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Ch'ullus in Cusco: Identity in the Andes

by

Susan M. Kaesgen

FINAL PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS IN LIBERAL STUDIES

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Advisors: Lisa Aronson, Phd. & Patrice Rubio, Phd.

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ABSTRACT

This study centers on the *ch'ullu*, the knitted cap, usually with ear flaps and an elongated peak or tail, a hat that identifies the wearer as an indigenous Andean male. The long history of the *ch'ullu* is marked by both its use as geographic identifier, and as a canvas upon which to present the same designs that represent ancient Andean ideas about ancestry, land and time. Because the knitted hats of today function exactly as ancient ones did, the *ch'ullu* is proven a descendant of ancient hats, an important element to be preserved rather than discarded for factory made caps.

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Xerographs and photographs by Susan Kaesgen, 1995-1998



FIG. 1

INTRODUCTION

This study centers on the *ch'ullu*, the knitted cap, usually with ear flaps and an elongated peak or “tail,” a hat that identifies the wearer as an indigenous Andean male. The contemporary *ch'ullu*, even in its modern day-glow acrylic versions, is a rapidly disappearing but valuable aspect of traditional dress patterns. Andean men who are expressing ethnic pride in a swiftly changing world, by wearing a hat knitted with cosmic symbols of Quechua world view, declare, “I am of ancient heritage, and I come from a specific Andean village.”

The long history of the *ch'ullu* is indicated in one instance, by the inclusion of the word *ch'ullu* in a Spanish dictionary of the Quechua Indian language. Spanish priest, Bernabe Cobo whose ethnographic observations were begun in 1609, used the spelling *chuco*, which he says is spelled *chullo* in Spanish, to describe the cap, “worn by the Indians, very tall and pointed to identify each nation.” (Cobo 1657:1990; 262) Current usage among the Quechua people who wear the cap, is either *ch'ullu* or *chullo* in Spanish, their second language. In this paper I use the Quechua word *ch'ullu* which describes knitted fiber hats in the Cusco area, and the word Quechua, to describe the indigenous people, who use that word to describe themselves and their language.

Because the knitted hats of today function exactly as ancient Andean hats functioned, I take the position that the modern *ch'ullu* is a direct descendant of ancient headgear, despite changes of materials and techniques. *Ch'ullus* in Cusco today identify the wearers' status and place of origin. Secondly, the modern *ch'ullu* maintains the ancient tradition of mimicking the designs of the woven ponchos or tunics in the knotted or knitted hat. By using the archeological

record to illuminate present hats, the validity of study and preservation of *ch'ullus* before they are no longer worn, gains added importance and urgency.

Some scholars take a different position. Amy Oakland-Rodman sees the *ch'ullu* as an innovation that was a result of the Spanish confrontation. “The ubiquitous knitted cap, considered a native man’s garment, is actually an introduced style, often made entirely of European materials: foreign needles, yarns and dyes.” (Rodman in Meisch 1997:25) In Cusco, in 1995, 1997 and 1998, I found *ch'ullus* to be ubiquitous only in tourist shops, as hastily made sale item versions, not worn any longer on a daily basis by the Quechua except in villages high in the mountains outside of Cusco. (See Fig. 1)

Unfortunately, both ancient and modern Andean hats are more dismissed than studied. The modern *ch'ullu* is only beginning to attract scholarly attention. A single book by Cynthia Le Count, 1993, documents modern hats in Peru and Bolivia. In addition, the Jeffrey Appleby Collection of Andean Textiles, two hundred and forty textiles, including twenty-four knitted hats, was accepted and exhibited by the Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco last year. The collection is described in an accompanying catalogue edited by Meisch (1997) which details the twenty four hats. Some hats are also included in ethnographic collections such as the Haffenreffer Museum Collection, but there is little information available on knitters or exact place of origin. (Franquemont in Schevill 1986: 91)

Mary Frame is the only author to focus solely on ancient hats, those of the Wari-Tiawanaku period. Her work led to a Metropolitan Museum of Art exhibition, in 1990. Many museums, including the Cleveland Museum of Art, include hats from this era in their collections. Frame sees the elongated Tiawanaku hat as a style spanning a time period beginning in the fourth

century and continuing at least until the twelfth century or later, with influence on Cusco iconography of the present. (Frame 1990:13) The diamond divided into four parts was a frequently used Inca design probably copied from the Wari-Tiawanaku. (Franquemont in Dover 1992: 199) Still used on *ch'ullus* to indicate the Cusco area, this quadripartite design, explains Frame, represents coordinated structuring of spatial concepts presented in textile form reflecting cosmological ordering.

Archaeological records, art historical research and ethnographic material gathered not long after the Spanish arrived; all three in combination, can indicate importance of hats as part of the ensemble of ritual dress that identifies the pre-Hispanic Andean male. To establish that the *ch'ullu* in contemporary Cusco and its surrounding villages was still functioning in the same way, required both surveys existing literature and as much field work as possible.

My field work entailed three study tours of the Cusco area, in August 1995, July 1997, and October 1998. Highlights of those periods are outlined in the following paper, which is illustrated by my photographs of knitters with their hats. A total of nine weeks is sufficient time to learn that there is a wealth of information to be gathered from the people who still cling to traditional dress. In 1997 I carefully prepared a list of twenty questions I planned to present to each knitter I planned to encounter. It was a classic textbook sort of approach that was much too rigid for the remote villages where I finally learned to look at textiles in an Andean way best described as characterized by multi vocality. I hired a Quechua speaking driver and guide Marco Aaragon, who took me on a series of lengthy day trips around the ancient Inca capital during two weeks in 1997. Essentially, I talked to everyone I could, and photographed every hat I could find; not as scientific as I had imagined, but my conclusions were verified by Quechua knitters.



FIG. 2.

Three important festivals, Inti Rami, The Festival of Corpus Christi and the Festival of Raqchi, gave me opportunities to observe and photograph the ceremonial and festival use of *ch'ullu*. I reached the unavoidable conclusion that traditional dress on a daily basis was just a memory for the majority of young Quechua who were city dwellers in Cusco.

However, new ways of using the *ch'ullu* were also developing. I found some unexpected signs of revival, of a new pan-Andean style of rainbow *ch'ullu* in the Cusco Cathedral and the Cusco jail. In the mountain villages surrounding Cusco (map Fig. 4): Huillock, Pittumarka, and Chinchero it appears possible, finally, that areas of revival and survival may indeed restore the *ch'ullu* to an actual ubiquitousness that can bolster indigenous pride, sense of unity, and even add to the indigenous economy.

CH'ULLUS IN CUSCO; HATS AND IDENTITY IN THE ANDES

This paper examines the *ch'ullu*, both in its ancient forms and in the ways that the knitted cap worn today by indigenous men in Cusco, Peru functions as a virtual name tag for the wearer. Ancient hats, like the contemporary *ch'ullu*, identified status and origin of wearers for four thousand years in the Andes. In addition the *ch'ullu* has always been part of an ensemble of garments that bestow identity and status on the contemporary man as they did in ancient times, as traced through archeological remains.

Definition of *ch'ullu*

To adequately compare hats and establish similarity between ancient and contemporary practices, I developed a definition of a "traditional *ch'ullu*" with three main components. When these three criteria are met, the hat in question can be considered a "traditional *ch'ullu*" by my



FIG. 3

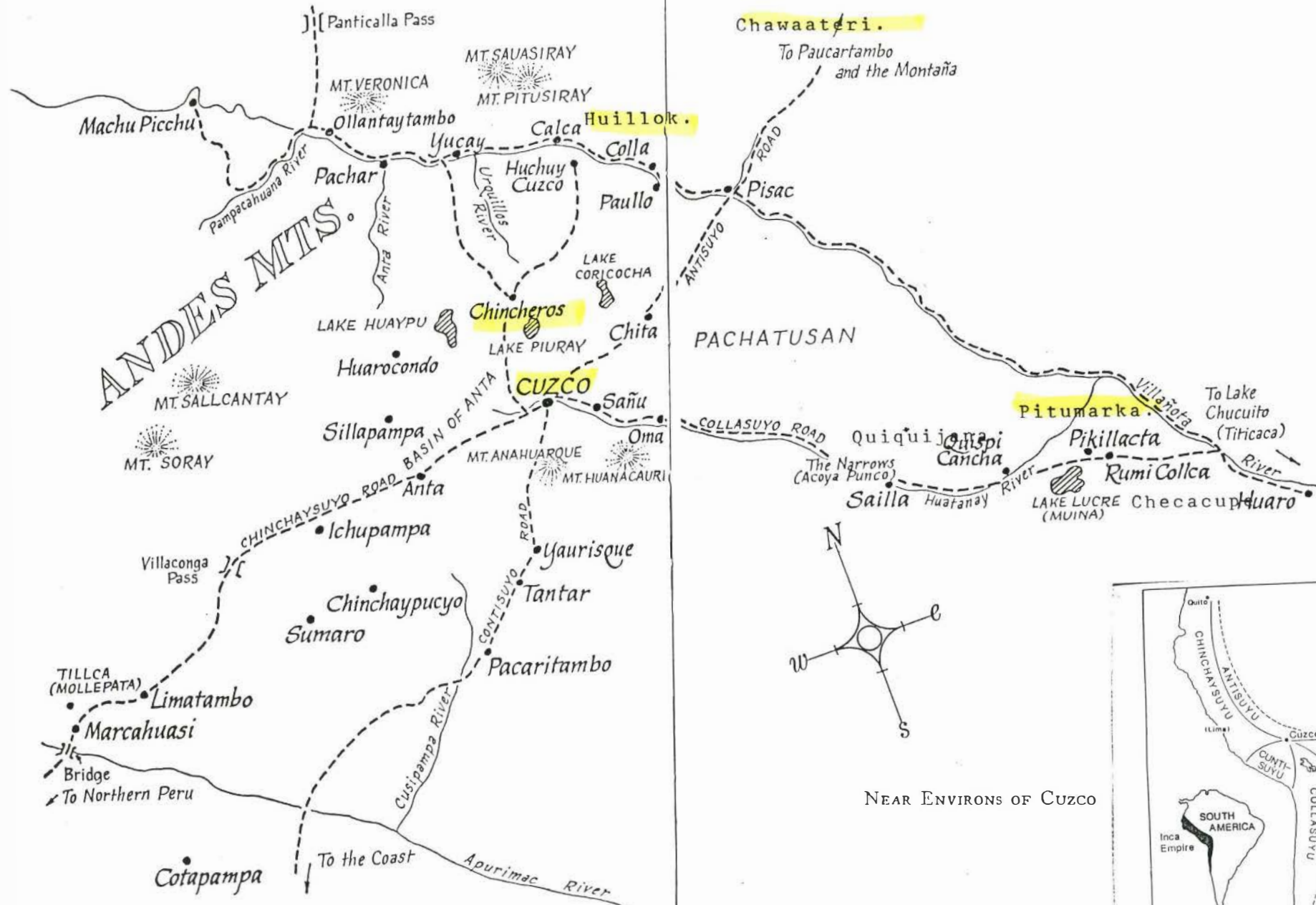
standards, regardless of materials, construction or age. Using this definition, the ancient Wari hat in Fig. 14, and the contemporary Huillock hats in Fig. 22, can both be said to fit within the same framework. They do differ in methods of construction; materials used, camelid fiber (alpaca or vicuna yarns) compared to sheep's wool yarn or manufactured synthetic yarn., but in form and function they are comparable. Both are traditional *ch'ullus*, although created a thousand years apart.

In the photograph, Fig. 2, June of 1997, the hat or *ch'ullu* worn by Marco Dunque of Chaweteiri, would fit the definition of the indigenous *ch'ullu*. The hat he knitted and wears exhibits all three defining elements used in this paper:

1. A fiber hat with a “tail,” worn by indigenous men
2. A hat which is part of an ensemble of coordinated dress, usually worn with a tunic or poncho that carries similar iconography
3. A hat which incorporates iconography that identifies place of origin, status, world view, and group affiliation

Dunque is a contract weaver and knitter for his village, a man of standing who employs three part time helpers. He told me that in fact each hat he knits is slightly different as a reflection of his own persona. The hat I purchased from him is shown in Fig. 3. It lacks the border of flowers on the ear flap, and the “ladder design” is a different color combination, something different he wanted to try he said.

What he would not have altered is the shape of the hat and earflares, nor the diamond design that forms the body of the hat. Those are the particular elements that identify his region or community, the community of Pisac, where his village Chaaweteiri is located, north east of Cusco. (See map Fig. 4) Dunque wears his traditional *ch'ullu* both as identification and as a



NEAR ENVIRONS OF CUZCO

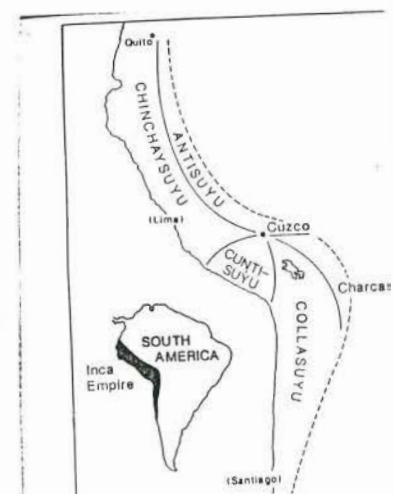


FIG. 7

statement of his creativity combining standard designs in slightly altered ways knitted with intense attention to detail and workmanship that express his origins and ethnic pride.

The diamonds on the hat, clearly visible in Fig. 3, are a design combination called “choque tika” in Quechua, which translates to flower filled lake, a visual reference to the mythical place where the ancestors of his people are said to have first emerged from the earth at creation, a cosmological reference in knitted form.

In answer to a question about where he found his designs, he answered, “I knit what I weave.” The same diamond filled with the flower design is visible on his poncho on the shoulder. He assured me that designs had the same meanings whether they were knitted or woven. The “choque tika” design is well known on Pisac area ponchos, a marker for an indigenous man of that area.

Ancient hats and contemporary hats both share designs with woven ponchos, a relationship only hinted at in contemporary literature. Understanding that relationship, unchanged over centuries rendered the role of the *ch'ullu* more embedded with significance. This pointed to a much more important place for hats in the preservation of pre-Hispanic textile traditions.

Franquemont (1986:295) mentions a *ch'ullu* now in the collection of the Haffenreffer Museum, knitted with designs resembling the area weaving designs. The mention was a single sentence in a catalogue entry, not developed further. Only by knowing of that connection, made clear in archaeological remains, and briefly mentioned by art historians, would I have been aware of the importance of Marco Dunque’s remark. His remark prompted my search for more examples of knitted and woven matching designs from the Cusco area. The opportunity to talk



FIG. 6

FIG. 6

to knitters and weavers was the most crucial point of this process, but would not have been successful without the insights gained from literature.

Archaeological record in literature

The examination of knitted hats of the Cusco area, although a narrow and focused subject, is approached in this study, using archeological records to illuminate the present. Since the *ch'ullu* is sometimes dismissed as only a modern fashion, thought of as inspired by the invading Spanish, it is important to study the archaeological literature that indicates hats were among the first art forms created by Andean people. If focus is maintained on my three part definition of the *ch'ullu*, then the very oldest hat ever excavated, can be defined as a *ch'ullu*. In what is described as the longest textile record in the history of the world, the earliest Andean people were buried with hats as a sign of their standing in their community. The very earliest hat form was created in the “tailed” shape of the *ch'ullu* definition.

Terrance Grieder, working at a Pre-ceramic site called La Gallada on the north coast of Peru, excavated a very early burial containing pre-Ceramic era hats. He described the hats as having , “tails like stocking caps”, dated to 3820 to 3440 BP, pictured in Fig. (Grieder 1984:20) Seven of the hats were constructed of looping technique, decorated with birds, serpents, diamonds or stepped triangles."One old man wore a tight net cap covered with white shell beads ...one woman was placed in her tomb wearing a stocking cap but no other clothing, not even a mantle”, stated Grieder. (p. 22) Other burials contained figures covered with twined mantles and shawls without any head covering. The use of hats as markers of status and esteem in four thousand year old graves demonstrates the importance they had obtained as well as the extreme antiquity of the “stocking cap” shape that persists in Cusco today.

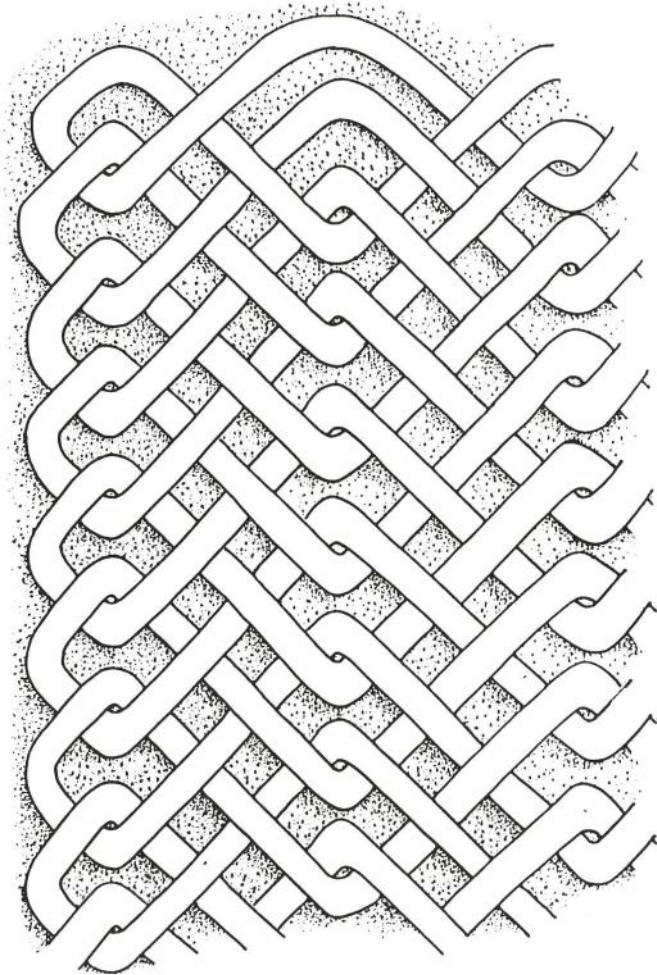


Diagram of linking with 2/2-2/2 interlacing.

