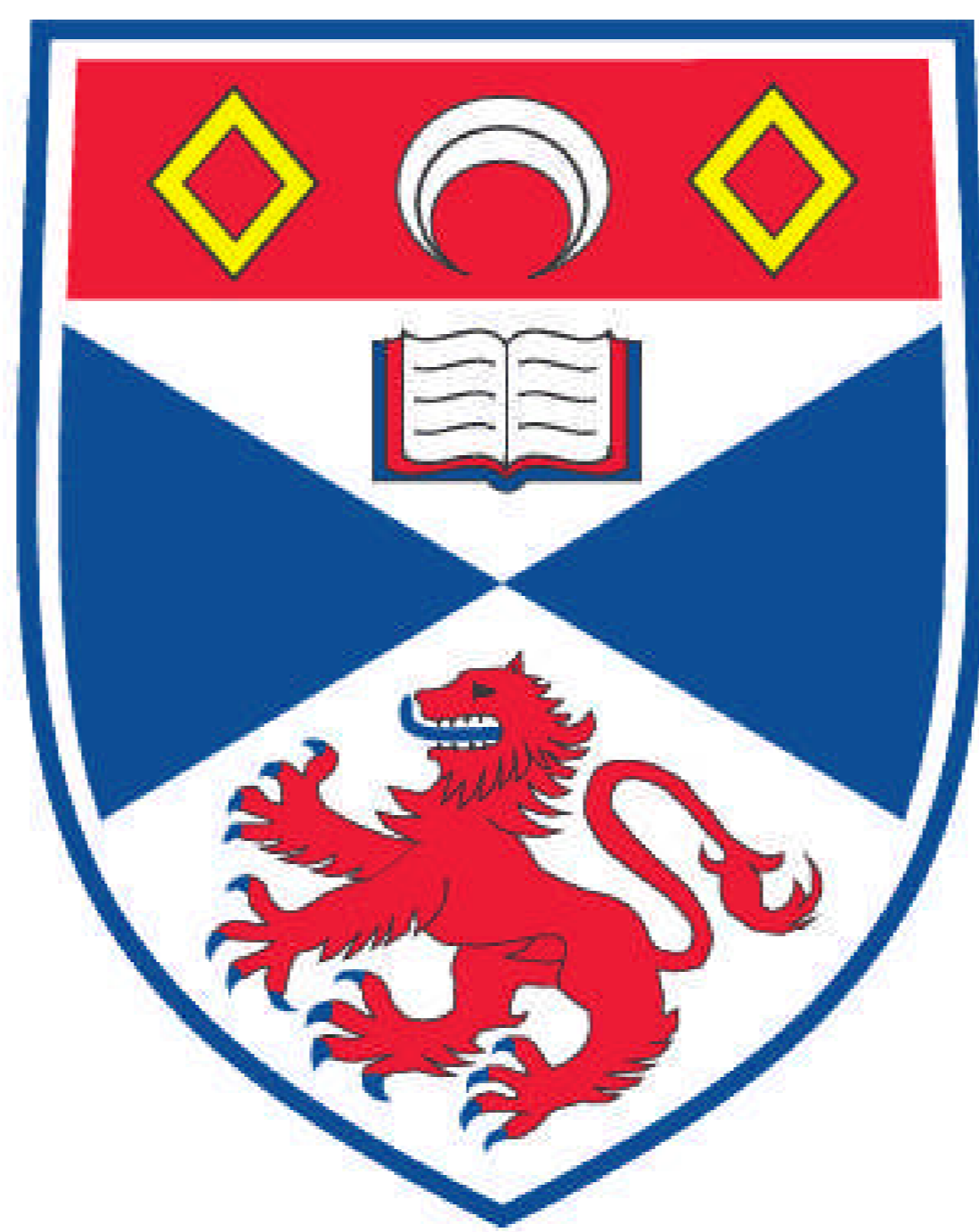


**SPACE, TIME AND HARMONY : SYMBOLIC ASPECTS OF
LANGUAGE IN ANDEAN TEXTILES WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE
TO THOSE FROM BOLIVAR PROVINCE (COCHABAMBA,
BOLIVIA).**

Lindsey Crickmay

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St. Andrews**



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SPACE, TIME AND HARMONY: SYMBOLIC ASPECTS OF LANGUAGE IN
ANDEAN TEXTILES WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THOSE FROM
BOLÍVAR PROVINCE (COCHABAMBA, BOLIVIA).

by Lindsey Crickmay

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts

Institute of Amerindian Studies

University of St. Andrews

September 1991



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ABSTRACT

The thesis investigates how the designs woven in Andean textiles make up a symbolic language which both communicates information about those who wear them and demonstrates their desire to balance the opposing forces which are believed to govern their world. All textile elements share this communicative function and the thesis examines the significance of spin, colour and layout in the textile as a whole and in the individual designs. Textile terminology is drawn from fieldwork, the literature and from early Aymara and Quechua lexicons. The contemporary designs examined were personally observed in Bolívar in 1982/3 and 1986; the thesis suggests their derivation from colonial designs and discusses their possible iconographic content.

Part One shows the significance of clothing as a statement of identity and describes briefly the weaving techniques and figures typical of the Bolívar area. Part Two shows how cloth is seen as a vital, three-dimensional object and how in weaving as in the other plastic arts designs are encoded with abstract concepts fundamental to the traditions of a social group.

Part Three examines how certain colour combinations represent social, political or cosmic tensions and how their arrangement attempts to manipulate and control the energy generated by them. In particular it investigates how colour represents the circulation of **suerte**, or fortune, many of the names of which are also terms for colour combinations similar to those used in textiles. It also shows how specific elements such as stripes and

figured designs act as metaphors through which the textile becomes a map or record of social, ritual and cosmic space.

In the tension between light and dark lies the power
of the universe. Peter Mathieson, **The Snow Leopard.**

For my parents

*

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[These illustrations are taken from Gisbert (1981, 1987), Deuss, Meisch (1987), Cavallo, Girault, Oblitas (1963), Van den Berg, Rowe (1977a), Wasserman & Hill and Medlin.]

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis investigates the communicative function of Andean textile design and examines how its various elements are arranged to form a woven idiom.

The visual effect of this woven idiom in part reflects the linguistic associations of Quechua and Aymara textile terminology; it is concerned with definition of time and space in relation to the weaver or viewer, and on a larger scale with the maintenance of a steady movement or flow of energy between the contrary forces which govern the universe in the Andean world view. Whilst the figured designs often demonstrate an obvious dualism, these are only the more explicit representation of concepts also expressed in spin, layout, and colour.

The thesis examines the contemporary terms used for comparable textile elements such as stripes, in order to show that these have a consistent significance. As the period of my fieldwork was necessarily short these terms are not drawn exclusively from Bolívar but include those used in Taquile, where I also spent considerable time, and those found in the contemporary literature on Andean weaving. The investigation includes an analysis of the meanings for these terms given in the early lexicons in order to assess whether or not any such significance has remained constant.

Selected figured designs currently woven in Bolívar are the subject of a similar analysis. Their names and those of other comparable designs are examined and suggestions made as to how the modern figures may derive

from earlier models which, although distinct in form, appear to have had a similar significance.

The thesis falls into three parts. The first, describing the contemporary scene, attempts to show how textiles, as clothing, remain significant in the definition of cultural identity: they establish spatial and social limits but they can also signal the suspension of these limits so that interaction can take place between groups or individuals customarily separated by space or time. It goes on to describe the weaving techniques and various types of figured designs used in contemporary Bolívar. No attempt is made at this stage to suggest their possible iconographic content.

The second part introduces the idea of the textile as a living object, one which is brought to life at the moment the first weft is laid in the warp, an act associated linguistically with the advent of light. It examines the structural orientation of the textile as its upper and lower or exterior and interior faces each transmit their individual message.

Textiles provide a woven idiom and this section also investigates the meaning of **quellqa**, a term adopted to denote the western form of writing but which indigenous usage applied in verbal form to the creation of communicative design across a wide range of the plastic arts. **Quellqa** does not, however, appear to be used verbally with reference to weaving and suggestions are made as to why. The overall layout of a textile, the juxtaposition of its elements and the various symmetries they represent are used to organise or phrase the

communicative designs into an easily recognisable and memorable form.

The final chapter of this section examines colour combinations which appear to be of three principal kinds: **allqa**, complementary colour opposites, **k'isa**, colour gradations, and **ch'imi**, a mingling of diminutive quantities of contrasting colour. The animating energy or life force of the textile, its **cama**, is contained in its light and colour, **sama**, and the rhythmic circulation of this life force is ensured by the careful combination of colours and the tensions created between them. A controlled and directed flow of energy is also necessary for the maintenance of beneficial fortune or **suerte**, and many of the indigenous terms for fortune relate to the types of colour combination through which a balance is achieved. The semantics of colour terminology suggest that colours also contain elements of flavour and smell, like the ingredients and arrangement of **despachos** for the reestablishment or maintenance of **suerte**; those which taste and smell sweet are used to make the communication of the woven idiom a persuasive one. *

The third part of the thesis examines specific elements of textile design, namely some of the many kinds of stripe, and three groups of woven figures; the latter are drawn from amongst those woven in Bolívar and were chosen because they suggest a link between present day imagery and that of early colonial textiles. In both cases the iconographic content is similar; concepts associated linguistically with the terminology of stripes are graphically illustrated in the figured designs.

These concepts are once again concerned with definitions of space and time. The textile is one of a number of interchangeable objects any one of which can be used metaphorically to provide a model of an Andean cosmos. These objects, which include the human frame, the textile, the loom, the house, the patio and the village square form a concentrically expanding series, whilst as in the Winnebago systems studied by Lévi Strauss the associations of their four corners express a simultaneous diametric opposition. The textile centre is related to its edges and textile terminology, like that of the house, allows its structure to express degrees of kinship which extend outwards from an original ancestor through direct male and female descent lines towards affinal kin. The contrasting elements of a figured design such as the serpent-condor lends itself to comparable metaphoric interpretation and also provides a model of the worlds of above and below and the constant interaction which takes place between them.

Whilst I make some suggestions as to the derivation of contemporary woven figures I do not in general attempt to relate them to those of archaeological textiles. Nor do I intend to suggest that the entire vocabulary is pertinent to every weaving. Moreover my research indicates that the structure and design of textiles are used as a metaphor for the expression of kinship patterns; an exploration of how these relate to actual webs of kinship is beyond the scope of this study.

My reservations on the unsuitability of using the absolute contrast nature/culture when referring to

different textile areas are set out in greater detail in the introduction to Chapter 7, II. The use of Levi Strauss' opposition raw = natural/cooked = cultural is, however, appropriate. Textiles become cultural objects when they acquire colour through dyeing or 'cooking'. Even those textiles which do not incorporate dyed colours also undergo a process of transformation or evolution when they are 'begun'; this beginning is associated linguistically with the introduction of light or colour and has a similar significance to the cooking which introduces colour artificially. When I write of the textile having undergone a 'socialising' or 'civilising' process, whilst I place these terms within quotation marks, I intend to indicate that they have been 'worked on' or 'transformed' in this way. 4

Research in the field forms a significant but not a predominant part of this study. The fieldwork for this thesis was undertaken in and around the village of Bolívar during the period May 1986 to November 1986. I had already visited the area during 1982 and 1983 and was, therefore, familiar with the various styles of weaving, which unlike those of Macha, Tarabuco, Calcha and Charasani, have not, so far as I know, been the subject of individual study.

I refer to the modern literature on textiles for comparison with my own findings. Studies which are of particular relevance are those of Cereceda (Isluga), Torrico (Macha), Zorn (Macusani), Dransart (Socaire), Arnold (Qaqachaka), Silverman Proust (Pisac), Medlin (Calcha) and Meisch (Tarabuco) as well as those of Gisbert

and Pollard Rowe which cover a wider area. I refer to Armstrong's analysis of content, arrangement and function in the *despacho* as these are in several respects comparable to those of the textile. I also refer to those studies relating to other areas of Andean thought by Platt, Harris, Martinez, and Bouysse-Cassagne. I also consulted the early lexicons of Holguín, Santo Tomás, Ricardo, and Bertonio as well as the modern ones of Lira, Lara and De Lucca.

Since 1986 Bolivia has undergone widespread economic and political changes and my use of the present tense can only reflect the situation as I found it during the period of my fieldwork.

A linguist may feel that the approach to language taken in this thesis is insufficiently formal. In its defence I would say that an approach made strictly within the bounds of conventional linguistic analysis seems unsuitable. The difficulties presented to such an approach fall into two main categories.

1. Neither Quechua nor Aymara were alphabetically transcribed until the arrival of the Spaniards. This means that an approach which attempts to show relationships between the terms under discussion is at a disadvantage. In analysing terms from the early lexicons we must rely on orthographic systems imposed by non-native speakers; whilst the linguistic ability of lexicographers such as Bertonio was notable, and his orthographic system both sophisticated and painstakingly

adhered to, compilers were hampered by the transformations taking place at that time in the orthographic systems of the Spanish language, as well as the unsuitability of the Spanish system for the accurate transcription of Aymara and Quechua [see also Appendix]. Though, once again, Bertonio and Holguín are careful to give examples of nuances of meaning, it should be remembered that the majority of these early investigators were priests, and the adoption of indigenous vocabulary to translate European religious concepts leaves us relying not only on the acoustic sensitivity of the lexicographer but also on his interpretation and to some extent on his personal world view.

Apart from the varying orthographies of the individual compilers, the attempt to establish phonological links is further hampered by the attempts of (most notably) Bertonio and Santo Tomás to register regional variants (Mannheim 1988: 173). Bertonio worked principally in the Lupaca area, but he frequently notes variations used in Pacajes, and during his time in Potosí he would have come in contact with Aymara speakers from the entire Qollasuyu region (Albó ~~1988~~: xlii)¹.

It will be noted that I follow a similar practice in including terms from the Andean area as a whole, rather than from the Bolívar area alone. I also feel that comparison of terms across the Quechua and Aymara languages is also justifiable on the basis of a semantic link; this is not intended to suggest that I see them as related in the sense of being a proto-language. However, as the analysis will show, Aymara and Quechua appear to

have comparable metaphoric models of society and the cosmos even where the terminology used to refer to these models does not coincide.

When comparing terms from the lexicons it is also difficult to ascertain whether or not one is dealing with homonyms. Whilst in all cases I attempt to show a justifiable semantic link, it should be remembered that meanings which to the European mind are unrelated may, in the Andean mode of thought, represent two facets of a single concept.

A valuable contribution to the interpretation of colonial writing systems has been made by Mannheim. My own approach to the assimilation of these problems is outlined in the orthographical note which follows this introduction.

The second type of difficulty stems from the fact that Quechua and Aymara are highly metaphoric and rhetorical languages. My thesis is larded with the phrases 'associated with', 'related to' and 'with connotations of'. Writers from widely differing disciplines (Armstrong [ethnobotany], Randall [linguistics], and Urton [ethnoastronomy] to name but three) recognise the holistic quality of the Andean world view in which all elements are seen as interconnected by flows of energy.

An anecdote illustrating the unsuitability of Quechua as a written language is given by Randall : a native speaking friend attempted to comply with his request to translate an eight-word phrase, and after offering twelve different renderings gave up, saying 'en el quechua todos

tiene hartos sentidos, hartos. Todo depende. Pero lo que quiere decir el quechua, eso no se puede escribir' (Randall: 290).

Randall opposes the **khipu** system to that of alphabetic writing, quoting a myth recounted by Montesinos in which Viracocha destroys a previously existing writing system because 'la causa de la pestilencia habian sido las letras' and instructing his subjects in future only to use the **khipu** (*op. cit.* 290). Randall remarks how Andean logic is non-linear and based on the interconnection of all the elements of the universe (*op. cit.* 291), so that 'para los Inkas cualquier interupción en el fluido [sic] de energía a través del cosmos significaba no solamente malestar espiritual, sino tambien sufrimiento físico' (*op. cit.* 292); the **khipu** was acceptable because instead of fragmenting information by forcing it into linear form, the threads are all connected to a central thread and according to the reason for reading them these threads can be omitted or read in different orders (*op. cit.* 291): 'el significado se irradia desde el centro, y retorna a él' (*loc. cit.*), an image which Randall develops in his discussion of palindromes (*op. cit.* 283), and which can also be related to textile design.

In her study of the historical meanings of **quellqa**, which appears originally to have meant 'communicative design' [see Chapter 4 of this thesis] and which was adopted to refer to alphabetic writing when this was introduced by the Spanish, Victoria de la Jara also mentions the 'sentidos despectivos' attached to many uses of this term (*op. cit.* 22). She draws attention to the

opposition between **runa simi**, 'language del hombre', and **simi quellca**², 'language escrito' (op. cit. 23).

The studies of Randall and de la Jara both emphasise the problem of relating speech and writing. In Chapter 4 I suggest that **quellqa** are communicative designs which contain coded information relating to memory. They are multifaceted metaphors which cannot translate the written word truthfully or accurately but remain **simi quellca**, which in this context could be translated as 'figures of speech'.

Both Quechua and Aymara exhibit numerous kinds of play on words. Many of these attempt to reduce the barrier between sound and meaning. Apart from onomatopoeia, in which sound mimics action [eg **hach'iy**, to sneeze], Mannheim distinguishes two types, lexical association and sound imagery, which he also calls sound ikons (1991: 182)³.

In his discussion of the use of metatheses and palindromes, which can be seen as another form of sound ~~image~~ or ikon, Randall suggests that the latter 'representan el flujo de energía y fertilidad a través del cosmos', whilst the former 'producen nuevos conceptos que pueden glosar sobre las formas en que el cosmos está construido' (op. cit. 285).

In this respect metatheses and palindromes are comparable to the riddle games which play an important part in the Andean child's discovery of language. The riddle is like **quellqa** in having an important cognitive function (Isbell and Roncalla: 45). It is used in metaphor comprehension (op. cit. 46) and helps the child

to 'investigate the semantic relationships relevant to his/her culture' (*op. cit.* 47).

Over half the riddles collected by Isbell and Roncalla were based on sound correspondences (*op. cit.* 46); more complex riddles often denote reciprocal action or continuous movement (*loc. cit.*) and enable Andean children to recognise many kinds of dual opposition comparable to those found in Andean textile designs.

An analogy between woven conventions and the literary conventions of sacred texts has been made in the Guatemalan case by Barbara and Dennis Tedlock. To compare the written with the woven medium, or as the Tedlocks express it, compare text and textile, does not seem an anomaly in this context as such texts would have reflected the patterns of oral tradition.

I draw similar analogies between spoken and woven forms in the analysis of metatheses and palindromes which are also used primarily in ritual contexts (Randall: 285). I also liken the poetic convention of kenning to the woven convention of elaborating the edges of a basic design.

Orthographic note

In reported speech or dictionary definitions Spanish words and phrases are placed within quotations marks, Quechua and Aymara vocabulary are in bold type; in the body of the text the latter is used for all three languages. Quechua and Aymara proper names, whether of people or places, are not in bold type, unless, as is the case with **Wari** and **Choquela** their interpretation forms part of a particular argument.

Because terms drawn from the early lexicons sometimes show inconsistent orthography (Mannheim 1991: 136) I have in all cases followed the practice of Xavier Albó (1988: 40) and retained that of the source. These variations are noted individually in the text and my decision to treat such entries as related is based on consistencies in their meaning; this is also my basis **for** relating separate entries such as **callucha**, 'una trença de cabello' (Bertonio II: 34) and **kalluchatha**, 'trençar el cabello' (Bertonio II: 45), where the definitions are sufficiently close in meaning to suggest that the terms reflect regional or historical variation. I also suggest connections between terms which, whilst they cannot be related strictly on the basis of their phonology, appear to form part of the same semantic field; some of the ways in which, in the Quechua and Aymara languages words are associated on a basis of their sound have been mentioned in the paragraphs immediately preceding this note; the lexicon of Ludovico Bertonio contains various examples in which the 'play on words' amounts almost to synonymy (Xavier Albó, personal communication quoted in Platt 1987: 87).

I also sometimes relate Quechua and Aymara entries on the basis of a semantic link even where their orthographies may differ [eg /ph/: **lliphik~~h~~tatha**, 'relampaguear', **lliphilliphi isi**, 'ropa de seda' (Bertonio II: 204), and /p/: **llipiyan**, 'resplandecer relámpagos', **llipipipic ppacha**, 'ropa de seda' (Holguín: 214)]. I do not attempt to indicate what the orthography would be according to the 'alfabeto único'. However, where a term

is still in current usage and is not quoted I use the 'alfabeto único' adopted in Bolivia and Peru since 1983 (Albó ~~1983~~ xlvi).



Plate 1. Campesinas at the San Bartolomé
fiesta in Bolívar.

PART ONE: THE CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT

CHAPTER 1: CLOTHING AND IDENTITY

Introduction

Before undertaking an examination of how concepts of time and space are organised in Andean textiles and in their individual designs it seems relevant to mention briefly how clothing in general performs a similar function.

For the purpose of discussing the different types of dress I use the term **campesino/a** to refer to Quechua or Aymara speakers who wear handmade, traditional clothing. This is not intended to suggest that all **campesinos** do so; many in fact wear at least some articles of Western clothing, or which are typical of the **chola**. By **cholo** or **chola** I mean an intermediate group between **campesino** and **mestizo**; members of this group have a knowledge of Spanish, but prefer to speak an indigenous language. I also mention **vecinos**, by whom I mean a Spanish speaking, mainly provincial **mestizo** élite who regard themselves as directly descended from the European families whose names they carry. While they usually have a knowledge of Aymara or Quechua they use it only in speaking to those considered their social inferiors. Their western mode of dress, referred to simply as **vestido**, is generally lacking in identifying markers other than the general one of class.

My reason for referring primarily to women in the discussion which follows is that they tend generally to be

more conservative in their dress and so provide a better example of each category than do the men.

TEXTILES AS TEMPORAL AND SPATIAL MARKERS

i) Clothing and nakedness

Like face or body painting (Zuidema 1983a: 150) clothing belongs to the 'social' sphere (Zorn 1987a: 498), and the wearing of it implies having taken part in a process of socialisation; **campesinos** refer to those whose textile designs or manner of dressing are distinct from their own as **q'ala**, naked, outside the recognisable bounds of their society.

In Aymara 'naked' is either **enkellavsa** [sic] or **isiuisa** (Bertonio I: 181). **Isi** means 'vestido y qualquiera tela' (Bertonio II: 182), **visa** is a suffix meaning 'lacking in'. Bertonio has no entry for the spelling **enke**, but **inqui** (op. cit.: 175) appears with the meaning 'fortuna buena o mala'. This meaning seems to be related to that of **enqa**, which in the Cusco area [see also Chapter 6, II: (ii)] is 'el principio generador y vital ... la fuente y el origen de la felicidad, el bienestar y la abundancia' (Flores Ochoa 1976: 121). In spite of the phonemic contrasts between **qui** and **qa** this semantic link suggests that they may represent either dialectal or historical variations.

An **inquilla haque** is an 'hombre bueno, pacífico' (Bertonio II: 175), possessing social qualities which contrast with those typical of someone living outside society such as the **pampa haque** (Bertonio II: 247). Thus to be naked is not only to be outside or not to belong to

a social group, as is suggested by the use of **q'ala**, but also to be lacking in vital energy, **enqa**, or the capacity to experience good and bad fortune, **inqui**.

In Quechua clothing is now spelt with a glottal, **p'acha**, but in the early dictionaries (Santo Tomás: 333; Ricardo: 66) it is written, like the term for earth, as **pacha**¹, whilst Holguín (*op. cit.*: 269-270) spells both terms both with and without a glottal.

Ricardo (*op. cit.*: 66) unites the meanings of 'clothing' and of 'earth', 'time', and 'place' in the single entry **pacha**, 'tiempo, suelo, lugar, ropa, vestidura'. A more generally used term for earth or ground, whether agricultural or the 'ground' of a textile, is **pampa**. In view of the association between earth and clothing in the entries **ppampatha**, 'cubrir con mucha ropa o tierra' (Bertonio II: 261), and **panpacuni** 'cubrirse' (Ricardo: 68), it is tempting to believe that the similar connotations of **pacha** were intentional rather than the result of inconsistencies in orthography. [For further parallels between wrapping in earth and in cloth see Chapter 7, II].

Pacha can also mean 'alba' and includes concepts of 'newness' or 'virginity', 'lo entero, intacto, sano, no quebrado, ni dañado' (Holguín: 269). These are meanings also associated with two synonyms of **pampa** as agricultural or textile ground: **puruma** (Bertonio II: 278), and **casi** (Bertonio II: 37).

Puruma is virgin ground or ground which has been left fallow for a long period (Bertonio II: 278); **qasi** (Zorn 1987: 510) is used in Macusani as an alternative to **pampa**,

for the plain weave or 'ground' of a textile. **Casi**, still untouched ground or textile wrapping also contrasts to **enkellavsa**, naked, or 'uncovered' in its meaning of 'pacífico' (Bertonio II: 37).

An implication of 'potential' is recurrently associated with textile as well as agricultural ground [see Chapter 7, II]. This potential is activated by the advent of vital energy in the form of light. Thus **pacha**, already associated with earth and possibly with textile covering, in being also associated with the presence of light contrasts with the nakedness or lack of covering which is **enkellvsa**, 'lacking in potential energy'.

ii) Clothing and language

Weaving techniques and woven figures still differ widely from region to region so that dress defines the area and tribal group to which the wearer belongs. Much further information is included in a garment's variations in weave and use of colour:

es todo un universo conceptual y simbólico que sorprende por su riqueza: en el tejido se puede leer a la vez la región de donde procede el poseedor de la prenda, su riqueza, define su grado de creatividad y hasta los lazos que mantiene con gente de otras comarcas (Harris & Bouysse-Cassagne 1987: 12).

According to Guaman Poma (*op. cit.*: 50) 'por la causa de la tierra por que está tan doblado y quebradas, torcieron las palabras y anci ay muchos trages y ay llo'.

It will be noted that in the quotation from Poma, as in the social definitions attached to modern categories of clothing, language is an inseparable adjunct of dress: different **palabras** are associated with different **trages**,

and an alteration in style of dress implies an associated change in language use.

The acquisition of the power of speech, or language, is, like the acquisition of clothing, a mark of socialisation. The prehispanic Aymara **sucullu** or **huampaña** ritual in which a child was first admitted into society through a symbolic act of facial painting [see Chapter 7, Gen. Introduction] was also the time when it was first dressed in clothing distinctive of its age and sex. In the present day a child likewise first begins to wear clothing distinctive to its sex and community after **rutuchiy**, first hair-cutting. This is usually performed when the child is first beginning to speak (Harris 1980: 75; Dransart 1988: 3), once again suggesting the association of clothing with language.

iii) Clothing and definition of self

In any society a person's clothing makes a statement about how they perceive themselves and how they wish others to perceive them, establishing definite frontiers between 'who you are' and 'who you are not'.

The power of clothing to signify identity in this way is not restricted to traditional dress, but applies also to urban economic and social classes. The heavy, gathered **pollera**, for example, is emblematic, distinguishing the **chola** from the **mestiza** or **vecina**: according to an Aymara speaking woman living in La Paz and making these skirts ;

the woman who wears the **pollera** has always maintained her dignity both as a woman and as a human being. To this day she does not waste time on frivolous pursuits, but rather shares her efforts, her joys and sorrows with her

husband. To be 'de pollera' means to live with dignity (Yapita & Briggs: 96).

Often the first question when speaking about a female acquaintance whose social status has not yet been defined is 'es de vestido o de pollera?' Conversely, this information is offered when speaking of a family member. A young urban cholo, completely westernized in his own dress, will say 'mi señora es de pollera'; a city-bred student will describe his mother as 'de pollera'. This single simple statement transmits a variety of information about her age, upbringing, domestic and economic status and attitude to the groups above and below her in the social scale.

iv) Clothing and transition

It is possible to change from campesina to chola clothing, and, although this is regarded as less socially acceptable by vecinos, from chola to vestida. These observations are, of course, simplistic. Resistance to change may reflect a deliberate adherence to campesina or chola values. Once begun, the process of assimilation from one category to another is as complex as any in the British class system, and those attempting the transition are frequently subjected to ridicule from the class to which they aspire.

The change is usually made at one of several transition points in the life cycle, when emerging from babyhood to childhood, at puberty, at marriage, and occasionally when a woman has fulfilled all possible community obligations.

Even when not accompanied by a change in the style of dress, these moments of transition in a woman's life are associated with the acquisition of new or newly appropriate clothing. On Taquile babies go bareheaded until 'first hair cutting' when they put on knitted woolen hats, with vicuña coloured tips for the girls, with white tips for the boys. The **anacacuy**, 'investidura del manto o camión de mujeres', took place at puberty (Poma: 259); in Bolívar unmarried girls first take part in the ritual Todos Santos dances when they reach this age, and to mark the occasion a **cholita** in my adopted family was presented with seven new **polleras**.

v) Clothing and mediation

Attempts to change the defining boundaries by those who are regarded as socially 'outside' them is often discouraged through ridicule. A **campesina** who first wears the **pollera** when she comes to town as a servant and who retains it when she goes into business on her own may be spoken of by other, longer established **cholitas** as 'india nomás'. Similarly a **cholita** who adopts western dress at marriage is referred to dismissively by those who regard themselves as rightfully **de vestido** as 'chola es', without the softening diminutive.

It appears, however, to be acceptable for these boundaries to be deliberately manipulated by those already belonging 'inside' a social group. On three occasions during my time in the Andes I was particularly asked to adopt local dress. The first was during Todos Santos in Bolívar when I danced amongst the rival bands of boys and

girls, the second was when visiting a nearby community during the same festival. Both occasions involved other significant factors, sharing in ritual and sharing of food² but it was principally my change of clothes that I found remembered on my return to the village three years later. The clothes did not fit me, and I did not manage to wear them gracefully, yet neither at the time nor in retrospect was this made a matter of ridicule, I was in fact, constantly assured of how well they suited me.

The third occasion for adopting local dress was when I became **comadre** to a child on Taquile³. The cultural association of clothing, language and food was particularly noticeable in this instance. Wearing Taquileña clothing I was always greeted in Quechua rather than the Spanish used when I wore my own jeans and jumper; although I was still given luxury flour-based foods if they were available, it was not assumed that these foods were the only ones appropriate for me, and instead of being served separately I was allowed to eat sitting on the sleeping platform in the family kitchen and no longer expected to use a spoon.

In none of these personal examples was there any attempt to conceal those bits of my own clothing which I retained and this also appeared to be the case in the converse situation where those returning temporarily from outside readopted their original 'habit'. The hat and **ojotas** of my **campesina** weaving teacher's sister-in-law fitted badly and gave her blisters; in Japo, the neighbouring mine from which she had come on a visit, she wore slippers and a simple **pollera**, clothing which she

revealed underneath her homespun **almilla** one evening when we were alone in the house. In a similar way, a **campesino** returning to Tacopaya after work in the **coca** fields of Chaparé had enabled him to purchase his own lorry, reassumed traditional clothes to play in the ritual **hulahula** band but did not remove his newly acquired watch, a mark of his change of social status.

It would appear, then, that the temporary adoption of clothing appropriate to a community is a visible act of mediation between those who willingly let their clothes be worn by an outsider, and those who willingly relinquish their own clothing in order to participate or belong. At the same time the retention of some personal articles implies that this is a 'disguise' rather than a permanent change, and perhaps also prevents it from becoming an irreversible one [see (vi) below].

vi) Clothing and the reversal of order

A desire to ensure the ongoing fertility of animals, crops and of the community is apparently the motivation behind the upsetting of the established order in ritual play acting; this involves various kinds of role reversal, either female impersonation or impersonation of an alien authority, by temporarily adopting that person's clothes. A further type of reversal, a return to the earlier 'disordered' time of the ancestors, is represented by the wearing of animal skins or masks, an act which Zuidema contrasts to the 'socialising' act of facial painting (1983a: 150)⁴.

To disguise oneself, 'emboçarse, disfrazarse', is **panpacuni** (Holguín: 491); **haraskhatha**, 'desnudarse el vestido sacerdotal y qualquiera otro disfrace' (Bertonio I: 185), is related to carrying a burden on the back (Bertonio II: 122). Guaman Poma (*op. cit.*: 873, 1148, 1169) illustrates **ararihua**, scarecrows, as men wearing puma or fox skins over their heads and down their backs. It was a community obligation for the **ararihua** to 'mask' or 'disguise' himself in this way in order to safeguard the crops. Like acting as **ararihua**, taking part in a dance group also represents the discharge of a ritual obligation, a concept now expressed by the Spanish term **cargo**, from the verb **cargar** 'to carry on the back'.

The Aymara term for mask, **saynata** (Bertonio II: 314), has similar associations; **saynatha** means 'cargarse a las espaldas como suelen las mujeres a los hijuelos' (*loc. cit.*) and the **saynata**, like the **ararihua**, functioned as a scarecrow (*loc. cit.*).

Wearing a mask is also associated with the ancestors: **saynata** is a synonym for **hayachuco** (Bertonio I: 170), literally 'ancestor head' (Holguín: 630; Santo Tomás: 161). Like the **ararihua** the ancestors are the guardians of the crops; Zuidema suggests that **sayna** and **saywa** are related (1983: 152); whether or not one agrees it is **saywa señora**, Scarecrow lady, who looks after the seeds (Arnold 1988: 351).

Besides their use by human 'scarecrows', skins and masks were, and still are, worn for dances performed at significant points in the agricultural year. According to Bertonio these masks were 'cosa de risa' (*op. cit.* II:

200); the clowning actions of those who wear them can be aggressive or overtly sexual ; **saynata** meant 'el que no tiene verguenza ni empacho ni saluda ni haze acatamiento' (Holguín: 325).

A significant factor is that whilst performing clowning roles the disguised modern day actors do not speak in their own voices but in a high falsetto, in nonsense, or in mere grunts. In **mestizo** dance groups the whistle with which dances such as the **diablada**, **reyes morenos**, and **caporales** are directed, would appear to perform a similar function in replacing normal speech.

In many of the cases I observed some part of the actor's own clothes were visible beneath his disguise. Whilst this makes his performance funnier for those who know him I believe it also acts as a kind of spiritual insulation, ensuring that those in a liminal ritual state will be able to find their way back safely to the everyday world.⁵

vii) Clothing and communicative power

The communicative power of clothing has so far been analysed primarily as directed outwards from the wearer to the perceiver. There appears to be, however, a force which can act inwards upon the wearer, suggesting that the potential for change lies in the cloth rather than in the person wearing it: dress confers, the person receives, absorbs or becomes.

In traditional curing rites a sick person is sometimes laid in the skin of an animal thought to have certain properties, such as great strength, which the

patient will then absorb. Similarly, a person's clothing is strongly imbued with his essence. In the treatment of **susto** in the Callahuaya area the little soul, or **ajayo**, can best be recalled by waving a piece of the affected person's clothing and calling his name: in more extreme cases clothing may be taken in place of the patient to the spot where the **susto** occurred, in order to recapture the **ajayo** (Oblitas 1963: 34).

Clothing can also provide a means of communication between this world and the world of the dead (Bastien; iii). After death all a person's clothing must be washed so that his soul can be free to travel to the next world and will not stay lamenting in this one (Paredes; 311); wearing clothing 'al revés' is part of mourning ritual (see Chapter 3, I: (v)], a metaphorical 'turning away' which severs the connection with the negative forces of death.

Summary

Traditionally woven textiles, and by extension other forms of clothing exert an influence on what they contain. They possess a vital energy which is lacking in those who are uncovered or naked.

In contrast to the lack of social allegiance implicit in nakedness, clothing represents a belonging to society, and its appearance communicates information about the person wearing it. The different styles of dress punctuate space and time, whilst movement through them is indicated by a change in style or the acquisition of new articles of clothing. The limits indicated by these

markers can be manipulated by temporary adoption of an inappropriate form of dress; whether undertaken for social or ritual reasons this places the wearer in a liminal position and should not be done without due observance of the appropriate obligations.

Each region and social class has a language appropriate to the dress they wear, which is in turn associated with a particular type of food. As will become apparent in subsequent sections, not only those wearing them but the textiles themselves are linked with forms of speech and flavour, elements which, like the external appearance of clothing are used as a means of communication.

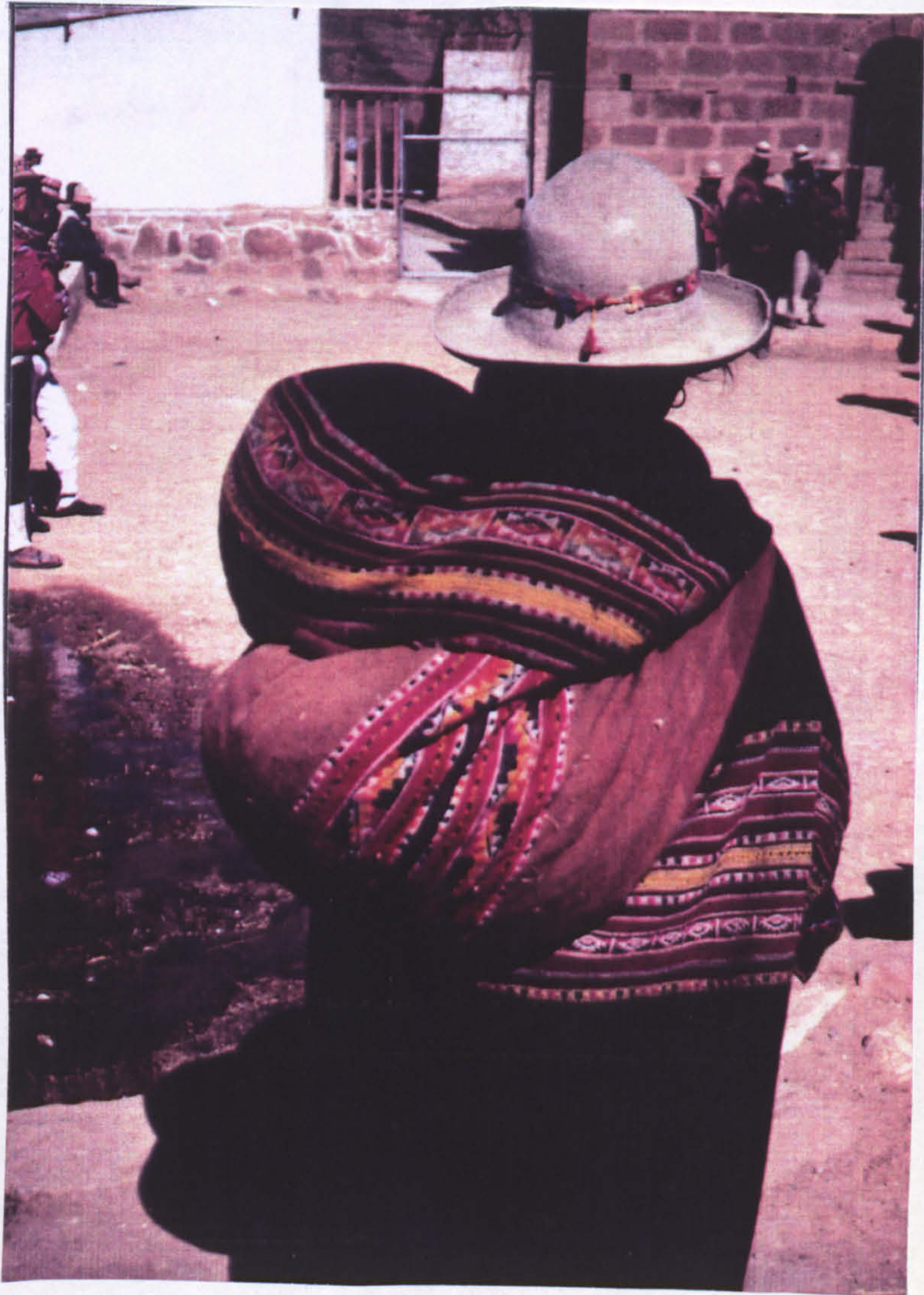
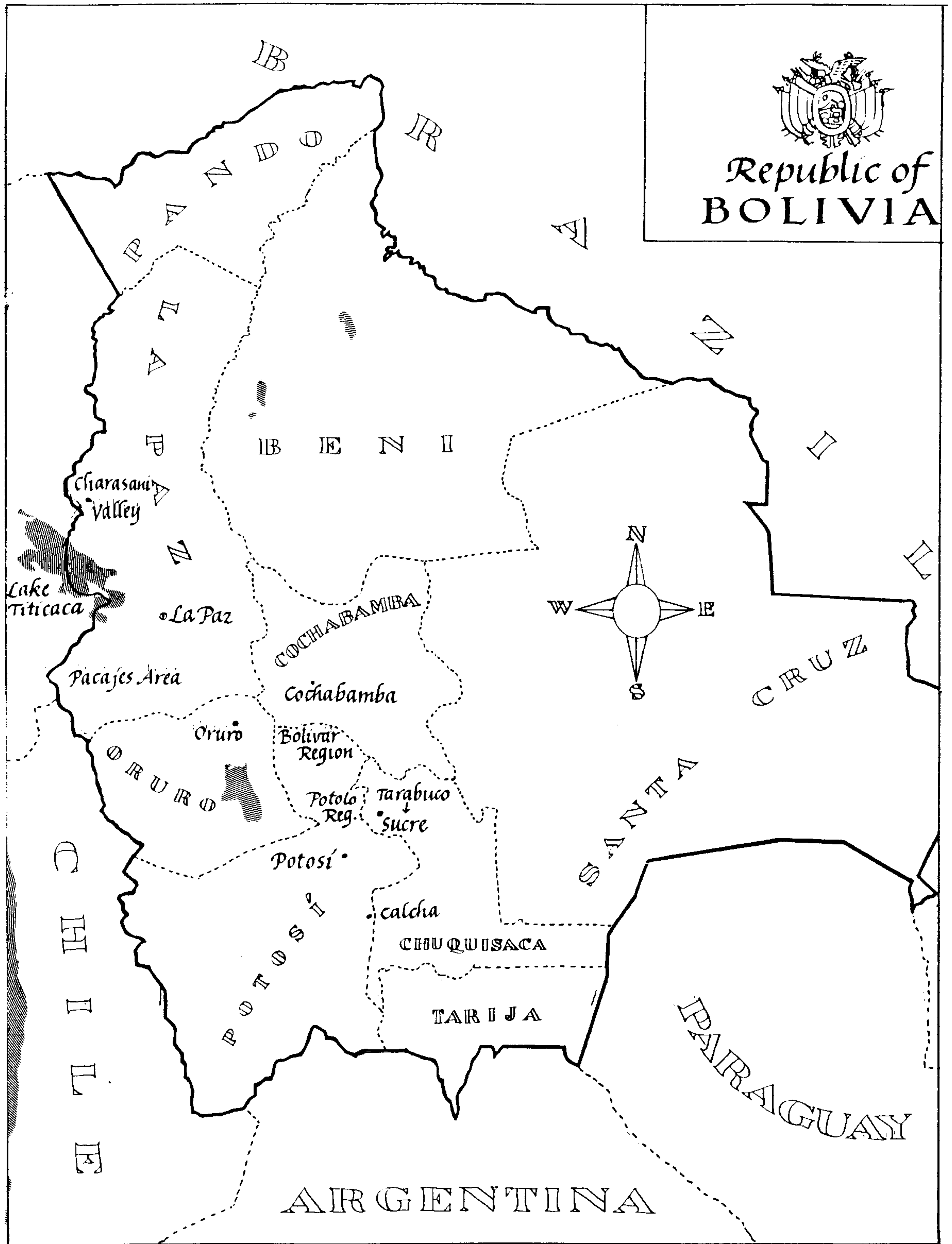
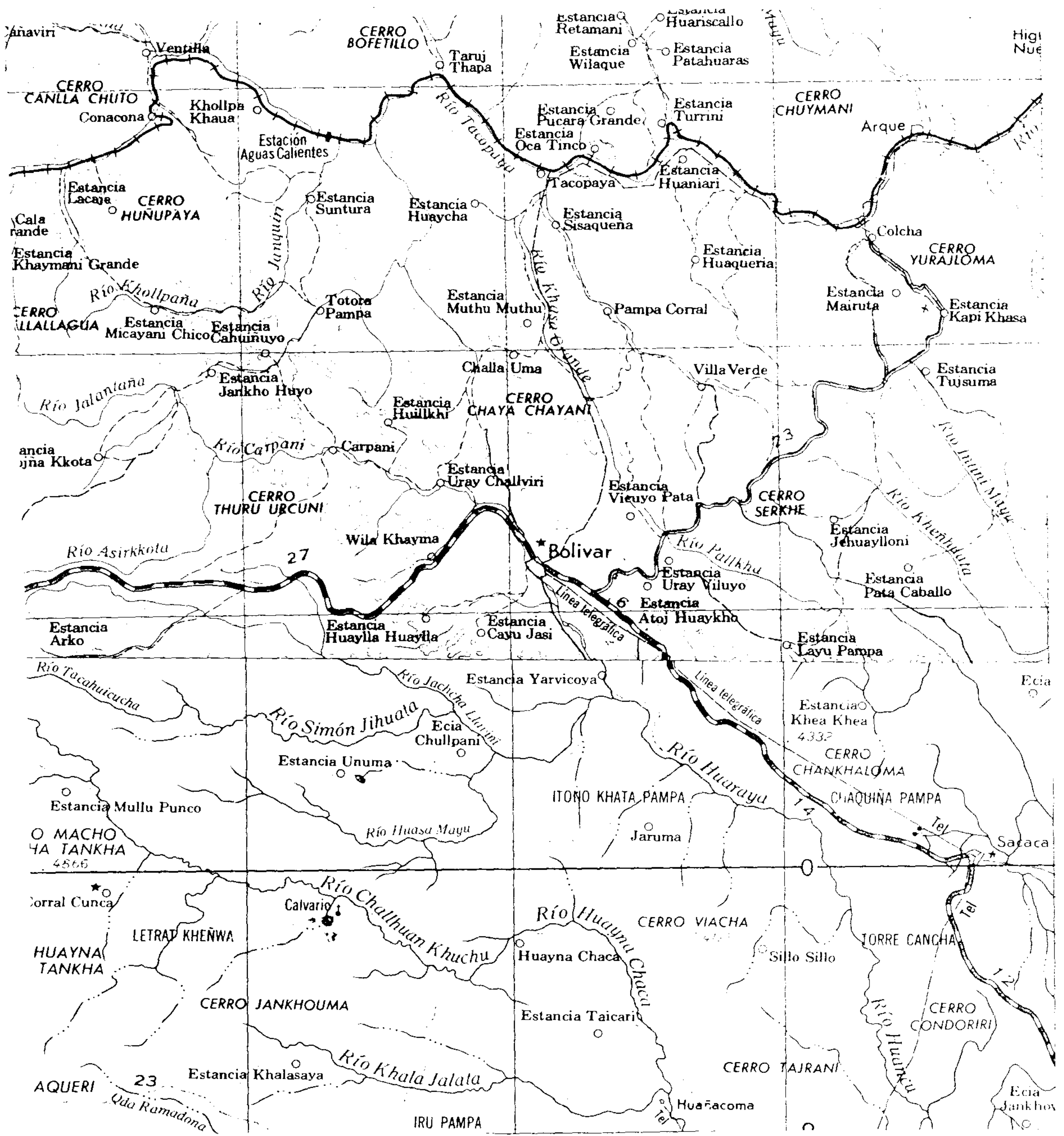


Plate 2. Llijllas with typical Bolívar designs and colours.



Map showing the principal weaving regions of Bolivia



Map showing the Bolivar area in detail

CHAPTER 2: BOLIVAR TEXTILES

Introduction

This section will describe the weave and colour arrangement of the figured designs found in and around present day Bolívar. The area involved is a large one, and the weaving styles influenced by those of several other stylistic centres. In order to present these as simply as possible I have, therefore, dealt separately with my own findings and the categories defined by Yorke and Gisbert [see (iii) below].

This study does not attempt to enter into detailed technical analysis of the various techniques. Instead it aims to convey their visual impact and basic structural implications. I use the terminology of Cason and Cahlander (op. cit.) rather than that of Rowe (1977a). The former writers' terms are visually descriptive, and will convey more to a non-weaver, whilst they are sufficiently technical to be easily related to the terminology of Rowe. I also find that these descriptive terms - balanced, uneven, intermeshed - relate well to Andean attitudes to the structure of their fabric.

To designate the pictorial representations formed by the manipulation of individual warps, in Quechua **pallay** (to pick), in Aymara **salta**, and in Spanish generally referred to as **dibujos** (drawings), I have chosen the term 'figure'. These designs **are** figured - they are made up of, and often referred to by, the number of warp pairs, **chinu**, in their composition - and the term 'design' used without

qualification applies more accurately to the layout of the textile in its entirety.

The techniques and figures used in Bolívar are of widespread occurrence in the Andes, and cannot be taken as an indication of common provenience. The figures must be considered in conjunction with their arrangement and their use of colour. As techniques vary in popularity over time they can, however, be used to distinguish the 'chronology' of figures woven in a particular area.

WEAVING TECHNIQUES AND WEAVING STYLES

i) Weaving Techniques

The techniques most commonly found in Bolívar are pebble weave, double cloth and twill. These are all complementary weaves, in which the design appears as identical on both sides of the textile apart from the reversal of the figure/background colours.

a) Double cloth

Double cloth is a balanced 1/1 weave. The use of two sets of warps united by a single weft forms a slightly bulky but very firm fabric [see Fig. 1 (a)]. All warps are firmly tied down with each pass of the weft and do not float, providing clearly defined outlines and the possibility of expressing great detail. The extreme density of the weave also results in a vivid colour impact and its increase in popularity coincides with the increased use of startlingly vivid store-bought yarn.

Double cloth is used in modern examples of the men's and women's *faja* which carry detailed representations of the

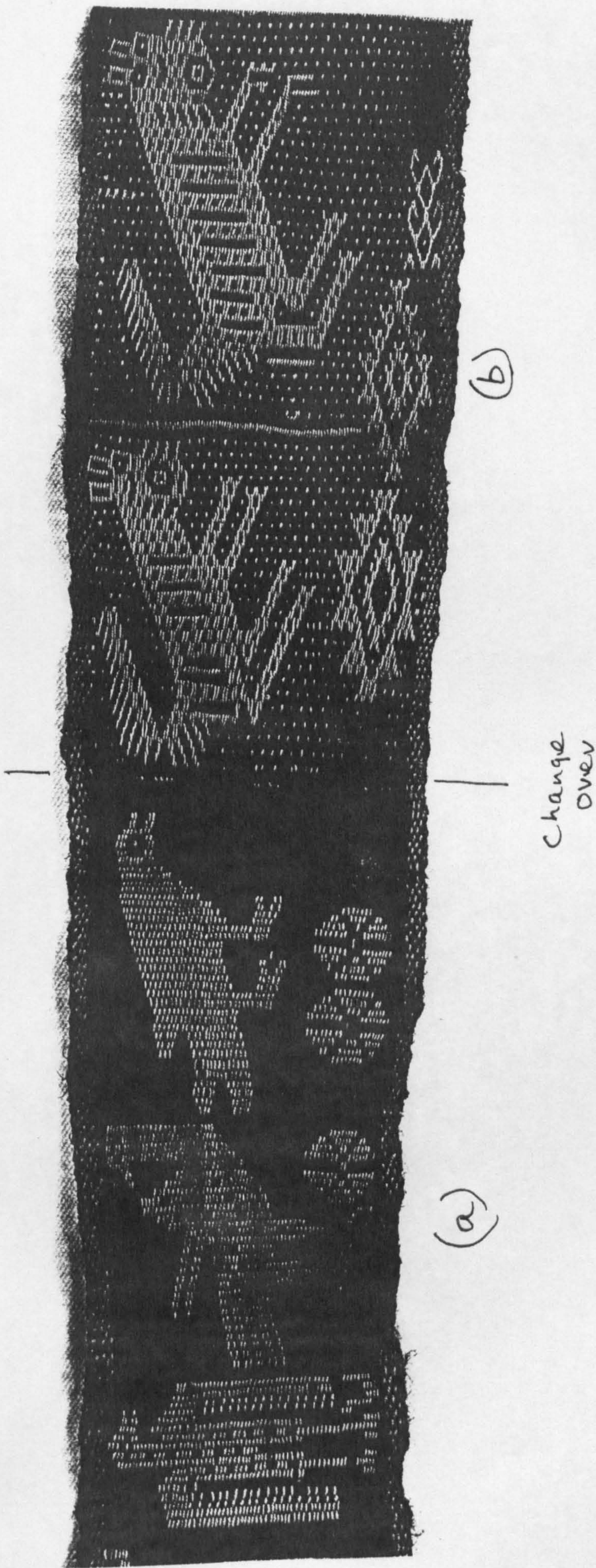


FIG. 1. Patterned designs woven in (a) double cloth and (b) pebble weave

natural world; owls, butterflies, deer and **tigres**, which are probably intended to represent the puma [see Fig. 2]. Double cloth is also used in a more rigidly stylised way for the **salta** bands of **llijllas** and narrow belts. Stepped frets or zigzags, large eight-pointed stars or six-petalled flowers, and birds in profile or with outspread wings are the most commonly woven figures. Letters and numbers are sometimes included, but may be used merely as design elements rather than as alphabetic writing [see Fig. 2].

b) Pebble weave

In Socaire, Chile, pebble weave is called **ch'imi** 'stippled', (Dransart, personal communication), and can easily be identified from the background areas where alternating pairs of colour-contrasted warps produce a distinctive, stippled effect (00XX00XX00) [see Fig. 1 (b)]. The pebble structure may be doubled (0000XXXX0000XXXX0000) or tripled (000000XXXXXX000000XXXXXX), neither of which are structurally suitable for executing complex figures.

