Type 1a. Two colors, solid background

Solid has two meanings here. First, it means that only one color is seen in the background of a given pattern band. Not only does the warp completely cover the weft (as is usual), but none of the second warp color used for the motif protrudes into the background. This effect is achieved with double cloth technique. Second, it means that the second warp color *does* protrude into the background, although in minute amounts. "Pebble" or other mottled effects, produced with complementary warp techniques, are often quite subtle, especially when done with fine yarns.

None of the double cloth textiles examined for this catalogue was found to use a solid color motif on a solid background. Although this type of color combination may occur, it seems to be uncommon. A coca bag from Paratía (Fig. 6) has a brown-and-white zigzag patterned band. Both colors are co-equal, as neither can rightly be termed the background.

Pebbled solid color motifs on solid grounds are quite common. A deep pink woman's shawl with polychrome striped bands (Fig. 24, 1984.18.13) uses this color pattern method (as well as the striped background described below). White motifs are set on a red ground in a narrow band. The dark pink of the large plain stripes is used in the pattern band in alternation with other colors and values. White stripes flanked by dark purple at the outer edges of the band intensify the white of the motif. With four pattern bands across the width, the textile seems predominantly dark pink and white, although many other colors are used in the striped bands.

A vibrantly colored overskirt (Col. Pl. 4, 1984.6.4) separates parts of the wider, striped bands with pattern bands of red-and-white, blue-and-white, green-and-yellow, or red-and-yellow. Although white predominates in these pattern bands, yellow is the light tone used more for stripes. Broad bands in luminous stripes of deep pink and orange, interspersed with thin stripes in varying tones and values, along with the pattern bands, create an effect that is balanced but never static.

Potolo area textiles achieve a dramatic effect through color choice, pattern juxtaposition, and motif placement. Hot pink or red against gray, brown, or black are frequently seen. The complementary warp structure used gives a diagonal, warp twill effect rather than pebble (2/1 interlacing in diagonal alignment, rather than 3/1 in alternating alignment or pairs; see A. Rowe 1977a: 68, Fig. 93). In the woman's overskirt shown in Figure 18 (JJ.17), these diagonals are skillfully manipulated within bird motifs and background to enhance the feeling of motion that the upraised or widespread wings impart. Additional pattern bands may flank the main pattern band to create a variety of patterning verging on visual confusion (Fig. 26, JJ16).

Type 1b. Two colors, striped background

More commonly, a striped background is used behind motifs; the motifs appear in one color when they are picked up from a solid second warp layer. The woman's shawl discussed as Type 1a above (Fig. 24, 1984.18.13) also has two bands with a central grayish-green stripe running through the red background to the white motifs, a procedure that softens the contrast.

A similar but more complex combination is seen in another Puno area woman's shawl (Col. Pl. 1 and cover, 1984.18.12). Here, tiny white motifs appear on red and green striped bands, as in Figure 24. However, these bands

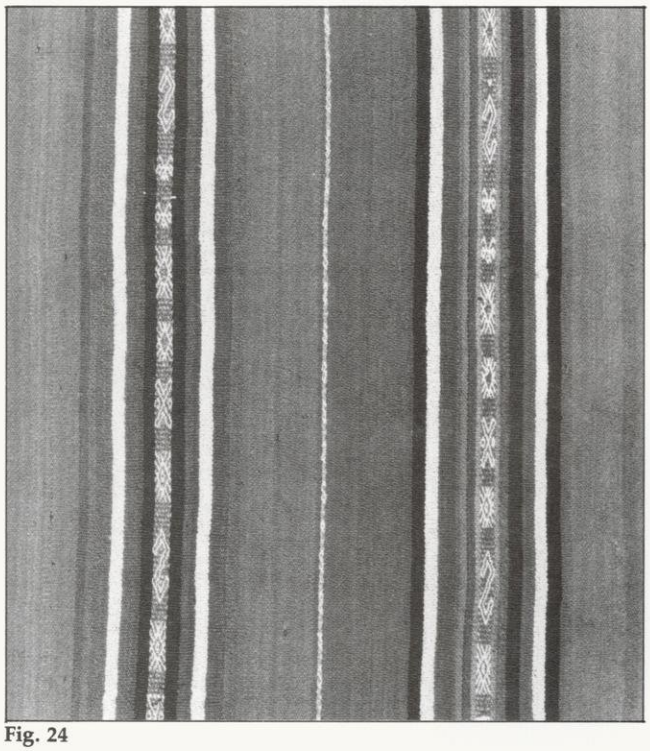
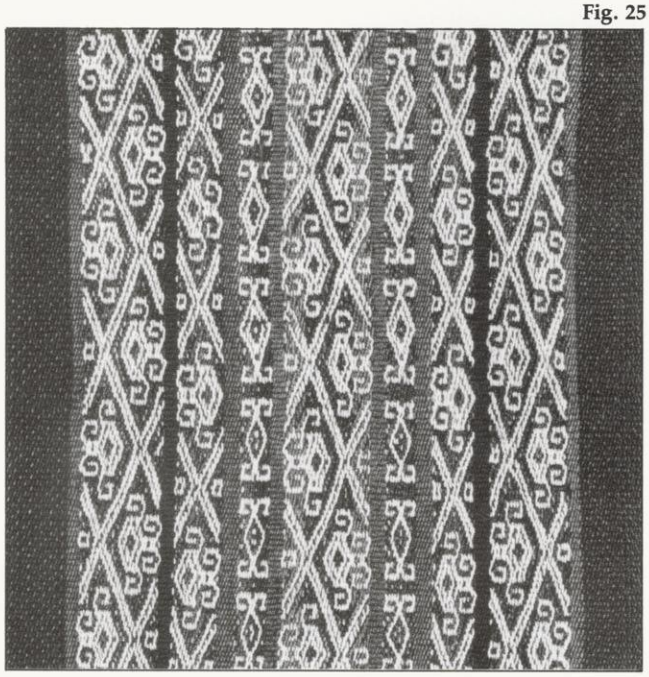


Fig. 24

Fig. 25



are flanked by sixteen narrow stripes on either side. The white stripe, about one third of the distance out, makes the motifs seem brighter and larger, but white is used sparingly elsewhere in the textile, being confined to a step swirl band, and a violet-and-white zigzag. This zigzag appears at the center of a two-color plied band in red and gray. The red is frequently used, but the overall appearance of the textile is not bright. Many of the stripes are dull, and the plain area is tan, or, actually composed of alternating stripes in two shades of tan. This textile is a tremendous achievement in color harmony (Femenias 1987). A man's poncho from Acora, Puno (Fig. 14, W.F.SA. 1739), uses a very similar approach, but has a more limited color variation.

Numerous bands with striped background are sometimes closely juxtaposed. A woman's overskirt (Fig. 25, 1984.7.2) has on one side a broad pattern band that is composed of seven narrower bands (three different designs are alternated 1–2–3–1–3–2–1). Two of the background colors, dark red and salmon, are also used as stripes between the pattern bands. Dark blue and violet, similar in value to the dark red, are also used in the background bands; their dark tone makes them recede behind the white. The salmon works to mute the overall brightness of the white motifs, because it echoes the salmon plied with brown in the large plain area between the bands.

Dense patterning is sometimes done in stripes against a plain background, as in the Tarabuco man's festival shoulder poncho (Col. Pl. 6, 1986.16.1). This poncho features a dazzling array of colored stripes; shades of red and orange predominate, with accents in almost every color, all against a white background. Use of heavier yarns for the patterns makes them emerge physically as well as visually from the surface. The careful discipline with which the complicated set of motifs is executed contrasts effectively with the exuberant display of color appropriate for festival use. A Tarabuco coca bag (Fig. 27, 1984.18.17) uses a similar format but with fewer colors.

Other textiles making effective use of plain motifs on a striped ground, or vice versa, include those shown in Figures 5, 6, 15, 17 and 22. All of these are in complementary warp weaves, or "pebble" or "intermesh."

A notable doublecloth example is a woman's shawl from Charazani (Fig. 21, 1982.15.4). Within four different pattern bands, each outlined by polychrome stripes in reds and greens, figures and geometric designs abound, oriented horizontally, some in blocks, or diagonally. The ground behind the motifs is striped as well. Such dense patterning is common in Charazani (Girault 1969). The mood is of relentless motion, dynamic to the point of uneasiness. A Laymi shawl (Fig. 8, 1984.2.3) also features white motifs on a striped ground executed in doublecloth, as do two belts (Figs. 3 and 20, 1984.2.1 and W.F.SA. 429), and a headband (Fig. 4, W.F.SA. 842).

Type 2. Three warp colors

Many of the previous examples use more than three colors; however, three colors here means the number of warp colors are regularly interchanged within a vertical band. That is, three complete sets of warps are placed on the loom in those areas where three color patterning is desired. This may be further complicated visually by color changes in adjacent stripes. Since no examples of triple cloth have been discerned in textiles examined for this cata-

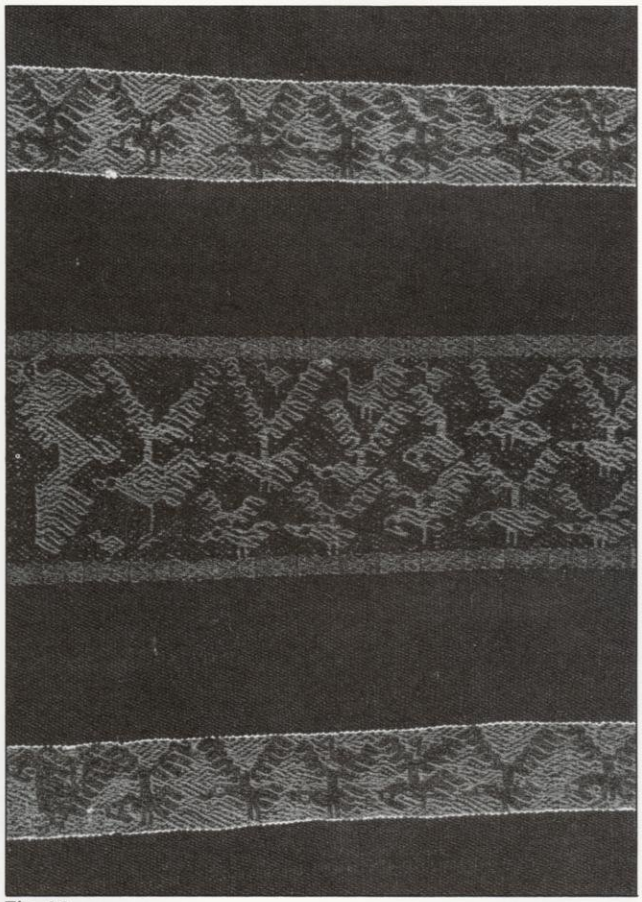


Fig. 26

Fig. 27

logue, the examples discussed are those done in complementary warp structures. Again, those with solid backgrounds are treated first.

Type 2a. Two color patterning, third color solid background

Two out of three colors are used at one time, alternating in a regular progression, usually a block. The third color must be carried along between the layers for when it is needed. The areas of Kurti, Pocoata and Llallagua in Bolivia specialize in such textiles (see Gisbert 1985). In a woman's shawl, probably from Kurti, two colors alternate as background (Col. Pl. 3, JJ.26) showing, for example, white horse on pink ground, white on gray, pink on white, pink on gray.

Because this technique is complex, it is often used as an accent to other techniques. On two Calcha textiles, a scarf (Fig. 7, 1986.16.2) and a poncho (Fig. 41, 1984.18.11), it is used to accentuate narrow zigzag designs; pink-and-green backgrounds alternate between white motifs. On a Calcha overskirt (Fig. 40, W.F.SA. 3073), it is seen in red, green and burgundy as the central part of the pattern band. In the Tarabuco area, an overskirt (Fig. 37, 1982.16.1), a shoulder poncho (Col. Pl. 6, 1986.16.1), and a bag (Fig. 27, 1984.18.17) all show one or more lines of dashes or diamonds, in white with yellow and brown, black and red, violet and green, or other combinations.

Type 2b. Two colors, third color striped background

The Macha area is exemplary for its fine three color textiles. In a woman's shawl and overskirt (Figs. 1 and 2, 1984.18.9 and 1984.18.10), three color stripes alternate regularly. A wide chevron band is composed of sets of green, burgundy, and yellow, then blue, pink, and white stripes. In stripe 1, yellow and burgundy alternate as background to burgundy and green respectively, and in stripe 2, white and pink back pink and blue.

In another type of striped pattern, a figural motif on a block background is divided by a stripe, which is the color of the figure as well. A woman's shawl from Pocoata (Fig. 15, W.L.F.SA. 3071) has a row of small animals in blocks. On the top and bottom, they are white on burgundy and burgundy on magenta respectively, but in the center portion, yellow is substituted for white and navy blue for burgundy; the magenta remains constant.

Motifs

At first glance Andean textiles seem to have predominantly geometric motifs, but in fact a wide variety of motifs are used, generally in an angular or linear style. The drawings on pages 42–45 feature commonly found types: animals, often with plants, and geometric designs. (Motifs used on three-dimensional objects, often done in techniques other than weaving, are shown here and further discussed in the following section.) When a given motif has a documented significance, its meaning is given. However, as mentioned in the Introduction, iconographic analysis of Andean textiles has yet to be fully developed (see also Chapter II).

Figures

Regions like Taquile, Peru; and Tarabuco, Charazani, Potolo, and Kurti, Bolivia, are known for their figural designs. Birds are a favorite motif in several areas. Potolo is particularly well known for large, vibrantly drawn birds. A woman's overskirt (Fig. 26, JJ.16) shows at least five types of birds, including a rooster and possibly a hawk. This piece is particularly interesting in comparison to a Tarabuco bag (Fig. 27, 1984.18.17). Tarabuco weavers copied Potolo designs on textiles seen in a display (see Chapter II).

Horses, llamas, deer, and vizcachas (squirrel-like rodents) are another common group of figural motifs. The coca bag in Figure 27 shows the horse design commonly seen on Candelaria-area Tarabuco textiles (see also Fig. 37 and Col. Pl. 6, 1982.16.1 and 1986.16.1). A vizcacha is seen in the bands bordering the bird band in Fig. 26 (JJ.16).

Human figures are fairly rare except in Charazani, Bolivia (see Fig. 4, W.F.SA. 842, and Girault 1969).

Geometric

Geometric motifs vary widely in form and complexity with specific designs or procedures confined to a given region. One textile may often combine a range of motif types.

The woman's shawl from Chinchero, Cuzco, Peru (Fig. 28, 1984.18.5), uses two distinct patterns. The one in the central bands, has been identified by Christine Franquemont (1986: 331–32), who has worked extensively with Chinchero weavers, as *kutij* (a Quechua term for "that which returns") set within *loraypu* (diamond). Franquemont sees the warp patterned bands as an ethnic code rather than a set of symbols, as mentioned in the Introduction. The kutij design is one example. Although kutij also means a potato harvesting hooked tool, the kutij textile motif does not stand for or symbolize this hook. Both are kutij because they have the curved shape suggesting turning back (kutij has many other meanings as well).

Fig. 28

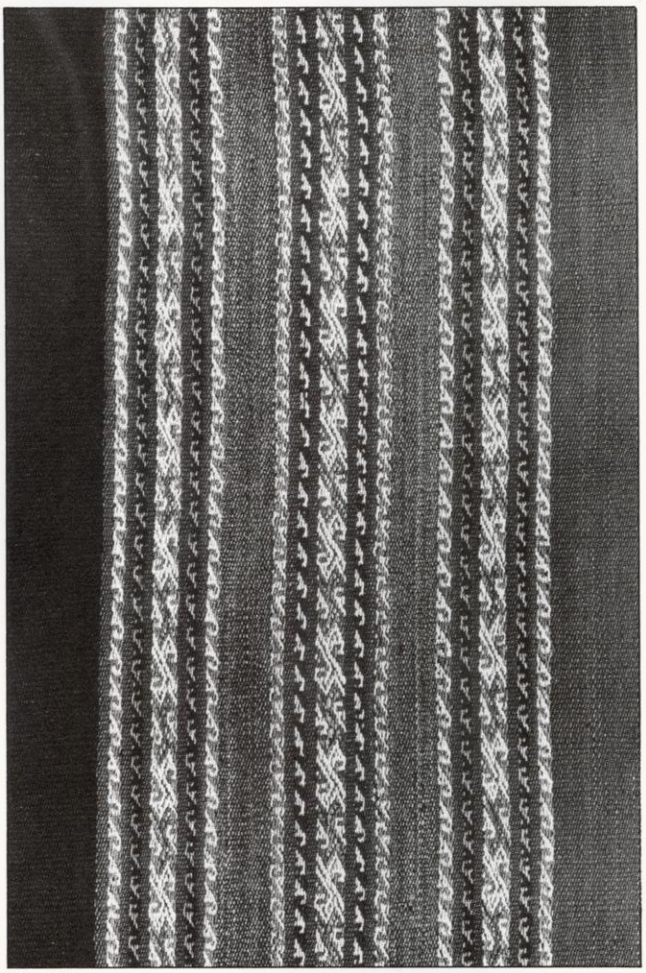


Fig. 29

A simple motif that resembles kutij (names may vary regionally) is the double swirl, which is so widely used that it may be safe to call it pan-Andean (although it is not confined to the Andes). A woman's overskirt (Fig. 29, 1986.17.1) uses this motif in various colors, alternating with solid color stripes, as its sole patterning device. Variations in natural dyed colors make this a subtle textile.

Three-dimensional garments

The few garment types (jackets, vests, caps and hats) in this catalogue illustrate the variety of garments to be found in the south-central Andes. Though as mentioned earlier, I do not consider Andean textiles to be flat, it is reasonable to draw two distinctions between those textiles and other garments, distinctions between construction and origin.

Andean garments usually involve little construction; most of the labor goes into the weaving. The textiles are designed to be complete, not to be cut and re-sewn. A poncho, for example, must be sewn from two pieces, with a slit being left unsewn for the head, never cut out of the fabric. (Though Andean textiles are now being cut up and

Fig. 30

Fig. 31

made into vests and other tourist items, such garments are never used by Andean people.)

Traditional Andean textiles were all designed for minor construction. European garments, on the other hand, featured extensive construction and the fabric was cut into many pieces and reassembled. (On differences between Spanish and Andean clothing in the sixteenth-eighteenth centuries, see Femenias 1984.) It is therefore possible to determine if specific Andean garments are of Spanish or indigenous origin. At the same time it is a great mistake to imply that Andean people "copied" garments from sixteenth-century Spanish dress. Complex factors, from free choice to coercion by legislation or violence, led to adoption of Spanish garments. Four hundred and fifty years after the conquest, most Andeans are unaware of the origins of their garments, which are now traditional; having become so much a part of ethnic identity, their forms can change only slowly, but they do change (on meanings of tradition, see Baizerman n.d.).

The Colca Valley, Department of Arequipa, Peru, features a unique type of embroidered costume, using forms introduced at some point during the Spanish colonial domination, probably in the eighteenth century. While these forms have changed little, the embroidered designs and technique of creating them have undergone a remarkable transformation in recent years (Femenias n.d.). A woman's vest, jacket, and hat (Col. Pl. 5, Figs. 30 and 31, 1986.22.1, 1984.11.1 and 1986.20.1) all feature elaborate polychrome embroidery, done on treadle sewing machines that allow the skilled user tremendous flexibility. The curvilinear quality of these designs is in marked contrast to the angular style seen in the woven textiles. It is interesting to note that, despite this new flexibility, the designs are still organized into bands. The vest from the town of Coporaque (Col. Pl. 5) has a wide pattern band with floral, bird, and fish motifs which is flanked by four narrow bands. We also see this fashion in the machine embroidered hat from Cabanaconde (Fig. 31). The typical woman's hat in Copora-

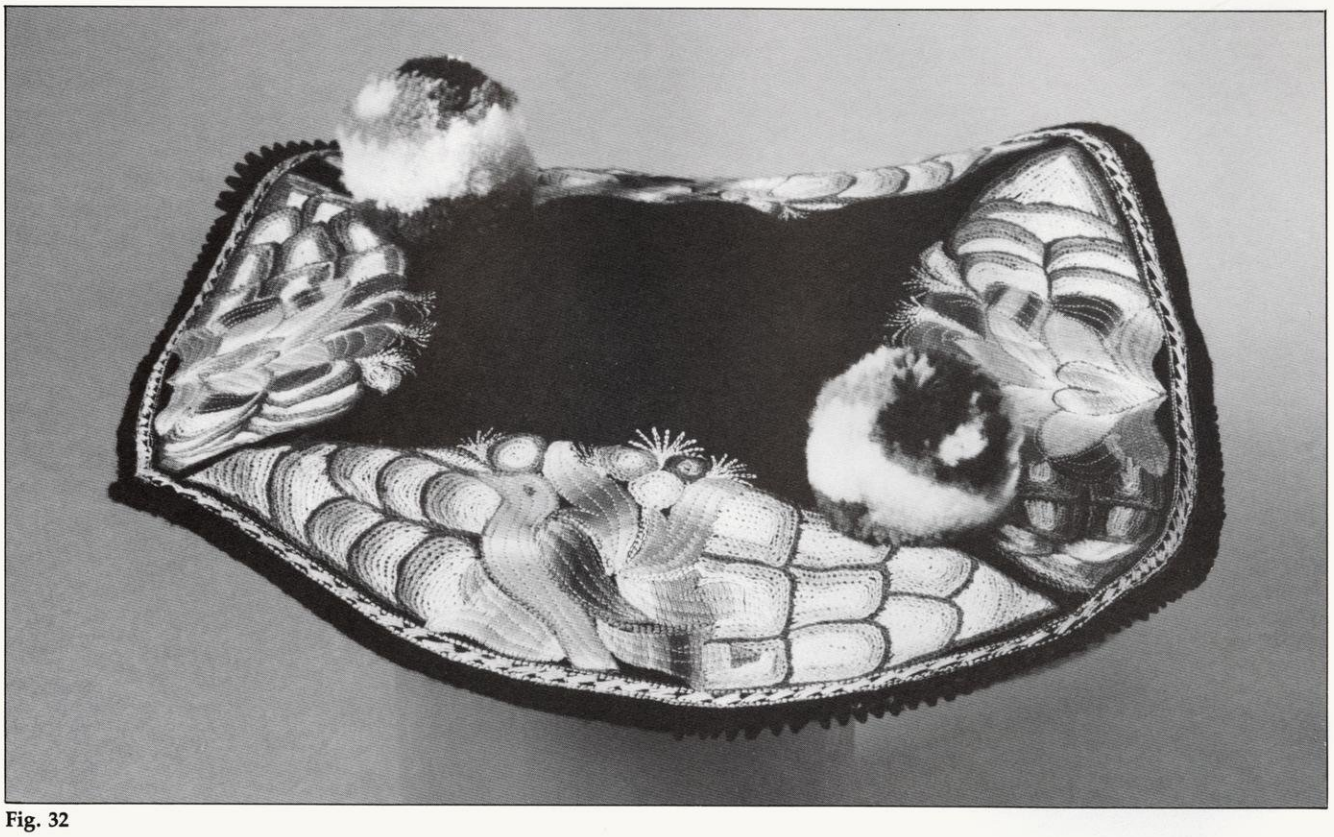


Fig. 32

Fig. 33

Fig. 34

que and several other towns is a white straw hat with a decorated band and rosette. (Two photographs of people wearing and making Colca clothing appear in the Introduction.)