Cotton cap made by linking with 2/2-2/2 interlacing from tomb ▶

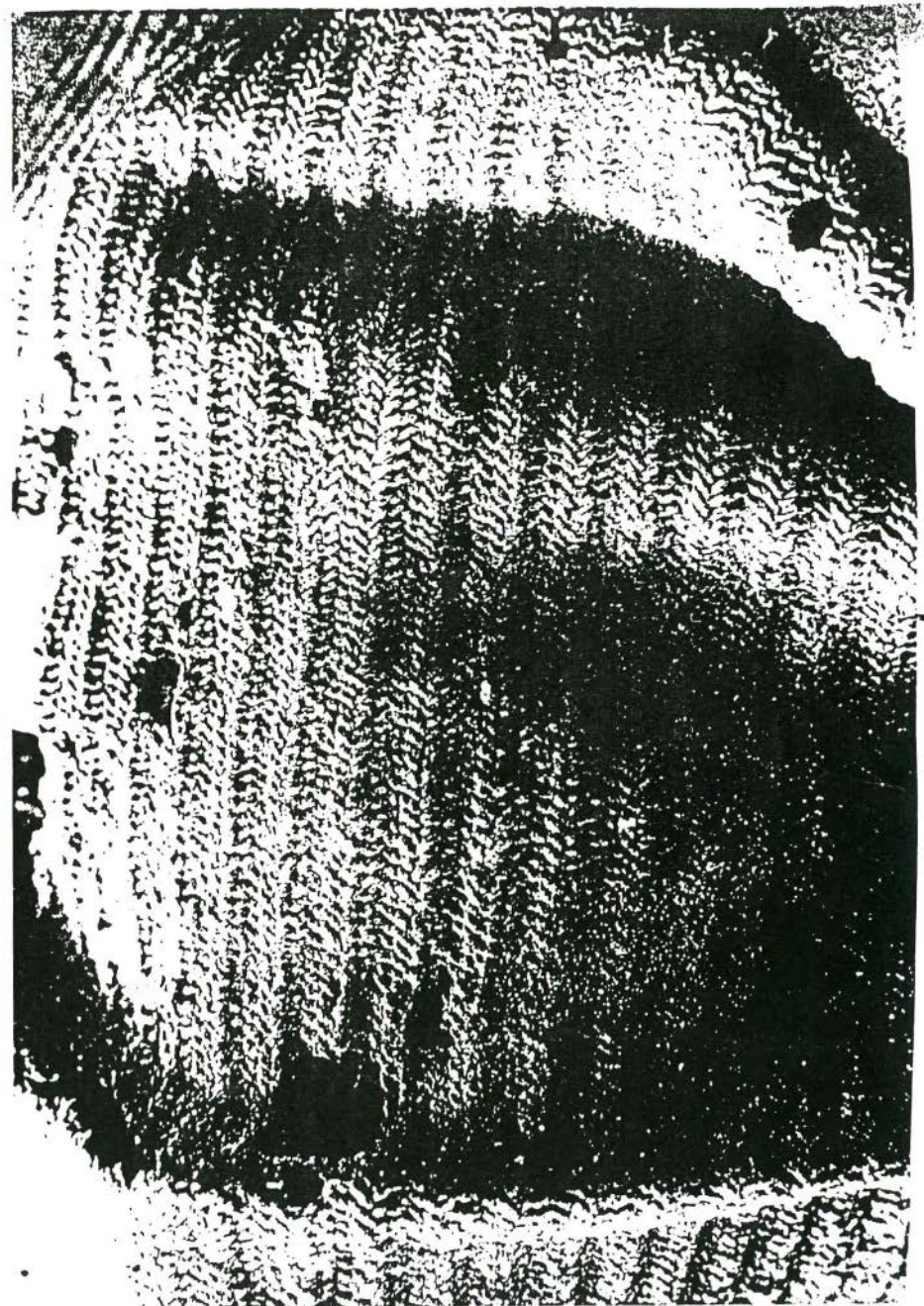




FIG. 7

In addition to the shape of a hat and its use as status marker, the technique of construction used in the Greider hats has had a long life, continuing to be used in the present. The technique Greider found used in the earliest hats, cross knit looping, has been archaeologically documented from the pre-ceramic period straight into the Inca period, from every part of the Andean civilization, making it both the longest used as well as the most widely distributed textile construction technique.

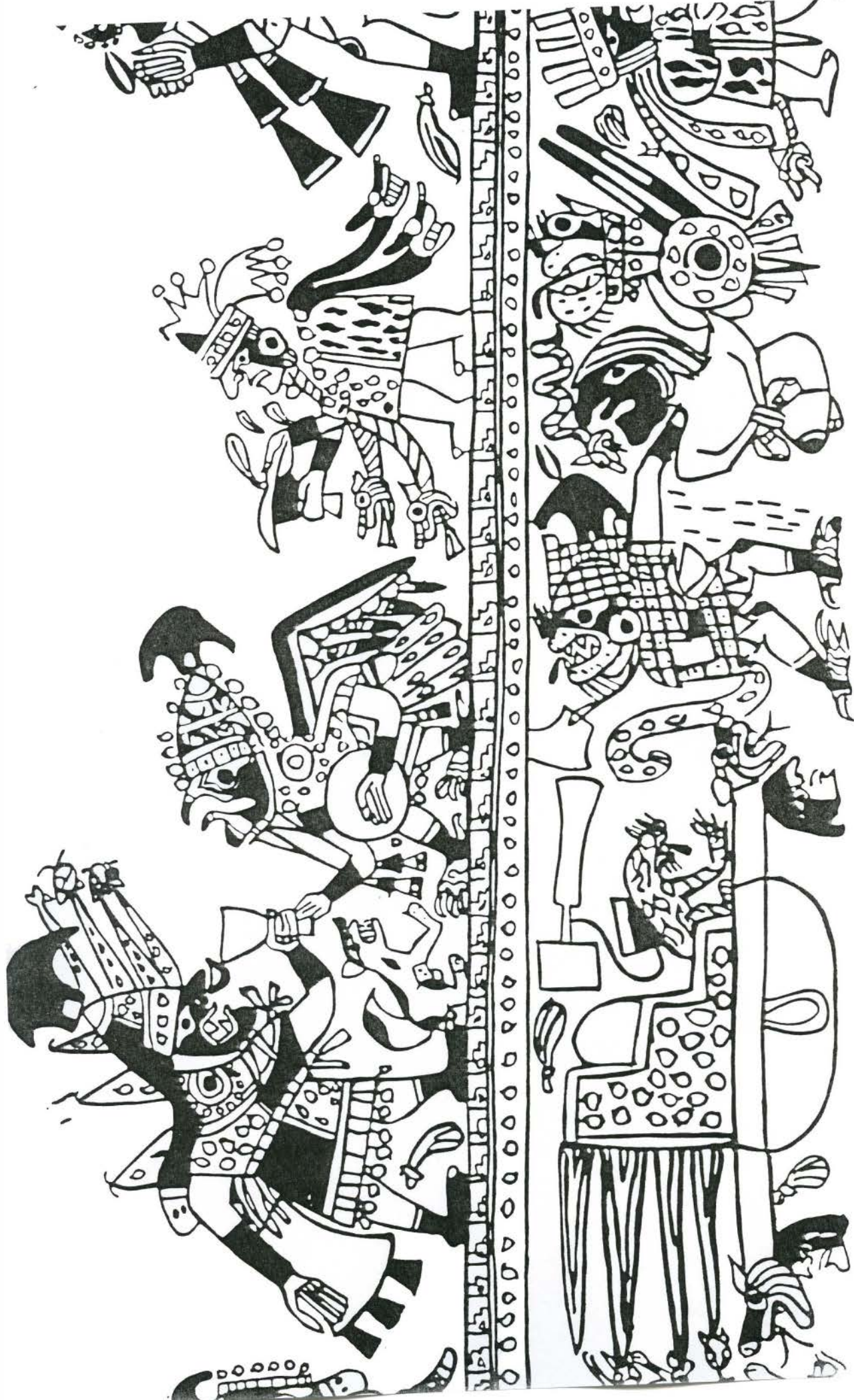
When the surface of the contemporary knitted hat from Huillok Fig.22, is compared with that from the looped hat in Fig. 5, there is clearly a close resemblance between today's knitting done with five needles, and ancient looping. More details of technical aspects will follow later in the paper, but it needs to be established that there were hats of a remarkable similarity to the *ch'ullu* in both shape and technique, four thousand years ago. It is interesting to note that these earliest fiber hats were not woven, because in fact weaving and loom technology was not even fully developed when they were made.

Even after loom weaving was fully developed, hats continued to be made of techniques different from their matching and accompanying robes with dates as early as those of the Paracas culture, around 1400 BC. The mummy bundle in Fig.6, is still wearing a cross knitted headband. The fineness of the single thread cross knit looping technique can be established by the accessory figure in Fig.7, The sort of figure that might be used as an embellishment on a mummy turban is pictured enlarged eight times from its real height of one inch with his hat considered so important that it is carefully recorded in a single row of cross knit looping. Supernatural status seems to be marked in Paracas times by head gear wearing figures, with hats that have blossomed into flowing manes of snakes and birds with fierce beaks, not unlike the finely detailed tassels and



The "Dignity Theme"
 From Donnan, 1976
 note; matching tunics
 and peaked hats.

Moche Fine Line Pot, ca. 700 AD



pom-poms that are added to earflaps today to indicate “power” or manhood. (Dunque per. com. 1997) as shown in Fig. 3.

Moche helmets match tunics

Returning to the three part definition of the *ch'ullu* cited at the beginning of the essay, the element of matching ritual clothing, *ch'ullu* and tunic sharing patterns of identification is abundantly illustrated by the matching ensembles of Moche period warriors pictured on ceramic vessels. The warriors in Fig. 8, who are victorious, wear matched tunics and helmets in patterns of matching stripes, dots and stepped triangles. Their defeated captives have been stripped of hats so that their hair may be grabbed in a gesture of domination. Donnan calls this the “Dignity Theme”. The wearing of matching ceremonial hat and tunic was seen as essential to maintain noble dignity; loss of proper clothing caused grave loss of dignity, thus ceremonial clothing and matching hats were symbols of status. Detailed fine-line depictions of ceremonial scenes painted on pottery, show warriors and priests, all of whom wore hats and helmets that apparently identified their rank and status.

"Moche artistic expression is amazingly varied ... a wide range of life scenes are shown ... prisoners and criminals, sexual acts, seated rulers, architectural details, features of clothing and adornment ... the degree of realism make it one of the most appealing of all pre-Columbian art styles." wrote archaeologist Christopher Donnan. (1976 p.2) Donnan began to recognize certain figures that appeared over and over, because they always dressed in certain distinctive clothes and hats. In another scene with unmistakable narrative intent, a figure with a pointed hat, surmounted by a crescent blade knife emblem, is facing a figure with a bird beak, holding a goblet. Fig. 9. Donnan termed this the "Sacrifice Ceremony."

As he examined more and more Moche pots, from private collections, and museum collections, Donnan began to compile a photographic archive, which grew to 125,000 images of Moche artifacts through out the world, all now stored at the University of California in Los Angeles. (Alva and Donnan 1993 P.127)The archive and Donnan's vast understanding of Moche costume would prove to be the key, twenty years later, when he was able to identify the entombed figure of the Lord of Sipan, based on the diagnostic hat and headdress worn by the body in the tomb, the ultimate identification through clothing, especially hats.

Archaeologists who see the role of textiles and head gear as establishing rank, are very consistent in voicing that concept in literature. Donnan says, "It is clear from our analysis of Moche iconography that headdresses are an extremely important aspect of ceremonial attire, and play a vital role in indicating the status and activity of specific individuals. (1976 p. 131) Michael E. Moseley says, "What people wove and wore, decoration, iconography, and quality, established their ethnic identity and indicated their rank and status." (1993 p.69) Rebecca Stone Miller; "In all pre and post-Conquest Andean cultures, social status and role were visually designated through the type of textiles worn ." (1992 p.17)

Since most wearers seem to have been warriors, it only makes sense that their clothing identify them on the battlefield. Furthermore, warfare was described as a ritualistic activity, which would require perhaps, supernatural costumes. Dress for religious pilgrimages and dance competitions in the Cusco area today still requires festival dress., sometimes with elaborate feather headdresses that indicate residents of the jungle area to the east, the so called "wild men".

Given the universal poverty of the contemporary Quechua in the Cusco area, they have little inclination or ability to display conspicuous individual wealth through dress, but are more



FIG. 11



FIG. 12

interested in expressing group identity by iconography. However, the embellishment of *ch'ullus* worn for ceremonial functions does approach a display of personal wealth and status, as seen in the hats worn during the procession of Corpus Christy, Fig. 10. Beading on earflaps and streamers indicated senior status in the men's society or *cofrada* responsible for carrying the huge gilded litters carrying figures of saints through Cusco streets.

In contrast, ancient times primarily saw great displays of wealth mainly in the dress of rulers, and their costumes as supernaturals, presumably dressing as a god-king figure. Rulers would be seen resplendent in identifying hat and tunic, possibly covering quotidian fiber elements with golden overlay for shimmering effects, and topping the ensemble with a grand peaked helmet topped by feathers or a golden crescent.

The recent discovery of the Royal Tombs of Sipan gives artifactual evidence of such garments. Both the deterioration of textiles in the damp ground, Fig. 11, and the extraordinary skill of archeologists who were able to reconstruct the costume of the Lord of Sipan, in Fig. 12, are immediately clear. Almost as if the figures painted on Moche pots had been buried in the Sipan graves, Donnan was able to identify the royal figure as one of the "Sacrifice Ceremony" participants because of the hat he still wore, his diagnostic headgear, just as Quechua are able to discern the village origin, and relative status of those they encounter during festivals in Cusco, today, by their distinctive matching *ch'ullus* and woven ponchos.

Quartered diamond: Inca-Wari identification

Cuscuenos today use a diamond divided in quarters, sometimes with each quarter divided in four, (as in Fig. 22) as the identifying element of their *ch'ullu* design. According to anthropologist Ed Franquemont, this four part iconography was borrowed in Incan times as a

constant reference to the four part geometric designs used by the Wari Tiawanaku empires (AD 900-1200) just to the south of Cusco. (Franquemont in Seibold 1992:199) In an effort to claim a legitimate right to usurp the rule of the Andean states at the beginning of their expansion, the Incas adopted the ancestral emergence site of Lake Titikaka, and the ancient sacred geography of Tiawanaku as their place of origin. According to Franquemont and others, this divided diamond imagery still used today has roots in the iconography of ancient Tiawanaku. The relationship between designs of contemporary Cusco, the ancient Inca capital and the ancient Wari-Colla-Aymara people to the south is also stressed by Siegal (1991:15) and Adelson and Tracht (1983).

The hats of the Wari-Tiawanaku era, colorful, jewel like squared caps represented in many museum collections as textile masterworks, have only recently been studied. Thirty two four cornered hats from the collection of Arthur M. Bullowa, to be donated to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, were exhibited there in 1990.

Andean Four Cornered Hats; Ancient Volumes, the exhibition catalogue by Mary Frame, (1990) was hailed as the first scholarly appraisal of ancient Andean hats. Frame's scholarship is particularly important to this study because her insights about the communicative powers of designs displayed on hats is voiced with great conviction. "Fabric making...may have been used to codify mathematical concepts with intense patterning suggesting that the hats were conceived as geometric volumes defining three dimensions." (1990 :21) Ed Franquemont (1989) and Rebecca Stone-Miller (1992:337) both concur that Wari-Tiawanaco aesthetics are very possibly the origin of most if not all of the surviving cosmology and iconography in the Cusco area hats and weaving today. The relationship between designs of contemporary Cusco, the ancient Inca capital and the



FIG. 13

ancient Wari-Colla-Aymara people to the south is also stressed by Siegal (1991:15) and Adelson and Tracht (1983: add page later)

These hats at first glance seem too square to be related to the modern *ch'ullu*. However, a slight elongation of the top of a few of the hats produces a "stocking cap-like" shape. For example, the hat in Fig. 13, has a more pronounced elongated form. The longer shape is rare in collections and museums, but may just not have been collected often because it is less decorative. Almost no archaeological provenance is provided for any hats; they were found by scavengers.

Frame presents numerous examples of geometric designs decorating hats, and some interesting associations with the nested diamond shape, a device still widely favored for hat decoration around Cusco, suggesting these ancient hats, Fig 14, contain "volumes", both as three dimensional square woven sculptures and as containers of geometric forms referring to land division and building styles that used repeated squares and nested rectangular courtyards. (1990 p.23) "The angularity is pronounced ... the gridding of the sides and top and the repetition of colors from multiple viewpoints suggest the hat is a compendium of abstract spacial concepts, a map of spacial divisions and interrelationships." (p.22) says Frame.

She cites the ceremonial precincts of Wari and Tiawanaku as models, based on the right angle triangle, the prime unit that combines into squares, diamonds, rectangles and then larger triangles unfolded from the center. Frame describes the Wari pile hat Fig.14, as having a four part concentric diamond on each of four sides. Outside each diamond are flanking squares of four nested parts, that echo the four projecting "ears" extending from each corner of the hat.

This four diamond hat, the ancient version in Fig.14, and the modern version from the Village of Hillock, Fig. 22, in my photo of 1997, both show relationship to the four-part division



FIG. 11

of the Empire of the Inca, and their idea of the entire cosmos being quadripartite. This illustrates the ability of Andean textile artists to use the iconography of a hat design as an exhibit of their world view, a demonstration of their commitment to geometric orderliness identifying the wearer as a resident of the four-part land, once of the Wari-Tiawanaco, then Inca and now Quechua.

The four cornered hats studied by Frame, mimic the hats of present day Cusco in another way. The Wari-Tiawanaco hats were a part an ensemble of dress that represented an identification of an elite, a marker of royal status. Ceramic representations of hats being worn with matching tunics are frequently shown, as in Fig. 15. This ensemble features a stepped triangle at each corner of the hat, and repeats the design in the tunic where the triangle alternates with a stylized face. If the two decorated tunic strips were side by side, the design would form the quartered diamond.

Wari- Tiawanaku hats are constructed in a variety of ways, all based on larks head knotting, a non loom technique closer to knitting than weaving, using cut pile to simulate feathers on some hats. Because they conform to the three criteria of a “traditional *ch'ullu*” : 1. shaped fiber 2. a matching tunic, and 3. the ability to convey information about world view, status and location of origin of the wearer, the four cornered hats are very similar to contemporary Cusco hats.

We can trace those Wari-Tiawanaku hats through the period of Spanish contact, because they are mentioned in the writing and illustrations of early priests. The indigenous people of the Wari-Tiawanaco area were, during the time of conquest, referred to as Colla corresponding to the name of their part of the quadripartite Empire, the Collasuyu, or southern portion of the Inca Empire, now Bolivia.. (see map Fig 4.) The future relationship of Wari/Colla hats to the contemporary Cusco hats is significant and will develop as a noted factor in the chronicles written by early Spanish priests.



FIG. 15.