Simple pebble weave, the kind used in Bolívar, can be warped with all the light warps on one heddle and all the dark ones on the other. This 'alternating' method (Cason & Cahlander: 57) means that each row, whether background or figure, has to be picked by hand. A second, 'irregular', method is to arrange the warps in a pebbled sequence on the heddle, i.e. a light and a dark warp followed by a dark and a light warp; this means that the background rows can be formed automatically merely by changing the shed (*op. cit.*: 83). It is possible to identify which type of warp set up is used from the background or the terminal areas of the fabric (*op.*

cit.: 84); in Bolívar the 'irregular' method, which is undoubtedly quicker once the warps have been arranged, seems to be preferred.

Like double cloth, pebble is a balanced weave - an 'irregular' warping order does not affect the balance of the weave - because the structure within which figures are picked is a rigid 2A 2B. In Bolívar both two- and three- colour pebble are used. In the latter two colours are used alternately with white, the unused colour remaining hidden as in three-colour double cloth or supplementary warp (Cason & Cahlander: 108)

According to local accounts pebble weave appears to have originated from the opposite direction to double cloth, i.e. from Sacaca and the south, and to belong to the period immediately preceding and to some extent overlapping with the introduction of double cloth.

I found typical pebble figures to be similar to those woven in double cloth *llijllas* and narrow belts. They include various domestic animals, the *viscacha*, a bird, either in profile or with wings spread, and the double headed snake; the most common geometric figure is the stepped fret, *laymi linku*, or this figure doubled to form a decorative rhomboid or diamond, *caripuyo*. Pebble weave figures are frequently woven in alternating checks and are also divided symmetrically into two and four by colour change with white forming either the figure or the background.

c) Twill

Twill, unlike the other two weaves, can be 'uneven' (Cason & Cahlander: 34) relying on a 2A, 1B picking order to

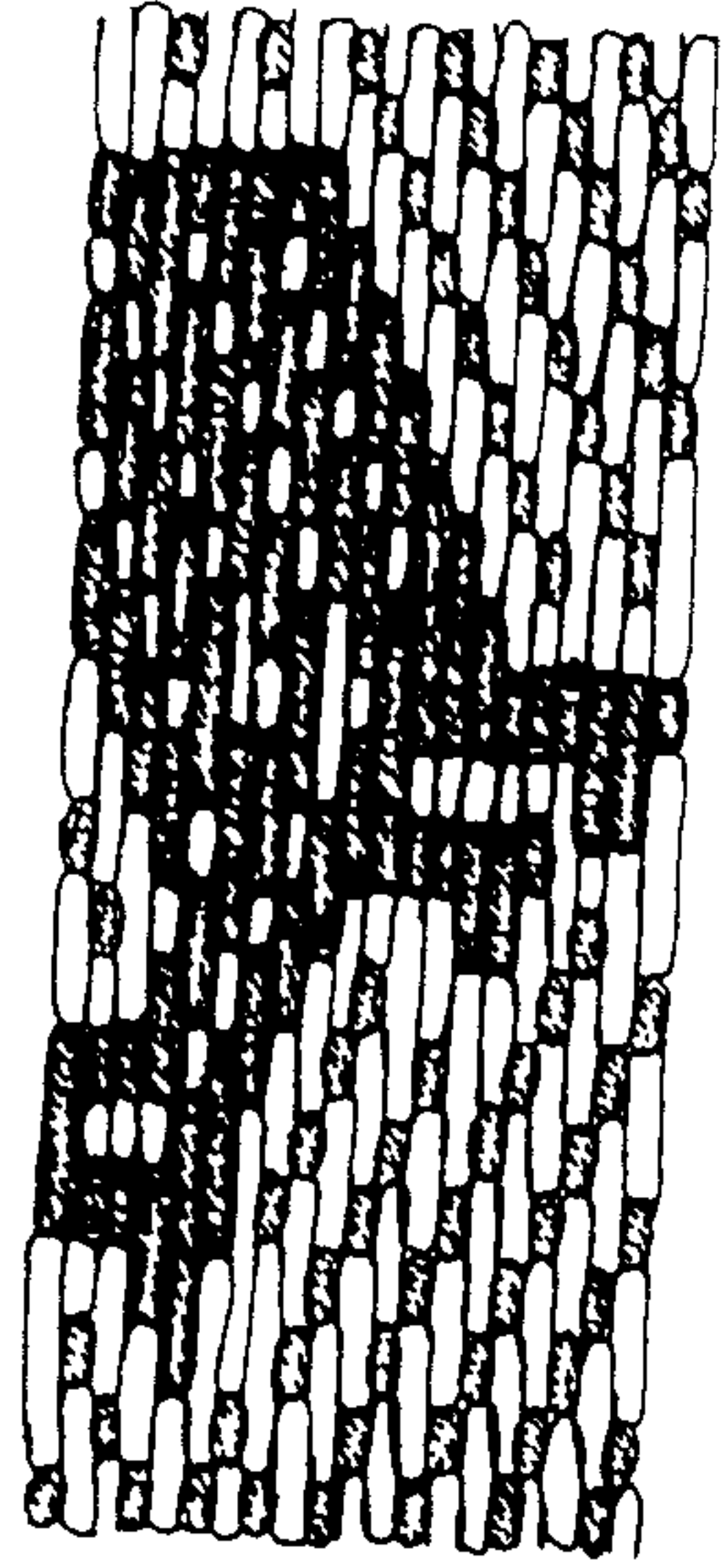
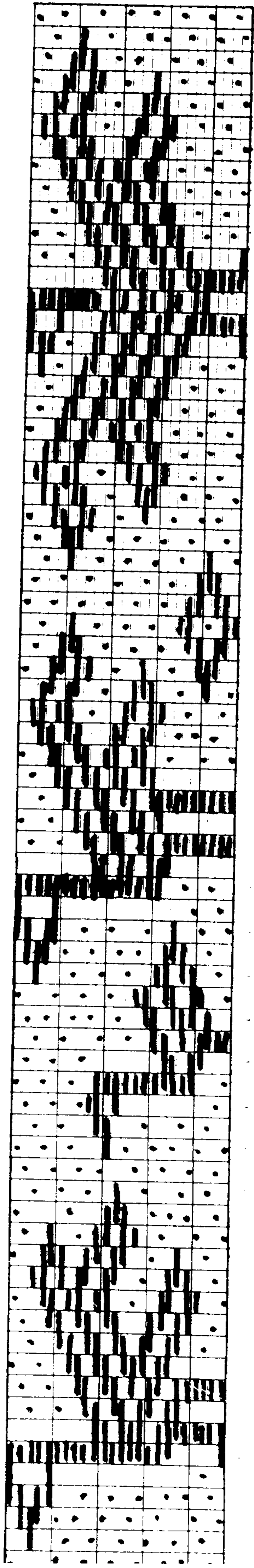


Fig. 3. Diagram for weaving twill, showing the diagonal emphasis of this technique.
(according to Gason and Cahlander).

form the figure contrasted to 2B, 1A for the background. Uneven twill is used for entire designs and although it requires only two heddles weavers consider this technique far harder to master than pebble, or double cloth with its greater number of movements in the weaving sequence; in twill flexibility of design is very much more limited [see Fig. 3].

Even twill, which is a balanced 2/2 weave, is often used together with pebble weave in *llijllas* and *ch'uspas*, and may be difficult to distinguish from it when used in the diagonals of a bird's wings or a lion's mane (Cason & Cahlander: 34). It is also hard to recognise in a small figure, such as the interlocked scrolls for which it is frequently used (*op. cit.*: 43) in the Bolívar region, as the marked diagonal emphasis in the warp floats typical of twill (*loc. cit.*) is not as apparent.

Twill is the oldest technique in evidence in Bolívar and mainly appears in the lateral bands of *llijllas* where it is used in conjunction with pebble weave. It is used alone for the central band on small or ceremonial items such as *coca* or food carrying cloths, and more rarely on *ch'uspas*.

Although there is no technical reason for this restriction, I found twill used only for traditional geometric figures such as the *ch'aska* (star). In other areas the *ch'aska* is woven in pebble weave, but a *llijlla* I purchased in the Bolívar area in 1973 shows the weaver changing within the same band from pebble, used for the *amaru* (double headed snake), to twill for the *ch'aska*.

Twill is also used for the diamond and its component units the meander, the chevron, and the cross, and always for

a particular kind of interlocking scroll, a use confirmed for other parts of Bolivia also (Cason & Cahlander: 64).

ii) Chronology of weaving techniques

Many figures can be and are adapted for any of the three weaves, but there is, generally speaking, a correlation between the type of weave and the type of figure.

At the time of my fieldwork in 1986 double cloth had only been used to any great extent in the immediate Bolívar area for about ten years. Older textiles (thirty to ten years old) used pebble weave¹.

Older women usually know at least some figures in both double cloth and pebble weave techniques and a weaver may convert her personal range of figured designs from one weave to the other. I have a **saca** (thread count sampler) from Challa Uma, 8 kilometres to the north of Bolívar, with the currently popular bird, tiger and butterfly figures, probably designed for use in the wide men's **fajas**, woven first in one technique and then the other [see Fig. 1.].

Samplers or **sacas** are used and lent as a western woman might lend her knitting patterns. A weaver may also borrow an original garment to copy, accounting for the appearance of identical figures in different communities. The representational style now popular for **fajas** is said by weavers to have originated in the late 1970s in the lower-lying communities north of Bolívar. Often a small **flete** (hire charge) of some sort is required in return for the loan.

Younger weavers produce both geometric and representational figures but these are adapted for double cloth and few, if any of them, know or use pebble weave.

Use of uneven twill appears to have declined considerably although it is comparatively common in textiles more than 30 years old and geometric figures continue to be produced in twill by a few older weavers. No-one offered to teach me twill and although they were recognised as being produced locally articles woven in this technique were commented on as being stylistically unusual.

iii) The stylistic categories of Yorke and Gisbert

The weaving styles found in Bolívar were first classified as being of two distinct types, Bolívar and kurti, by Yorke, who visited the region as a textile collector in the 1970s. Yorke includes Bolívar textiles, together with those of a closely related style, that of Challa (Yorke: 22) in a large area comprising south west Cochabamba and N. W. Potosí (op. cit.: 22). Gisbert includes within the boundaries of this area of common influence the north of Potosí, south of Cochabamba and part of Oruro (Gisbert et. al.: 189). This area once formed part of the kingdom of Charcas, which had its capital only 20 km from Bolívar, at Sacaca.

Gisbert considers that the Bolívar style was restricted to a comparatively small area around Quirquiavi, presently Bolívar village (Gisbert et. al: 211). In addition to kurti and Bolívar, she defines two further styles corresponding to the geographical regions San Pedro/Llallagua and

Laymi/Chayanta, whilst a third (*op. cit.*: 203) is based on use of a particular technique, **brocadero**, or supplementary weft.

a) **Bolívar**

Two figures are especially typical of the **Bolívar** style classified by Yorke. The first, **laymi t'ika** [see Chapter 8, Figs, 4 and 5], resembles an elaborate 'vase of flowers', flowers branching from a rhomboid (Wasserman & Hill: 12), or flowers connecting rhomboids (Gisbert et. al: plate 225 and unnumbered plates on facing page; Adelson & Takami: 24; Wasserman & Hill: plate 14).

The second figure, **laymi linku**, [see Fig. 4] (Wasserman & Hill: plate 14; Gisbert et. al: plate 228) is a zigzag line of leaves with flowers in its interstices. Wasserman & Hill refer to this figure as 'stylised floral vines' (*op. cit.*: 12), Adelson & Takami as 'an undulating floral motif' (*op. cit.*: 26), which was used on matrimonial **aksus** (*loc. cit.*). Typical colours were blue and pink, with stripes of maroon and yellow or olive green [see Fig. 4].

Gisbert considers the **laymi linku** figure is derived from the 'rama de olivo' (Gisbert et. al.: 197, plate 207), a figure typical of Laymi weaving (*op. cit.*: 201, 202, 204). The latter first appeared on colonial architecture in 1780 (*op. cit.*: 202); the earliest examples of the **Bolívar** style date from about 150 years ago (Adelson & Takami: 26).

The **Bolívar** style is no longer woven (Gisbert et. al.: 200), although I saw one example of **laymi t'ika** on a fairly new garment in the possession of my adopted family, who became interested in textiles themselves when collecting on Yorke's behalf. They said the figure, which they called



Fig.4 A late 19th or early 20th century Bolívar style ch'uspa.

florero, was 'muy antigua' and 'especial para jóvenes'. The textile in question was a **poncho** especially made for their ten year old adopted son Marcelino; it did not use the pink and blue colours typical of the **Bolívar** style.

b) **Kurti**

A second distinct style, denominated **kurti** by the inhabitants of Challa (Yorke: 22) as well as those of the Bolívar region (Gisbert et. al.: 212), became popular during the first half of this century. It was not a substitute for, but existed together with, the colonial **Bolívar** style; Gisbert sees them as 'estilos paralelos y posiblemente provenientes de dos etnias diferentes' (op. cit.: 210).

The imaginatively executed figures typical of **kurti** [see Figs. 5 and 6] are radically different in character from the rigid stylisations of **Bolívar**, and would seem to stem directly from indigenous tradition rather than from colonial influence. Whilst the simultaneous use of several different weaving techniques was typical of the **Bolívar** style (Gisbert et. al.: 212), as it is of much of the weaving worn in that area at present, **kurti**, according to Gisbert (loc. cit.) only uses the double cloth technique.

Generally speaking **kurti** is best characterised by wide double cloth bands in which the condor and the snake are predominant figures (Yorke: 22), though an ornate version of the rhomboid is a common element (Yorke: 29). Gisbert describes the latter as **intis**, suns, and those which have **inflorescencias**, peripheral rays sometimes ending in leaves or flowers, as **cochas**, lakes (Gisbert et. al.: 212).

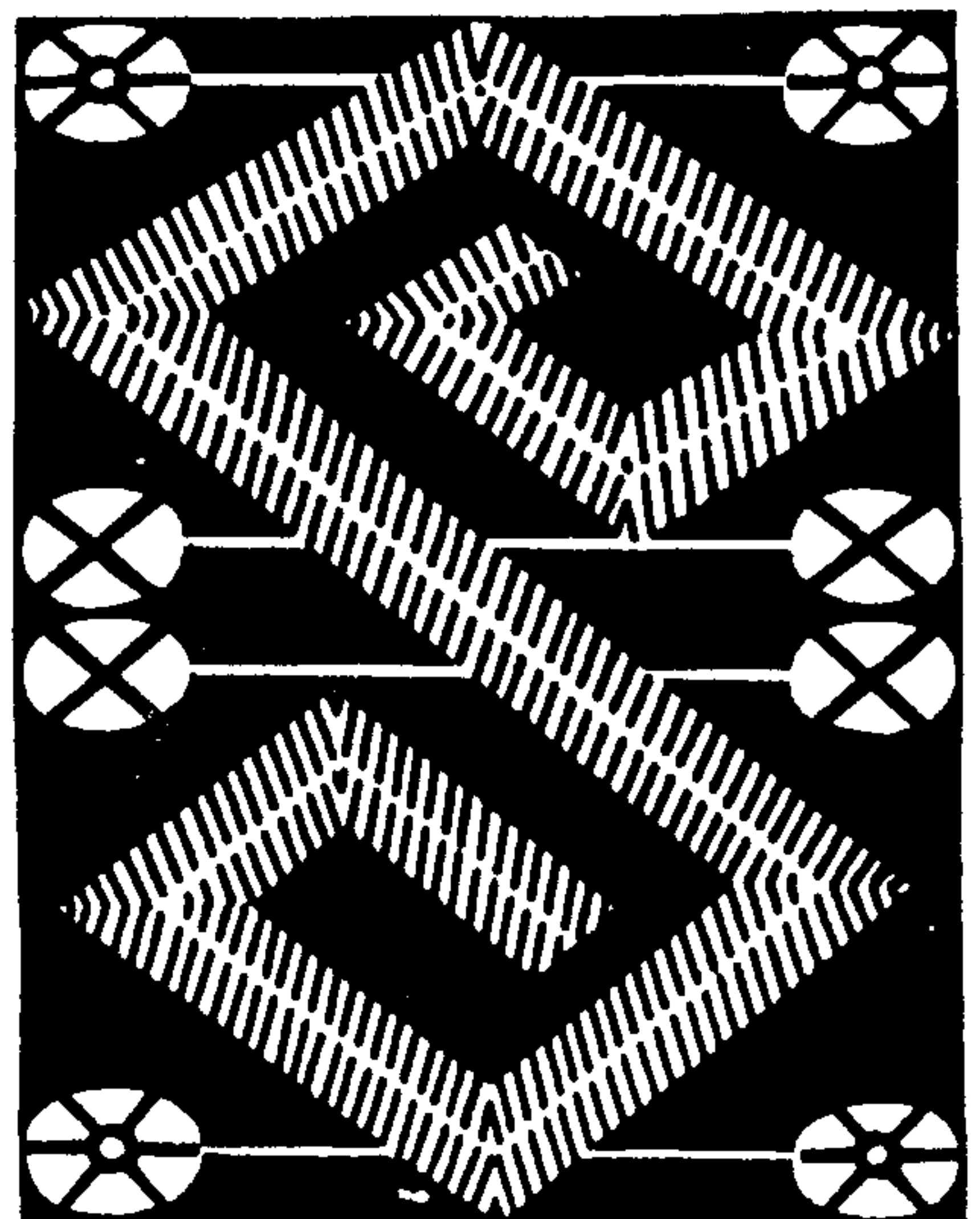
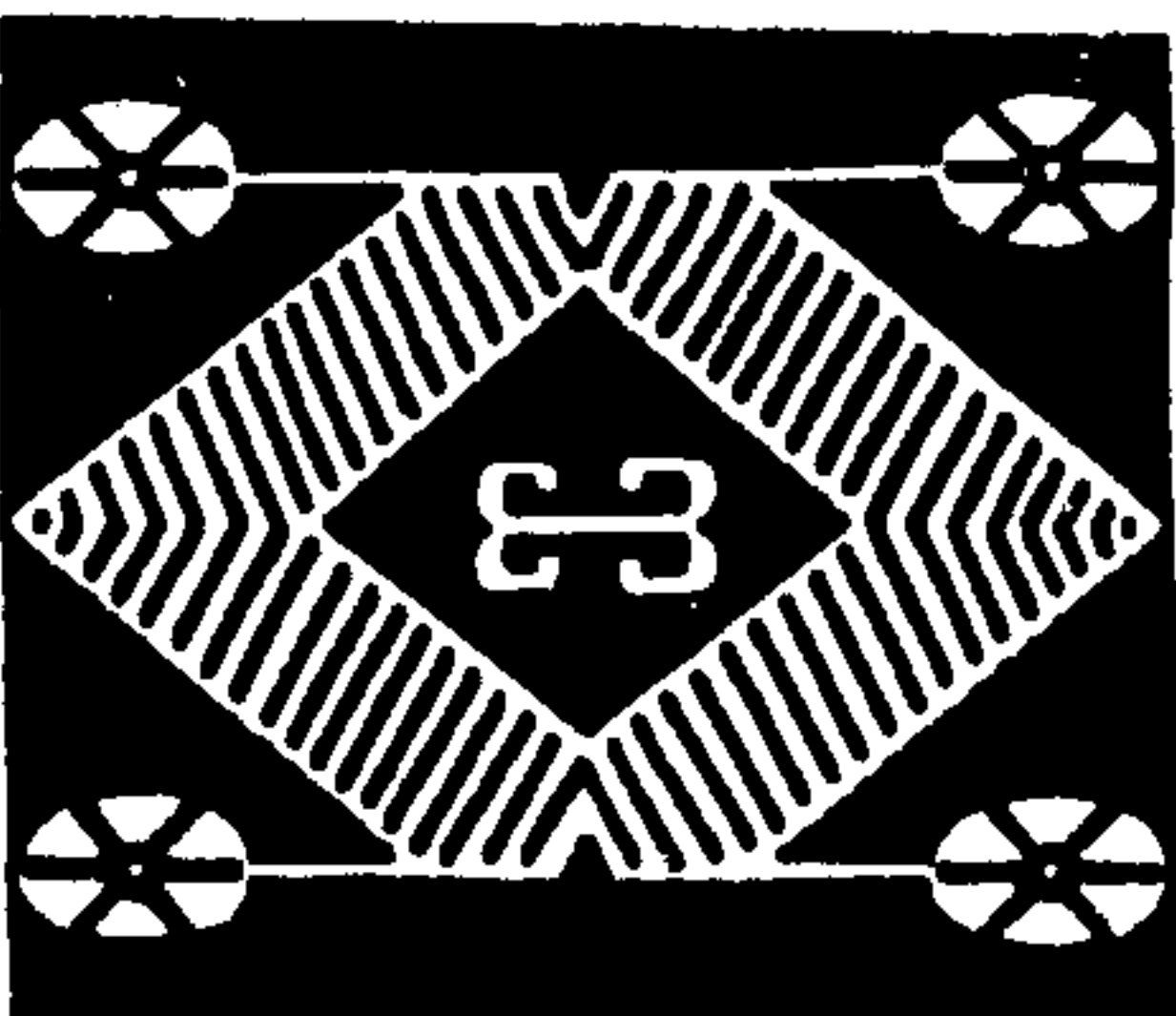
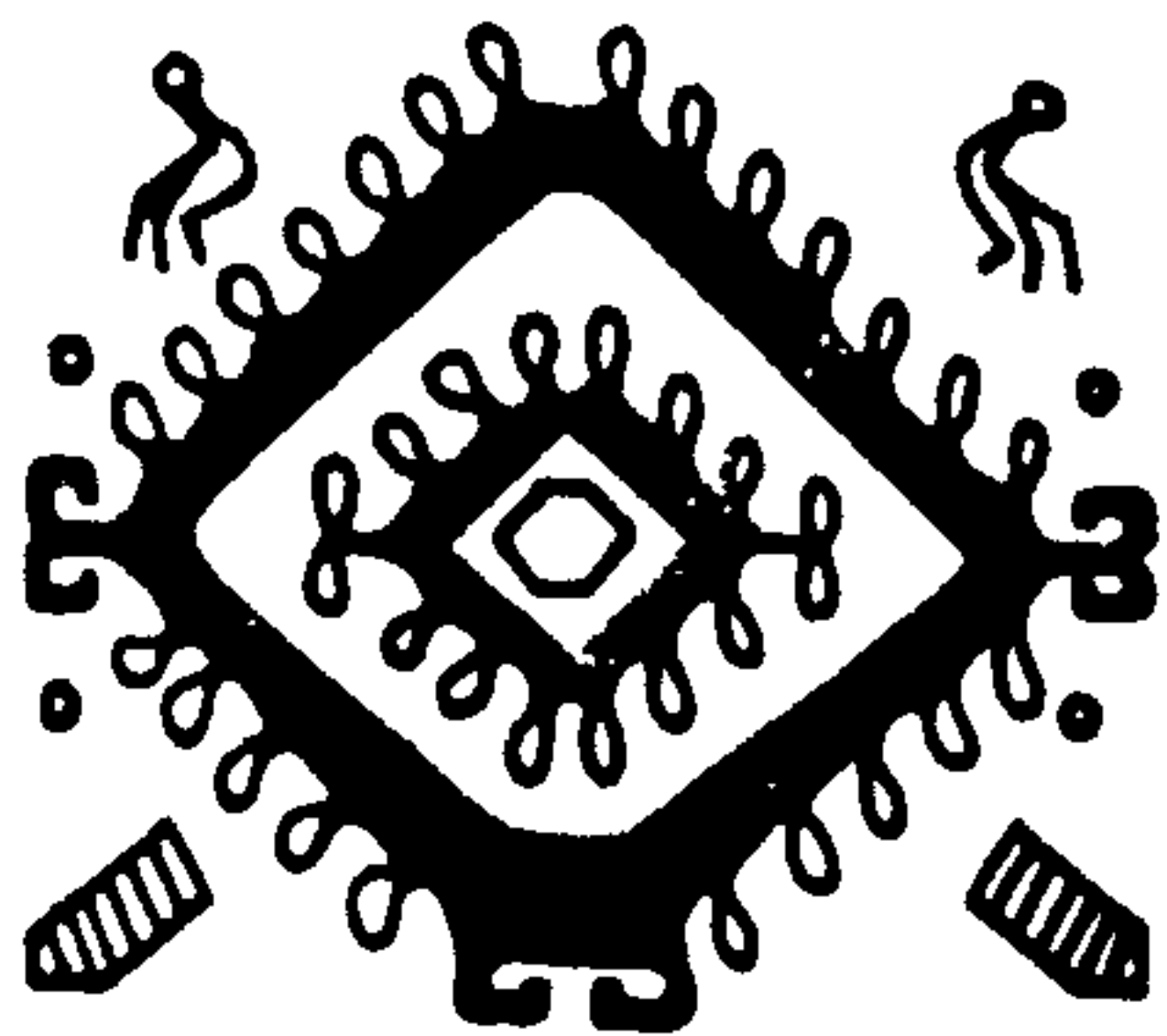
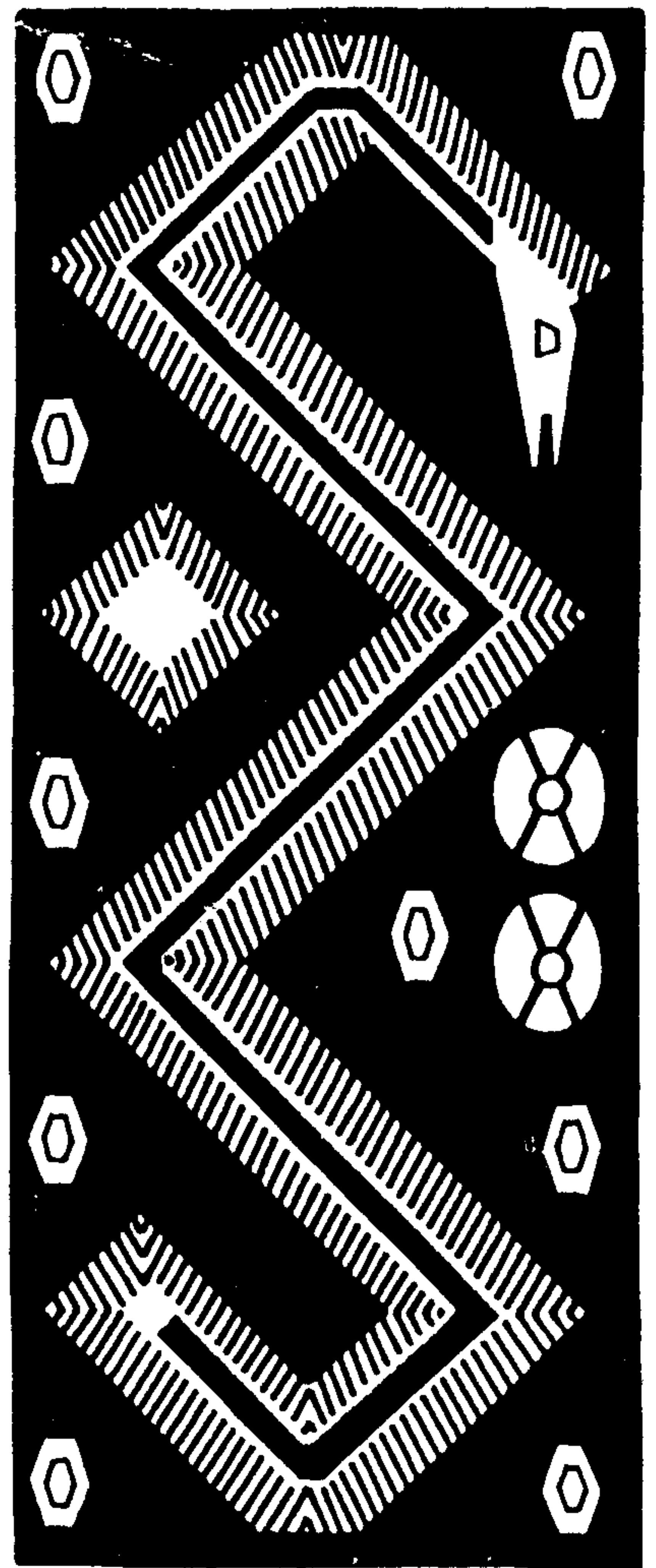
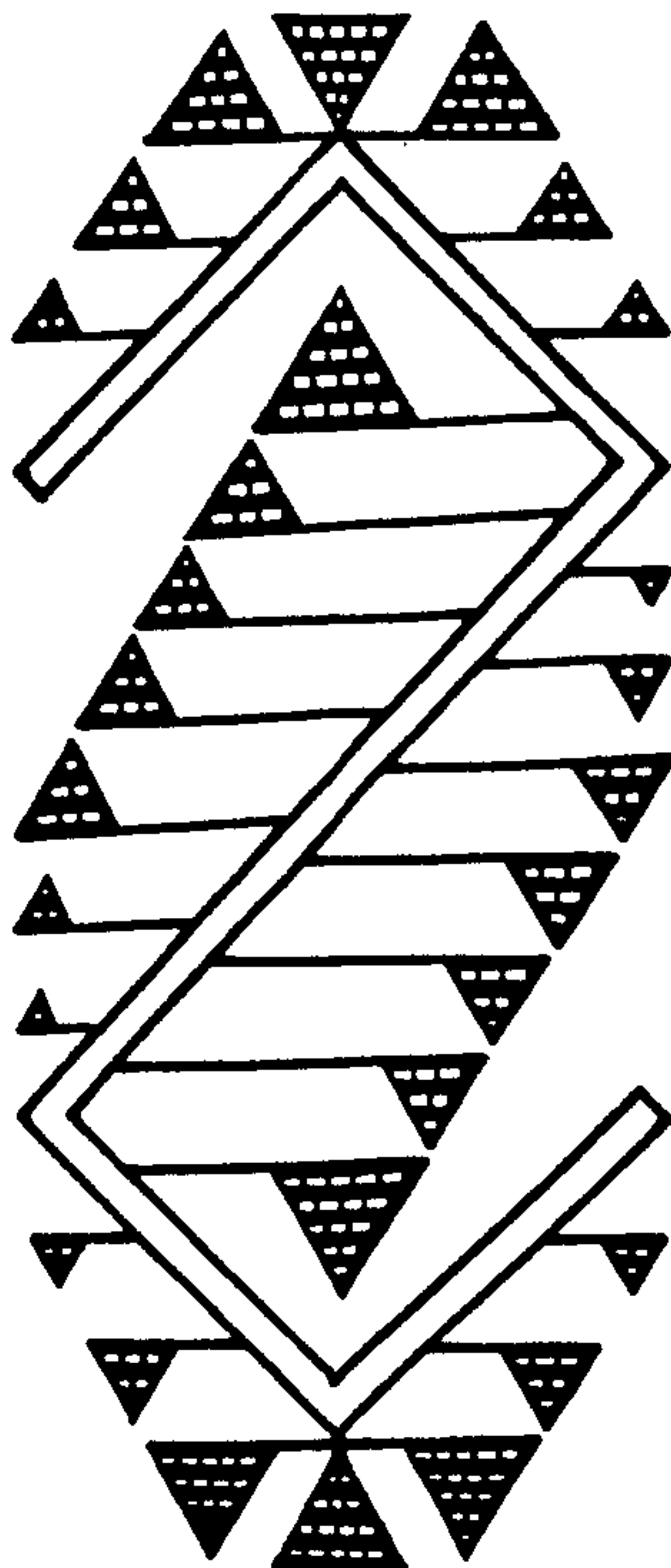
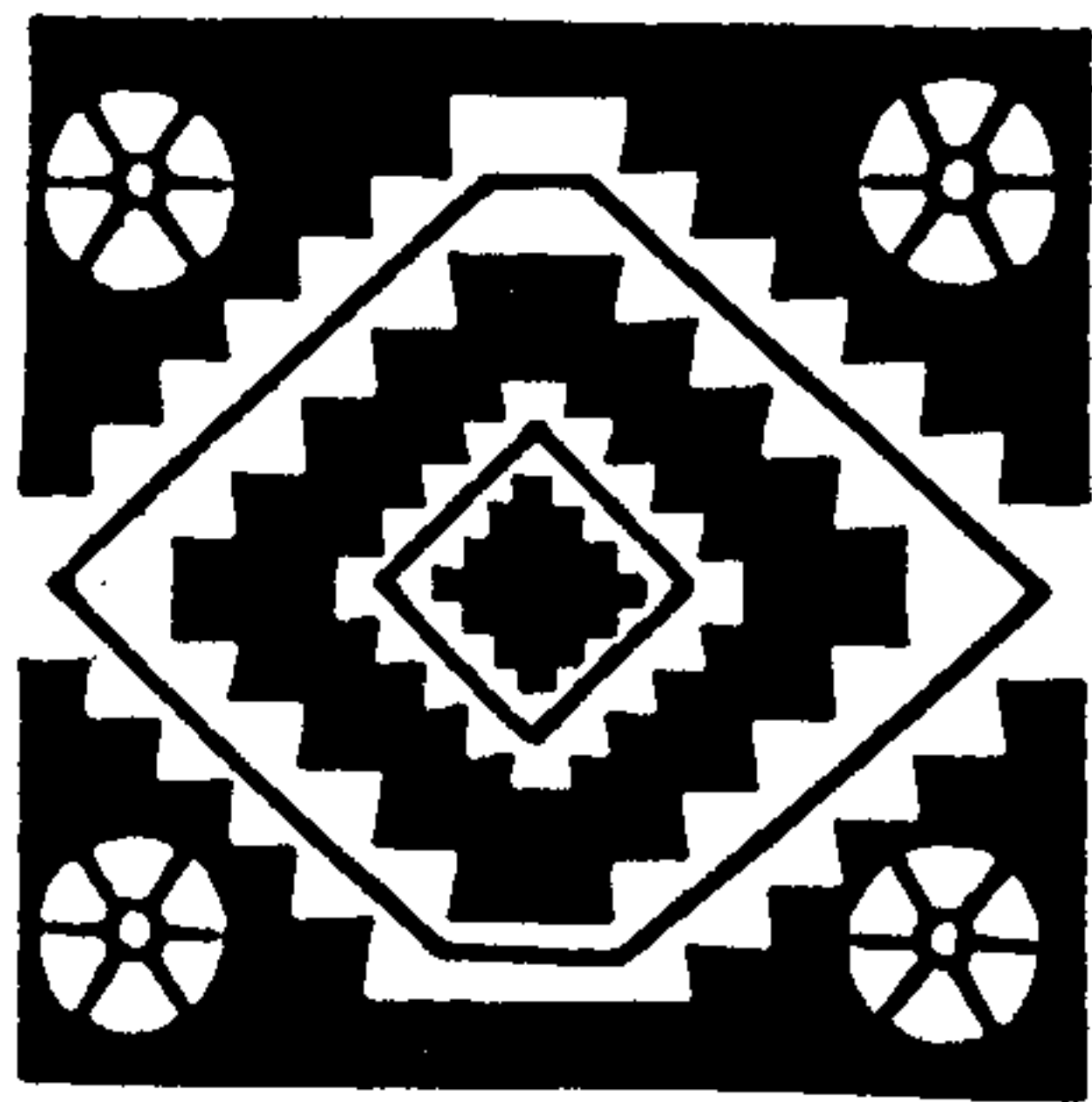
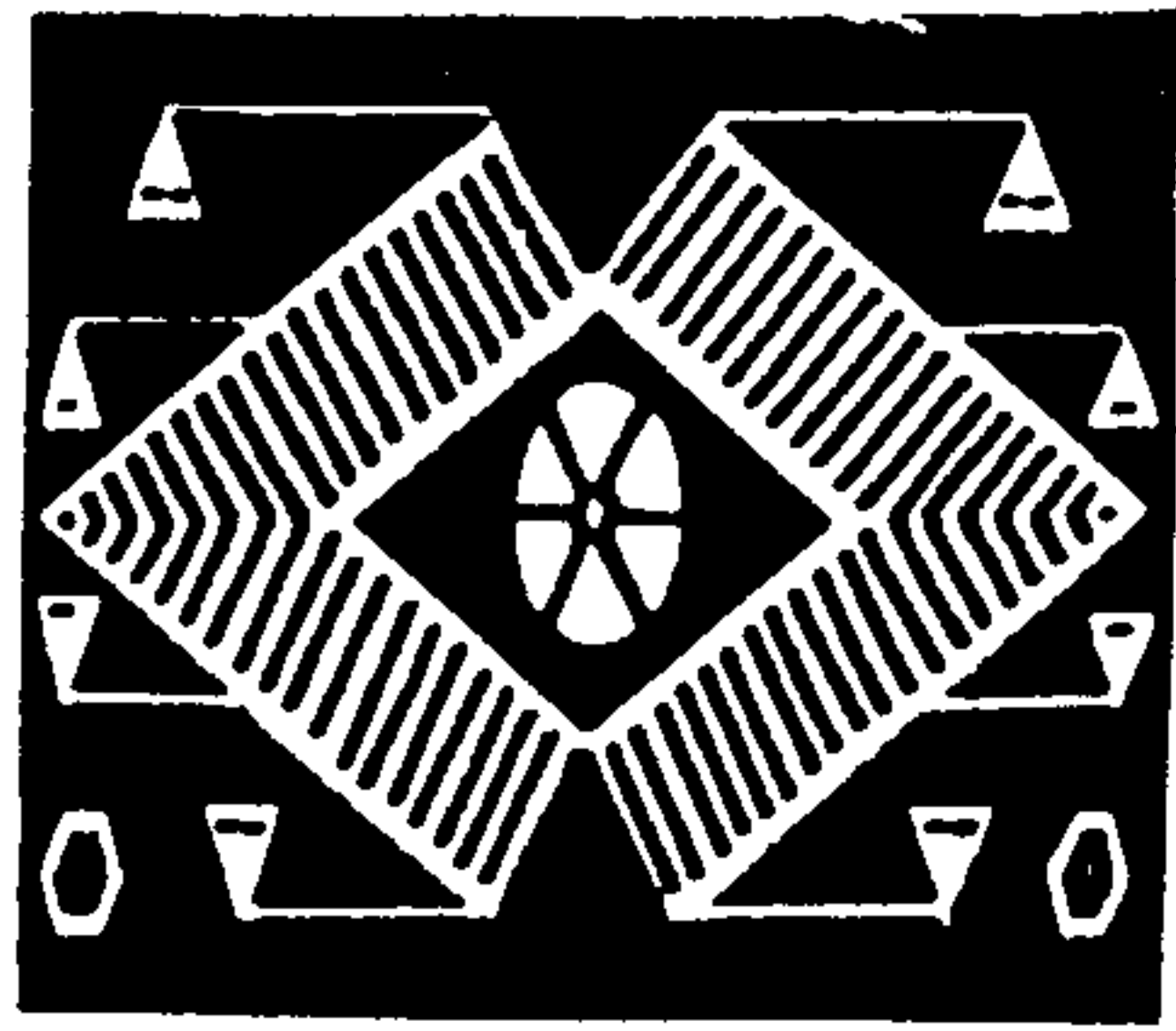
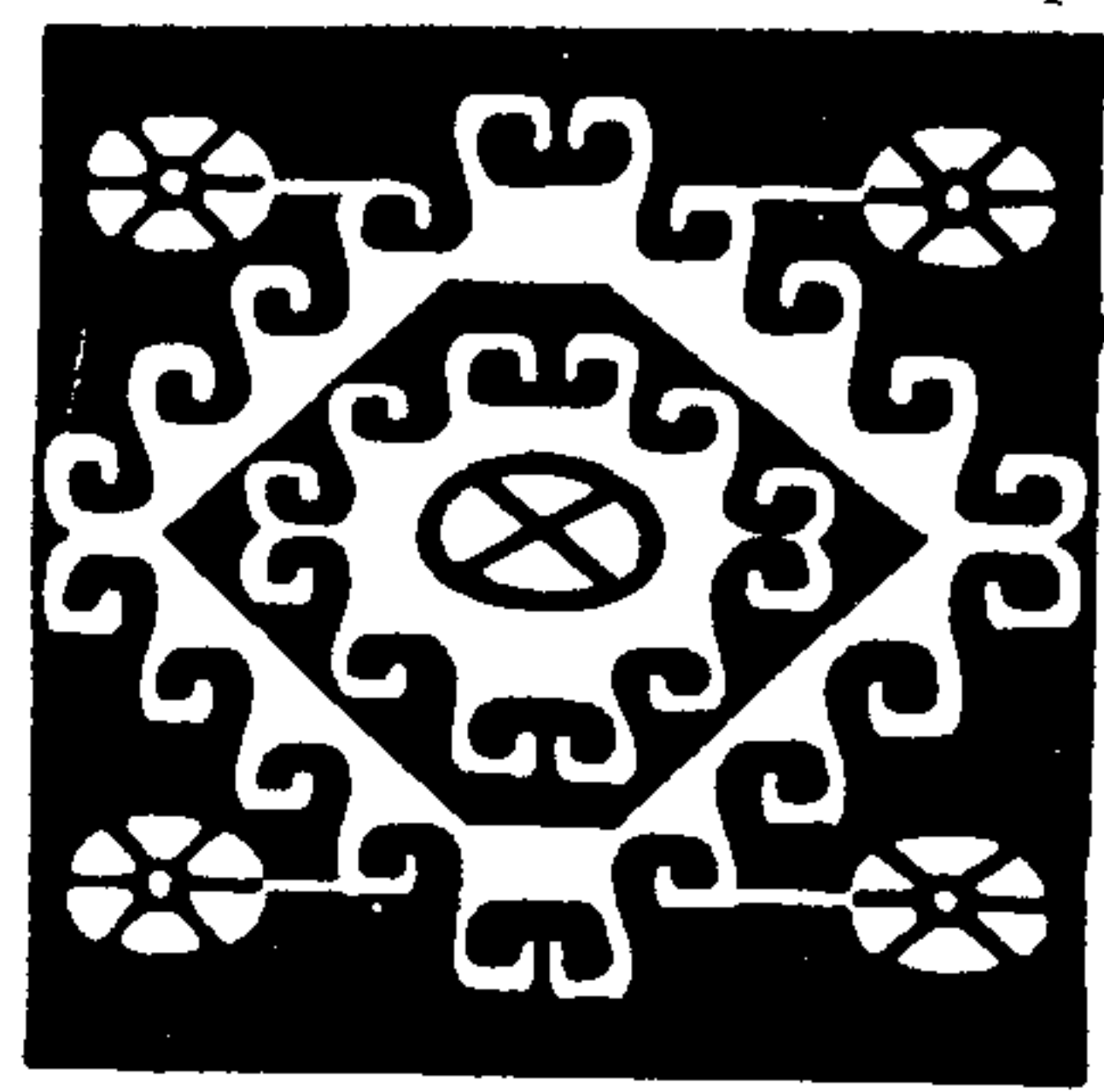


Fig. 5 Typical kurti figures

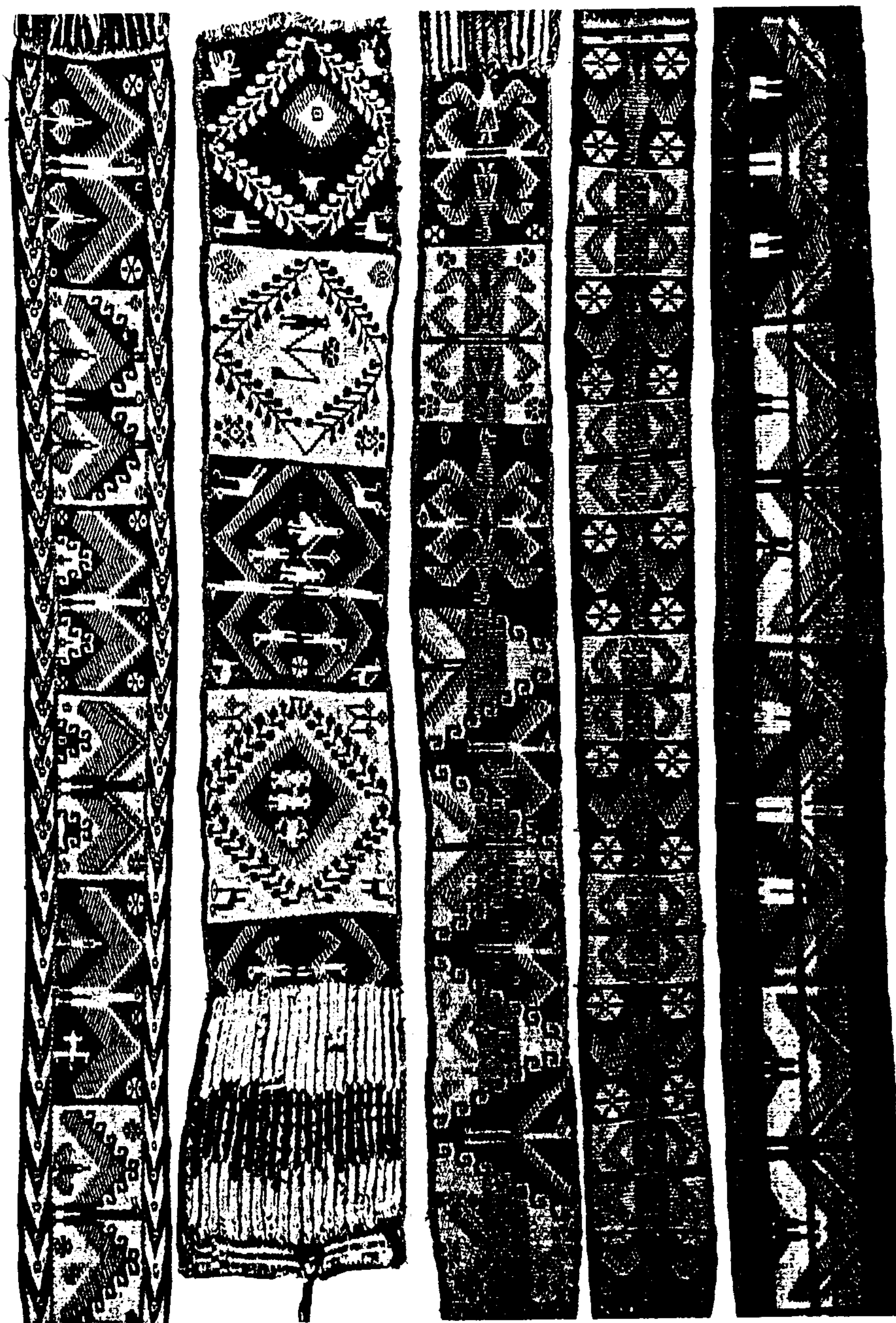


Fig. 6 . Belts with kurti, Challa and San Pedro designs

The figures my teachers showed me and used themselves included various ornate forms of *caripuyo* (rhomboid) or *linku* but were not typical of *kurti*.

Adelson & Takami (*op. cit.*: 26) include *balls*, which are still an extremely popular figure in pebble weave, as typical of the *kurti* style.

Gisbert sees the *inflorescencias* of *kurti* as related to the stylised floral *laymi linku* (*sic*) of the Bolívar style (Gisbert *et. al.*: 212). Whilst a degree of correspondence is probable between *kurti* and both the *laymi* figures, Gisbert actually misapplies the name *laymi linku* to the 'flower vase', *laymi t'ika* (*op. cit.*: plate 225), referring to the meander (*linku*, as in Gisbert *et. al.*: plate 226), merely as a 'plant motif' (*op. cit.*: 212).

As might be expected of a tradition with indigenous roots, *kurti* apparently covered a far greater area than Bolívar; though now in decline (Gisbert *et. al.*: 212) it is still found in the widely separated provinces of Arque, in Cochabamba, and Bustillos, in Northern Potosí (*op. cit.*: 211), i.e. in areas to both north and south of present day Bolívar.

Yorke (*op. cit.*: 22) and Gisbert (Gisbert *et. al.*: 212) both consider the *kurti* style related to that of Challa, which was also 'de gran expansión dentro del territorio Charcas' (Gisbert *et. al.*: 210). Typical Challa designs [see Fig. 6] show condors perched on a toothed or hooked zigzag and sheltering other animals or birds beneath their outspread wings, but unlike Bolívar *kurti* its repertory does not include serpents (*op. cit.*: 213).

c) **Contemporary usage of the term kurti**

I have not been able to find **kurti** in any dictionary and though it is a term commonly used around Bolívar it appears to apply as much to weaving technique as to weaving style. It may derive from the Spanish **corte**, but the Spanish meaning is that of a length or bolt of cloth like those woven on the treadle loom and does not account for the present usage of **kurti**.

Pebble weave and double cloth, but primarily the latter, are referred to as **kurti** 'because they have two faces'. Both my teachers said they would show me how to weave **kurti**, meaning double cloth, but the elderly Doña Calixta added that she could also teach me 'otra clase de **kurti**', referring to pebble weave.

In the Charasani area, where the figured bands are woven almost exclusively in double cloth, an elaborate figure composed of dots and scrolls is called **corte grande**. This usage, like that of Yorke and Gisbert, suggests that **kurti** denotes a particular type of figured design. However, the alternative name for **corte grande**, 'important **corte**', is **jatun pallay**, 'important **pallay**' (Girault: 45). This suggests that **corte** or **kurti** might be an alternative generic name for figured designs rather than for any particular type.

An informant from a neighbouring community, referring to a double cloth panel in the centre of a **ch'uspa** of mine from Taquile, which did not include serpent, rhomboid or condor figures, called it **kurti**. The many figures adorned with scrolls or **inflorescencias** typical of the **kurti** style have individual names and are referred to collectively as **salta**, while the Quechua term **pallay** is only used for figured

designs woven in twill, which are **pallay nomás**; twill, although like double cloth and pebble weave it has two faces, is not referred to as **kurti**.

Whilst I found no explanation of this distinction, it does suggest that **kurti** is used as an alternative to **salta**, for any figured design woven in double cloth or pebble weave.

d) **San Pedro/Llallagua**

The San Pedro/Llallagua style is found in the south of the area designated by Gisbert (see above) and its influence on the contemporary weaving of Bolívar appears to be considerable. That of Laymi/Chayanta (Gisbert *et. al.* 203) will not be examined in detail as, apart from the isolated example already mentioned of the Cala Cala Laymis as weavers of **kurti**, and the Laymi use of the **rama de olivo** (Gisbert *et. al.*: 201)' it does not seem to influence that of Bolívar.