Women on the Capachica peninsula, on Lake Titicaca in Puno, also wear embroidered garments. A hat and jacket from Coatta use ombre cotton floss to create large floral and bird designs (Figs. 32 and 33, 1986.6.1 and 1986.23.1). Here, however, a combination of hand and machine embroidery techniques are employed. The yarns are sewn using satin stitch across the large motifs, which are outlined and secured down by machine stitching. Unlike garments from the Colca region, in the Capachica jacket, the design areas are organized into blocks or ovals, and bands appear only as edgings.

Hats are a complex subject. We know that a variety of headgear was worn during the Inka empire, but the exact distribution is unknown. The distribution of current hat styles has not been adequately documented, either. Andean men commonly wear a knitted cap, or *ch'ullu,* though we do not know when this became standard wear. An elaborate festival ch'ullu from the Laymi area of Bolivia is shown here (Fig. 34, 1986.16.3). It features figural motifs in bright colors on a striped ground and is organized into bands, in a similar manner to the Laymi shawl shown in Figure 3. Other hats and caps from Tarabuco and Taquile are discussed in Chapters II and IV.

Fig. 1 Shawl
Lliklla (Q)
Macha, Chayanta, Potosí, Bolivia, 20th century (before 1984)
39.5×43 in (1 m×1.09 m)
Woven; warp-faced plain weave, three-color complementary warp weave
Wool warp, grayish-brown, yellow, dark red, pink, multicolor; wool weft, grayish-brown
1984.18.9

Fig. 2 Overskirt
Ajsu (Q)
Macha, Chayanta, Potosí, Bolivia, 20th century (before 1984)
29.5×52 in (75.5 cm×1.32 m)
Woven; warp-faced plain weave, three-color complementary warp weave
Wool warp, brown, pink, reddish-violet, multicolor; wool weft, brown
1984.18.10

Fig 3 Belt
Bolívar, Bolivia, 20th century (before 1984)
43×6.5 in (1.09 m×16.5 cm)
Woven; warp-faced double weave, warp ends braided
Wool warp, brown, pink, white, red, green; wool weft, brown
1984.2.1

Fig. 4 Headband
Wincha (Q)
Charazani, B. Saavedra, La Paz, Bolivia, 1930s
19×2.25 in (48 cm×6.5 cm)
Woven; warp-faced double weave; beaded; warp-wrapped trim
Wool warp, two shades of red, white, green, gray; wool weft, brown; wool wrapping, multicolor; glass beads, three shades of blue, yellow, clear, multicolor
W.F.SA.842

Fig. 5 Poncho
Lauramarka, Ocongate, Cuzco, Peru, mid-late 20th century (before 1984)
47×50 in (1.20 m×1.27 m)
Woven; warp-faced plain weave, supplementary warp weave
Wool, two shades of red, blue-gray, white, yellow, green, pink, black; alpaca weft, tan; wool trim, multicolor
1984.18.8

Fig. 6 Bag
Ch'uspa (Q)
Paratía, Puno, Peru, 1980–84
7×6.5×.5 in (18 cm×16.5 cm×1.25 cm)
Woven; warp-faced plain weave, complementary warp weave
Alpaca warp, white, black, gray, four shades of brown; alpaca weft, brown; alpaca trim, gray, black, four shades of brown
1984.18.20

Fig. 7 Scarf
Ufanta (Q, from S)
Detail of lower third
Calcha, Nor Chicas, Potosí, Bolivia, early 20th century
121×20.75 in (including fringe) (3.07 m×53 cm)
Woven; warp-faced plain weave, two- and three-color complementary warp weaves; crocheted border
Wool warp, gray, orange, violet, yellow, green, red; wool weft, white; wool crochet, multicolor
1986.16.2

Fig. 8 Shawl
Lliklla (Q)
Laymi, Chayanta, Potosí, Bolivia, 20th century (before 1983)
33×41 in (84 cm x 1.03 m)
Woven; warp-faced plain weave, complementary warp weave
Wool or alpaca, reddish-violet, orange, brown, pink, yellow, white, reddish-orange; wool or alpaca weft, brown-and-violet plied
1984.2.3

Fig. 9 Poncho
Detail of one half
Coroma, Quijarro, Potosí, Bolivia, late 19th century
56.5×33.5 in (1.44 m×85 cm)
Woven; warp-faced plain weave
Alpaca warp, brown, lavender-and-brown plied, two shades of pink; alpaca weft, brown; alpaca trim, lavender, brown
1984.6.1

Fig. 10 Shawl
Awayu (A)
Acora, Puno, Peru, 19th century
39.25×45.5 in (1 m×1.16 m)
Woven; warp-faced plain weave
Alpaca warp, black, brown, two shades of pink, blue; alpaca weft, brown; wool trim, red, white, blue, brown
1984.7.1

Fig. 11 Shawl
Awayu (A)
Achiri, Pacajes, La Paz, Bolivia, 19th century
40.5×42.75 in (1.03 m×1.09 m)
Woven; warp-faced plain weave
Alpaca warp, two shades of brown, blue, two shades of pink, brown-and-pink plied; alpaca weft, brown; alpaca trim, violet, yellow, two shades of pink
1984.6.2

Fig. 12 Carrying cloth
Tari (Q)
Lake Titicaca region, probably Juli, Puno, Peru, late 19th-early 20th century
38×36.75 in (96.5 cm×93 cm)
Woven; warp-faced plain weave
Wool warp, orange-brown, dark blue, white, multicolor; wool or alpaca weft, red-and-brown plied
1986.9.2

Fig. 13 Poncho
San Pablo, Cuzco, Peru, early 20th century
70×62 in (1.78 m×1.57 m)
Woven; warp-faced plain weave, supplementary warp weave, complementary warp weave
Wool warp, white, red, green, multicolor; wool weft, white; wool trim, white, orange, violet, multicolor
1984.19.1

Fig. 14 Poncho
Acora, Puno, Peru, late 19th-early 20th century
35×20.75 in (89 cm×53 cm)
Woven; warp-faced plain weave, complementary warp weave
Wool warp, red, two shades of green, yellow, white, blue-green, light pinkish-orange; wool weft, light pinkish-orange
W.F.SA.1739

Fig. 15 Shawl
Awayu (A)
Pocoata or Tucumani, Potosí, Bolivia, early-mid 20th century
34×38 in (86 cm×97 cm)
Woven; warp-faced plain weave, three-color complementary warp weave
Wool warp, dark brown, violet, burgundy, white, lavender, gray, yellow, pink, multicolor; wool weft, dark brown
W.L.F.SA.3071

Fig. 16 Poncho
Bolivia, late 19th century
Detail of one half
58×48 in (1.48 m×1.22 m)
Woven; warp-faced plain weave
Wool warp, grayish-brown, white, red, violet, green, multicolor; wool weft, grayish-brown
1984.2.2

Fig. 17 Shawl
Lliklla (Q)
Detail of one half of center bands
Santo Tomás, Cuzco, Peru, early 20th century
38.25×46.5 in (97 cm×1.18 m)
Woven; warp-faced plain weave, complementary warp weave
Wool warp, orange, two shades of blue, dark red, white, two shades of pink, green; alpaca weft, brown
1984.18.1

Fig. 18 Overskirt
Ajsu (Q)
Potolo, Chuquisaca, Bolivia, 20th century (before 1975)
24.75×45.75 in. (63 cm×1.16 m)
Woven; warp-faced plain weave, complementary warp weave, warp-faced double weave
Wool warp, dark brown, black, orange, dark red, two shades of pink, grayish green; wool weft, dark brown; wool trim, multicolor
John Jackson Collection, 17

Fig. 19 Overskirt half
Ajsu (Q)
Detail of striped bands with reverse spun yarn
Bolivia, 20th century (before 1984)
40×32.5 in (1.02 m×83 cm)
Woven; warp-faced plain weave
Alpaca warp, dark brown, black; alpaca weft, black
1984.1.6

Fig. 20 Belt
Calamarca, La Paz, Bolivia, 1930s
57×7.5 in (1.45 m×19 cm)
Woven; warp-faced double weave; warp ends braided
Wool warp, red, orange, violet, and undyed white; alpaca weft, tan
W.F.SA.429

Fig. 21 Shawl
Lliklla (Q)
Detail of one quarter
Charazani, B. Saavedra, La Paz, Bolivia, mid-late 20th century
34.5×39.75 in (88 cm×1.01 m)
Woven; warp-faced plain weave, warp-faced double weave
Wool or alpaca warp, three shades of red, three shades of pink, green, white, multicolor; wool or alpaca weft, brown
1982.15.4

Fig. 22 Shoulder shawl
Phullu (Q)
Detail of one half of center bands
Lauramarka, Ocongate, Cuzco, Peru, early-mid 20th century
25.75×20.75 in (65 cm×58 cm)
Woven; warp-faced plain weave, supplementary warp weave; embroidered, stem stitch, satin stitch
Wool or alpaca warp, pink, red, white, blue, green, yellow, multicolor; alpaca weft, undyed white; wool trim, multicolor
1984.18.7

Fig. 23 Shawl
Lliklla (Q)
Detail of center bands
Laymi, Potosí, Bolivia, late 19th-20th century
36.5×40.75 in (93 cm×1.04 m)
Woven; warp-faced plain weave, complementary warp weave, warp-faced double weave
Wool warp, two shades of brown, orange, burgundy, yellow, gray, pink, multicolor; wool weft, two browns plied
John Jackson Collection, 33

Fig. 24 Shawl
Lliklla (Q)
Detail of side bands
Puno, Peru or LaPaz, Bolivia, early-mid 20th century
35.5×40.75 in (90 cm×1.04 m)
Woven; warp-faced plain weave, complementary warp weave
Wool warp, dark pink, white, red, blue, violet, three shades of green; alpaca weft, dark brown
1984.18.13

Fig. 25 Overskirt
Ajsu (Q) or urk'u (A)
Detail of pattern bands of one end
Oruro, Bolivia, late 19th century-early 20th century
44.5×52 in (1.13 m×1.32 m)
Woven; warp-faced plain weave, complementary warp weave
Alpaca warp; brown-and-salmon plied, white, two shades of pink, two shades of red, salmon, multicolor; alpaca weft; brown
1984.7.2

Fig. 26 Overskirt
Ajsu (Q)
Detail of half of three bands of one end
Potolo, Chuquisaca, Bolivia, 20th century
25.75×45.5 in (65.5 cm×1.16 cm)
Woven; warp-faced plain weave, two- and three-color complementary warp weaves
Alpaca warp, dark brown; wool warp, burgundy, black, red, fuchsia, dark gray, multicolor; wool weft, dark gray; wool trim, multicolor
John Jackson Collection, 16

Fig. 27 Bag
Ch'uspa (Q)
Candelaria, Tarabuco, Chuquisaca, Bolivia, 20th century (before 1984)
7×7 in without strap and tassels (18 cm×18 cm) 26×7 in with strap and tassels (66 cm×18 cm)
Woven; warp-faced plain weave, complementary warp weave; woven and wrapped trim, tied-in tassels
Cotton warp, white, reddish-brown; wool warp, white, two shades of red, multicolor; cotton weft, white; cotton and wool trim, multicolor
1984.18.17

Fig. 28 Shawl
Lliklla (Q)
Detail of center bands
Chinchero, Cuzco, Peru, mid 20th century
37.5×35.5 in (95 cm×90 cm)
Woven; warp-faced plain weave, complementary warp weave
Wool warp, brownish-black, black, three shades of brown, white, pink, multicolor; wool weft, black
1984.18.5

Fig. 29 Overskirt
Ajsu (Q) or urk'u (A)
Detail of pattern bands of one end
Bolivia, late 19th-early 20th century
52×49.75 in (1.32 m×1.26 m)
Woven; warp-faced plain weave, complementary warp weave
Alpaca warp, brown, orange, pink, green, brown and pink plied, multicolor; alpaca weft, brown
1986.17.1

Fig. 30 Jacket
Saco (S)
Chivay, Caylloma, Arequipa, Peru, 1980–84
17.5 in (44.5 cm) neck-hem front, 44 in (1.12 m) bust circumference, 18 in (46 cm) shoulder width, 20.5 in (52 cm) sleeve length
Woven; twill weave; machine embroidered and appliquéd; machine knit trim
Wool warp and weft, burgundy; cotton floss, multicolor; cotton, acetate, rayon, and nylon appliqué, light blue, white, and silver; nylon trim, blue-green
1984.11.1

Fig. 31 Hat
Cabanaconde, Caylloma, Arequipa, Peru, 1986
Made by Marcial Villavicencio
13 in wide×14 long×6 high (33 cm×35.5 cm×15 cm)
Felt; machine embroidered
Wool, brown; cotton embroidery floss, white, green, red, yellow, blue
1986.20.1

Fig. 32 Hat
Montera (S)
Coata, (Capachica Peninsula) Huatta, Puno, Peru, 1986
17.25 long×15.75 wide×3.5 high (44 cm×40 cm×9 cm)
Woven; twill weave; hand and machine embroidered, chain and couch stitch; pieced, sewn over cardboard frame
Wool warp and weft, black, yellow, dark pink, green; cotton embroidery floss, multicolor
1986.6.1

Fig. 33 Jacket
Khuna (Q)
Coata, (Capachica Peninsula) Huatta, Puno, Peru, 1986
11 in (28 cm) neck-hem front; 17.5 in (44.5 cm) neck-hem back; 42 in (1.07 m) hem circumference; 21.25 in (54 cm) shoulder width; 20.5 in (52 cm) sleeve length
Woven; twill weave; hand and machine embroidered, chain and couch stitch; one piece bodice, with sleeves and cuffs sewn on
Wool warp and weft, black; cotton embroidery floss, multicolor
1986.23.1

Fig. 34 Cap
Ch'ullu (Q)
Laymi, Chayanta, Potosí, Bolivia, 1980s
32 in long×10 wide×1.25 thick (81 cm×25.5 cm×3 cm)
Knitted; one piece top with ear flaps, tassels, and pompoms sewn on
Wool or acrylic, yellow, white, black, multicolor
1986.16.3

W.842

Col. Pl. 1 Shawl
Awayu (A)
Detail of band near outer weft selvedge
Puno, Peru, mid 20th century
33.75×35 in (86 cm×89 cm)
Woven; warp-faced plain weave, complementary warp weave
Wool warp, tan (two shades plied), white, dark red, green, multicolor; wool weft, red, tan
1984.18.12

Col. Pl. 2 Carrying shawl
Awayu (A)
Detail of pattern bands near center
Juli, Ilave, or Chucuito, Puno, Peru, late 20th century
50×53 in (1.27 m×1.35 m)
Woven; warp-faced plain weave, complementary warp weave
Wool warp, gray, black, white, three shades of tan, two shades of brown; wool weft, tan
1986.11.1

Col. Pl. 3 Shawl
Lliklla (Q)
Detail of center bands
Kachin or Pocoata, Potosí, Bolivia, early-mid 20th century
38.5×43.5 in. (98 cm×1.10 m)
Woven; warp-faced plain weave, two- and three-color complementary warp weave
Wool warp, dark brown, orange, violet, white, pink, bluish-gray, three greens, greenish-gray, yellow; wool weft, dark brown; wool trim, multicolor
John Jackson Collection, 26

Col. Pl. 4 Overskirt
Ajsu (Q) or urk'u (A)
Oruro, Bolivia, late 19th century
56.5×54 in (1.44 m×1.37 m)
Woven; warp-faced plain weave, complementary warp weave
Alpaca warp, black, orange, dark pink, violet, white, multicolor; alpaca weft, black; alpaca trim, green
1984.6.4

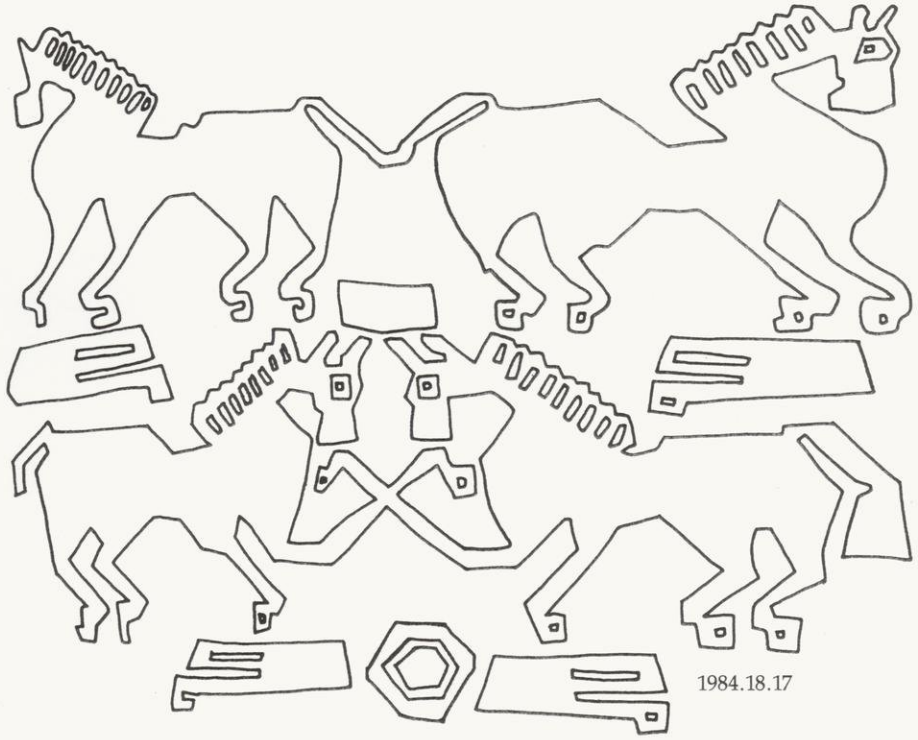
Col. Pl. 5 Vest
Corpiño (S)
Coporaque, Caylloma, Arequipa, Peru, 1986
Made by Geraldo Vilcasán
15 in (38 cm) neck hem front, 35 in (89 cm) chest circumference, 17 in (43 cm) shoulder width
Knitted; machine made fabric; sewing machine embroidered; two pieces, sewn at shoulders and side, lined
Polyester, hot pink; cotton embroidery floss, white, red, green, blue, pink, yellow; acetate trim, green, white, red, polyester trim, green, turquoise
1986.22.1

Col. Pl. 6 Shoulder poncho
Unku (Q)
Candelaria, Tarabuco, Chuquisaca, Bolivia, late 20th century (before 1986)
21×25.5 in (53 cm×65 cm)
Woven; warp-faced plain weave, complementary warp weave
Wool warp, red, orange, three shades of green, violet, multicolor; cotton warp, white; cotton weft, white; wool fringe, multicolor
1986.16.1

Col. Pl. 7 Poncho
Calcha, Nor Chicas, Potosí, Bolivia, early-mid 20th century
57×62.5 in (1.45 m×1.59 m)
Woven; warp-faced plain weave, complementary warp weave; warp ikat resist dyed
Wool warp, burgundy, red, white, multicolor; wool weft, black; wool trim, multicolor
1982.15.5

Col. Pl. 8 Man's belt and underbelt
Chumpi (Q) and tayta wak'a (Q and A)
Shown with underbelt coiled
Taquile, Puno, Peru, 1986
Made by Pelagia Quispe de Yucra
185×7.37 in (4.70 m×19 cm) (woven belt 33.5×7 in [85 cm×18 cm])
Belt:
Woven; warp-faced plain weave, warp-faced double weave (center band), and complementary warp weave (outer stripes); woven and braided tie ends
Wool warp, red, dark red, white, green, multicolor; wool weft, red
Underbelt:
Warp-wrapped
Horsehair warp and weft, undyed tan and brown
1986.7.5

Animal Motifs



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JJ.26

1984.18.12

W.F.SA.429

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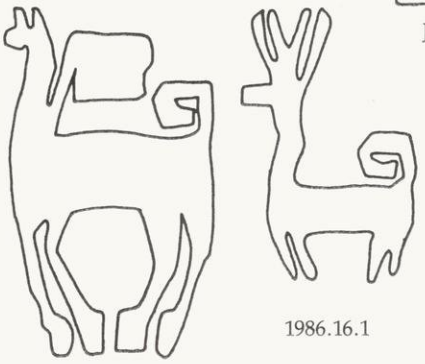
JJ.33



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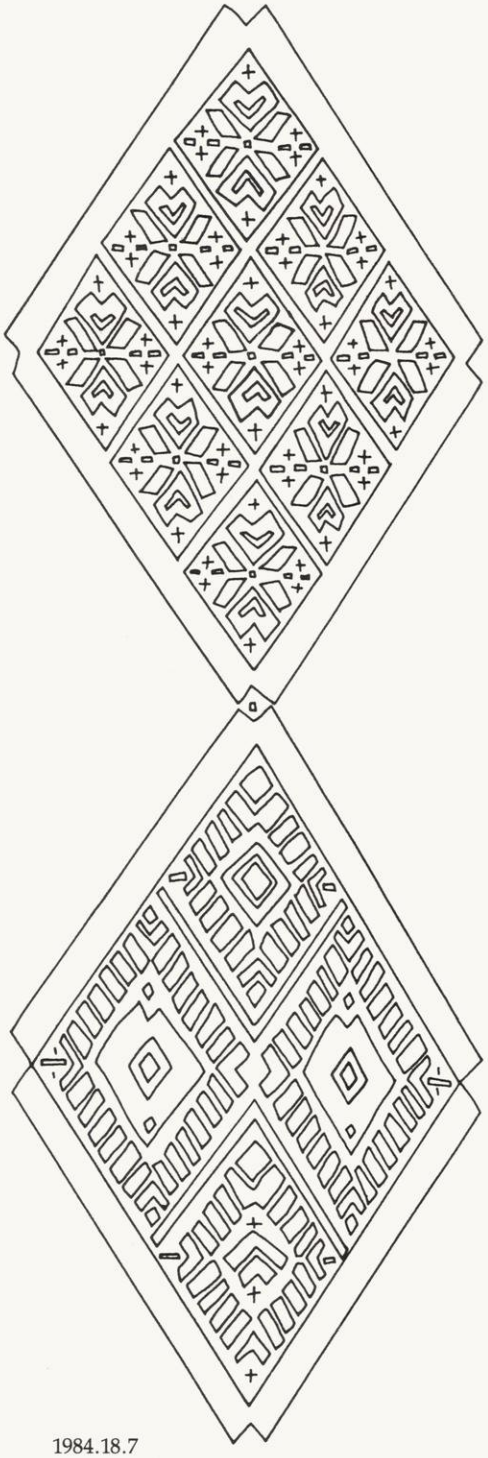
Geometric Motifs