Ethnographic literature

The Jesuit priest, Father Bernabe Cobo, writing from Lima, around 1630 mentions the Colla repeatedly, and in the following passage, specifically explains the customs of identification by hats:

Except for these Colla Indians, the head dresses of all the Indian nations were in the form of a garland, and the majority of them were made of cords and braids ... some of one color and others of another; with these and other differences the Indians of each province were distinguished. The men and women of each nation had their insignias and, emblems... and they could not go about without them or they would be severely punished. They had this insignia on their clothes with their different stripes and colors, and the men wore their most distinguishing insignia on their heads; each nation was identified by the headdress. (Cobo 1653 [1931])

This passage is important in establishing the practice of The Royal Inca State requiring certain head gear, which then functioned almost like a passport when people traveled. During the Inca Empire, the powerful Colla people continued to carry on llama and alpaca trade with the capital, with many advisors living in the capital, at least part of the year, as counselors to the Inca, as shown in Fig.16. where each part of the Empire, the four quarters, are represented by specific headdresses. The map, Fig. 4, shows the Colla are now living in present day Bolivia,

The drawing in Fig. 16, illustrates exactly the point being made by Cobo. It shows the Inca and his advisors from each of the four quarters of his quadripartite land. Each man wears the headdress that distinguished him. The Colla advisor wears his high crowned hat as described by Cobo.

Cobo goes on to explain the process which the Colla used to make their hats fit...

They would squeeze their heads by securely tying on small boards to make their foreheads wide. The Collas made their heads long and pointed. They took this to such an extreme that it is amazing to see the old men that I observed with that fashion from their pagan times. And they did this because they wore wool caps called "chucos"... These hats were very tall and pointed. To make sure the cap

would fit better, they molded the head to the shape of the headgear rather than making the headgear the same size as the head. In order to mold the children's heads into this shape, they bound their heads tightly with bandages...

Cobo describes a tall peaked wool cap, called a "chuco". The word *chuco* is listed in the glossary of Cobo's Book II, as a Quechua word, meaning; "a knitted cap, called 'chullo' in Spanish today." (Cobo [1653] 1993 p.262) This definitely identifies the existence of a distinctive form of headdress, different from others and used as an identifying emblem, marking wearers as from the area of the Collasuyu, where bodies with artificially shaped heads, as described, have been found by archaeologists. (Frame 1990 p.9) (This practice actually had a fairly wide distribution, during a long time span that included the Tiawanaku era.. [Frame, per. com. 1998).

As seen in Fig. 16, those descriptions are augmented by the line drawings of Guaman Poma, who claimed Royal Inca lineage as well as Spanish nobility. He depicts the Inca and his nobles in Fig. 16. The tall peaked hats worn by the men on the right are named "chuco" and that appears in Poma's glossary as "a knitted cap, called *chullo* in Spanish." (Brundage 1967, p.335) repeating Cobo's glossary. Both Poma and Cobo establish the existence of a conical wool cap worn in Cusco by Colla people, a cap called, in Quechua a *ch'ullu*.

Finally, Poma's drawings and Cobo's writing prove that men in the Cusco area were wearing a peaked hat when the Spanish arrived, which functioned as identification. Scholars acknowledge this practice. Describing Inca clothing recovered from offerings left with sacrificed children on high mountain peaks, Ann Rowe states, "Head-gear was explicitly used within the Inca Empire to indicate ethnic or geographic origin." (Rowe 1996 p.27) It is interesting to note that the shape of the hats or head wraps were elements that determined identification and are mentioned as such. One of the determining factors for present day identification by *ch'ullu*, is the

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shape of the hat; a very long tail for Pittumarka, a skull cap with skinny tail for Hillock, a conical shape for Cusco and Pisac, and so forth.

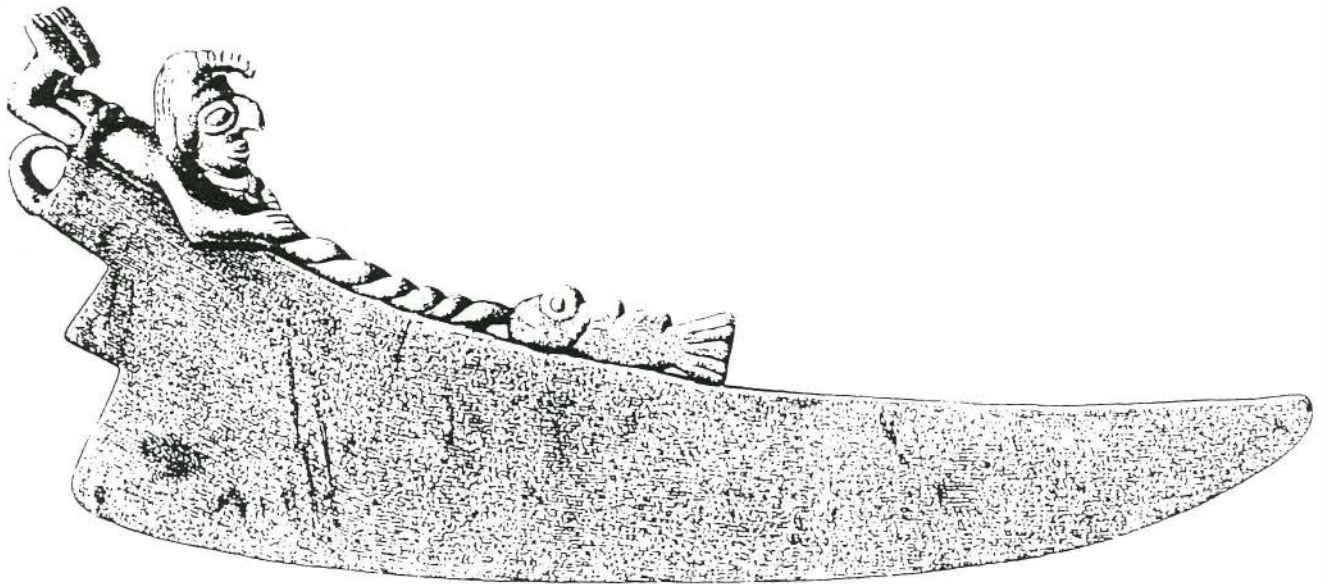
In addition to the drawings of Poma, and the writings of Cobo and others, (see Rowe 1996 p.32) there are artifactual remains that clearly show men wearing peaked hats, and that carry dates clearly established as concurrent with the Conquest if not slightly earlier.

***ch'ullu* predates Spanish**

The three objects described next; a knife, an effigy vessel, and a blackware sculptural bowl, survive to strengthen the premise that the *ch'ullu* existed independently of Spanish arrival.

The knife blade, Fig.17 , recovered by Hiram Bingham when he excavated the newly re-discovered Machu Picchu in 1911, shows a tiny figure, hanging on to a huge fish. The fisherman wears a peaked cap; a *ch'ullu*. The knife blade was one of the few artifacts recovered from Machu Picchu. The mountain sanctuary was found nearly devoid of remains, despite never having been found by the Spanish. Believed to have been built before 1500, and abandoned around 1550, Machu Picchu was never occupied by the Spanish, yet the small bronze figure wears a peaked cap.

A second version of the *ch'ullu* is seen on the heads of the figures supporting a blackware bowl, in Fig.18. The hats closely resemble the one worn by the fisherman, but here the figures seem engaged in a ritual drinking scene, pouring cups of what might be *chi-cha*, a corn beer, from a vessel called an *aryballo*. The presence of the miniature vessel - the beer container in the *aryballo* shape- is what would lead archaeologists to date this pot, looted from an unknown grave, as from the Inca era. Many similar pots of that particular shape were found in Inca graves. The *aryballo* shape is considered a marker of the Late Horizon,--'1476-1530. The reduction firing,



169

Bronze knife. From Snake Rock region. Length, 13 cm.; thickness, 0.2 cm.; length of blade, 10 cm.; width of man's head, 0.84 cm.; weight, 41.3 gr. The finest example of casting fou



Fig. 18



Museum für Völkerkunde, West Berlin,

producing a blackware surface, might argue for an earlier date, around the time the Inca conquered the Chimu, prior to 1460. (Banks 1945 p. 25) The point is again made that men wearing pointed caps were represented in pottery before the Spanish reached Peru.

A final pottery representation of a man wearing a pointed hat gives additional information because of the painted slip decoration, a marker for the Inca era, as is the aryballoid shaped jar carried on the figure's back. Fig. 19. The effigy figure, wearing a peaked cap may have had some painted decoration on the hat or *ch'ullu* to indicate design, as is seen in the design of nested quartered diamonds on the waistband of the typical Inca tunic the man wears. The tunic carries a standard design studied by John Rowe, (1979 p.239-265) as part of a standard series produced by Inca state weavers as a uniform to mark a certain part of the Cusco military who accompanied the Inca. It would be impossible to expect that the Inca's legions would wear a cap copied from the Spanish sailors, so again the *ch'ullu* appears to have predated the Spanish.

Unfortunately, no positively datable example of a *ch'ullu* from the contact period now exists. Archaeologists have found none, nor have any been discovered by ethnohistorians. There are drawings, metal and pottery examples, and the name, *ch'ullu*, recorded in ethnology, to indicate that the current *ch'ullu*'s antecedent was widely worn long before Spanish knitting was adopted. Until more material about the Colonial era leading into the present is available, the best course of action may well be to gather data on the *ch'ullus* now worn, and those few "antiques" remaining, trying to encourage preservation and applying the three part definition of a *ch'ullu* to indigenous hats of the Cusco area. Field research could easily expand beyond the explorations described below.

Field research methods

My research centered around the city of Cusco, and when the word Cusco is used in the text, it refers to the city. The city of Cusco is the capital of the state of Cusco. I also refer to the Cusco area, which is pictured on the map Fig. 4, with villages visited highlighted. This area could be generally described as high country, 14000 feet or more, accessible by road within half a day. Ann Rowe had published some research on the Cusco area weaving tradition in 1974, so there was some baseline with which to begin. Additionally, since there are varying numbers of tourists in the Cusco area, it was a good place to study their affect on indigenous clothing. The proud Inca heritage also was reported to be undergoing a form of revival in the Cusco area.

The modern day city of Cusco, formerly the capital of the Inca empire, is situated at 11,000 feet above sea level. Current population for the city and its suburbs is estimated at 260,000 inhabitants. (Frost 1989:11) The surrounding state of Cusco, 76,000 square kilometers has a population of 832,000. The area included in this paper, in the section regarding contemporary knitting covered about 100 kilometers to the east, west and south of Cusco.

The rural Quechua people live by a combination of farming and herding, with some employment from tourism. They probably constitute 40% of the urban Cusco population, and nearly all the rural population. (see note #2)

All the photographs included in the text were taken during my three periods of field work during 1995,1997 and 1998. Ten weeks in and around Cusco is enough time to sharpen awareness of Quechua dress styles in that area, and to develop the Andean habit of always

checking what kind of hat is worn by every man, to determine where he came from; enough time to begin to recognize the many possible variations of the four main styles of *ch'ullu* I saw; and recorded, Pittumarka, Hillok, Cusco and Pisac areas.

It clearly was not enough time to see every single *ch'ullu* in the Cusco area, but after I began to see multiple examples that were similar from a particular area, I would begin to assume I had seen the main styles. Knitting has never been a static art form, however, and will continue to evolve into new styles, and retain personal variations. In 1998, I was able to check my observations with Nilda Callanaupana, a leading Chinchero weaver currently documenting area weaving styles, to make sure I was on track. Nilda has served as the indigenous reference source for authors Cynthia Led Count and Ed Franquemont, and is now heading the Cusco Center for the Preservation of Traditional Weaving.

Documentation of hats included photographing both wearers, and knitters, usually the same person, but this was not invariably the case. Both men and women were able to knit if they chose to. I saw accomplished knitters who were boys of twelve as well as women of very advanced years, and everyone in between. (see Fig. 20) In every case possible, I tried to purchase a hat from the person who made it, and record as many details about the materials and designs as I could elicit.

Hats purchased were later photographed using color Xerography for intensely rendered details. This method is both more permanent and more descriptive than color photography. All

close-up photographs used in the study were made using that technique as noted in the captions. My current collection numbers thirty five hats, not all included as illustrations. In addition, examples of related weavings were also purchased; twenty weavings of various sizes usually showing evidence of iconography that matched hats..

Without access to the indigenous people, and their communities in the highlands, the traditional tourist would only see *ch'ullus* in the Cusco shops, more simply made than those worn by the Quechua, or in other words, those made to sell to tourists. My first encounter with Quechua culture came when men from Hillock accompanied us on a five day trek to Machu Picchu, dressed in their *ch'ullus* and ponchos. One of the guides was an experienced shaman who was happy to discuss the textile motifs. Textile markets in Pisac and specialty shops in Cusco provided more examples and information, but a return trip in 1997, June 28-July 20, really supplied the bulk of the theory and verification. During those three weeks, I relied heavily on a well known Cusco guide, Marco Aaragon to secure transportation for us, and direct a series of drivers to villages including Hillock, Pittumarka, and Chinchero. In 1998, my husband and I traveled with Nilda Callanaupa as she visited weavers and knitters who were enrolled in her project to preserve traditional weaving in the Cusco area, again visiting Hillock, Pittumarka, Chinchero and other smaller communities, often to villages, over roads that were really mainly used to herd sheep to market.

I needed to rely on the people with me to provide translation as well as transportation. Most conversations were mainly in Quechua. Some people spoke Spanish, and those were the

people who often spoke or understood some English, so I could add a few words here and there. Many conversations with knitters used all three languages. Marco Aragon spoke very fluent English and Quechua, but Nilda was a more willing translator.

The indigenous method of education emphasizes learning by observation rather than discourse, I found. For example, knitting is learned simply by watching another person knit, with no direct instruction as a northerner would expect. Quechua powers of observation are highly developed so questions are not asked as much as answers are looked for. My frequent questions sometimes went unanswered, but often the answers became apparent as time passed. Speaking more Quechua would be a help in the future however. But because of language constraints, I was able to experience first hand the repeated ability of hats and weaving to communicate personal community identity. When I see hats on shop shelves, the first thought is now, “where is this from?” In the cases where I have knowledge of the village or area, and recognize the shape and designs, I feel almost as if I am encountering a friend. The knitting does communicate.

In addition to the village trips, in 1997 I attended the festivals of Corpus Christi, the procession of Saints carried on gilded litters through Cusco by *cofrada* members, Quechua men who belong to religious societies. The processions took place the seventh of June in 1997. The following week, June 14, I attended a yearly dance competition in the town of Raychi, near the Bolivian border. Indigenous people from surrounding villages perform traditional dances in costume.

The winter solstice was celebrated as Inti Raymi, on the weekend of June 24th, 1997 and included day long processions of costumed marchers who combined their contemporary weavings with other garments they fashioned to represent what may have been worn during Inca times.

People from the Collasuyu were dressed in conical hats with elegant capes of contemporary weaving. The quadripartite design of Cusco is prominent on the man's poncho, a design that exactly matched a *ch'ullu* I had seen two weeks earlier at the Corpus Christi procession, Fig. 10.

As mentioned in the introduction, plans for an orderly academic approach to my three intervals of field work were often altered by the unpredictable nature of Andean travel. Serendipity and flexibility became allies rather than defects to avoid. By remaining clear on the objective of the study, to find and record the *ch'ullus* worn within Cusco and the surrounding areas reachable by road in a half day drive, it made sense to include all encounters, both planned and fortuitous. For example, I was surprised by an offer from Marco Aarogon to tour the Cusco jail, where his nephew was a guard. Visiting the men who weave there, during their incarceration, I was able to document the so called emerging "jail style". (see Fraquemont 1988) described on page, discovering the matching *ch'ullus*, first on the highway, and later in the church of St. Dominic.

The last visit, October of 1998, I was accompanied by Nilda Callanaupa, Quechua weaver. Her close association with Mother's Clubs, associations of women who follow traditional life ways, gave me access to exactly who was doing the most intricate knitting in each community. Outstanding textile artists, usually knitters as well as weavers, are well known and acknowledged in their own areas, even though they may not appear in the market, or areas where I had looked for them before 1998. Knitters were far more relaxed and talkative when my questions to them came through someone they knew and trusted to be a good judge of textiles.