The Llallagua style, which uses both pebble weave and double cloth (Gisbert *et. al.*: 200), is still evolving (*loc. cit.*), incorporating modern figures of trucks, helicopters and aeroplanes. In contrast, the San Pedro/Sacaca style remains traditional (*loc. cit.*) and makes an essential use of checks (*loc. cit.*) which is reminiscent of **tocapu** (*loc. cit.*). Although I would hesitate to classify San Pedro as using only pebble weave (*loc. cit.*), Gisbert's assessment agrees with my own observation of belts from the Sacaca area; the typical colour combinations of the San Pedro/Sacaca three-colour pebble weave, green and orange, pink and blue or purple, and the naturalistic figures of animals such as

llamas and viscachas are also similar to those found in Bolívar.

Gisbert believes the neoclassical **rama de olivo** (Gisbert et. al.: plate 207) is typical of Llallagua (op. cit.: 203), or, as has already been mentioned, of the neighbouring Laymis (op. cit.: 201). The stepped fret with flowers, which I believe derives from the **rama de olivo**, originates from Sacaca (loc. cit.). This figure, one of the many variations of **linku** woven in Bolívar, and known as **laphi**, or 'leaf' **linku**, uses the colours typical of three-colour pebble weave.

Gisbert further subdivides the Llallagua style, designating the eight pointed Incaic star currently popular in Bolívar as from Llallagua (Gisbert et. al.: 202), but **escalonados dobles** and **rombos dentados**, which she believes to date from the same period (op. cit.: 202) as from the Caripuyo area, which once belonged to the cacique of Sacaca (op. cit.: 202).

In Bolívar Caripuyo is spoken of as producing some of the very finest weavings. Bolívar weavers frequently reproduce **escalonados dobles** as a **laymi linku** with flowers similar to the Sacaca figure (Gisbert et. al.: plate 213), whilst they call a symmetrical, mirrored version of **escalonados dobles** which forms a **rombo dentado**, **caripuyo** [see Chapter 8, Fig. 2 and Fig. 14].

At least one style of weaving currently in evidence in Bolívar appears, then, to be strongly influenced by figures from these areas to the south, in Northern Potosí.

Summary

The styles of weaving currently found in Bolívar have been influenced by those from a much larger geographical area roughly corresponding to the ancient kingdom of Charcas. Of the two principal styles, designated **Bolívar** and **kurti**, only the latter continues to be produced. It appears to have been influenced to some extent by the former earlier style, an influence which can also be seen in many of the geometric zigzag designs now popular.

Both techniques and figured designs appear to lose or gain in popularity over time. A particular technique is likely also to include a particular type of figure, geometric, naturalistic or checkered, which is also related to certain colour combinations, but within that convention figures continue to evolve, incorporating elements from everyday life or fresh stylistic variations.

The present naturalistic animal designs and the meanders with flowers woven in pebble weave appear to have been adopted some time ago and from the south. The larger, more imaginative figures of birds, tigers and butterflies, and the more decorative meanders, including a condor with spread wings, which are woven in double cloth, appear to be a more recent innovation and to come from the lower lying territory to the north.

It will be seen from the above that certain figures predominate and several elements are common to what seem initially to be two different conventions.



Plate 3. Setting up the warp in a Logo logo patio.

PART TWO: THE LIVING CLOTH

CHAPTER 3: TEXTILE ORIENTATION

Introduction

This section will look at the preliminary and early stages of the weaving process and at the terms used to define the orientation of the cloth.

It will be shown that the flat surfaces of a textile are capable of expressing a wide range of abstract and concrete oppositions applicable to time as well as space, from which an image emerges of the textile as a three dimensional object and one that is alive. Those parts designated front and back, inside and outside, top and bottom, left and right sides, though they do not appear to the western eye to have individual characteristics are defined from the moment the warp is wound on the loom and do not change according to how the finished product is worn.

TEXTILE STRUCTURE

i) Weaving preliminaries

Embarking on a weaving project is a serious act and one which must be marked by the appropriate ritual. The weaver chews *coca* before winding the warp, and again before starting to weave. She may ask for help from Virgen María, Mamita Amaya or from Santa Catalina, although in Bolívar it is more usual for her to take her weaving to church in nearby Tacopaya on 25th November, Catalina's name day. When I started to weave a *coca* cloth, my teacher and I drank *trago* together with my

family, who had helped to provide the materials and shaped the sticks for my loom. We sprinkled **trago** on the yarn and loom parts and ate a simple meal.

Before beginning to warp a textile the materials to be used are called by ritual names. The sticks which will be tied together to make the loom are referred to as **coca mallku**, 'tree lords'. **Coca** is the Aymara generic term for tree, and like **pampa** (Bertonio II: 247) is representative of an earlier, less 'cultural' time and place (Bertonio II: 49). The yarn for the warp is **qori ch'anka**, 'golden thread'. At this stage the sticks have not undergone the transforming process by which they become **awa**, a loom, nor has the thread become a warp, called in Bolívar by the Aymara term **asi**. It is only once these raw ingredients have been used to create the equipment or materials for weaving that the 'loom' and the 'warp' are brought into being and can be called by the names appropriate to this new stage of their existence.

ii) Beginning to weave: the textile face, ajanu

A similar transformation to that which takes place in the raw materials, an 'awakening' from a hitherto dormant or precultural state to participation in a process newly begun is apparent in the terms used to describe the next step of weaving practice.

In English and Spanish we speak of a textile as having one or two 'faces', depending on whether or not the fabric is reversible. In Aymara 'face' is **ahano**, 'el rostro de los hombres y todos los animales', 'la haz de

todas las cosas' (Bertonio II: 7). **Ahano** also applies to the textile 'face', 'media vuelta de lo que uno texe' (loc. cit.), i.e. a single pass or 'half turn' of the weft, whereas the 'buelta entera de la tela', two weft passes or a 'full turn' across both 'face' and 'back' is **llau** (loc. cit.).

To put in a single weft is **ahanochatha** (Bertonio II: 7), **cha** being a causative suffix (Hardman: 152). This term, in its modern spelling of **ajanuchaña**, has come to mean 'comenzar un tejido' (De Lucca: 8), that is, putting in the first weft thread and thus initiating the weaving by giving it a 'face'.

Besides its specifically textile related meanings **ajanuchaña** means 'enlucir', to polish or shine (De Lucca: 8). 'Enlucir' can also be rendered by **sulatha** (Bertonio II: 325). The various forms of smoothing, levelling or polishing associated with this term refer to situations of potential similar to that of the textile warp before the initial weft gives it a 'face'. **Sulata** means 'hermoso' (Bertonio I: 263); through the act of weaving the textile becomes a cultural and therefore a beautiful object (Torricco:52).

Ahano is also used to refer to the 'face' or 'light' of the sun or moon: **ahano thami** means 'twilight', 'entre dos luzes' (Bertonio II: 7). The act of beginning a textile, of creating a beautiful object, is then, comparable to the advent of light shining on its surface.

A similar connection between the initiation of the weaving process and the introduction of light is apparent in **illahuatha**: 'hazer o poner los hilos que prende el urdiembre al principio de la tela para texer' (Bertonio II: 173). Words with the root **illa** have meanings of 'light' or 'dawn' (loc. cit); **illahua** are the heddles (loc. cit.) which make the weaving process possible by separating the warp into two alternating sheds, allowing the passage of the weft and the definition or illumination of the textile 'face'.

The Quechua term **rik chhay**, 'color, o haz de cualquiera cosa, rostro o imagen o figura' (Holguín: 315), appears analogous to **ajano** except that it is a synonym for colour, rather than light - the presence of light, however, being implicit in that of colour.¹ **Rikchhay** is also associated with initiation in its meaning of **recordar**, 'to wake up' or 'become aware' (Holguín: 315); the use of the causative suffix **cha** is analogous with its use in **ajanochaña**.

Beginning to weave, then, by giving a textile 'face', 'light', or 'colour', awakens it, or brings it to life; **sama**, the Aymara generic term for colour (Bertonio II: 306) also means 'breath' (loc. cit.); the presence of this vital force will be investigated in greater detail in subsequent chapters.

iii) 'Face', or exterior, and 'reverse', or interior

A distinction between 'face' and 'reverse' is made both linguistically and in weaving practice. The latter

definition is not based on any variation in quality; apart from the alternation of colours in areas of complementary weave both surfaces of most Andean textiles are identical. As the metaphorical associations of **ajano** suggest, it is rather a distinction between their light and dark values.

Opinions differ from place to place as to which is the face of a textile and which its reverse. In the Puno area of Peru the face is that which shows a dark design on a light background; in Socaire, Chile, the face shows a light design on a dark background (Dransart, personal communication). Although this was not directly stated it was evident from the comments of my teachers and of friends examining my weaving efforts that the latter was the case in Bolívar also.

iv) The concept of al revés

To appreciate the significance of the distinction made between 'face' and 'reverse' or exterior and interior it is necessary to understand something of the significance of 'al revés'.

Turning something 'the other way' is expressed by **kutiy** (Holguín: 57), or **tikray** (op. cit.: 341). In the Andean system of reciprocal forces the other side or 'reverse' will in due time come to the fore. Deliberately attempting to induce a reversal of these reciprocal forces

can symbolise a desire either to turn away a negative element, or to attract a positive one [see 6, II:(ii)].

A textile may be turned 'al revés' either by turning it so that the reverse side shows, as when turning over the leaf of a book (Holguín: 341), or by turning it inside out, like a bag (*loc. cit.*). According to Bertonio Aymara mourning customs, **hacchira**, involved adopting clothing appropriate to the opposite sex or wearing it in the opposite or 'reverse' way to normal (*op. cit* II: 107-8).

I found no particular importance attached to which side of a garment was worn outermost, but if their reversal was ever capable of such profound symbolic meaning, it is not surprising that textile vocabulary makes clear distinctions about the orientation of the cloth and that far from being purely ornamental, these distinctions are embedded in the very structure of the cloth.

v) The textile back, **khepajj**

There is a belief amongst the Kogi of Northern Colombia that the sun puts two wefts into the cosmic textile every twenty-four hours, a light, dayside one, symbolising life and a dark, nightside one, symbolising death (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1978c: 15). The two 'lights' or 'faces' of twilight, **ahano thami**, however, probably refer to the light of the sun and moon: **ajano** is the face; **ati**, the back or spine of an object (De Lucca: 46), can also be

the ritual name for the moon (Paredes: 112), the weft passing from one to the other as it performs 'una vuelta entera' of the warp.

As the opposite of **ajano**, face, De Lucca gives **khepajj**, the back or reverse side (op. cit. 7). **Khepajj** refers to both time and place, meaning either 'behind' or 'later' (op. cit.: 243). No similar term is to be found in Bertonio and perhaps it has been adopted from Quechua **qqeapa**: 'atrás, atrasar' (Holguín: 422-423). In Aymara the closest phonological approximations are **quepa**, the weft (Bertonio II: 288), and **quipa**, a suffix indicating 'movement passing round a corner' (Hardman: 159) or 'a la vuelta' (Bertonio II: 298).

The future in the Andean mind, because it is unknown and unseen, lies behind (Gifford: 1986), like the alternating weft pass which succeeds that of **ajano**, across the textile face. It seems, then, that there is a both a semantic and a metaphorical association between:

quepa the weft, which performs 'una vuelta entera',

quipa going round the corner, 'a la vuelta',

and

khepajj, 'atrás' or 'después'.

vi) The textile back or interior, manqhue or hiccani

Emphasising the distinction between exterior and interior Islugan weavers say the **talega** should be used 'right side out', 'according to its face' (Cereceda 1986:

151). Bertonio gives as the opposite of **ajano** not **khepajj** but **manqhue** or **hiccani** (op. cit. II: 7). **Manqhue** is 'profundidad' (Bertonio II: 215). **Manqhue pacha** (loc. cit.), like Quechua **ucu pacha** (Holguín: 556), was adopted by the early missionaries as the situation of Hell, but both **manqhue** and **ucu** indicate not so much depth below as interior depth, the centre or heart of a thing (Holguín: 349; Bertonio II: 215); **manqhue** has meanings very similar to those of **sonqo** [see Chapter 7: IV]. **Manqhue** implies, as does **khepajj**, that the textile is a three-dimensional object with a secret, hidden core.

Also like **khepajj**, a region of darkness or lesser light, its distance from the present in place and , therefore, in time suggests that **manqhue pacha** is dim and indistinct. These are characteristics of the precultural **chullpa** or **purum pacha** (Cereceda 1981: 42; Harris & Bouysse-Cassagne: 21-22); **manque haque**, 'hombre intrínstico que no se declara con nadie' (Bertonio II: 215), bears a close resemblance to **purum** and **pampa haque**, 'que no está sujeta a nadie' (op.cit. II: 247), that is, someone who is outside the bounds of or who has not yet become part of, society.

The interior world of **ucu** or **manqhue pacha**, the world of the dead, is conceived of as a mirror image of the living world but its contrary in every respect: day is their night, summer their winter (Hocquenghem 1934: 152).

The second term listed in opposition to **ajano**, **hiccani**, repeats the sense of **khepajj** as 'después' and

'trás' (Bertonio I: 183), but *hiccani* also means 'back', or 'spine' (*op. cit.* II: 129), meanings which, it will be remembered, are common to *ati*. Once again the linguistic implications are that this 'other world', reverse side, or unseen surface is governed by the light of the moon, for which *ati* is a ritual name, although a dark or night-time sun, as envisaged by the Kogi (Reichel Dolmatoff: 1978c) is also a possibility.

What is behind, or future, can, then, also be 'hidden' or 'interior'. As Gifford points out in his study of time metaphors in Quechua and Aymara, the Aymara tense system also divides time into unseen and seen, future time and 'other time' (1986: 1), which includes both past and present because these are a continuous process of time known and experienced.

To summarise: the oppositions *ajano/khepajj*, *ajano/hiccani*, *ajano/manqhue*, *ajano/ati* provide the two faces of the textile with the metaphoric potential to represent the following variants of a single face/reverse contrast:

sun	moon
male	female
light	dark
day	night
front	back
exterior	interior ²
known	unknown
seen	unseen
past, present	future

These oppositions should not be understood as static, but rather as contrasting aspects between which a constant movement or transformation is taking place.

vii) The warp selvedge, top and bottom, polo

Just as the designations 'face' and 'reverse' remain constant from the putting in of the first weft 'top' and 'bottom' are structurally defined as the warp selvedges, regardless of where these selvedges appear when the textile is worn or used. No distinction is, however, made between them; the term for both warp selvedges is polo. As these are, technically speaking edges, the wider connotations of this term will be examined in Chapter 7, V.

The absence of a distinction between upper and lower edges is also evident in weaving practice. When the weaver warps a two-piece textile such as a llijlla she sits next to the bottom loom bar with her helper sitting opposite her at the top bar. Starting at her right hand side she puts the warps on the loom working from the outside edge of the proposed cloth towards the centre. This process is repeated for the second half.

She then weaves each half from the bottom towards the top, apart from a few weft passes woven from the direction of the upper loom bar to prevent the terminal area, which cannot be so densely packed, from coming right at the edge. Thus, although she always works away from her body towards the farther loom bar, there is no sense of the top bar representing the 'end', in contrast to the 'beginning' of the lower bar. Beginning and end are part of a continuous whole formed by the warp³.

This warping and weaving procedure means that in order to fit the two halves together the weaver has two choices:

She could turn one half over; this would in some ways produce a more exactly symmetrical textile. Any asymmetrical figures, such as the animals typical of one Bolívar style, would be orientated in the same direction on both halves and the terminal areas would appear side by side at the same end. However, it would also mean that the figures appeared against contrasting backgrounds on each half, as one half would be displaying its 'face', the other its 'back' or 'inside'[see Fig. 1a].

Her second option, and the one she adopts, is to rotate one half through 180 degrees so that its 'bottom' becomes its 'top'. As she does not turn the fabric over the colour values are not affected [see Fig. 1b].

Juxtaposed in this way the two halves appear symmetrical. Though they do not reflect as close a mirror image as would the first option, the result is visually more balanced and contained. The opposition of the terminal areas forms a diagonal axis (Cereceda 1986: 157) which draws the eye inwards towards the centre. Two parallel lines of animal figures [Fig 1.a], would suggest their eventual dispersal beyond the confines of the textile and so weaken the spatial definition provided by its edge; instead the animals in each half face in opposite directions, with those closest to the edge appearing to follow the animal immediately in front on the

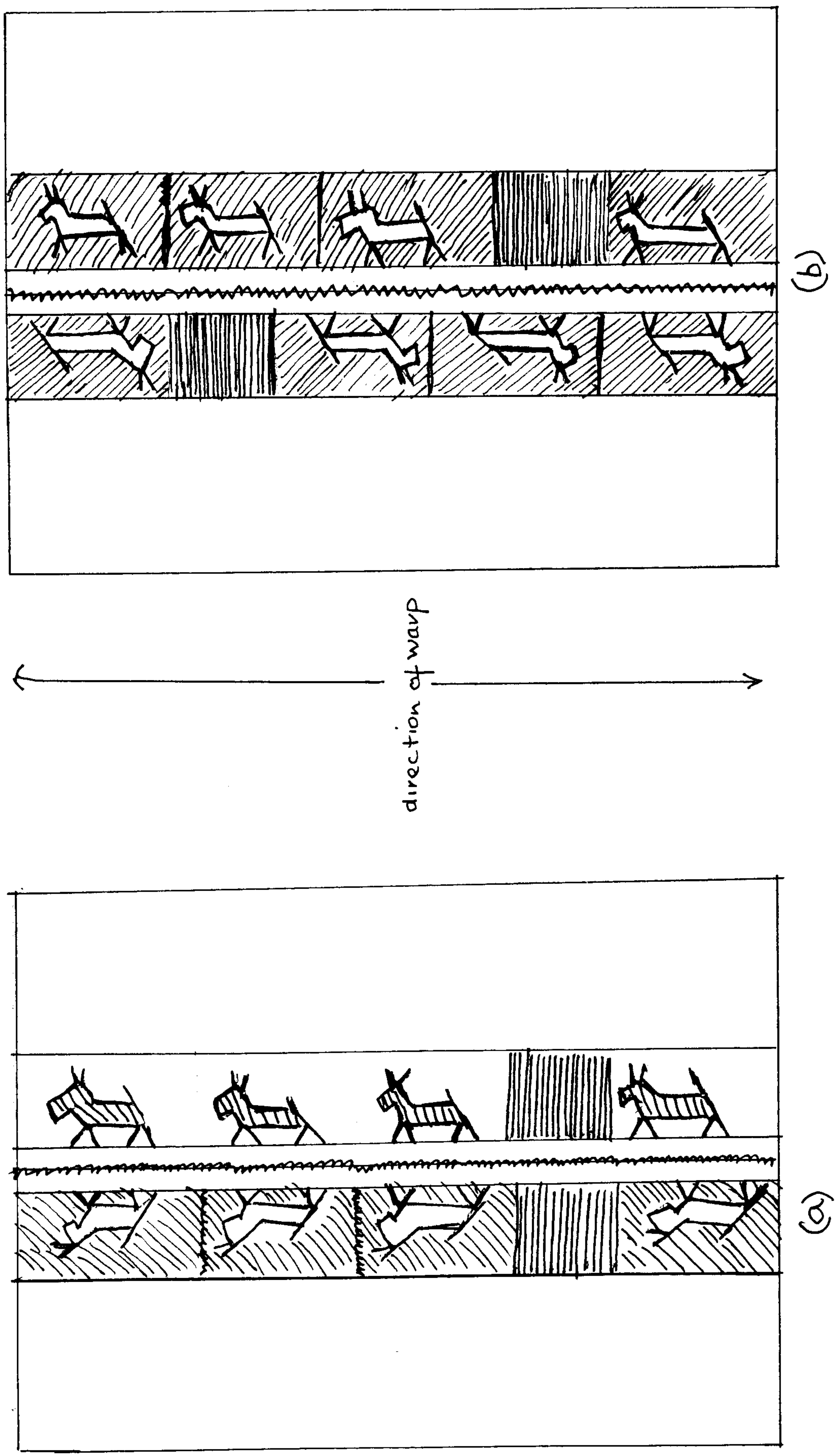
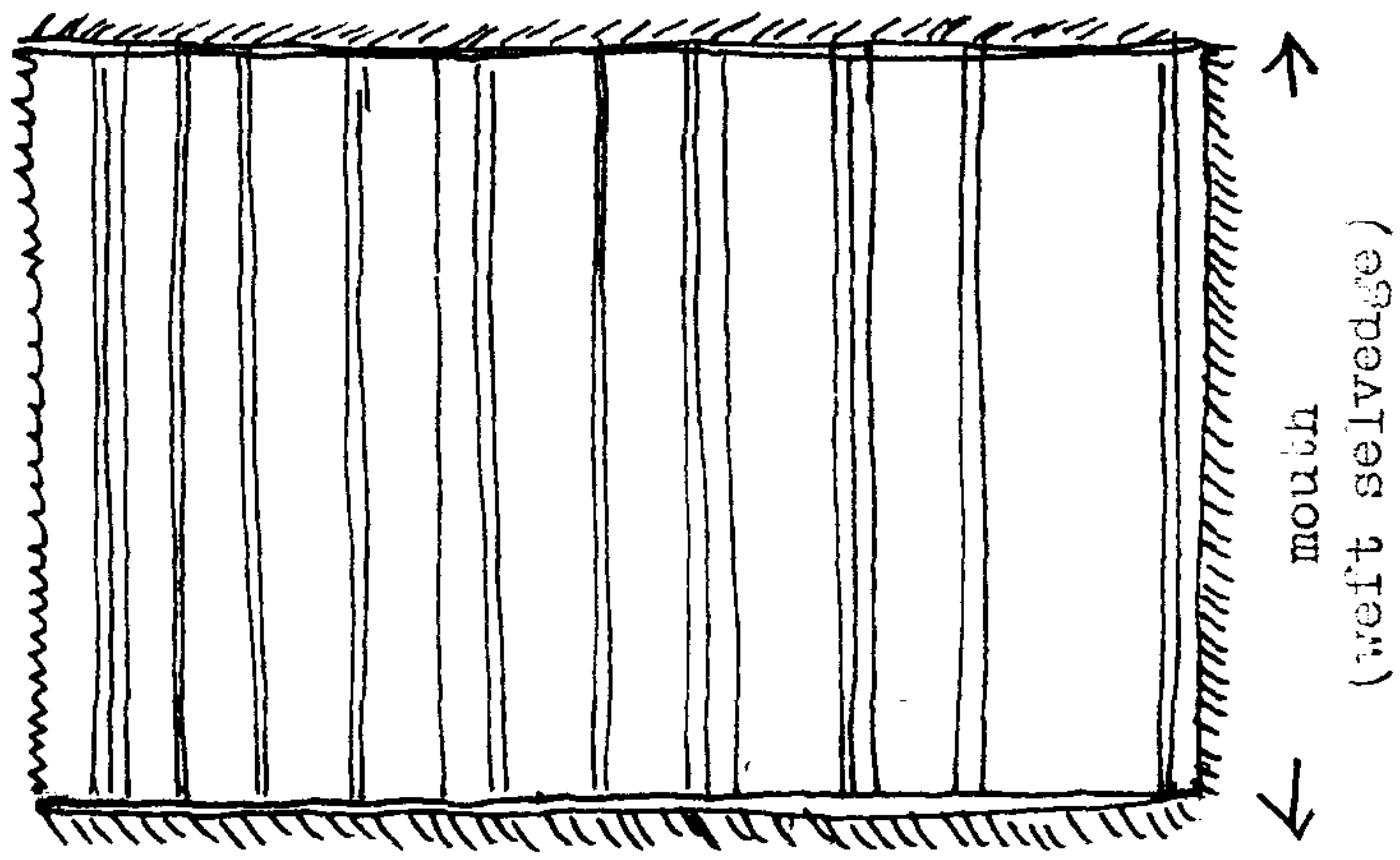
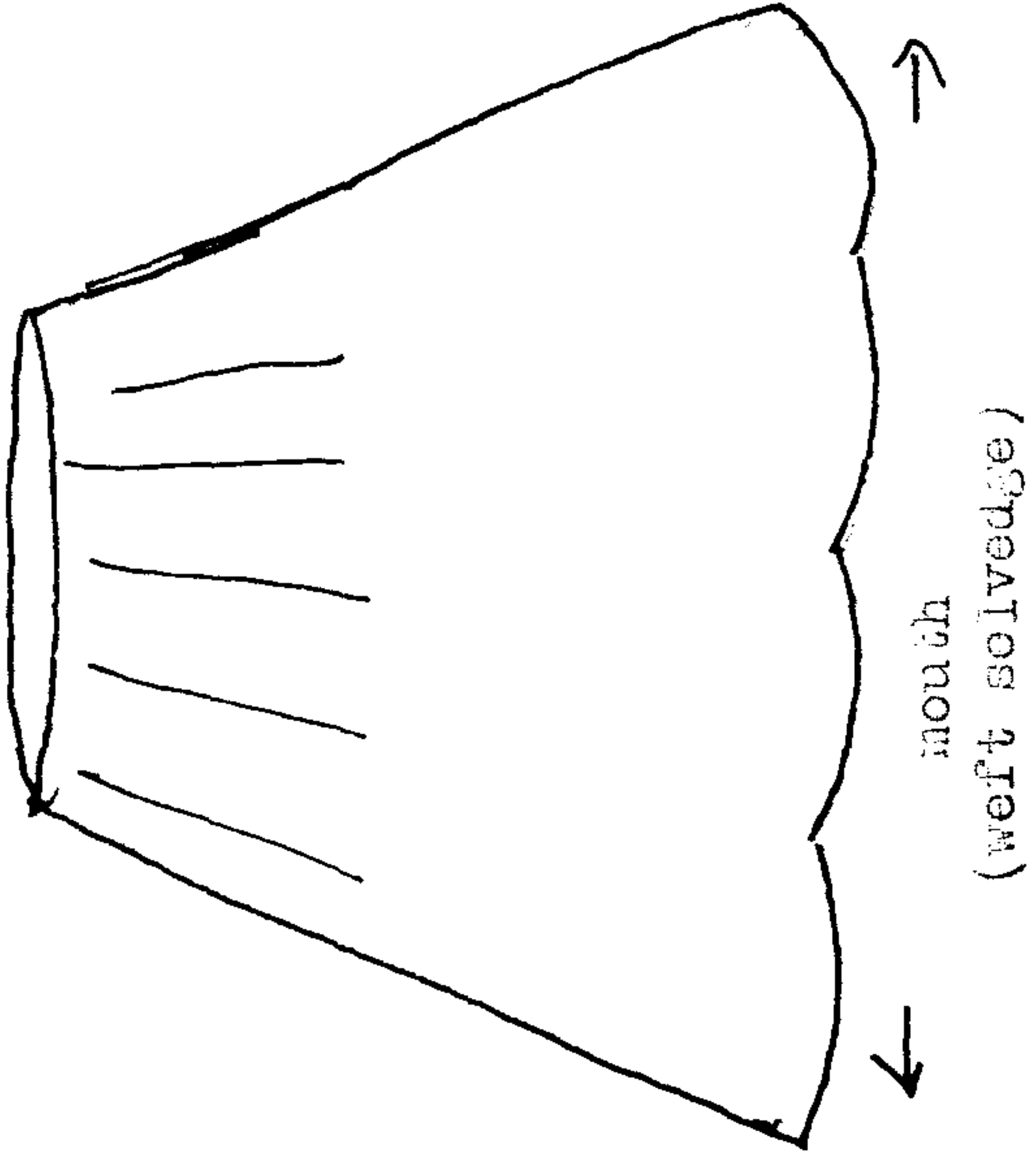


FIG. 1. Seaming together a two-piece textile.

(a) tarabuco poncho



(b) taquile pollera



(c) Isluga talega

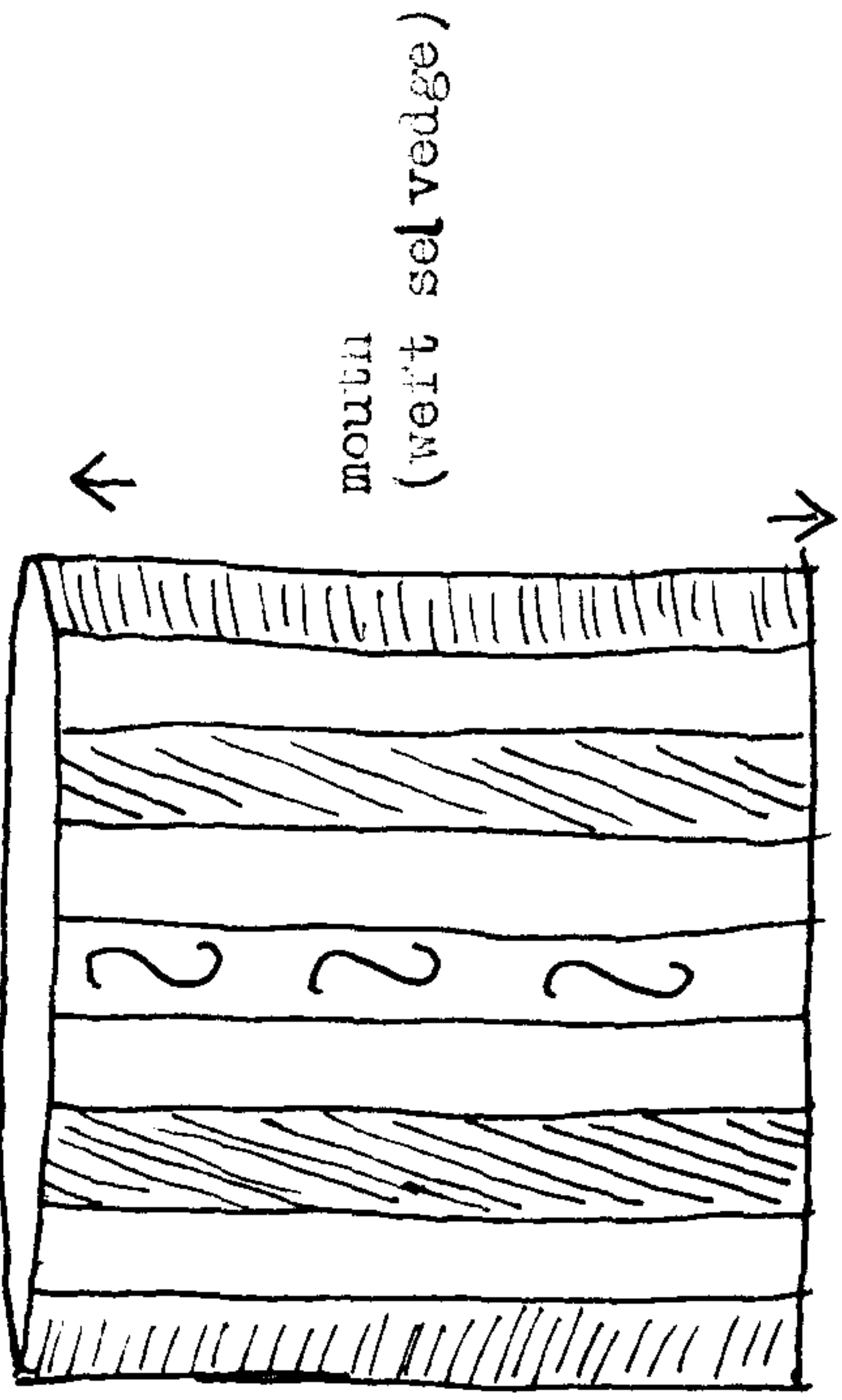


Fig. 2. Location of the textile 'mouth'.

other band in a circling movement [Fig. 1b] giving the design a sense of both continuity and containment.

It also means that only top and bottom, which are not linguistically distinguished, rotate their position; the face and reverse of the fabric remain unchanged throughout the weaving.

viii) **The weft selvages: left side and right side, killpa**

In the warping and weaving process described above the position of the left and right edges remains unchanged. In a two piece textile the inner edge will become the central, seamed **siray lado**, the outer edge, **cantu lado**, will probably be bound. The term for these side or weft selvages is **killpa**; like **polo** its connotations will be more fully examined in Chapter 7,.V.

In some areas of the Andes bodily terms are applied to certain textiles, transforming them into anthropomorphic or zoomorphic figures. These terms include arms, legs, wings, tail, shoulders, elbows, hands, and ears [see Chapter 7, IV: (ii)]. Most commonly found is the mouth, and its position, too, is evidently governed by structural considerations.

The mouth appears in Macha at the top edge of a **kustala** (Torrico: 15), in Isluga at the side of a **talega** (Cereceda 1986: 158), and in Tarabuco at the side of a **chuspa** or **wayakita** (Meisch 1986: 248). In Tarabuco, where the poncho is worn with the stripes horizontal, the stripe

at its bottom edge is its mouth (Meisch 1987: 52) as is the bottom edge of the full *pollera* on Taquile island.

The placement of the Macha mouth, at the opening of the bag, may perhaps be due to adoption of Spanish usage. In all other cases the mouth, regardless of its position when the textile is worn or used, is at the weft selvages, where the shuttle enters the opening between the two sheds⁴.

Like 'top' and 'bottom', then, the textile 'sides' or 'mouths' are structurally defined and no distinction is made between that of left and right. Sides are, however, distinguished structurally and linguistically from top and bottom.

Summary

The vocabulary of textile structure examined in this section expresses an essential contrast between 'inside' and 'outside' which has metaphorical implications of time (now/recent past, or near future), place (here/there), and perhaps most significantly inanimate potential/animate realisation. Once weaving has begun the textile acquires light and colour and the inanimate warp and weft are transformed into the animate cloth.

In referring to two passes of the weft as 'una vuelta entera' and implying that its reverse is also its interior, the textile is clearly designated as a three dimensional object, which encompasses a fourth dimension,

time. Whilst its surfaces are contrasted, as are the vertical weft and horizontal warp selvedge, a sense of balance is suggested by the pairing of its top and bottom and its sides.



Plate 4. A brand new llijlla with the condor-serpent design.

CHAPTER 4: TEXTILE DESIGN: QUELLQA

Introduction

By referring in the title of my thesis to its symbolic language I imply that a textile is able to speak or convey a message. Whilst we cannot hear its metaphorical voice, we may one day be able to decipher the silent communication of its designs.

My aim in examining quellqa and its related meanings, then, is to attempt to present a clearer picture of what constituted the Andean systems of 'writing' and to suggest why the term used for so many of its forms does not appear to have been applied to one of the most complex systems, textiles.

WEAVING AND WRITING: The Emerging Form

i) Quellqa - Design and description

It was the Spaniards who adopted quellqa as a noun to mean the western type of writing¹. Before their arrival it related to the performance of many of the plastic arts which included 'pintar, esculpir, cavar en duro, dibujar, trazar, labrar, bordar y teñir' (de la Jara: 12), a range of skills in which a design, the escritura, is either brought out of a plain surface, by cutting or engraving, or applied to it by painting, embroidering or drawing.

It would appear to have been primarily a concept referring to the act of creating this design rather than to the design itself. Quillcani, for example is 'trazar' (Santo Tomás: 219), or 'dibujar' (op. cit.: 98), but the visible result of this action is not quellqa but either

simply *ricchaynin* 'figura de traza' (Santo Tomás: 137, 331), or *ricchayninman quellcasca* 'figura, imagen' (Holguín: 525), using *quellqa* as a past participle².

That a single term can apply to so many creative skills implies that their function has a conceptual unity; *quellqa* can perhaps best be translated as 'to make visible', or 'to reveal' a latent image which has a communicative rather than a purely decorative significance.

Meanings such as 'pintar', 'teñir', 'embadurnar', associate *quellqani* with colour, and the metaphorical cultural transformation brought about by revealing an image or *figura*, is similar to that brought about by beginning a weaving and thus introducing light and giving the textile a 'face'. The effect of *quellqani* is analogous to the process of developing a clear cut photographic image from a dark, indistinct negative, or like passing a wet brush over the dull grey page of one of those old fashioned magic painting books so that bright colours emerged to form a picture.

ii) The application of colour

The only example of an artistic skill where *quellqani* does not appear to imply either incision or application is that of dyeing. In fact, only Santo Tomás gives *quillcani* as an alternative to *tullpuni*, 'teñir de color' (op. cit.: 216). Other dictionaries give only *tullpuni*.

The explanation may be that a particular type of dyeing was intended in which a design was formed by

reserving areas of the completed fabric from the dye by the application of wax, as in batik (de la Jara: 13).

Alternatively, dye adds or applies colour to the materials immersed in it, and the metaphorical associations of dyeing with cooking imply a similar transformation from inanimate to animate, precultural to cultural, as that brought about in other contexts by the introduction of light.

In Quechua immersing wool, thread or woven fabric in dye to give it colour is metaphorically associated with the marinading of food in sauces to give it flavour: *tullpuni*, 'remojar echar en remojo ropa o comidas duras' (Holguín: 345); *tullpucuni*, 'mojar la sopa, o el bocado de carne en salsa en miel o en cosa de comer' (loc. cit.)³.

Dyeing is also associated with the cooking of food in Aymara: verbs for 'teñir', *huaycutha*, *ccatiatha*, *phutitha* (Bertonio I: 46), are also terms for cooking (op. cit.: s.v.).

Modern Aymara terms for dyeing, *samiri*, *samiyiri* 'colorante, que colora' (De Lucca: 377), and *samiquipaña* 'reteñir volver a teñir' (loc. cit.) derive from *sami*, 'color en general' (De Lucca: 377), and, as *iri* causes the preceding vowel to drop (Hardman: 271), from *sama*, a generic term for colour (Bertonio II: 306).

Samana is 'aliento' (Bertonio II: 306; De Lucca: 376) and *samiri* also means 'vaporoso, que despide vapores' (loc. cit.) recalling the connection between flavour and colour; although it does not have a visible colour, the steam arising from the boiling dyepots is impregnated with dye

just as the steam from the boiling food is richly scented or flavoured by it.

Dyeing would appear to be a late accretion of meaning to **sami**, as it is not to be found in Bertonio. It is, however, a significant one as it reiterates the connection already mentioned in Chapter 3, I: (ii), between colour, by association blood, **sama**, and breath, **sama**, in a textile context. The connotations of textile terminology repeatedly indicate the joint presence of these two vital forces, the introduction of which represents a metaphoric 'bringing to life' of the textile.

iii) Woven designs and painted figures

When not described as **salta** or **pallay**, figured designs are referred to in Bolívar by the Spanish term **dibujos**. **Quellcani** can mean 'dibujar' (Holguín: 301); **quellcani** as the closely related concept 'pintar' (Holguín: 301, 513, 632), is specifically associated with **vestidos** and **queros**, ritual drinking vessels (Holguín: 301, 306).

The geometric checkered designs painted on the latter are known as **tocapu** which may represent some form of **escritura**, and as such have been studied by de la Jara (*op. cit.*) and Burns Glynn (*op. cit.*). **Tocapu** also refers to the designs when woven. It would seem reasonable, then, to suppose that 'tejer **figuras**' would also be categorised as **quellcani**. However, no mention of this usage is made in any of the early dictionaries.

An example of **quellqa** used in a weaving related context may clarify why this is so: **suko suko ccahua** is

'camiseta bareteada o listada de alto abaxo con listas de diversas colores' (Bertonio II: 325), **suko suko quellcata pirca** is 'pared rayada de diversas colores' (loc. cit.). Apart from the stipulation in the first example that the stripes run 'de alto abaxo', the definitions are identical but the coloured stripes in a woven shirt apparently do not need to be qualified by **quellqa**.

It will be remembered that **quellqani** involves 'marking' or 'incising', applying the design to or bringing it out of a surface. On the wall, the stripes need to be made visible by adding paint. In the shirt, however, the necessary colour divisions are already present in the fundamental arrangement of the warp and the potential stripes appear as weaving progresses.

It would seem, then, that the reason that **tejer figuras** is not subsumed in **quellqani**, although the resulting designs are considered **escritura**, is that the two processes are analogous in making visible a coded message. Like the action of **quellqani** on the hitherto undecorated surface of an object, the act of weaving brings out or develops the design by the manipulation of an inert medium, the uniform cloth or **pampa**. To qualify this act by **quellqata** would be, as in the case of the striped shirt, superfluous.

iv) Design and perception

In its meaning of 'traçar' (Santo Tomás: 219) **quellqani** is related to abstract concepts similar to those found associated with the central stripe **sonqo** [see 7: IV]: 'traçar' is also translated **unanchani** (Ricardo: 90,

189), **hamuthani**, **hamurpayani** (Holguín: 682) which denote 'understanding', 'perception', 'thought', and 'imagination' (Holguín: 355; Bertonio II: 127, 377); in Aymara **hamurpaaña** and **hamurpaasiña** also mean 'potencia del alma' (Bertonio II: 127)⁴.

Through its association with these terms the message-bearing image-made-visible, **quellcasca**, on the exterior surface of an object, is linked to the purely interior perception of an idea in the imagination; in having an interior as well as an exterior dimension the image produced by **quellqani** is once again analogous to the woven textile which has an exterior, seen, and an interior, unseen, surface⁵.

Quellqani as **traçar**, then, implies the perception of an image in the mind and its visible realisation as an icon relating to ancestral traditions. The emergence of this design transforms the textile or other object on which it appears into a cultural and therefore animate entity.

v) Design and memory

Besides **quellcani**, **unanchani** and **hamutha**, **traçar** can be translated as **callacatha**, **chuymattatha** or **amutatha** (Bertonio I: 455). **Amutatha** also means **acordarse**, 'to wake up', or 'become aware', (Bertonio II: 17), and words with the root **amu** generally relate to situations of potential, such as that of a bud about to burst into flower (*loc. cit.*), or a voice which is [still] silent (*loc. cit.*), similar to those which are 'developed' by the various processes of **quellqani**.

In the Aymara concept of time the present contains the past (Gifford 1986: 1); this would suggest that once something has begun its potential existence, once a design, **traça**, has been 'woken up' or 'made visible', that it also has the capacity of memory⁶.

Cognitive memory uses visual encoding as a mnemonic device (Connerton: 27)⁷. It will be remembered that besides its meaning of colour, image or face, **rikchay** means both 'acordar' and 'recordar' (Holguín: 315). **Ricchacta quellcani** means 'pintar' (Holguín: 632) which can be understood as to make visible the images stored in the memory. That this imagery has a didactic function is suggested by the entry **riccha quellcay camayok o yachachik** (loc. cit.). **Camayok** refers to someone who knows about a subject or is an expert, but **yachachik** is also a teacher, suggesting the instructive element of **riccha quellcay** 'dibujos' and woven designs⁸.

The subsequent paragraphs will investigate further how designs are linked to the ancestors as their 'memorials', or 'epitaphs'.

vi) Design and identity

One meaning of **quellqa** adopted by the Spaniards was **cedula** (Ricardo: 130). Indigenous usage also appears to associate the message or image transmitted by **quellqa** with identification.

In Aymara **quellcatha** means both 'escribir como hazen los Españoles' and 'affeytar, pintar o rascunar o dibuxar al modo de indios que pintan los cantaros y otros vasos' (Bertonio II: 286); **quellcastha** means both 'escriuir algo

para si' and 'affeytarse, o embadurnarse con alguna color' (Bertonio II: 288).

The alternatives to **quellcasita**, 'pintado, affeytado assi' (Bertonio II: 288), are **sulasita**, **phiscusita**, **llucchusita**, terms with meanings of 'enlucir', **sulatha**, (Bertonio II: 325); 'untar o embadurnar', **phiscutha**, **sulatha** (Bertonio II: 270) and 'vestir', **llucchuctatha** (Bertonio II: 206), all actions which involve adding something to an original plain surface.

However, this visible marking of an object can be reversed by cleaning, washing or undressing it and it is from these meanings 'lavarse el rostro', **sularasitha**, **phiscurasitha** (Bertonio II: 325); 'quitar el barro, o qualquiera inmundicia', **phiscucatha**, **sulacatha** (Bertonio II: 270) and 'quitar el vestido', **llucchutatha** (Bertonio II: 206)⁹, that we learn more about the metaphorical implications of **quellqa** and **quellqani**.

In both cases **quellqa** is associated with a transformation or change of state affecting visible appearance but what does this change imply?

'Cleansing' a surface, **sulacatha**, is comparable in other contexts to an act of 'making level' or 'equal' [see 6: IV,(iii)], and provides a similar opportunity for the balancing of forces and a 'fresh start' as that represented by the uniform by still dormant textile **pampa**¹⁰.

Is washing one's face, then, merely to remove superficial dirt in order to make visible one's true self? Or does it imply deliberately reversing the process of **embadurnarse**, i.e. removing the facial writing and

identifying marks and reducing oneself once again to a common man, **pampa haque**, indistinguishable from everyone else, uncounted, not belonging to society?

The 'socialising' associations of painting one's face (Zuidema 1983a: 150; Bouysse-Cassagne 1986: 213) and that the same word, **quellcastha**, also means 'escribiendo algo para si', suggest the latter option and **quellqani** is also related to visible identifying marks through **unanchani** with which it is synonymous in its meaning of **traçar**. **Unanchani** also means 'marcar' (Ricardo: 158), 'señalar' (Ricardo: 88), or 'señalar poniendo algo', **unanchatha** (Bertonio II: 377).

An illiterate person is said to 'make his mark' as a substitute for his written signature. Holguín lists **unancha** as 'estandarte, insignia' (op. cit.: 355); he also lists it as 'hierro del ganado', a cattle mark or brand (loc. cit.).

In whatever form a 'mark' is a means of identification. It can indicate a moment of transition in a similar way to a rite of passage, a change of state from unbegun to begun, wild to social, disorder to order. An artefact which has been subjected to the transforming creative process undergoes a similar change, as do kin, land or livestock which are 'claimed' by a social group.

vii) Design and recorded information

Besides **unancha** marks indicating ownership of cattle are **lista**, literally stripe (Torrico: 18) and **chimpu**, red or coloured tassels. **Chimpu** are semantically related to **chinu**, the Aymara term for the knotted cords better known

by their Quechua name **kipu**. These cords, which were used to record information in the absence of a written alphabetical or numerical system, are directly associated with **quellqa**: 'libro de cuentas, **quillca quippo** (Santo Tomás: 357). Thus **quellqa** relates not only to memory itself but to recording systems which externalise or stand in place of memory.

Acosta (quoted in de la Jara: 12), tells us that 'los indios del Peru...de palabra y por pinturas y memoriales se daba muy a menudo razon de cuanto se ofrecía'. By **memoriales** Acosta probably meant the **quillca quippo** which were often used to record details of the offerings made to the ancestral shrines or burial places located along a **ceque** (Albornoz, quoted in Duviols 1984), so that they were in this sense 'tribal memories' or 'memorials'.

Ceque were systems of straight lines radiating outward along the ground from a cultural centre and connecting sacred sites (Cobo, Book IV: 12), each line being the responsibility of a particular lineage (Zuidema 1973). They defined hereditary boundaries: **ceque**, 'raya, linea, termino' (Holguín: 82), **cequeni**, 'deslindar heredad o dividirla con lindero' (Santo Tomás: 259), and have been likened to a topographical **kipu** (Zuidema: 1982), a drawing on the ground of the information recorded in the threads.

In confirmation of this association another form of image making, 'dibujar', is translated both as **quellcani** and **cequeni** (Holguín s.v.).

It will be remembered that a wall painted with straight lines or stripes is **quellcata pirca**. **Ceque** is

'cosa rayada' (Holguín: 82); **cequeni** means 'linear, dibujar, rayar' (Holguín: 488), 'señalar o rayar algun dibujo' (Santo Tomás: 259). But how do you 'rayar algun dibujo'? There appears to be considerable overlap between **dibujo**, which suggests naturalistic representation, and 'straight line' or 'stripe'. Several other terms for stripes are also linguistically associated with **chimpu** and **ceque** [see 7: I], and this overlap is consistent with the extremely varied use of stripes, rather than woven **dibujos**, to convey a textile message.

viii) Written message and woven design

The meanings of **quellqa** and its derivatives examined so far, whilst they convey a visible sign or graphic image are also associated with 'escribir como hazen los Españoles'. This section will investigate some specific parallels between the Andean and European understanding of the concept.

It has been suggested that one of the meanings given by Santo Tomás for **quellcani**, 'escribir como que era' (*op. cit.*: 131), indicates the existence of 'un sistema de escritura peruano' (de la Jara: 11). It seems to me more likely that it is merely a typographical error or omission, and was intended as 'como quiera', as in 'libro como quiera' (Santo Tomás: 158, 357).

The suggestion, however, is valid if we take 'como quiera', 'of whatever sort', to indicate that Santo Tomás recognised the existence of ways of recording information other than the alphabetic writing used by Europeans. That he did so is suggested by his listing **aya onanchaguan** as

'sepultura con epitafio' (op. cit. 209). Translated literally this is an ancestral (**aya**) burial site or shrine with (**guan**) a 'mark' or 'design' (**unancha**), i.e. an **epitafio** or 'written', identifying inscription. Santo Tomás does not suggest what form this **epitafio** takes, only its function.

A 'written' inscription identifying an ancestor is also suggested by his entry **quillca maytosca**, which he translates as 'envoltorio como de letras' by Santo Tomás (op. cit.: 118, 357). By Holguín's time **quellcamayttu** is translated 'pliego de cartas' (op. cit.: 633), but **maytusca** originally meant 'mortaja' (Santo Tomás: 171), 'cosa envuelta o mortajada' (Santo Tomás: 314), and de la Jara considers that the original meaning of **quillca maytosca** 'puede aplicarse a las telas peruanas usadas para envolver los cadaveres' (op. cit.: 16).

Mayttu is also associated in Aymara with the identifying wrapping of an ancestor; **mayttu**, which 'no es muy ordinario' (Bertonio II: 220), is a 'figura de bulto', or an 'imagen **lurata**' (Bertonio II: 241), **lura** being 'un costal lleno de algo' (Bertonio II: 197). One is reminded of the sacred woven bundles of Coroma, losing which would mean for the villagers losing their history¹¹.

The meaning of 'envelope', or literally 'letter' or 'writing' wrapping, taking **quellqa** as a noun, the form most frequently used by the Spaniards, suggests that the 'writing' referred to the letter inside the wrapping. But why should the wrapping chosen to represent an envelope, which to serve its purpose must also contain writing, an identifying name and address, be precisely a shroud unless

the shroud had a previous association with some form of **escritura**.

I would suggest **quillca** is used adjectivally and that **quillca maytosca** originally referred to a 'writing' or 'message bearing' shroud, or 'identifying wrapping'.

Ancestral burial sites were often regarded as **huacas** and not only the mummified ancestor but the **huaca** itself was shrouded in cloth (Albornoz in Duviols 1984: 217). The intricate designs woven in these textiles identified the person buried there in a similar way to an epitaph, and provided a permanent record of their history for members of a group, who took a piece of it with them if they were forced to move to another location (*loc. cit.*).

The final example of **quellqa** associated with writing has similar connotations of recording identity; **quellcantatha** (Bertonio II: 287) is 'assentar, escribir a uno en el padron o lista'.

Besides its meaning of 'electoral register' or 'census list', **padron** (Simon & Schuster: 1393) can mean 'an inscribed column or pillar'. To be recorded in such a way suggests some sort of memorial or epitaph, a meaning related specifically to **quellcatha**, 'pintar losa; o hazer rayas, y no otra cosa' (Bertonio II: 63)¹¹.

As was the case with **ceque** and **chinu**, both these 'inscriptions' are made in, or within, straight lines, or stripes, 'y tambien escribir entre renglones' (Bertonio II: 287)¹².