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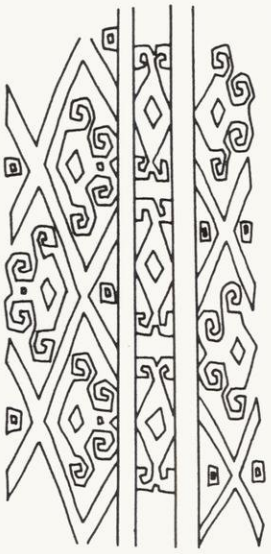
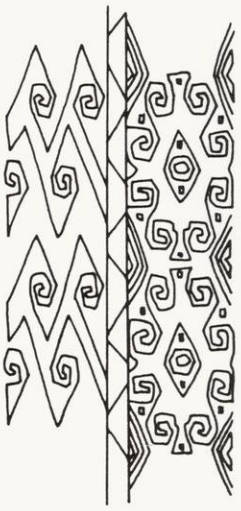


1984.7.2



WFSA 3073

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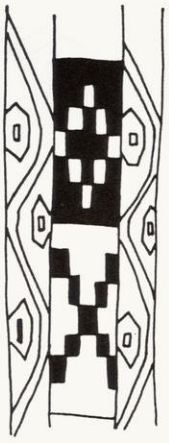

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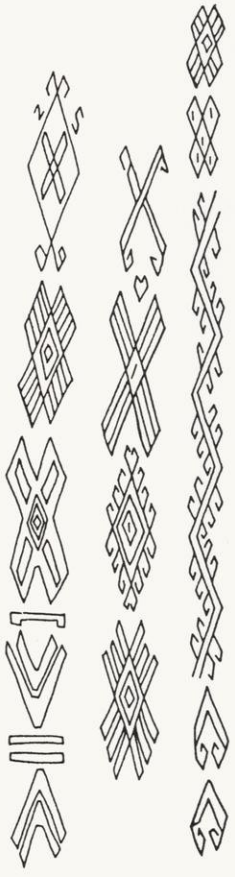

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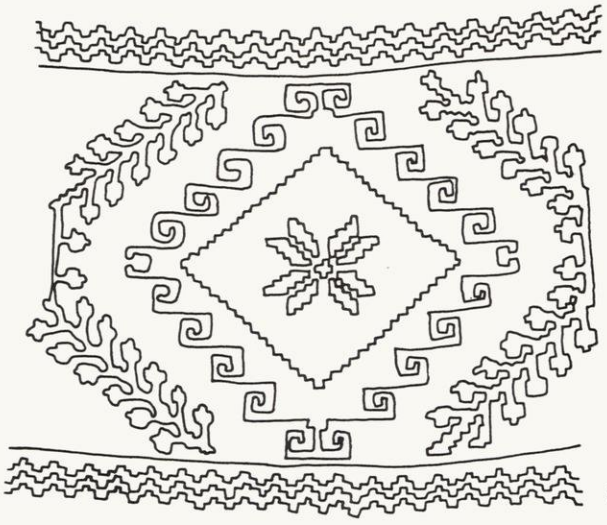
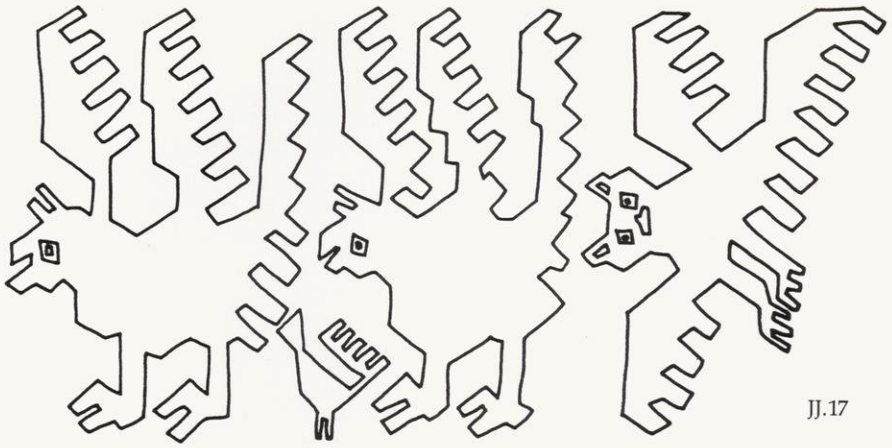


1986.16.3

Bird Motifs



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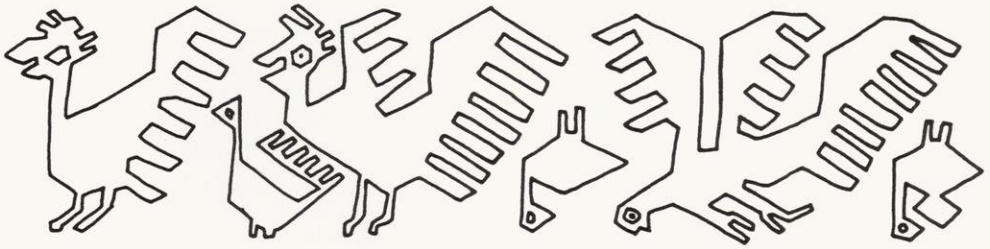

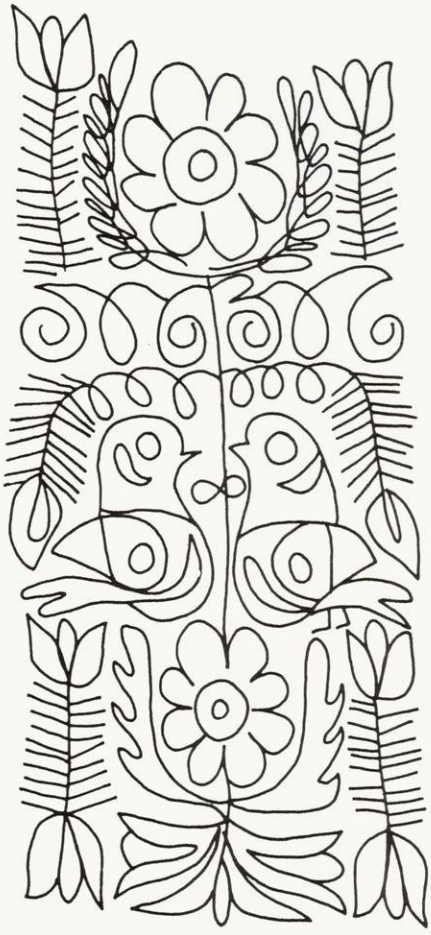

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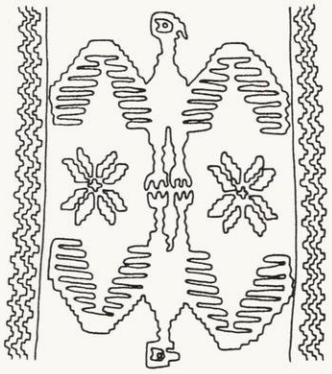

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The Living Textiles of Tarabuco, Bolivia

Lynn A. Meisch

Tarabuco, Bolivia, is a small town situated at 10,740 feet in the Andes of central Bolivia, forty miles southwest of Sucre. Within a forty mile radius of the town, in fifty-three small, non-nucleated communities, live about 11,000 *indígenas* commonly called Tarabuqueños (in English, Tarabucans). They are recognized throughout Bolivia by their distinctive costume based on pre-Hispanic and Spanish colonial dress.

Part of my research was done in Chilla Apachita, a tiny mountaintop community approximately 25 miles south of Tarabuco, and about three miles south of Hacienda Candelaria. The Candelaria region is famous for its horse and llama motifs. Tarabuco has a large Sunday market, where many textiles are sold, so I had access to textiles and information about them through the Tarabucan textile vendors from various localities. I also traveled to other communities.

Today Tarabucans speak Quechua although some also speak Spanish. They are the only ethnic group in Bolivia whose males practice the pre-Inca custom of wearing their hair long and in a single braid (*simpa*). Tarabucan costume includes a number of four-selvedge garments, woven by the women on the oblique frame loom. Some of these garments have elaborate *pallay* (pick-up) motifs. These motifs, along with the colors, techniques, and layout of a four-selvedge textile define local styles within the Tarabuco region, and probably relate to ancient ethnic divisions (Meisch 1986).

Melchora Vargas of Chilla Apachita, near Hacienda Candelaria, weaving half of a luto (mourning) ak'su.

History

The original inhabitants of the Tarabuco area were the Yamparaez, for whom the town is named. The area was an ethnic mix at the time of the Spanish conquest (Calancha 1636: 519). Royal Inka *mitmaqkuna* (colonists), some from Cuzco and the Collao (de Rojas 1958: 170–71), Yanahuaras (Inkas by privilege), and Ecuadorian Cañaris were all present. There were also numerous Aymara speaking groups: Collas, Canchas, Chichas, and, by the 1740s, Pacajas, Pucaranis and Lupacas (Erick Langer, personal communication, 1981). The Aymara words in Tarabucan spinning and weaving vocabulary are residues of Aymara presence.

The Pacajas and Lupacas established permanent, bi-ethnic oases on the Pacific coast and in the *yungas* (eastern lowlands); the Pacaja coastal colonies were connected with the eastern Lupaca colonies by llama trade caravans (Murra 1975: 73). The trade network still exists. Every year beginning in May, llama caravans from the Yampara ayllu near Macha and K'ulta ayllu from Challapata near Oruro in Chayanta Province, northern Potosí, make the three month round-trip between Macha and Tarabuco to trade rock salt from the salar at Uyuni, llama bones used as weaving picks, and textiles for corn, chili peppers and wheat grown by Tarabucans in the lower valleys east of Tarabuco.

Tarabuco weaving and costume

Tarabuco textiles have *pallay* stripes of a warp-faced complementary warp weave. The heddle shed is always warped with white cotton yarn, the shed-rod shed with handspun wool or overspun synthetic yarn. With the exception of ch'uspas from the Presto area, which have warp substitution, the textiles are double-faced. They are generally worn with the side out that has the background in white and the motifs in color. All textiles are woven on the oblique frame loom (see photograph) except for narrow pieces like braid ties (*tullmas*), little straps (*watus*), and some belts (*chumpis*), which are woven on a body tension loom. Besides many items of her family's clothing, a woman also weaves blankets, horse blankets, seed bags (*wayakaytas*), and grain sacks (*costales*). Both the plain weave and pallay textiles are warp-faced and warp-patterned, except for the horse blankets, which have supplementary wefts. Indígena men and women have three sets of clothing: for daily, *luto* (mourning), and fiesta wear. All Tarabuco area communities use the same garments (see photographs), but the stylistic variation in motifs and colors is considerable.

Today, men wear mid-calf-length white pants (*calzón*) made from handspun sheep's wool woven on the treadle loom. The fabric is called *k'uyu*, meaning a roll of cloth from the loom. They wear an indigo dyed shirt (*almilla*) of the same material. The fabric is imported already dyed from Cochabamba, and is sometimes heavily embroidered by the Tarabucan women with zigzags (*k'inkus*). This makes it look like a twill weave, as well as making it

heavier, warmer, and stronger. These garments are of European origin, as is the broad leather belt (*cinturón* or *cincho*), which folds in half lengthwise and is used as a money belt.

Over their shoulders men wear a *kunka* (neck) *unku* (Fig. 35 and Col. Pl. 6), composed of two small, plain-weave four-selvedge pieces sewn together with an opening left for the head. Some unkus are woven in one long strip with the terminal in the middle, then taken off the loom and cut in half along the terminal, making them three-selvedge pieces. The join is usually worn across the shoulders so that the warp is horizontal, although occasionally the warp is vertical. The daily unku (Fig. 35, W.L.SA. 3075) has the same color and configuration of stripes as the poncho, with a separately woven fringe. A similar garment, but without a neck hole, called a *wasa* (back) or *siki* (buttocks) *unku* is worn over the buttocks with the point hanging down, held up by the belt. Fiesta unkus have pallay motifs (Col. Pl. 6, 1986.16.1), while *luto* (mourning) ones have stripes of black, blues, greens, and purples.

Tarabuco ponchos are also made of two plain-weave four-selvedge pieces sewn together with a hole for the head, and worn with the warp horizontal (Fig. 36, 1986.12.1, see photograph on page 48, upper left). The predominant color is red, perhaps because the region produced cochineal in the sixteenth century (Donkin 1977: 33), but ponchos and unkus actually have narrow polychrome stripes of red, wine, black, or brown depending on the region. Ponchos also have a separately woven fringe. Luto ponchos are black, and some ponchos and unkus for daily and luto wear have *lluk'i* (or *lloq'e,* left-spun yarns) near the side selvedge (which becomes the bottom of the garment when worn).

Men wear their hair in a long braid (*simpa*), the end of which may be decorated with a handwoven braid tie (*tullma*). They also wear a leather helmet (*montera*) made from cowhide. An essential part of the man's costume (see photograph on page 48, upper left) is his coca bag (*ch'uspa*), whose colors and motifs vary regionally (Fig. 27, 1984.18.17). Sandals (*ujuta*) are made from rubber truck tires (formerly from leather).

Women wear a black or blue *k'uyu* fabric dress (*almilla*), which like the men's shirts, may be embroidered with zigzags. The almilla is of European origin. It is covered by an *ak'su* (or *ajsu,* overskirt) made from two four-selvedge pieces sewn together and worn with the warp horizontal (see photograph on page 48, lower right). The body (*pampa*) of the ak'su is black, and luto (Fig. 39), fiesta, and daily ak'sus have plain-weave stripes or pallay stripes, depending on the community. The ak'su is pinned over one shoulder, usually with safety pins sold in the market, and tied at the waist with a woven belt called a *ñajcha* (comb) *chumpi* (Figs. 37, 1982.16.1; 38, 1984.3.2; and 39,

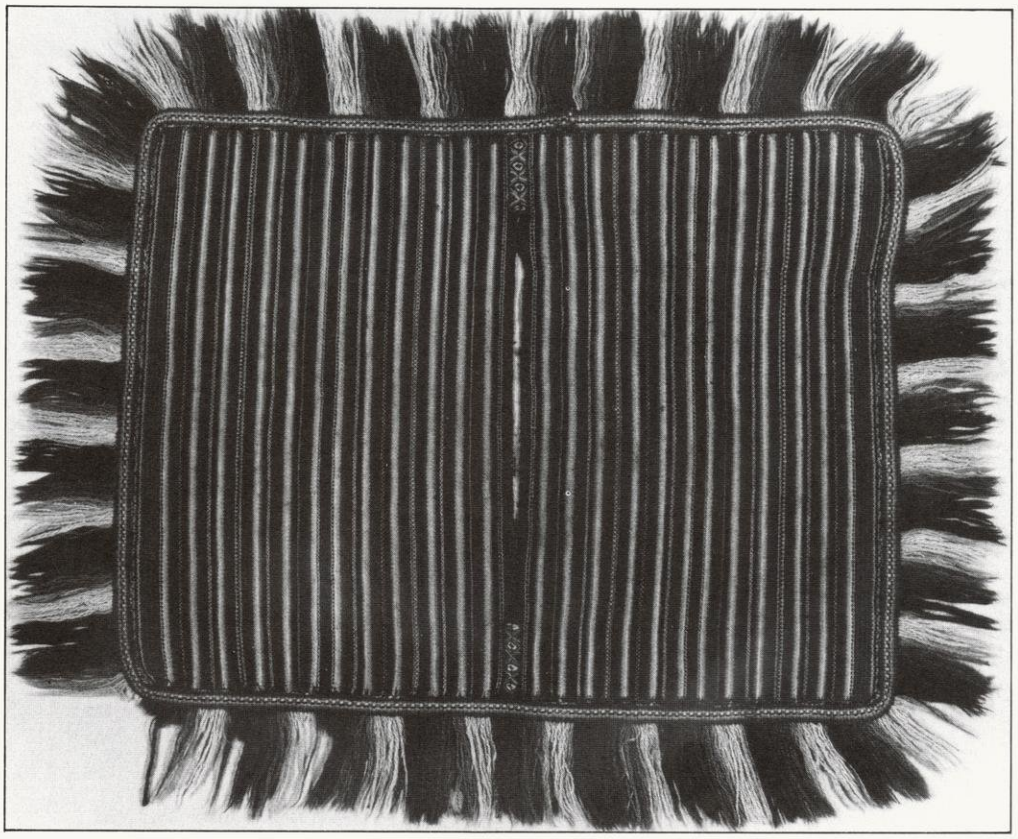


Fig. 35

Dancers and musicians from the region around Presto, north of Tarabuco, at the fiesta of Pujllay in March 1982. The man in the center is playing a *pinkullu*. The short ponchos (on men in background), and short, broad monteras are typical of the northern area.

Usta Vásquez of Tomoroco weaving the fringe for a poncho.

W.L.F.SA. 3072 all show half *ak'sus*). This ñajcha chumpi is also sometimes worn by men. A pallay belt is worn for fiestas.

A *llijlla* (Bolivian spelling of lliklla-ed.; shawl) covers the shoulders. It is made from two four-selvedge pieces sewn together and pinned over the shoulders with a safety pin or silver or brass *tupu* (see photographs on this page). Llijllas have three bands of stripes with an orange, red, burgundy or black (mourning) monochrome area (pampa) in between. (No Tarabuco llijllas are included in this catalogue.)

Llijllas and ak'sus are often edged with a woven tubular band (*ribete* or *awakipa*). For fiestas, llijllas have pallay stripes and both llijllas and ak'sus are deliberately pleated perpendicular to the warp, giving a crisp, folded effect, which is maintained by the way they are folded for storage.

Women wear their hair in one or two braids fastened by a braided, wrapped, or woven tie (tullma). They wear a montera like the men's (see photograph, upper right) or a cloth, half-moon-shaped brimmed hat called a *killa* (moon) or *p'acha* (cloth) montera (see photograph, lower right). Women wear sandals identical to the men's.

Very small children are usually dressed in second-hand European-style clothing, which is sold in the Tarabuco

Women from Jatun Churicana at Pujllay. They wear killa monteras and fine pallay llijllas and ak'sus.

market. As children get older their mothers weave them traditional garments so that many grade-school children wear traditional dress. Young people of both sexes frequently wear a knitted or crocheted hat with a brim in front and long flap in back called a *juk'ullu* (tadpole), which refers to their unmarried, not-yet-adult status.

Conceptualizing the textile: layout and motifs

In Chilla Apachita I worked with Melchora Vargas, a Quechua monolingual weaver. Over the course of two years she had various *pallay* textiles on the loom. In 1982 Melchora was weaving a *luto ak'su*, a mourning overskirt (see photograph). The ak'su is woven in two four-selvedge pieces (each called a *kallu* or *qallu*, which is both Quechua and Aymara for tongue). These pieces are sewn together and the ak'su is worn with the warp horizontal. Figure 37 (1982.16.1) shows a Candelaria ak'su designed for daily or fiesta, rather than mourning, use. Figure 39 (W.L.F.SA. 3072) is a mourning ak'su, probably from Vila Vila.

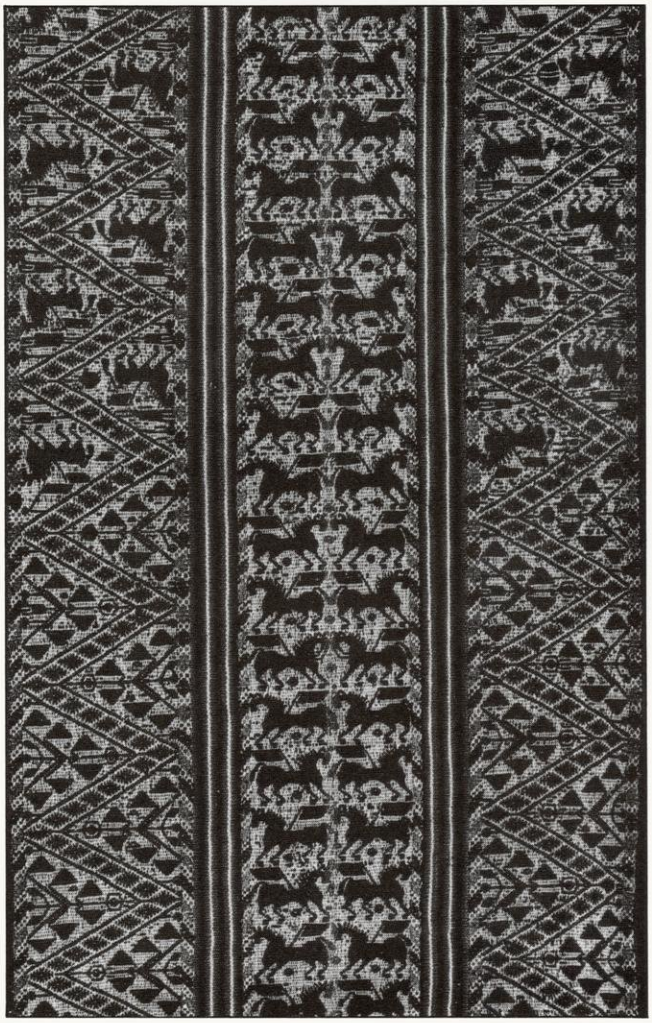
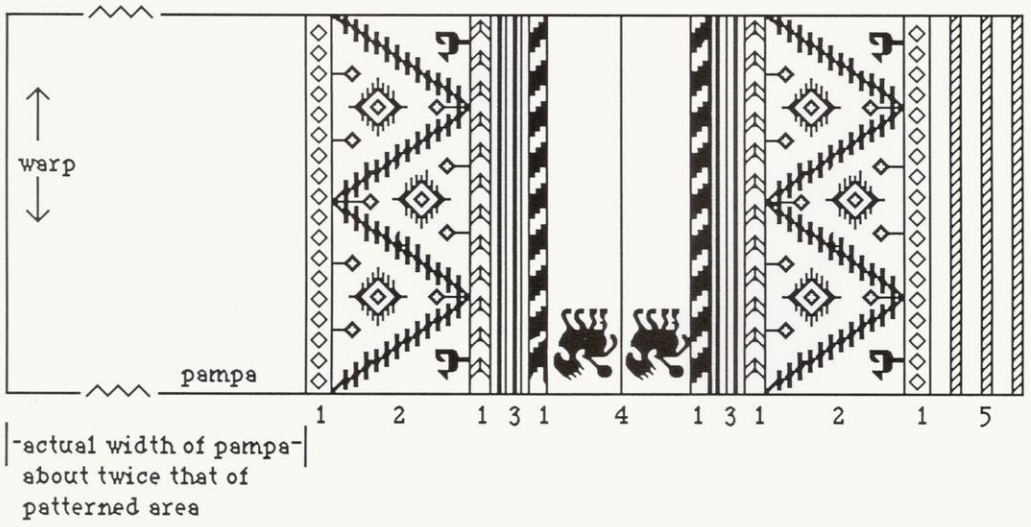


Fig. 37

Fig. 38

Each half of a Candelaria area *ak'su* has three *pallay* stripes, about four or five inches wide, separated by plain weave polychrome stripes called *kuwichi* (rainbow). The center pallay stripe is called the *sunq'u* (or *sonq'o*, heart) *pallay*. Sometimes a narrow strip of three to eight colored warps in the exact center of the *sunq'u* stripe is also called the *sunq'u*. Each side *pallay* strip is called the *kantu pallay* from the Spanish *canto* meaning edge or border. The large plain weave section is called the *pampa*, or plain. Diagram 1 shows a Candelaria aksu as it appears on the loom (warp vertical, horses inverted).