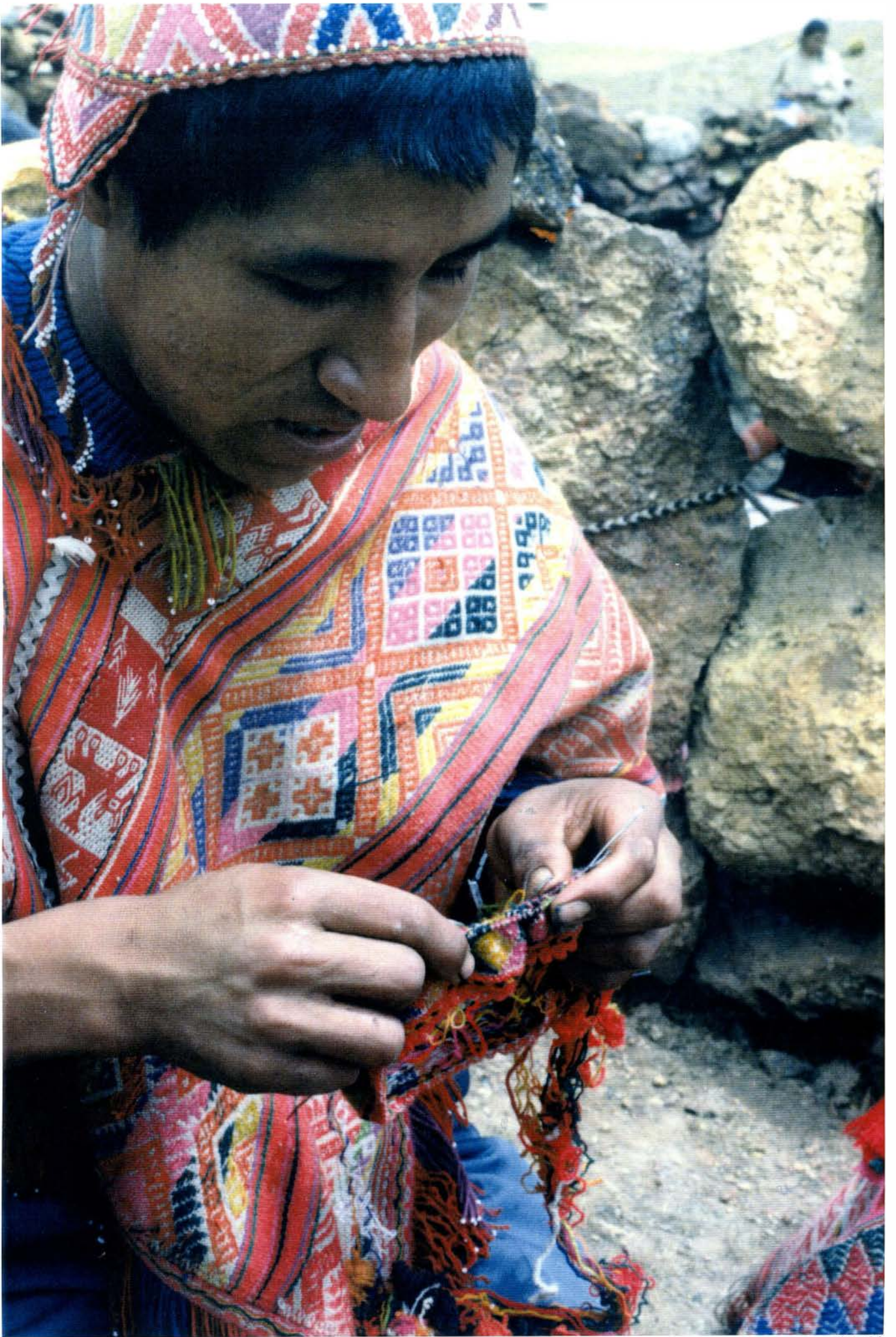


FIG. 20

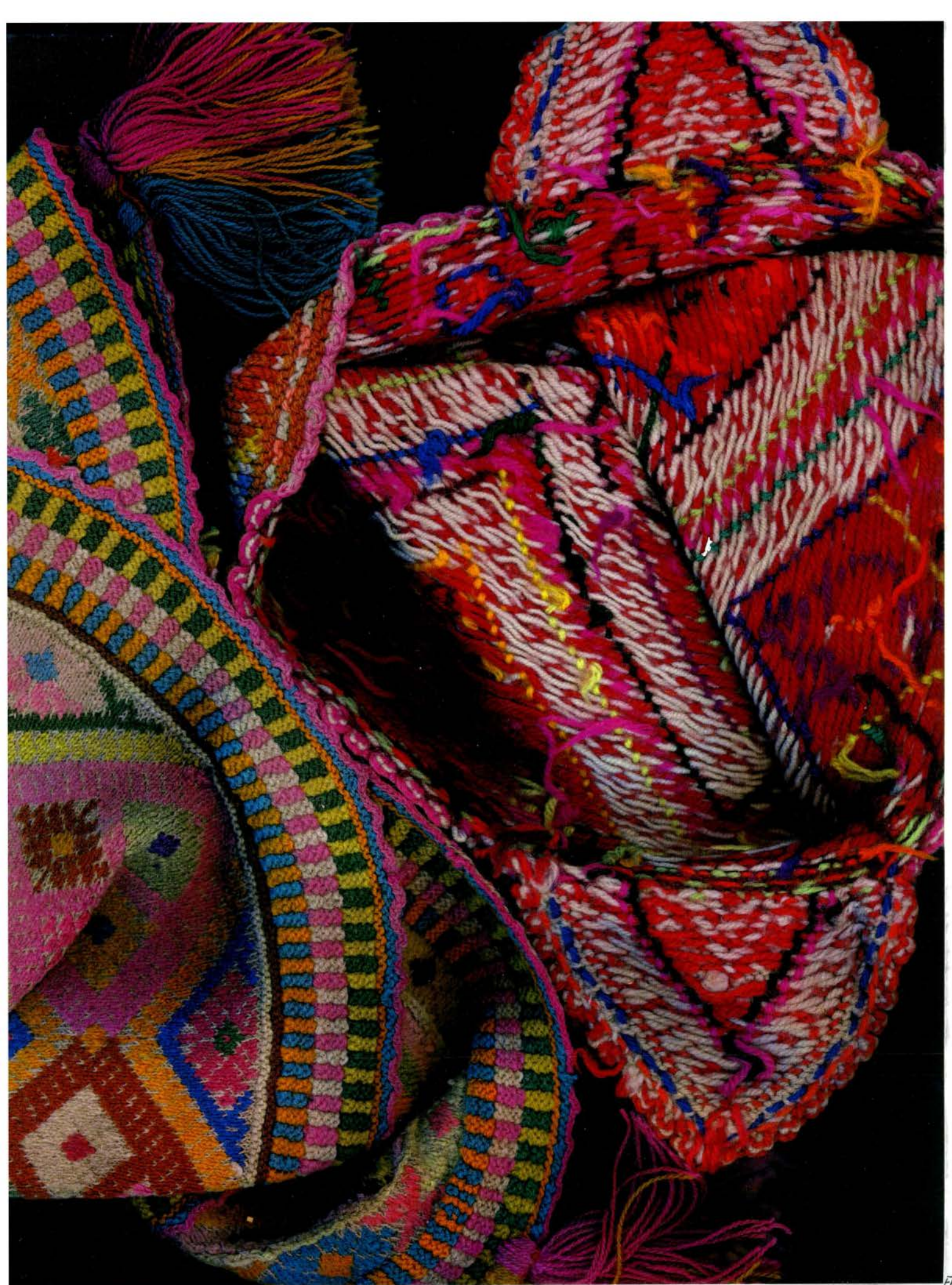
The best way to talk to textile artists definitely was with the help of a textile artist, and I was very privileged to travel with Nilda. Still, each successive trip added to the next.

As individual hats were collected and studied, materials and techniques were noted. Possibilities for dating on the basis of materials used are risky, for reasons explained in the following section. One indigenous solution to this dilemma was to simply knit a name and date into a hat. That was a rare find, in a small shop in Pisac, but perhaps it could start a trend.

Technical aspects of knitting

In the ensuing years since Spanish contact, many technical changes have occurred, affecting clothing worn by remote Quechua farmers. Although elements of Spanish dress were adopted by indigenous men in the form of tailored jackets, pants and shirts, their hats, at least the fiber ones, may have changed little. If the Spanish brought knitting needles that replaced a knotted or twined thread hat, there is no exact date determined for the change. We simply do not know when needle knitting began. New technology like floor looms for yardage did not affect fiber hats, but the new fiber, sheep's wool added another choice to knitters. However, camelid fibers continue to be used for knitting. Many knitters have also adapted re-spun acrylic to their designs, sometimes combining all three fibers in one hat. Knitters may choose to use non commercial yarns even when other choices are available. However, it must also be emphasized that regardless of the reports that Quechua have lost their ancient ways, they are today still proudly using natural alpaca yarns to knit *ch'ullus*. The finely made hat, Fig. was knitted in 1998 of handspun undyed alpaca, in the village of Pittumarka.





The same situation applies when the subject of chemical dyes is approached. Coal tar dyes were available and used in the Cusco area around 1850, but that did not completely exclude the use of natural dyes. Limited use of the ancient red produced by cochineal beetles was, documented recently, as well as continued use of indigo and vegetable yellow sources, mainly flowers. Natural dyes can be used alone or in combination with chemically home dyed materials. One trend seems fairly widespread at present; the use of silvery white alpaca hair in its undyed natural state, perhaps for prestige reasons, as pure white llamas and alpaca are more highly valued than brown or multicolored and were used in ancient times as sacrificial animals..

Anne Rowe commented in 1974 when she visited the Cusco area, that , “day-glow yarns are coming into use in the area.” (1975: 34) Those bright, shocking lime greens and oranges are still popular, twenty years later, to the dismay of many. It should be noted, however, that those colors do mellow a great deal in the Andean sun. Fig. 22, shows the softer muted colors of the outside of the hat, compared to those not softened by the sun, on the inside.

In the past few years, home dyeing, using purchased chemical dyes has been used to dye both spun yarn and unspun sheep’s wool. The shocking pink fleece, ready for hand spinning in Fig. 23, was to be used in a *ch'ullu* knitted for the tourist market, like the one seen in Fig.23 background. The dyer, spinner, and knitter Sra. Puma is shown holding some finished examples at her home in the mountains above Sucuani, south of Cusco.

The woman pictured below, in Fig24, said she was the only woman who still knitted *ch'ullus* in Checaquepe, 99 km South East of Cusco. She is demonstrating the process of

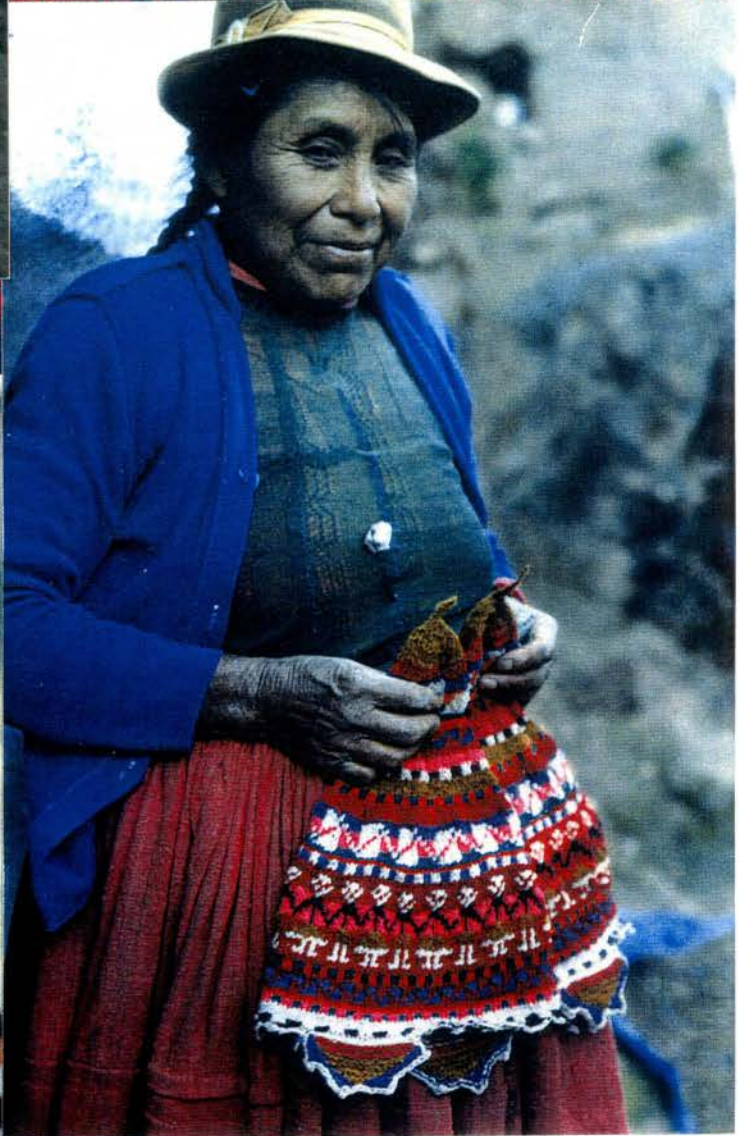
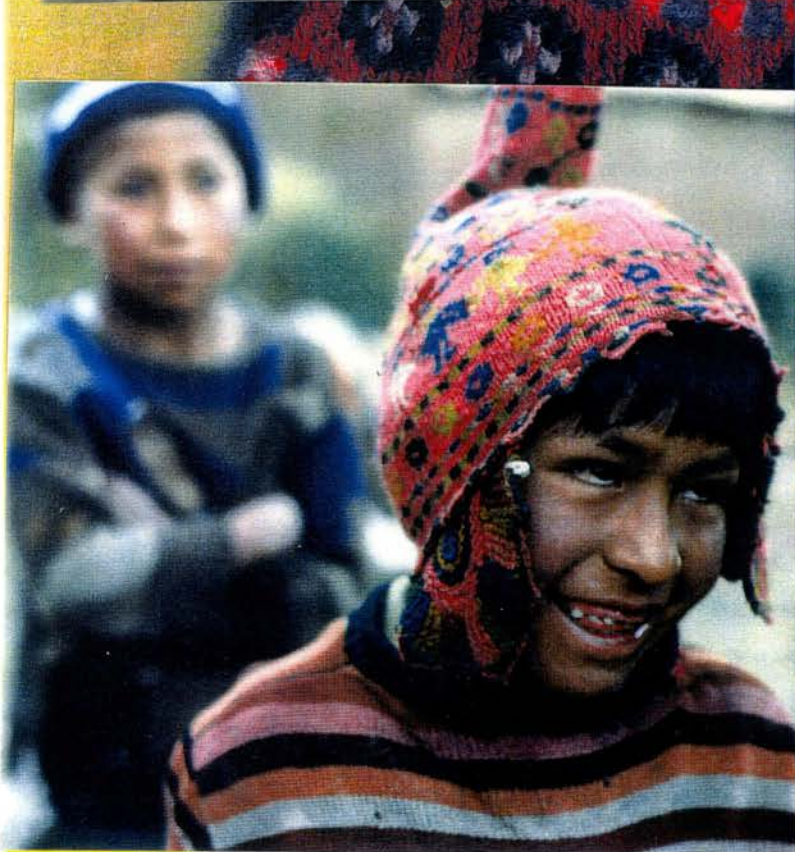
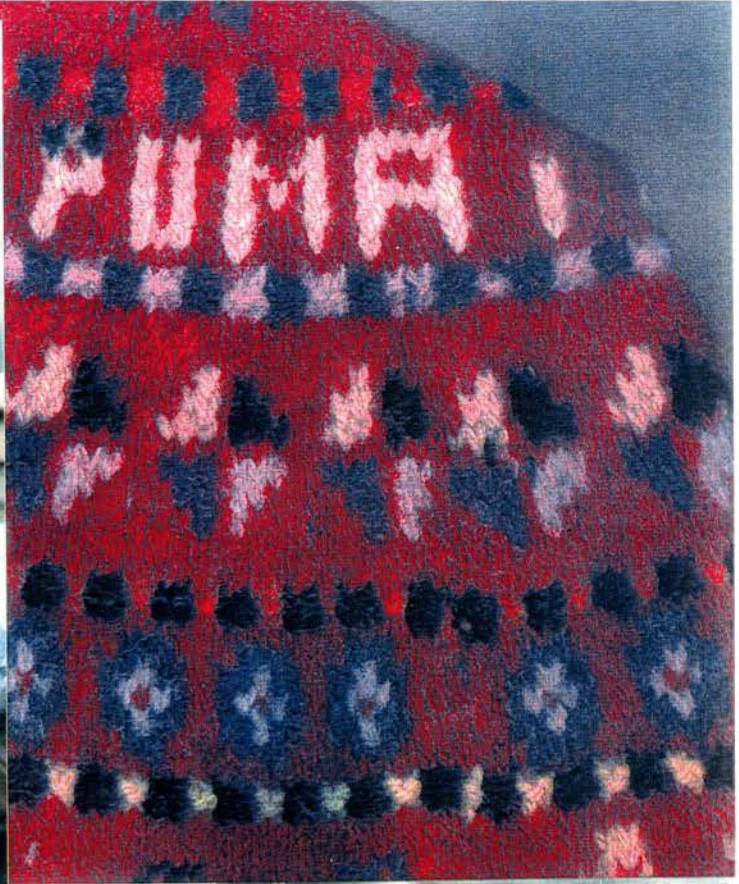


FIG. 23



FIG. 24

beginning the knitting, with puntas, or pica-pica, the chaining that is begun on the fingers, forming scallops that frame the face, and are the beginning of the knitting process, going from base to tubular tip. She uses dyed and undyed alpaca yarns she has spun, seen at her feet. She carries the yarn over her shoulder to maintain an even tension, a technique used by many women, but not all.

Currently, machine spun acrylic yarns, most widely used only after careful re-spinning on the Quechua drop spindle, can be dated to 1970. During the 1940s and fifties some use was made of a cotton, rayon blend of thread, commercially produced and sold in Cusco stores. This seems to no longer be used, but examples still exist in shops that sell “antique” textiles.

Quechua opinions of machine made yarns differ, but some women, like Sra. Puma (see Fig. 23) see it as , “modern” and feel it is “nicer” so she uses acrylic when she knits for her son, and uses sheep’s wool that she has hand spun and dyed for the hats she knits for the tourist market. Marco Dunque Fig. 25, uses acrylic, for his exceptionally fine knitting, saying that the colors don’t fade, and the hats can be washed more easily.

Andean techniques of knitting, with almost endless variations of method are meticulously detailed by knitter and art historian Cynthia Le Count (1990) Andean Folk Knitting . Hers is the only book available that describes the whole range of contemporary Andean knitting. She technically describes current *ch’ullus* as being , “circular knitting on straight needles,” (1990:43) Stockinette stitches and garter stitches are most often used. She describes techniques of color weaving and intarsia knitting as methods of working colored designs. (1990:79)

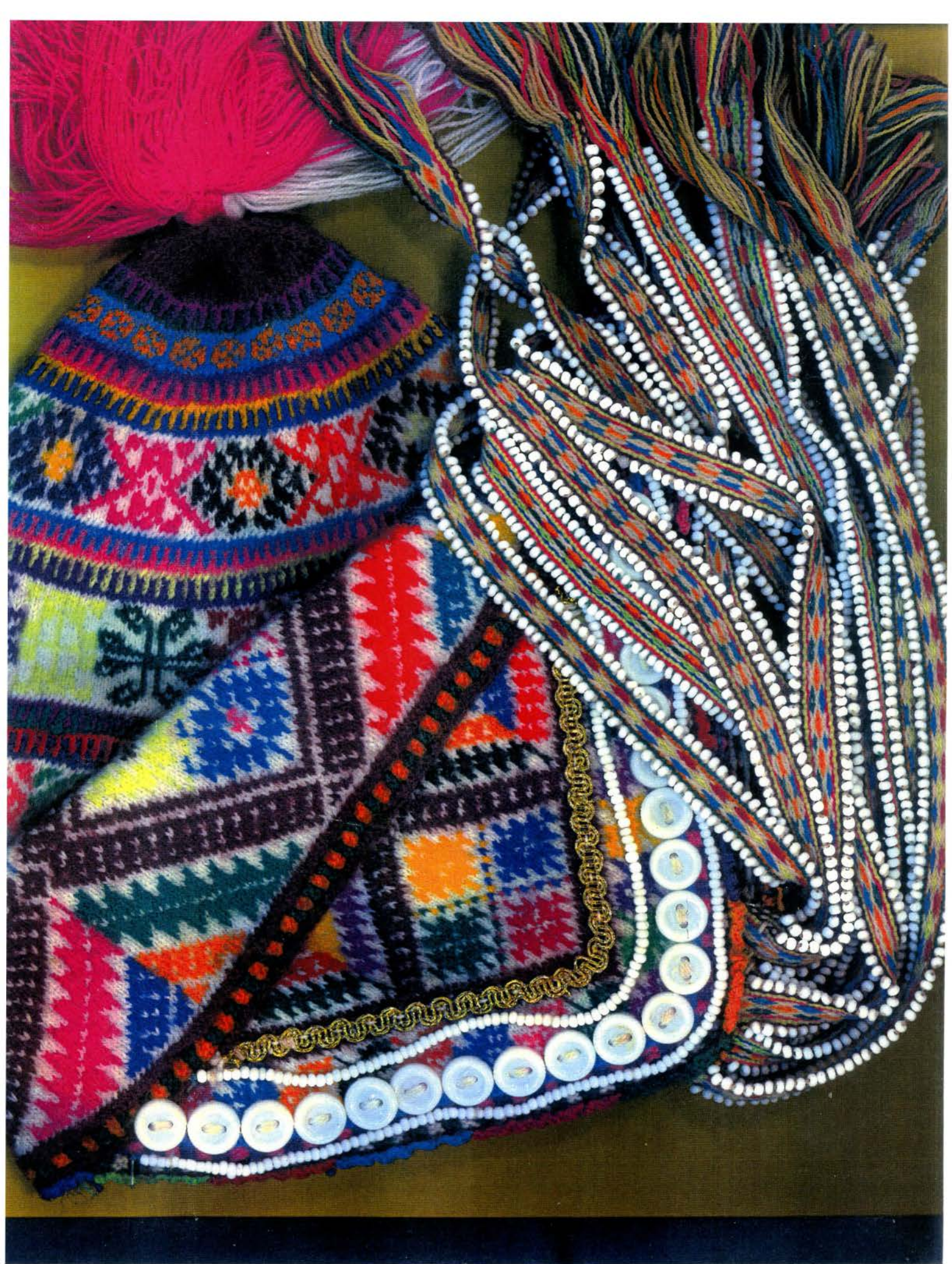


FIG. 25

LeCount's emphasis is on actually reproducing Andean knit items. She includes diagrams and patterns for knitting a dozen hats, both for children and adults. Part of the generation of scholars who stress understanding a textile art form by learning to do the work, Le Count was the authority consulted by curators and art historians for the catalogue of the Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco, describing their recent exhibition of Andean textiles, the Jeff Appleby collection of 200 woven articles and twenty four knitted hats. (Meisch 1997)

Beginning with a discussion of the differences between knitting and ancient cross knit looping, LeCount stresses that cross knit looping is a single thread method akin to knotting, such as was used in the four cornered hats of the Wari-Tiawanaco period. Cross-knit looping requires a blunt sewing needle to guide the single thread through loops on a holding cord. (See Fig. 26) She adds, "From the extent and quality of the preHispanic woven, looped and knotted work, it is evident that the Spanish and Portuguese settlers introduced knitting to a people who were already excellent textile artists."(1990:25)

Le Count covers the technical aspects of contemporary weaving fully. For example, she provides twenty variations on the way ear flaps are knitted and attached to *ch'ullus*. Each style specific to a particular region is recognized as identifying the wearer from that region, not only through shape and color of the ear flaps of his hat, but by knitting technique, used to make the ear flaps. Le Count provides diagrams and patterns for weaving samples of *ch'ullus*, including six different types of ear flaps used around Cusco, from square, or rectangular shapes of Pittumarca, to a triangular stockinette stitch form for Chinchero.