In each case the function of **quellqa** appears to be that of identifying someone, of 'marking' them as belonging to a particular place and group, within a

culture. It has temporal as well as spatial connotations; a living member becomes established through being counted or inscribed as an individual unit in the same way that the warps of a textile design are counted¹³; links with previous members, the ancestors, are maintained by means of memorial inscriptions consisting of woven designs.

ix) Quellqa as a woven signature

In a final brief paragraph I would like to reunite the processes of writing and weaving which have so far been shown as pursuing a parallel course.

Alphabetic writing, which Gisbert associates primarily with Aymara textiles (Gisbert et. al.: 201), is used in contemporary Andean designs to record names, dates and places. Woven designs also identify the weaver either iconographically or because she has made them part of her personal repertoire. Though the weaver is skilled, she is often illiterate, and therefore will copy individual letters in the same way as any other *saca*.

In other Amerindian cultures both types of signature are equally regarded as writing (Tedlock & Tedlock: 124). I have a belt in which letters have been broken up into suitable shapes and intermingled with picked designs until their origin as alphabetic writing is almost unrecognisable, so providing a nice example of *quellqa* as applying to both written and woven design.

Summary

The Spaniards adopted the nominal form *quellqa* to mean both the means of communication, *escritura*, *carta*, *libro*,

and the surface, **papel**, on which this communication appears or which has the potential to display it. This communication is particularly concerned with identity, with a **cedula**, or the address of a letter.

As a verb **quellqani** refers to an action signifying cultural transformation. It describes the creation of a communicative design by transforming an exterior surface in various ways such as drawing, painting, sculpting, embroidering. This action reveals or makes visible information about a group's traditions or collective past, information stored and coded in the memory and imagination, information often linked to the origin and location of an ancestral shrine. **Quellqani** refers to recording systems comparable to those of the **ceque**, **kipu** and **chimu** knots and markings.

Quellqani does not appear to have been used to describe the creation of woven designs but the themes associated with the cultural transformation brought about by **quellqani**, organisation of social, ritual and temporal space, as well as the metaphors associated with it, the face, breath, understanding, colour, light, flavour, speech and smell, parallel those used in weaving and textile terminology to signify a similar process of transformation, whilst the various forms embraced by **quellqani**, dyed colour, striping, figured and counted designs all can and do find their equivalent in the single expressive form of the textile.



Plate 5. Symmetrical designs on embroidered jackets.

CHAPTER 5: TEXTILE LAYOUT: WEAVING AND BALANCE

Introduction

The vast majority of Andean textiles are symmetrical in their overall layout, in the arrangement of their colours and designs, and often in the designs themselves. Whilst there does not seem to be a Quechua or Aymara term equivalent to symmetry from which one can begin to unpack its metaphorical meaning, no aspect of textile design is without a communicative function, and its analysis should include the investigation of its various forms of symmetry.

Symmetrical textile components such as the two halves of a weaving, the two halves of a design and the paired warp threads are spoken of in terms which show that they are seen as balancing each other. In this they reflect the system of dualities into which the Andean world is conceptually organised; like these other systems, textile symmetry is a means of organising information into a form both easily memorable by the weaver and easily recognisable in the completed textile by other members of her community.

Symmetry, like the image making of **quellqa**, is a concept applied consistently across the whole range of a culture's artefacts (Washburn & Crowe) and perhaps its communicative design relationships are considered in the Andean mind as a facet of **quellqa**, communicative design.

THE SYMMETRIES OF THE ANDEAN TEXTILE

i) Symmetry and identity

As has already been said, the use of similar woven or otherwise reproduced designs is not sufficient evidence in

itself of a common culture. The arrangement of figures or other design elements in the same symmetrical relationship, however, can be a significant factor in establishing identity (Washburn & Crowe). Whilst a group may make use of only one or two of these relationships, a common use of symmetries in one media may indicate that communities share other cultural traits (*loc. cit.*)¹.

That patterns of symmetry are embedded sufficiently deeply to account for this coincidence of practice between groups suggests that within a single group a particular conceptual symmetry applied in one medium is likely to be similarly applied to others.

An analogy has been drawn between the symmetrical repetition of woven figures in Guatemalan textiles and the repetition of the written or spoken word in sacred texts such as the Popul Vuh (Tedlock & Tedlock). In the Andean case also symmetry is used analogously in the written (or spoken/sung) and the woven media.

ii) The categories of symmetry

One definition of a symmetrical image is 'any image which repeats regularly according to rules' (Franquemont *et. al.*: 5). Symmetry can also refer to a repetition of form within the same figure, and lastly, not to any specific 'sameness' or repetition' so much as to an aesthetic quality, balance or due proportion, and beauty of form (Chambers 1367). This chapter will consider symmetry in all three ways.

Forty six different kinds of two dimensional symmetry have been identified, seventeen of a type which unfold in a straight line (Washburn & Crowe).

The four basic categories of repetitive symmetry in textile design which are identified by the Tedlocks (op. cit.) and developed by the Franquemonts and Isbell (op. cit.: 6) are:

Translation - the figures repeat in a straight line

Reflection - opposing figures are paired

Rotation - one of each pair is inverted

Reflection and slide - a variation on 2 where the pairs are aligned diagonally.

If a colour factor is included the potential number of categories is greatly increased, although this is more relevant to the subtle colours and complex repeats of⁴ archaeological textiles; in Bolívar, as in Chincheros (Franquemont et. al.: 6), colour change is usually reduced to a single light/dark contrast.

When used in conjunction with colour contrast symmetry gives visual expression to concepts similar to those linguistically apparent in the terminology of colour relationships [see Chapters 6 and 7].

These can be summarised as:

Opposition: figures repeat facing each other, figures repeat with complementary colour contrast either of background/figure, or within the figure itself, or figures show use of positive/negative space.

Mediation: The sense of confrontation between figures and colours is reduced by their diagonal rather than direct

alignment as is frequently found in hooked or branching figured designs.

Cyclical movement: rotation of a figure or its colours in conjunction with its repetition along a line, suggesting movement in time and space. This form is typical of archaeological textiles and does not normally occur in Bolívar.

iii) Symmetry and organisation of woven space

The perception of symmetries can also be used as a system for organising both the space of a textile and its individual figured designs.

Modern educational studies have shown that in both learning to read and learning a foreign language recognition, a first step towards understanding, is in great part assisted by expectation; some of the letters or sounds are immediately familiar, and the mind then arranges them to fit some previously memorised model. In a similar way the mind cannot recognise and interpret a large number of separate textile images simultaneously. Perception, understanding and memory are linguistically associated in both Quechua and Aymara [see Chapter 4, I: (iv), (v)], and all these functions are also associated with communicative design, **quellqa**; symmetry organises design in ways which signal predictable forms of repetition and allows it to be rapidly recognised, read and remembered.

Reproducing a woven image is like knitting a pattern, a single repeat may take many rows or passes of the weft to complete, with each row differing slightly from the preceding ones. However, many of the traditional Andean geometric

figures are symmetrical on either side of one or both axes, and by breaking them down into their component parts a weaver greatly reduces the number of different thread counts or 'rows' she needs to remember. By recognising a figure as the symmetrical arrangement of a basic cell (Franquemont et. al.: 6) the weaver has only to remember the 'pattern' for that cell and reproduce it in various ways in order to create apparently complex designs.

It was clear from the way my teacher Juana picked the threads of the figured designs that she used a similar systematic approach. She distinguished figure and background in terms of light/dark contrast and divided the total space into left and right halves counting the picks for each half outwards from the centre. She further subdivided a doubly symmetrical design, *isañu t'ika*, into four, using rotation to pick the top right quarter, for which she referred to the quarter in the diagonally opposed lower left, its rotated mirror image. I was quite unable to make the necessary mental shift.

If the symmetry of woven designs is indeed, as is implied by the Tedlocks and by Washburn & Crowe (*op. cit.*), only the visual expression of a concept permeating all levels of culture, this perceived relationship suggests that the diagonally opposed quarters of a figure or their diagonally aligned colours [see Chapter 6, I:] might also be a metaphor for relationships of other kinds [see (iv) below].

iv) Symmetry and colour

The aesthetic of colour as it is found in contemporary Bolívar weaving is examined in Chapter 6, I, colour as an

element containing energy or power in Chapter 6, II. Rhythmic repetition and change of colour is, however, an essential factor in the symmetrical arrangement of the textile figures.

Writing of the symmetries of Chinchero designs the Franquemonts suggest their potential for expressing the parallel symmetries of political and social life:

ayllu organization .. corresponds well to the ranked and nested symmetries of Chinchero *lijlla* organization. The marriage norms can be analyzed as identical reflective symmetry within each moiety (Platt 1976 Figs 8-9), so that the society as a whole can be said to have a *tanka* in which each moiety is a translation of the other. Platt notes that his two dimensional model, however does not permit representation of the principle of ecological exchange in marriage which is also important to the Macha; the introduction of positive-negative [light/dark] colour shifts, cell direction and type, or time as dimensions would allow closer approximation to the complexities managed by these people in conceiving their society (op. cit.: 20).

The frequency with which four part symmetry with colour changes occurs in archaeological textiles and persists into the present day suggests that this potential was at one time put to its full use. Torricco's study has shown that the colours of the Macha *kustala* represent different ecological zones and the exchange of products grown in them; the particular arrangement of colour in the Bolívar figured designs (two sets of complementary opposites, or one set repeating with colours reversed), also suggests the possibility of this type of social and political interpretation [see Chapter 7, III, IV, V, and Chapter 8, I: (v), (e)].

The symmetry of many Andean textile designs also:

...allows the complementarity that *yanantin* in fact requires, and the equal but different roles of

the sexes seen in many Andean communities (Franquemont *et. al.*: 21).

An investigation of the similarities between symmetries of form and **yanantin**, a concept which has been analysed in detail by Platt (1986a), is found in the following section, but reference should also be made here to its possible comparison with colour symmetries.

The complementary colours of **allqa** [see Chapter 7, III for a full explanation of this term] are polar opposites whereas the left and right halves of **yanantin** are symmetrical opposites, so that the two cannot be directly compared. However, the **allqa** of Bolívar designs are symmetrical in the sense that their colour positions either divide the figures equally into two or four, or repeat alternately. A light/dark **allqa** also has gender values (Cereceda 1986: 169) - and so could represent a male/female pairing similar to that of **yanantin**. Like man and wife each of the two colours of an **allqa** depends on its complementary opposite for its fulfilment as a whole. In addition the black and white **allqa** are like sparring partners in a **tinku** (Holguín: 343). This sense of confrontation or of tension where the contrary colours abutt also suggests their polar opposition has a generative potential similar to that of the seam joining two symmetrical textile halves (Arnold 1988: 394), or of the symmetrical union of man and wife, **yanantin**.

v) Symmetry and the balanced whole

In textiles woven on a traditional frame or backstrap loom the warps are, as a rule, never cut but turn around the bars or stakes which determine the length of the warp in one

continuous thread. Because the warping process is a long and intricate one, very occasionally a finished piece of fabric may be cut if the weaver is short of time. On Taquile I saw a belt piece cut after completion to make a pair of **ch'uspas**. This was because the weaver's husband had unexpectedly been appointed an official, and she had only a very short time in which to provide his ceremonial outfit.

The two bags made from the single original warp were referred to as **hombre y mujer**, the expression used in Macha to exemplify **yanantin** (Platt 1986a); it was in order to show their relationship as part of a single whole, rather than to suggest one **ch'uspa** being male and the other female, that this description was used in Taquile. **Hombre y mujer** used in this way demonstrates the essential unity and balance of textile design, which continues to exist as a concept even when it has been deliberately destroyed in fact.

The appearance of the two bags was virtually identical, and the two pieces of cloth were, therefore similar to the two halves of a textile. A textile, whether it is woven in one or two pieces, is seen by the weaver as a single whole, made up of two symmetrical halves; individually the two halves are **chhulla** (Cereceda 1986: 156), something which lacks its pair. Whereas **hombre y mujer** are **yanantin**, a single woman of marriageable age is **chhulla**; the united left and right sides of a complete textile would seem, then, also to represent **yanantin**.

This concept of a balanced whole can apply to two halves joined by a seam, two halves radiating symmetrically from a centre or **sonqo** [see Chapter 7, IV], and also to the matching

halves of a single **pallay** or **salta**; in Chinchero, Peru, a meandering line of stepped frets, **chhili**, is doubled to form the figure called **chongo chhili** (Franquemont, Isbell & Franquemont: 16). Weavers illustrate the meaning of **chongo** by putting the palms of both hands together (*loc. cit.*), an image of the symmetrical opposition between the left and right sides of the body similar to that of 'un par de çapatos' used by Holguín to illustrate **yanantin** (*op. cit.*: 364).

vi) Symmetry around a central axis

The opposition of symmetrical halves or the concentric opposition of 'inner' and 'outer' appears to generate new growth at the interface or centre. Both the Inca and the Aymara societies were organised around a centre, in the former case Cusco, in the latter on either side of the central axis or **taypi**, formed by the lakes of Titicaca and Poopo (Bouysse-Cassagne 1986: 217). As Duviols has shown in his study of the **capacocha** ritual, energy flowed rhythmically from the centre towards the outside, and back towards the centre (1976), the controlled regularity of its flow lending a temporal quality to this symmetry of action. An alternately centrifugal and centripetal movement is still enacted today in the periodic bringing in of crosses to a central shrine for their annual 'recharging' before they are returned to their sites outside the village (Isbell; Sallnow).

Man and wife together, **yanantin**, reproduce themselves in their children. In the textile both the central stripe [see

Chapter 7, IV] and the seam (Arnold 1988: 394) are areas of especial fertility. When the two **chhili** are joined together to make **chongo chhili** the space at the centre is filled by an additional design (Franquemont *et. al.*: 16). The space at the centre of the almost identical **caripuyo** figure woven in Bolívar is also filled either with a miniature **caripuyo**, or by other designs which have connotations of 'seed'.

Yanantin is closely allied to the concept of **tinku**, which has been defined as 'la conjunción dialéctica de fuerzas opuestas desde las cuales la regeneración y la fertilidad fluyen en el mundo andino' (Hopkins: 183), and the textile examples of **yanantin** also display the generative function inherent in the opposition of symmetrical halves.

vii) Symmetry of dimensions

A significant aspect of the Islugan **talegas** examined by Cereceda are their equal dimensions (1986: 151). In Bolívar the ideal dimensions for similar small seed bags, **wayakitas**, are also those of a square, though as in the Islugan case few achieve it with absolute precision.

Among the various types of **wayakas** or **talegas** listed in the early dictionaries is the **huscusi huaca** (Bertonio II: 168-169). De Lucca describes the **huscusi** as 'talega boca ancha y corta' (*op. cit.*: 210) suggesting that the **huscusi**, like the Bolívar and Islugan **talega** was square.

Cereceda suggests that 'the symbolic form of the square exercises some effect on the bag's contents, that is influences the seed or food kept in it' (1986: 151). **Huscu** refers to 'qualquiera cosa donde se guarda algo' (Bertonio II: 169), including 'despensa', 'joyel', or 'petaca' (*loc.*

cit.). Joyel probably refers to the jewel case, *joyelero*, rather than to the jewel itself, and suggests the safe keeping of something precious. *Imatha*, a synonym of *huscutha*, means 'guardar, esconder y también sepultar' (Bertonio II: 173). These associations recall *illa*, 'qualquiera cosa que uno guarda para provision de su casa' (Bertonio II: 173). *Illa* also denotes a stone with talismanic properties and in both cases their function is to ensure continued productivity.

viii) Symmetry and therapy

The preceding sections showed how the balanced parts of a symmetrical design unite and complete the whole, and the beneficial influence exerted by the equal distribution of tensions. A later chapter will investigate how the well-being or positive *suerte* experienced in a situation of equilibrium (Armstrong: 7) can be represented by a balanced opposition like that between complementary colours.

Colour therapy is used in the Andes, as elsewhere in South America, to restore cosmic and physical harmony, and Aymara and Quechua colour terminology indicate that colour includes attributes of harmony, flavour and fragrance. These elements are aesthetically pleasing in a similar way to a symmetrical, or well proportioned, design and as an integral part of design they can also be used in therapy.

The Shipibo-Conibo, a tribe belonging to the Peruvian jungle, were at one time subject to Inca influence (Gebhart-Sayer et. al.). Their designs are coded with beliefs both about personal identity (Gebhart-Sayer 1986: 193) and with tribal customs (op. cit.: 191). These designs originate in

the hallucinatory images seen or experienced when taking part in rituals involving the use of **ayahuasca**. They are 'luminosas, melódicas, y fragante proyecciones que flotan y resplandecan en formas geométricas lineales' (Gebhart-Sayer 1986: 203) and recall the phosphene images (*op. cit.* 190) which are similarly coded amongst the Desana (Reichel Dolmatoff 1978a).

The Shipibo-Conibo shaman refers to them as 'mi canción pintada', 'mi voz', 'mi vasijita pintada', mis palabras con esos diseños', 'mi diseño resonante' (Gebhart-Sayer 1986: 210), and uses them in aesthetic (*op. cit.*: 189) therapy sessions called **quiquin** (*op. cit.*: 195).

Shipibo-Conibo vocabulary retains a number of Quechua words and **quiquin** is a concept of Quechua origin: **kikin**, 'igual, semejante' (Lara: 123), 'identidad' (Lira: 317). For the Shipibo **quiquin** implies:

una serie de nociones de 'adecuación' y 'belleza' que con frecuencia connotan la diferenciación entre los grupos étnicos de los alrededores. En primer lugar **quiquin** implica una experiencia visual, acústica u olfativa evocada por la armonía la simetría, la realización precisa, la pureza y el refinamiento; pero el término no se limita a la experiencia sensorial sino que también incluye valores ideales como la sutileza la pertinencia la conveniencia y la corrección cultural' (Gebhart-Sayer 1986: 195).

Like the communicative designs, **quellqa**, which also have a didactic function, the coded **quiquin** designs can remain imaginary or be painted on the skin, providing a focus for the reestablishment of a sense of identity and balance.

The elements associated with the therapeutic **quiquin** designs, light, fragrance and particularly sound, are similar to those associated with Andean colour terminology and in

speaking of them the Shipibo shaman shows how all these aspects form part of a complete and harmonious design.

ix) Symmetry and the spoken word

a) Palindromes

The analogy between repetition of woven figures and repetition of the written word or spoken word in ritual has already been mentioned. A somewhat similar analogy exists between the symmetries of Andean textiles and the symmetrically written or spoken words known as palindromes.

The significance of palindromes has been commented on by Randall (op. cit. 280) who notes the ritual properties and apparent incantatory power of phrases such as **kallallallak kamamak** (op. cit. 281). Holguín gives various meanings for these syllables which are always associated with exceptional fertility and growth (op cit. 131-132). They are also associated with **gloria** and **alegria** and with a state of equilibrium or positive energy flow; **kallallallak soncco** is 'el que vive contento, sano sin melancolía ni pena ni desgracia' (loc. cit.).

b) Metathesis

The transposition of letters or syllables in a word, which sometimes results in the formation of another word, is known as metathesis, which also forms a part of ritual language (Randall).

Randall gives as an example of ritual metatheses **mayu** and **yuma** (op. cit.). To adapt a textile image to phonology,

these words might be said to have an **allqa** relationship, that is, in the arrangement of their syllables they are complementary opposites; the symmetrically repeating two-colour figures frequently woven in Bolívar exhibit a visual interchange comparable to that of spoken metathesis and looking at this type of symmetrical colour repetition in a textile might serve to recall certain ritual words, or act as some form of visual mantra, as primary colour designs do for the Desana (Reichel Dolmatoff 1978a).

An analogy might also be drawn between metathesis and the kind of figured design which displays a particularly subtle form of symmetrical dark/light or background/figure contrast, the 'use of positive/negative space' (Franquemont *et. al*), where the outline of one figure forms the background of another, posing an insoluble problem as to which is the intended image.

The standard western example is 'one white candlestick or two white faces?'; an example of an Andean textile figure which acts in this way is the **cerro y serpiente**, which will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 8. Are the mountain peaks divided by the river which runs between them or, alternatively, is it the mountain peaks which enclose and define the meandering flow of the river. The eye is confused and in an effort to discern which is figure and which background repeatedly performs a kind of visual metathesis between the two.

Summary

The preceding chapter investigated the communicatory function of textile design. In a manner comparable to the

recording systems of the **kipu**, symmetry is used to organise that communication into easily recognisable and memorable phrases.

Symmetry itself also has a communicative function. It can be evidence of relationships between otherwise disparate elements and a similar use of symmetries across a range of written, spoken and woven media shows how these all contribute to the formation of a single conceptual whole.

The beneficial influence exerted by the situations of balance and equilibrium, or those which are symmetrical, is demonstrated by the therapeutic qualities assigned to symmetrical designs and by the reproductive energy generated by them.



Plate 6. Llijlla designs with typical four-colour divisions.

CHAPTER 6: THE DYNAMICS OF COLOUR

Introduction

Colour has entered into every chapter of this thesis because, colour being a function rather than a type of adornment, no element of textile design can be considered apart from its colour. The symbolic language of colour makes available a complex vocabulary in which to phrase the textile communication and the linguistic associations of colour terminology indicate how closely colour use is related in Andean thought to concepts of equilibrium and harmony.

Colour relationships are of far greater concern to the Andean weaver than the possible symbolism of any one colour regarded individually; the purely metaphorical terms in which colours tend to be described in English - clashing, matching, complementary, opposed, strong, weak, light, dark - have their equivalent in Aymara and Quechua where they have retained a living symbolic significance.

This chapter will attempt to show how at both an overt, visual level and at the hidden level of linguistic metaphor, colour relationships express an act of mediation or confrontation. These contrasting actions can both be expressed by *tinkuy*, a concept which is fundamental to the Andean belief system and which is found in all aspects of textile production. It will examine the colour aesthetic used in Bolívar weaving, and with reference to both contemporary terminology and the vocabulary of the early dictionaries, suggest its possible iconographic intention.

I THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COLOURS

i) The different types of contrast and partnership

The importance to the contemporary weaver of the relationship between colours was clearly brought out for me in weaving lessons undertaken during fieldwork. Juana, a non-Spanish speaking *campesina*, herself selected the five colours for my first project, a narrow belt, from nine which I had brought - red, blue, green, orange, yellow, black, white, bright pink and purple.

For the outer bands, which she referred to as *churu* [for a more detailed analysis of this term see Chapter 7, II], Juana warped purple and yellow together, that is she took a small ball of each of these colours and warped them as though they were a single thread, although taking care that they did not become twisted together¹. Following the same procedure she warped the outer stripes of the central figured band in deep pink/white and the central band in yellow/black; colours warped in this way thus had from the beginning a paired relationship.

Juana then arranged the warps so that white and yellow were used to form the figure on one face, with yellow at the edge, and pink and black forming the background². As the purple (dark) edge occurs when pink and black form the figure, and the yellow (light) edge when yellow and white form the figure, the colours of this outer band appear to be controlled by or related to the colours of the figure, not to those of the background.

The colours were, then, arranged so as to obtain the maximum contrast between the two faces; the two lightest colours, yellow and white, stand out against the darkest

possible background in conjunction with an edge that is light, whilst on the reverse, the two darkest colours, black and pink, stand out against a light background and have a dark edge.

All five colours are held together in the tension of the complete design, but the colours which are warped together as pairs or partners (purple and yellow, pink and white, black and yellow) have strongly contrasted dark/light colour values and are also **opposed** in the structure of the weaving, that is they appear on opposing faces of the cloth and are always separated in the vertical plane by the weft passing through the shed.

In the horizontal plane, on the other hand, the colours which form a set from which the figure is picked or the background created (purple, pink and black or yellow, white and yellow) are **related**, that is, considered together they have an overall value which can be expressed as dark or light in contrast to that of the opposing face. It is, however, the **combination** of the colours in a set which give it its light or dark value; taken individually without a frame of reference not all the colours used can be defined as light or dark, the pink for example could possibly have been used as the darkest tone of the lighter face.

ii) Horizontal unity and vertical contrast

Juana's arrangement also shows that within a set the variation in light or dark value of each individual colour has to be considered in relation to its fellows in order to achieve a balance; pink, the lightest of the darker

set, is placed between the much darker purple and entirely dark black, modifying their impact and effecting a more balanced distribution of tones. Had black and purple been placed next to each other the belt would have seemed unbalanced, having either an unduly dark centre, with the edge weak and ill defined, or an imposing and heavy edge appearing to constrict the centre.

Juana referred to the two faces not as 'black' and 'white', their greatest contrast in terms of light and dark, but as deep pink or red, **chupi**³, and white, **yuraj**. Often when telling me which warps to pick she did not differentiate between yellow and white, or pink and black but used either colour interchangeably to indicate 'pick so many dark figure warps' and 'pick so many light figure warps'. This emphasises how each face is thought of as a whole, possessing lighter or darker qualities rather than individual colours.

However, the contrasts provided by the colours of the opposing face are an essential part of that whole; only when a figure had been woven in both **chupi** and **yuraj** combinations did Juana regard it as complete⁴. The initial dual, dark/light opposition, through its repetition in reverse, thus becomes quadripartite, like the oppositions inherent in the terminology of stripes [see Chapter 7], dark over light alternating with light over dark.

iii) Tinkuy: Confrontation and mediation

The words I have used most frequently in the preceding paragraphs to describe the complex interplay of

a mere five colours in a relatively simple belt are 'related' or 'opposed'; those Juana used to describe their relationships were **tinkushan** (they/it meet(s) or are/is opposed) and **iwalashan** (Quechuised Spanish - they/it equal(s) or balance(s)).

Tinkushan she used when speaking of colours on the same face, that is those which 'met' in a gradated or mediatory way, rather than in opposition or hostile encounter, which is also a meaning of **tinkuy**. In Isluga (Cereceda 1981: 73) grading of colours is referred to as **tinkuyaña**, a term which is also an accurate translation of the Spanish term **matizado** used of colour gradations in Bolívar [see Chapter 7, I: (i)].

Iwalashan Juana used when speaking of the paired warps which appeared on opposing faces. In this case the colours were in no way 'equal' in prismatic terms, but they did 'equal' or 'balance' each other as a light/dark contrasted pair.

Juana's concern was not whether the colours blended in the English sense, she paused only briefly to hold two colours next to each other to make sure of the appropriate contrast, diminished in the same set, accentuated between sets. From the selection of colours available she could have chosen more truly 'opposing' partners for the two faces, ones that in English are called complementary such as red/green, blue/orange, yellow/purple, but the first four of these were all of a similar intermediate tone and though she did try the blue in the darker face this, like the others, was rejected. Her aim was rather to achieve an overall balance of tones so that as much light appeared

in the light face as dark in the opposing dark face, and at the same time to preserve a balance between the individual elements of each set.

To summarise, the colours interact in three rather than two dimensions:

Horizontally: the darkest/strongest colours of both sets are used for the centre and edge stripes with the intervening colour being relatively lighter/weaker. Colours of strongly contrasting light/dark tones occur side by side in the same face only when they are fulfilling distinct functions (background/figure).

Vertically: dark and light paired warps appear on the upper or lower faces separated by the weft.

Diagonally: the colour combinations repeat alternately on upper and lower faces, thus forming two colour contrasted pairs or **allqa**, red/white and white/red, in one complete repeat of the design.

It is apparent, then, that the concept of balance is expressed no less clearly by the strong contrasts of the pairs of complementary colours, **allqa**, than it is by those where the contrasts are reduced by gradation, **k'isa** [see Chapter 7, I:(i)], or by diminished scale, **ch'imi** [see Chapter 6, III:(i)].

The overall effect of the combination of colours used is a dynamic one: the eye can clearly discern the figures of the weaving but it moves freely over the whole textile without this movement being broken or interrupted by a sudden inharmoniously dark or light area.

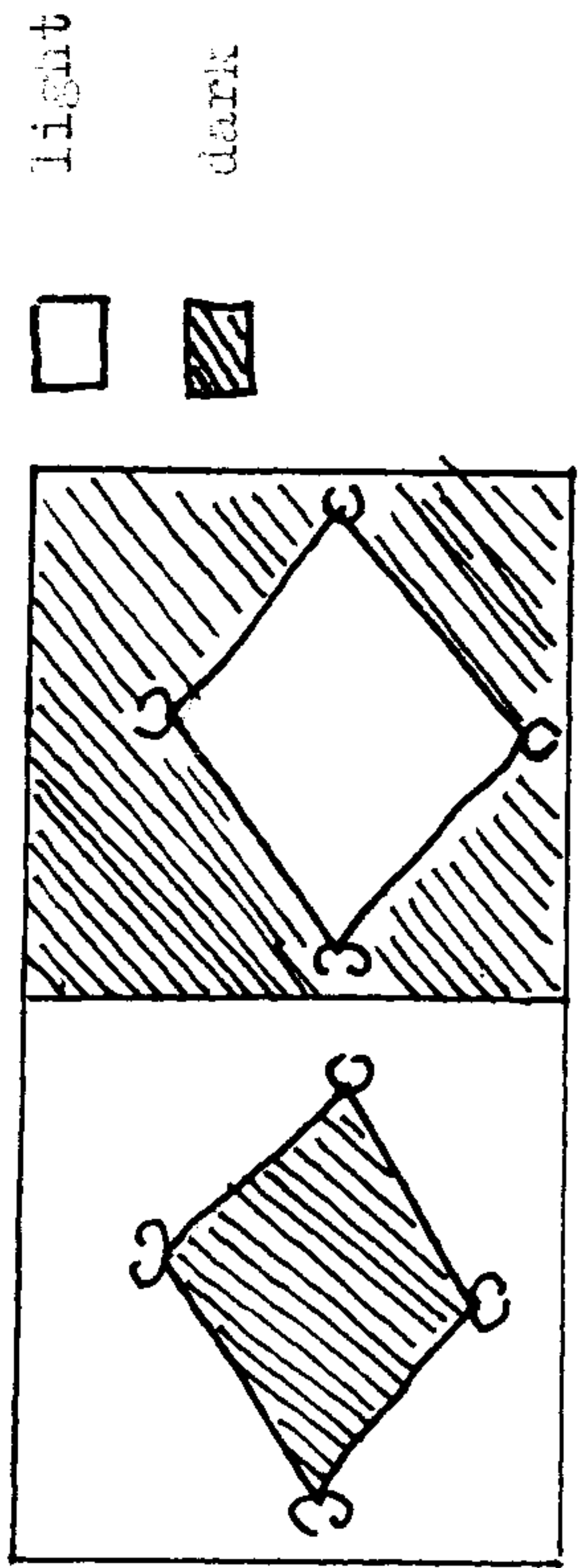
This analysis, of course, relates to a single item, the one whose underlying structures I had most opportunity

to observe. Not all belts are entirely symmetrical in design as mine was and the number of stripes can vary.

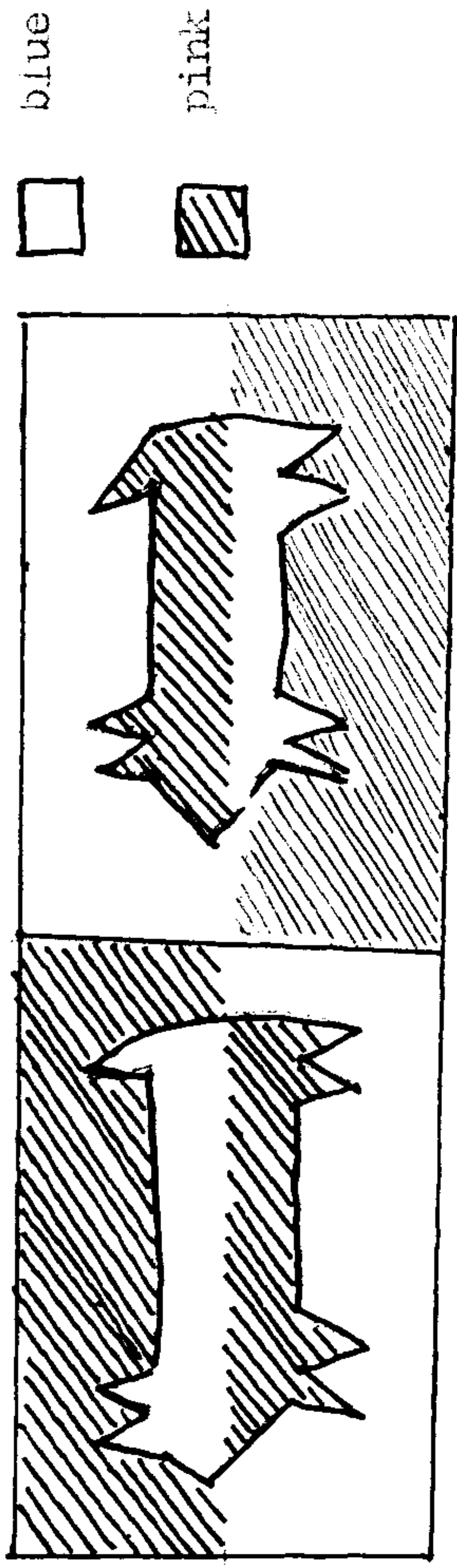
iv) Colour combination and contrast in an inkuña

My second teacher, the elderly **chola** Doña Calixta, came to the house in Bolívar to teach me to weave an **inkuña** (coca cloth). Calixta knew some Spanish but spoke Quechua by preference. In the village she was considered to be a good weaver and although she would not let me see her, Corina told me that she had a figure of Mamita Amaya (Ancestor Mother) in her house, dressed in traditional clothing and holding a spindle. Mamita Amaya is a patron of spinning and weaving, and prayers are often made to her asking for help with a task. Her name suggests that she is an Andean version of Santa Catalina who in this region is depicted with a spindle rather than a wheel and whose name day (25th November) falls during the month of the souls, or ancestors, **amaya**. Calixta was seldom without her spindle and the men scolded her for bringing it to the potato planting, perhaps because Virgen Maria who looks after both spinning and planting cannot pay attention to the two things at once.

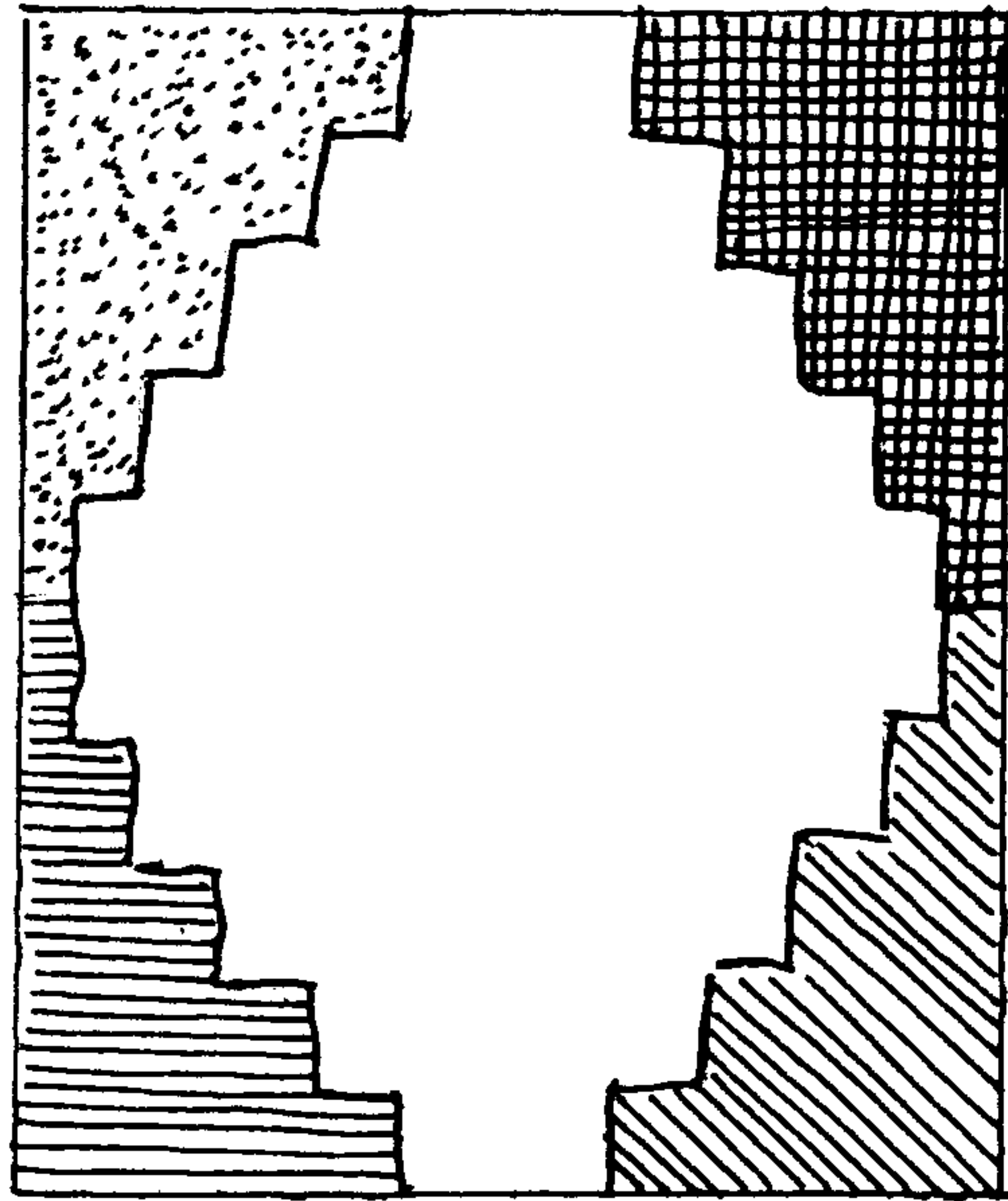
Calixta, then, although she no longer wove or wore traditional clothing, had perhaps done both as a young girl, and was in any case well qualified in her art. Her first question before agreeing to teach me was whether I had a sufficiently wide range of coloured yarns for the stripes which border the figured areas of an **inkuña**, and only when Corina had offered to let me use some from her stock did she agree to the project.



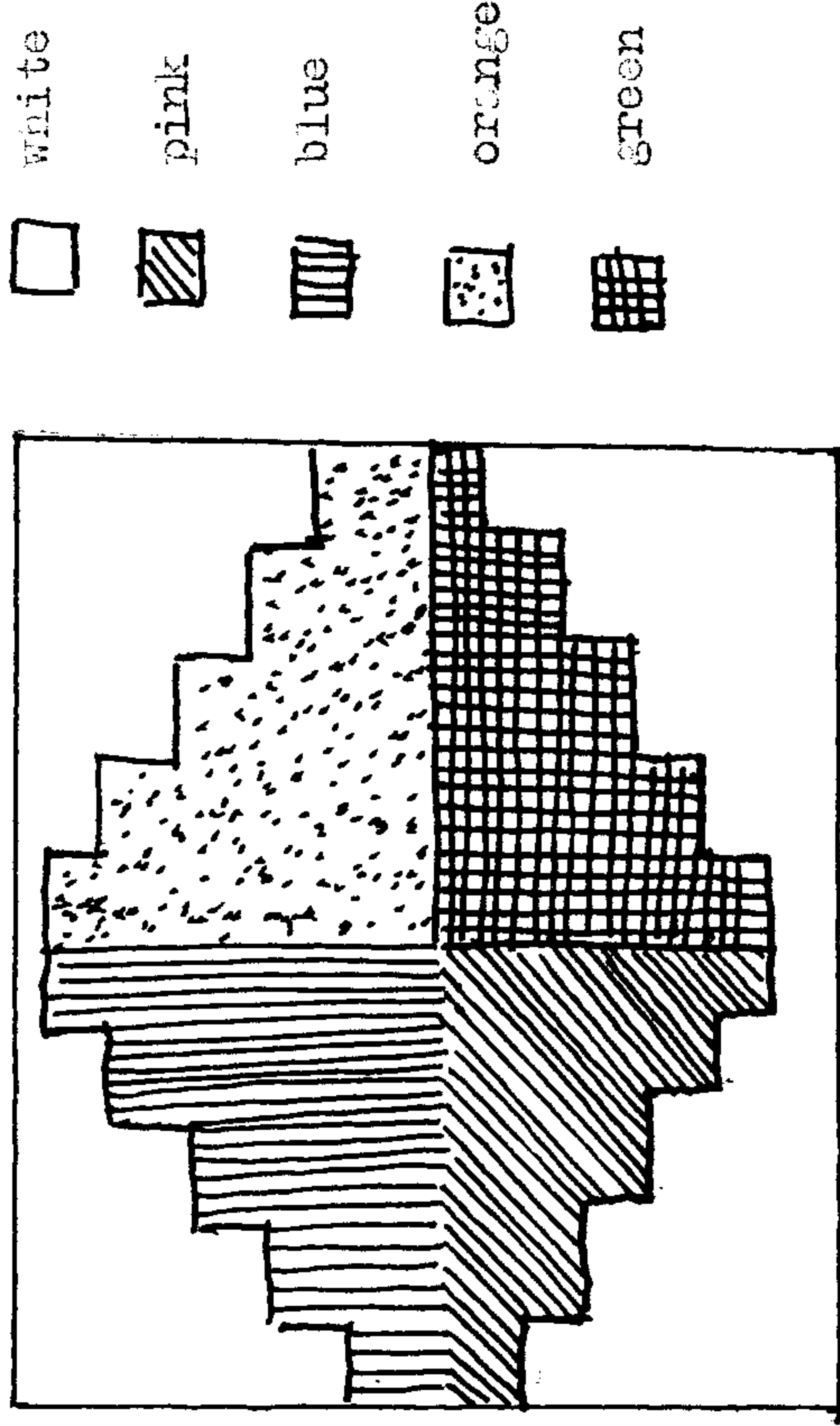
(a) alternating checks



(b) two-colour repeats



(c) four-colour division
coloured background



(d) four-colour division
coloured figure

Fig. 1. Typical Bolívar colour distribution.

During warping she rejected some colour combinations, speaking of them as **atispa**, 'conquering', or being 'stronger than' rather than **iwalaspá**, 'balancing' their counterparts. Unlike Juana, she did use complementary colours of the same tone [i.e. density of colour value], such as blue and orange, red and green, adjacent to each other. This, however, occurred at the edges of distinct textile areas where plain weave, or **pampa** abutted stripe or stripe abutted **salta**. In the central figured section and in the narrow figured bands, which were both of complementary weaves, the colours were, like those of my belt, warped in contrasting dark/light paired bouts, green and white, red and pale pink, green and pale yellow. Initially Calixta warped a blue of a similar tone together with the red and subsequently changed this to pale pink even though she had already started to weave, explaining that the red and blue combination was wrong because of the lack of contrast between them.

Like Juana, then, Calixta made use of different types of colour relationship in different parts of the textile: a vertical, light/dark, contrast of tones in the complementary weave areas and a juxtaposition of complementary colours of similar tone in areas of plain weave where a change of emphasis or a spatial discontinuity was indicated.

v) Colour use in the figured bands of a llijlla

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the style of Bolívar **llijlla** still being worn by older women uses a three colour pebble weave in which two sets of complementary

colours, blue and orange, pink and green, are each warped together with white. The warps are arranged so that the figure, which is oriented in the warp direction, is divided in half horizontally by a colour change, blue almost always lying over pink and orange over green⁵. In addition to this horizontal division, either the figure is repeated in alternating checks [see Fig. 1], or it is divided vertically as well as horizontally into four equal parts [see Fig. 1].

Unlike the dual repeats of the figures in my belt, where both faces combine to form a quadripartite contrast, all four colour elements are visible on the same face at one time. In this convention there is little variation in terms of light and dark tones either between the colours (pink/green and blue/orange) which are vertically contrasted warp partners, or between those paired in the same horizontal plane of the textile (pink/blue or green/orange). A suggestion as to the significance of this particular combination is made in Chapter 8, II: (e), where it is related to the complementarity of figured designs.

Whether or not the shape of the figure is visually symmetrical, in terms of colour its parts are treated as of equivalent value, the colour change occurring at the spatial centre, i.e. half way up an animal or bird, in the same way as it would for a truly symmetrical geometric figure.

vi) Colour gradations in llijlla stripes

The second type of colour convention used in Bolívar is a careful gradation of shades of colour in the stripes which surround a figured band in the llijllas woven during the last ten years. Though in Bolívar these stripes are referred to as matizado [see Chapter 7, I:(i)], elsewhere they are called k'isa. Those of the southern Bolivian community of Chuani have been studied in detail by Veronica Cereceda (1987). In this section the analysis of the k'isa found in Bolívar will be on the purely visual level; for their iconographic significance see Chapter 7, I:(i).

When weaving k'isa groups of the same four colours used in the llijlla figures, pink, blue, green and orange/red are arranged in carefully shaded stripes, but no particular order of colours is observed⁶.

(a) The different types of k'isa

Informants always said that there should be at least three shades of each colour but four seemed the most usual and desirable in Bolívar, whereas in Chuani five is the ideal although three, four and six are sometimes used (Cereceda 1987: 188-189). Each colour band is very narrow, usually only two or three warps, with the outermost band being slightly wider, three or five warps. Their gradation is usually continued symmetrically into the adjacent colour so that the maximum continuity of colour range and the smoothest transition between light and dark is achieved; a possible sequence would run (in Western colour terms), navy blue, royal blue, blue, pale

blue, pale pink, pink, crimson, burgundy, and go on to dark green, green, pale green, rather than the red section starting at its darkest point next to the palest blue and so causing an interruption in the even flow of the colours.

According to Cereceda (*op. cit.*: 1987: 190) an entire (*indir*) *k'isa* is one which radiates symmetrically from a central point of either light or shade. Each side is referred to as *chhulla*, something which lacks its pair (*loc. cit.*); *k'isthapita* are two different colours which meet at their darkest point, *thapi* being a suffix implying a closing movement (*loc. cit.*); *k'istata* are two different colours joining at their lightest point, *tata* being a suffix indicating expansion (*loc. cit.*).

The *k'isas* of the Bolívar *llijllas* then, seem to contract and expand alternately.

vii) Colour gradations in hat-bands

In the Bolívar area a similar convention of gradated colours appears in the narrow supplementary weft hat bands, *laymi cinta*, where a figure is executed in a range of shades, or is reversed out against them.

In these bands a colour change occurs each time the figure is repeated, and the order of the colours is repeated along the length of the band. The most usual order for the series is pink, blue, orange, green, a similar association of opposed pairs in noncomplementary weave to that used in the *llijlla* figured designs. As with the *k'isa* bands at least three, but preferably four shades of each colour are necessary and weavers complain

that they 'take so much wool' though, of course, only tiny amounts of each shade are required; especially wound 'butterflies' of synthetic yarn are an important item for sale in the local Sunday market.

Unlike the *k'isa* of the *llijlla* stripes, however, the colour gradations do not flow continuously the whole length of the hat band, but are interrupted in a number of ways. Either adjacent colour gradations run in opposing directions, that is, blue begins at its darkest point next to the final palest stripe of the pink, or the central stripe of each colour block is not formed by its darkest or lightest example but by a contrasting tone from the colours of its immediate neighbour. There are no distinct areas in these hatbands nor are there two faces in supplementary weft; to avoid the danger inherent in too great a continuity of gradations (Cereceda 1987: 195) interruptions or punctuation must be introduced in different ways to those used in more complex weaves and textiles.

Summary

The distribution of colour in the weavings examined in detail, and those observed in the Bolívar area generally, would seem to demonstrate, at the visual level, a concern by the weaver to achieve:

a contrast of light and dark tones when these occur on opposing faces of a textile. On the same face and within a particular section of a textile such as a band of stripes or a figured design band the opposition within a

single figure unit (2x2 or 4x1) is between colours of a similar tone and white.

a gradual transposition between light and dark by means of carefully gradated tones of one or more colours.

a clearly defined boundary between parts of the weaving which may be regarded as distinct, such as figure and background, **pampa** and stripes, stripes and **salta**. This division can be shown by adjacent complementary colours of the same tone (e.g. red and green) or by alternating the direction of light/dark shading.

to present the eye, both in each separate section of the textile and in its totality, with an arrangement of colours which is both dynamic and harmonious.

II THE VITALITY OF LIGHT

Introduction

The preceding section demonstrated the evident concern of the Andean weaver to control colour relationships within woven space and how this control is exercised in Bolívar with regard to different types of weave and textile. This section investigates how colour terminology suggests colour to possess a vital energy derived from the interaction of the rainbow and lightning.

i) Rainbow colours and black and white

The preceding section showed that the colour combinations of Andean textiles can generally be classified as of two kinds, the abrupt juxtaposition of two contrasting or complementary colours, **allqa**, or the gradual transposition of one colour into another, **k'isa**. A more detailed investigation of these terms is found in 7, I: (i) and in the Introduction to 7, III.

Gradated colours, which play an intermediary role and which imitate, without reproducing, the colours of the rainbow are called **k'isa** but **k'isa** can also refer to the non-colour white; in Macha it is the white stripe on multicoloured ponchos which women weavers call its **k'isa** (Torricco: 57 note 52).

That both rainbow colours and white are **k'isa** also suggests that colour and non-colour are in some way equivalent or complement each other. Colours have gender values and according to Cereceda 'blanco equivale a masculino y cualquier otro color a femenino' (quoted in Zorn 1987a:

517). Entries in Holguín suggest that at least during the Inca period rainbow colours were used only in women's clothing (op. cit.: 73). Black, total colour saturation, which can thus be seen as containing within itself all other colours, is both associated with the rainbow and is female gendered (Urton: 1981, Arnold: 1988).

In Macha textiles where there are no polychrome **k'isa** and this term is applied to white, **allqa** represent both conjunctions and disjunctions. Minor **allqa** also signify mediation not confrontation [see Chapter 7, III] although black and white **allqa** are 'enemy' colours and are likened to sparring partners in a **tinkuy**. A major distinction between **allqa** and **k'isa** appears to be one of scale or pace, a sense of sudden rather than gradual change. In both types of contrast the overall effect is one of balance (Cereceda: 1981).

K'isa, then, is not a term relating exclusively to colour, but to some other characteristic equivalent to its 'sweetness' [see Chapter 7, I]. **K'isa** is also the light of the textile (Cereceda 1981, 1987), whether pure or prismatic. It is the introduction of light which brings a textile to life and it is the interplay of colours in **k'isa** and **allqa**, their alternating expansion and contraction, which bring vitality to the textile design.

ii) Iridescent cloth

A complementarity between (male) white light, associated in this context with lightning, and (female) rainbow colours is suggested by the connotations of iridescent cloth.

The woven structure of iridescent cloth means that the individual particles of colour are so tiny that without the interplay of light the fabric would appear monotone and lifeless. In western textiles, where warp and weft are balanced, a shot effect is produced by using contrasting colours for the warp and weft. The technique most probably used to produce a similar effect in Andean textiles, which are usually warp faced, is explained in the investigation of **ch'imi** (see iv below), the closest approximation to iridescent cloth still found in more recent times.

Spanish associates lustrous, shot materials with the light of the sun, **tornasol**. These fabrics were especially valued by the Inca and I believe that this is what the native Quechua speaker Guaman Poma de Ayala, writing in Spanish, intends when he describes the mantle of the tenth Inca, Topa Inca Yupanqui (*op. cit.*: 111), and the shirt of the twelfth Inca, Guascar (*op. cit.*: 116) as of **torne azul** (*sic.*).

In Aymara **tornasol** or **viso**, iridescent, is:

Samiri pospuesto a **paya**, **paya samiri isi**: ropa de dos colores segun esta buelta a la luz ... **tornasol** (Bertonio II: 307).

or else:

Huateca isi: seda que vuelta de una manera parece de una color, y de otra manera de otra color (*op. cit.*: 154).

Huatiñavilla means 'infinity of things' (Bertonio II: 155), suggesting a cloth, like **ch'imi**, made up of myriad particles or 'seeds' of colour and light.

Like those which have too many colours, iridescent or shot textiles are regarded as dangerous in Bolivia today. Cereceda suggests that this is because the rainbow is attracted by their shine (1987: 213). However, whilst the

English definition of iridescent, 'coloured like the rainbow, glittering with changing colours' (Chambers: 693), associates this property exclusively with the rainbow, the Andean concept of iridescence is associated linguistically with another ambivalent-natured deity, lightning, and may be considered dangerous for that reason also.