Diagram 1. Ak'su layout



1. The small *pallay* panels bordering the larger ones containing the following motifs:
◇ *coco* (fruit pit),
⩓ *palma* (palm tree) and
▞ *keshwa* (valley)

2. *Kantu* (edge) *pallay* panel, containing: *mayu k'inku* (zigzagging river), *ch'aska* (Venus), *t'ikita* (flower) and *yutu* (partridge).

3. *Kuwichi* (rainbow), containing plain-weave, colored stripes (brick, burgundy, rose, red, orange, gold, yellow, white, light and dark green).

4. *Sunq'u* (heart) pallay panel, with heart stripe, containing *caballos con banderas* (horses with flags seen during Carnival), repeated the length of the stripe.

5. Three stripes of *lluk'i* yarn, S spun and Z plied.

Colors: The *pampa* and right side selvedge with *lluk'i* yarns are always black. The small *pallay* panels bordering the larger ones usually have three colors. Common combinations are pink, green and white; yellow, green and white; orange, green and white; brick, pink and white; red, burgundy and white.

Two side pallay panels must be identical in terms of colors and motifs, although the design is left up to the weaver. The Candelaria-area horse or llama motif must appear in at least one of the panels. The most common colors are red or burgundy (luto ak'sus use black).

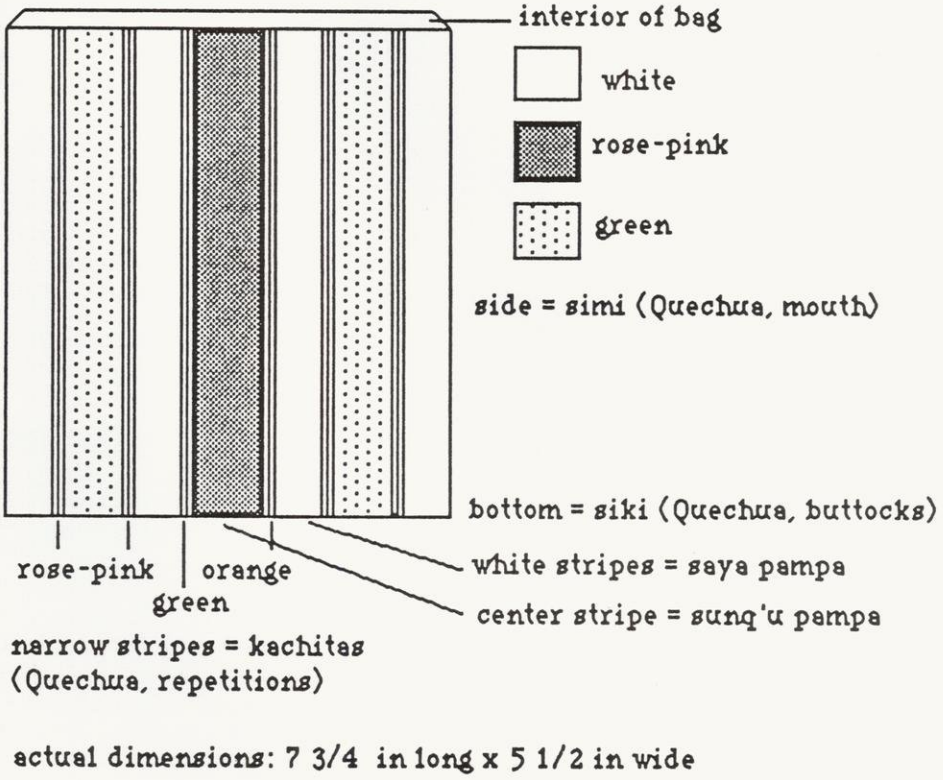
The heart in Candelaria-area weavings relates directly to Veronica Cereceda's theory which is based on a study of *talegas* (little bags to hold seeds) woven by the Aymara of Isluga, Chile (1978, 1986). For a discussion of her work see Chapter I of this catalogue. Throughout the Andes, the Aymara and Quechua also anthropomorphize their land forms (Bastien 1978, Carpenter 1982) but I have not found anthropomorphization of cloth in my research among Ecuadorian Quichua speakers, nor have I heard of anything similar among Peruvian Quechuas. I believe the fact that Melchora Vargas gave her *ak'su* a heart indicated Aymara influence. This is confirmed by the anthropomorphization of other textiles.

There is undeniably a double layer of meaning in Tarabuco weavings. The first is the meaning of the parts of the weaving, such as the sunq'u and pampa and the second is the symbolism of the motifs. The first can be seen very clearly in *wayakaytas* (or *wayaqaytas,* little bags similar to the talegas studied by Cereceda), and both in ch'uspas (coca bags).

Tarabuco *wayakaytas* and *costales* (large sacks used to hold grain or potatoes) have three colored stripes or bands of stripes, separated by white stripes. Melchora Vargas had a wayakayta on the loom which conformed to this pattern, and named the parts. The center colored stripe was the sunq'u (heart) pampa, while each white stripe was a *saya pampa.* (*Saya* means something vertical or perpendicular or someone who stands or waits on foot.) The narrow stripes bordering the wider ones were called *kachitas,* meaning repetition.

Besides the heart, *wayakaytas* are given other human body parts. Each weft selvedge is called a *simi* (mouth), while the bottom of the bag is its *siki* (buttocks). The weaver chooses the colors for the stripes and there does not seem to be color symbolism in the Tarabuco region.

Diagram 2. Tarabuco *wayakayta*



During one of my visits Melchora Vargas had a partially woven ch'uspa on the loom. The conceptualization of this textile on the loom explained the puzzle of why the sides of the bag, rather than the opening at the top, are called mouths. Without a warp the loom is just a collection of sticks and poles, but the loom with a warp on it is anthropomorphized. The ch'uspa on the loom had a *sunq'u pallay* stripe with a sunq'u stripe in the very center. The pocket was called an *uñita* (*cria,* or baby). The shed rod, which separates the warps into halves, passing over one warp and under the next, was called the *sunq'uncha,* which means to animate the heart. The sword, which is inserted in the open shed while the weft is passed was called the *lluk'i* (armpit). A temporary weft used in pallay weaving was called the *llullu mini.* Llullu means immature and is applied to humans, animals and fruit.

The *chapuña* is a small, flat, wooden tool held in the right hand and used to strike the warps above the heddles while the heddles are lifted. Chapuña comes from the Aymara verb *chapuña* meaning to give a direct blow with great force directly on someone's body, generally in the chest. This is significant because the Aymara distinguish grammatically between human and non-human and this verb refers to striking a *human* in the chest. Given the meanings of the shed rod and sword, heart animator and armpit, plus the heart and mouth of the textile on the loom and we have a human body. The side (weft selvedge) warps are probably called the mouth because they open and close to eat the weft while the textile suffers repeated blows on its chest.

The *wayakayta* is woven to contain seeds, which produce new life, and the ch'uspa is made to hold coca leaves,

which are essential to fertility rites, both for the animals and the crops in most parts of Peru and Bolivia. Just as humans contain the seeds of new life, so do the bags.

Ch'uspas from Paredon (Candelaria area) are anthropomorphized. I do not know if this is the case in other communities.

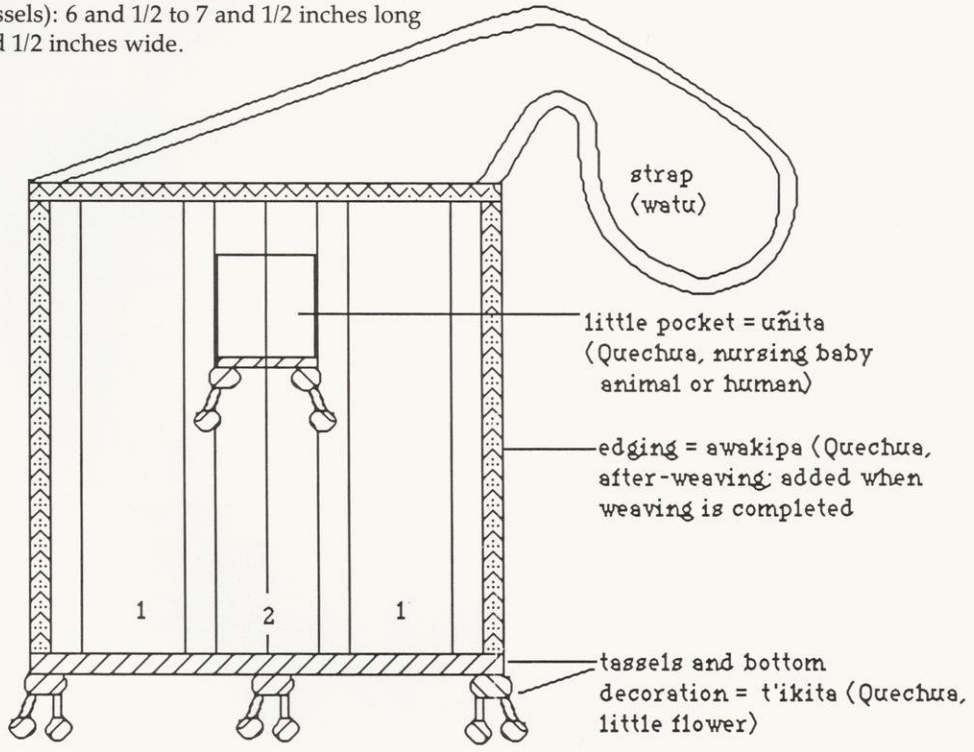
Larger textiles are also anthropomorphized. Ponchos (Fig. 36, 1986.12.1) in the Tarabuco area are woven in two separate sections called *kallu* (or *qallu*, tongue), which are sewn together with a slit left for the head. Each half has a broad stripe at each weft selvedge and in the middle, separated by narrower, polychrome stripes. The poncho is worn with the warp horizontal so that the join is over the man's shoulder rather than down the front and back. The color of the three broad stripes on each *kallu* indicates the wearer's region. In the Candelaria area ponchos are burgundy, in the Presto area bright red and around Yamparaez, black or brown.

The broad stripe at the neck is the *chucu*, according to Melchora Vargas. The word, both Aymara and Quechua (found in Bertonio, Santo Tomas and Holguin), means hat or cap, or head covering. The broad stripe in the center is the *pampa*, while the one at the outer edge is the *simi* (mouth). Two very narrow stripes at the weft selvedge next to the simi, usually yellow and red, are called *kiru* (teeth). The kiru on the ponchos also show Aymara influence. The men's shoulder wrap, or *llacuta*, was worn before the poncho was introduced in the seventeenth century. According to Tracht (1984: note 6): "The one unifying feature of the llacotas is the yellow and red stripe or yellow stripe usually placed at the weft selvedge." Apparently the Tarabucans have changed the form of the men's shoulder covering, but preserved some of its essential symbolic features.

Fig. 36

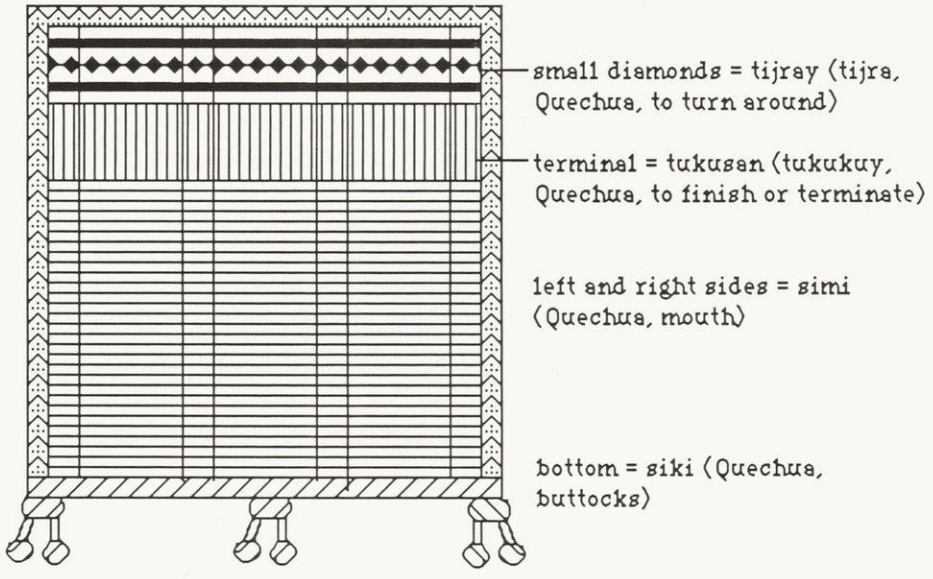
Diagram 3. Candelaria area *ch'uspa*

Actual dimensions of the body of Candelaria area *ch'uspas* (excluding the tassels): 6 and 1/2 to 7 and 1/2 inches long (warp), 7 to 7 and 1/2 inches wide.



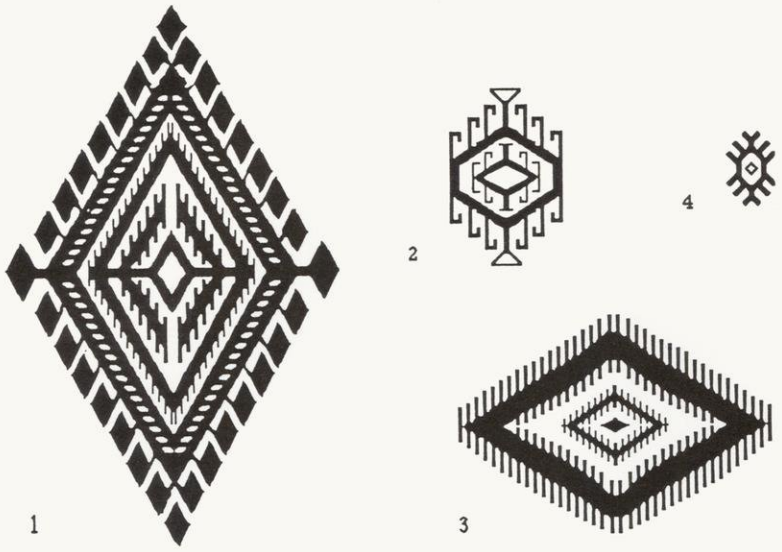
Front view, shown without the pallay motifs

1 kantu (from Spanish canto, edge or border) pallay
2 sunq'u pallay (sunq'u, Quechua, heart) with sunq'u stripe in the very center



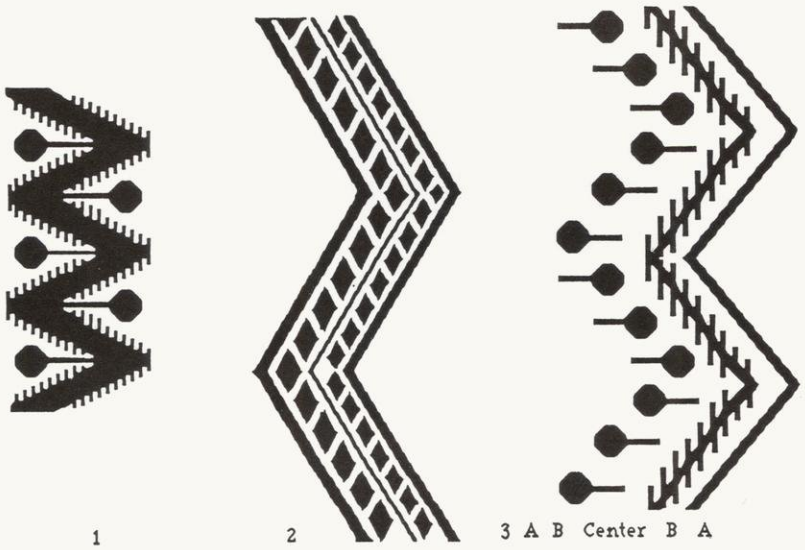
Back view, shown with all parts included

Diagram 4. ***Ch'aska*** **and** ***mayu k'inku*** **symbols**



Ch'aska symbols

1) From an *ak'su* from Mishkaymayu (Candelaria area)
2) From a fiesta *unku* from Pampa Lupiara
3) From a fiesta *unku* from Vila Vila
4) From a *ch'uspa* strap, provenance unknown (All motifs are drawn slightly enlarged)



Mayu k'inku symbols

1) From a fiesta *unku* from Pampa Lupiara
2) From an *ak'su* from Paredon
3) From a *ch'uspa* from Vila Vila. Parts A and B of the motif repeat to the left.

Symbolism of motifs

While it is easy to describe the motifs on a textile, it is harder to establish what they signify. In Tarabuco textiles we can speak of geometric motifs or the diamond-with-rays motif (see Diagram 4). The latter alludes to *ch'aska* or *ch'askañawi* (Venus; considered to be a star).

On ak'sus, numerous natural elements may be shown. In addition to pampa (plain), other terrestrial motifs include *mayu k'inku* (zigzagging or winding river; Diagram 4), and *keshwa* (valley). Celestial motifs include *ch'aska* or *ch'askañawi* (Venus) and *kuwichi* (rainbow). Flora include *t'ikita* (little flower), *kuti t'ika* (the bud of a second flower after the first one has blossomed and died), *coco* (or *kuku*, the pit or seed of a fruit such as a peach) and *palma* (palm tree). Fauna include *caballo con bandera* (horse with flag, a Carnival custom), llama, *taruka* (deer), *vizcacha* (a relative of the chinchilla), *gallina* (hen), *yutu* (or *yuthu*, partridge), and condor. The birds sometimes have a *gusano* (worm) or *t'ikita* (little flower) in their mouths. Some ak'sus also have men and/or women. Not all ak'sus have every motif, but they have one and usually several from each category. There are also motifs such as *llaki llaki* (sadness) whose meanings are not obvious from their appearance.

Melchora's ak'su raise a number of questions about the presence and absence of particular motifs. Why are the rainbow and Venus present, but not the sun and moon, both of which were worshipped by the Aymara and Quechua? Why are there plains and valleys but no mountain motifs? The answers may be linked to colonial religious repression. When the Spanish attempted to "extirpate idolatry" among the indígenas they destroyed their sacred images. Perhaps the sun and moon are indirectly or symbolically represented by the rainbow and Venus. Each of these had a chamber dedicated to it in the Inka temple Q'uricancha in Cuzco along with the Sun, Moon, Thunder/Lightning and the Pleiades, which shared a chamber with Venus (Means 1964: 404–405).

Garcilaso (1976: Tomo I, lib. 3, cap. xxi) says the Inkas believed the rainbow proceeded from the sun and therefore used it on their coat of arms after the Spanish Conquest. The same may be true on Tarabuco textiles. He also says the stars were associated with the moon because they appeared at night. He makes an exception of Venus, however, saying it was "the sun's page" because it appeared just before and after the sun. *Ch'aska* may be associated with the moon in other parts of the Andes, and replaces the moon on Tarabuco textiles.

The Tarabuco ch'aska, basically a diamond- or octagon-with-rays, resembles Pachacuti Yamqui's 1613 drawing of Venus as the morning star, in a cosmological representation of the Q'uricancha (Means 1964: 398). Yamqui shows a round body with twelve rays called *ch'aska q'oyllur* [sic], Venus with long hair.

Both the Quechua and Aymara distinguish between Venus as morning and evening star, the morning apparition considered male by the Aymara, the evening one female.

This diamond-with-rays motif is both ancient and persistent in Andean textiles. Adelson and Tracht (1983: 126) noted its presence in textiles from the Maitas-Chiribaya culture (700–1200) on the Chilean and Peruvian coast. In contemporary weaving this motif is called an *inti* (sun) in Kaata, Bolivia (Bastien 1973: 64–65) and Q'ero and Pisac, Peru. It is called *inti* or *ch'aska* (depending on variations in the basic form) in Charazani (Girault 1969: 44), and Caiza, Bolivia; and *ch'aska* on Isla Amantani in Lake Titicaca. In Otavalo, Ecuador variations on this motif are called *inti* or *luciro* (from the Spanish *lucero*, meaning Venus, Lawrence Carpenter, personal communication 1984).

The worship of the rainbow, however, is distinctly Inka or Quechua. The Aymara fear the rainbow believing that the sight of it can cause various illnesses (Aguilo 1982: 103–104). (On Aymara attitudes toward the rainbow, see Cereceda n.d. [1984]–ed. note.)

There may be esoteric meanings to these motifs which Melchora has forgotten or is unwilling to reveal to me. Urton's (1982) ethnoastronomical study in Cuzco revealed cosmological meanings, many relating to the Milky Way. The Milky Way itself is called *mayu* or river (*ibid.*: 103). In Tarabuco, tiny diamonds called *llama ñawis* (llama eyes) are common on little bands (*watus*). In Cuzco, *llama ñawi* refers to alpha and beta centauri (Urton 1982: 108). These two stars form the eyes of a llama in a "dark cloud" constellation in the Milky Way (one that is formed by the black spaces between the stars). The spaces look like a llama with her baby, followed by a herder with his dog. The eyes, which are used for orientation in the Andes, point toward the southern cross. *Yutu* (partridge) is also a dark cloud constellation (*ibid.*: 170).

Urton notes that ch'aska ("shaggy hair") "seems to be used primarily for a planet, or for a first-magnitude star 'replacing' a planet, which appears as the morning, evening, or 'zenith' midnight star" (*ibid.*: 107). It is also associated with Venus as the morning and/or evening star (*ibid.*: 156).