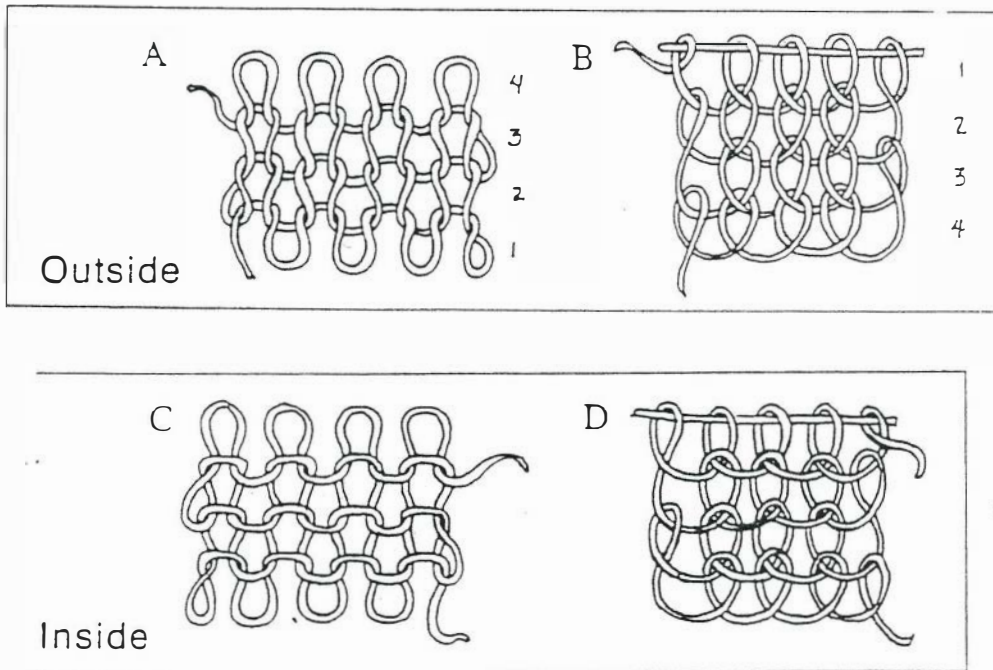
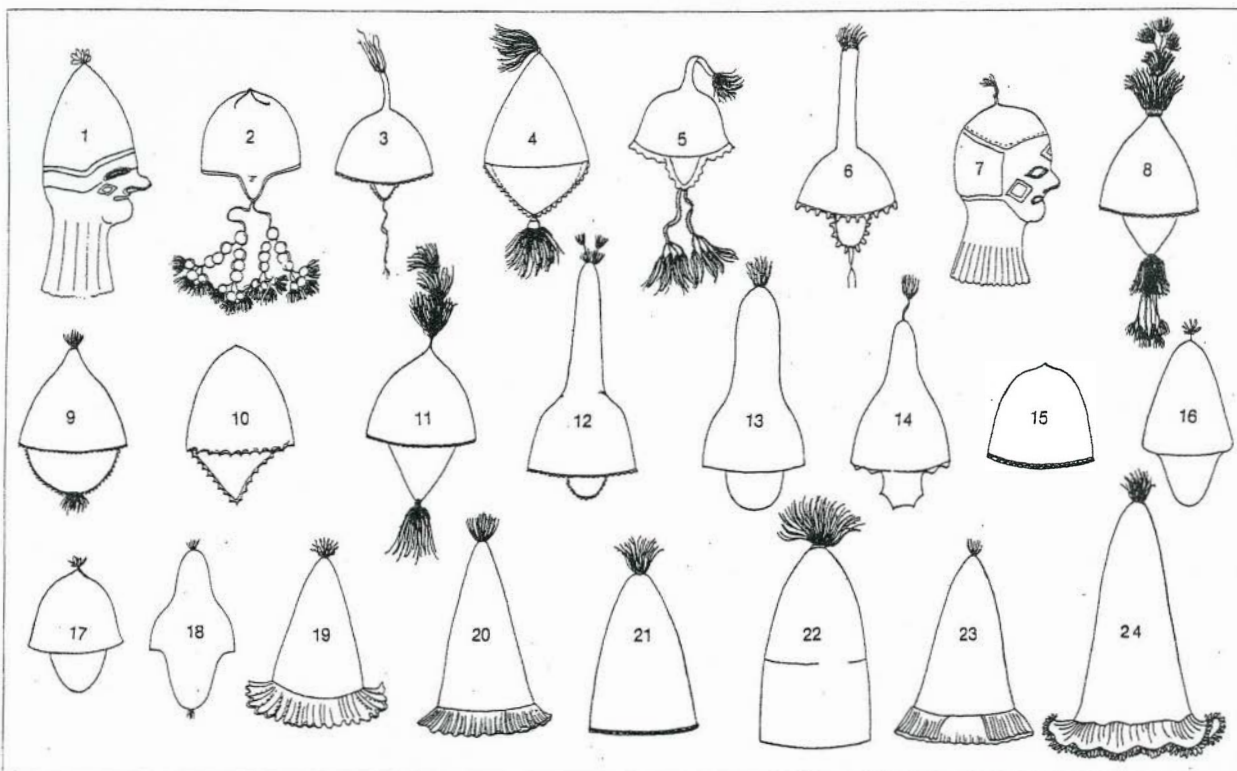


Diagram comparing front and back surfaces of knitting (A, C.)
 with front and back surfaces of cross-knit looping (B, D).



5:F Peruvian cap shapes. #1 Huancayo region. #2 Huancavelica region, Yauli. #3 Cuzco vicinity #4 Paucartambo, Ccarca, Pisac. #5 Pumacanchis, Pampallacta, Huacahuasi, Huilloc, Ollantaytambo region. #6 Chinchero. #7 Cuzco vicinity. #8 Central Cuzco province, Hurincusco, Huarahuara, Quiquijana-Ausangate, Laoramarca. #9 Urcos-Ccarca-Ocongate region. #10 Q'ero area. #11 Marcapata area. #12 Pitumarca area. #13 Rachqui-Tinta area. #14 Sicuani area. #15 Tambobamba (Apurimac Province). #16 Huancayo, Juliaca, Puno, Cuzco, Taquile older men's caps, Island of the Sun. #17 Huancané, Juliaca, Puno region. #18 Puno region to south Lake Titicaca. #19 Huancané. #20 Chucuito, Yunguyo, Illave, southwestern edge of Lake Titicaca. #21 Taquile Island. #22 Taquile Island. #23 Taquile and Amantani Islands. #24 Acora and southwestern edge of lake.

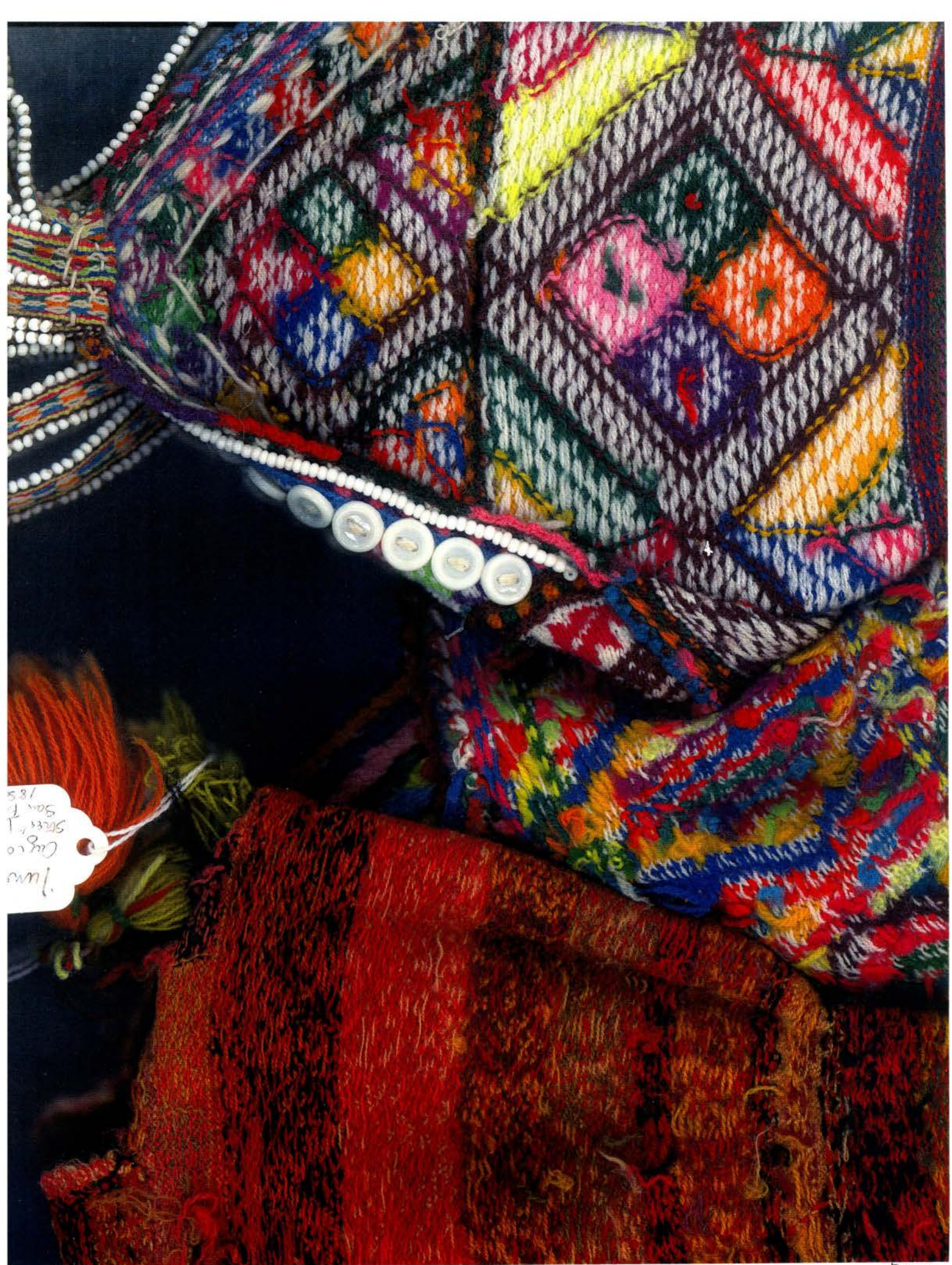


FIG. 27

She has carefully researched the various shapes used by communities to designate geographic origin. The total shape; earflap, with or without tassels, the peak or tail, also with or without tassels, even hats without any earflaps, constitute a defining element well understood by Quechua men and women. Her diagram, Fig.26, gives an indication of the variations that are standard in the communities she names. In fact, every detail of a *ch'ullu* is carefully planned, with only small areas available for individual aesthetic decisions, shape not being altered by any member of a community. The Pittumarka shape, for example, the community with the longest tail, has used the same shape for at least a hundred years, I was told by the local mayor who also ran a textile co-operative. (Oct. 12 1998)

Andean knitting is learned by observation, in informal family groups, or among relatives or schoolmates. Five double ended needles are invariably used, often hand made because such fine gauges are needed that they are hard to find in stores. While some items knitted for the tourist market may be made quickly, the *ch'ullu*s knitted for personal use can contain as many as stitches per inch as a commercially knitted cotton T shirt and require a week to knit.

*Ch'ullu*s in Fig. 27, have been turned inside out , to accurately document the techniques used in multicolored knitting, as well as the techniques for joining ear flaps, that indicate a regional practice. Another feature, the edging trim, or *puntas*, is also a local indicator. Since knitting is often learned by watching friends or family, details of construction are imitated, and indicate location of knitter. (per. com. Callanaupa 1997) The type of knitted construction, as well as the trimming details, and even the style of tassels and earflaps can indicate origin of the *ch'ullu*

wearer. The mechanics of spinning, dyeing and knitting, all combine to present the designs of knitted hats. It is the iconography that gives voice to the identity of the wearer.

Iconography in Cusco

As mentioned earlier in this paper, to artist Marco Dunque, the iconographic relationship between design pally in knitting and weaving was absolutely clear. "I knit what I weave," he told me. In Fig .25, he holds the *ch'ullu* he had just finished, and wears the poncho that has the same pally, the wine red diamond enclosing geometric flower forms called "tika" representing the blossoming potato plants in his fields high in the surrounding puna. The flowers of the hat are necessarily smaller, four rather than the eight of the poncho, but he explained that they had the same meaning, fertility of the fields. The diamond shape may relate to land, either an individual field, or even to the entire village, or the ancient Tawantinsuyu, the Land of the Four Quarters of the Inca Empire he said.

When studying weaving in relation to *ch'ullus*, it is at first difficult to sense the way hats match weaving designs. Hats contain only a few design images, but weaving in a poncho may use as many as twenty different images. Only a few pally are important enough to be incorporated in the *ch'ullu*. Certain weaving designs, or pally, are used to indicate that the wearer is a resident of a particular community, with more weaving design choices appropriate to indicate women's origins than for a man, and even fewer choices for knitted hat designs.

The pally knitted in the hats must be chosen from the repertoire of designs used by weavers of men's ponchos in that area. For example all men's hats of the Chaweteri/Pisac area have flower filled diamonds on the central portion of their hats, but had various images above and

below the “tika” or flower areas. The diamond was filled with flowers. It represented hope for good crops. When this design is compared to the geometric grids of the Wari hats, (see Fig. 14) which Frame says relate to land forms, it is tempting to see connections. This paper does not have the scope to determine the knitter’s views on ancient hat designs, but further study could be undertaken, because there are many unanswered and unasked questions remaining.

Even exact boundaries of geographic distribution of motifs is difficult to determine. It is known, for example, that Pittumarka *ch’ullus* feature a wave curl design on their tails, but this design is also seen in Chechacupe, but with differing pally on the body of the hat. Exactly where the dividing line is, would merit further study. Generally, the areas within the study, near the city of Cusco, have geometric designs on hats. The ancient Inca designs that might be expected to linger in the Cusco area, were resolutely geometric. Farther towards Bolivia, and the land of the Colla, hats and weaving now include bird and animal figures, as they did in ancient times. Fig.23.

Geometric patterns similar to those of Chaweteri with the flowers replaced by a quadripartite grid define the iconography for the hats of Hillok. Here the diamond is said to relate to the mythic origin of the ancestors who emerged from a mountain lake. In the Hillok example, the diamond was named “heart of the lake” seen in both the hat and the woven shawl the woman wears in Fig.28. The diamond is filled with what were described to me as water curls.

Water motifs are described as related to fecundity and fertility; water nourishes the land and produces crops. As was said in the earlier sections of the paper, the quadripartite diamond was the insignia of the Inca Empire, perhaps borrowed from Wari-Tiawanaco cosmology, and

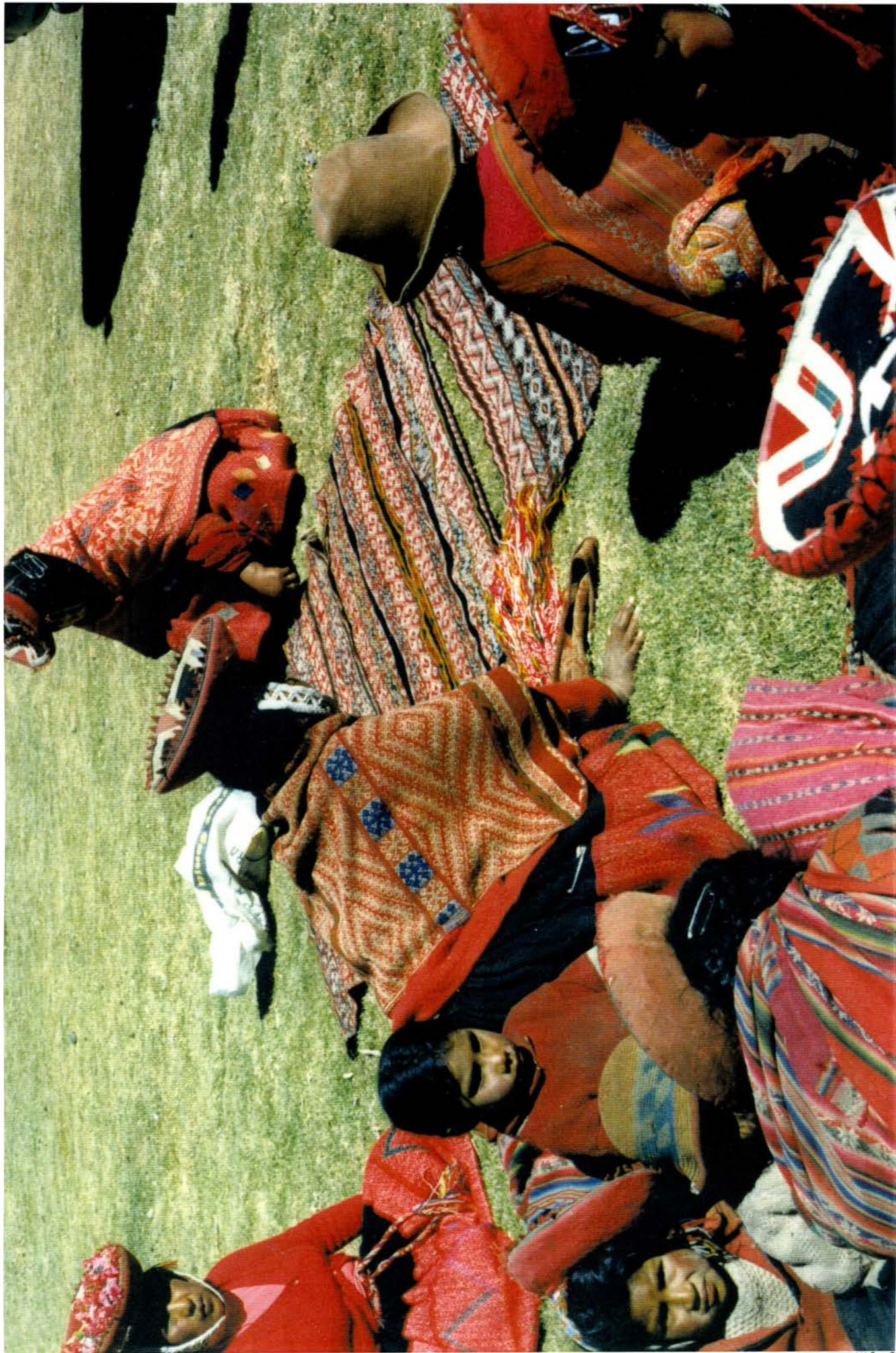


FIG. 28

FIG 28

represented the four part division of the land, and tangentially the world. Here we find mountain lakes, sources of water, represented as squares within diamonds.