The Quechua terms for iridescent fabrics are:

Llipiyak ppacha, llipipipik: seda o ropa de lustre (Holguín: 667)

Chhipipipic : Cossa que relumbra, haze visos, y el vestido de seda (op. cit. 112).

This description evidently derives from the way the fabric reflects the light:

Lustre dar o echar de sí: **lipipiyan, cituyan, chipipiyan** (Holguín: 569).

a light which is related to or imitates that of lightning:

Llipiac cosa resplandeciente o relámpago (Ricardo: 55).

These associations are present in Aymara also:

Llipkhtatha, llikhutatha, ppallcha-khitacha, relampaguear (Bertonio II: 204).

Lliphi lliphi isi, chullunca isi (lit. 'icicle cloth'), ropa de seda, raso o lana muy delgada como de los caciques (loc. cit.).

According to Girault, quoted in Van den Berg: 48), **chhullun** is the spirit of ice, who can be benign or malignant depending on when he chooses to send the frosts.

Though their orthography is not consistent, **llipi** and **chhipi** are, then, repeatedly associated with each other, with iridescent cloth, and with lightning.

iii) The ambivalent nature of iridescence

The connotations of the terms for iridescent fabrics are those of ambivalence rather than contrast.

Paya samiri cloth appears different or changes its nature depending on its relationship to an element apart from it, light. **Huatecaña** means 'tentacion' (Bertonio II: 152), **huateca aro** are 'palabras dobles para prouar a uno' (op. cit.: 153); the negative connotations of **huati**, 'mal, desobediente, desvergonçada, atrevido' (op. cit.: 154), also suggest the unpredictable character of lightning and the rainbow.

Elsewhere **sami** was associated with blood and breath [see Chapter 4]. The final section of this chapter will show **sami**, as **suerte**, to be associated with the colours red and white. Red can be subsumed in the colour saturation of black, so that the 'two colours' of **paya samiri isi** could be understood as a red or black and white **allqa**. Since not only red, but all colours are included in black it could also be understood as a juxtaposition of rainbow colours to the white light of lightning with which this type of cloth is also associated.

iv) Ch'imi

The appearance of iridescent fabric shows that although the **pampa** as the 'field' of a textile is by definition 'plain weave', it does not necessarily follow that it is of just one colour: uniformity need not imply monotony. A comparable uniformity of the **pampa** which is, nevertheless, full of life and movement can be achieved by plying two different-colour yarns into a single strand. This is sometimes done with the

weft, occasionally with both warp and weft, most usually with the warp alone, and is particularly effective if a lustrous camelid fibre such as that of the **suri** alpaca is used, giving the textile a vital, shimmering appearance.

This technique is called **ch'imi** by both Aymara and Quechua speakers. A similar technique may have been used to produce **paya samiri isi** and **llipi** or **chhipi** fabric. Though no mention is made in the literature of recent **ch'imi** thread being plied in this way, the iridescent effect would be increased if the contrasting coloured yarns were also spun in contrary directions.

Ch'imi is an Aymara word meaning 'menudo, dícese de cosas como el arroz, la quinua etc' (De Lucca: 127), and the impression given the observer is, indeed, very like that of thousands of separate seeds as each separate twist of the yarn catches the light.

Ch'imi is used not in small areas or stripes but all over the textile and the technique is usually reserved for ceremonial clothing; the wedding mantles worn by bride and groom may consist entirely of **pampa** woven in this way.

Marriage is the only occasion when men still wear the **llacotta** (mantle), called in Bolívar by its Quechua name **llacolla**⁷ and these textiles are now seldom seen; during my fieldwork in 1986 I saw them worn at a wedding ceremony in Tacopaya and my host in Bolívar showed me another he had acquired locally. In both cases the mantles appeared as a rich purple, the result in the example which I was able to examine of red and blue yarns being plied together⁸.

The choice of contrasting or complementary colours for the **ch'imi** of wedding garments provides a visual example of a

breaking down or 'levelling' of frontiers which seems appropriate as an expression of *tinku* as the loving encounter in marriage. It would also seem to support my suggestion that complementary colours, *allqa*, can express a concept of balanced wholeness comparable to that of *yanantin*⁹ in Macha, a term sometimes glossed as 'man and wife'.

Although the term for speckled animals, *chejje*, can be applied to cloth (De Lucca: 124), the reverse is not true; as a colour term *ch'imi* applies only to textiles (Yapita: personal communication). It does, however, apply to textile 'stippling' achieved by other means. It is sometimes used to refer to pebble-weave (Dransart: personal communication), a technique in which the light/dark contrasts of the background rows have a stippled effect [see Chapter 2]. In Macha the black and white plied thread used to seam the edges of *kustalas* is called *chimisqa* (Torrico: 37).

a) The fertility of *ch'imi* and *chiñi*

The term *ch'imi* does not appear in Bertonio, only in De Lucca's contemporary dictionary, but Aymara *ch'imi* is very similar in sound to Quechua *chiñi*, which also relates to diminutive scale. Perhaps this indicates that it is a word which was adopted from Quechua into Aymara, the /ñ/ or /n/ modifying to /m/¹⁰. Holguín lists:

Chhiñi chhallhua: pescado mas menudo de todos (op. cit.: 107).

Chiñi moho: semilla menudas (loc. cit.).

Chiñisuyu: la ropa vareteada muy menuda (loc. cit.).

The similar meaning of 'diminutive', applied in both *ch'imi* and *chhiñi* to textiles and to seeds, would also appear

to justify the suggestion that one may be a phonological transformation of the other [see also Introduction].

The definition *ch'iñiyay*, 'empequeñamiento, disminución hasta lo más posible' (Lira: 177), exactly describes the colour particles of *ch'imi*, whilst the diminutive *chiñisuyu* are comparable to the individual colours of the *k'isa*.

b) The sweetness of *ch'imi* and *chiñi*

Ch'imi/chiñi resemble *k'isa* [see Chapter 7] in another way. In addition to seeds Holguín lists:

Chiñi, confites, grajea (op. cit.: 107).

Chinichini, *mizqui rumpu*: la gragea menuda (op. cit.: 244).

K'isa is 'meloso' (Bertonio I: 312), but these diminutive particles of sugary sweetness also recall the sweetness of its synonym *mokhsa* (Bertonio II: 224), which relates to elements made up of finely reduced particles like those of delicate cloth or prepared agricultural ground. This agricultural ground is 'templada y fertil' (Bertonio II: 201); the tiny sweet colour particles of the *ch'imi* which make up the textile ground are its 'seeds'.

c) *Ch'imi* as a ritual offering

Sweets and other sugary items play an important role in the *despacho* offering, and in contemporary Bolívar confites, tiny multicoloured balls of sugar, are an ingredient so essential that during November, with its numerous rituals for the dead, village women make special trips to the outlying communities to trade in the sugar ingredients known collectively as *colación*.

Tiny amounts of coloured paper, **mixtura**, are also an important ingredient in the **despacho** and **mixtura** and **colación** fulfil a similar function (Martinez 1987: 50), which Martinez suggests is associated with blood sacrifice (*op. cit.* 1987: 50 n 29).

The tiny colour particles of **ch'imi**, then, have a sweetness like that of **confites** used in ritual communication. This association of sweetness with colour and of both with diminutive size is an element which recurs in the terms discussed in Chapter 7, where it will be shown that the sweetness of **kachitas**, diminutive multicoloured stripes, is associated with the idea of a blood sacrifice, banquet or offering.

v) **Shimmering as a representation of suerte**

Besides its associations with lightning and shimmering cloth **chhipi** is also associated with **suerte**, or fortune.

Ch'ipi is a shiny seed used in **despachos**, known as the 'esterlina de Tío' and representing **suerte** (Armstrong: 46). **Chiphi**, as it is written in Aymara (cf Q **llipi** and A **lliphi**), is also synonymous with another term for luck or happiness, **kusi** (Bertonio II: 83). **Kusi** [see III, (viii)] refers to rainbow colours as well as to white, implying, as already indicated, that shimmering cloth is associated with the rainbow as well as lightning.

The association of **suerte** with a form of 'currency' is found in **sami** [see III below], and like **chhipi**, **sami** also relates to iridescent cloth (De Lucca: 277).

Sami is the kind of **suerte** needed in gambling, and in this context the alternative to **chhipi**, **llipi**, is associated with the metathesis of **sami**, **misa**:

Missacuspa, llippichihuarca o llipi-chiylla misacuhuarca, o llipi-chircuchicuni: Perder lo todo al juego (Holguín: 624).

Though I found no examples of **llipi** used in this way **misa** also refers to winning at gambling [see below, this chapter]. In neither instance is it clear what defines winning and losing, or whether this indicated not so much a state of advantage or disadvantage as an 'adjustment of balance' similar to the 'smoothing over' or 'clearing away of obstacles' which is also a meaning of **llipi** [see below].

vi) Shimmering as a representation of beauty

Besides lightning and shimmering cloth **chhipi/chiphi** refers in another way to tiny quantities of light and dark. To wink or blink is:

Chhipic ñini: Cerrar los ojos al tiro o pestanear (Holguín: 112).

Cchipikhatatha vel ccharmattatha, guiñada (Bertonio I: 364).

Ch'imi also may be associated directly with blinking. /R/ is not emphatically pronounced in Aymara and **ch'irmi** is an alternative to **ch'armi** for **guiñada** (De Lucca: 128); **ccharmiri**, 'repeatedly winking or twinkling', is 'hermoso' (Bertonio II: 77), a quality associated elsewhere [see below] with surfaces which like **ch'imi**, shine or glisten. This suggests a semantic link between the minute intervals of light and darkness produced by blinking and the tiny black and white colour particles of **ch'imi**.

Blinking is also associated with larger amounts of black and white contrast than that suggested by twinkling **chhipi**. **Tihllay** is 'pestañar' (Lira: 72), **tijlla** 'bicolor, pestaña' (Lara: 276), and **ticclla**, 'lo de dos colores blanco y negro' (Holguín: 19), is synonymous with **allqa** (loc. cit.).

In textile terms **allqa/ticclla** suggests clear cut black and white contrast; the tiny quantities of colour in **ch'irmi/ch'imi** suggest a reduction in impact or clarity of this opposition. Yet the former is considered beautiful, the latter lucky and both describe the action of blinking, an interruption of light by darkness.

vii) Shimmering and fertility

The tiny colour particles of **ch'imi** are like seeds, **ch'ipi** can refer to a seed; lightning and its metaphorical action on actual ground and by analogy on the textile ground is associated in other ways with agriculture and with fertility.

a) Breaking the ground

Chiphiratha means 'desterronar', to break up the earth (Bertonio II: 83). This was done with a large stone or 'almadena'; when investigating an archaeological site in Northern Chile in 1986 our group found large 'belt stones' in the tiny fields which were said to be associated with fertility; these could have been dragged over the ground to break up the clods. On Taquile island similar, though much smaller, grooved stones are attached to a stick and swung back and forth to break up any large clods left after the passage of the plough.

One name for this stone is **cumpa** (Bertonio II: 59; Holguín: 54). In Quechua the root **cum** is concerned not with lightning but with thunder; in the Andes both phenomena are considered aspects of a single deity¹¹. Metaphorically speaking thunder and lightning bolts perform the task of 'breaking up' the earth, an act associated with the reconciliation of opposites and the making of a fresh start [see also Section III and Chapter 7, II].

Chiphiratha has two synonyms in this sense of 'desterronar'. One, **leketha**, is associated with black and white colour values; whilst the immature **leke** is a nondescript 'fraylesco' (reddish brown), the adult bird is black and white; together they suggest a temporal metaphor comparable to that of the **sua** and the **allcamari**, which it will be remembered, is thought to be lucky.

b) Fertility and colour

Another synonym for **chiphiratha** as 'desterronar' is **koparatha** (Bertonio I: 84), a term also associated with lightning; it comes not from above but from below and emerges not as light but as colour.

Kopa, or **copa**, as Bertonio transcribes it elsewhere (op. cit.: 52), describes a turquoise or green colour coming, like the green of new plants, from below, and which appears to be a force related to the spirits of the ancestors. A more detailed analysis of the meaning of **copa** will be found in the Appendix, where it is suggested that **copa** and **supay** are etymologically related.

Ccopa also means 'turquoise' in Quechua and Holguín associates it with lightning, though with **llipi** rather than

chhipi: *ccoparumi*, o *llipi*, *piedra llipi* o de los *llipis* (op. cit. 68).

Holguín does not describe 'piedra llipi' further, but its association with lightning suggests a shimmering quality. Referring to Bertonio, it seems very probable that *ccoparumi* or *piedra llipi* was plaster, which in its raw state has an iridescent, mother-of-pearl appearance¹².

Yesso: *pachachi*

Yesso espejudo: *lliphilliphi pachachi* (Bertonio I: 472)

'Green lightning' coming from below, appears to have a similar effect to the fertilising action of lightning or rain from above, turning the earth red. Arnold has drawn attention to the apparent anomaly in referring to green pastures by a word meaning red, *pakura*, or *pakulla* (1986: 16)¹³. *Copa* is a male force; *paqu* appears to be associated with the female. *Paqu* is a natural reddish or dark brown (Arnold: 1991), and *paqu* also refers to things which are inferior in social status, or which are uncooked. Referring to the fields as red emphasises their essentially female fertility, the result of the fertilising action of *koparatha*.

During harvest women wear red shawls and green skirts and are said to represent the potato plant (Arnold 1986: 16). In both cases productivity is once again associated with complementarity, red and green are complementary colours or *allqa*.

Breaking the ground is not, then, associated only with black and white; whilst *chhipi/chiphi* is associated with the black and white *leke* it should be remembered that *chiphi* is

also a synonym of **kusi** and that **kusi** can have rainbow colours.

Cuzcachani is a synonym for **pampachani**, 'allanar el suelo' (Holguín: 276), **cuzcuni** is 'matizar algo o labrar colores' (op. cit. 58); **cuzquipacha** is associated with breaking new earth, 'tiempo de romper la tierra quando comiençan las aguas por Octubre' (loc. cit.). Though there is no phonemic relationship between these three terms a semantic link would appear to be justifiable. Breaking the ground allows the colours to emerge; the fertilising action of male (white) lightning on the ground is like the cutting of the first furrow in the virgin earth, fertilising it and turning it red [see Chapter 7, V].

c) Sweetness and light

One further association should be mentioned between lightning, earth levelling, colour contrast and shimmering cloth.

Des Rosiers has deciphered the **memoria** or weaving instructions for a belt taken from a **kipu** by Murua (op. cit.: 219-241). This belt was a 'famoso **chumbi** de **cumbi** o **lipi**', worn by the Inca **coyas** 'en las grandes fiestas que llamaban çara' (op. cit.: 220).

Whilst **dexedores** (sic) of everyday fabric were **aua camayoc** (Guaman Poma: 193), **conbi camayoc** (Guaman Poma: 193) were 'bordadores y sederos'^{14, 15}. Cobo describes **cumbi**, or **qumpi** as it is now written, as 'lustroso' (op. cit.: IV 236-7) and as 'as corresponding to Spanish silk' (op. cit., Book

IV: 238). It will be remembered that 'sedas de lustre' are **llipipipik** (Holguín: 667), suggesting that **qumpi** was also **llipipipik**, as does the alternative **lipi** given by Murua.

Qumpi is, then, associated with lightning, **llipi** and shimmering cloth, **llipipipik**; the binding or oversewing of Macha **kustalas**, **qumpaska**, is black and white (Terrico: 12)

Qumpi is also associated with earth breaking (Bertonio II: 59; Holguín: 54). The joined edges of the Macha **kustala** are not only oversewn, **qumpaska**, but their differences have been 'broken down' or resolved. Seams are areas of particular fertility and the thread used for the **qumpaska** is black and white plied together and called **chimisqa**, sweet, fertile, and harmonious.

Compita is also multicoloured (De Lucca: 73), red or blue (Bertonio II: 198), and **compitha** is to smell sweet (or unpleasant) (Bertonio II: 51). **Qumpi** is also sweet tasting; these are qualities associated with **sama**, colour [see Chapters 4 and 7].

Besides denoting a particularly fine textile, a **kkonphi llihlla** is a sweet potato (Lira 469). This latter association of meanings is comparable to that of the sweet-tasting **caui** made by freeze-drying **oka** tubers, which as a synonym for **mokhsa** is in turn associated with the 'sweetness' of finely 'milled' cloth and with fertile agricultural ground (Bertonio II: 302, I: 438). As a synonym for **k'isa**, the sweetness of **caui** also recalls the diminutive multicoloured stripes which are the light of the textile, and they in their turn recall the sweet, finely milled colour particles of **ch'imi**.

viii) Shimmering and change

The concepts examined in the preceding subsections, besides their shared associations with lightning, earthbreaking, and shimmering, have another characteristic in common: they all denote some form of contrast.

Beauty is deceitful, fortune is unpredictable. Blinking is associated with change; **ch'irmi** or **chirmy** means 'eclipse' (Paredes: 112). This portentous event could have similar implications to a **pachacuti**; in the Quechua lament for the death of Atahualpa the black rainbow of the opening line is balanced by the 'pestañada' of the last; the Inca dynasty is eclipsed in the wink of an eye and everything is changed.

Change, as will be shown in Section III of this chapter, is associated with colour, and in the textile colours are used to express change; the change from the monotone of the fledgling **sua** or **leke** to the **allqa** of the adult bird is paralleled in the evolution from the 'noncultural' **pampa** of the 'cultural' stripes.

Like ground which is finely broken up, finely 'milled' cloth, **qumpi**, **chhipi**, or **ch'imi** is fertile; **llampu**, 'soft' or 'fine' is associated with the female (Flores Ochoa: 1986); for the ground to become productive it must be 'beaten' by a male force, light.

Without contrast or complementarity there is no change, no life, things remain dormant. The use of contrasting colours plied together, whether it results in shimmering or in mottled thread, changes the nature of the **pampa** for which it is used. This can be demonstrated by an examination of **sula**, a term which combines a meaning of 'burnished' with those of

a surface in which the inequalities have been reduced or 'levelled' in some way.

ix) **Shimmering and cultural transformation**

Sula and its derivatives have no direct reference to textiles but they are associated both with colour and with communicative design [see Chapter 4], and refer in general to actions producing a shiny, smooth, level or finely tilled surface (Bertonio II: 325).

These actions relate to cultural transformation, to levelling or measuring (imposing order on disorder), to face painting (a mark [see Chapter 7, I] of initiation into society) and roofing a house (for the social unit of a newly married couple), and to working a field (converting it from a 'pre-cultural' state, **puruma**) by breaking it up into a fine tith.

Sulatha also means 'enlucir' (Bertonio II: 325), to polish or give something a shiny surface; this is the equivalent of 'giving it face' (De Lucca: 8), or 'bringing it to life [see Chapter 3]. It has been suggested that it is its transformation from a natural to a cultural state, through a creative or manufacturing process (Cereceda 1987: 136), or through the presence of light or colour, that gives an object beauty; **sulata** is 'hermoso' (Bertonio I: 263).

Sula pampa is a surface cleared of previous obstacles, **escombrada**. No lumps or bumps, no inequalities, no interruptions in the form of tufts of grass remain in the surface of the ground which has been worked. The smooth surfaces of **sula** can glisten and a term used for the shimmering of lightning and of cloth, **llipi**, is associated

with a similar image of clearance; in *llipipipin pacha*¹⁶ (Holguín: 214) the clouds have cleared away as from a previously stormy sky¹⁷.

A burnished surface shines and glistens and so could literally be described as *llipi*. Clearing or smoothing the ground allows the light to reach it. Breaking up the ground in this way, the result of a metaphorical pounding by lightning and thunder bolts, represents an act of reconciliation. Just as the storm has passed over and the sky is full of light, the smoothness of *sulapampa*, unlike the unworked *qasi*, is shiny and alive ready for the commencement of a fresh cycle.

Summary

Whether subtly graded rainbow colours or black the essential factor in combining the colours appears to be a contrast between sharp, white, male light and the softness, or sweetness of colour. This generative opposition can also be understood as that between lightning and the rainbow, between an active male principle and a passive female one.

The presence of this generative energy is indicated by the shiny surface of an object, or in the lustrous iridescent ground of a textile. This shininess has its own vitality in the way it catches the light.

A shiny surface is associated with beauty, a shiny fabric with luck. Both are also associated with colour contrast. Both can be described as *llipi*. All these statements are also true of *ch'imi*.

Beauty and luck are however ambivalent qualities. Change in colour, as will also be shown in the following

section, indicates change in time, good luck may turn to bad, beauty is deceptive. The attempt to maintain equilibrium in this constantly moving cycle is apparent in the careful use of balance in all types of colour combination.

The monotony of some textiles appear to indicate the absence of the activating energy of light; its presence, and the presence of a contrasting darkness (on shiny surfaces) or colour (in matt surfaces) represents at one level a transformation from precultural to cultural, at another the circulation of vital energy and at a third the realisation of potential fertility.

III COLOUR AND FORTUNE

Introduction

In the investigation of the significance of lustrous fabrics, colour contrast, whether on a diminutive or a larger scale, was on several occasions linked to **suerte**, good (or bad) fortune.

This section will examine the concept of **suerte** and show that the many names for it also denote colour contrast of various kinds.

In both the related meanings of these terms and in their implied colour 'energies' balance is an essential factor. This does not, however, imply a static situation, but rather one of reciprocal exchange. Whilst continuing to relate to **suerte**, change of colour is inextricably bound up with cyclical change in time and space.

i) The concept of suerte

To translate **suerte** as 'luck' or 'fortune', its meaning in Spanish, is inadequate to suggest the complexities implicit in this concept in the Andes where **suerte** affects a person

en todos los planos de su existencia, moral, espiritual, material, física, familiar, económica y socialmente (Lira 1969: 38-39).

Suerte is not prefixed by the qualification 'good' or 'bad', it contains both possibilities and is better understood

not only as 'fortune' but as a norm, i.e. a state of balance and harmony which exists between the individual and the external world (Armstrong: 119).

Whilst an element of 'chance', 'fortune', 'destiny' or *estrella*¹⁸ is associated with *suerte* (Bertonio I: 467), it can also be ensured or channelled in certain ways; both in the *despacho* (Armstrong: 219) and in the textile a state of positive *suerte* in which a balanced flow of energy is achieved or maintained, is metaphorically expressed in the balanced combination of colours.

ii) Positive¹⁹ suerte and colour balance

A person's *suerte* can be adversely affected by their failure to fulfill a ritual obligation (Armstrong: 71) and a *despacho* can be offered to rectify this omission; the symbols contained in these offerings may be adjusted depending on the type of *suerte* desired (Armstrong: 7). Positive *suerte* is associated with increasing light and with white (Armstrong: 28), and the colours of ingredients used in *despachos* for the reinstatement and balance of *suerte* are red and white (Armstrong: 203) or black and white (Cummings: 33, Lira 1969: 39-40), a use of colours in balanced contrast.

In the Andes sickness is often perceived, as in other parts of South America (Reichel Dolmatoff: 1978a), as due to colour imbalance. Too many colours are dangerous (Cereceda 1986) and the rainbow can cause sickness²⁰, *kuychi onkoy*, 'rainbow sickness', or *chirapa unkuy*²¹ (Poma: 255, 282, 690).

The arrangement of ingredients in *despachos* for the cure of some illnesses express a symbolic progression through the entire colour range and back to white again

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The arrangement of ingredients in **despachos** for the cure of some illnesses express a symbolic progression through the entire colour range and back to white again

(Cereceda 1987: 204): this is a 'curación por el arcoiris' (Cereceda 1987: 211)²².

Sickness, understood as an imbalance of **suerte** or of colour can, then, be restored by rituals involving either colour contrasts, **allqa**, or colour gradations, **k'isa**, both of which express a comparable state of balance.

iii) Negative suerte and colour imbalance

Although **suerte** contains both positive and negative elements at least two terms are primarily associated with the latter; these terms are also indicative of colour imbalance.

Firstly, **raqui**, now transcribed as **raki**, can mean 'mal aguero' (Holguín: 313). Its primary meaning is one of separation:

Raquini: apartar uno de otro (op. cit.: 313).

Raki describes the separation of a husband who is in one land from a wife who is in another, of a living person from one who is dead (C R Franquemont: 332). **Raki**, then, is comparable to **ch'ulla** and the opposite of **yanantin**; the contemporary example of **raki** is that of a **separated** man and wife (loc. cit.), just as man and wife **together** are given as an example of **yanantin**.

This separation of two elements can relate to colours:

Raquinacuni: despartirse los que tiñen (Holguín: 313).

In Chinchero **raki raki** is the name of a design in which the colour areas are separated (C R Franquemont: 332).

Thus **raki** is also the opposite of **allqa**, two contrasting colours which are fused together.

Whilst as has already been mentioned the contrasting colours of **allqa** are polar opposites, and the contrasting halves of **yanantin** symmetrical opposites, the two concepts do share common attributes; **allqa** resemble the married couple in having gender values, light corresponding to male, and dark to female (Cereceda 1986: 169), and like the married couple also their juxtaposition generates a reproductive energy resulting in offspring (Cereceda 1986, Zorn 1987a). In addition both the married couple (Arnold 1988: 286) and the complementary colours of **allqa** are considered to have **suerte**, another reason for contrasting the latter to the 'bad fortune' of 'unbalanced' and 'separated' **raki**.

Mal afortunado is also given as **chiqui**, **chiqui**, **chhiquui**, and **chhiqui** (Holguín: 527). Besides meaning ill fortune, this term expresses disruption, disturbance of the normal state of affairs, and envy (Holguín: 112-113).

The Aymara term for 'desastre', **chhikhi**, (Bertonio II: 81), appears to have connotations of colour imbalance similar to those associated with Quechua **raki**: **cchikhcchitha** means 'echarse a perder ['curdle'] lo que se tiñe, cozerse demasiado' (Bertonio II: 84-85), whilst **cchikhi** means 'oscuro', lacking in light (Bertonio II: 85).

'Bad luck', then, is associated with the separation of a balanced whole into unbalanced parts. In colour terms it is expressed as the separation or imbalance of

colour which occurs when cloth takes the dye unevenly or too strongly.

iv) Terms for suerte and terms for colour

There are many different terms for 'luck' in the Andean vocabulary. Holguín lists four: **çami**, 'la dicha o ventura en bienes de fortuna y caso', **ataucay** (**cay** denotes '-ness'), 'la fortuna en guerras y honores', **куси**, 'la dicha en bienes honestos', and **cussiquellocay**, 'la ventura en cosas muy grandes, y estado de vida como la gracia, virtudes y la otra vida eterna' (op. cit.: 77). Bertonio lists **куси**, 'dicha, ventura', **cusiquello**, 'dichossimo', and **cutipa**, **sami**, 'dicha, ventura o buena mano en todo' (op. cit. II: 61), as well as **sami**, vel **куси**, 'dicha, suerte' (op. cit. II: 307) and **cusini**, **samini**, **allini**, **inquini**, **cutipani**, **callata haque**, 'dichoso' (op. cit. I: 191)²³.

Armstrong's study of **suerte** proposes that this concept refers to complementary flows of energy; these flows must be unobstructed in order to maintain the state of equilibrium necessary for well being. The following sections will show that terms for **suerte** indicate the presence of a vital energy in the form of light and colour and that their combinations are those which promote or allow its steady, balanced flow.

v) Sami

Holguín mentions **sami** specifically as good fortune in 'juegos y ganancias' (op.cit.: 36), in 'cosas de interés o

provecho riquezas o abundancia' (op.cit.: 488), or in 'grangerías' (loc. cit.: 690).

The games of chance with which **sami** is associated by Holguín were often used to predict fortune or **suerte**. Just as **despachos** for the reinstatement of **suerte** use colour contrasted ingredients, these games were often played on boards marked in contrasting colours; **castill aptata** resembled backgammon (Holguín: 551), which is played on a black and red board; **ttaptana**, 'juego del alquerque' or draughts (Holguín: 551), is played on a black and white board²⁴.

a) The role of **sami** in the 'balancing of accounts'

Sami as a colour term is associated with white; **samiri** are flat white stones (Metraux: 260) thought to have talismanic properties similar to **qonopa** (loc. cit.). These flat white stones are or were used as 'currency' in **Alaçitas** and other similar 'ferias', where they are exchanged for diminutive quantities of food and drink or some other highly valued commodity such as **coca**. This is thought to ensure an abundance throughout the year. The original purpose of these **ferias** appears to have been a symbolic balancing of the debits and credits which were normally recorded by means of black and white stones, the latter representing credit.

White is thought to attract **suerte** in its more material forms (Armstrong: 28) and in Oruro, is associated with **supay** or **Tío** (loc.cit.). In Bolívar the modern equivalent of the white stone 'currency', paper money

distributed by the festival **pasante**, belongs to **Paxsimama** (Moon Mother), a being also associated with the mines.

Sami, then, is concerned with payment, with cancelling of a debt²⁵; 'juez del juego para las dudas (sic) is **çamiapu** (Holguín: 551); payment is consistently associated with white: Bertonio lists **hankochatha** (**hanko**, white) as 'to pay tax fully' (*op. cit.* I: 342).

However, **sami** is also associated with colour. **Sami** means 'viso', shot (De Lucca: 377) and **paya samiri isi** is two-colour or iridescent cloth (Bertonio II: 307). The derivation of **samiri** from **sama**, a generic term for colour, particularly associated with red, has already been mentioned.

Amongst other South American groups such as the Tukano (Reichel Dolmatoff: 1971) colour contrast is seen as ultimately reduced to that between white (male-gendered) and black (female-gendered) with red being subsumed in the latter. It is possible that this is also the case in the Andes; as was mentioned in the first section of this chapter, a distinction is not always made between white and yellow or between red and black, and the black constellations of the Milky Way are associated with red, the female, and with the rainbow (Arnold 1988).

Thus, the coloured aspect of **sami** can be seen not only to provide a balanced contrast to its white aspect but also to represent the (black) debit as well as the (white) credit side of the balance of accounts. The metaphorical significance of this balancing of accounts as a reinstatement of equilibrium has been studied by Platt (1987a).

To summarise, the colour connotations of **sami** represent both sides of an equation in which colour balances non-colour. This equation also signifies the striking of a balance between reciprocal forces (debit/credit) which permits the steady flow of **suerte** of which **sami** is a type.

b) The role of **sami** in the restoration of health

As a type of **suerte sami** represents a flow of energy associated with light and colour; its association with other vital forces in the form of blood, red, and breath, white or non-colour, has already been mentioned in Chapter 4, I: (ii).

It has been suggested by Taylor that **sami** and **hami**, breath, derive from a single source and have a similar etymological relationship as that between **supay** and **hupay** (*op. cit.*: 61). In the Appendix I suggest that the latter relationship also extends to **cupa(y)**²⁶.

Breath, like colour, is used in healing therapy; practitioners of traditional medicine often effect a cure by breathing or blowing on the patient. In Chuschi, Peru, foreign herbalists, probably a reference to the Bolivian **callawayas**, are **hamites** (Isbell: 218); in Huancavelica, Peru, similar 'herbolarios que vienen andando desde tierras lejanas y saben curar cualquier clases de enfermedades' are known as **qamiles**²⁷ (Soto Flores: 162); in the central and south of Bolivia they are called **kamilis** (Paredes: 15).

Besides providing further evidence of a modification between initial /s/ or /h/ and /c/ or /q/ this example

shows there to be an association between curing rituals and **suerte** not only in the form of colour, **sami**, but of breath, **sami**. Moreover as I also attempt to show in the Appendix, **sami**, **qami** and **kami**, (or **cami**) appear to be regional variants of the same word.

vi) Misa

Missa or **misa** is not directly translated as **suerte**, but its various meanings (Holguín: 242) suggest that it is a metathesis of **sami**. To take part in games of chance is **missay** (Holguín: 237) or **misay** (Lara: 175); to win them **missay** (Holguín: 242), or **missapayani** (*loc. cit.*). To describe a person fortunate in this type of game **sami** and **misapaya** are also used synonymously; **missapayak** or **samiyok** is 'el venturoso en el juego' (*loc. cit.*). **Misa**, however, has like **sami**, its 'debit' aspect, and can refer to a similar loss (Holguín: 624).

Also like **sami**, **misa** also means 'two colour' (Lara: 175, Holguín: 237) specifically a two-colour cob of maize, **missa sara**. Holguín makes no mention of any particular colours but Bertonio stipulates that **missa** is red and white maize (*op. cit.* I: 310), the colours associated with **sami** as blood and breath, whilst the intermingling of diminutive quantities of red and white in the grains of the cob recalls the colours and the iridescence of **paya samiri isi**.

vii) Ataucay [Holguín], allqa, illa and inka

The terms for **suerte** examined so far describe the intermingling of diminutive quantities of colour contrast

comparable to those of **ch'imi**. This section will examine the terms **allqa**, **illa** and **inka**, which relate to colour contrast on a larger scale.

The association may also be true of a fourth term, **ataucay**. **Atau** is not directly linked with colour values but, albeit as 'a word of doubtful or unknown meaning', Lira lists **ataumari** (op.cit.: 69). In Chuani the black and white **allqamari**, the significance of which has been studied in detail by Veronica Cereceda, is considered to represent **suerte** (op.cit.: 1981); the association of **atau** with the Aymara suffix, **mari**, makes it tempting to believe that this type of luck might also be represented by complementary colours, **allqa**.

Like **samiri**, **illa** are objects which have talismanic properties for the reproduction of the herds (Bertonio II: 173); **yllayoc runa**, a person possessing **illa**, is 'el hombre muy rico y venturoso' (Holguín: 366).

Although **illa** refers to light, the dual aspects of **sami** suggests that light or white implies the presence of its complement, black. **Chullumpi**, stones with similar properties to the talismanic **illa**, are black (Flores Ochoa: 1976), although the bird from which they take their name, is, like the **allqamari**, black and white. A snake with similar markings, which, though it is not specifically mentioned as lucky, must be considered valuable in some way for it to be 'domesticated', is an **illawi** (Lara: 103), again suggesting that light implies a corresponding darkness.

Like *illa*, *inqui*, 'dicha, ventura' (Bertonio I: 190) or 'suerte' (Bertonio I: 245) is associated with talismans, *enqaychu* (Flores Ochoa 1976: 115), and like *sami* is also thought of as a generating force (*op. cit.* 121). *Inqui* is associated with *cusi* and *sami* (Bertonio I: 191), which both have colour values. Bertonio's entry *inquillcuna*²⁸, 'las cosas mejores en qualquiera genero' (*op. cit.* II: 175) suggests that they may act as talismans in a similar way to *illa*, 'qualquiera cosa que uno guarda para provision de su casa' (Bertonio II: 173), but does not associate them in any way with colour. However, in his study of colour terms for camelids, many of which have ritual significance, Flores Ochoa mentions *inkamisa*, an animal with a white back and black belly (1986: 143), i.e. with similar visual characteristics to *allqa* and *illa*, but reversed²⁹. Sacred sites around Isluga are also said to have *misa de inka* (Martinez: 1976).

To summarise, from an analysis of the terms for luck examined so far it would seem that a state of maximum *suerte* or of balanced energy flow can be expressed either by colour contrast or by the intermingling of contrasting colours in very small amounts.

viii) Kusi

The colour connotations of *kusi* recall those of *k'isa*, a textile term not so far mentioned in connection with *suerte*.

Besides its meanings of *suerte* (Bertonio II: 307) and 'happiness' (Lara: 135), *kusi* also refers to 'gloria del cielo', *kusisiña* (Bertonio I: 250).

Gloria or glory derives from the Latin and refers to an 'aureole' or 'halo' (Chambers: 555). In English 'glory' denotes a rainbow-colour nimbus (Chambers: 554), and in the name of the sixth Inca **coya kusi** is associated with another term for halo, the rainbow-coloured **chimpu** (Guaman Poma: 130).

However, glory could also be understood as a strong white light (Chambers: 554); a white spider, **kusikusi**, which is associated with good luck (Paredes: 93), is also called **gloria** (Gifford pers.comm.; cf Armstrong: 198 **mesa blanca o 'de gloria'**).

Whilst white alone can be equivalent to rainbow colours (Torricco: 57n 22) a transposition from rainbow colours to white not only represents a change from sickness to health (Cereceda 1987: 211), but political and social change (Murua, quoted in Cereceda 1987: 139; Platt 1986b).

The diverse aspects of **kusi** thus express not only complementary contrast but a suggestion of alternation between the two similar to that between the contrasting aspects of **sami**, for which, in its meaning of **suerte**, **kusi** is a synonym.

This sense of balanced alternation is also present in other meanings of **kusi**, where, again like **sami**, it is associated with situations denoting reciprocal giving and receiving or debit and credit. **Cussin chaquen** is 'el que las da or gratifica servicios o buenas obras', **cussin chassca** 'el que lo recibe' (Holguín: 57), **cussincha huasunmi diospayta huñi puscanchicamanta** 'dios nos gratificara al auerle obedecido' (Holguín: 57)³⁰.

An example from my fieldwork also indicates the sense of reciprocal action attached to **kusi**. When warping my **coca** cloth Corina and I threw the balls of wool backwards and forwards to each other, wrapping them round the loom bars in a continuous figure of eight. **Kusi kusi**, laughed my host, Ponciano, who was watching us. Instead of referring to **kusi kusi**, the spider whose actions replicate those of weaving, he explained his remark by reminding me of how I had helped to sow potatoes, using first one hand and then the other in an alternating movement.

Performing a figure of eight movement like that used in warping is **kutichiy** (Cummings: 35), and is thought to neutralise the effects of witchcraft³¹ (Cummings: 35). By not cutting the warps the weaver ensures that every textile preserves this protective figure of eight formation in its structure³².

ix) Kuti

One further term for luck has still to be examined. **Kutipa** is a synonym for both **sami** and **cusi** (Bertonio I: 190, II: 61), and so, though it is not itself associated with colour in its meaning of luck, it is repeatedly linked to terms which are. In addition the associative meanings of **kuti** indicate a connection between change of direction and change of colour as well as a relationship between both types of change and time³³.

a) Reciprocal movement in time and space

The most widely understood meaning of **kuti** is probably that of reversal or return. Because time and

space are part of the same concept in Andean thought the sense of *kuti* as to go back to a place one has already left implies a backward movement in time as well as space whilst to come back from one place to another suggests a comparable forward movement.

Several recent researches have argued that the Quechua notion of time and history are based on a meander or spiral rather than on a circle or line (Franquemont et. al.); not only do the arrivals and departures of *kuti* suggests a zigzag progression through time, but the textile figure known as *kutij*, that which turns back, represents an S or Z spiral.

Kuti is related to *ayni*, reciprocal labour (Bertonio II: 61) and is also synonymous with *mitta* (Holguín: 57, Bertonio II: 61), the obligatory tasks performed in rotation at certain times of the year. A sense of reversing the spiral of time in this context of reciprocal barter or obligation is suggested by *cutichinacupuni*, 'volverse uno a otro lo suyo o comprado' (Holguín: 57) whilst *kutichiña*, 'acto que debe corresponderse' (Lira: 343), implies the necessity of future action.

Kuti, then, must sometimes represent a position of credit, associated with white, reciprocal obligation having been performed, and at others a situation of debit, associated with black, with the obligation still to be fulfilled.

b) Change in direction and change in time

It has been suggested that textile figures are derived from forms in the actual structure of the cloth

(Frame), and the spiral form of the **kutij** design reflects the much smaller spiral of twisted thread.

It will be remembered that to make two complementary spirals or a figure of eight, is **kutichiy**, and **kutichiña** relates this reciprocal action to thread, 'hilo que se debe destorcer' (Lira: 343, Bertonio II: 61). This meaning of **kutichiña** implies both a later point in time, when the presently twisted thread will have become untwisted, and reversion to an earlier point, one before the thread was twisted at all³⁴.

c) **Change in direction and change in colour**

As most thread is spun to the right untwisting it would mean turning it to the left, **lloq'e**, a term comparable in several respects to **kuti**, and one which, as will be shown below, is also associated with colour, either red or white and black or white, and with **suerte** (Armstrong, Cummings).

In addition to **missa sara**, red and white maize, Holguín lists another special type, **kuti sara** (op. cit.: 57). In these cobs the grains point downwards as well as upwards, forming a tiny chevron, so that the characteristic appearance of the whole cob is not one of contrasting colours but of contrasting directions³⁵.

Kuti sara are sold in country markets, and were shown to me in the November 25th (Santa Catalina) market in Tacopaya by a young law student from Cochabamba who had returned to the village for the **fiesta**. Sergio told me that **kuti sara** is considered lucky because it has

protective properties. *Kuti* he translated as *contra*, *al revés* or 'turning the other way'.

In this sense, in its formation of a chevron when contrasted with the 'usual' way, and in its apotropaic function *kuti* maize is similar to *lloq'e* thread and *lloq'e sara* is an alternative name for it (Cummings: 22).

The similar properties attributed to the two cobs suggest that the contrasting directions of *kuti sara* are comparable in significance to the contrasting colours of *misa sara*. Contrasts in direction and colour are also associated in *lloq'e*, which appears to equate left-spun and dark. Adelson & Tracht illustrate a colonial period tunic, or *ccahua*, from Potosí which is woven in very narrow dark and light blue stripes with very narrow dark and light pink stripes at the edges. All the light warps are plied Z (spun to the right), all the dark warps are plied S (spun to the left), *lloq'e* (op. cit. 1983: 58).

In a similar way *lloq'e*, left-spun black thread, is plied with *panay*, right spun white thread and used in rituals to enclose and protect the family corral (Dalle), or to bind the human body and 'change the luck' (Lira 1969: 39-40), i.e. to turn it the other way and reinstate the balance necessary for well-being.

d) Change in colour and change in time

Contrary colours have, then, a comparable significance to contrary directions. The countermovement of untwisting implies both future action and reversion to an earlier point in time: a further meaning of *kutichiña*, 'color que debe transmutar o decolorar' (Holguín: 57,

Lira: 343), relates this movement in time to change or loss of colour.

Just as its other meanings implied a previous sale, a previous kindly act, a previous twisting, all positive actions moving forward in time, colour loss implies a previous strength or gain.

Like the reduced impact of the colour contrasted particles of *ch'imi* and the abrupt juxtaposition of *allqa*, which each give a different sense of pace, the colour changes of time can be rapid or slow. *Kuti* relates to the sudden turning over of an entire world or era, a *pachacuti*; *cutipuni* is to change colour rapidly, or to lose it (Holguín: 57), whilst *kutichiña* suggests a cyclical increase or strengthening in colour which after reaching a central point then fades away again.

'To become discoloured', *cutisqa aya jina* (Holguín: 57), literally 'to become once again like an ancestor or soul', relates lighter or weaker colours to the beginning and end of the human cycle, and by implication brighter, stronger colours to its peak (cf Cereceda: 1981).

A similar change in colour over time is apparent in the calendrical cycle: the weak sun of the winter solstice is *churi inti*, *churi* being the Quechua word for son, but also having the Aymara meaning of yellowish white (Bertonio II: 93; De Lucca: 107); the summer solstice sun *apu inti*, Lord or Father sun, is thought of as stronger both in character and colour (Demarest)³⁶.

In the journey of the sun on its daily round, *ticnu*, 'el zenito punto de la mitad del cielo (Holguín: 341), the point of balance before it turns comparable to the

solstice, **kuti**, the turning point of the year, is also like **kuti**, connected with good luck in games of chance, 'buena suerte en el juego de la **pichca** quando gana' (Holguín: 341).

The aim of this section has been to investigate the apparent association between a flow of well being, **suerte**, and certain colour combinations; the latter were found to exhibit the sense of balanced movement necessary for the former. In **kuti**, a concept also relating to luck, this movement or change of colour is associated with the flow of time.

Summary

In order to maintain an unimpeded flow of the complementary energies which comprise **suerte** it is necessary to achieve a state of equilibrium. An examination of the terms for **suerte** suggests that this state can be represented by certain colour combinations, notably black and white, red and white or rainbow colours and white.

The wider connotations of one of the terms indicative of **suerte**, **kuti**, associates reciprocal action in time and place with a comparable change in colour. This association is paralleled in **lloq'e**, a concept used as a protection against negative **suerte**. Colour strengthens and fades in a cyclical movement through time and space similar to that of twisting and untwisting thread. In this way colours come to represent a perpetual and pendular movement which, like light and colour, indicate the vitality to be found in cloth.



Plate 7. Village authorities gather to chew coca during the Santa Catalina fiesta in Tacopaya.

PART THREE: COMPOSING WOVEN SPACE

CHAPTER 7: THE DIVERSE NATURE OF STRIPES

General Introduction

Through an analysis of colour terminology the preceding chapter suggested some of the possible significances of combining different colours, different numbers of colours, and different amounts of colour in various ways. This chapter will attempt to show how these concepts apply to woven stripes.

Stripes played and continue to play an important part in the design of all types of Andean textiles, particularly in the Aymara aesthetic. Dictionary entries for stripes are numerous, most notably in Bertonio, but neither he nor Holguín give a generic term for 'stripe', or 'to stripe'. Bertonio lists *hattu* (*op. cit.* II: 124), but this is subsequently qualified as a vertical stripe appropriate to male clothing; stripes are always mentioned as of a particular size, colour, position, or as used in a particular type of textile.

The following sections will examine the terms for stripes collected during fieldwork or found in the literature. By comparing the extended meanings of these terms with each other and with the meanings listed in the early dictionaries an attempt will be made to discover whether they share any common significance and whether any such significance has remained constant from colonial times to the present day.

In her study of Islugan *talegas* Cereceda has noted that 'within the strictly limited context of textiles,

colours are grouped in two major categories: **k'ura**, the natural colour camelid fleeces, and **p'ana**, the colours obtained from dyes' (1986: 158); I use these terms to indicate a similar distinction.

Because of the considerable number of terms to be analysed these have been grouped in five sections. The first examines multiple bands of stripes. They are used primarily in articles of clothing and are all polychrome. The second and third sections look at what I have chosen to call 'simple' stripes. As these are sometimes woven of dyed yarn they cannot be described as 'natural' nor are they necessarily monochrome, as they may include warp manipulation and even figured designs. They are, however, at least at a visual level, less complex than multicoloured stripes, usually occurring singly or in pairs, rather than in bands, and with only a basic light/dark contrast. The fourth section deals exclusively with the stripe found at the centre of a figure or a textile and the fifth with its edges and woven bindings, which, whilst they do not fall strictly into the category of stripes, in several cases have a common terminology and play an essential part in the definition of textile space.

Multicoloured stripes, which will be shown to have connotations of measurement of time and space and of communicating within it, can be seen as organising the woven space of the textile. Broad stripes require the definition provided by the surrounding narrow stripes in order to emerge from the undefined area of the textile ground, whilst the narrow stripes, with their many levels

of meaning, provide further details of the complex metaphor for which the textile is a model. The central stripe provides an axis for the articulation of this metaphoric space as well as for the woven space of the textile, whilst edges and borders establish its limits.

I THE ORGANISATION OF TEXTILE SPACE; Multicoloured, banded stripes

Introduction

One of the functions of the stripes in Andean textiles is to identify the wearer as belonging to a particular community; metaphorically the division or definition of the uniform area of the textile **pampa** into stripes signifies a claiming of land by society. The use of stripes in clothing may have originated in the custom of striping the body or face with blood, a ritual signifying participation in the obligations of the community. The Quechua term for this is:

Pirani: Una ceremonia que del carnero o cordero que avian de sacrificar con la sangre nueva y fresca se embijaran con rayas en la cara o cuerpo para tener parte en aquel sacrificio (Holguín: 287).

and **pirascca** refers equally to 'listado con colores' or 'listado de sangre' (Holguín: 566).

The Aymara term for this type of facial painting is **samastha** (Bertonio II: 306). An example of its use in making those so painted a part of society (Bouysse-Cassagne 1986: 213) was the **sucullu** ritual (Bertonio II: 323)¹, during which the uncle, **lari**, of a boy child drew a stripe across his nephews's face from one cheek to the

other² with the blood of a vicuña he had killed in the hunt to provide food for the ceremony. The following examination of multicoloured stripes will show that they continue to be associated with the provision and sharing of a ritual meal.

The **sucullu** was also the occasion when a boy first wore distinctive male clothing: a black tunic with three vertical red stripes (Bertonio II: 323)³, the stripes of the **urgicillo**, little overskirt, which the girl wore for the first time at a similar ceremony, the **huampaña**, were many, multicoloured and horizontal, placed a little below the waist (Bertonio II: 323). Whilst multicoloured stripes, like several of those examined in section II and III were at one time gender-specific, this no longer appears to be the case.

i) **K'isa**

A term frequently used by contemporary Bolivian weavers to describe the bands of subtly gradated stripes woven in shades of red, green, blue and orange is the Aymara **k'isa**, 'meloso en hablar' (Bertonio I: 312).

Veronica Cerceda has made a detailed study of the significance of **k'isa**, which she sees as mediating between contrasting areas of the textile, amongst the Aymara weavers of Isluga (Chile) and Chuani (Bolivia). As has already been mentioned, **k'isa** are thought of as the **luz**, or light of a textile and it is they, rather than any woven figures which are considered its chief beauty (Cerceda 1987: 184-226).

K'isa are typical of Aymara speaking areas and only appeared comparatively recently in Bolívar where they may have been copied from the widely available factory-made **awayos**, or mantles, or have been introduced from Aymara speaking Northern Potosí which lies just across the river. Perhaps because the adoption of this form is still recent the term **k'isa** is not used in Bolívar. Referring to similarly gradated stripes both Quechua and Spanish speakers use the Spanish word **matizado**, gradated. In Quechua this concept is expressed by **paukar**:

Paukar: Polícromo, matiz color
proporcionadamente mesclado, o combinado con
otros. Cada una de las gradaciones de un color
desde el subido hasta el débil ténue (Lira:
744).

This definition exactly describes the visual appearance of **k'isa**, which are not simply colours gradated in shades of light and dark but also those colours combined in a balanced way, the total quantity of dark shades being equal to the total quantity of lighter ones.

Chuani weavers describe making **k'isa** chromatic stripes as **tinkuyaña**, meaning 'to combine the colours' (Cereceda 1981: 73, 1987: 211). In Bolívar my teacher Juana used **tinkushan**, 'they meet, unite or marry' to describe her choice of colour combinations.

Tinku describes a hostile or loving encounter between complementary opposites and is a recurrent concept in the aesthetics of Andean textiles⁴. The meanings of **jiquisiyaña**, Aymara for 'matizar', are exactly analogous to those of **tinku** (De Lucca: 759).

In the iconography of the textile, the alternately fading and strengthening colours of the **k'isa** are a

visual expression of a **tinku**, of 'encontrarse los que vienen con los que van' (Bertonio II: 350-351), a levelling out of the differences between sharply contrasted colours.

In addition **k'isa**, in common with verbs formed from the roots **tinku** and **jiqui**, suggests that harmony may be achieved by means other than direct physical encounter, through dialogue: **k'isa**: 'meloso en hablar' (Bertonio I: 312), **jiquisiña**: 'convencer, ganar en discusion', **tincuscacta**: 'a proposito decir'. The **k'isa** are not a merely passive interpolation of colours but have an active function in the communication of the textile message.

ii) **Kuwichi**

Looking at the **k'isa** stripes on a factory-made **awayo** a bilingual Aymara/Quechua speaker from the Aymara speaking community of Curva in the Charasani region called them **kuwichi**, rainbows. In Tarabuco **kuwichi** are polychrome stripes separating the figured bands of a woman's **aksu**, or overskirt (Meisch 1987: 49), their colours gradated like those of the **k'isa** (*op. cit.*: 50).

In the Aymara **huampaña** ritual multicoloured stripes were associated with women's clothing; Holguín also does so: 'listada de ropa de muger', **cuychilliclla**⁵ (*op. cit.*: 566), 'mantellina de listas de colores', **ccuychiñañaca** (*op. cit.*: 582), but today similar stripes are also woven in articles such as the **ch'uspa** used by men.