On Tarabuco textiles *ch'aska* or *ch'askañawi* is always represented by rays symbolizing the planet's light in the form of long hair. Holguin (1608: 90) gives one definition of ch'aska as *"melena enmaranado o enhetrada sin peynar"* (tangled or uncombed hair). *Ch'aska ccoyllur* he defines as *"luzero del dia"* (day star). Today in the Andes a person with hair that is disheveled or that sticks out is called *ch'aska* (Ibarra Grasso 1982: 45).

Some motifs are community-specific. An identical bird motif is called a *yutu* in the Candelaria area and a *sacha* (wild) *pullki* around Presto. An identical tiny octagon with a stem is called a *t'ikita* in the Candelaria area and a *ch'aska* in Tomoroco. The *mayu k'inku* and ch'aska motifs are universal in the Tarabuco region, although exactly when a motif is called a ch'aska or t'ikita depends on its size and placement on a textile and its relation to other motifs. In the mouth of a bird motif, the octagon with a stem is obviously a flower.

Because the motifs differ from community to commu-

nity, it is difficult to generalize about a Tarabuco regional symbolism until more community studies are done.

The ch'aska and mayu k'inku motifs appear in a variety of forms, some of which are shown in Diagram 4. The exact form is up to the weaver, and I have found no particular division by community. In the northern communities (Vila Vila to Presto) the ch'aska and mayu k'inku motifs predominate (see Fig. 39, W.L.F.SA. 3072), and along with color, are distinguishing characteristics.

For example, textiles from Presto and the other northern communities have more red, yellow and orange than textiles from other regions. Llijllas have red or orange pampas rather than burgundy. Weavings from Vila Vila have one (or two in the case of ch'uspas) center stripe with green on the outside, yellow or orange in the middle and purple on the other side. This center stripe is set off from the two *kantu pallay* stripes by plain weave *kuwichis*.

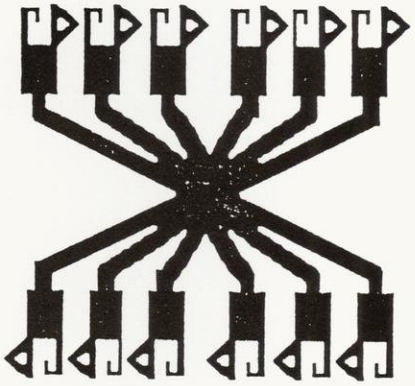
Identification of motifs is hindered by the varying reliability of informants, the most reliable being the (female) weaver, or other female members of her household, who are generally weavers themselves. Next come male members of the weaver's family. Usually the indígena men sell textiles, either in the Tarabuco market or to shops, although some travel as far as Cochabamba and La Paz. Indígenas, who frequently sell textiles from other communities than their own, sometimes know something about the motifs. Next in reliability are the white and *cholo* (not a derogatory term in Chuquisaca) textile vendors, some of whom have become quite knowledgeable over the years. A *chola* vendor in Tarabuco was the first person to point out weaving styles to me as I sat on the steps of her shop on market day.

Because weavings from Candelaria are prized by tourists, many vendors will say a textile without the characteristic horses and/or llamas is from Candelaria; they may not even know the true provenance of a piece. Some vendors will also call a motif by any name in order to make a sale, or possibly to preserve an esoteric tradition which they do not want to discuss with outsiders.

The motifs in Diagram 5, from fiesta llijllas, ak'sus and unkus, are used throughout the region, although some are more prevalent in certain communities. Each person named the motif in Spanish, or in Quechua with a Spanish translation. I have no reason to doubt the identifications which are typical of local variations in motif names.

Fig. 39

Diagram 5. Tarabuco area motifs



1

1) *Karka ñawi,* translated as *ojo sucio* (dirty eye)—Moises Palacio, indígena textile vendor from Muyupunku

Sujraya, translated as *pájaro* (bird)—indígena vendor from Candelaria

Ch'aska (star, Venus)—indígena from Puka Puka

2) *Llaki llaki* (no translation)—indígena vendor from Candelaria, same person as above

Kuti llaki (no translation)—Melchora Vargas from Chilla Apachita

3) *Arbol* (tree)—Moises Palacio

Ch'allu (no translation)—indígena vendor from Candelaria

Pescado (fish)—*chola* textile vendor from Tarabuco

4) *Puraj uya* (*no más habla,* don't talk anymore; or *cállete,* shut up; as when a husband and wife are fighting)—Moises Palacio

5) *Pescado* (fish)—indígena vendor from Candelaria

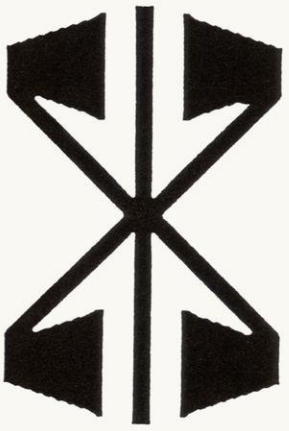
Palma (palm tree)—indígena vendor from Muyupunku

Mariposa (butterfly)—chola textile vendor from Tarabuco, same person as above, Motif 3

2

3

4



5

There are literal translations of the Quechua names of several motifs. *Karka* means a skeleton or death (Motif 1). *Llaki* means sadness or affliction. *Kuti* refers to anything which returns or hooks back on itself. Melchora Vargas called *ch'aska* symbols connected to a main stem (as in Motif 2) *kuti ch'aska. Ch'allu* means something ripe or ready for the harvest; so Motif 3 could represent a head of wheat, rye or barley, all of which grow in the region.

Exactly what these motifs symbolize is difficult to say. Their origins may be lost in time and now their use is simply *"la costumbre"* (custom). The indígenas such as Melchora Vargas who could explain the meaning of other motifs were unable to explain these, or in some cases, give a Spanish translation.

Borrowing and adaptation

The above motifs and symbols have been discussed as if they were static, which of course they are not. Two examples of the borrowing of motifs came to my attention during my fieldwork.

The first was the adaptation of motifs from Potolo in Candelaria. Weavings from Potolo, about twenty-five miles west of Sucre, are known for their fanciful bird and animal motifs, some entirely imaginary or mythological (Figs. 18 and 26, JJ.17 and JJ.16). In contrast to the convention in Candelaria where the birds and animals are always shown in profile, Potolo motifs are shown in profile, full face and three-quarters view, some appearing rather cubist. Potolo creatures often contain other creatures in their bellies, and the variations are endless.

Elizabeth Rojas, daughter of the owner of Hacienda Candelaria, took a group of British tourists to visit the hacienda in 1979 (E. Rojas, personal communication, 1983). She hung a textile exhibit for them in the hacienda's chapel and watched while indígenas from the hacienda and vicinity came to see it. Many indígena women had their children copy motifs from the Potolo weavings on display into their school notebooks. Within a year Potolo motifs, especially condors, began appearing in Candelaria area weavings, mainly on ch'uspas (see Fig. 27, 1984.18.17, in Chapter I, Motif section). Unlike the yutu motif in Diagram 1, the bird on the ch'uspa has two wings visible.

Given the antiquity of the llama caravan trade network, it is reasonable to assume that motifs and techniques have been copied from traded textiles for centuries. The copying, never slavish, is adapted to local traditions, and the original names and meanings are frequently lost. The Potolo condor on the Paredon (Candelaria area) ch'uspa was called a *patito* (little duck) by the Tarabucan vendor. The traditional Candelaria area designs are patito and *gallina* (hen). The condor/patito is placed where birds always are on ch'uspas, in the center stripe, the side stripes being occupied by horses and/or llamas.

The second instance involved the Candelaria area horse motifs. In 1983 Moises Palacio, an indígena textile vendor from Muyupunku near Yamparaez had for sale an unusual horse motif ch'uspa woven that year by his neighbor Máxima Abendaño of Urayloman. Ch'uspas from this region normally have burgundy ch'aska motifs, and no pockets. Moises explained that he had given Máxima a Candelaria area ch'uspa to copy since horse motifs are so popular with tourists. The ch'uspa was woven for sale, and not for use by the men of the area since the motifs were those of another community. Extremely crude copies of horse motif ch'uspas have been made in the Tarabuco area for sale to tourists since around 1974, but this ch'uspa attempted to emulate the fine Candelaria area spinning and weaving.

Besides borrowing there is innovation. In 1983 Artesanías Millma in La Paz had a Candelaria area *luto ch'uspa,* with typical horse motifs, and four identical motifs neither the owners nor I had ever seen before. According to the indígena Tarabucan vendor these were *pucaras* (forts) (Bruce Takami, personal communication). At length I realized the motif represented a structure called a pucara built during Carnival and the fiesta of Pujllay on March 12th (see photographs on page 48). Two logs between fifteen and thirty feet high are erected about six feet apart, cross beams covered with flowers are lashed on and the whole structure is hung with food of every kind—fresh fruits and vegetables, meat, bread, bottles of beer and pop, canned sardines, etc., and topped with three flags.

The pucara appears to be part of a pre-Hispanic festival of the first fruits, which ripen in the region in March beginning with the peach harvest in the lower valleys. The first maize is harvested at this time, and potato plants form *mak'unkus,* hard fruits where the blossoms were. The pucara is a fortress—against hunger. Because I had seen a real pucara, however, I was able to connect it with the motif.

Within the local conventions of symmetry and the use of horses and/or llamas on the ch'uspa, the weaver had added a symbol to the design repertoire, an example of the vitality of the Tarabuco textile tradition. It is also worth noting that the pucara motif is a Carnival symbol, like the motifs of dancing men and women holding a cloth bundle (*q'ipi*) between them, and the horse with a flag.

This pucara symbol may eventually be copied by other weavers and become part of the rich symbolic heritage that has been passed along from mother to daughter in the Tarabuco region for centuries.

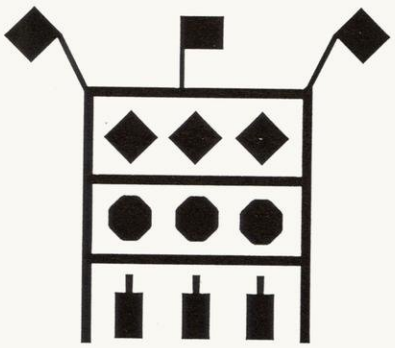


Fig. 35 Shoulder poncho
Unku (Q)
Tarabuco, Chuquisaca, Bolivia, mid-late 20th century
20.5×24.5 in (52 cm×62 cm)
Woven; warp-faced plain weave
Wool warp, three shades of orange, two shades of red, yellow, white, violet, pink, two shades of green; wool weft, orange
W.L.SA.3075

Fig. 36 Poncho
Detail of one half
Yamparaez, Tarabuco, Chuquisaca, Bolivia, 20th century
66×45.5 in (1.68 m×1.16 m)
Woven; warp-faced plain weave
Wool warp, dark reddish-brown, red, orange, multicolor; wool weft, red; wool fringe, multicolor
1986.12.1

Fig. 37 Overskirt (half)
Ajsu (Q)
Detail of one quarter of pattern bands
Candelaria, Tarabuco, Chuquisaca, Bolivia, 20th century (before 1982)
44×31 in (1.12 m×78.5 cm)
Woven; warp-faced plain weave, complementary warp weave
Wool warp, black, orange, red, violet-red, white, green; wool weft, black
1982.16.1

Fig. 38 Overskirt (half)
Ajsu (Q)
Detail of one quarter of pattern bands
Yamparaez, Tarabuco, Chuquisaca, Bolivia, 20th century (before 1984)
44.5×30.5 in (1.13m×77.5 cm)
Woven; warp-faced plain weave, complementary warp weave
Wool warp, black, brown, two shades of red, orange, white, multicolor; wool weft, black; wool trim, reddish-violet, green, yellow, white
1984.3.2

Fig. 39 Overskirt (half)
Ajsu (Q)
Vila Vila, Tarabuco, Chuquisaca, Bolivia, early-mid 20th century
37×29 in (94 cm×74 cm)
Woven; warp-faced plain weave, complementary warp weave
Wool warp, black, white, dark brown; wool weft, black; wool trim, black, white
W.L.F.SA.3072

Calcha Pallay and the Uses of Woven Design

Mary Ann Medlin

The Calcha and their weaving

There have been many changes in Calcha weaving as Andean people have been influenced by new and alien ideas of design and technology. Calcha textile production has always been primarily for local consumption although the Inka state, colonial forces, and the contemporary tourist market each drained labor and materials from the region (Cole 1985, Medlin 1986b, n.d.), often in the form of textiles. Until twenty years ago the Calcha produced all their own clothing.

The Calcha are a Quechua-speaking ethnic group who live in the high valleys of the south central Bolivian Andes. The over 7,000 members of the group live in the southern part of the department of Potosí, farming a subsistence crop of corn. They also raise fruit for markets and herd some goats (Medlin 1983).

They have traded with other ethnic groups for long periods of time and have had contact with Europeans since the 1500s. Most Calcha wear manufactured clothing for daily dress but for fiestas use one outfit of ethnic clothing, influenced by European colonial styles (see photographs, Meisch 1986, Medlin 1987).

The quality, form and designs of Calcha clothing indicate the wearer's ethnic group and provide information about social status and other group allegiances (gender, household, family, hamlet, and ayllu). Andean textiles are multi-functional utilitarian objects (see Introduction). In Calcha, these textiles are woven by skillful, knowledgeable, creative women. The layout and patterns in women's weaving is the most prominent indicator of ethnicity (Harris 1980), but the choices of pallays also identify the weaver.

The people of Calcha share many characteristics with other rural Bolivians: they speak Quechua and Spanish, live in a valley and produce corn; but their weaving is Calcha weaving, distinctive from any other weaving in the world.

Two young women in fiesta dress. The ajsu is most clearly visible on the woman at the right, worn over her dress in the back. They wear embroidered almillas.

Why Calcha weave

In Calcha, kinship and family needs obligate women to weave. A weaver always knows who will own cloth she weaves, and the intended use of all yarn she spins. A poncho or a woman's shawl is never woven to be available in case someone might need one. Articles are made for particular people and for use on particular occasions. All woven items are judged on quality and a given situation will require the use of an item of an appropriate quality.

Even today, cloth is made only for someone the weaver knows. One exception proves the rule: a young woman who returned to the region after having worked in the harvest in Santa Cruz. Before she had children she wove a few pieces for sale to a textile middleman she knew in the city of Potosí (also see Medlin 1983).

Materials and labor required in weaving limit a household's production of textiles and seldom do families have more than a few of any single type (E. Franquemont 1986). Wealth, access to an extensive variety of resources including labor, is indicated by the size of a household's weaving collection. A tremendous amount of effort and energy is involved in the acquisition of supplies and in preparations for weaving. Because weaving is completed gradually over a period of time, usually during an annual cycle, it is almost impossible to calculate a family's economic investment in weaving.

Division of labor

In Calcha men weave only the women's thick underbelt, (*cañari*), and similar belts used on pack animals. Such belts use techniques, materials, and equipment distinctive from those used by women for Calcha textiles. Women spin or overspin as they walk along, but adult Calcha men never spin. Their participation in Calcha weaving is confined to

occasionally buying or trading for wool and to encouraging their wives and daughters to weave.

Young girls learn to weave from their mothers and other women in their households (Medlin 1986a). Young women before marriage and older women less involved in child-care are the most prolific weavers. Young mothers say their children do not allow them to weave. A woman weaves for her immediate family and for herself. She owns what she weaves for herself: men and children own what is made for them.

Calcha patterning and its use

The verb *pallay* in Quechua means to select (*escojer* in Spanish). As a noun, *pallay* means woven pattern. While there is some overlap in use, ethnic groups tend to favor distinctive combinations of pallays (C. Franquemont 1986, Meisch 1986). The weaver creates these patterns of repeated motifs by selecting warp threads. In weaving pattern bands in Calcha, a woman lifts some threads with her fingers while other threads fall below the shed and thus below the weft. Because all Calcha cloth is warp-faced, decisions about the use of color are made during warping. The selecting of threads determines which of those warped together appear on the face of the textile at a particular space in the pattern.

The weaver selects the warp threads to manipulate based on her knowledge of the structure of the pattern. She mostly weaves motifs she knows from memory. If she is using a new motif, she may have completed a sampler before beginning the textile or she may have a woven example of the design nearby. Weaving pallay is a much slower process than plain weave. Selecting the warp-patterning yarns requires good vision. The weaver sits on the ground in front of the loom almost doubled over it in order to see the area of the warp on which she is working.

The weaving structures and the layout of motifs on garments are distinctive from those used in blankets and women's belts. Those used in clothing are geometric in appearance while those on belts and blankets represent leaves, flowers, animals, stars, and people. Ikat designs are only used on men's ponchos.

Types of Calcha pallay

I have collected the names of twenty-six types of woven motifs used in Calcha textiles, including both clothing and blankets, translating into English the names of designs which seem to represent natural objects.

Calcha pallay motifs include: *Jatun qhocha* (big lake), *t'una rumi* (little stone, the center pallay in Fig. 40, W.F.SA. 3073), *palma* (palm), *espilas* (spirals), *inti* (sun), *potosinita* (little Potosina), *ch'aska paloma* (star dove, a term of endearment), *wayritu* (wind), *yuthu* (partridge), *qhochita* (little lake), *almañancito* (soul road, borders the two larger pallay bands and is the only design in the two narrow outer bands of Fig. 7, 1986.16.2; it is also near the center seam of

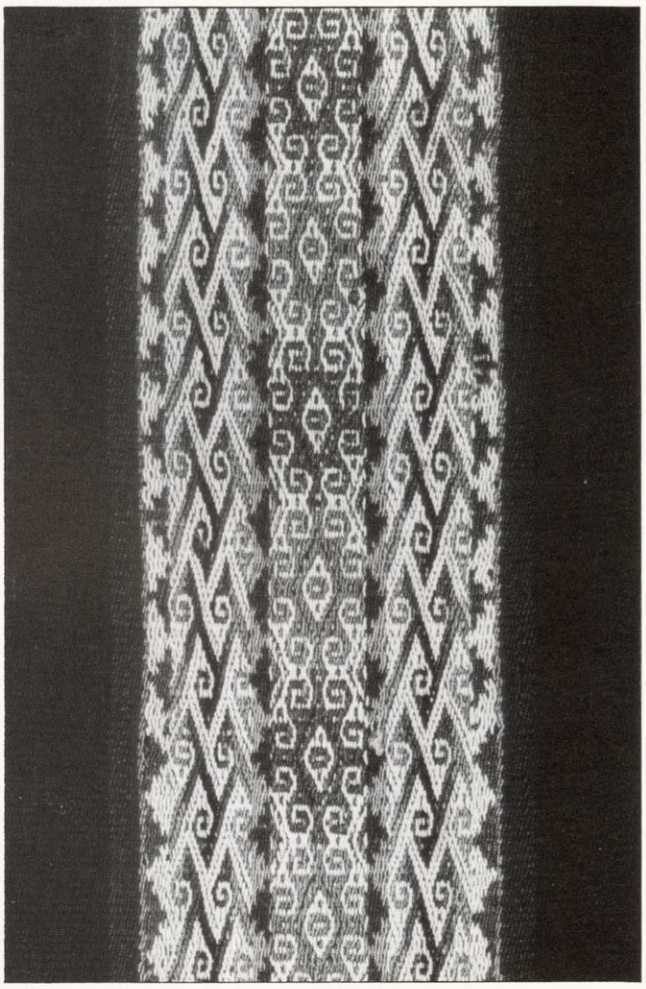
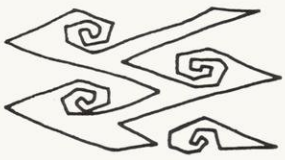


Fig. 40

t'una rumi (from W.F.SA.3073, Fig. 40)



sillano (from W.F.SA.3073, Fig. 40)

Figure 41, 1984.18.11), *vizcacha* (animal related to the chinchilla), *tawanito* (name given by some women for almanaycito, means little four, an exception to geometrical design never being named for its number of warp threads). The following pallay names were never translated: *achucha, chaywani, sillano* (borders the center pallay in Fig. 40, W.F.SA. 3073), *wirk'itu, najchitas, turraba, hibilita* (not translated in Calcha, perhaps related to *jiwi,* death in Aymara).

Ikat motifs which are now sometimes copied in colored yarn include: *kukus* (a diamond form, found on the center ikat bands of each half of Fig. 41, 1984.18.11, poncho boliviano), *link'u* (an × form, found on border ikat band of Fig. 41, 1984.18.11, poncho boliviano), and *ataniasqa* (tie-dyed).

Pallay motifs used in woven blankets include *puntos* (points, this is also found on the half ajsu, Fig. 40, W.F.SA. 3073, pallay band at its edge), *chunkayuj* (ten), *kinsachunkayuj* (thirty), *phisqachunkayuj* (fifty), *sojtachunkayuj* (sixty), and *phacha* (one hundred). These blanket motifs include stars, lines of alternating men and women, leaves, and birds.

Types of textiles with Calcha motifs

Calcha use pallay or ikat motifs in six types of textiles which are used in Calcha dress as well as in small carrying cloths and blankets. Women's *ajsu* (overskirts) and *llijlla* (shawls) use woven design.

The ajsu is a large rectangular piece woven in two "halves" of unequal size. The half ajsu, W.F.SA. 3073 (Fig. 40), is most likely the bottom half of an ajsu since it has a wider pallay band than is normally found on the top half. It is worn pinned over the right shoulder with the seam of the two halves running horizontally at the level of the waist (see photographs on pages 60 and 66). The pattern bands near the top and bottom edges of the cloth run horizontally. The upper pallay band runs from the right shoulder under the left arm and back to the right shoulder. The lower band runs from mid-front of the skirt around the back to the right side.