During the ancient Moche era, around the time of Christ, water was frequently represented on pottery and weavings by conventionalized curls. The same scale and shape of curl is seen in the tail of the Chechacupe *ch'ullu* being knitted in Fig. Expecting the knitter to identify those curls as water, even though the ocean was hundreds of miles away, I asked for her name for the design.

The elderly woman in Fig.24, identified the wave like design she had knitted on the the tail of her *ch'ullu* as “esse” Spanish for the letter S, adding that the design represented the “potato hook” an ancient curved form of shovel. Used to turn up ripe potatoes in the fields, the potato hook is used with the same motion that Franquemonts documented in their study of Chinchero pally, described as an ethnic code. (1987;78) “Kutji-always returning” in the village of Chinchero, is the S shaped design. When I asked her if her design was also called kutji, she explained that it only was kutji if it stood alone, not when it was repeated. Context of the design then, affects the naming, perhaps more than the meaning of the design.

So while diamonds and geometric forms represent land forms, curving designs as the Franquemonts have suggested (1987) are described most accurately in terms of motions or movements. The “S” hook or curl, for example is given different names but always represents the returning motion of shapes, tools or water.

In another example of town specific knitting pally matching the woven ponchos of men, the man in Fig. 29, is marked as a member of the Pittumarka Community by the diamond



FIG. 29

design he knits. Also identified by the long tail of the *ch'ullu* he is wearing, the same as the one he is knitting, he demonstrates again the relationship of knitted and woven iconography, in 1998, in his village about fifty miles from Chawateri where Dunque lives. The knitted white bordered diamonds of his hats are repeated in the woven pallay strips of his rich red poncho. The man was particularly intent on his knitting, one of the very few people I found who refused to talk to me about iconography, or to part with his knitting, some of the finest imaginable, fashioned with needles so fine, they almost disappear in the photograph.

The iconography of Pittumarka is a subject that could be of particular interest, because the Chechacupe-Pittumarka area features a wider range of images than found in Cusco or Hillok. In Pittumarka, there is an approximately half and half division between geometric and figurative motifs in weaving, and at least three different types of iconography appears in the knitted hats. More research is needed in this area. The figurative weaving designs may be of birds, animals or frequently of the martyred revolutionary, Tupac Armaru, who is usually shown in the process of being drawn and quartered as punishment for his uprising against the Spanish. Oddly, he is also shown woven in an abbreviated portrait form, wearing a wide brimmed Spanish hat, not a *ch'ullu*.

It would be expected that as the weaving designs of villages change and evolve, the iconography of hats will follow gradually. Hats use men's designs which are the most traditional and conservative, the slowest to change. Photographs by Cusco indigenous photographer Martin Chambi that maybe a starting point for establishing earlier iconography, but those few photographs I have been able to study do not show the entire *ch'ullu* clearly enough to determine the exact iconography. Chambi photographed in the Cusco area from about 1930 to 1960.

A survey of iconography used now in weaving, and its distribution is currently in progress under the auspices of the Cusco Center for the Preservation of Traditional Weaving. (Callanpua per. com. 1998) Director Callanpua has recently identified forty six different *palley*, or design elements that are currently being woven in the Chinchero area. She is attempting to have area weavers from five other surrounding towns, as well as those of Chinchero, create belts with examples of all the designs they currently weave. She estimates the project could take another ten years to complete.

While Callanpua will concentrate on woven iconography, her research may well form a basis for further study of the relationship of weaving and knitting, and include knitted iconography of the regions she is studying. Of particular importance to this study of the *ch'ullu*, is the Quechua explanation of correspondence of knitted iconography to woven iconography. Because ancient hats and tunics so often matched, it is important to document the continuation of that element of iconographic communication before it disappears.

As I searched for men wearing *ch'ullus*, I constantly looked for examples of similar iconography in weaving and knitting, and was rewarded with more and more examples, both in Cusco, and in the more remote villages. In order to give additional context to the use of *ch'ullus*, the following descriptions and photographs are intended to add ethnographic detail to the use of the *ch'ullu*.

Ceremonial use of *ch'ullus* in Cusco

Although Quechua men in urban Cusco did not wear handmade hats or traditional clothes on a daily basis, they had not completely discarded their finery, some only reserved it for festival

occasions. For example, in the city of Cusco, indigenous men did wear very elaborate *ch'ullus* in connection with their duties as Cargoadores, or processional bearers in the Corpus Christi procession, June 12, 1997 In Figs. 30, 31. The knitting and weaving of the clothing used during the procession was particularly fine, and seemed to include older weavings, perhaps heirlooms based on the soft muted colors of the weaving. I was unable to examine the weavings or *ch'ullus* except as the men passed by carrying the immense and weighty platform that supported the ornate statue of the Virgin, or stopped briefly to rest in mid-procession. Knee length pants and vests of treadle loom woven bayeta showed Spanish peasant influence, but were overlaid with the distinguished hats and ponchos of ancient inspiration.

The photographs in Fig. 31, show some of the variations in beading of tie and tassels that indicate rank and seniority, with the youngest man wearing an unadorned hat, and the man in charge wearing a hat which has such abundant beading that the knitting is almost obscured. The geometric patterns of knitting consistently used a four part diamond design, which was often further divided into sixteen sections, not noticeable in weaving I could see. The woven version appeared in a particularly elaborate poncho worn in the Festival of Inti Raymi. Fig. 32.

The Festival of Inti Raymi on the day of the summer solstice, June 24, was another Cusco occasion to wear traditional Quechua finery. Another huge procession, this one held to honor the ancient gods, or at least serve as a re-enactment of homage being paid the Inca deity Inti-sun God, required a costume of a modern adaptation of Inca wear, combined with very sumptuous hand woven shawls and ponchos. Again, as an observer, I was only able photograph and had no opportunity to ask questions. The participants representing the Colla of the southern, Collasuyu quarter of the Inca empire wore peaked hats. The attendant to the Inca, following him





FIG. 31



Fig. 32

Fig. 32

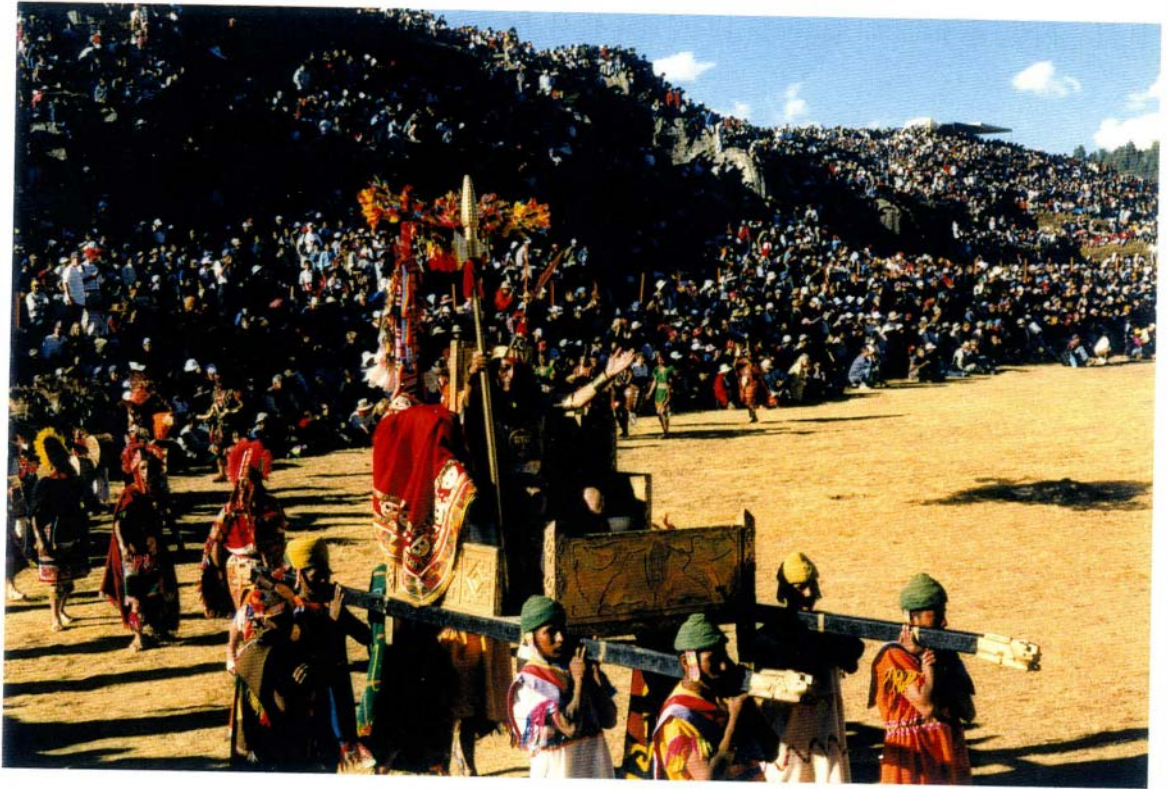


FIG. 33

into the plaza of Sacsayhuaman, Fig.33, wore a poncho woven with the sixteen part diamond I had seen in the festival of Corpus Christi.

Inti-Raymi, 1997 found more than fifty thousand people jammed into the ceremonial fortress of Sacsayhuaman, just outside of Cusco. Each person in the Inti-Raymi audience had paid about double the market price of a ch'ullu or fifty dollars U.S. for the privilege of watching the pageant and its costumed participants. The spectacle, which may not be completely authentic, lacking written records of the Inca version, was attended by far more local people than tourists. Yet there were so many tourists that every hotel room had been booked months in advance. Inti Raymi celebrations each year since 1947 have demonstrated that traditional dress and pageantry had a positive effect on the Cusco economy.

Looking outside the urban Cusco areas, more ch'ullus are found the farther the village is removed from Cusco. Whole communities tend to change dress patterns in a regulated way, usually with men's clothing turning factory made first (Callanaupa 1998)The three villages I studied most, Chinchero, Huilloc and Pittumarka, were removed enough from Cusco that they preserved at least portions of traditional dress. Each differed from the other in extent of modernization and clothing choices. More importantly, each community had specific reasons for continuing to make and wear traditional textiles. Each village is predominately Quechua rather than mestizo, with most people farming and herding, perhaps in addition to other wage labor jobs. In each village, textile production seemed to be a unifying force, one that potentially had more benefits to bestow than deterrents. The closest community to Cusco, and the most accessible by



FIG. 34

car, Chinchero, demonstrates the tenacity of the Quechua in terms of preserving their textile culture.

Chinchero

In a search for areas where traditional textiles are flourishing, the village of Chinchero, an hour drive from Cusco, presents a sort of turning point. The men there wear factory made clothes as do most of the women. But a central core of women, members of a “mothers club” continue to weave and wear traditional clothes, especially on Sundays during the market and for weaving demonstrations arranged for tourist visits.

In Chinchero, the elegant red and gold *ch'ullu* in Fig. 34, is no longer worn nor has it been in the last forty years. The rich diamond patterned *ch'ullu*, from Chinchero, is one of twenty four knitted hats included in the 240 piece Andean textile collection now on display at M. H. de Young Museum of San Francisco.

Interestingly, despite the fact that men were no longer wearing *ch'ullus*, in Chinchero, I was told (1998) that it would be, “no problem” for Chinchero women to knit a hat for me like the one in Fig.34, now in the De Young Museum collection. A version of the museum piece was newly created for me. My *ch'ullu* from Chinchero, this time in the size for an infant, shows the fact that the skill to produce such a hat still exists intact. It would seem that scarcity does not necessarily mean that an item can not be produced if there is a need or market.

And this aspect seems to be the most potent determining factor in deciding whether or not traditional hats and ponchos will be made in a village. Knitting and weaving must fill a need in a practical way, in addition to the primary function of keeping the body warm. When the men of Chinchero need a hat to keep them warm, they drive over a paved road to Cusco, and buy a





FIG. 36

machine made version , a cheap machine made version, from a store. Women in Chinchero continue to weave and knit, however, because they supply a meager but steady market for their products sold in the Cusco market. They have the added pleasure of maintaining their ethnic identity while they work, by wearing their weavings, advertising their expertise as they sell belts in the Cusco square.

The weaving tradition that still uses the same designs as the now obsolete *ch'ullu*, is however, flourishing. Fig.35 shows the same design being woven into a belt by Cipriana Quispe, whose weaving in the same pattern is seen in Fig. ,finished just before my visit to her home and weaving demonstration in June of 1997, shown in Fig. 36.

The difficult question concerns how much longer any knitted *ch'ullu* or woven poncho will continue to exist, when scholars have seen them disappearing in alarming numbers, both from Cusco and the surrounding villages. (Bird 1976, Rowe 1978, LeCount 1993). Chinchero seems very ready to revive any textile art that can become useful once more.

Hillok

In contrast, the village of Hillok, which is twice as far from Cusco, on a road that is more than twice as difficult as the Chinchero road, is actually now advertised in travel brochures as the most traditional village in the Cusco area. In Hillok, everybody wears some form of traditional clothing, including the children, who are allowed to wear traditional clothes to school, not the case in any other area I saw. (I did not find out why this was the case.) Men wear their *ch'ullus* often in combination with factory made pants and shirts. Women wear one or more full skirts



FIG. 37

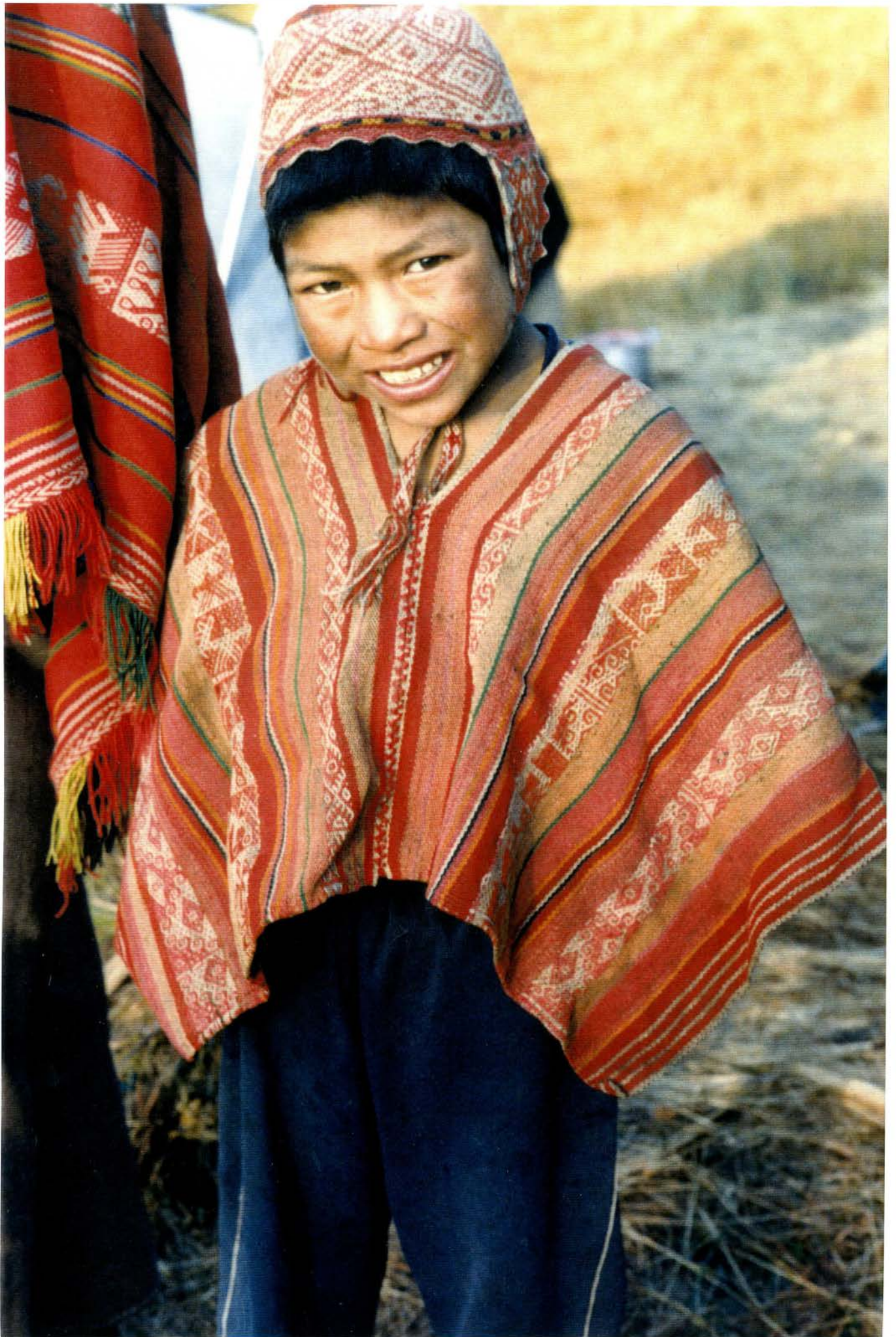


FIG 38

with intricately woven added “golons” or bands around the hems, and their backstrap loom woven shawls over machine made sweaters.