The role of **kuwichi** stripes is one of mediation, but the rainbow is also a symbol of transformation and change, which announced a **pachakuti**.

Pachakuti, the quaking or trembling of the earth which is a metaphor for social and political as well as cosmic upheaval, is synonymous with **pachancuyun** (Holguín: 269; Ricardo: 187), and **cuyorina**, 'volvible cosa o movible' (Santo Tomás: 276) suggests an action similar to the reciprocal movement of **kuti**.

Kutij is a name for the double-headed snake design which is identified with the rainbow (Valcarcel 1959a: 10) and like it is also called **amaru** (Urton 1981: 178). The transforming power of the rainbow will be returned to in the section on figured designs.

iii) Chinu

The term **chinu** is used in Bolívar for the narrow multicoloured stripes at the edges of **llijllas**. Some women also use it instead of **muyorqa** for the narrow stripes which come between the wider stripes, **pampa**, of blankets.

Chinu is an Aymara word meaning 'nudo de hilo, cordel o sogá' (Bertonio II: 83). This knotted cord was used in counting in a similar way to the Quechua **kipu**:

Chino: La cuenta que señala por nudos del que se da o recibe (Bertonio II: 83).

Herders kept account of the number and colour of their flocks by means of knotted cords (Murra 1964: 142) and the priests of a **huaca** kept account of the offerings

made and the herds belonging to it in a similar way (Albornoz, quoted in Duviols 1984: 198).

In weaving **chinu** is also used as 'to count pairs of warps', particularly when forming the very narrow multicoloured striped bands at the edges of **llijllas** which are also **chinu**.

Chinu always refers to a pair of warps; an uneven number of warps is 'tantos **chinu** y media'. **Chinu** can also refer to the total number of warps in a design area. The belt I wove had 30 warps or fifteen **chinu**, divided into three groups of ten warps or five **chinu**. Weavers say 'todo puede salir de treinta', 'everything can come out of thirty [warps]'⁶.

Chinu was and is used in reference to calendar dates. **Chinu phajjsi**, knot moon or month, was the period June 17 - July 17 (De Lucca: 101), the month of the winter solstice. In my belt the total number of warps and their subgroups may also have calendrical significance: according to Montesinos (*op. cit.*: 51) there were 30 days in the Inca month, divided into three weeks each of ten days (Guaman Poma: 56)⁷.

Arnold sees the knots of **chinu** as points of transition (1986: 3) or joints in time. The synonym for **chinu** given by Bertonio (*op. cit.* II: 83) is **moco**, 'coyuntura de los huesos o nudos de las cañas y palos, y también significa tiempo apposito para hazer algo' (*op. cit.* II: 224).

Thus although the function of multicoloured **chinu** stripes is one of mediation between different textile areas, it would appear that the spatial and temporal

markers provided by **chinu** as knots or joints also provide a similar punctuation to that suggested visually by an **allqa** [see III: Introduction], the abrupt juxtaposition of complementary colours which signifies both unity and division.

I shall now go on to analyse the connotations of **chimpu**, in order to examine further the association of multicoloured stripes with systems of communication and measurement.

a) Chinu (knot) and Chimpu (marker)

Though **chimpu** is not used as a term for a textile stripe it can be seen immediately that its meanings are closely related to those of **chinu**, which suggests that the two terms form part of the same semantic field.

Like **chinu**, derivatives of **chimpu** involve the imposition of order; 'orden' is **chimputacama saraña** (Bertonio I: 140), implying a relationship between order, **chimpu**, and the arrangement of the warps, **chinu**, similar to that existing in Old World Latin based languages (eg Spanish **orden/order** - **urd bre/warp**)⁸.

Order is achieved by the division of time and space into measurable or predictable amounts:

Chimpusitha: señalar el tiempo o lugar en que haran algo (Bertonio II: 82)

recalling the definition of **chinu's** synonym **moco** (Bertonio II: 224).

In Misminay haloes round the sun and moon are thought of as related to the rainbow and are referred to saying: **intita chimpushan k'uychi** (Urton 1981: 90), 'the

rainbow marks the sun'. Holguín also uses **chimpu** and **cuychi** as synonyms: **Intichimpun**, o **cuychin**, 'cerco del sol' (op. cit.: 110). Like rainbows these haloes are used in the prediction of rain and the appropriate time for planting (Urton 1981: 91).

The means used in defining and measuring are similar for both terms: **chinu** is a knotted cord, **chimpu** is a coloured thread tied in an animal's ear to show ownership or at a certain level on a container such as a **kustala**⁹ to indicate a certain quantity:

Chimputha: Señalar la medida con algun hilo o con otra cosa (Bertonio II: 82).

Chimpu o **puyllu:** señal de lana, hilo o borlilla de colores (Holguín: 110).

This latter type of **señal** is frequently used in present day rituals and on clothing. Offerings of fruit, **coca**, etc, wrapped with coloured wool and placed on an underground altar at the animal earcutting ceremony are called **chimpu** in Ayacucho province, Peru (Quispe), where **chimpu** are also the 'colourful pieces of yarn looped through the pierced ears of llamas and then tied' (Zuidema, personal communication quoted in Urton 1981: 90).

In Pampachiri, Peru where I spent several months in 1980 and 1982 these ear markings are called **t'ika** 'flowers', as are the coloured tassels on a woman's headcloth and a man's **ch'uspa** on Taquile, Peru.

Bertonio mentions **puyllu**, given as a synonym for **chimpu** by Holguín, as being used on dance costumes in a similar way to Taquile **t'ika**:

Puyllukhatatha, **collullukhathatha,**
huarahuarachatha: poner fluecos de lana por la
 camiseta para dançar o festejar (Bertonio II:
 278).

In this case the synonyms for **chimpu** and **puyllu** are both terms for star. As will be shown in the section on figured designs, 'stars' and 'flowers' are interchangeable elements which signify the possession of some kind of vital force and an ability to transform from one element into another; this vital force has already been associated with banded multicolour stripes comparable to **chinu** and **chimpu**.

iv) Ñan

Ñan was used by a middle-aged man from Taquile to describe the multicolour bands of stripes on either side of the figured designs in a **ch'uspa**. **Ñan**, pathway, suggests communication between one place and another. It is another name for the Milky Way (Arnold 1988: 399) or celestial river, whose white pathway is identified with lightning, whilst the black constellations which lie within it are the **wila sinta**, red or blood pathway, and are identified with the rainbow (Arnold 1988: 399-402).

Like rainbow stripes the Milky Way mediates between this world and the worlds of above and below, between past and present. Its pathways are the pathways of the dead (Arnold 1988: 402); in November the position of the Milky Way at dawn forms a bridge between this world and the world of the ancestors across which they return for the festival of Todos Santos (Sullivan 1987: 118), and a zigzag textile figure representing the Milky Way is

sometimes called **alma ñancito**, 'little pathway of the soul' (Medlin 1987: 61).

Huacayñan (Molina: 8) or **Guasayñan** (Albornoz, quoted in Duviols 1984: 211) literally 'pathway of the llama', was the name of the mountain in the Cañari province of Ecuador up which two mythical brothers escaped from a flood (Molina quoted in Sullivan 1987: 142; Avila, Chapter 30-31). **Yacana**, the celestial llama, is one of the black constellations in the Milky Way, and **ñañ**, like the other multicoloured stripes, would appear to represent the rainbow pathway.

v) **Kacha**

Kachitas, incorporating the Spanish diminutive, is used in Tarabuco for the stripes occurring, like **ñan**, on either side of the **pallay** band on a **ch'uspa** (Meisch 1987: 51). Meisch translates **kachitas** as 'repetitions', but this definition refers to **kacha** used as an intermediary participle (Lira: 291), which is not the case here; a meaning given by Bertonio, 'cosas pequeñas y graciosas', 'small, attractive things' (*op. cit.* II: 43), seems more appropriate.

Other meanings of **kacha** express similar concepts of beauty and mediation to those typical of other multicoloured stripes; **kacha** is 'manso' (Bertonio II: 43), and like **k'isa** and **kuwichi** has the power of 'sweet' or 'musical' speech, **kacha cuncani** is 'uno que tiene voz delgada que levanta mucho como tiple o contralto' (Bertonio II: 43); **kacha** is also 'mensajero, nuncio,

envio' (Lira: 291), suggesting a similar idea of spatial transition to that present in *ñan*..

a) Kacha, the pathway and the shrine

Albornoz (quoted in Duviols 1984: 218) uses *cachau*, a derivative of *kacha*, messenger, as a synonym for *ceque*, the straight lines radiating outwards from a centre and linking sacred sites. According to him Cusco was not the only ceremonial centre to be surrounded by a *ceque* system.

Ase de advertir que, en todas las más *huacas* quéstán en los cerros y en llanos, tienen al rededor de sí unas señales que llaman *ceques* o *cachauis*, que son señales de los ofrescimientos que a tales *huacas* hazían y tienen sus nombres en renombre cada señal de que allí ofresció hijo o carnero de oro o plata o de *mollo* (loc. cit.).

Kacha, then, were not only the messengers, but the pathways, *ñañ*, by which they travelled.

Albornoz uses *señal* or 'marker' in a sense close to that of *chinu* or *chimpu*. It will be remembered that *chinu* or *kipu* were used by the head priest to keep a record of all that belonged to the *huaca* and the sacrifices made to it (Albornoz, quoted in Duviols 1984: 198). Guaman Poma's illustration (*op. cit.*: 360) of the *huchacamayoc*, the person concerned with the fulfilment of ritual obligations, shows him with a *kipu* and makes clear the interrelationship of the *ceque/cachau* and *kipu/chinu* systems by showing the *kipu* with 41 cords, the same number of cords as there were *ceque* lines radiating from Cusco (Zuidema 1982: 423)^{10, 11}.

Just as **chinu** can be represented as a stripe or a knot, **ceque/cachau** signify both the lines and the knots or **huacas** occurring along them.

b) **Kacha, the journey and the sacrifice**

In the introduction to this section blood and blood sacrifice were associated with forms of marking similar to the identifying **chimpu** tied in the ears of domesticated animals. A blood sacrifice is made during the ear-cutting ritual and the brightly coloured ties subsequently knotted in the animals' ears are said to represent coagulated blood (Arnold 1988: 230).

According to Molina (quoted in Zuidema 1982: 430), not only the pathways along which they travelled but also the chosen ones, the **aclla**, of the **capacocha** ritual sacrifices were called **cachagues**. Starting from Cusco, the priests took the blood of these sacrificial victims, who had come into the capital from all parts of the empire, out again to its most distant frontiers, completing a reciprocal movement alternately contracting towards and expanding from the centre.

The **aclla** act as messengers or ambassadors, **kacha**, in that it is through their blood, ritually sacrificed, that communication is reestablished with the supernatural beings who control the Andean universe.

c) **The sweetness of the offering**

The harmonious maintenance of balance, or a readjustment of imbalance is the purpose of the communication or offering known as a **despacho**; this

offering is thought of as a ritual meal and **kachapu** means 'banquet' (Lara: 123).

Many of the ingredients of the modern **despacho**, are, like the **kacha** textile stripes, sugary or sweet in nature, and perform a similar mediatory role.

As has already been mentioned **kacha** in this context of sweetness is a synonym for **k'isa** and **caui** (Bertonio I: 312). It will be remembered that **caui** are a kind of dried tuber, **oka**, tasting almost as sweet as dried fruit and forming part of the festive meal offered to guests at ritual celebrations. Around Lake Titicaca **k'isa** are thought of as 'sweet, like a fig' (Felicity Nock, personal communication) and '**kacha** higos, **kacha** vuas' are 'vuas y higos pasados' (Holguín: 129), fruit ripened and dried by the warmth of the the sun. *

Discussing the San Bartolomé festival in Bolívar some weeks after the event, my hosts were asked whether **frutas secas** (lit. dried fruits), had been served. I was surprised to hear them reply that they had as I was staying in their house, where the **fiesta** was held, and had helped to prepare the food, but could not remember seeing any dried fruits such as the figs, prunes, or raisins which the words brought to mind.

It was explained that **frutas secas** were the little maize-flour biscuits which I had helped to make and which were offered to guests, together with a tiny glass of red wine, on the first day of the festival. It was the only occasion on which this form of alcohol was served, the remainder of the time **trago**, neat alcohol, bottled beer

and, most often and in enormous quantities, **chicha**, maize beer, were offered.

The timing of their appearance and the diminutive quantities served, recall food offered during **campesino** festivals at a similar moment, as an initial welcome to the guests. This food consists of tiny portions of bread and meat cooked without salt, called **cankas**, which are highly valued by the guests. The colour of the wine served with the maize biscuits, and the symbolism attached to it through the Christian ritual of communion, suggest that together they are intended to represent a similar type of offering.

In each case the 'offering' is composed of similarly balanced elements:

unsalted meat and bread, **cankas**
 wine and maize biscuits or **frutas secas**, **kacha**

In the latter set the intended ingredients of the offering have become somewhat obscured, but their significance remains unchanged: **kacha** as **frutas secas** reiterates **kachapu**, 'banquet' and **cachagues** 'blood sacrifice'.

Summary

The nature of rainbow stripes, like that of the rainbow itself, is ambivalent. Though their gradated colours express a gradual levelling out of difference rather than the abrupt juxtaposition of an **allqa**, their semantic connotations imply both types of relationship, both the ancestral shrines and the pathways which connect

them, both the knots and the cord in which the knots are made.

This ambivalence is due in part to the sense of movement implicit in stripes, a movement through time as well as space; rainbow stripes mediate between dissimilar areas of the textile such as the **pampa** and the figured design bands; they also communicate between the upper and lower worlds, the worlds of past and future.

Multicoloured stripes are distinctly cultural; future sections will suggest that their colours evolved from the non-cultural disorder represented by the monochrome **pampa**. They are of dyed, i.e. 'cooked' or 'processed' yarn and they relate to systems which supplement memory rather than to memory itself. They recall spatial and temporal facts about a community, details of its sacred sites, its lineage and its wealth. Their pathways provide both a metaphoric means of communication with the world of the ancestors and a means of conveying their memories and traditions to future generations.

II DEFINITION OF TEXTILE SPACE: Broad Stripes

Introduction

My reasons for describing the kinds of stripes examined in the following two sections as 'simple' is given in the General Introduction to this chapter. In doing so I have tried to avoid the definitions 'natural' and 'cultural' which are totally inadequate to describe the significance of textile elements. Stripes, colours and figures are seldom absolute; they are merely 'less cultural' or 'more natural'. In addition their nature evolves and changes in a cyclical movement, so that an adequate term would need to be capable of expressing motion as well as degrees of warmth, flavour, and intelligence, and spatial and temporal direction, near, far, central, peripheral, upward, downward, recent, long ago; even gender is rarely an absolute quality, the beginning/end of a cycle in particular being sexually ambivalent.

The significance of simple stripes appears to change depending on their spatial and temporal location. Thus a term which has connotations of 'female', 'broad', 'interior', 'earlier', 'potential' can also be 'male', 'narrow', 'exterior', 'later', 'realisation', depending on what part it plays in a series of structurally related metaphors of which the textile is one.

I have tried as far as possible to separate what I denote, for the sake of simplicity, as the 'masculine' and 'feminine' aspects of these stripes, both to clarify the distinction between them and to simplify the making of comparisons between stripes which are used in a similar way.

In some cases, however, their 'masculine' and 'feminine' resonances are indissolubly intertwined; their relationship to each other is not so much one of contrast as of co-existence, in which one form is part of another, or, as the studies of Zorn (1987a) and Cereceda (1987) suggest, one transforms into or generates another, a process which will be shown to occur in the figured designs also.

i) Pampa

The general acceptance of **pampa** in reference to Andean textiles is that of a broad area of plain weave. In Macusani carrying cloths consisting entirely of plain weave are called **qasi** or **pampa unkhuña**, both terms which denote an empty, peaceful, quiet, unblemished and uniform situation (Zorn 1987a). The monochrome **pampa** represents a state comparable to that of the earlier **chullpa** era (Cereceda: 1981), and its inhabitants are not subjected to the norms of society; its disordered way of life is contrasted to the organisation already shown to be signified by **chimpu**: 'orden, **chimputa cama saraña**, su contrario es **pampaqui sari**' (Bertonio I: 340).

a) Agricultural and textile wrappings

The disorder of the **pampa** is not, however, a negative quality; **pampa** is associated with fertility and the **pampa haque** is 'dadivoso', bountiful, generous, liberal (Bertonio I: 162).

There is a linguistic association between being wrapped in cloth and being wrapped or covered in earth. Amongst the

contemporary Laymi burial of the dead parallels the burial or planting of potatoes (Harris 1982: 52); **ppampatha**, 'cubrir con mucha ropa o tierra' (Bertonio II: 260), suggests the burying or wrapping of an ancestor in mummy cloth or the burying of seed in the earth. **Panpacuni** (Holguín: 490), literally 'to cover oneself in the earth', means 'disfrazarse, emboçarse'. 'Cloaking' oneself in an animal skin or mask is a symbolic return to the time of the ancestors or of identification with them [see Chapter I]. Wrapping in earth or cloth can also refer to future reproduction, seed wrapped in the earth is like the unborn child tucked beneath its mother's belt (Arnold 1986: 4). Like the temporal associations of **chullpa**, both these examples refer to 'marginal time', to the past or to future potential rather than to the present. ▲

Although **pampa** refers to 'ground', both actually and metaphorically, as in the 'ground' of a textile, **suelo** or **tierra** is translated as **allpa**, **pacha**, or **uraque**; **pampa** is translated as **campo**, a word which can refer to either 'countryside' or 'field' (Bertonio I: 114), open or enclosed situations. The same ambiguity applies to the textile **pampa**, which is seen as open by Cereceda (1986: 167), enclosed by Torrico (op. cit.: 19).

b) Pampa as 'inner' space

In Bolívar the wide stripes on **costalas** and blankets are called **pampa**, as are the wide stripes on Macha **kustalas** (Torrico: 16). They occupy a position similar to that of **chhuru** or **tayka** in the Islugan **talegas**, and are separated by narrow, intervening stripes which represent surrounding

walls [see III below]. In Bolívar when my adopted family proposed a trip to a large walled **canchon** just outside the village where we had planted potatoes they suggested '**vamos a la pampa**'. '**Vamos al campo**' meant an area further away, where the fields were open.

The 'textile 'ground' or **pampa**, the 'campo de las telas labradas, o de los bordados' can also be **taypi** (Bertonio I: 114); **taypi** means 'cosa que esta del medio' (Bertonio II: 340), something in the middle, i.e. something which is surrounded or enclosed. The enclosed nature of **pampa** is also apparent in 'suelo de la casa entre pared y pared, **uta taypi, pampa taypi** (Bertonio I: 439), or **uta pampa** (Bertonio I: 382). Bertonio again defines **pampa** as 'todo lo baxo respeto de la mesa o poyo, tierra llana' (*op. cit.* II: 246), i.e. the floor, ground which has been trampled and artificially flattened, and which is enclosed by the walls of a house.

Increasing the scale of the image further, Santo Tomás also defines **pampa** as space lying at the centre, 'plaza, lugar donde no ay casas' (*op. cit.*: 335), i.e. space where there are no houses, but also a central space defined by the houses surrounding it as the floor or interior of a house is defined by its walls.

It would seem, then, that whether it relates to a textile¹², house or village, **pampa** represents an inner space defined by the elements which surround it. This definition is essential in order for the potential fertility of **pampa** to be activated, and to awaken it from the **stasis** represented by **qasi**, and its unenclosed state.

c) Pampa as 'outer' space

The linguistic definitions of **pampa** indicate that it can surround as well as be surrounded: **pampa** is 'el campo, o todo lo que esta fuera del pueblo, ahora sea cuesta ahora llano (Bertonio II: 246). My Taquile **compadre** used **pampa** in a similar way when, giving me **fiambre**, cooked provisions, before I set off across the lake on my return journey to Puno, he said 'en la **pampa** vas a sentir hambre'.

The cultural order of the town is opposed to the non-cultural disorder of the **pampa** outside it as the carefully counted warps of the **chinu/chimpu** stripes are opposed to the uncounted warps of the textile **pampa**¹³.

Though the main textile **pampa** usually occupies an inner position in Bolívar the asymmetrical multicoloured bands of stripes at the weft selvages of **llijllas** always end with a few warps of the same colour as the main **pampa** which are called **pampa** also. This reflects a similar ambiguity to that found in the terminology of several other stripes which can refer both to an inner stripe and to a textile edge.

In none of these examples does **pampa** refer to *open*, unclaimed ground or *open* water, and surrounding **pampa** should not be thought of as completely 'wild' or 'natural'. The **pampa** surrounding town or textile is in turn surrounded by unclaimed land, or by a different element entirely as the watery **pampa** is surrounded by a shore.

d) Pampa as concentric wrappings

Two distinct systems of duality are apparent in the organisation of textile space. Lévi Strauss, in his discussion of the Winnebago, describes similar systems as

'diametric' and 'concentric' (*op. cit.*); in writing of textile symbolism, Arnold compares the former to 'split representation', which she contrasts to 'concentric wrappings' (1988: 386). In the latter system

notions of 'inside' and 'outside' are important. Male wrappings may contain female ones and female wrappings may contain male ones (*loc. cit.*).

The function of both agricultural and textile **pampa** is one of wrapping and its various meanings exemplify this concept of concentricity: not only can **pampa** represent either 'inner' or 'outer' space but the two areas are seen as related. The village **plaza**, which Santo Tomás translates as **pampa**, can be used to represent space outside the village in events such as the ritual battles over land rights which sometimes take place in them, whilst in **talegas** the central **pampa** stripe, the **sonqo**, is related to those at its edge (Cereceda 1986: 158-159).

Pampa refers to the interior or floor of a house but according to Arnold, 'the household unit is enclosed in an outer layer of concentric wrappings [and] the house itself, specifically the courtyard or patio and everything 'outside' as opposed to 'inside' is called **iskinturu**' (1988: 354); besides the larger **plaza pampa** can also represent this 'outer' patio (Gisbert et. al.: 16).

In **ch'uspas** and **llacotas** [see III:(iv) below] the **pampa** is often divided into four by three **pallay** bands forming a central and two lateral axes; in this context the **pampa** are called **saya** (Meisch 1987: 51), and appear to represent not only four 'tree trunks' at the corners of a Qaqachaca house (Arnold 1988: 338) but the four corners of the village square, the four **suyu** or intercardinal points and four

pillars or calendar stones, similar to the four Mayan year bearers which surround a central cosmic tree [see IV below]. **Saya** is also used to describe similar textile space in Qaqachaka ponchos (Arnold: 1991).

In this context the **pampa/saya** are not only spatially outside rather than inside, but in a vertical (male) plane (Arnold: 1991), rather than the horizontal (female) one usually associated with **pampa**.

e) **Working and weaving the pampa**

The role of the **pampa** has so far been shown to be essentially a generative one but **pampa** is also highly significant when used in a more active sense.

Pampachatha means 'allanar el suelo' (Bertonio II: 246); containing the causative suffix **cha**, it is literally 'to make something **pampa**', but **pampa** is not necessarily level, and must be made so by the working or breaking of the earth. 'How beautiful it is to work' runs one Quechua work song (Leslie Hoggarth, personal communication), and the annual breaking of the earth is like a dispatch of debts or a fulfilment of obligation on the part of man, in the hope that the gods will in their turn provide a good harvest.

As 'allanar el suelo' **pampa** is analogous to **cuzca** and **tinku**, to make equal (Platt: 1986). Platt's suggestion of how one form of **tinku** or ritual battle achieves a symbolic 'levelling of inequalities' or 'balancing of accounts' simultaneously with an actual pounding and levelling of the earth with slingstones (1987a: 87-88) has already been mentioned.

The desire for a reconciliation of contrary forces implicit in the ritual battle is explicit in a second meaning of **pampachatha**, 'perdonar el culpado' (Bertonio II: 246). As van den Berg points out:

La actitud de los hombres muy a menudo desequilibra la convivencia y desequilibra el orden natural y cósmico (**jucha**). Por eso tienen que restablecer constantemente el equilibrio: de ahí que la reconciliación juega un papel muy importante en casi todos los ritos. Siempre hay un momento de perdonarse mutuamente, de reconciliarse. En el fondo esto significa restablecer el equilibrio en las relaciones humanas, la cuales, a su vez influyen sobre las relaciones cósmicas (*op. cit.*: 143)¹⁴.

In the textile the reconciliation of opposing forces is represented by the uniform aspect of the **pampa**, and the opportunity it presents for the initiation of a fresh cycle in life or agriculture.

Before proceeding with the analysis of other terms for broad stripes this rather lengthy section on **pampa** deserves its own summary.

Pampa as enclosed space can signify unity and potential, a situation of equilibrium and readiness for the initiation of a new cycle suggested in the connection between burial of the dead and the planting of agricultural crops.

Interior **pampa** is generative and womblike; as surrounding space **pampa** appears both more active and less exclusively female. Whilst it continues to be associated with concentric wrappings, the 'corners' of these wrappings also suggest both a possible symmetrical opposition and one which is concerned with territorial boundaries rather than with fertility and reproduction. The relationship or

evolution between these inner and outer aspects is comparable to that apparent between some broad and narrow stripes.

ii) Tayka

Islugan men call the wide stripes on their **talegas** **tayka** rather than **churu**, whilst women say that **tayka** is used only on blankets (Cereceda 1986: 166). **Tayka** was not a term used in Bolívar, but Bertonio also notes its use in blankets, where he describes them as 'listas mas anchas que la que llaman **calluni** (op. cit. II: 94).

Bertonio gives another meaning of **tayka** which confirms its sexually and spatially 'inferior' status; **tayka** is the lower stone of the stone grinding mill (op. cit. I: 366, II: 262), an essential item of kitchen equipment which a woman keeps throughout her lifetime.

Contemporary meanings of **tayka** are 'anciana, madrina, madre, matriz' (De Lucca: 402); these kinship ties range from the remote past of a female ancestor through increasingly close relationships to centre on the nurturing womb. The temporal boundaries of **tayka**, however, stop one generation short of the future 'offspring' or even the 'fertilised egg' associated with the narrow intervening stripes [see this chapter III: (v)]. Like **pampa** stripes, **tayka** stripes represent potential.

iii) Ppatticalla

Ppatticalla are or were used in **mantellinas** and **talegas** (Bertonio II: 262), and like **tayka** **tayka** are mentioned in reference to blankets as 'algo diferente de' **calluni**

although Bertonio does not make clear in exactly what way (*op. cit.* II: 94). I have found no reference to **ppatticalla** either in the field or in the contemporary literature and the supposition that they are wide stripes similar to those discussed in this section is based on their domestic use, their 'difference' from 'calluni', and the metaphoric associations of their name, 'toad' (Bertonio II: 262).

Phaticalla is a kind of potato (De Lucca: 347, La Barre: 107). Toads, **ppatti**, an embodiment of female fertility, are symbolically linked to potatoes (Arnold 1986: 21), which are seen as female plants (Allen 1982: 185). **Ppatti** has similar connotations to **pampa** of burying or wrapping something warmly in earth or cloth, **ppaticquipatha** is 'envolver bien alguna cosa' (Bertonio II: 262), **ppatticihapitha** is 'amortajar' (*loc. cit.*).

Potato planting takes place during November when the souls of the dead ancestors return to this world; during this month the **almas**, or souls, are always remembered in the **coca** chewing ritual before planting begins each day. The ancestors, like the toad, belong to the underground world and it is they who look after the potato crop (Allen 1982: 185), pushing them up from inside the earth (Bastien: 52).

In Macha **kustalas** are known as 'toads' (Torricono: 1). These are not used to store potatoes (Torricono: 10), but the earth clamps in which potatoes are buried to protect them from the frost are called **q'ayru** (Arnold 1988: 444; Torricono: 10), which may have an etymological connection with **k'ayra**, frog (*loc. cit.*). **Kustalas** are, however, used to store **chuño**; these dessicated tubers can, then, be

seen as wrapped and preserved in the **ppaticalla chusi** like ancestors in mummy cloth.

Ppatti ppatti are 'tolondrones' or 'colo colo' (Bertonio II: 262), swellings or lumps in something badly milled (*op. cit.* II: 50). This may refer to the lumps on the body of a toad, and to its ability to swell itself up: **ppatti** is the largest kind of toad, a **mama** (Bertonio I: 426) and a **ppatti marmi** is 'muger grande alta de cuerpo' (Bertonio II: 262)^{15, 16}.

The Macha 'toad' **kustala** is said to have a 'bottom', or 'tail', **siki**, but no legs (Torricco: 37). It cannot run away, but has to be carried on the back of a pack animal, the llama, or the viscacha which is said to be the pack animal of the mountain lord [see Chapter 8, II]. This is consistent with the nature of the wide stripes which is passive, awaiting the awakening touch of an active male element.

Ppaticalla stripes appear to be closer to **tayka** than to **pampa** or to either **churu** or **k'illi**. Though they have a sense of containment it is that provided by the earth or by the female body, rather than by artificially constructed limits.

iv) Churu

In Isluga, women call the wide stripes on their **talegas chhuru**, which they translate as 'box' (Cerceda 1986: 187). A stripe divided into alternating checks, or 'boxes', as occurs in many Andean belts including those of Bolívar, is also **chhuru** as are the little storage huts built in the

Islugan fields and their small enclosed ritual fields or gardens (*loc. cit.*).

Chhuru need not be a rectangular enclosure; the circular houses of Isluga's neighbour the Chipaya are also **chhuru** (Cereceda 1986: 167). Circular houses were a characteristic of the third age, before the development of rectangular houses and the quadripartite **ayllu** system (Poma: 59). This suggests that **churu** stripes, like **pampa** stripes, signify an emergent or potential state, rather than the 'more recent' stage represented by the gabled houses often associated with narrow stripes.

According to Bertonio **cchuru** or **churu** are **camellones**, furrows (*op. cit.* I: 112; II: 94). Similar in appearance to the Irish and Scottish lazy beds and like them used for planting potatoes the **camellon** was used extensively around Lake Titicaca because it provided better drainage on flat ground and better insulation against frost at the low altiplanic temperatures (Ramos).

Churu is synonymous with **phutu suka** (Bertonio II: 94), a warm furrow; like the **pampa** and **ppatticalla** the **churu** will wrap the potatoes warmly as if in a textile.

a) **Contrasting aspects of churu**

Bertonio likens **cchuru** to an irregularly woven textile, where a coarse or loosely packed weft is followed by a tightly packed or thin one (*op. cit.* II: 94). This suggests that the term includes both the (wide) bed of the **camellon** and the (narrow) furrow which separates it from the next one. However, the lower, incised furrow between the beds is called **uma**, water (Bertonio II: 322). Several terms for a

narrow stripe are associated with water; whilst wide or flat expanses of water have feminine associations [see **cocha**, Chapter 8, II], water coming from above, either as rain or as mountain streams, appears to represent a masculine element [see III below]; the thin stripes in Macha **chumpis** (women's belts) are called **mayu**, river (Torricco: 56 note 14), whilst Arnold suggests they represent irrigation canals (1991).

The associations of **churu** with an interior and nurturing space are similar to those of the **pampa** and **tayka** stripes, but other meanings of **churu** reveal a basic ambiguity. This may be because they signify the 'masculine' aspect of **churu**, in the same way that similar meanings apply to the narrow, masculine aspect of **k'illi** [see III:(iv)]. However, as I have found no examples of **churu** used to describe a narrow intervening stripe, its 'other nature' is analysed here.

Like Bertonio, Lira defines **churu** as furrows, but they are those 'del contorno' (*op. cit.*: 149), those which enclose the interior of the field; in Bolívar the stripes which border a belt and enclose the **churu** boxes, are also **churu**; this is comparable to the way a narrow strip of **pampa** occurs at the edges of Bolívar **llijllas**, enclosing the wider **pampa** within.

In Macha **chhuru** is used to describe an irregular triangle of land situated between two ranges of mountains (Torricco:20). It can also mean 'abertura formada por dos líneas que parten del mismo punto' (De Lucca: 107). Both definitions suggest that the bifurcating lines, or mountains, which define the open angle are of equal

significance to the space defined, whilst the latter draws attention to their origin at a single point. This chevron image is one which recurs in the roof beams associated with the narrow stripes **k'illi** and **qallu**. This suggests that it represents a 'masculine' aspect of **churu**, but neither Torrico's nor De Lucca's example makes clear whether the bifurcation opens downwards (masculine) or upwards, which I suggest is the feminine complement.

In Chinchero, Peru, **ch'oro** refers to an unbalanced situation or to a **pallay** design of a hook (Franquemont & Franquemont: 24). In Charasani a doubly hooked S or Z shape design called **chchuru**, snail, is said to be 'en rapport avec le travail agricole' (Girault 1969: 43, no. 16).

Like that of 'furrow', the orthography of 'snail' is varied: **ch'uru**, **ch'ulu** (De Lucca: 583), **churu** (Holguín: 447), **ch'uru** (Lira: 192), **cchulu** (Bertonio II: 96), but an association between an enclosed, regular shape like that of a box or wide furrow, **churu**, and a curve or spiral like that depicted on the shell of a snail is evident not only from the Charasani design but from the fact that in Azapa furrows similar to the **camellon** are called **caracoles**, snails (Platt 1975: 37).

In Chinchero a similar double hooked textile figure is called **kutij**, 'that which turns back' (Franquemont et. al.: Fig 6), and it will be remembered that movement in contrary directions, **kuti**, is also signified by the herringbone or chevron formation of **lloq'e** spun warps. Like the box, **churu**, the open angle **churu** is associated with the spiral, **churu** or **kuti**, and it is perhaps this last which is the key to the nature of the stripe; **kuti** can also mean to

transform from one to another related form, as in a translation of language or conversion of faith (Lira s.v.); **churu**, like **pampa**, seems to transform from a wide, enclosed form to a narrow one which encloses, but also from a horizontal quadrangular form to a vertical chevron or spiral [see also Chapter 8, III].

v) K'illi

The orthography of the textile term currently transcribed as **k'illi** (Zorn: 1987a, Cereceda: 1987) is confusing and my assumption that **kili**, **killi**, **quilli** and **qquilli** are essentially the same word is based on their similarities in meaning.

These meanings demonstrate a similar type of ambiguity to those of **churu** and in several cases **churu** and **k'illi** express a common image. However, as some textile references made to **k'illi** by Bertonio do suggest a narrow intermediary stripe, this term will also be included in the following section and I have attempted to restrict my analysis here to its 'feminine' aspect; some cross reference to its 'masculine' nature is, however, unavoidable.

Quechua **qquilli** is a broad stripe used on women's clothing, **qquilli qquilliyoc o qquilli qquilli ppacha**, 'vestido a listonado texido a listones anchos que es de mugeres' (Holguín: 308). **Quilli** is also the binding of a woman's mantle, 'el remate de la liclla texido (loc. cit.)', and as such is also included in Section V.

As a metaphor **qquilli** has several elements in common with **churu**: **qquilli** is related to **qquilla**, the Quechua term for **camellon** (Holguín: 308). Thus **qquilli** is analogous to

churu in being both the broad, enclosed division of the furrow/stripe and the narrow furrow/binding which surrounds it.

Like **churu**, the warm furrow, **qquilli** also has connotations of heat, not the open heat of a flame, but that of coal: **quillimça** is 'carbon' (Holguín 308), a substance from past time and the interior of the earth, one which (still) only smoulders or which has (already) gone out; **killimi** is 'carbon sin fuego apagado' (Bertonio II: 302). Like the temporal implications of **pampa** and **tayka** both types of heat relate to the beginning or end of a cycle or marginal regions of time, just as **quilli**, the binding, relates to the edges or margins of a textile.

In addition to the furrow metaphor, **qquilli** repeats that of **churu** as a house or as a series of boxes or checks in a belt in the image of a row of connected rooms; **qquillihuacicta rurani** is 'hazer un quarto de casa largo trauado con distintas pieças' (Holguín: 308). These rooms are joined by the 'fishspine' roof beams, which are a masculine aspect of **k'illi** and which will be further investigated in Section III: (iv), but it should be mentioned here that **kimimi** (sic), evidently a misprint for **killimi** (Bertonio II: 302) is 'lo mas delgado del espinaco de qualquier animal, por otra nombre **phuscanca** cadera', i.e. the hip or tail bone¹⁷, recalling the **siki** of the Macha **kustala**.

The hip is one of the images that can represent **chaka**, a Quechua term for 'bridge' or 'cross'. Not necessarily a cross in the Western sense, the X, T, Y, V and even I forms which signify **chaka** provide a means of channelling and

evenly redistributing energy (Urton 1981: 150). As will be shown in sections III and IV of this chapter, the hips or tail of the lower half of the body are balanced in the upper half by other examples of **chaka**, the shoulders or wings.

Summary

Meanings common to all the terms for broad stripes are those of an enclosed and interior space in which something is wrapped to protect and preserve it. The images used, those of the womb, the house, the patio, garden, field or **plaza** form a concentrically expanding series. It is to these apparently empty spaces, rather than to an organised social centre, that the narrow stripes will be shown to give definition and protection.

Broad stripes are also metaphorically 'inferior'. They relate to the lower parts of the body, to the earth or interior of the earth, and to creatures which live there, like the toad.

Although their associations are generally consistent some broad stripes appear to resemble each other more closely than others. **Pampa** and **tayka** are associated with wrapping and nurturing and are not likened to 'furrows' or 'houses', although **pampa** does refer to a 'floor'. They should perhaps be understood as the 'most natural' type of stripe. It will be remembered that they are used on blankets and that Islugan women protested when their men suggested the wide stripes of a **talega** were **tayka** rather than **churu**. **Churu** and **k'illi** are associated with the furrow and the house, land which is being worked, or enclosed by artifice. All four terms appear to have an inner and an

outer aspect whether this is expressed spatially or, as with **tayka**, as degrees of kinship.

No contemporary information is available on **ppatti** as a stripe, and I have not attempted to suggest a meaning for **calla** in this context. It will, however, be remembered that **ppatti** means 'toad' and that Macha 'toad' **kustalas** have a 'butt' or 'tail'; the broad stripe **k'illi** also has hips or a tail, whereas as a narrow stripe it is associated with the eagle and could, therefore, be understood as having wings [see III and IV below]. As will be shown in Chapter 8, toads are contrasted with and transformed into condors, in a manner comparable to the transformation from broad to narrow or from inner to outer stripes, and it is possible that were more information available on **ppatticalla**, their toad aspect might also prove to transform in this way. ▲

III DESCRIPTION OF TEXTILE SPACE: Narrow stripes

Introduction

In many Andean textiles narrow stripes intervene between broad stripes of the kind discussed in the previous section creating a visual contrast in form and further subdividing the textile space. These narrow stripes generally occur as colour-contrasted pairs, **allqa**. They can also be stripes broken up into checks, or stripes of a single colour in which the two halves of a design complement each other, as in the chevron produced either by warp manipulation or diversely spun warps; these forms are equivalent to a minor **allqa** (Cereceda 1987: 199).

i) The role of allqa

The significance of **allqa** has been studied in detail by Veronica Cereceda (1981, 1986); the temporal implications of this concept and its embodiment of **suerte** have been examined in an earlier chapter of this thesis. Before proceeding with an investigation of narrow stripes some further examples should be mentioned to illustrate how the **allqa** represented by them can relate to both diametric and concentric opposition and to show the ambivalent nature of the relationship between their colours.

Allca can mean 'falla'; **allcani** is 'interrumpir lo continuado' (Holguín: 19). In the Islugan **talegas** the black stripe which occurs at the 1/4 and 3/4 points in the width of the textile is the **allqa**; it acts both as

a barrier and an axis which articulates the two halves of the bag (Cereceda 1986: 160).

Though Islugan weavers indicate the black stripe, this is only one half of a light/dark pair. Holguín defines **allqa** as 'lo de dos colores blanco y negro' (op. cit.: 19). Complementary opposites such as black and white are **auca**, enemies, which should not appear together (Bertonio I: 140). Nevertheless, 'light and shade are indissolubly linked' in the expression of this concept (Cereceda 1986: 160).

Allqa is not restricted to black and white: Bertonio describes it as 'entreverado de diuersa color' (op. cit. II: 50), and **allqa** can be a juxtaposition of other complementary colours and, according to Cereceda, can symbolise the opposition of natural and social phenomena (Cereceda 1986: 161). **Allqa** colours also have gender values, dark/ female and light/male, and together embody the principle of a generative opposition (Cereceda 1986: 161, Zorn: 1985a: 513).

Suyu divisions are those of a diametric quartering (also **allqa**), but the majority of narrow stripes are primarily concerned with concentric complementarity and **allqa** is capable of expressing concentric contrast also. The white of the eye is **yurac allca** (Ricardo: 119), the black **yana allca** (Ricardo: 165), **allcañau** is 'lo blanco y negro al derredor de la niña de los ojos' (Santo Tomás: 233).

Both visually and conceptually the abrupt colour changes of **allqa** would seem to be directly opposed to the persuasive colour gradations of **k'isa**, but the

'enemy' colours are compared to sparring partners in a ritual battle, *tinku* (Holguín: 343); it will be remembered that combining the colours for a *k'isa* is *tinkuyaña* and that *tinku* refers to a loving as well as a hostile encounter; in Macha textiles both conjunctions and disjunctions are *allqa* (Torrico 56: note 16), and just as the major *allqa* create both a barrier and a new axis, and colours which are 'enemies' are 'indissolubly linked', the role of the minor *allqa* of the narrow stripes is also ambivalent, 'they unify and separate, interlock and divide' (Cereceda 1986: 168).

It is not only textile space which is articulated by the positioning of the *allqa*. Narrow intervening stripes form part of a series of metaphors in which they function as joints or articulations of some kind. They complement the metaphorical associations of the broad stripes, and together with them present an image of the textile as simultaneously a body, a loom, a house and the cosmos itself.

Although the nature of my study means that I refer primarily to this metaphor as it is expressed within the woven space of the textile it would seem that no one of these images is more a referend than another; as for the Kogi, for whom a house is a cave, a cave is a womb, a womb is a hearth and a hearth fire is the sun (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1978c: 10), the images are interchangeable.

ii) Suyu

Suyu is used in Bolívar for stripes 1 to 1 1/2 inches wide on blankets or ponchos. They occur in groups

of four, sometimes as four different colours but more usually as four dark **suyu** contrasted with four light **suyu** and separated from the adjacent group of eight by a single stripe of some intermediate colour. Unlike the other narrow stripes to be examined Bolívar **suyu** cannot, then, be described as 'intervening' stripes; they are, however, included here because their colour, number and linguistic connotations are similar to those of stripes which do perform this intermediary role.

Holguín describes **suyu suyu ppacha** simply as 'vareateado', striped (op. cit.: 688). Subsequently, however, he qualifies this description: **suyu suyu** is 'ropa listada vareteada menuda' (op. cit.: 333), and associated in Quechua with male clothing¹⁸: **suyu suyu pacha** 'listado ropa de varon' (op. cit.: 566). **Suyosuyo** are 'listas espessas menudas' (op. cit.: 326), and may have been woven with diversely spun warps like **lloqquesuyu ahuasca**, 'lo texido hazia man [◉] yzquierda, pana **suyu ahuasca** lo texido a man [◉] derecha como se vee en ropa vareteada que llaman **suyu suyu**' (op. cit.: 215).

There is no indication in Bertonio that Aymara **suyu** were restricted to male clothing.

a) **Suyu, colour-contrasted division into four**

The meanings given by Bertonio for textile **suu** or **suyu** associate this stripe with division into four, the way it is found in contemporary blankets. **Suu suu** and **kalla kalla** are synonymous (Bertonio I: 417) and **kalla** means:

Entreverado de diversa color, quarteado como pendones (Bertonio II: 45).

Kalla is also offered as a synonym for **allca**: ¹⁹

Quarteado assi: **allca**, **kalla** (Bertonio I: 391).

As was mentioned briefly in the introduction to this section, although **allqa** is usually taken to refer to a dual contrast, it is in turn synonymous with **ticlla** (Holguín: 19). Zorn (*op. cit* 1987a: 513) quoting the Anónimo of 1614 17V^o, makes clear that **ticlla** can also be a quadripartite division when he translates it as 'color de negro y blanco como axedreçado', and in Checacupe, near Cusco, a ritual carrying cloth with four different coloured quarters (Rowe 1977: 29 Fig. 19) is called a **t'iculla**²⁰.

Suyu also refers to dual or quadripartite territorial and social divisions similar to those it displays in a woven context: **suyu** is 'parcialidad, provincia' (Holguín: 333), **pusisuu** is 'todo el universo mundo' (Bertonio II: 269), its four quarters or corners.

Textile **suyu**, then, though they may be woven as vertically aligned stripes, appear to relate to a diametric division of space into four quarters or corners.

b) Suyu, a metaphor for order and culture

Suyu as a task divided amongst the community (Holguín: 333; Bertonio II: 331) is synonymous with **cama**: **camay** o **suyuy** 'la tarea en el trauajo', **camanacuni**, 'repartir entre si las tareas' (Holguín: 46). Bertonio lists **suyuni**, 'uno que tiene oficio'

(*op. cit.* II: 332, cf Quechua **camayoq**) so that in **suyu** as in **chimpu** [see this chapter, I:(iii)], the concept of division implicit in a stripe is associated with the evolution of a social order and with the organisation of it.

In some ways, **suyu**, which denote arrangement and order, which are sometimes organised in multicoloured groups of four, and which can be very narrow stripes (Holguín: 333), appear closer to **chinu** than to the other stripes discussed in this section.

A further meaning of the synonym of **suu**²¹, **kalla**, might also be understood as having similar implications of social transformation: solids are seen as more 'culturally developed' than liquids and **kallacatha** means 'partir cosas secas y liquidas como trigo, vino, etc' (Bertonio II: 45).

c) Suyu suyu, unorganised and ill-defined space

The clear-cut colour contrasts and spatial organisation of **kalla**, **allca** and **suu** are very different to the image presented by **kalla** and **suu** used with repetition. **Charca charca**, **suu suu**, **cchackcchi** is 'vestido grossero de diversas lanas' (Bertonio I: 468), **suu suu**, **kalla kalla** is 'ropa baladi por ser texida un poco de una color y otro poco de otro color algo diferente' (Bertonio II: 331), or 'de diversos colores naturales' (Bertonio I: 417).

These textiles, then, were not 'quarteado como pendones' but of natural and ill-matched colours; **cchackcchi** is the **xerga** of a Franciscan monk (Bertonio

II: 74). The same term is used to describe the immature **leke** (Bertonio II: 193) whose nondescript colours, like those of the **sua**, the immature **allcamari**, represent not only temporal but social and emotional immaturity (Cereceda: 1981).

This sense of evolution from disorder to order is also present in the associations of **suyu** as a quadripartite territorial division:

Suuchthapitha: Juntar todo el pueblo entero dividiendole por **ayllos** (Bertonio II: 332).

The social organisation into four **ayllus** takes place only after the whole community has been gathered together in a disordered crowd.

To summarise: although **suyu** appear to evolve or develop within themselves, there is no sense of interaction like that between broad and narrow stripes. The imagery of **suyu** does not relate to that of the house or loom, and though their use of colour contrast and diverse spin is similar to that of stripes which do, the divisions of **suyu** have no sense of surrounding and protecting a centre.

The emphasis of **suyu** is on a textile and territorial division into four quarters, a diametric opposition representing political relationships, rather than the concentric opposition reflecting spatial and ecological contrasts which is inherent in the majority of narrow stripes. Whilst **suyu** relate to the concept of **cama**, it is in the sense of a division of tasks, of organisation of social order, rather than, as will be shown to be the case with several other stripes, as a

life force and source of abundance. Whilst the possibility that these meanings are those of homonyms should not be discounted, I understand them as relating to different aspects of **cama** as a single concept.

iii) Suko

Suko was not used in Bolívar and there does not appear to be any reference in the contemporary literature to a stripe of this name.

According to Bertonio, **suko** had several characteristics in common with **suyu**. **Suko suko sautha, sukochatha** is simply 'listar' or 'baretear' (Bertonio I: 293), and **suko suko** are listed together with **tayca tayca** (*loc. cit.*), suggesting that, like **suyu**, they might be used in blankets.

Like **suyu**, **suko suko** were used in men's clothing, the stripes taking the form either of different colours, as in the **suko suko ccahua**, 'camiseta vareteada o listada de alto abajo con listas de diversas colores' (Bertonio II: 325) or, again like **suyu**, of diversely spun warps, as in the **suko llacota**, 'manta texida con hilo torcido parte al derecho con la mano derecha y parte con la izquierda' (*loc. cit.*).

Whether it is represented by contrasts of colour or of spin **suko** appears to relate to division. It shares a meaning, **sukhu laccani**, 'el que tiene los labios partidos' (Bertonio II: 325) with **qallu** (Bertonio II: 45), and its diversely spun warps would have produced a minute herringbone similar to **k'illi**, another

intervening stripe used in both blankets and men's clothing [see (vi) below].

Though it neither has connotations of surrounding and protecting nor forms part of the house metaphor **suko** has no sense of diametric or social division and appears to be closer in nature to the other intervening stripes than to **suyu**.

iv) Muyorqa

In Bolívar **mullorqa** or **muyorqa** can refer to the bands of stripes surrounding the **pallay** on a **ch'uspa** or **llijlla** and several women used the term interchangeably with **chinu**. However, **muyorqa** is most often used by both men and women for the narrow stripes between the wider **pampa** of blankets or **costalas**.

In the undyed colours of Bolívar **costalas muyorqa** almost always appear as a black and white pair, like similarly placed stripes on the Macha **kustala** (Torricco: 14), rather than reflecting the colours of the adjacent stripes as in the Islugan **talega** (Cereceda 1986: 168).²²

In blankets, which incorporate dyed yarn, **muyorqa** occur in bands of three. There is no apparent consistency either in the combination of the colours in each band or their relationship to those of the adjacent broad stripes.

According to one of my adopted family, it is essential for **muyorqa**, which he explained as 'something

which divides, separates and protects', to appear in some form. Although **muyorqa** appear as linear divisions in a textile **muyu** means 'circulo o redondez' (Holguín: 254), and **muyuquipatha** is 'poner cerco a alguna casa' (Bertonio II: 229), **muyurini**, **muyucuni llactacta** 'rodear y dar bueltas a pueblo o casa o plaza etc' (Holguín 254). These definitions suggest that **muyorqa** stripes protect the **pampa** stripes by encircling them.

Putting a fence around a house, **muyuquipatha**, defines it in the surrounding socially unclaimed space. Holguín equates **muyuqquen** with the nautical term 'to box', as in 'to box the compass, or 'to measure the perimeter of an island' (Simon & Schuster: 990). These examples show why the **muyorqa** stripes are essential; without the spatial definition provided by them the potential of the **pampa** would remain unawakened.

v) **Jalja**, **jalaka**, **aysaka** and **guardan**

Muyorqa occupy a similar position to that of **jalja** on Macha **kustalas**, **guardan** on Macusani **unkhuña** and **qallu** on Islugan **talegas**.

The meaning of **jalja**, 'stone walls separating agricultural fields and communities' (Torricono: 22) echoes the dividing and protecting function of **muyorqa**. **Jaljaña** means 'separar un espacio por medio de pared' (De Lucca: 164). **Jalja** stripes are also called **jalaka**, 'a stream falling down a mountain' (cf De Lucca: 162 'volar por abajo', and other forms denoting rapid downward movement). As was mentioned earlier, narrow

stripes are frequently associated with water, with **uma**, **mayu**, or with an irrigation canal.

Jala jal (op. cit.: 163) is 'diligente, agil', both common abstract meanings of narrow stripes.

Narrow Macha **kustala** stripes are also called **aysaka**²³, an intertwined pair like 'crossed fingers', or 'something which springs forth' (Torricco: 16).