The top pattern band usually contains no more than three narrow rows of motifs while the wider bottom band

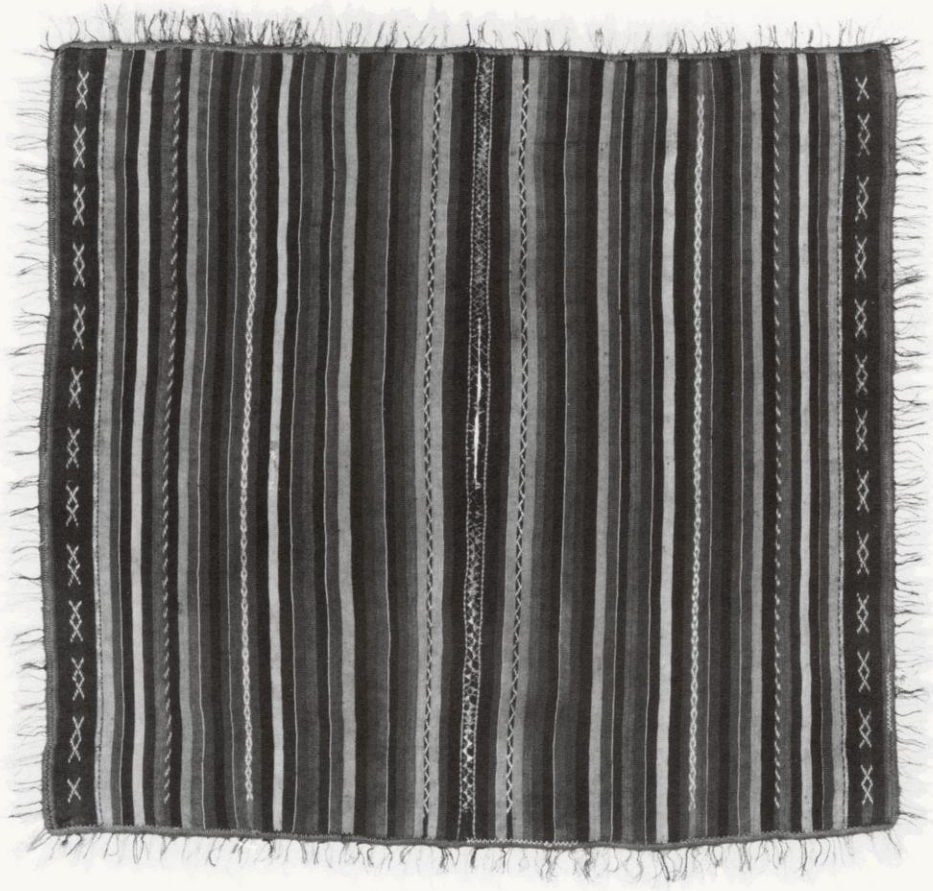


Fig. 41

may have up to seven different rows. Fifty-year-old ajsu, few of which have survived, have up to fifteen rows of motifs in the bottom band. All overskirts are woven of very fine yarn. Today, white cotton is used in the pattern areas and is the dominant color in the band. Older ajsu had red as the dominant color and were woven of considerably finer yarn.

Llijlla (women's shawls, see Chapter I) are woven in two halves with pattern bands near the outer edges and near the center seam; the pallay bands are separated by wider bands of solid color. Women who use ajsu in daily dress wear llijlla with black bands known as *calcheña llijlla.* Women who wear manufactured clothing use llijlla with bands of red, green, and wine called *señora llijlla.*

To carry burdens, a woman folds in the diagonally opposite corners of a llijlla and brings the two remaining corners around to the front to tie and pin. At funerals, all women wear llijlla with black bands open over their backs with the design lines running horizontally across the back and the top corners pinned in front.

Women weave ponchos, *ufantas* (scarves), *señores* (cummerbunds), and *ch'uspas* (coca bags) for men. In Calcha there are six types of ponchos (see photographs on pages 63 and 64), four worn with ethnic dress and two worn with manufactured clothing. All Calcha ponchos are woven in two halves and worn with the bands of pallay and the seam running vertically. The poncho falls to the knees and covers the arms, reaching to the wrists when they are stretched. Usually three sets of pallay bands surrounded by stripes of solid colors cover each half of the poncho. Because it is usually worn folded and hung over one shoulder rather than covering the back and shoulders, not all bands of pallay are seen at the same time.

The *poncho boliviano* is striped predominantly in red, green and yellow, the colors of the Bolivian flag (see Fig. 41, 1984.18.11). It is the most popular type of poncho for fiesta use in the southern part of Calcha's territory (see photograph below). Today there are usually three groups of three narrow bands of woven pattern on each half, one near the outer edge, another in the center, and the last near the seam.

Very fine older ponchos bolivianos, like the one shown in Fig. 41, had multiple bands of ikat and at most a single band of pallay at the outer edge. The older ponchos usually had both ikat and pallay while the more recent have only pallay. Tie-dyed ponchos may also have two outer bands of ikat on each half with a band of pallay near their inner edge and a wider band of pallay placed in the center of each half of the poncho. All ponchos are trimmed with a multicolored fringe. Recently some ponchos bolivianos have been woven of synthetic yarn.

A style of Calcha poncho more popular in the northern part of the region, is the *listao poncho* (see photograph below). Two different ground colors are used: black (*yana*) and burgundy (*panti*); Color Plate 7, 1982.15.5, is a panti listao poncho. The same size and shape as the poncho boliviano, the listao poncho has broad bands of burgundy or black which separate narrower bands of design.

Group of men at a co-operative inauguration with ponchos folded over one shoulder. The man facing the camera at right wears a poncho boliviano. The three men at center wear listao ponchos.

Man in fiesta dress. He wears a boliviano poncho folded over one shoulder; it has numerous pallay bands. Over the poncho is the ufanta.

The three or four bands of pallay in each half are accentuated by the solid ground color. In the southern part of Calcha, listao ponchos are owned by older men and used by those who still wear Calcha clothing daily.

The fourth type of Calcha poncho, the *luto poncho,* is used by widowers and those attending funerals. It has only very narrow bands of woven pattern and no ikat.

Today, women most often make, and men most frequently use, plain weave ponchos with two bands of solid contrasting color in each half called *viraqhocha* ponchos. A common design is a red ground with blue stripe, the layout and colors of the ponchos of northern Argentina (where many Calcha men migrate to work). There are also white ponchos with red or blue stripes. These are used for daily wear by men who wear manufactured clothing. They are hung over one shoulder or worn across the back and tied in front to carry bundles. Calcha men who wear manufactured garments use a plain weave black poncho with red stripes at funerals.

almañancito (from 1982.15.5, Col. Pl. 7)

The *ufanta* is a scarf now made either of blue or beige cotton yarn or red or green synthetic yarn. A few families still have older scarves which are twice as wide as contemporary ones and may be made from vicuña fiber acquired through trade in mining centers in the Lipes provinces. The ufanta (Fig. 7, 1986.16.2) in the catalogue is of the older style although it is woven with gray wool rather than vicuña. Both old and new types of scarves have two bands of pallay which run their length.

Ufantas have crocheted borders which used to be bought from mestizo stores in town: they are now made by weavers who have learned to crochet. The Calcha use these more elegant scarves during fiestas (see photograph, left). During work parties, all men carry and use scarves of a plainer sort to bind mule's eyes for loading and as padding under burdens carried on men's backs.

The *señor,* a large burgundy rectangular cloth, is worn wrapped around the waist underneath a thick, wide leather belt. The señor is unusual because it is woven without any pallay: it is solid in color, plain weave, and decorated by machine embroidery along the edges and corners.

Pallay is also used in the *unkuña,* a small rectangular carrying cloth (Zorn 1986). It and the *Wayaqa* are the only Calcha textiles with pallay that are not worn as a part of ethnic dress and are used to carry coca, food, or seeds. Women usually carry their coca in unkuñas. Unkuñas always have three bands of woven pattern, one near each side and one in the center. One of the first textiles made by a young girl learning to weave, it may be paired with a llijlla and have wide bands of the same colors and the same or similar pallays. Such unkuñas are said to be the *wawas,* babies, of the llijlla and the llijlla and unkuña are used as sets for sowing corn.

Women also weave small bags, *wayaqas,* with colored stripes. They may have two pattern bands, and are used to carry food, money, or seeds at planting. Wayaqas may be the very first thing made by a beginning weaver. If her first wayaqa does not have a pallay she then weaves an unkuña with pallay as a second project. All women's and men's textiles, unkuñas, and wayaqas use pallays with geometric design.

The chumpi (fine women's belt) is about two and a half centimeters wide and three to four meters in length. It is worn wrapped around the waist over the dress, the ajsu, and the cañari, the wide (14 cm.) thick underbelt. The yarn used in the chumpi is almost as fine as sewing thread. The motifs on the belts are the most naturalistic found in Calcha weaving; leaf and star motifs are very common. These same motifs are found only in the *phullu* (blanket), but in no other Calcha textile.

Three types of blankets are made. All have two symmetrical, rectangular halves. The *phullu* is a blanket either half or completely covered with pattern bands of the types found in women's belts. Such blankets are prestige items and costly in wool, dyes, and labor. The *puñuna* is simpler, with stripes of colors and a narrow band of simple design on each edge. The *chusi,* woven with stripes of natural colors of wool and no pallay, is now being replaced by readily available manufactured blankets. Most families have a number of puñuna, and young women usually try to weave at least one phullu before marriage or soon after.

Local interpretation: what women say

The difference between the pallay found in garments and those used in belts and blankets is marked in Calcha by distinctive ways of naming the designs. Blanket pallays are always named first for the number of pairs of warp thread which enter into each pallay, then for the naturalistic design.

The more geometric pallays in Calcha garments are named for natural objects (for example, sun, stone, and worm); but occasionally the names have no apparent reference to the natural world. Neither the people of Calcha nor Quechua speakers from other parts of Bolivia could explain some names of pallay used in Calcha dress. In the motifs used in ponchos, llijlla, and ajsu the numbers of threads used in each motif is only mentioned in technical or instructional discussion of weaving.

Ikat technique was never used to make motifs during my fieldwork by any weaver I knew. Women in their late forties or older, said they had made ikat textiles as young women aided by their mothers. Most older men have a poncho patterned with this technique.

Eliciting the names of pallay from weavers was difficult. For example, when asked what pallay there are, one weaver gave about five names of pallay and said that another person might know more. When I asked her the names of motifs used in textiles which she had woven and shown to me, she gave a much larger number.

A frequent comment in discussions of design while looking at textiles with the specific pallay was, "This? This motif? now what is the name of this motif?" Encouragement and suggestions of motif names which were obviously wrong sometimes helped. By the end of my fieldwork, when I knew most of the pallay commonly used, women enjoyed turning the tables and eliciting the names from me. There was general agreement on the names, with some variation on a few less commonly used motifs.

The Calcha do have names for all the pallay they use. They learn the names when they learn the motif. For this ethnic group little importance is given to the name. The "soul road" does look like a winding path. The inti is a type of diamond shape similar to that found among other ethnic groups. The Calcha give little explicit recognition to the symbolism of motifs; they emphasize the meaning of the use of cloth.

Interpretation of use

Calcha wear cloth with pallay for important celebrations, for fiestas, weddings, and baptisms, but they also use it to carry the seed from storage to the side of the field for ritual treatment prior to planting. Cloth, which is often woven especially for this purpose, is used to carry seed to the center of the field. Because of the interplay of female and male roles in planting and their ritual use of handwoven cloth, the textiles themselves have come to represent fertility (Medlin 1983).

Cloth with pallay tops the jars of *chicha* (corn beer) which must be properly served to kinsmen and neighbors to ensure continued social harmony. Food may be served from unkuñas. Coca, when it was available in the past, was served from small bags with pallay design.

Today, a host family of high status has pallay-covered blankets available for use when guests sleep over. In Calcha, handwoven cloth is required for such purposes. Most often used in those interactions is cloth with woven patterning.

Introduction of new designs

Most of the geometric pallays appear in the older Calcha textiles in collections in the United States and Europe. A few designs are apparently of more recent introduction. Calcha weavers are keenly interested in each other's handwoven cloth and that of other ethnic groups. They often lend textiles with pallay to kin and neighboring women who ask to learn a design.

A woman learning a new motif then frequently makes a *sacapallay* (sampler) of it, a ready reference until she has it memorized. At the end of my research period I asked that samplers be made for me. Two young women easily produced examples of fifteen pallays in a few days.

Marriage

While a set of pallays are common to the ethnic group, the preferences of weavers vary from hamlet to hamlet. Therefore, some motifs are more popular than others in a given part of the territory. Women usually live in the household of their husband's family after marriage until the couple is able to establish an independent household. Women are more likely to leave their hamlet of origin at marriage although young people seldom marry someone who lives at a great distance from their home.

Women learn pallays from female kin. Most women living in the same hamlet know and use a similar set of motifs. Those who move into a new hamlet upon marriage are more likely to bring knowledge of distinctive pallays with them if they are from a hamlet far from their husband's. As one moves further from the woman's hamlet of origin, fewer pallays from that hamlet are seen.

For example, a young man married a woman from a hamlet some distance up-river. She was a excellent weaver, as was his sister. He said that soon everyone in his hamlet

Women watching a fiesta. The woman at left wears her llijlla tied across her shoulders and fastened with a safety pin. On the woman at the right, the ajsu can be seen coming up around her right shoulder.

would be weaving *inti* (sun), because his wife knew it and had already taught it to his sister. The women of his hamlet had already identified the inti pallay to me before his marriage and had shown me one example of that design. It was known but uncommon in that hamlet. However, this marriage very quickly stimulated two weavers, the wife and the sister, to use the design in a hamlet where it had been uncommon. Because both young women were admired as weavers, others were sure to follow their example.

Trade

New pallays are introduced through contact with members of other groups at periodic markets. One older single woman who did almost all the trading for one of the larger families readily admitted having learned the vizcacha (chinchilla), and the yuthu (pheasant) designs at Huari, a mining center with an annual trading fair. Such contact between groups creates opportunities for the study and exchange of designs.

Summary

The designs of Calcha are different from those of most other ethnic groups in the southern Andes. Even when the same pallay is used by a number of groups, colors and layout are distinctive. In highland South America today, weaving styles as well as motifs distinguish ethnic groups. Cloth with pallay is made and used by weavers and their families to express their relationships to those who can recognize the significance of the design of their cloth.

Fig. 40 Overskirt (half)
Ajsu (Q)
Detail of pattern band
Calcha, Nor Chicas, Potosí, Bolivia, early-mid 20th century
55×26.75 in (1.40 m×68 cm)
Woven warp-faced plain weave, two- and three-color complementary warp weaves; machine and hand embroidered
Wool warp, black, burgundy, red, white, green, dark violet; wool weft, black; wool trim, multicolor
W.F.SA.3073

Fig. 41 Poncho
Calcha, Nor Chicas, Potosí, Bolivia, early-mid 20th century
56×61 in (1.42 m×1.55 m)
Woven; warp-faced plain weave, complementary warp weave; warp ikat resist dyed
Wool warp, burgundy, black-and-violet plied, three shades of red, three shades of green, two shades of yellow, multicolor; wool weft, dark brown; wool trim, multicolor
1984.18.11

Encircling Meaning: Economics and Aesthetics in Taquile, Peru

Elayne Zorn

For the past twenty years, textiles woven and knitted on the island of Taquile, Peru, have been marketed to non-islanders. Taquileans are now internationally known for the beauty of their island, and the spectacular textiles they make and wear (see photograph). In 1968, sailboat travel to the mainland city of Puno still took a day, yet in 1985, fourteen Taquileans travelled to Europe as part of a folkloric dance group. In 1986, a Taquilean *ch'ullu* (knitted man's cap) was modeled by a blond teenager in an advertisement by Benetton, the multinational Italian sweater and clothing manufacturer, as part of its "United Colors of Benetton" 1986 winter publicity campaign.

Young Taquilean couple dressed to attend a festival. The man wears the symbols of a community authority (*jilakata*), in recognition of his service in the civil-religious hierarchy. These include the silver staff of office, black hat, black jacket, poncho worn folded over the left shoulder, and woven shawl draped over the poncho. He also wears a knitted cap, manufactured white shirt, wide black pants, and tire tread sandals. The woman wears a head shawl, woman's carrying shawl (knotted at the throat), a manufactured red blouse, and long, pleated black overskirt covering several worn skirts. Both wear a wide woven belt and underbelt.

Despite this fame, surprisingly little has appeared in museum publications concerning the Taquilean textiles, apart from the following reference of dubious accuracy and scant ethnological value:

> It is now believed that the general Aymara lake region designs were taught to the Quechua-speaking Taquile Island people on the Peruvian side of Lake Titicaca approximately 80 to 100 years ago. Yet it was the Taquile people who introduced the designs to North Americans around 1968, and called them their own. It is for this reason many people who see older lake region weavings believe that they are Taquile Island in origin. Actually, the Taquile islanders, living in exile for four centuries in the middle of Lake Titicaca, have used their excellent weaving techniques to plagiarize and commercialize their neighbours' stylistic design work. These designs often include flowers, butterflies, fish and fertility symbols. (Higgins and Kenny ca. 1978: n.p.[6].)

The reference's scurrilous nature, according to Taquileans, derives from a desire for revenge motivated by Taquile weavers' refusal to sell antique textiles to the authors. What is there about these textiles—their beauty, their value—that compelled, if this story is true, such strong feelings of desire and acquisition?

Andean women, men, and children, who make the exquisite textiles non-Andeans increasingly admire and buy, have their own voices, but because of the international socio-economic order they speak to us only indirectly, through the signs of material objects. The weavers' articulate voices reach us in the form of their textiles, "craft" or fine art, but these seem mute to us. We read them according to the conventions of tourist art, but we cannot easily translate and interpret what they signify to Andeans weavers and users.

For thousands of years Andean peoples have chosen to use weaving, an extraordinarily time-consuming process, to create the most important objects in their society. Theirs is a living creative tradition, with all the richness and vigor that implies.

How are we to appreciate and understand the extraordinary complexity of the achievement that is Taquilean textiles? How do Taquilean relate to other Andean textiles? Have Taquilean textiles changed since their first organized sales in the late 1960s? If so, what is the nature of these changes, and what is their significance?

Towards a political economy of aesthetics

For analytical and other purposes, Western thought has long separated aesthetics and economics. Yet our models may not be appropriate to non-Western societies, whose members do not necessarily conceptualize and differentiate their world in the same way we do (see, for example, Gudeman 1986). My perspective in this essay is that to analyze the aesthetics of objects such as Andean weavings (including changes) we should necessarily examine the socio-economic conditions of their production and use. This view derives from my sense that these two spheres are interrelated, both as analytic device, and as understood and practiced by Andean weavers and wearers, producers and users.[1]

Meaning in textiles: Neither designs, nor writing

The other important perspective for examining Taquilean and other Andean textiles is symbolic/semiotic. Thus here I also raise issues concerning semiotic approaches to objects. Answers to many of these questions await future field research.

The multiple levels of meanings of Andean textiles can usefully be analyzed by viewing cloth as a communication system, analogous but not identical to language (Zorn n.d.c [1987]). Such a structural/semiotic approach to meaning, and its activation in practice, stands opposed to a popular tendency in analyzing Andean textiles, to view them as "written," or as a kind of writing (see, for example, Solari 1983). This further relates to the analysis of discrete designs, presuming a parallel between two types of discrete items: motifs and words. Naming discrete designs (this is a star; that, a house) is only the first step toward analysis, because meaning is relational and contrastive, and the semantic field covered by each word/design does not translate directly. Thus, for example, after identifying x as a star, the next step is to discover the multiple meanings of star in the particular culture and even community (see Chapter II in this catalogue for a discussion of *ch'aska*, star, in Tarabuco).

The "problem" of writing forms a separate inquiry, but it concerns the desire to see woven textiles ("artifacted") as writing, or a kind of notation. This may derive primarily from an ethnocentric desire to confirm that other people are like us (Ann Peters, personal communication, 1987). In Western thought writing is one of the defining characteristics of "high" civilizations. The undeniably great Andean civilizations, however, used neither the wheel nor writing. Thus I suggest that some researchers hope to find evidence of a kind of Andean writing; textiles and their designs seem a likely candidate (also see Ong 1982 on the psychological threat posed by words dissociated from writing).

Taken generally, naming any discrete unit is one step towards understanding meaning. For example, we could analyze a system by situating analysis at the semantic level only, as a beginning. Thus depending upon the unit of analysis, we would isolate semantic terms for natural phenomena or man-made objects. Then we would explore the semantic field, determining how to bound it (lexically, then synchronically, diachronically, etc.). We would thus attempt to establish cross-references to other areas of culture, beyond, for example, the textile. Finally, we would attempt to contextualize not just the semantic field, but the entire object or class of objects (see for example Torrico n.d. [1985]). But before we can analyze changes in the objects themselves, we must first describe the textiles' semantic and semiologic components.[2] However, there are few systematic, baseline investigations of Andean textiles, aesthetics,[3] and concepts of change; thus we cannot answer the questions raised here with the richness, depth, and subtlety required. My field work on Taquile has made me familiar with the objects themselves, and given me some knowledge of their meanings in Taquilean society. I will take the first step by looking closely at Taquilean textiles and the people who make and use them.

Taquilean textiles and garments

Taquile's warp-patterned woven textiles share technical and aesthetic similarities in weave structure and organization of space (including colors and images) with those woven in neighboring Quechua-and Aymara-speaking communities, all of which seem to belong to what we can define as a Lake Titicaca regional style (see Figs. 14, 24, Col. Pl. 1, Col. Pl. 2). The complete Taquilean costume is a sub-style, characteristically unique and immediately distinguishable from the clothing of neighboring people (see photograph on page 67).

Traditional Taquilean textiles are usually woven, except men's caps, which are knitted. These textiles are garments or utilitarian objects: belts, overskirts, overshawls, ponchos, coca- and food-carrying cloths, coca purses, storage sacks, and ponchos. In this catalogue, several belts, a coca bag, and two knitted caps are shown; all were made in the late 1980s (Col. Pl. 8, Figs. 42–46). Textiles made for sale include traditional textile forms, variations of them, and new forms. Particular attention is given here to the *chumpi*, a wide belt worn by both sexes (Col. Pl. 8, 1986.7.5; Fig. 42, 1986.7.4, and Fig. 43, 1986.8.1). Numerous changes have occurred in techniques and designs used to create belts, both for sale and for Taquilean use. These changes are discussed below and are summarized in Table 1 (page 79).

Fig. 44

With the exception of items now made for sale, Taquileans make textiles for a particular person, themselves or a loved one (as is true in many parts of the Andes; see Medlin 1986, this catalogue, Chapter III). Therefore, textile sales have meant major social changes as well. I will approach aesthetic and technical changes by describing traditional production and exchange which are tightly linked.

The economics of textile production and exchange

As noted above, relationships between production and exchange constitute the ground of this discussion of aesthetics. These relationships are clear when production is for exchange, and blatant when production is for the market, whether internal or for export. They are present, however, even when production is for personal use or family exchange.

Taquile is a small community of 1,200 Quechua-speaking peasant potato farmers on an island in the Peruvian side of Lake Titicaca. The islanders first began the organized sale of woven and knitted clothing in 1968; tourism began only in 1976 (Healy and Zorn 1983). Sales of textiles, combined with a grant from the Inter-American Foundation, fueled the construction of motorboats which Taquileans developed into a unique model of locally-controlled tourist services (Zorn and Prochaska n.d. [1986]).

From the time they are small children until the day they die, all male and female Taquileans make textiles—for themselves, for other nuclear and extended family members, for general family and household use, and increasingly, for sale.[4] Today, Taquileans still have complete control over their textile production. They own the means of production (raw materials, tools), their labor power, and the finished product (textiles).