As photographs taken over three years show, (see Fig. 37 and 38) men in Hillock wear the same *ch'ullus*, as do little boys. Le Count lists the Hillock *ch'ullu* as marked by a tasseled tail rather than a peak, and mentions the predominate red and white color way. (1993 p.52) In plate 5, p. 68 she shows a colored version.

The Huillock boy in Fig.38 , was photographed in 1995, on the Inca Trail to Machu Picchu the brother of one of the porters shown in the group photo, Fig.39 . The nested diamonds in his *ch'ullu* refer to the diamond design on his poncho, the outside band of *pallay*. The relationship is most easily seen on the shawl of the woman in the center of Fig.28, who was part of a group of Huillock women who had gathered in their village to sell their weavings when I visited with Marco Aragon in 1997. The configuration of the Hillock *ch'ullu* is the most consistent that I found in the Cusco area. The nested red diamonds identify Hillock in some weaving, and in all hats.

The woman who wove the corresponding nested diamond shawl had a selection of weavings with pictorial designs for sale, that did not relate to *ch'ullus*. When I asked to buy the *lliklla* (shawl) she was wearing, she was careful to explain that she had spun the wool by hand. She named the *pallay* as "heart of the lake" with the diamond curls representing water. The center of the diamond was named “*sacqus*” Quechua for lake. In front of the woman are other examples of Huillock weaving, with variations of geometric designs, showing, for example the zig zag named as *Mayu Kenko*, or wandering river, which can also refer to the Milky Way.

The 1995 photo of the porters from Huillok, shows the boy in Fig.39, with a felted, brimmed hat over his poncho, matching those worn by most of the men, who also wear their *ch'ullu* under their hats, even under the baseball caps. On an everyday basis, the *ch'ullu* can provide warmth as well as ethnic identity. The earflaps and ties are practical, and functional. In Fig. 'the boy is seen in 1997 at home in Huillok surrounded by his friends wearing *ch'ullus* that have seen hard wear, not worn only for special occasions.

The little boy in the center of Fig 41, is wearing the hat once worn more widely, now seen only rarely in the highlands above Pisac, which is totally undocumented, and unstudied. I could learn only that "wa-was" wear that hat for the first year of life, a baby bonnet probably with Spanish influence. Both boy and girl wa-was (Quechua for baby) use the same hat, but boys switch to *ch'ullus* and girls to the "montera" an unstudied hat also matching their mother's hats.

After children are no longer considered "wa-was" at about age two, there is no difference in little boys' hats and their fathers, both using the same pally. The man in Fig.37, wears a *ch'ullu* that matches the boy's cap in Fig.38. Adulthood, and village status entitle the man to add beaded ties to his *ch'ullu*. In size, and embellishment, the man's hat shows his maturity, as compared with the gender less baby hat and the child's *ch'ullu*.

The men of Hillock are employed by adventure travel agencies to carry camping gear on excursions to the sacred city, human porters for tourists and hikers who struggle through the fourteen thousand foot altitude, some barely able to transport themselves, let alone carry tents, food, and water for five days.

The Quechua porters from Hillock are required to wear indigenous dress in order to qualify for their jobs. Ironically, many tourists donate their worn and dirty hiking gear including

baseball caps, to the men after the trek is over, as a sort of tip or thank you for their work. The Quechua, many who speak little Spanish and less English, tend to stay apart and separate from the tourist during the hike, even camping at a distance. However, when I approached their camp after dinner on the second night of the hike, with a camera, and some small money, I was welcomed and photographed hats and ponchos with matching designs.

My questions about the pallas designs of their ponchos were enthusiastically answered by a man who was trained as a shaman, spoke some English, and seemed pleased about my interest in iconography.

Two years later, in 1997, I visited Hillock with Marco Aaragon, and returned twice again in 1998 with Nilda Callanaupa, stopping to purchase ch'ullus and meet with weavers. The village, on my last visit in 1998 had expanded to double its 1997 size. With at least ten new buildings, including a new school since the year before, it seemed that being the most traditional village in the Cusco area had brought some prosperity, and wearing traditional clothes might bring more than the pride of ethnic integrity.

In 1998, Hillock was still very impoverished by Northern standards, with the nearest medical assistance three hours away by truck in Chinchero. There was electricity, although few things to plug in. Water was available from a pipe bubbling in the plaza, flanked by half a dozen bright orange brand new metal outhouses. Adventure tourists willing to make the trip to Hillock, two hours from Cusco by small truck or van, on very rutted dirt roads, may bring cash to this remote town, creating an economic incentive to preserve their traditional home woven or knitted clothes. By having the cash bearing tourists buy textiles in Hillock, rather than take the goods to the market in Cusco, tourists can have a glimpse of how those textiles fit into a whole



FIG. 39



FIG. 40



FIG. 41

lifeway. Perhaps the impromptu market in the school yard, that I saw appear with each tourist minibus does give some notion of Quechua life. Whether this will preserve traditional weaving remains to be seen.

Pittumarka

As a final look at a community within driving distance of Cusco, where traditional weaving and knitting continued, I visited a gathering of weavers and knitters from Pittumarka, who had assembled to display their newest projects completed for The Cusco Center for the Preservation of Traditional Weaving. The three hats, in Fig. 42 were ones I commissioned, in October, that were delivered last week, very finely knitted of all natural, undyed, hand spun alpaca.

In Pittumarka, the weaving and spinning are all of the highest quality, perhaps in part as a result of a co-operative shop selling weaving and knitting near the town square run by the mayor of the town, and his wife, an outstanding weaver who also takes textiles to Cusco to sell to shop owners there. The idea that the town mayor would expend his efforts to market textiles seems to have had an energizing effect. Many women still wear traditional clothes daily, but some do not. Men were wearing *ch'ullus* with factory made shirts and pants.

Both men and women knit in Pittumarka. The man in Fig.44, with his long tailed *ch'ullu* was beginning an extremely difficult project of a scaffolded warp weaving. In Fig.45, a Pittumarka woman knits a *ch'ullu* in the same technique, so rare as to be virtually unrecorded, but bringing another piece to the weaving/knitting connection. She was repeating the process described by the earlier knitter, Dunque who said, "I knit what I weave." In the past week, I was told, she had invented a technique to match the elaborate scaffold weaving in knitting.



The quality of Pittumarca knitting, as evidenced in the *ch'ullu* in Fig. 46 may have always been of the very finest stitches and most intricate design. Fig.46, was purchased in 1997 in the mayor's shop, where his wife said she thought that hat, with all natural dyes, dated to 1890. Of the three villages, Chinchero, Hillock and Pittumarka, where significant numbers of people were knitting, each exemplified a slightly different approach to the question of maintaining traditional dress. Any progress in the direction of preservation seems to have an un-provable but unmistakable energizing effect on the people who participate.

From the reports of Chinchero, Huillock, and Pittumarka, it would seem that only remote villages have been able to maintain the creation and use of handmade clothes for daily wear. There are villages closer to Cusco that have completely discarded traditional clothes. The places described in this essay are the only areas which maintain traditional dress as a community. Chechecupe, and Chawateri have individual knitters and weavers, but it is the exception rather than the rule to see handmade clothes worn on a daily basis..

It could be asked if only remote villages would preserve traditional clothing in the future. Since there are so many more Quechuas in urban Cusco than in rural areas that they may be about to develop some solutions of their own, to express their ethnic affiliation in the city of Cusco itself, which after all was once the Inca capital, and has now adopted as a city flag, flown at every hotel, the rainbow banner once associated with the rainbow deity venerated at the Coricancha.

Pan-Andean *ch'ullu* in Cusco

Urbanized Andean people are abandoning their village specific clothing in favor of a new pan-Andean style being woven for them in jails, says Franquemont. (1986 p. 100) Unable or unwilling to do their own back strap weaving, they purchase the multicolored warp faced stripe

typical of the San Jeronimo Jail, directly from inmates. Often women in Chinchero will prepare warps for prisoners, who then complete the work they have contracted to do in order to pay for their food, not provided by the jail. Men learn their weaving skills after incarceration, teaching themselves by watching the other prisoners, very much in the manner Franquemont describes as the way women learn to weave. (Franquemont in Rowe et. al. 1976).

The "prison style" also referred to as the rainbow stripe, is used as the rainbow stripe, is used by most of the men I saw weaving in the Cusco jail, predominately a narrow warp faced stripe, with a few areas of pally, or pick up designs. The colors are vivid; reds yellows, blues, pinks, magenta, called rainbow stripes. When men leave jail, they continue to weave the "prison style" which was what we saw a few days later, driving south west towards Sicuani. The man in Fig. 47, was weaving in his yard, beside, the road, so we stopped.

The wife, and mother of seven, was carrying one of the youngest in a kepernia or long shawl of "prison style". On the man's loom is an unfinished kepernia, that he had been commissioned to make for the mayor of the next town. The children all had knitted *ch'ullus*. The boy in Fig. 47 is wearing a rainbow *ch'ullu*, which matches the "prison style", weaving.

Le Count describes a "rainbow style " *ch'ullu* as popular among the elders in La Pas, Bolivia, but having a wider appeal, a pan-Andean style. She describes it as , "for people who need a cap, but don't want to look too Indian. It has become a generic cap, males from six weeks to sixty ... wear this cap." (1993 p.130) There were examples for sale in the shops around the market in Cusco as seen in Fig. 48.

The figure of Virgin and Child in Fig.49, with the Christ Child wearing a "rainbow " *ch'ullu*, is located in the Sacristy Museum of Santo Domingo, the church built on top of the

Coricancha, the Inca religious center. The small exhibit is located just next to the areas that were once the Inca Temples of the Moon, Thunder, and the Rainbow. The Virgin in an adaptation of machine embroidered, Spanish influenced indigenous dress, holds the only version of the Christ Child I have ever seen, wearing a hat. In this case, the hat is a knitted *ch'ullu*, in the rainbow style, the style worn by the children of the man from the San Jeronimo jail, and the style described by Le Count as Pan-Andean. If the *ch'ullu* is meant to convey a message of indigenous inclusivity, this miniature version makes that statement.

The Catholic Church once actively discouraged Quechua clothing, and language is now seen to be supporting the use of indigenous clothing in a respectful and thoughtful way, giving dignity to the Quechua. Perhaps the same church that forbid indigenous people to wear traditional dress in 1735, ordering them to adopt the Spanish peasant styles seen in the Corpus Christi procession, may now be encouraging the The Catholic Church once actively discouraged Quechua clothing, and language is now seen to be supporting the use of indigenous clothing in a respectful and thoughtful way, giving dignity to the Quechua. Perhaps the same church that forbid indigenous people to wear traditional dress in 1735, ordering them to adopt the Spanish peasant styles seen in the Corpus Christi procession, may now be encouraging the sense of self worth that is associated with ethnic pride expressed through distinctive clothing. It has also been suggested that the Catholic Church is becoming less complacent as a result of a recent influx of Protestant Evangelical missionaries in Cusco. Regardless of motivation, the message seemed to be one of encouragement for traditional clothing, including *ch'illus*.

If the church, and the village societies work to maintain traditional dress, there is still the question of the practicality of hand made hats. The market is seen both as the culprit and the

possible savior of traditional clothing, by scholars and collectors. An elaborate hat can occupy a week for a fast knitter like Dunque. But can the Quechua afford to pay a weeks wages for a hat, regardless of its symbolic meaning or its aesthetic value ? Will collectors become interested ? Next the literature on the economics of traditional hats is presented briefly, despite the fact that no data is available on hats alone.

Economic aspects of *ch'ullus*

“Textile activities are poorly rewarded in the money economy when compared to wage labor .Weavers are frequently poor and marginalized members of their societies even when they are nominally venerated. ... Market conditions control production ... The majority of weavers need to make money Textile activity suffers in prestige [with] little place in the developing economy” observes Franquemont. (1997 [in Meisch] p.36)

For a young man, like Marco Dunque, who had expanded his own abilities to embroidery and weaving in addition to knitting, and further expanded to employ three people to supply the local fiesta market, the picture might be brighter, since he is selling to the indigenous market, rather than the widely fluctuating tourist market. Seibold, writing ten years ago, enthusiastically describes weavers in Choquecancha, a remote village in the department of Cusco, who are so fashion conscious that they sell their year old likllas to middlemen who take them to the tourist market in Cusco, using the money they earn to purchase supplies for the next year's weaving. (Seibold [in Dover] 1992 p.168)

But in areas that are within a day's drive from Cusco, the switch to so called “western dress” or factory made clothes, does, indeed seem to have occurred on a vast scale, where ever indigenous people are in constant contact with people who dress in machine made clothes. Any

urban setting seemed to destroy all traditional clothing for daily wear. People in the capital of Lima found it unlikely that I would even ask if anyone they knew wore a *ch'ullu*. The inevitable negative answer was usually accompanied by some mention that only poor people in the mountains would wear such a thing. No *ch'ullus* were worn anywhere in Lima. Non-Quechua men in the Andes almost never wear *ch'ullus*. The few tourists who buy and wear them do not have the opportunity to purchase the more finely knitted or more elaborately decorated hats that are village specific. In general, the more urban the environment, the less likely it is that Quechua men would wear *ch'ullus* on a daily basis.

With the exception of ceremonial wear, most Quechua men wear factory made clothes in Cusco. Young men attending grade schools, high schools, or the university of Cusco, are not permitted to wear *ch'ullus*. Seen as an indication of the dominant mestizo position on indigenous clothing, students at Cusco University are not permitted to attend classes in any form of indigenous dress. Students in private and public high schools and grade schools are required to wear a standard uniform. Discrimination in the workplace, and difficulty in obtaining work were reasons most often cited for discarding *ch'ullus* and handmade clothes.

The attitude towards wearing factory made clothes on a non-festival, daily basis, around Cusco was almost apologetic. When I questioned indigenous people who possibly could be called "city" people there, their answers were far different from people in Lima. Almost apologetic, as if they would have liked to still wear traditional clothes, they were uncomfortable doing so for social reasons, or prejudice against indigenous people by those who considered themselves mestizos. When the shaman from Hillock joined the trekking group for a farewell dinner, in a Cusco hotel restaurant, in 1995, he wore a tailored Harris tweed jacket and tan twill trousers.

Raquel Ackerman, (1991 [in Schevill]) writes about the distinctions in dress between city dweller, mestizo, and the peasant. Her observations, like the majority of scholarly research, concentrate mainly on women's dress, but would probably apply as accurately to the Cusco area as to the department of Apurimac and would include men's ch'ullus.

She sees dress as defining the social position of the wearer, who may change clothes as their fortunes increase, wear village clothes which are hand made, only for fiestas, or adopt western or factory made clothes when they sever their ties with village life and move to the city. She adds, "Hats are recognized as distinctive regional wear. Andeans carefully scrutinize people's hats to determine their regional or ethnic affiliation." (1991 p. 236)

Contemporary textile experts present important insights about twentieth century indigenous dress that could pertain to hats as well, while focusing on woven articles of clothing. Sensing the importance of traditional clothing to a sense of self worth, Blenda Femenias calls the combination of, "ch'ullu and poncho the defining element of identification for the indigenous man." (Femenias 1988 p.12) The loss of the ch'ullu and poncho, discarding traditional dress is termed "taksa k'ala" in Quechua, the indigenous language, according to Linda Wilson (2007:1991) a term also used to describe Europeans who do not know how to make their own clothes. "Taksa k'ala" is considered an insult. Furthermore, recent ethnological literature points to the place of hats and ponchos in the quest for ethnic pride, as well as their importance as artful textile records of cultural aesthetics.

Reasons for the shift in dress patterns touch both on economics and prejudice. This study maintains, as do many other scholars, that without an economic incentive, there is a clear indication that even the rural Quechua will discard handmade hats and traditional weaving, in



FIG. 43

favor of less labor intensive factory made clothes. There is surely a need to acknowledge the bitter poverty of many Quechua farmers that forces them to consider their needs for food and shelter as more demanding than the treasured but time consuming production of handwoven masterpieces.

Weighing in heavily on the side of discarding traditional clothes, and abandoning ch'ullus for men, Ed Franquemont(in Meisch 1997: 28) sees the question mainly as a monetary one, a question of money, which may reflect his North American bias, more than it reflects Andean ethnic pride..

Franquemont, after living twenty years in the Andes, sees lack of sales to tourists as pivotal cause of the abandonment of handmade clothing. "Andean textile traditions have never been static, but today many weavers can do their very finest work only within rigid limits of style as interpreted by those outside their tradition; they can be innovative and creative only by working downward to the low quality demand of the tourist market ." (1997 p .35) Franquemont warns.

He cites the example of Chinchero women(where ch'ullus have already been discarded) only selling belts to the tourists because of price. Tourists will seldom buy the more expensive llikllas Chinchero women weave for themselves as well as to sell because the prices the women ask reflect the four to six weeks of weaving work required to produce the larger shawls, with prices that may be no more than one united states dollar per day for weaving, and hardly covering the cost of materials. The same situation applies for finely knitted, intensely patterned hats which seldom sell at higher prices in competition with inexpensive loosely knitted items.

In fact, although weaving, and textile arts are often described in scholarly terms as life ways, as statements of gender, as summaries of cosmological thought, weaving and careful knitting are the slowest of all possible human art forms to accomplish, the most tedious. warp d or



FIG. 44

"Many women take great pride in their work, and their identity as weavers, but the truth is that most traditional Andean weavers work mostly out of necessity, with no more joy in their work than women of developed societies find in cooking and housework." say Franquemont

Talking about weavers in Huancavelica, a near-by town, he adds, "These weavers do not produce much, simply because there is no longer anyone to buy their products." (1997 [in Meisch] p.36)31. Franquemont doesn't see a very bright future for those who persist in knitting and weaving. He describes the marketing of textiles in Cusco as contributing to a deterioration of work because tourists don't understand the difficulty of the work, and refuse to pay anything approaching adequate prices.

One danger inherent in encouraging commercial production of indigenous textiles, made for market weaving and knitting, regardless of price or quality, aimed at a non-local market, called 'the collector' the tourist, or the souvenir buyer, is that the traveling buyer is not an established fact. A typical South American tour brochure states "Tours may be canceled due to epidemic insurrection, or natural disaster." (Wilderness Travel 1997) Figures of travelers to Cusco, people buying airline tickets who had foreign passports, varied from 20,000 in 1992 to 150,000 in 1996. The hostage crisis of 1997 probably accounted for the 50% drop in tourism in 1997,

Traditionally , textiles are created in the Andes with an absolute minimum of equipment. It is sometimes noted, in a half humorous way, that Quechua use sharpened bicycle spokes for knitting needles. In fact the reason for their ingenuity is that needles fine enough for their meticulous work are simply not made. (Callanaupa 1998 per. Com.) An entire ceremonial outfit can be fashioned with a small collection of sticks, to form a loom and the shearings of one small animal and spun on a drop spindle made with another foot long stick and a small wooden





FIG. 45.

circle as a whorl. The fact that initial expenditures for knitting equipment are low enough to allow even the most impoverished Quechua to produce knitting, is not often stressed in the literature of scholars. Additionally, a *ch'ullu* does not require a large amount of yarn to complete, and so represents far less material cost than weaving.