No dictionary meaning of **aysaka** suggests the 'interlocking' implied both by the mediatory nature of these narrow stripes and by the image of 'crossed fingers'. There appears, however, to be a morphological relationship between both **jalaka** and **jalja** and between **aysaka** and **ayja**. The latter term is not mentioned by Torricco, but it can have a meaning close to that which she finds for **aysaka**: **ayja** means 'cruzar, atrevesar dos palos o maderos en forma de cruz' (De Lucca: 52). These 'crossed sticks' refer to the structure of the loom or the house (De Lucca: 51; Bertonio II: 29) for which the loom is an interchangeable metaphor; similar meanings are associated with the narrow stripes **k'illi** and **qallu**.

Alternative names used in Macha for this type of stripe are **chokika** 'beloved', and **uña**, 'cría' (Torricco: 16), a term which also denotes affection (Zorn 1987a: 505); in Isluga (Cereceda 1986: 168) they are called **qallu**, the Aymara term for 'cría' [see (v) below]. The role of these offspring is ambivalent: like **muyorqa** and **jalja** 'they unify and separate, interlock and divide' (loc. cit.).

Guardan stripes, from the Spanish 'guardar', have a similar confusing meaning of 'divide' and 'protect'

(Zorn 1987a: 499, 512). **Allqa** is not used to refer to textiles in Macusani (*op. cit.* 513) but the **guardan** occur in similar positions, at approximately 1/4 and 3/4 points in the width of the **unkhuña** (*op. cit.*: 503), as the major **allqa** in Islugan **talegas** and like them have 'offspring', '**uña guardan**' (*op. cit.*: 499, 505)²⁴.

To recapitulate, a common characteristic of the narrow stripes examined in this subsection is their ambivalent function. In surrounding the broad stripes they divide and protect, separate and define them. The forces inherent in these narrow divisions are also ambivalent, holding together or pushing apart, rushing downwards or springing upwards; whilst **pampa** can refer to a lake, a broad expanse of still water (Gisbert *et. al.*: 16), which is seen as passive and female (Isbell: 210), the channels of moving water associated with narrow stripes is an active male element.

As has already been mentioned, narrow stripes also 'intertwine' or 'cross'. The Andean concept of 'cross', **chaka**, provides a means for the transmission and redistribution of energy and the maintenance of equilibrium (Urton 1981: 150, see also Chapter 8, III & IV).

Enclosure of the fields by the little walls, **muyorqa** and **jalja**, represents a later stage of development than that of hunting and gathering on unclaimed land. Enclosure signified the emergence of the **ayllu** system believed to have taken place during the third age under the direction of Viracocha (Poma: 49). The stones used to build these walls would have been

cleared from the ground they subsequently enclosed, reducing the uneven lumps of the unworked **pampa** to a smooth surface. In a similar way, the clearly defined colours of the narrow 'offspring' stripes represent a later and more culturally advanced generation than the broad and monotone **pampa**.

vi) K'illi

The twill weave cloth produced by men on upright treadle looms on Taquile (personal observation) and in Macusani (Zorn 1987a: 510) is called **k'illi**, referring to its 'herringbone' appearance: **kili** is 'el espinaco del pescado y de todos los animales' (Bertonio II: 302).

K'illi are also chevron designs woven in some blanket stripes. The designs are the same colour as the surrounding stripe and produced by manipulation of the warp. This technique was not used in Bolívar but I was shown this kind of blanket by a middle aged **mestizo** from Chajaya who was using it on the long truck journey to his village from La Paz. According to him the V-shaped designs of **k'illi** are usually used in conjunction with **p'uytu**, an enclosed, lozenge or diamond shape formed by a pair of opposed chevrons. This association of contrasting designs, which is confirmed by Cereceda (1987: 215) reflects the association between the open angle of the narrow, male stripe, **k'illi**, which also refers to a roof gable, and the broad, enclosed stripe or room, **k'illi** which is its female aspect [see II:(v) above].

Though they are and were used on blankets (Bertonio I: 245), **k'illi** also appeared on men's mantles:

Kili llacota: Una manta labrada como espinaco del pescado (Bertonio II: 302).

Kili llacota, la que tiene la mitad colorada y la mitad azul con tres listas de varios colores a las quales llaman **kili Kechu llacota:** idem. (Bertonio II: 198).

According to De Lucca, **kechua**, a term no longer in use, meant 'canto de victoria despues de una batalla' (op. cit.: 223). Bertonio was more specific:

Quechuya, haylli: el canto que suelen vsar quando se juntan muchos²⁵ a coger vicunas o venados o quando se diuiden en bandos para representar vna batalla fingida, començando vno y siguiendole al mismo tono los del mismo bando (Bertonio II: 284).

Bertonio's second reference to the **kili llacota** makes no mention of its herringbone design, nor is it clear exactly how its colours were distributed. The fact that this type of mantle was worn during **batallas fingidas** does, however, suggest that its contrasting colours were intended to represent **ayllus** or **suyus**.

a) **The roof gables and the eagle's wings**

Like the open-angled aspect of **churu**, the narrow stripe **k'illi** represents both unity and division. As a fishspine its chevron form is closed at one end, its lateral bones united to a central spine. The verb **qquillini** means 'coser una cosa con otra': **qquilla** is the scar or seam of flesh left by a previously open wound (Holguín: 308), and **qquilli** describes 'lo que esta cosido o continuado a otra cosa', whether this is 'dos casas con una misma madera y unas guascas' (Holguín:

308) or, by analogy, the two halves of a textile, which are often joined with a decorative herringbone embroidery stitch.

The **qquilli huaci**, 'un cuarto de casa de muchas piezas seguidas pegadas por el techo o cumbrera' (Holguín: 308) includes all aspects of **k'illi**: the broad interior female stripe or room, the unity provided by the single roof beam and the chevron form of the auxiliary beams which descend from it and enclose the interior. The **qquilli huaci** and the **qallu uta**, 'casa de moxinetes a dos aguas' (Bertonio II: 34) thus represent a similar architectural metaphor.

The pointed roof gables are associated with mountain peaks (Arnold 1988: 339), and their ritual name is **mallku** (Métraux: 256), a term associated, like the gables themselves, with lineage and with the condor (Arnold 1988: 332).

As Arnold points out:

The names **condori** and **mamani** have symbolic associations with the origins of both Aymara and Inka cultures, with the dual organisation of the moieties. Representations of the condor in textiles today often show a dual organisation, and there are suggestions that the two halves of the house roof tops are perceived as two wings (*op. cit.* 332).

The stripes **k'illi** and the roof beams **k'illi** have both been shown to have the potential for expressing this political duality. In both Aymara and Quechua **k'illi** refers to the kestrel, **quilli quilli** or **qquilli huara**, 'el cernicalo' (Holguín: 308), **killi killi**, 'un paxaro poco menor que el halcon muy hermoso' (Bertonio II: 301); that it is not as great a bird of prey as the

condor or the falcon, although only 'poco menor', is suited to its position as a junior member or 'offspring' of the lineage.

In addition, as will be shown in Section IV of this chapter, the upper half of a textile, which is understood both as enclosing the house and as an interchangeable metaphor with it, can be seen as having wings; the dual nature of the condor will be further examined in Chapter 8, III.

vii) Qallu

Although this is not the practice of modern lexicographers I use the orthography **qallu** followed by Cereceda and Torrico as this, rather than **kallu**, represents the pronunciation of this term in Bolívar.

a) The textile qallu

According to Bertonio **callu** are vertical blanket stripes 'somewhat different from' **ppatticalla** (op. cit. II: 54) and narrower than the broad **tayca tayca** (op. cit. II: 94).

Although neither Bertonio nor Holguín make a phonetic distinction, in Bolívar they differentiate between **qallu**, 'tongue', and **qhallu** 'one leg of a textile lacking its other half', a definition which might have been quoted direct from Holguín: 'una pierna de la manta que es la mitad' (op. cit.: 132). Neither term was used for a narrow stripe, which as has already been mentioned, is called **muyorqa**.

In Islugan **talegas** the narrow stripes which form a minor **allqa** which come between the broad stripes, **chhuru**, are called **qallu**, their offspring or 'cría' (Bertonio II: 34).

In Macusani carrying cloths of which the two halves are of complementary colours (Zorn 1987a: 511) are known as **qhallu** or **tiqlla unkhuña**. It will be remembered that **ticlla** is a synonym for **allqa**, complementary colour contrast and Zorn believes that the textile halves, **qhallu**, are 'offspring' either of the textile **pampa** or of the generative opposition between their own **allqa** colours (op. cit.: 514).

b) **Qallu**, origin and vital force

Several derivatives of **qallu** likewise suggest the presence of creative energy. **Kallutiyiri**, 'autor, el que es causa de una cosa' (De Lucca: 217), **callutiyri**, 'inventor' (Bertonio I: 283); **iri** is a nominalising suffix denoting the actor (Hardman: 271).

Terms derived from **callu** are close in meaning to those derived from **calla**. Bertonio gives **callatha** as 'ser el primero en hazer' (op. cit. II: 33), 'inventar' is either **callutaatha** or **callaratha** (op. cit. I: 283). Though this coincidence of meanings may relate only to their sense of 'beginnings', **calla** would, in addition, appear to have similar associations with generative power and fertility. In Quechua Lira's contemporary dictionary lists **kkallakk**, 'autor, causa or principio de una cosa' (op. cit. 135); Holguín gives **callallallak** and **camamamak** as interchangeable palindromes (op. cit.

131); an example of their meaning is 'los sembrados que están muy frescos locanos, verdes y fértiles' (loc. cit.); **kamamamak cay** is 'la fertilidad' (loc. cit.). In Aymara **callu** has comparable associations with **cama: calluchasitha** (Bertonio II: 56) and **camatha** (op. cit. 33) both mean 'criar'.

The Macusani **qhallu** and Isluga **qallu**, offspring, are, then, born of a creative or generative principle; a blanket with this kind of stripe, the **calluni cchusi**, can also be understood as having offspring.

c) Weaving and the act of creation

Qallu has a sense of biological as well as physical creation. Meisch suggests that **qallu** refers to the textile's 'lengua', tongue (1987: 49). Whilst this interpretation is appropriate given the meanings of 'mouth' or 'lips' attached to the weft selvedge of some textiles, the implications should perhaps be understood as sexual.

Santo Tomás lists **callo** as 'lengua, miembro' (op. cit.: 157) and 'miembro del cuerpo, lengua' (op. cit: 244). Holguín does refer to the two halves of a textile, **qallu**, as its 'legs' and the following section will show that intermediary stripes such as **qallu** can represent limbs. However, given the associations of **qallu** with a masculine creative force²⁶, with 'el que es causa' and 'inventor', it seems permissible to suggest that Santo Tomás intended **callo** as 'miembro viril' or penis.

I would also suggest that **callo** and **allu**, 'penis' (Bertonio II: 14), may have originated as the same word. Examples are included in the Appendix of similar etymological or phonological relationships but my argument is also based on other similarities of meaning between the two terms. As has been mentioned, **callu** is to begin or to invent; similarly **huchacta camacta alluycachani**, is 'comencar negocio de mucha solicitud' and **hucha o cama alluycamayok** is 'el inuentador de negocios y pleytos' (Holguín: 22). In addition, **callu** (or **qallu**) and **allu** have analogous associations in weaving, which can be understood as a metaphor for the sexual act (Reichel Dolmatoff 1978c: 14).

The interchangeable encoded metaphor provided by the house, the loom and the body is found not only in the Andes but among the Kogi of Northern Colombia. For them the warp is a female element whilst the shuttle which carries the weft is 'the male of the fabric' (Reichel Dolmatoff 1978c: 10). Weaving is thus a metaphor for sexual intercourse (*op. cit.*: 14), which takes place at the lower horizontal loom bar, or 'place where one does the weaving' (*loc. cit.*).

In Andean textiles the weft selvedge, where the shuttle enters the open shed of the warp is often called its 'mouth' and the weft, **mini**, which is carried on the shuttle, **minihakchi**, is known as the **comida**, the food of the fabric. It will also be remembered that the lower half of a textile, that which is nearest the weaver and the bottom loom bar can represent its 'hips' or 'tail',

a further analogy with the Kogi model (Reichel Dolmatoff 1978c: 14).

This suggests a sexual symbolism in the Andean weaving process analogous to that of the Kogi, particularly if **allu** is accepted as meaning 'penis'; **alluini** is 'trauar o urdir la tela', **alluina** 'lugar para urdir', i.e. the loom bar (Holguín: 22), recalling the Kogi 'place where one does the weaving'²⁷.

d) **Qallu**, origin, father and roof

As has already been mentioned in the analysis of **k'illi**, **callu uta** is 'casa de moxinetes a dos aguas' (Bertonio II: 34), a definition which includes the gable, its connecting ridge and the attached roof beams. The house can represent an **axis mundi** (Arnold 1988: 333) and the central ridge, **callu** or **qallu**, associated with the creator god Viracocha, is a middle pathway from which the male and female lineages or **ayllus** descend (Arnold 1988: 335; cf. Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui, Perez Boca Negra, Zuidema: 1980).

It has been suggested that **ayllu**, 'lineage', derives from Aymara **allu**, 'penis' (Zuidema 1980: 77; La Barre 1946: 119). In Quechua Holguín transcribes 'penis' as **ullu** (op. cit.: 354), whilst lineage is **kullun** (op. cit.: 642) or **cullun** (Ricardo: 27); these terms demonstrate a similar phonological and etymological relationship to that which I have suggested exists between **allu** and **callu**.

Cullu is also used for the roof beam of the house (Holguín: 71, 56, Santo Tomás: 277), the metaphorical origin of lineage^{28, 29}.

The creator god associated with the roof beam, Viracocha, replaced an older deity, the god of thunder and lightning, Tunupa or Illapa. In the interchangeable metaphor of the house and the loom the roof beam and gables, **callu** or **qallu**, correspond to the heddles (Arnold 1988: 338) and both the heddles and the rod from which they descend are, like the roof beams, described by a single term, **illahua** (Holguín: 22, 678).

Whilst this analogy does not have the same sexual overtones, it does repeat the idea of 'beginnings' or 'origins' already associated with **callu** or **qallu**: **illa** means 'light' or 'dawn'³⁰.

A further analogy is to be found in the weft beater, or 'tabla de apretar', **callua** (Holguín: 22)^{31, 32}. During weaving the weft beater is inserted into the open shed formed by the warp cross; its position thus replicates that of heddle rod and heddles, and so, as its similar name implies, that of the ridge beam and gables, **qallu**, whilst its penetration of the open web of the cloth has similar sexual connotations to the movement of the shuttle.

These similarities lead one to expect that, as is the case with the heddle rod and its heddles, the roof beam and its gables, the term for the weft beater, **callua**, would be related to the term for the warp. If my premise regarding the connection between **callu** and **allu** is correct, then this is indeed the case. The term

for warp listed by Holguín is [c] **alluyscca** (*op. cit.* 22).

e) **Qallu**, origin, mother and floor

So far the analysis of **qallu** has shown it to be concerned with origin from a male source, and with downward descent symbolised by the roof and its bifurcating gables.

Both the creator god Viracocha and the condor, **mallku**, which like him is associated with the house roof are, however, as so often in the Andes, ambivalent in nature. Viracocha is a name for a damp and watery parcel of land (Arnold 1988: 341), whilst the condor's nest is thought to be 'a part of the **Pachamama** and of the inner realm of the earth below' (*op. cit.*: 333). This suggests that just as the narrow stripes **jalaka** or **aysaka** have contradictory meanings of 'rushing down' and 'springing forth' the male creative force associated with the roof is counterbalanced by a female creative force springing from below, from within the earth, and moving in an upward direction.

In the context of the house roof **qallu** refers to engendering by a male principle but **calluchasitha** refers specifically to nurturing by the mother (Bertonio II: 56). In Qaqachaka the four sets of descending roof beams are called the 'four men' (Arnold 1988: 338), but at ground level the four corners of the house or the four corners of the loom are **trancos**, tree trunks (*loc. cit.*), organic growth which springs from below, and has its roots below the ground.

f) Qallu, children and walls

The thatch of the house roof is like a blanket woven on a loom [see Chapter 8], and, as has already been mentioned, the whole house can be understood as enclosed in a textile bag or carrying cloth, its corners tied at the top (Arnold 1988: 338, cf. Allen 1988: 157). The narrow stripes, **qallu**, are like the lesser roof beams, but to reach the roof they must also act as intermediary walls, like the walls of the **muyorqa** and **jalaka** which divide and protect the fields.

In the analysis of **muyorqa** walls were shown to belong to a later cultural period than the space which they enclose. In the image of the house the walls are themselves 'earlier' than the roof which cannot be constructed until the walls are complete. Arnold relates how a Qaqachaka man referred to his house as a temporal metaphor in which the floor, or **pampa**, represents the much earlier **chullpa** time, the walls represent the recent past and time unravels towards the roof (1988: 335 - 336).

The house also functions as a temporal image which is related to the sexual ambiguity of the roof and floor (Arnold 1988: 344). The earthen floor is the domain of a female engendering power, characterised by Arnold as a 'foecal crone' (*loc. cit.*). Though **qallu** does not appear to be associated with dung in the same way as this personage, Arnold's understanding is consistent with the specifically female nurturing role described by **calluchasitha**. The burying of llama foetuses, **qallulla**, or potential offspring, in each of the four corners

(Arnold 1988: 335) may be intended to counterbalance the four adults represented by the 'four men' of the roof beams. Within the terms of this metaphor the walls of the house are the 'offspring', the young calf, whilst the roof is associated with the fully adult animal (Arnold 1988: 344).

It will be remembered that sweetness is an ingredient associated with several of the multicoloured mediatory stripes. Section IV of this chapter will show that simple narrow stripes, as limbs, also possess this sweetness. In Qaqachaka the adobe bricks of the house walls are called 'sugar lumps' and are cemented with sweetness (Arnold 1988: 337).

In the textile narrow stripes such as **qallu** mediate between the wider **pampa** on either side of them; in the metaphor of the house the 'sweetened' walls mediate between the complementary elements of roof and floor. In a comparable way **qallu**, the offspring mediate between male generating force (descending from above) and female nurturing (ascending from below), and **qallu**, the calf, mediates between the cow beneath the floor and the bull on the roof top.

(g) The abstract meanings of qallu

Although the abstract meanings of **qallu** do not appear to relate to the metaphoric models analysed in the preceding subsections, they recur sufficiently persistently in both Quechua and Aymara as to demand mention in a subsection of their own.

Narrow stripes belong to a more sophisticated era or a later stage in the life cycle; in Quechua **qallu** are characterised as 'prudente' (Zorn 1987a: 512 quoting the Anónimo of 1614, A8r^o), 'habil', or 'yngenioso', (Holguín: 132), and in Aymara as 'diligente' (Bertonio I: 191), cultural qualities indicated visually by their clearly defined colours. In Aymara their association with rapid and unceasing movement, 'agil' (Bertonio I: 26), 'ligero' (*op. cit.* II: 34), 'inquieta que no para' (*op. cit.* I: 282), contrasts with the immobility of the broad stripes.

Qallu are also 'alegre' (Bertonio I: 37), suggesting that they may possess or represent **suerte**, the balanced flow of energy which is associated with this type of movement [see Chapter 6]. The way in which they become transformed according to their position in time and place also suggests possession of some kind of vital energy.

viii) K'utu

K'utu are broken horizontal stripes which can be used in almost any textile and are always of sharply contrasted colours or tones (Cereceda 1987: 199).

In Bolívar they are woven in blankets of dyed yarn which each have six bands of **k'utu**, broken into three sections. Natural-colour blankets incorporating similar bands are used on Taquile as ritual ground cloths. **K'utu** are also used in cloths and bags; in these textiles the horizontal lines are broken up more frequently than in blankets and have the checkered

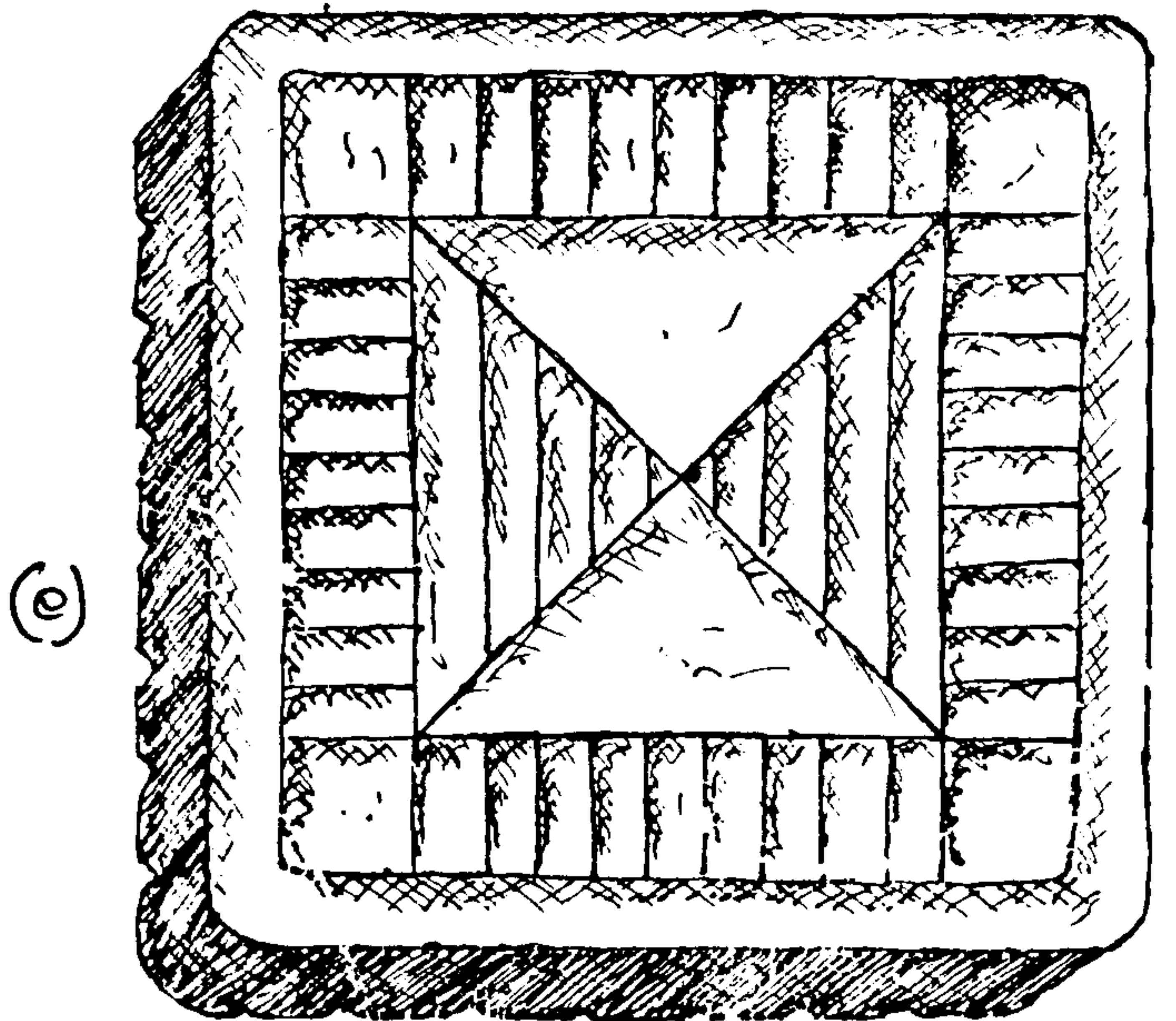
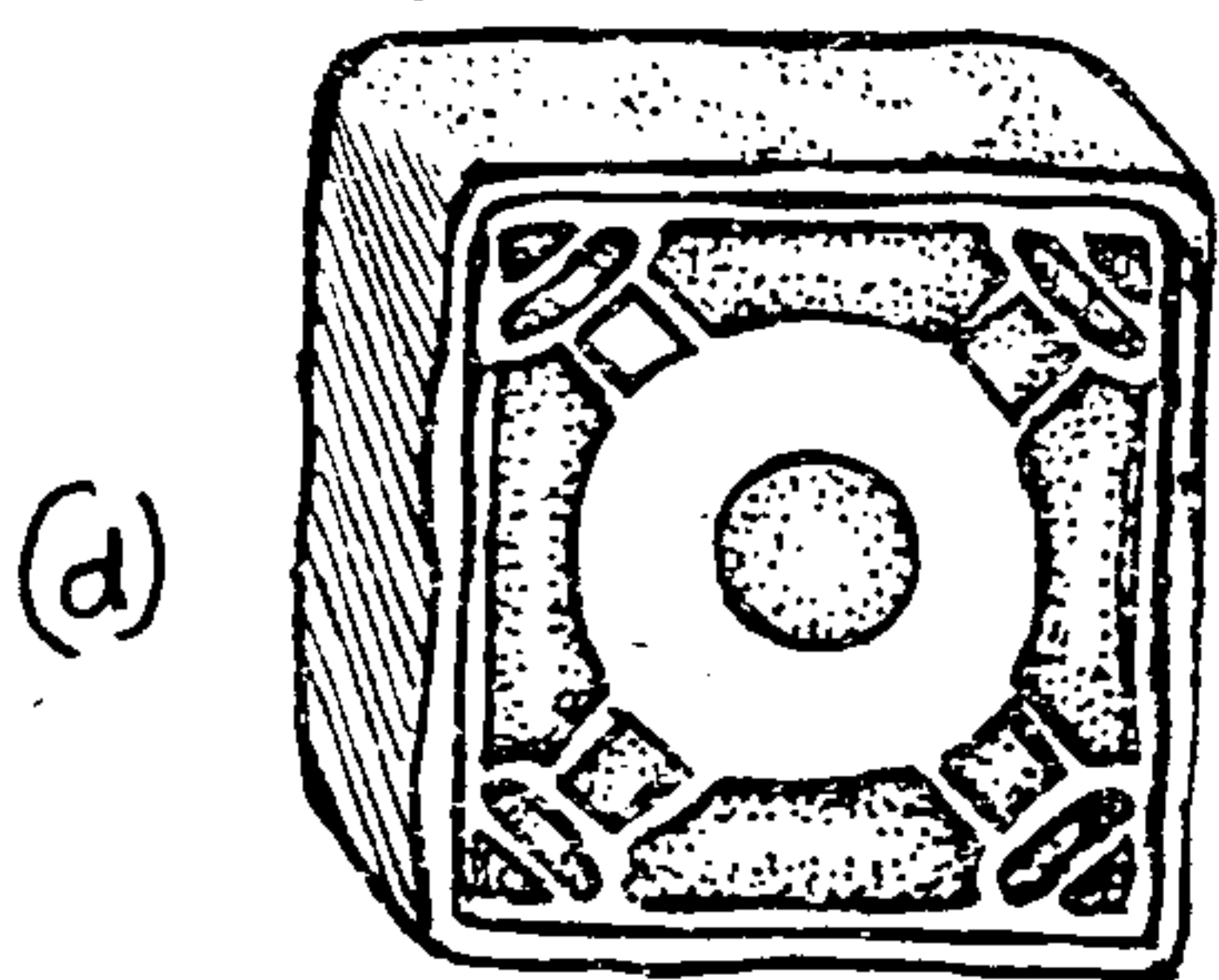
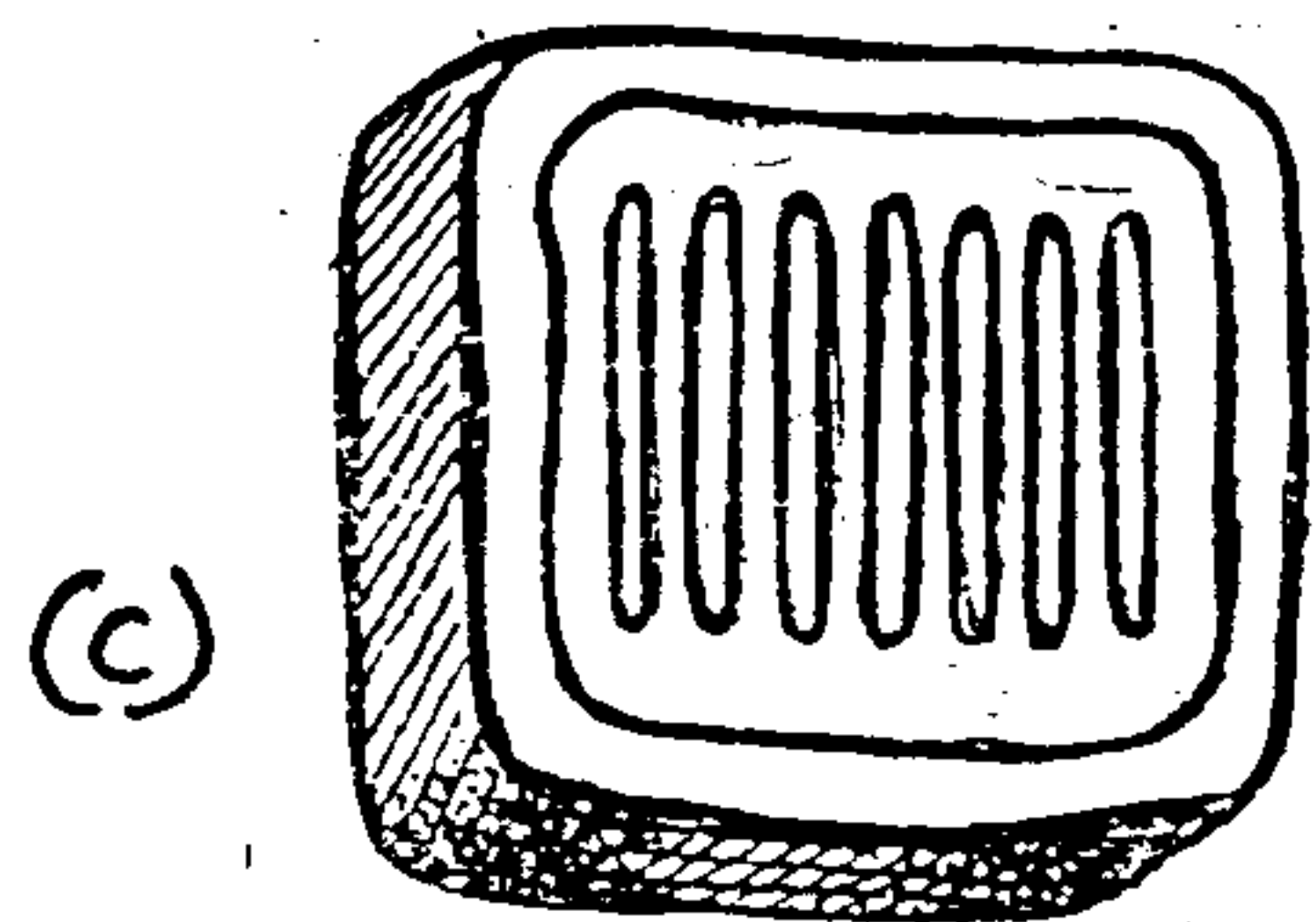
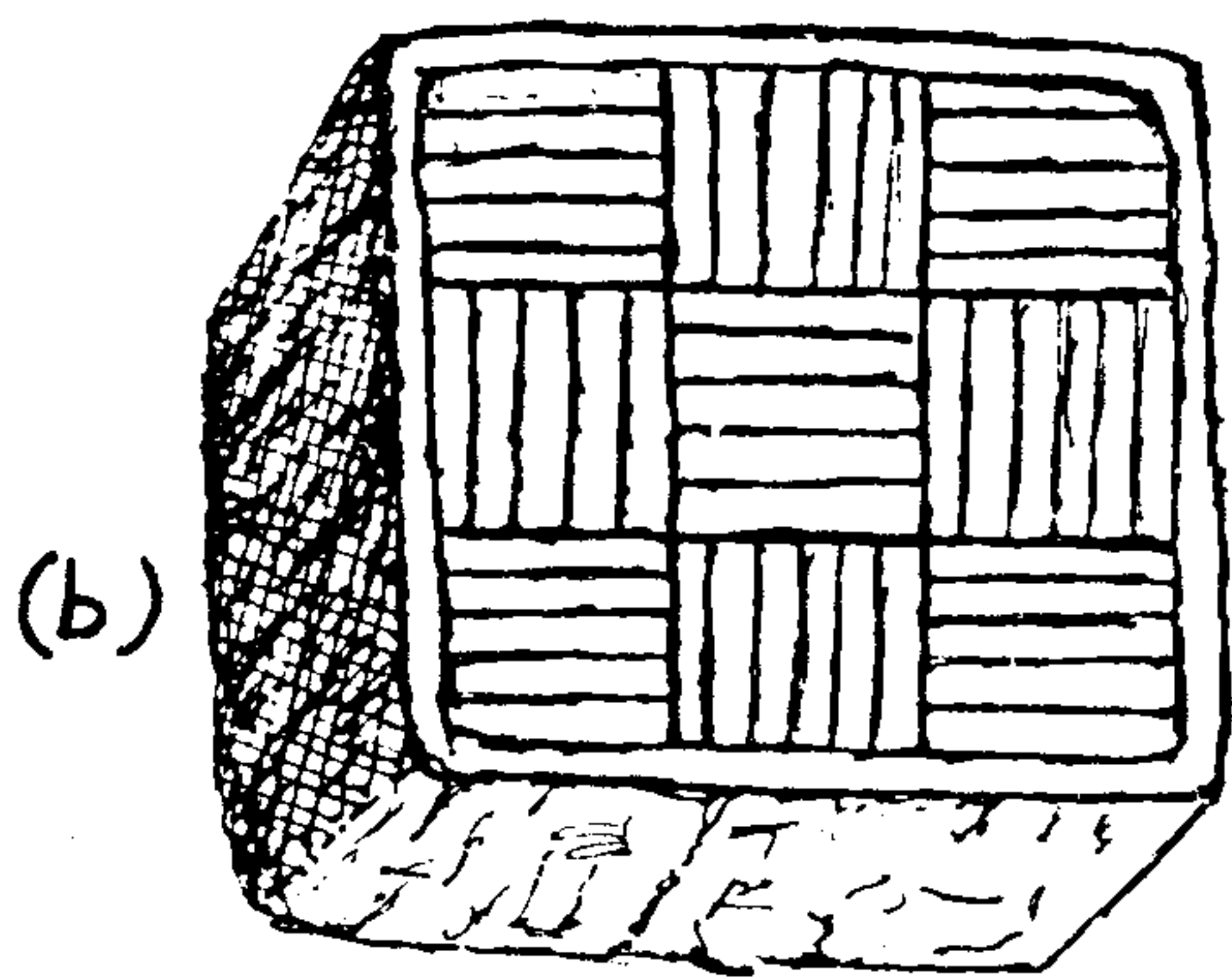
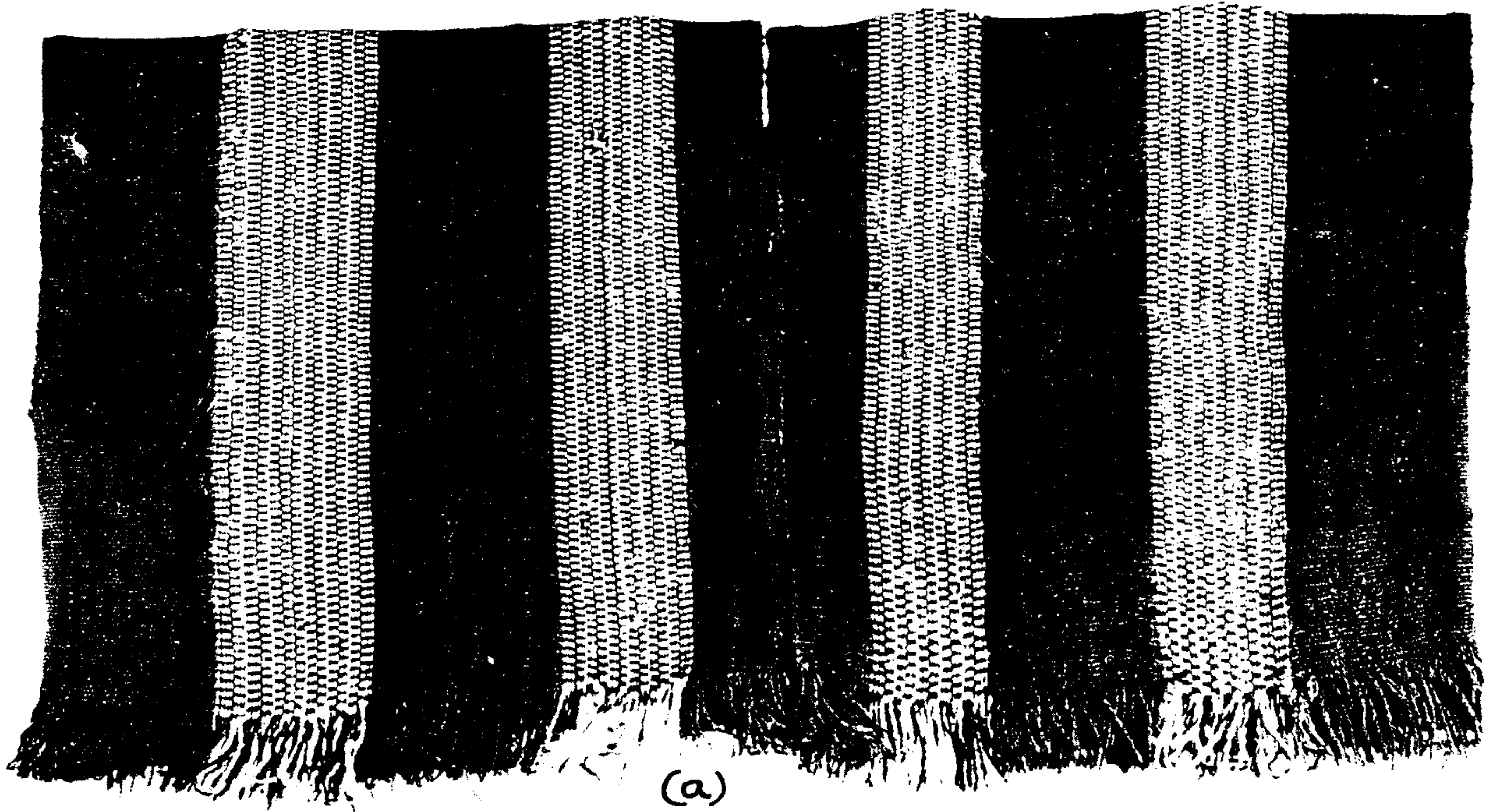


Fig. 1 (a) a preconquest tunic with bands of k'utu,
 (b) mullu and (c) sepja amulet resembling k'utu,
 (d) khutu pacas sepja and (e) mullu with similar cruciform designs.

appearance which is typical of **k'utu** in archaeological textiles (Cereceda 1987: 197).

Dictionary entries for **k'utu** or **c'utu**, 'tejido hecho a rayas horizontales y sin ninguna figura' (De Lucca: 90), and **c'utuña**, 'arrancarse los pelos de la barba' (*loc. cit.*), [cf 'arrancar los animales el pasto uno por uno', Yapita, personal communication], suggest their name may derive from the meaning of 'to pluck', **k'utu** being formed by 'picking' the warps in a similar though very much simpler way to **pallay**.

K'utu are not restricted to domestic textiles; Adelson & Tracht illustrate a multicolour **inkuña** or **tari** dating from the 18th or 19th centuries composed almost entirely of **k'utu** (*op. cit.*: 117)³³ whilst a small tunic [see Fig 1. (a)] from pre-conquest Peru with four bands of **k'utu** is illustrated by Rowe (1977a: 16 Fig 2). In the tunic the number of stripes in each band varies, as does the number of warps in the **k'utu** of modern blankets. This suggests that although they require an initial arrangement of the warps (*op. cit.*: 16) **k'utu** should not be considered as in the same category as 'counted' or 'social' stripes.

Cereceda also sees **k'utu** as distinct from 'social' stripes such as **k'isa** (1987: 199), and as performing a similar function to the intermediary **qallu**. The appearance of **k'utu** resembles **travesanos** or **escaleras** (Cereceda 1987: 199), forms which embody the concept of cross, **chaka**. This suggests that **k'utu** are concerned with mediation and the redistribution of energy, a concern also represented in the crosses and 'energy

fields' of the talismanic **khutu pacas sepja** [see (b) below].

a) K'utu and agriculture

Arnold associates **k'utu**³⁴ with the Pleiades (Arnold 1988: 366), a constellation known as the 'storehouse', **kotu koya** (De Lucca: 90), **collca qutu** (Urton 1981: 113), **qhoto** (Wallis, in Urton 1981: 208-209), and **qoto** (Sullivan: loc. cit.).

For the Aymara as well as the Quechua the Pleiades play a significant role in the agricultural calendar.

As the Pleiades touches the horizon it fuses together for a moment the worlds of above and below and generates life in each realm. For this reason it is called ... 'the mother of the seeds' (Arnold 1986: 20).

Through the action of the Pleiades these opposing worlds are fused together in the same way as the contrasting colours of an **allqa** are fused together (Cereceda 1986: 168), through this opposition generating life as the **allqa** generate their offspring.

A particular association between the Pleiades, **kotu koya** and the **k'utu** design is suggested by the fact that **koya** relates specifically to potato cultivation, 'hueco donde se echa la sembrilla de la papa' (De Lucca: 236), **cutu** is 'to glean potatoes', and small, square, natural-colour cloths composed almost entirely of **k'utu** are used in the market at Ilave, Peru, to display various kinds of fresh and preserved potatoes (personal observation).

b) K'utu as agricultural talismans

The broken horizontal stripes of the blanket **k'utu** are divided into three sections; the outer two formed of dark warps, the central one of light warps³⁵. The visual effect is like that of a discontinuously ploughed field, as **churu** suggest one that is irregularly ploughed (Bertonio II: 94).

It would appear that **k'utu** are intended as icons for or as a means of attracting agricultural abundance. **K'utu** occupy a similar position to narrow stripes which protect and surround. The **mullu**, or **muyo**, which derives from the same root as **muyorqa**, the protective surrounding stripes, is an amulet, 'tabla o piedra redonda pero llana como tabla' (Bertonio II: 229), 'que se usa para obtener buenas cosechas (Van den Berg: 131). One of those illustrated by Van den Berg (*loc. cit.*) recalls the checkered appearance of **k'utu** [see Fig. 1 (b)]. The surface of a second **mullu** [see Fig. 1 (e)] is divided into four by a diagonal cross (Van den Berg: 131).

This cruciform division is also characteristic of **sepjas**, Callahuaya amulets, which have a similar purpose to **mullu**, and are usually black and white (Oblitas: 204), complementary colours or **allqa** like several of the narrow stripes including **k'utu** (Cereceda 1987: 199).

The **ojan pacas sepja**³⁶ [see Fig. 1 (c)], which Oblitas describes as 'chacarismo de viveres' (1963: 204), represents ploughed furrows surrounded by a fence. Like that of the narrow surrounding stripes the role of

this fence is two-fold: 'que no entra a la chacra el daño, y que no huye la producción' (loc. cit.).

Another **sepja** illustrated by Oblitas (1963: 207), the **khutu pacas sepja**³⁷ [see Fig. 1 (d)], would appear to be linked with the concept of **k'utu** by more than the phonological similarity of its name. It clearly depicts the connection of four corners to a central circular point which is implicit in the cruciform associations of the narrow stripes **k'illi**, **qallu**, **aysaka**, etc.

The interpretation of the **khutu pacas sepja** given by Oblitas (1963: 206) is consistent both with the textile/loom/house metaphor and with the role of the **k'utu**, **qallu**, and **muyorqa** stripes. In each corner of a surrounding wall are four **torres**, towers, or 'mountains' (loc. cit.). These towers recall the tree trunks associated with the corners of the house and the loom. Intermediate designs between the **torres** and the centre are called **capiltos**. Platt mentions four chapels being built at the four corners of the village **plaza** (1987b: 177 note 22, cf Bandelier: 111) but I suggest that the **capiltos** of the **sepja** also represent **cabildo** (Arnold 1988: 354). **Cabildo** is of several kinds, but **iskin**, or 'corner' **cabildo**, which would seem to be the appropriate type given the position of the **capiltos** in the **sepja**,

is eternal and is said to watch over the home; it also guards the liminal zones of exit and entrance (loc. cit.).

Cabildo replicates the function of both the narrow stripes and the encircling fence of the **ojan pacas** and **khutu pacas sepja**.

The large circle at the centre of the **khutu pacas sepja** represents, as can the broad stripes **pampa** and **chhuru**, 'el patio de la casa' (Oblitas 1963: 207). This ritual zone is protected by **iskin cabildo** (Arnold 1988: 354) as the central circle is protected by the four **capiltos** of the amulet. The circle also represents 'la fuerza que concentra la riqueza' (Oblitas 1963: 207), another concept which finds its analogy in the design of a domestic textile [see section IV below] where the central stripe, **sonqo** or **chuyma**, is related to the stripes at the textile edges and possesses a powerful genesic force.

Summary

Narrow stripes have connotations of a later, upper, exterior, open, active, masculinity which does not so much contrast with the earlier, lower, interior, enclosed, passive femininity of the wide stripes as evolve from or revert to them.

Narrow stripes surround and protect, define and enclose, tensions and articulations which have temporal as well as spatial significance. They belong to a later generation and one which is more culturally developed than the **pampa** from which they emerge.

Contrary colours, **allqa**, and contrary directions, **kuti** or **lloq'e**, are elements which are often present in the narrow stripes and which are associated with a flow of energy or **suerte**. In addition, the structures for which the stripes are metaphors, the cross beams of a house or loom, the hips, the shoulders, are also forms

of **chaka**, a means of redistributing energy and maintaining the equilibrium which represents maximum **suerte**.

Suyu is the only term expressed exclusively as a diametric spatial opposition into two and four. These stripes appear to be concerned with social and political division. Whilst several other narrow stripes can represent 'corners', they also form a series of homologous, concentric metaphors in which the textile can represent a loom, a house, a field, a village or the universe, providing both a cosmic image and a model for the balanced distribution of energy.

IV ARTICULATION OF TEXTILE SPACE: The Central Stripe

Introduction

In the layout of an Andean textile its two sides or halves, if not actually identical, are notably symmetrical in design. The centre may be distinguished from other design elements in several ways.

i) The different types of centre

One piece domestic textiles, such as the **talega**, **wayakayta** or **costala**, have a central stripe, on either side of which a varying number of stripes are arranged symmetrically. The central stripe may be similar in appearance to the others, and referred to by the same term; in the Tarabucan **wayakayta** all the broad stripes are described as **pampa** (Meisch 1987: 51). However, the central stripe is usually woven in a colour which does not occur elsewhere in the textile (Cereceda 1986: 152; Torrico:40; Meisch 1986: 51), it may be flanked by a different number of narrow stripes than its lateral counterparts, and it may even contain picked designs, **salta** or **pallay**. This central stripe is the textile's **sonqo** (Q) or **chuyma** (A), its 'heart' (Torrico: 15; Cereceda 1986: 152; Meisch 1987: 51). Whilst the central stripe of the Bolívar **talegita** is almost always pink, as in the Tarabuco **wayakayta** (Meisch 1987: 51), the former was not anthropo- or zoomorphised and all its stripes were referred to simply as Spanish **raya**, stripe.

The central **pallay** band of a **ch'uspa** is its **sonqo**, 'heart', **pallay** (Meisch 1987: 53), and a narrow stripe

of colour running through the centre of this band is also its **sonqo** (*loc. cit.*). On Taquile a similar central stripe running through the **pallay** band on a **ch'uspa** is called not its 'heart' but its 'centre'; without it the **pallay** could not exist, 'no puede resultar el **pallay**'.

The designs intersected by a central **sonqo** stripe are not necessarily symmetrical. In geometric **pallay** such as the diamond shaped **inti**, sun, the central division between the two symmetrical halves may be indicated by a colour change where they abutt; in the Cusco area this, too, is called its **sonqocha**, 'little heart' (Silverman-Proust: 210), though here the **sonqo** is purely conceptual. It is comparable to the 'middle' zone between **puna** and valley territories, the **chawpirana** (Platt: 1986), or **taypirana** (Harris: 1985b): in Macusani the central **pallay** band is called **chawpi pallay** (Zorn 1987a: 506)³⁸.

The following sections will examine the metaphorical significance of a central textile axis. As I do not wish in this context to suggest that I am referring more particularly to one term for 'heart' or 'centre' than the other, I give both together, **sonqo/chuyma** and treat this as a single entity.

ii) Sonqo/chuyma, the centre of a textile body

As is suggested by alternative terms for the central stripe, **chawpi**, or 'centro', the location of **sonqo/chuyma**, heart, is essentially interior and central, 'at the heart of' (Bertonio II: 95; Holguín

329); the physical heart is recognised as being on the left side of the body and in Bolívar a heart-shaped **pallay** figure is called **lloko**, 'corazón físico' (De Lucca: 290).

Whilst **sonqo/chuyma** can refer to the physical heart (Holguín: 329), **soncco** is also '[las] entrañas y el estomago' (loc. cit.), whilst **chuyma**, is 'los bofes propiamente, aunque se aplica al corazón y al estomago' (Bertonio II: 95). The lungs and entrails occupy a more central position in the body than the heart and it is perhaps significant that these are the organs concerned with the circulation of breath.

Other elements of the textile are also anthropo- or zoomorphised, and these central organs, the central stripe, **sonqo/chuyma**, and the central beam of a house, become interchangeable metaphorical axes: the narrow stripes, **qallu**, the lesser roof beams of a house, which flank the central pole, are like ribs (Arnold 1988: 347). The role of these stripes is to surround and protect, and **qallu** form a protective cage to surround the central heart and lungs; in a similar way the Islugan **talega** has a **cuerpo**, body, or **purajja**, belly, on either side of, that is surrounding, its central 'heart' stripe, **chhima** (Cereceda 1986: 156 and 172, Note 7).

a) The textile arms and legs

Radiating out from the central textile trunk are its limbs. In Macha the weft selvages or sides of a **kustala** are its **maki**, hands (Torricco: 15). **Maqui** can include the arms from the hands to the elbow, the 'brazo

hasta el codo' (Holguín: 437), but the parts of both upper and lower limbs which attach to the body can also be signified by the stripes.

In **k'ura** textiles the central stripe representing the bodily organs, **sonqo/chuyma**, is flanked by narrow stripes, the central **pallay** band of **p'ana** textiles is flanked by **k'isa**, intermediary, gradated stripes.

Mokhsa, a synonym for **k'isa** in its meaning of 'sweet' can also refer to the fleshy parts of the limbs 'molledos del cuerpo' (Bertonio II: 224). **Mokhsa** has two Quechua analogues, **mizqui** and **machi**, which are identical to **k'isa** in their meanings of 'sweet', 'peaceful', 'preserved fruit', 'sweet talking' (Holguín: 244, 222) and also mean 'molledos de braços o muslos' (Holguín: 244), that is the upper arm and thigh³⁹. Whilst **maki** is the arm from elbow to hand, the arm from elbow to shoulder is **maquip mizquin** or **maquip machin** (Holguín: 437). In the narrow stripes which flank the central body, a textile therefore has the potential for representing the thighs and the whole arm from shoulder to elbow and elbow to hand, and like the walls of a house these communicating limbs are full of sweetness⁴⁰.

In domestic textiles the placing of the major **allqa** disjunctions at the 1/4 and 3/4 positions suggests the joints of the elbows and knees; they have already been shown to represent a cross or bridge, **chaka**, which can also mean 'pierna' or 'muslo' (Lira: 87).

b) The textile wings and tail

It will be remembered that stripes can also represent hips or shoulders. When the arm includes the shoulder and shoulder blade it is **maquip ricran** (Holguín: 437). Ricardo (*op. cit.*: 47, 78) translates **ricra**, or **huaman** [falcon] **ricra** as 'shoulder' as well as 'ala de la ave' whilst Santo Tomás (*op. cit.* 150) gives 'shoulder' simply as **guamani**, so that the upper arm appears conceptually close to a wing.