An underlying excitement surrounds the process of making and wearing textiles, which manifests itself in an ongoing verbal and visual discourse. Production and discourse reach a peak six times yearly at Taquile's annual community festivals that include the opportunity to display and analyze new textiles (see photograph below).

The importance of textiles is continuously manifested in Taquilean society. After basic subsistence (farming and some sheep herding), textile production receives the largest allocation of labor. A significant part of a family's wealth and labor is applied to textiles: to barter and/or purchase materials (wool, fiber, and machine-spun yarn) needed to make fabrics, and/or to help young Taquileans of marriageable age prepare textiles prior to marriage (Zorn n.d.b [1983]: 117 ff.). Young Taquileans, and their parents, still consider textile production skills when choosing a spouse. These skills are believed to reflect abilities in other spheres; a woman who is a good weaver is also assumed

En route to the festival of Santiago (St. James), a dance group pauses on a field. Male musician-dancers wear beaded, mirrored festival headdresses, while playing a large recorder-type flute; women dance.

to be a good household manager, cook and farmer. Though they have always produced their own household textiles and clothing, since the 1970s Taquileans have purchased an increasing amount of manufactured goods.

Textile production in Taquile, as in much of the Andes, is organized by kinship based in the household, which functions as the basic unit of production and consumption.[5] The rules of kinship regulate the exchange of labor between household members, and the "traditional" circulation of textiles inside and outside of the household. There is a simple division of labor by gender and, to a lesser degree, by age.

Each Taquilean man or woman produces textiles throughout her or his lifetime. At any given moment, some stage of a textile is being worked on; since the requirement for yarns is constant, ongoing yarn production is essential.

Each Taquilean's life cycle of textile production begins at a very young age. Taquileans learn textile production techniques from members of their nuclear or extended family of the same sex as a part of childhood socialization.[6] Even children participate actively in household textile exchange, as producers as well as users. Each Taquilean spends years mastering the skills necessary to produce textiles at the high level of technique and meaning demanded by the community.

A girl first weaves narrow bands that are used by adult family members as belt ties and coca bag straps. By her teenage years, a girl is usually an accomplished weaver.

The most difficult and spectacular textiles, which are those woven by women on the Andean loom, demand an exclusive commitment of time for an absolute minimum of one half hour. Weaving is done in the time "left over" after attending to farming, personal and community rituals, community obligations, and for women, food preparation and childcare. Since the spinning, plying and knitting equipment is portable, they can be done anywhere, all year-round during otherwise marginal time, even when as few as ten minutes are available.

Weaving well: the aesthetics of production

Traditional Andean textiles are produced within narrowly defined technical and aesthetic bounds, which are necessary for the continuity of an artistic tradition. Depending upon the specific community and the particular type of textile, however, varying degrees of flexibility may be tolerated or encouraged. Prevailing Taquilean standards for technical achievement are high, though lower than those prevailing up to the turn of the twentieth century, as evidenced by comparative technical analysis of textiles from the colonial, republican and contemporary periods.

Alejandrina Huatta, in her patio, weaves the final inches on half of a lliklla. The shawl is woven in warp-faced plain weave on the Andean continuous-warp staked-out (horizontal) ground loom. Note the partially filled drop-spindle behind her.

A "good" textile must fulfill functional, social and aesthetic criteria. It must be appropriate as regards materials, dimensions, and spatial organization. Weaving is evaluated technically in Taquile, as elsewhere in the Andes, by a combination of quantitative and qualitative criteria. Good weaving requires good materials and good spinning and plying,[7] with the yarns' fineness, evenness and degree of twist, dictated by the end product. Good dyeing; the tightness (socially appropriate density of warps and wefts per cm); evenness of the weave; good tension control (especially at the side selvedges); and careful finishing are other characteristics of a well-woven textile.

All adult Taquileans can recognize each other's work. They can identify any man's knitting in the island's cooperative store by his unique "signature," e.g. subtle combination of two rows of color, combined with triangles of a third color at a particular area of the cap (see Cerny 1984 on signature in folk art—ed. note). Similarly, a certain family is known for never putting a fringe on a type of man's poncho.

Any young Taquilean woman, age sixteen to nineteen, who has woven several wide warp-patterned weave belts on the Andean loom, has already developed the basics of an individual substyle within the community's technical and aesthetic framework, and within prevailing fashion trends. Technical standards are always noted. Aesthetic criteria concern choice/use of weave structure and organization of the textile space. Within general guidelines of the community style, these include the choice of warp-patterned weave structures (partly determined by social function and season); the relative widths, in proportion to the textile's overall dimension, of the warp-patterned weave and plain weave stripes; use of color, including choice of the background color, and the exact color order and width of the narrow plain weave stripes that flank each warp-patterned weave band; preference for particular images, and their repetition and combinations (ordering/meaning); the spacing of motifs on the ground and the degree of alteration, innovation or invention of images.

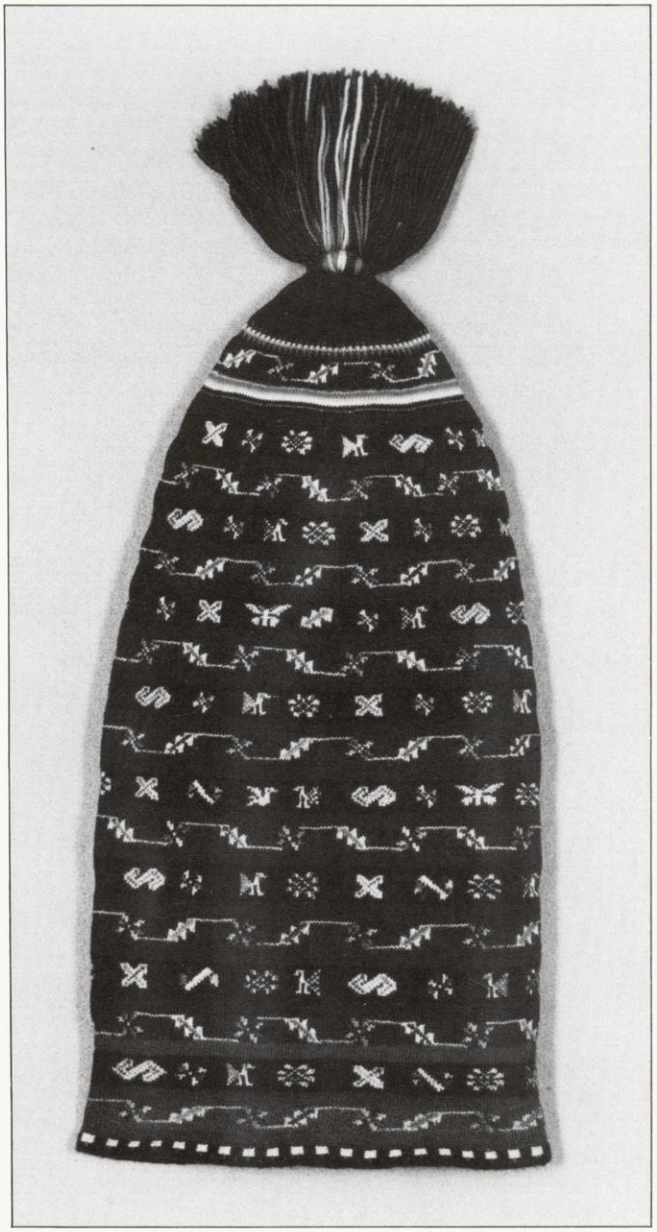
Fashion is important, though trends in weaving may be subtle. Regarding stylistic innovation, see Chapter III of this catalogue. Cassandra Torrico (personal communication, 1985) also notes that trends in warp-pattern weaves among young women weavers in Macha, Bolivia, quickly go in and out of fashion, over relatively short periods of time.

A regular, informed, active interest is, of course, a prerequisite for intelligent artistic production. Textiles are a major topic for thought and commentary in Taquile. Women frequently evaluate and discuss one another's work in great technical detail. I often saw teenage girls intently studying an older woman's weavings, either on or off the loom. On occasions when I brought a photograph of textiles from another community to Taquile, groups of women formed and animatedly discussed the photograph. Comments included hypotheses, always correct, about possible methods of loom set-up and weaving techniques. Taquilean women also made comparisons with Taquile images and the suitability of the overall spatial organization of the textile. My photographs of looms invariably produced more lively and detailed conversations, than any other subject matter, among both men and women.

Technology—appreciating an Andean textile

Characteristically, a broad range of different textile types, looms, weave structures and weaving techniques can be found even today in a single Andean community. Weaving is by far the predominant textile technique. Other textile techniques, in decreasing order of importance,

Fig. 45

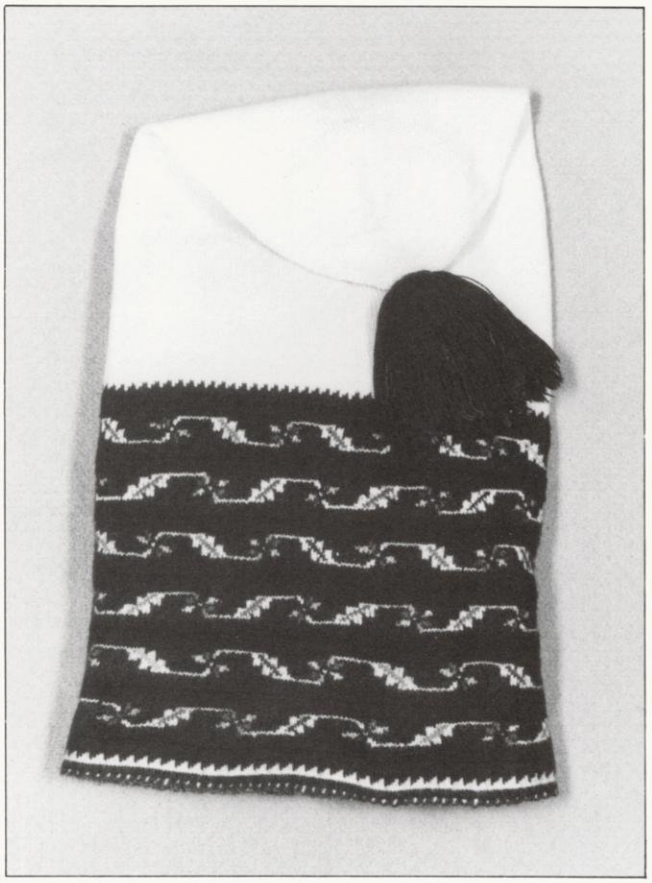


include knitting, crocheting, warp-wrapping, braiding and sewing.

Taquilean women weave most pre-Hispanic-type garments and household items in the form of warp-faced, four-selvedged textiles, on the staked-out, horizontal ground loom, which is an extremely simple but superb tool (see photograph on page 70 and Fig. 42, 1986.7.4). Men weave yardage, which they tailor into Spanish-style garments, on their homemade European-type treadle looms. In Taquile, only men knit (Frame 1983). Taquilean men also employ basketry, wrapping and knotting techniques to make boats, baskets, fishtraps and, until recently, *kipus* (mnemonic counting devices).

An examination of textile technology properly begins with the raw materials. Taquileans use both alpaca fiber and sheep wool. They prefer alpaca fiber, in its full range of natural colors (whites, tans, browns, grays and blacks) for the fine textiles woven by women. Cheaper sheep wool is used for yardage woven by men. Since Taquile is a small island community, sources of animal fiber are scarce. Islanders have developed various strategies to obtain their raw materials, including limited herding on the island, barter exchange, and purchase (Zorn 1983: 81ff.). Since the 1970s, Taquileans and other indigenous highland textile producers have had increasing problems obtaining good quality alpaca fiber. Taquilean weavers respond to these problems by weaving with more sheep wool and less alpaca fiber; by combining the two in one textile, usually by spinning one thread from alpaca fiber and one from sheep wool, then plying the two together; or by switching to machine-spun yarns.

Fig. 46



Preference for one or another warp-patterned weave characterizes different Andean regions. The preferred weave structure in Taquile is a "pebble" weave, or complementary-warp weave with three-span floats aligned in alternate pairs with an irregular (abbabaab) warping order (3/1 horizontal color changes and diagonals of 2-span floats [Rowe 1977a: 76, 107, Fig. 125; Zorn 1979: 211–15]). Two other warp-patterned weave structures are woven in Taquilean textiles: a float weave derived from turned 2/1 horizontal herringbone with floats forming squares (Emery 1966: 120–121; Rowe 1977a: 61–63; Zorn 1979: 214, Fig. 1), and, very rarely, a one-color supplementary warp weave with irregular warping order.

Warping is a two-person procedure; the weaver is usually assisted by a female relative. The general warping and weaving process is similar for belts, coca- and food-carrying cloths, coca purses, storage sacks, overskirts, blankets, overshawls and ponchos. A simpler process is used to warp and weave narrow bands on the adjustable body-tension loom.[8]

Effects of marketing and tourism

Taquilean textiles began to change radically in about 1968, following the initiation of organized marketing (Healy and Zorn 1983; Zorn 1983, n.d.b. [1985].) Changes are both technological and social, and involve textiles made for sale and those made by Taquileans for themselves. These include: 1) innovations in textile types and products; 2) changes in production technology and production levels; 3) the rise of marketing and patronage; and 4) changes in "traditional" attitudes concerning textiles, that is, desanctification of their roles in society.

These changes have both negative and positive effects. Negative effects include decreased time for traditional production; self-exploitation; dependence on the market for materials; poorly-made textile products; and a possible decrease in women's economic power. The greatest positive result has been increased income. The cash has gone to individuals or families, who have used part for consumption (food, clothing, weaving materials, household goods) and an apparently significant percentage for investment (Zorn and Prochaska n.d. [1986]). There is virtually no land available on the island for purchase. Taquileans have used cash from textile sales to buy engines and wood to build motorboats, thereby creating a community controlled transport system (Healy and Zorn 1983). They have also improved their homes, purchased durable goods (sewing machines, knitting machines) and developed some community infrastructure.

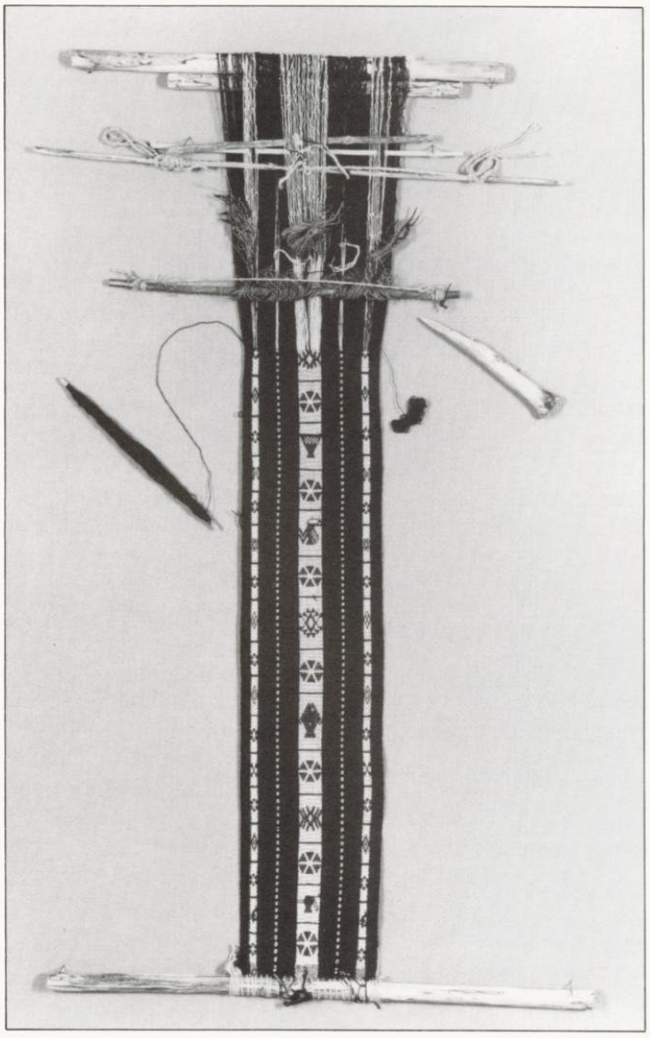


Fig. 42

Innovations in textile types and products

Twenty years of experience with markets and tourists have affected what Taquileans produce. They have responded to market demand and created new products, elaborations upon traditional clothing styles. Changes comprise: traditional textiles that have been altered or modified; garments or garment types newly developed (some no longer produced); motifs in women's warp-patterned weaving that have been altered, invented or revived; and alteration of motifs and figure-ground relationship in men's knitted textiles (Zorn 1983: Appendix III).

When, in 1968, islanders, assisted by a Peace Corps volunteer, organized to market their products in a Peace Corps cooperative store in Cuzco, a commercial "boom" of sorts occurred.[9] Ten years later Taquileans opened a co-op on Taquile, as more tourists came there (see photograph on page 76).

Both new and used Taquilean textiles, most made by women, were sold between 1968 and 1971 in the Cuzco store. Small textiles predominated (caps, coca bags, and belts). Few garments tailored from yardage (shirts, vests, pants) were consigned. New textiles and textile types predominated by about 1980.

Taquileans began limited experiments with altering garments as early as 1968. Some textile "lines" were produced only in limited numbers, and then discontinued. Others were modified slightly, and produced basically in the same form; still other lines continued to evolve. Some innovated items, produced only briefly, were knitted ties, vests, sweaters, sleeves, and rectangular coin purses with zippers. Garments developed in 1968–1971 that are still produced in the 1980s include knitted caps in colors different from the usual white, red, and maroon, woven belts in varied widths and colors (green, blue, tan backgrounds), woven coca bags of different sizes and colors (though primarily in reds), and woven scarves (these now include warp-patterned weave design). Caps, belts and bags continue to comprise most textile sale items in the mid-1980s, as they have since 1968. Taquilean girls and women produce numerous narrow woven bands like those used as belt ties and straps, and a new wider version that fits the belt loops of blue jeans. But despite their massive production, sales are limited.

Innovations increased greatly from about 1978 onward. Most of the new textiles are made by men: these include knitted change purses shaped like coca bags; vests of various types, both woven and knitted (especially the frequently purchased *"chaleco músico,"* with woven back and knitted front); yardage and tailored homespun shirts, vests and pants in different (new for Taquile) twill weaves; yardage scarves; bulky knit sweaters; narrow woven belts. Women produced scarves woven like belts.

Knitted caps made for sale by male Taquileans usually have less detail in the design bands than in the past, and images are larger and more widely spaced. Yet knitters have also invented and revived some motifs.

Female weavers, within the woven belt tradition, have made changes in the width, colors, and organization of the textile space (Table 1). Narrow belts made for sale, which use machine-spun yarns of varying colors, or relatively coarsely-handspun natural fiber yarns, are woven with smaller, densely packed images, than are the "traditional" wide belts. New wide belts, woven for sale, use a less repetitive organization of images and include new designs, both geometric and representational, invented by the woman weaver or copied from a neighbor. Limited revival of a few "older" images, little used in the past two generations, also is occurring. Another tourist-related innovation for coca bag and belt production is the more extensive use of undyed natural color yarns, especially for the background (Fig. 43, 1986.8.1).

Changes in production technology and levels of production

The line between innovation and alteration is difficult to draw precisely, since with rare exceptions, new developments are based on "tradition" whether garments, technologies, or images. No entirely new arts or textile forms had

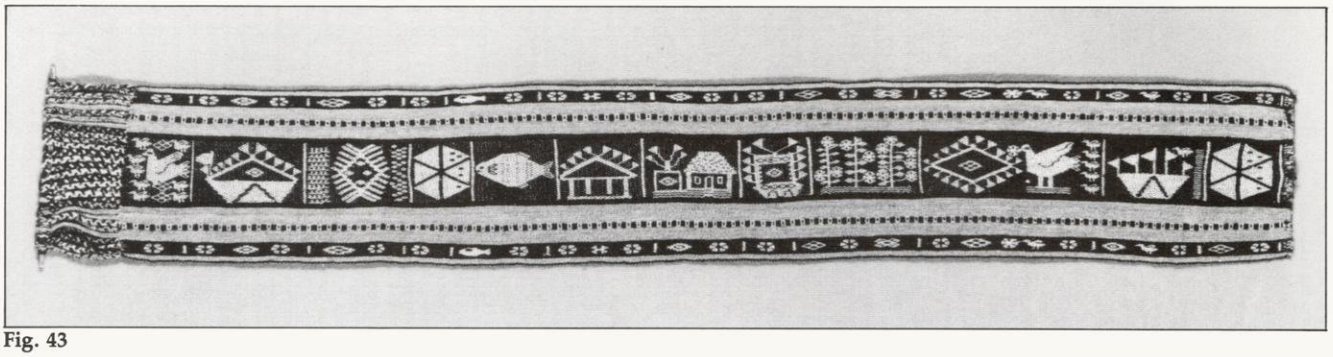
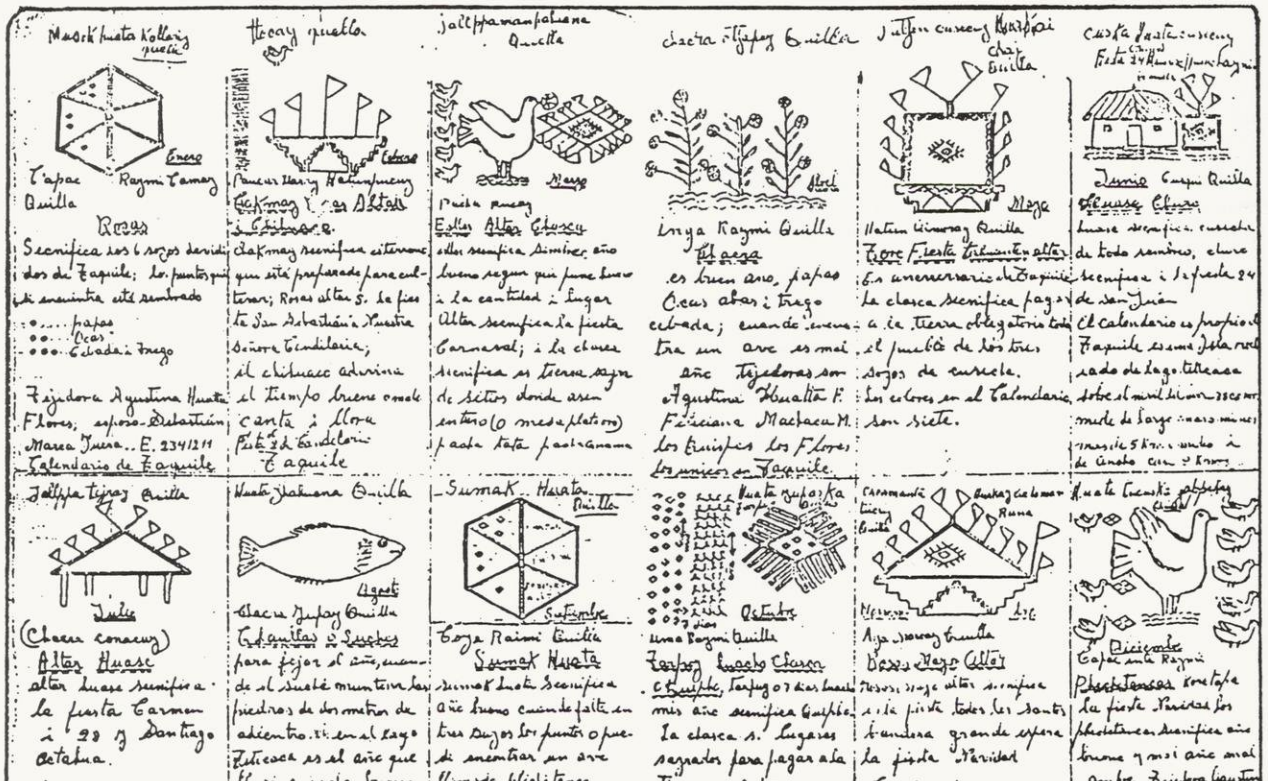


Fig. 43



The calendar belt (1986.8.1) was woven by Agustina Huatta Flores. These drawings of the motifs, each corresponding to one month, and the explanatory text in Quechua and Spanish are by her husband, Sebastián Marca Yucra. For example, January reads; "New Year begins month. January. Great festival month. Roses. Signifies the six sector divisions of Taquile. The points found are the sown seeds ♦ potatoes ♦♦ ocas [native Andean tuber] ♦♦♦ barley and wheat." Translated by B. Femenias, K. Candler, and J. Treacy.

been introduced or revived as of my last visit in 1983; while neglected textile techniques were revived on nearby Amantani island.