Creating a knitted masterpiece in the midst of dire poverty happens on a regular basis. This is a feat that occurs so often in the Cusco area that it is hardly noticed as remarkable. There are no equally competent back strap loom weavers in Northern America, and few knitters that could compare with Marco Dunque. The artistry of weavers and knitters displayed in ancient designs is a reassurance that the indigenous hand and mind can create in ways that have remained sufficient for four thousand years; surely a source of vast pride.

What should be emphasized here is only obscured by Franquemont's partial understanding or explanation of the situation. There is far more weaving and knitting capacity in the villages that surround Cusco, than market demand from either tourists or Quechuas. There is currently capacity to purchase or afford handmade clothes by indigenous people, or inclination to do so by tourists. Tourists especially, who are usually completely unfamiliar with Andean textiles, might benefit from educational advertising. None is currently available in Cusco.

The opinion of tourists about whether or not to buy *ch'ullus* as inexpensive souvenirs should have no bearing on whether they should be worn as ethnic markers. There are clearly two questions here. But the tourist reluctance to buy seems somehow to affect the perceived worth of the *ch'ullu* in the eyes of the Quechua. The question of respect and education of tourists is important. The ethnic pride of the Quechua, both as textile artists and as the original inhabitants of

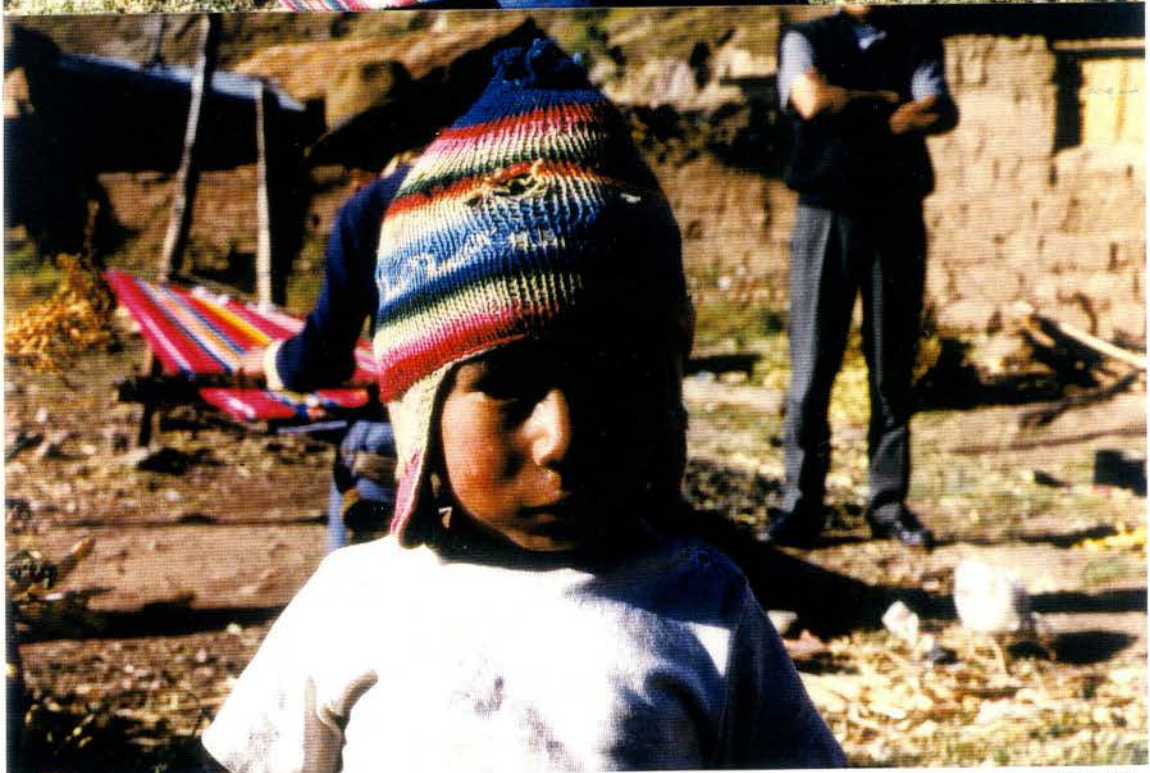
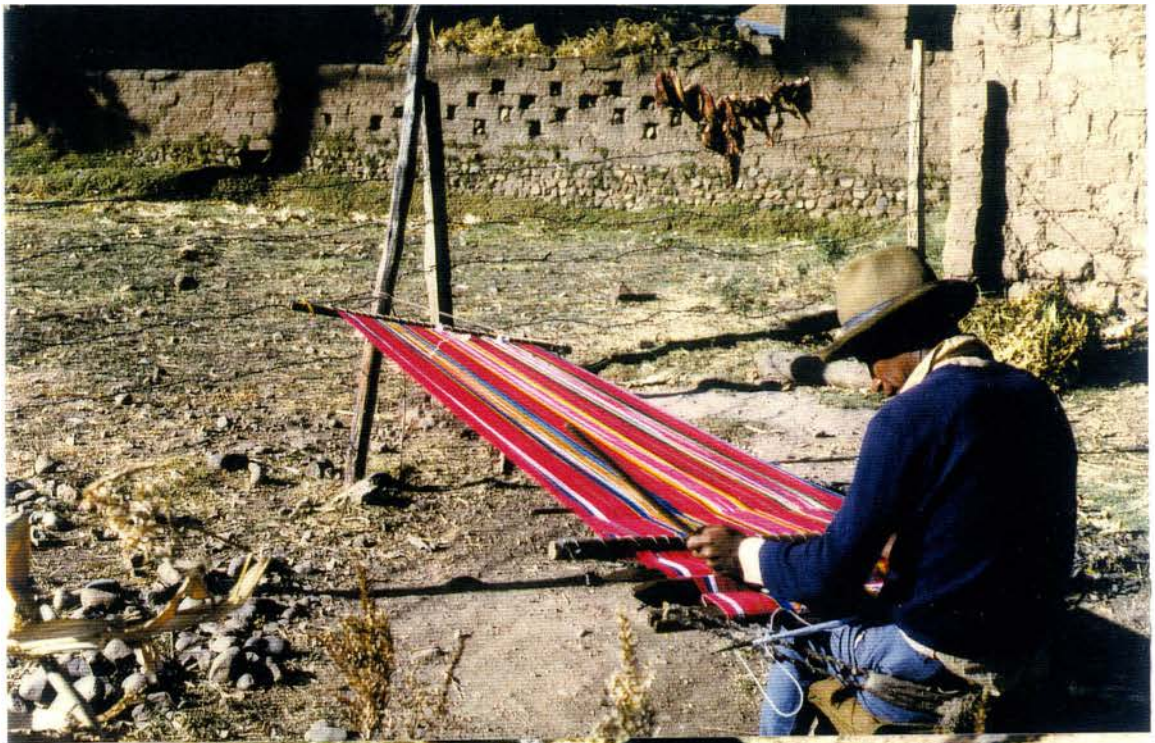


FIG. 46

the Andes, deserves the support and recognition it has earned from pioneering museums and collectors.

If the church, and the village societies work to maintain traditional dress, there is still the question of the practicality of hand made hats. The market is seen both as the culprit and the possible savior of traditional clothing, by scholars and collectors. An elaborate hat can occupy a week for a fast knitter like Dunque.

There have been some successes in Peru, outside of Cusco. On the island of Taquille, in Lake Titicaca, the indigenous islanders own all the boats permitted to land at the island's docks, which they also own. They restrict sale of their textiles almost completely to the island shops.

On Taquille, knitting by men is part of the ensemble of traditional dress, widely known and widely purchased. Men have altered some of the ch'ullu they knit to sell, by limiting the number of motifs included, and using machine made yarn. Men wear their ch'ullus as part of their identifying ensemble. Zorn sees the use of indigenous clothing as central to the Taquille marketing success. Taquille men wear their knitting as part of the ensemble of traditional dress, widely known and widely purchased. Men have altered some of the ch'ullu they knit to sell, by limiting the number of motifs included, and using machine made yarn. Men wear their ch'ullus as part of their identifying ensemble. Zorn sees the use of indigenous clothing as central to the Taquille marketing success. "Increased textile sales make Taquilleans look more conservative than they are." she reports. (1987 p . 3).

Rita Prochaska, in her 1990 monograph on Taquille, sees much to commend. She stresses the local control and community organizations as pivotal.



Fig. 47

"In ten years, Taquille has succeeded relatively well in integrating tourism with its traditional way of life. Taquille's culture has neither been destroyed by the advent of tourism nor by the other changes provoked by education, new means of transportation or increased contact with urban life. This approach ... has also reinforced the values of their native cultural expressions, and increased pride in their distinct ethnic identity. When changes in a society are a product of something within the culture and retain a contextual significance, they are a sign that the culture is alive. Culture is not just a beautiful object, mysterious and intangible, to be looked at in a museum." (1990 p.102)

Another approach, in Otavalo, Ecuador, brings praise from Lynn Meisch. "Too many discussions of social and cultural change are obituaries, lamenting any change. In the Otavalo Valley, an area known for its weaving, it is impossible to argue that contact with outsiders brings destruction of indigenous costume. Economic factors in Otavalo strongly favor the preservation of traditional costume.- (1991 p.84) She sees the indigenous of Otavalo as prospering in the money economy, using their textile skills to preserve their ethnic identity and emerge as a model for other indigenous groups that hope to control their own destiny. Although there is some back strap loom weaving, much is produced with treadle looms, and even electric looms. Knitting is likewise both hand done, and produced on knitting machines owned by individual families. In 1985, 33,000 sweaters were produced for export. Meisch stresses that the Otavalo market, held on Saturdays with assigned kiosks, rented by number, with 507 stalls, is a constantly changing array of textiles, designed to appeal to tourist and Quechua alike. She adds that a large part of sales are to local people, the market is a dual structure, both tourist and traditional. She includes descriptions of five different Otavalo families to illustrate the divergent ways they participate in the market.

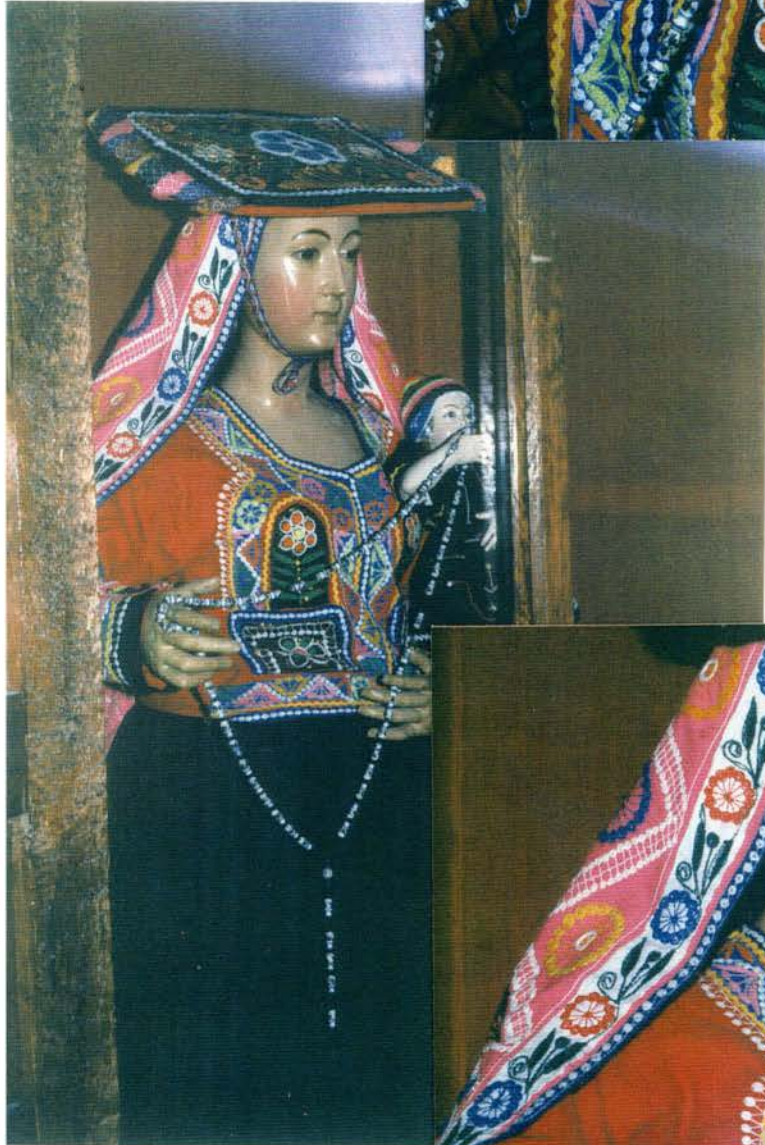


Fig. 48.

Preservation by museums like the Textile Museum and the De Young Museum, could protect some examples. Right now there are used ch'ullus from who-knows-where on shop shelves, and others not used, but with no identification, and evidently little market appeal .spread forlornly on market tables.

According to Franquemont and others, if there is an improved market, which seems to result in part by the knitters and weavers wearing their products, as on Taquille, documented by Prochaska, (p.34) there will be more knitting and weaving. Meisch and Femeninas suggest that creating an indigenous market for indigenous textiles is a scenario for improved economics. While some studies prove that there is a desire to purchase authentic,(made by hand by indigenous people,)textiles, other studies prove that mechanization with sewing machines and knitting machines will improve profit.

The original premise of the study, that ch'ullus identify indigenous people as belonging to the groups that include them as family and neighbor, would also imply that the sense of belonging and community was a desired state. The question of what hat to wear, is not one that can be addressed by one person making a decision for one other or another group. But what must be emphasized is that the ch'ullu is part of a culture that possessed and continues to possess, inordinate quantities of ability to envision and accomplish prodigious feats of aesthetic brilliance with a few sticks and some home spun threads.

I would suggest that the opportunity to choose traditional clothes, at least as fiesta ware, is one benefit of continued knitting and weaving. The young man in Fig. 49, appears to me to embody the pride of heritage that all people deserve to enjoy. But that is his choice to make, at least for the present.



FIG. 49

In the first section of this study, describing archaeological headgear, Mary Frame was quoted. She characterizes the Wari-Tiawanaco hats as encoding systematic information in fabric, intensely patterned, with a resounding emphasis on fourness, all true descriptions of contemporary *ch'ullus*. "The four cornered hat is a purposeful combination of form, texture, iconography ... like all ... Andean art, they do not yield to a single, simple interpretation, the hats are poly-iconic." (1990:22)

The *ch'ullu* of the Cusco area today is also poly-iconic, with a myriad of references and messages to communicate. The most persistent message may be mental clarity. Mental habits of persistence and precision are not developed in people who passively resign themselves to accept fate and blankly do nothing. The almost imperceptible progress of interlocking threads that build the ancient designs, does not engage an un-focused or superficial mind. What is communicated, for example by Marco Dunque, what is identified by the impeccable knitting of a fine *ch'ullu*, is not so importantly, "I am a man from Chaweteri" as, "I am a man of careful and precise ways, a persistent and determined man from Chawateri, who will continue to work with exactitude, for as long as it takes to accomplish the task begun, whether it is knitting an intricate cap. or carving a some sort of living from the rocky farming terraces that surround my family village. The dignity of Andean life actually is expressed in something as improbable as a knitted hat, but more accurately by the unending endurance of the Andean mind and spirit.

Notes

1. Archaeologists use a form of dating based on the work of John Rowe, who sees ceramic remains as the key to divide Andean history into three horizons, early, middle and late, with intervening periods named as Pre-ceramic, Initial, Early intermediate and Late Intermediate. This chronology is based on ceramics as they reflect cultural eras; but it is the same designation used to date textiles in archaeological or art historical literature.¹ This results in assigning a particular textile to an era that can cover five hundred or more years, not exactly a precise determination.

Additionally, the vast majority of collected textiles have been recovered by *huaqueros*, or grave robbers forever destroying the stratigraphic associations that could give meaning to textiles, so that those fragments become a form of archaeological orphan, the despair of scholars and curators. The archeological series developed by John Rowe (1944) is as follows; (Rowe in Franquemont: 82-1986) with textile references by Franquemont.

3000 B.C.-2200 B.C. Preceramic-Twined cotton fabric

2200 B.C.-1400 B.C. Initial Period-invention of the heddle

1400 B.C.-300 B.C. Early Horizon-introduction of dyed wool to the coast, Paracas

300 B.C.-500 A.D. Early Intermediate -elaborate plaiting, Nasca, Moche

3000 B.C.-2200 B.C. Preceramic-Twined cotton fabric

2200 B.C.-1400 B.C. Initial Period-invention of the heddle

1400 B.C.-300 B.C. Early Horizon-introduction of dyed wool to the coast, Paracas

300 B.C.-500 A.D. Early Intermediate -elaborate plaiting, Nasca, Moche

500 A.D.-900 A.D. Middle Horizon-tapestry shirts, knotted hats, War, Tiawanaco

900 A.D.-1480 A.D. Late intermediate-matching garment sets, Chimú

1480 A.D.-1532 A.D. Late Horizon-cloth as state commodity, Inca

2. Peru is a land of geographic contrasts described as both harsh and beautiful; a narrow strip of desert on the Pacific coast, uninhabitable except when bisected by rivers carrying melted snows of the Andes, the peaks that divide the country from the nearly uninhabited Amazonian jungle. The vast majority of the population has recently shifted to the cities, mainly Lima which is now home to one third of all Peruvians. (Holligan de Diaz-Limanaco 1998 p.10) Since 1940, when 35% of the population were urban, the migration grew until in 1996, 70% of the people lived in towns and cities, with Lima ten times larger than the next largest city Arequipa.

Holligan de Diaz-Limanaco describes the grinding poverty of the *pueblos jóvenes*, the shanty towns that surround the capital, where 30% of the people have no access to running water or garbage collection, with unemployment rampant. However, the poorest of the poor, two thirds of those poverty stricken, live in rural areas, still farming in the high mountain areas as the Quechua have for thousands of years. The portion of the population who are counted today as indigenous is a variable figure, that can range from a majority of the population, to estimates of 20,000,000. (Franquemont 1986:84) in the ancient area of the Inca Empire that would include present day Ecuador to the north and Bolivia and the highlands of Chile to the south. (See map Fig. 4)

The modern day city of Cusco, formerly the capital of the Inca empire, is situated at 11,000 feet above sea level. Current population for the city and its suburbs is estimated at 260,000 inhabitants. (Frost 1989:11) The surrounding state of Cusco, 76,000 square kilometers has a population of 832,000. Quechua probably constitute 40% of the urban Cusco population, and nearly all the rural population.

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