Technological changes in Taquile, stimulated by market sales, not vice versa, are primarily labor saving in nature. The goal is to increase productivity and over-all production, thereby raising income. A typical example of petty commodity craft production, this is accomplished at greater expense and frequently does not reward the effort.

Taquileans intensified production levels by increasing time devoted to spinning, knitting and weaving. They did so by working during "free time," and using machine spun-and-dyed yarns, instead of handspun yarns. The goal of most Taquileans producing for the market is to produce more in a given time period. However, a recent development in weaving (1983 onward) represents an alternate use of the time "saved" by buying machine-spun yarns. Some women weave with denser motifs; others make wide belts with a warp-faced double stripe weave (Col. Pl. 8, 1986.7.5), which are more difficult and time-consuming to weave, as discussed below. Some knitters also use more handspun yarn.

At certain periods of time, especially prior to the extensive tourism of the late 1970s, individual large-volume buyers had a significant impact when they suggested modifications of garment types and alterations in technology (patronage is discussed more fully below). These changes originated in response to actual orders to be filled, and suggestions of ways to complete orders more rapidly. Such suggestions included: 1) using machine-spun, instead of handspun, wool yarns; 2) weaving several coca bags on one warp on the Andean loom, as yardage to cut and hem into individual bags (versus traditional production of individual four-selvedged pieces); and 3) producing a poncho on the treadle loom operated by men (versus its usual production by a woman on the Andean loom).

A development in women's weaving, in opposition to the general practice of employing the time saved by using machine-spun yarns to produce more textiles in the same period of time, has been to devote more time to the weaving of individual belts, producing either a belt with more densely packed motifs, or a belt with a new warp-patterned weave structure (Col. Pl. 8, 1986.7.5). The "new" weave structure is warp-faced double cloth, which takes at least twice as long to weave than the complementary-warp weave structure favored in Taquile. In 1983, a palpable excitement could be felt from young and/or particularly expert middle-aged Taquilean women regarding learning to weave a structure that was previously unknown there, and which is not woven elsewhere in Peru today. Though only a handful of weavers had learned to weave warp-faced double cloth as of early 1984, and as little as one year had passed since its first use in Taquile, it was difficult to determine exactly how, and by whom, the new weave structure was learned. According to one account, a teenage woman learned the new weave by figuring it out from a photograph of a Bolivian textile (perhaps from Charazani) provided by a Lima textile buyer. Another version had it that she, or a different young woman, learned it at a weaving course (organized by the Peruvian Ministry of Industry and Tourism) near Lima.

In Taquile, women weavers have rapidly taught one another the new weave, usually within a family. Several women that I spoke with said they were "too old" to learn a new weave structure. In general, the weavers' grasp of textile structure is remarkably thorough. For example, warp-faced double cloth uses two sets of warps. One young weaver figured out how to weave with three sets of warps (creating three-color double cloth), interchanging two of these sets to form the background of the warp-patterned weave band.

Taquilean weavers have made the aesthetic choice to place the new weave structure only in the central warp-patterned weave stripe of wide belts, which are woven both for use, and for sale. Taquilean weavers thus substitute this weave structure for the more usual complementary-warp weave structure. The rest of the belt—colors, forms, and other weave structures and their images—continues to conform to the general "traditional" style. However, the impact of the new weave structure is visually startling, both subtle (because it appears only in one stripe) and obvious (because it is done with new images), and is "visible across the plaza," according to Mary Frame (personal communication, 1987). Warp-faced double cloth is more difficult to weave but more adaptable for representational designs than complementary-warp weave structures. Taquilean weavers rapidly discovered this flexibility, and indeed "new" belts with this structure show an increase in invented, mostly representational, motifs including cows and butterflies (Col. Pl. 8, 1986.7.5). In 1984, well aware of their greater time investment, Taquileans set the selling price of a double cloth wide belt at twice or three times that of a "traditional" wide belt.

The rise of marketing and patronage

Between inital sales in 1968 and tourism in 1976, a handful of young Taquilean men learned to be textile intermediaries, selling their extended families' textiles. They were responsible first for transporting textiles to the Cuzco co-op, but quickly learned how to sell on the street to tourists in Cuzco, Arequipa and Lima, and made contacts with larger volume dealers, such as Solari (1983). These men formed a new elite generation of Taquileans, whose prestige derived from increasing knowledge of Hispanic Peruvian society (see Matos Mar 1951). Their actual cash profits seem to have been low, but they obtained indirect benefits by increasing overall family income and incurring family indebtedness, which they used to advantage in local community politics. Other Taquilean men occasionally sold family textiles for quick cash to urban marketwomen in Puno, who usually advance half the price on consignment.

Tourism to the island that began in the late 1970s probably limited patron-client relations by offering markets to all who spoke Spanish. Many islanders belong to and sell in

In Taquile's co-operative store vendors tally up purchases; buyer is partially hidden. Taquilean men serve unpaid rotations in the co-op; women do not. Note display on the right of belts, woven with various background colors; a few hanging coca purses and wide bands and, in the back, a man's poncho.

the community co-operative (see photograph on page 76), but the co-op works on consignment, and those needing cash still sell either in the privacy of the home or, as before, in Puno. Taquilean intermediaries also continue to sell on the streets or to large-volume buyers in slack periods or when they require immediate cash. The Taquilean textiles shown here were purchased in the makers' homes from their families.

While influence by non-Taquileans has been an important stimulus for change by suggesting various directions for experimentation, Taquilean innovation and experimentation with garment types was certainly not exclusively a result of outside influences. The period of time over which particular innovated or altered textiles have been produced, for example, has been based primarily on the islanders' evaluation of the respective economic benefits or disadvantages of such. As mentioned above, the goal of many outside buyers' suggestions involved ways to complete work faster. Most innovations suggested from within the community, with the exception of the wider narrow band (*correa*) and the belt-like scarf, have been made by male Taquileans, though women have altered some traditional garments for sale. This seeming inequality of innovation affects the gender division of labor and, importantly, access to cash from textile sales (see below, final section).

During the mid-1970s Taquileans began to sell textiles in Taquile that were woven elsewhere. By the early 1980s, Taquileans found themselves unable to fully stock Taquile's co-operative store during the peak tourist months (June through August), which follow the labor-intensive harvest. Partly for this reason, and also to increase profits, some Taquileans "put out" the weaving of handspun yardage, or purchased yardage woven in communities near Lake Titicaca, which they sewed into the "peasant" shirts and pants favored by tourists. More significantly, by at least 1981 Taquileans sold textiles in their store, often of inferior technical quality, which were made nearby, on Amantaní island or less often on the Capachica peninsula, but were sold as "Taquilean."

Changes in "traditional" attitudes concerning textiles

Taquileans' attitudes towards textiles have certainly changed due to market sale (Zorn 1983, n.d.b [1985]). These changes in attitudes have been the result of the Taquileans' exposure to different textiles from other areas, and contact with buyers and other textile suppliers, which

occurred as a result of expanded travel and marketing. First, there has been an ever-increasing willingness and desire to sell textiles (cf. Medlin 1983, on Calcha women, who do not weave for sale). As late as 1978, many older Taquileans stated that selling textiles was "bad." Others said that they simply weren't interested in selling, and that one shouldn't do such a thing—implying, or stating directly, that textiles should more properly be preserved in the family as inheritance.

Taquileans are now more willing, even eager to discuss the symbolic meanings of motifs. By the early 1980s a few more Taquilean women admitted to knowledge of symbolic meanings; they could do so, at least in part, because many more had learned some Spanish. Taquilean men, especially youths working in the co-operative store, were often quite willing to name images and provide interpretations, however fanciful. By contrast, in the mid- to late-1970s, such explanations were offered in rudimentary Spanish only by Taquile's traveling textile suppliers. Yet it still is not clear how accurate such interpretations are, and to what extent they have been developed for tourists.

For example, in the mid-1980s, Taquileans developed a type of wall-hanging, which they named *chumpi calendario* (calendar belt), based on published information about more traditional woven belts (Fig. 43 and drawing with text, 1986.8.1).[10] This is essentially a belt hung on the wall. The concept of a calendar belt seems to have developed from conversations between a Taquilean textile supplier and a Lima buyer, who was interested in interpreting certain motifs in some wide belts. Once this supposed belt was in print, tourists asked for it and Taquileans complied with demand.

An important change in Taquilean production is an accelerating willingness to alter traditional garment types, images and, to a lesser extent, technology, and to invent new costume elements. Taquilean costume, like that of other Andean peasants, has changed greatly since the Spanish invasion and altered with rapidity even in this century (Zorn 1983: Fig. 4). Now changes are made deliberately, part of a rational search for new models and technical innovations. This has tremendously accelerated previous trends. At least some Taquileans now perceive of traditional costume as a base on which they can innovate, developing new color combinations, garment modifications and garment types. Innovations continue to be made, however, in the general Taquilean sub-style, at least partly from an awareness of the distinctiveness and attractiveness of such.

Meaning within production

Analyzing the socio-economic conditions of aesthetic production may open up a discussion meaningful to both producers and users. Any producer for the tourist market must solve at least three problems, whether creating a "beautiful" work of "art," or a cheap handicraft: 1) the problems of textile as language, that is, as tool for analyzing the world, and vehicle for communication about that world; 2) the process of learning about another aesthetic system, which is that of the West, with rapidly changing fashions, so as to produce a marketable object, and; 3) the exigencies of the economics of production and constraints on aesthetics, allocations of labor vs. capital, choice of materials, allocation of time, and so forth.

Taquileans have made a few attempts to develop garments significantly outside their now internationally-known style. Negative reactions from many buyers and negative experiences which followed have served as a brake on experimentation.

Conservative influence, in favor of "preserving" traditional textile production methods and styles came from various sources; this increased from the mid-1970s onward as Taquileans' participation in numerous folkloric events in Puno, Cuzco and Lima brought them into contact with North American and Peruvian anthropologists and folklore enthusiasts, and "traditional" handicraft co-operatives. An artisan co-op in Lima (Antisuyu) was unwilling to market synthetic fiber textiles. This may have had the effect of "freezing" the Taquilean costume in the 1980s style (see photograph on page 67).

At this point we also can consider the seeming paradox of Taquilean women learning to weave double-weave cloth, which relates to the continued importance of weaving in Andean society. Taquilean, and other Andean, women are proud of their ability to weave, and many are fully capable of producing exquisite textiles, given the opportunity, and today, the compensation of comparable earnings. They are interested in weaving, not spinning per se, and of course have only limited time. Good spinning is a source of pride based on skill and productivity, but though we should not underestimate the religious and magical uses of yarn, spinning is only a valued means to an end. Good machine-spun yarn, which is not readily available in Peru, frees time that Taquilean women prefer to spend weaving both for sale and for aesthetic expression and satisfaction—for themselves, their families, and their larger community.

In many third world societies, women's economic roles and power frequently decrease under modernization. This may be the case in Taquile. Certainly, women's roles in the new co-ops and motorboat groups are restricted. Possible alterations in the relations between men and women within the family also may be a consequence of marketing and patronage. Weaving the double-weave belt, a more time-consuming textile, may be a reaction against a trend to faster-paced production (B. Femenias, personal communication, 1987). This may also be considered a form of subversion, successful especially insofar as wages remain higher for the more time-consuming double-weave belt. Furthermore, this may be subversion enacted by women, but with values shared by both sexes.

Taquileans, like members of many other third world societies, increasingly find themselves forced by economic needs to convert their culture into a tourist show. Nevertheless, this community has used income from textile sales to foster relatively controlled community development,

which has been successful to the extent that its agenda has been set by community members, rather than outsiders (Zorn and Prochaska n.d. [1986]).

This brings us full circle to the relations between aesthetics and economics. Locating meaning within production only increases our awe of the exquisite, sophisticated, and beautiful textiles of the Andes, and for the Andeans who have chosen such a time-consuming and complex manner of conceptualizing and communicating their view of the world.

Fig. 42 Belt and loom
Chumpi awana (Q)
Taquile, Puno, Peru, 1986
Made by Pelagia Quispe de Yucra
41×8×3 in (1.04 cm×20 cm×7.5 cm) (25.25 in wide with sticks [64 cm])
Woven; warp-faced plain weave, complementary warp weave
Wool warp, dark red, white, green, dark green, dark blue; wool weft, dark red
1986.7.4

Fig. 43 Calendar belt (belt-like wall hanging)
Chumpi calendario (Q and S)
Taquile, Puno, Peru, 1986
Made by Agustina Huatta Flores
44.25×6.25 in (1.12 m×16 cm) (7 in with stick for hanging [18 cm])
Woven; warp-faced plain weave, complementary warp weave; braided end
Wool warp, tan, red, white, green, blue, pink; wool weft, white
1986.8.1

Fig. 44 Coca bag
Ch'uspa
Taquile, Puno, Peru, 1986
Made by Pelagia Quispe de Yucra
7.5×8.5×.5 in without strap and tassels (19 cm×22 cm×1 cm; 30.5×9.5×.5 in with strap and tassels [77.5 cm×24 cm×1 cm])
Woven; warp-faced plain weave, complementary-warp weave
Wool warp, dark red, red, white, dark blue, dark green; wool weft, dark red; wool edging, tassels, and strap, dark red, white, dark blue, dark green
1986.7.1

Fig. 45 Married man's cap
Pintay ch'ullu (Q)
Taquile, Puno, Peru, 1980–85
Made by Gonzalo Yucra Huatta
9.25 long×22.5 circ.×1.25 in thick (tassel) (23.5 cm×57 cm×3 cm)
Knitted on four needles; tassel knotted into top
Wool, red, dark red, dark blue, white, multicolor motifs; tassel: wool and acrylic, red and multicolor
1986.7.2

Fig. 46 Single man's cap
Ch'ullu soltero (Q and S)
Taquile, Puno, Peru, 1986
Made by Gonzalo Yucra Huatta
10.5 long×22.5 circ×1.25 in thick (tassel) (27 cm×57 cm×3 cm)
Knitted on four needles; tassel knotted into top
Wool, red, white, multicolor; tassel: wool, red and dark red
1986.7.3

TABLE 1. Comparison of Textiles Produced for Use and Sale. A. Woven Belt

	Traditional	Intermediate ca. 1975	Altered ca. 1981	Innovated ca. 1983–84
Garment Type	wide belt/narrow belt	narrow belt	narrow belt	wide belt
Function	worn by men & women; daily, semi-daily, festival	made for sale	made for sale	made for wear, and/or for sale
How Used	sewn to underbelt, wrapped around waist & tied with attached woven ties	—	—	worn as traditional
Producer	female (belt, ties); male (underbelt)	female (belt)	female (belt)	female (see traditional)
Materials/Technology	alpaca fiber/sheep wool handspun on drop spindle	machine-spun wool; re-spun on drop spindle	machine-spun wool or synthetic; re-spun on drop spindle; coarsely hand-spun alpaca fiber or sheep wool	alpaca fiber/sheep wool/ machine-spun wool; handspun on drop spindle or re-spun on drop spindle
Textile Technology	woven on Andean loom; four selvedges; 4th braided; natural dyes	woven on Andean loom; four selvedges; 4th braided; chemical dyes	woven on Andean loom; four selvedges; 4th braided or as long length cut and seamed for 2–3 belts; chemical dyes	woven as traditional
Dimensions (average)				
length (cm/in)	81.28/32	104.14/41	86.36/34	dimensions as traditional
width (cm/in)	16.51/6.5	7.62/3	8.89/3.5	
warps (pw; cm/in)	243.84–279.40/96–110	243.84/96	142.24/56	
wefts (pw; cm/in)	81.28–86.36/32–34	66.04–71.12/26–28	40.64–43.18/16–17	
Spatial Organization				
background color	reds, maroon; others for special function (gray, brown, black)	any color (blue, beige, green, brown, etc.)	any color (see Intermediate)	spatial organization as traditional; some use of three-color double weave (see weave structure) w/alternate color blocks instead of single color (w/center stripe) ground
Images	1st & 5th, 2nd & 4th stripes identical; central stripe evenly spaced images	1st & 5th, 2nd & 4th stripes identical; some only have 1st, center, 5th stripes; central stripe images more densly packed; revivals, invented images	1st & 5th, 2nd & 4th stripes usually identical; center stripe more densely packed; revivals, invented images	center stripe combines "traditional" and invented images
Weave Structure				
background	warp-faced plain weave	warp-faced plain weave	warp-faced plain weave	warp-faced plain weave
warp-patterned weaves	complementary-warp weave*	same as traditional*	same as traditional*	see traditional, but warp-faced double cloth (two- or, more rarely, three-color) instead of "pebble" weave in center stripe
Labor Time	2+ weeks	1 week	1 week	3–4 weeks
Sale Price U.S. $ (1981)	12.63–14.73	6.32	5.26–6.32	$24 (1983)

*"pebble" weave, or complementary-warp weave with three-span floats aligned in alternate pairs with an irregular (abbabaab) warping order (3/1 horizontal color changes and diagonals of 2-span floats) (preferred weave); float weave derived from turned 2/1 horizontal herringbone with floats forming squares (used in 2nd and 4th warp stripes only); one-color supplementary warp weave with irregular warping order (rarely used).

Notes

Introduction

[1] The first published use of the term that I have located is in Dark 1967.

[2] On early collecting of primitive art, see Fraser (1957); on the terms "primitive" and "primitivism," see Rubin ed. (1984: 2).

[3] Compare, for example, "Raspberry Icicle," published in Server (1987), with the Sica Sica poncho in Adelson and Tracht (1983: 75).

[4] Since this catalogue was written, two important Andean textile references have been published, which I did not have the opportunity to consult: Edward Franquemont's essay, in *Costume as Communication,* and Teresa Gisbert et al., *Arte Textil y Mundo Andino* (see Bibliography).

Chapter I

[1] Three-piece llikllas are occasionally seen in the Titicaca region; in another form several discontinuous-warp segments are joined during the weaving (Lynn Meisch, personal communication, 1987).

[2] Several very similar textiles collected for the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition, are now in the Field Museum of Natural History. Their provenance is given as Department of La Paz, Bolivia, raising the question of similarities in the Lake Titicaca style, mentioned by Zorn in Chapter IV.

[3] This piece may be part of a shawl rather than an overskirt, but the design orientation at the border implies an overskirt. Aymara men's cloaks featured bands at the edges, but were woven in one piece (Adelson and Tracht 1983: 84).

Chapter IV

[1] The purpose here is not to argue for the perspective that gives a greater weight to economic relations in societies, which I favor. My position is compatible with Moore (1986) and Bourdieu (1977), who are concerned with the relationship between systems of meaning and the socio-economic order, though here again, separating these may be problematic. Schneider (n.d.), in a long-needed review of the anthropology of cloth, defines this as the interrelationship of power and aesthetics.

[2] For pioneering steps in a structuralist investigation of the language of textiles, see Cereceda (1978, 1981); also see Torrico (n.d. [1985]), who combines semiotic and economic approaches thus providing the contextualization lacking in Cereceda. The work of these two researchers is unique. See Martínez (1980) on the semantics of Aymara space; his introductory chapter provides a lucid discussion of structuralism, semantics, and semiotics.

[3] A noteworthy exception is Cereceda (1987).

[4] Taquileans today do not practice several types of extra-community textile exchange; in other Andean regions, these include traditional production for exchange with "traditional" Andean partners (for example, between herders and farmers), and traditional production for exchange or sale to indigenous users (usually at regional markets and/or fairs). Prior to 1968 Taquileans very occasionally exchanged textiles in the city of Puno, Peru, either for minimal sums of cash or, more often, in barter for used Western-style factory-made clothing. They report that on rare occasions they sold textiles to tourists in Puno, but the usual buyers were urban market vendors. On the demands created by extra-local textile production in other Andean regions, see Meisch (1980) and Salomon (1981). For an excellent study of tourist art in Africa, which includes weaving, see Jules-Rosette (1984); also see Appadurai (1986).

[5] For a description and analysis of "traditional" textile production, use, and exchange in Taquile, see Zorn (1983).

[6] See Franquemont and Franquemont (n.d.) for an excellent discussion of the cognitive importance of learning to weave in the Andes; also see Medlin (1986).

[7] This is not discussed here, but see Franquemont (1986) on spinning in Chinchero, Cuzco, Peru; also see Bird (1968, 1979).

[8] A full technical description of warping and weaving a belt in Taquile can be found in Zorn (1979); the rituals that precede warping are discussed in Zorn (n.d.a [1979]).

[9] On the development of textile marketing since 1968 and some social and economic effects, see Healy and Zorn (1983), Zorn (1983) and Zorn and Prochaska (n.d. [1986]).

[10] I am grateful to Blenda Femenias who generously made available to me a slide of the belt in the Allen Collection, and a photocopy of its explanatory text, provided with the belt by the weaver's husband. I will present an analysis of the belt and its accompanying text at the Allen Collection's November symposium.

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