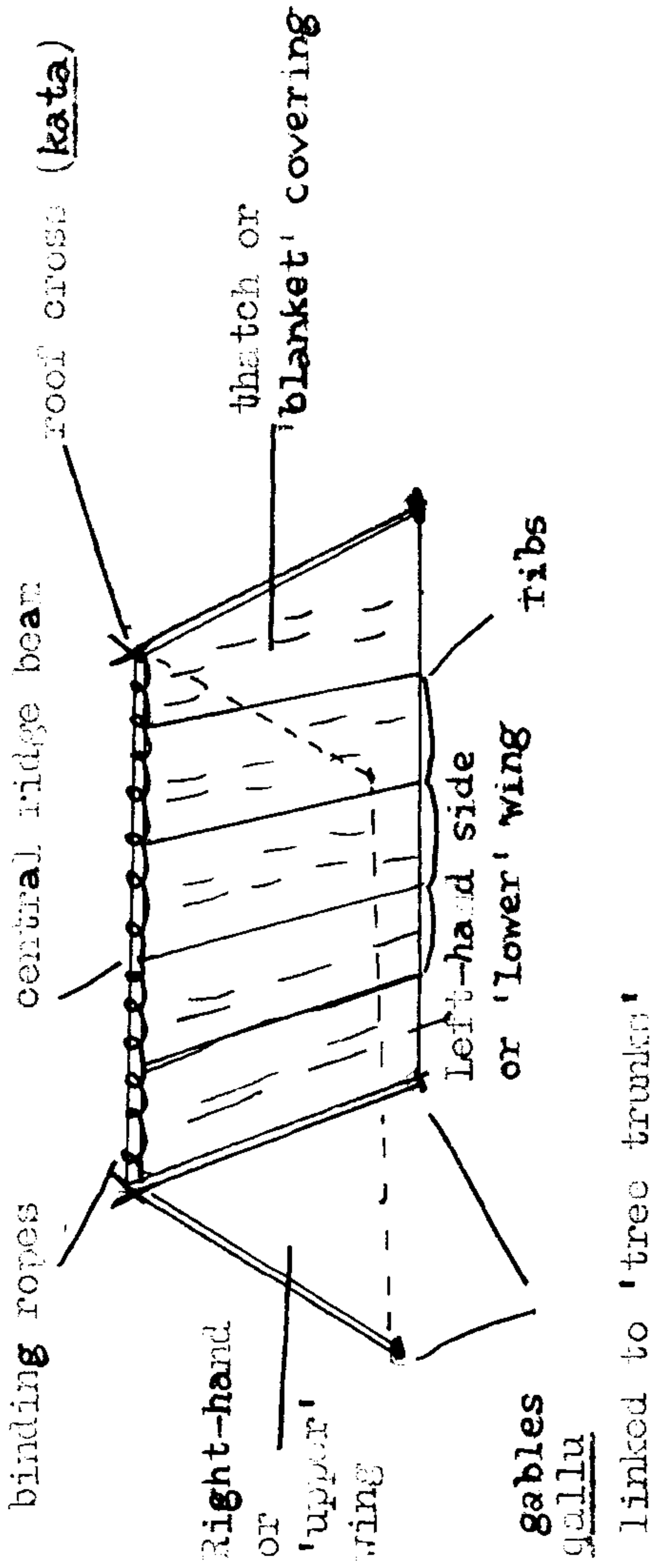
Correspondingly, the leg below the knee, the **pantorilla**, is **chupa**, which also means 'cola' or 'rabadilla' (Ricardo: 168, 39)⁴¹.

In Inca Cusco, the tail of the puma, **chupa**, was associated with a particular **barrio** of the city (Zuidema: 1983), and **mamani** or **wamani**, 'falcon', is interchangeable with **suyu** as a political or territorial division, or 'provincia' (Bertonio II: 213). As was mentioned in the preceding section **mamani** or **condori** were names for the two moiety chiefs.

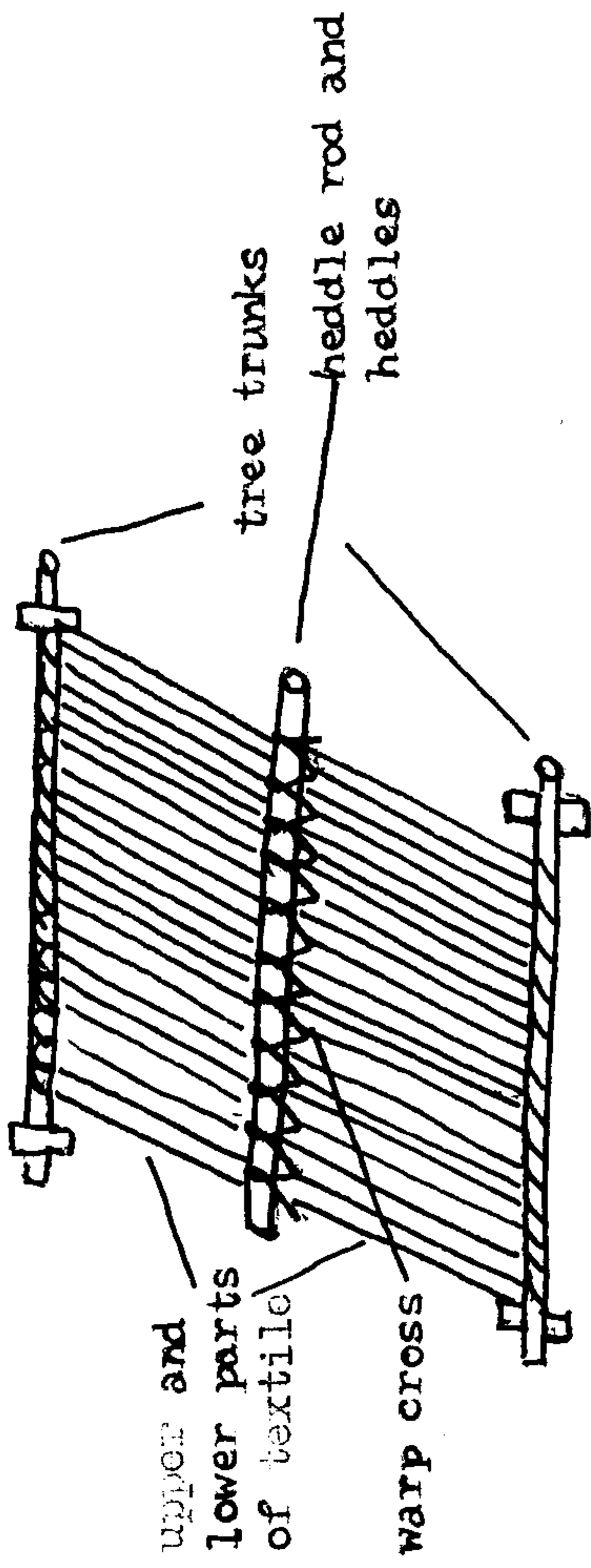
Islugan men see the upper half of the **talega** as symbolising the upper **ayllu**, the lower half the lower **ayllu**, and the potential of the textile to represent a balanced relationship between a creature with wings, the eagle, representing the upper world or **ayllu**, and a creature with a bottom or tail, the toad, representing the lower world or **ayllu**, has already been suggested in the discussion of **k'illi**.

Like the upper part of the textile, the two halves of the house roof, with which it is an interchangeable

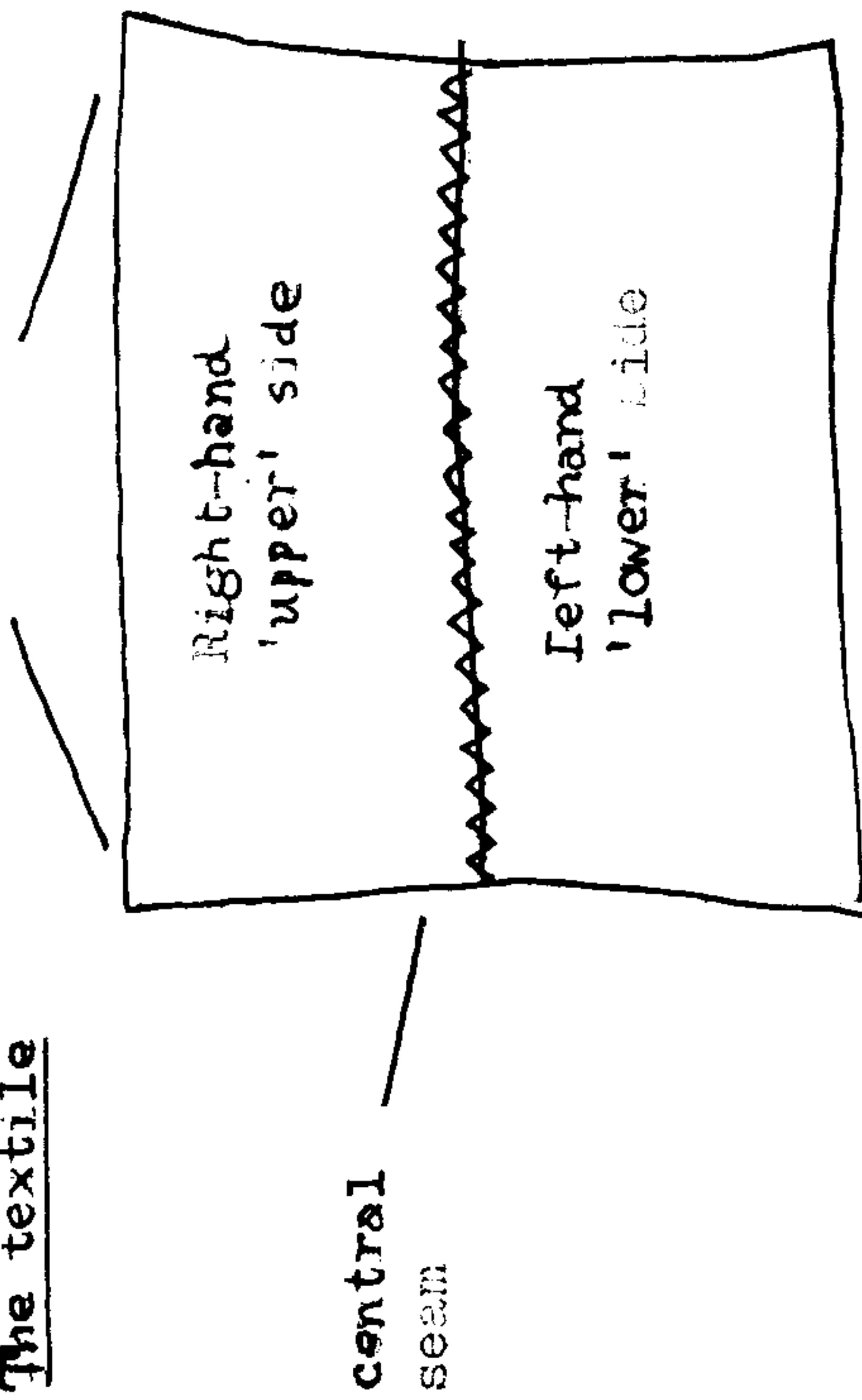
The house roof



The loom



The textile



The textile body

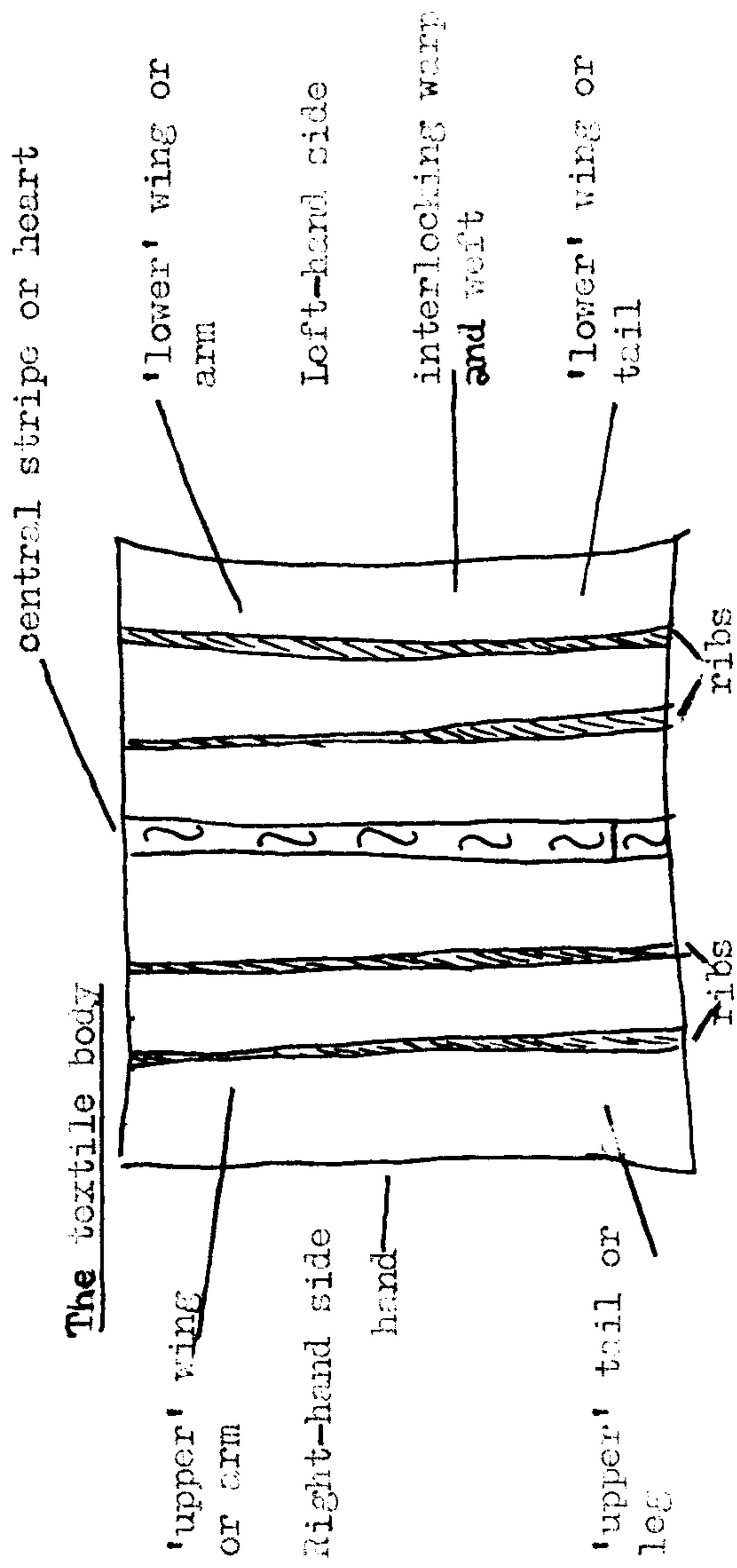


Fig. 2. Diagrammatic representations of the house, loom, textile and body showing how they are interchangeable metaphoric models.

metaphor, are also perceived as two wings (Arnold 1988: 332-333).

The territorial significance of condor wings has been analysed by Platt who notes that in Macha the moieties are seen as constantly replacing each other in ascendancy (1987a: 100-101) as the elements of condor and toad represented in the textile cyclically transform into each other [see Chapter 8].

iii) Sonqo/chuyma as axis mundi

As the centre of the textile/body, **sonqo/chuyma** functions as a spatial axis and a metaphor for the articulation of political space. It can also represent a link between this world and those of above and below.

Besides the heart or centre of the body, **sonqo/chuyma** refers to 'el corazón de la madera' (Holguín: 329), 'the heart of wood', or 'the heart of a tree'; **chuyma** is 'el corazón de los arboles y de otras cosas, las pepitas de las frutas' (Bertonio II: 95)⁴².

The generic term for tree is **coca** (Bertonio II: 49), or **mallqui** (Holguín: 224); in some parts of the Andes **mallqui**, tree, is a synonym for the ancestors (Isbell: 210; Métraux: 257), who are thought to have had their '**pakarina**', first emergence in this world, not from underground springs, which are often thought to be their means of entry, but from the trunks of trees, whose roots stretch down into the world beneath.

Ancestors were sometimes buried within the walls of the house (Arnold 1988: 332), and it will be remembered that in Aymara Qaqachaka the four corners of the house

are called 'tree trunks' (Arnold 1988: 338). In the analagous loom metaphor the wooden parts are called **coca mallku**, 'tree lords' or 'tree ancestors'.

According to Platt rooted vegetation such as the tree links the upper and lower worlds, binding them together in reciprocal complementarity (1987b: 145). The tree is

a symbol of cosmic reproduction which sprouts at an interface (op. cit.: 168).

This 'cosmic reproduction' appears similar to the reproductive energy generated at the seam between two halves of a textile (Arnold: 1988), at the juxtaposition of complementary colours in an **allqa** (Cereceda 1986: 161), or as suggested in Chapter 3, at the join between the two halves of a figured design, i.e. at its **sonqo/chuyma**.

Analysing the significance of a tree planted at the centre of a village square that is the location for ritual battles between the **ayllus**, Platt points out that this tree operates in the vertical as well as the horizontal plane, interconnecting upper and lower moieties as well as upper and lower worlds (1987b: 145). In a similar way the central stripe articulates the upper and lower moieties represented by the two halves of a textile (Cereceda 1986: 165) and the upper and lower worlds represented by the reciprocal complementarity of the condor [or in the Macha case the dove] and the toad.

iv) The centre, sonqo/chuyma, and the four 'corners'

A similar series of homologous, concentrically expanding metaphors to those which in the Andes relate the textile, the loom, the house, the patio and the village square, occurs in Guatemalan cosmology where the village square as cosmic model has at its centre the sacred **ceiba** tree (Girard: 205, 116). The corners of the square are marked by four trees or pillars, the 'year bearers', representing the four cardinal points (Girard: 29)^{43, 44}.

In the Andean house which itself functions as a metaphoric **axis mundi** (Arnold 1988: 333) the central roof beam is connected to its four corners or 'tree trunks' by two sets of gables or 'four men', a comparable relationship to that found in some **talegas** between the colour of the central stripe and that of the stripes at its outer edge. *

It will be remembered that in the Tarabucan **wayakayta** the four broad white stripes placed between the **pallay** bands are called **saya pampa** (Meisch 1987: 51). **Saya** is 'something which stands upright', or which 'stands and waits' (Meisch 1987: 51).

Applying the vertically descriptive term **saya** to **pampa**, space usually regarded as horizontal, though not necessarily flat, suggests that these stripes represent a link between the lower and upper worlds comparable to that represented by the tree trunks, but the interpretation of 'something which stands and waits' suggests that they also act as some form of temporal marker.

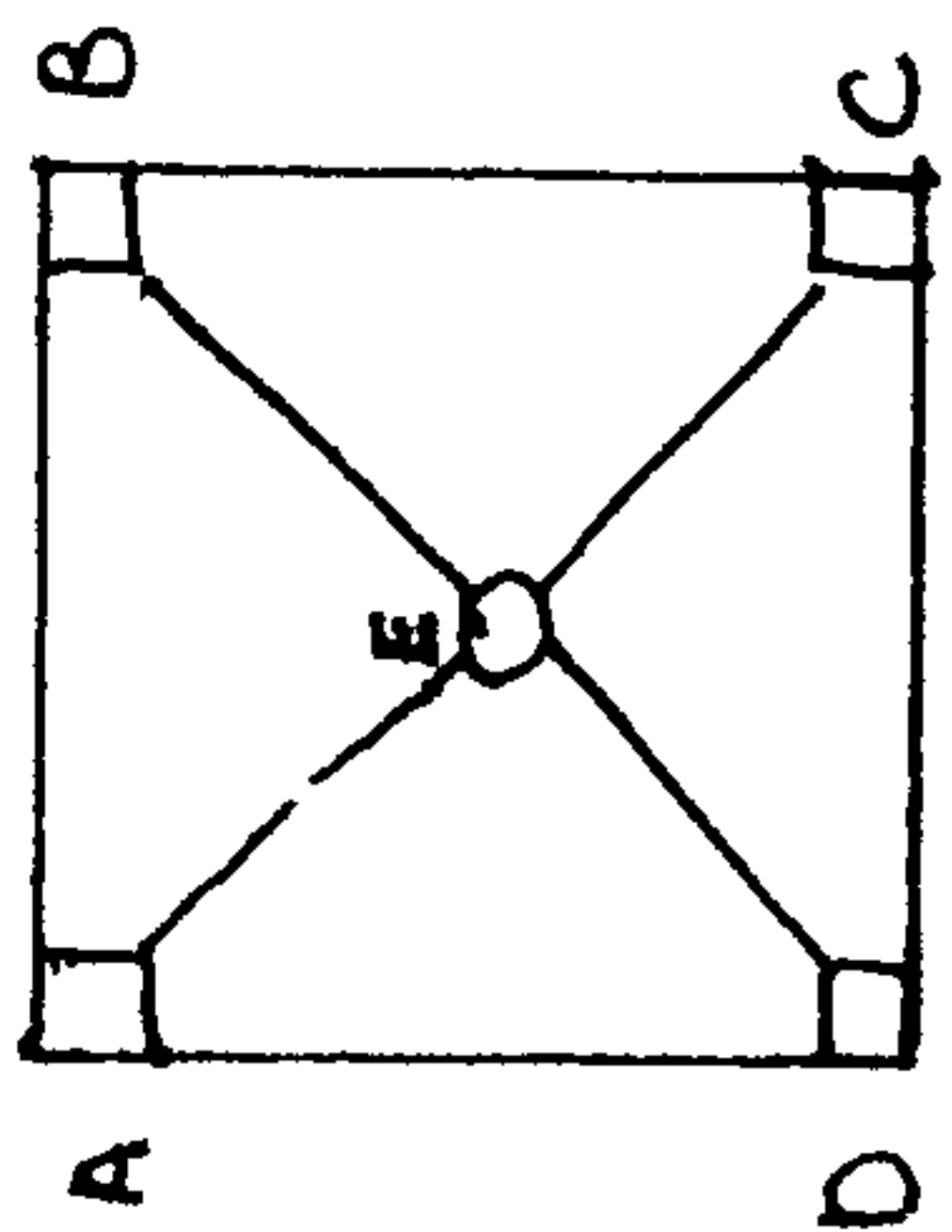
Inca Cusco was surrounded by a circle of pillars which formed a solar calendar. These were called **sucanca** (Cobo: Book 12, Chapter XXXVII, 328). **Sucani** means 'to furrow', or 'to plough' (Holguín, Bertonio s. v.) and **suca** is a broad furrow or **camellon** (Holguín 331; Bertonio II: 322), a term already associated with the broad textile stripes **churu** and **k'illi**. Given the recurrent theme of four individual 'corners' or 'exterior points', linked to and enclosing a centre, it is tempting to associate the horizontal **suca** with **pampa** and the vertical **sucanca** with **saya**.

The four largest **sucanca**, two to the east and two to the west of Cusco, though they did not stand like the four Mayan year bearers at the four cardinal points, did by standing and awaiting the arrival of the sun, enable Inca priests to calculate, with reference to the other two cardinal points, north and south, the dates of the solstices and equinoxes or four year markers (Cobo, Book 12: 328).

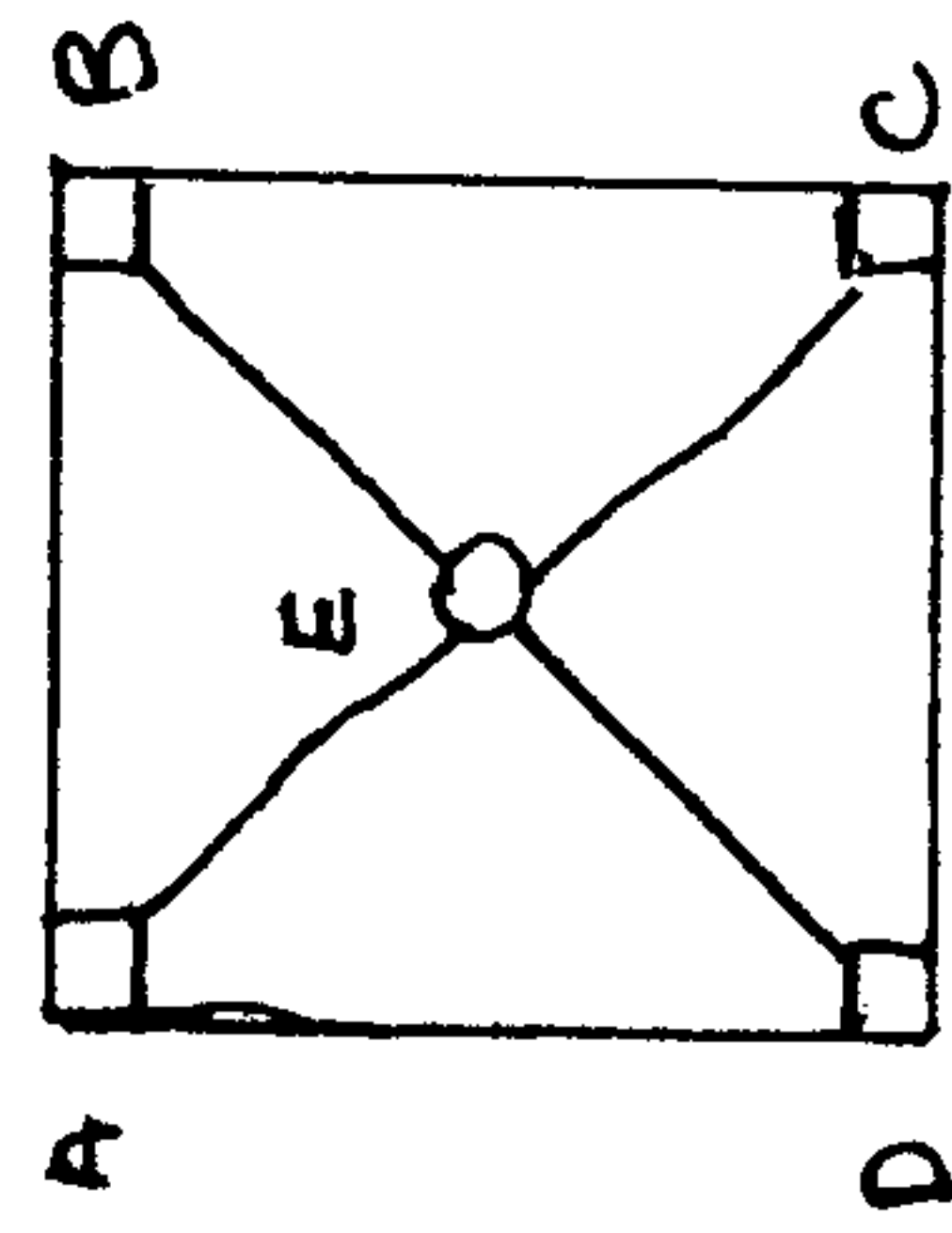
v) **The vital energy of sonqo/chuyma and pukara**

The juxtaposition of complementary opposites such as the contrasting colours of a figured design generates reproductive energy at the interface, its **sonqocha**; that the **pallay** 'cannot exist' or 'come into being' without its central **sonqo** stripe, suggests that it too contains a vital energy.

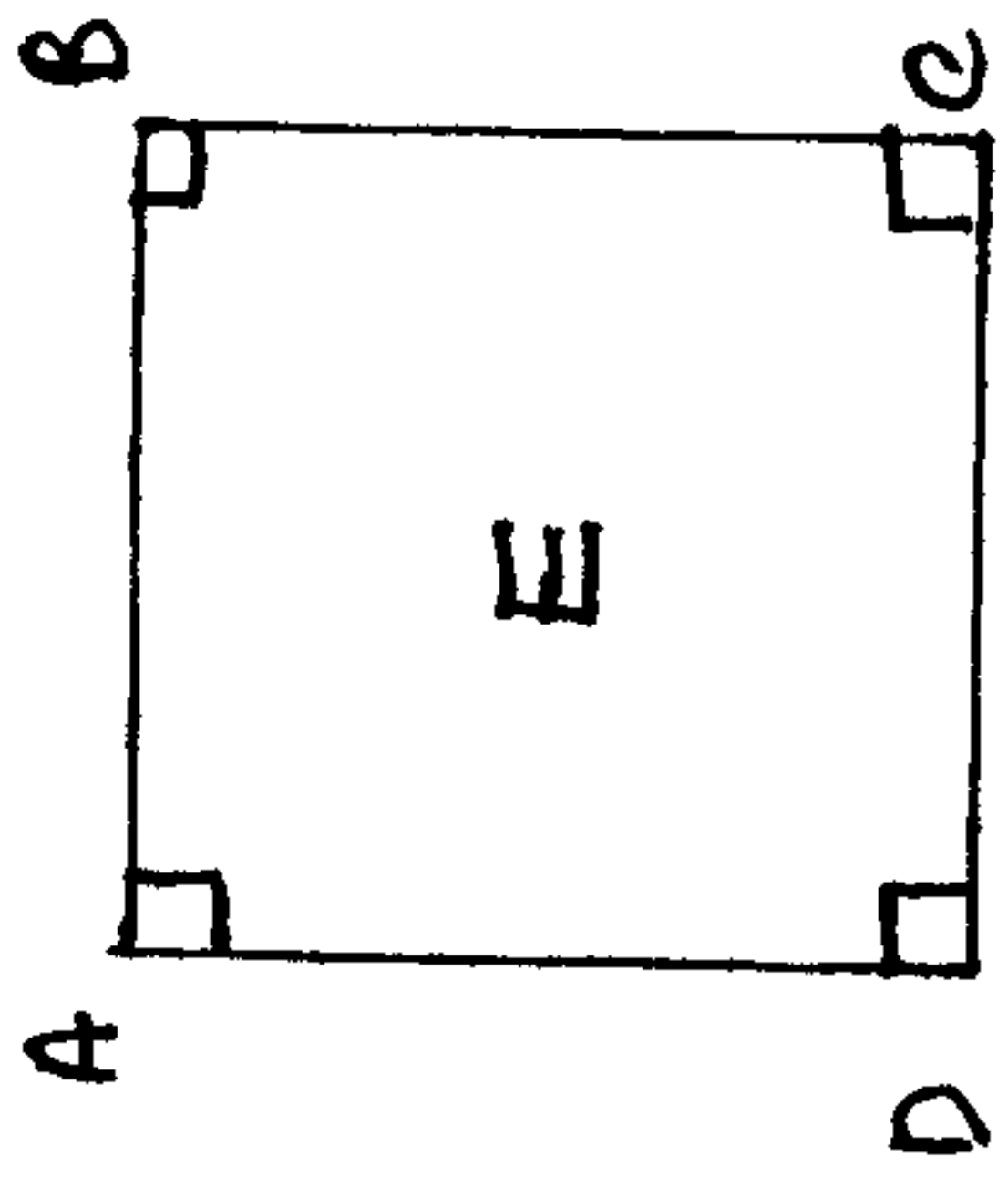
The vital energy of breath has already been associated with the textile in earlier chapters of this thesis. **Sonqo/chuyma** are the lungs, and so it seems



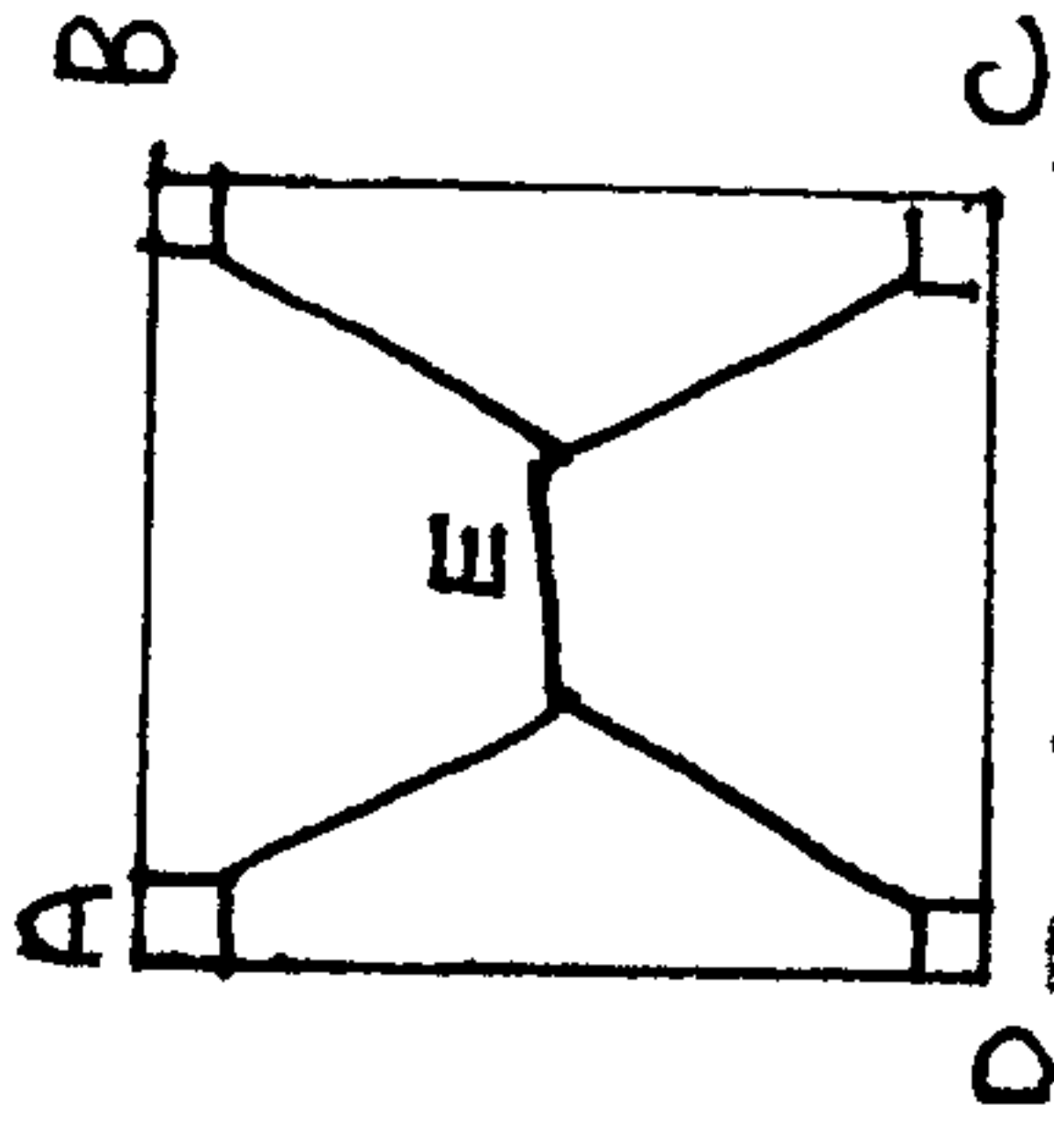
The kinutu wacec sepija
 A - D towers and
 'e' - 'il bog'
 E 'E' - 'uoz'



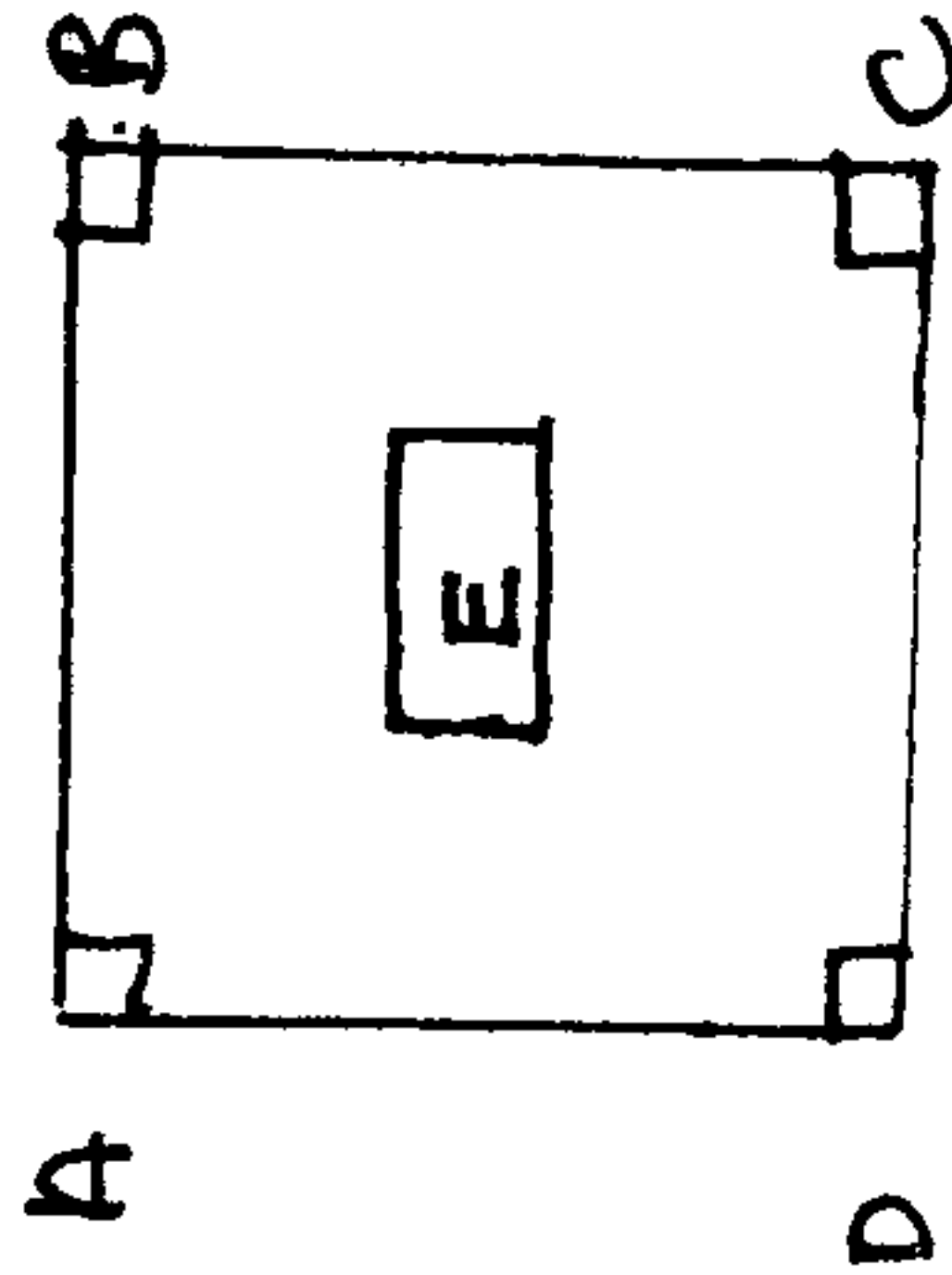
The body
 A & B arms or wings
 C & D legs or tails
 E the heart



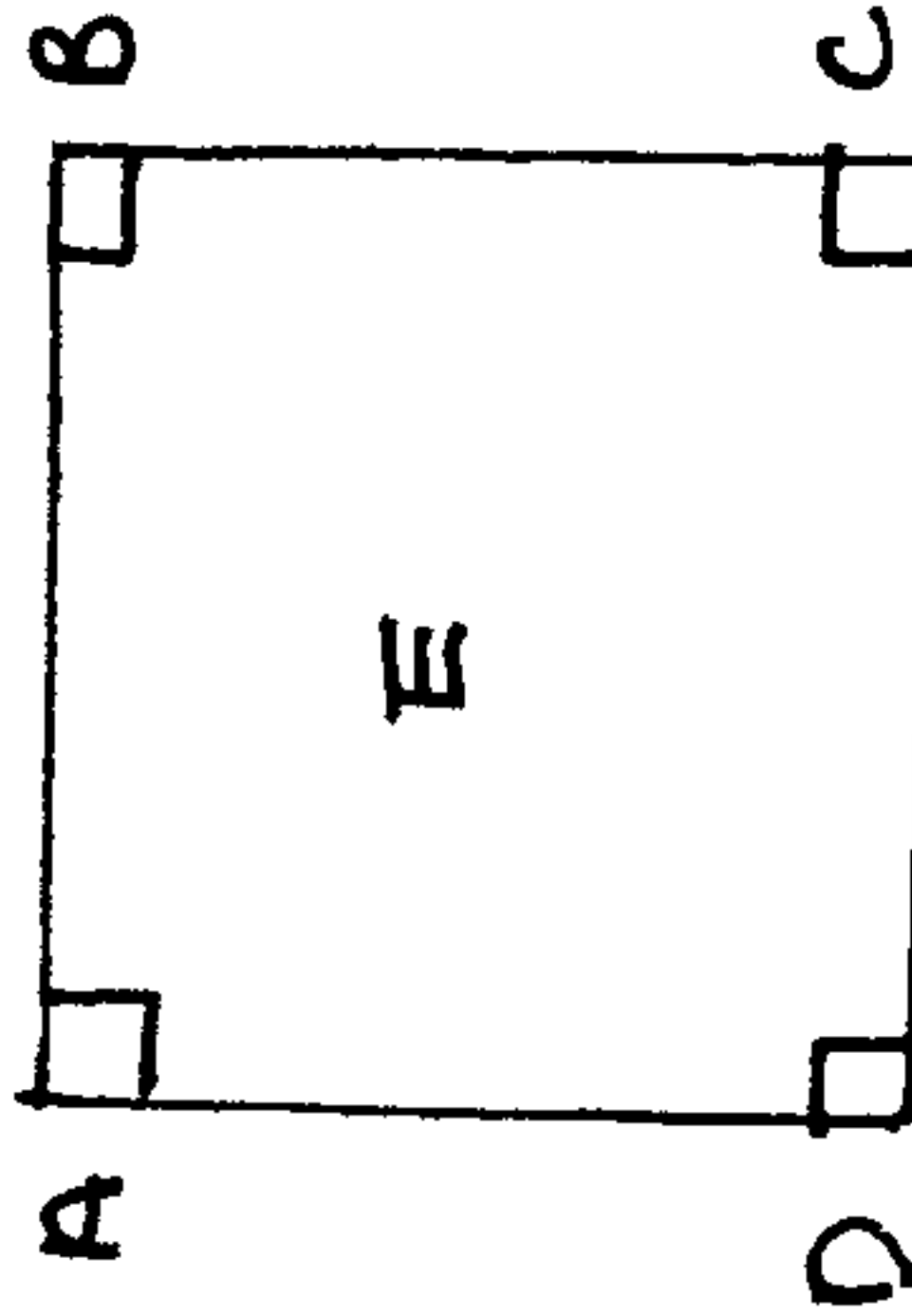
The house space
 A - D esquinas or
 tree trunks
 E central space or
 womb



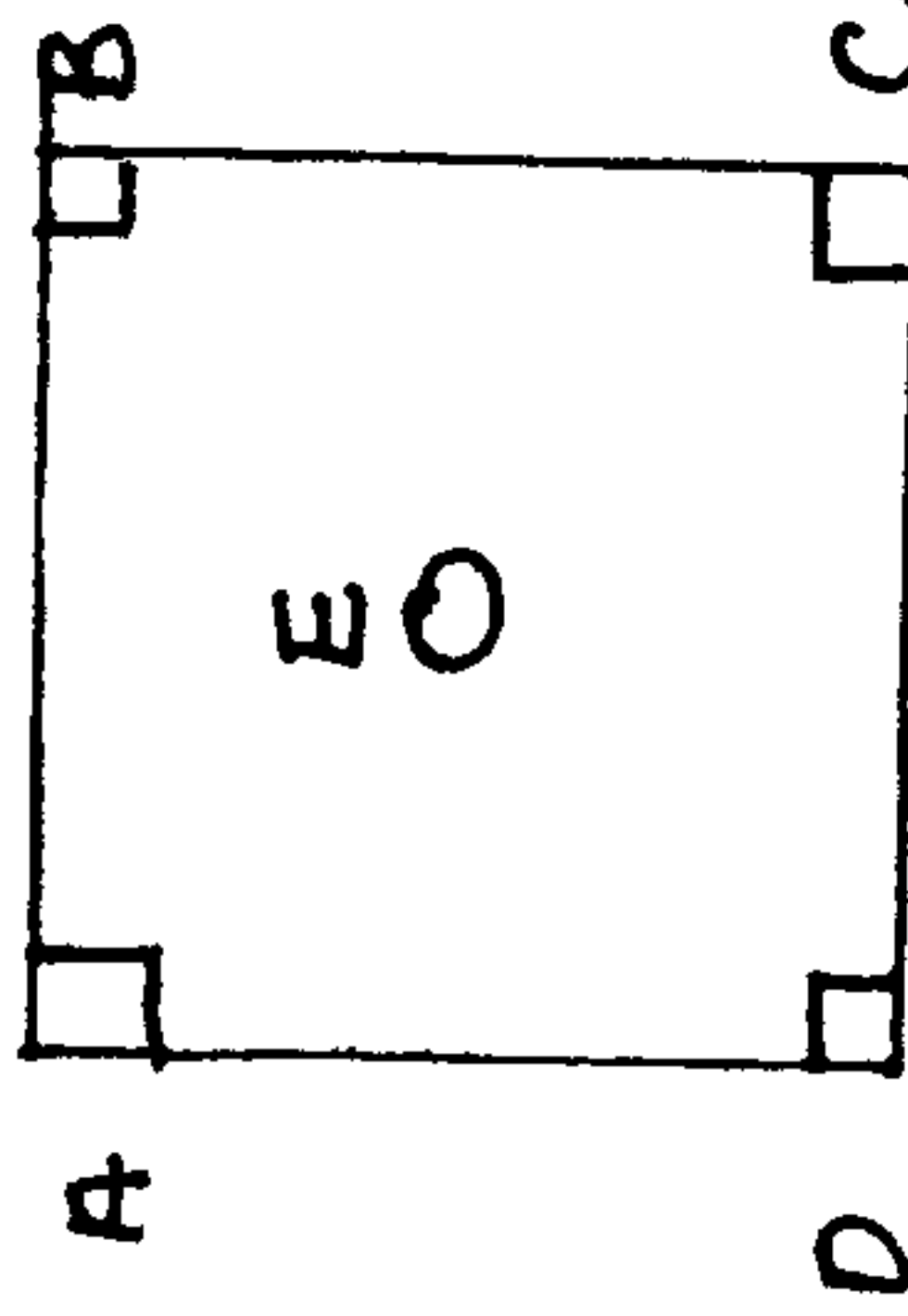
The house roof
 A - D men or gables
 (the ayllus)
 E central ridge beam
 (originating ancestor)



The patio
 A - D esquina cabildo
 E the house



The village
 A - D chapels
 E central plaza



The cosmic model
 A - D year bearers or sucanca
 E central support or cosmic tree

Fig. 3. Diagrammatic examples of a centre connected to four external points for which the textile provides a model

logical to associate the central stripe with breath, **sama**.

Santo Tomás associates **sonqo** with the vital energy of **cama**: **camaquenc**, **camaynin sonqo**, 'anima poz la qual vivimos' (op. cit.: 246). As a translation of 'alma', soul, however, he transcribes a similar entry **camaquenc**, **o sonqo o çamaynin** (op. cit.: 35).

Nowadays, 'alma', or 'las almas', is often used to refer to a ghost or to the ancestors who, in the early lexicons, are also associated with ghosts [see Appendix]. Swisshelm relates visible breath coming from the mouth, an image for the escape of the soul, with the spirit of the ancestors (Taylor: 62), whose breath has an engendering power, and who, like breath, **sama**, are associated with the central stripe⁴⁵.

It has also been mentioned that besides its meaning of 'breath' (ie of 'whiteness'), Aymara **sama** is the generic term for colour (Bertonio II: 306), and has connotations of red (loc. cit.). The often pink or red central stripe **sonqo/chuyma** can, then, be seen as associated with another form of life force, blood.

The nature of the central stripe **sonqo/chuyma** has much in common with that of **pucara**, or **pukara** as it is now written.

Firstly, **pukara** appears to be associated with the colour red, and with breath: in Aymara **puca**, **chupa** is 'lana o vestido colorado' (Bertonio II: 274), **puca tonco** is 'mayz entreverado de blanco, negro o colorado' (op. cit. 275); in Quechua **puca** is 'cosa colorada' (Ricardo; 71); 'soplar' is **pucani** (Santo Tomás: 212, 341).

Secondly, one of the various kinds of sacred site found in Isluga is **pukara**. It is associated with the generation and provision of agricultural crops (Martínez 1976: 281). Amongst Isluga's neighbours, the Chipaya, objects which are **pokara** have talismanic properties similar to **qonopa** (Métraux: 260). Both **qonopa** (Flores Ochoa: 1976) and the Islugan **pukara** (Martínez: 1976) are said to be 'aviador', that is they provide [crops or animals].

Although the Islugan **pukara** are not necessarily centrally located, other connotations of **pukara** suggest that, like **sonqo/chuyma**, it represents both centrality and descent from an original ancestor: **pukara** are associated with the gables of the house, **mallku** (Métraux: 256), with the tower of the village church, **haca pokara** (loc. cit.), and with both an actual fortress (Holguín: 292, Bertonio II: 274), and a metaphorical defence:

Quellinca, sayhua pucaraquiyna: Metaphorice Amparo, Defensor, refugio, Padre, son nombres o requiebros que dizen a uno en quien hallan todo **amparo** (Bertonio II: 283).

Ritual battles are described in Ecuador as **juego de la pucara**, 'the game of the fortress' (Hartmann 1972: 131), and their aim is sometimes described as 'ganar la plaza' or 'ganar la capilla' (Hartmann 1972: 129).

Pukara and **sonqo/chuyma** appear alike, then, in their association with an original ancestor, and in their possession of some kind of reproductive energy represented as blood and breath, or by the colours red and white.

vi) Sonqo/chuyma, memory and judgement

The meaning of **sonqo/chuyma** as 'internal organs' is not restricted to the physical:

Soncco: la consciencia, y el juyzio o la razon, y memoria ... y la voluntad y entendimiento (Holguín: 328).

Chuyma: Todo lo peterneciente al estado interior del animo bueno o malo, virtud o vicio (Bertonio II: 94).

Amaotta and **chuyma** are both associated with 'prudence' (Bertonio II: 15); as a synonym for **chuymani** meaning 'prudent' Bertonio (*op. cit.* I: 387) gives **amajasiñani**, 'de mucha memoria' (*op. cit.* II: 14). The central stripe **sonqo/chuyma** thus represents not only a link with the ancestors and ancestral time but with the knowledge contained in the ancestral memory, knowledge which, as was suggested in the analysis of **quellqa**, communicative design, is coded in both social and domestic textiles.

That a person possessed judgement or understanding, **sonqo**, was expressed by the kind of clothes he wore. A wise man, **sabio**, was '**amaotta, tocapu chuymani, achancara chuymani**' (Bertonio I: 419). Both **tocapu** and **achancara** describe a particular kind of woven image.

The **achancara cahua** was 'listada de alto abaxo de varias colores' (Bertonio II: 6), the **achancara sillcu** was a binding with 'muchos ojos' (Bertonio II: 316); there appear to be no contemporary textile references⁴⁶. **Tocapu** is understood today to refer to certain geometric figures executed in checks and thought by some to represent a form of 'writing' (Burns Glynn)⁴⁷.

Summary

The central stripe, **sonqo/chuyma**, occupies the position of a seam in two-piece textiles and like a seam it possesses a vital force, breath or blood, similar to the vital energy of **cama**.

The central stripe acts as mediator and axis between the two sides of the textile as it does between upper and lower worlds. It articulates time and space in both horizontal and vertical modes, in both diametric (the corners) and concentric (the expanding rings) opposition.

Sonqo represents a temporal as well as a spatial articulation, uniting the world of the ancestors with that of the future, but perhaps most significantly, like the **chhuru** design which is sometimes woven in it, it represents the need for the maintenance of a balanced reciprocity in the incoming and outgoing energies of the universe.

V LIMITATION OF TEXTILE SPACE: Edges

Introduction

This section will examine terms both for the structural edges of the fabric or warp and weft selvages, and for those bound or oversewn edges which are an addition to it. As will be shown, there is considerable overlap in usage and interpretation between the two types; several terms are taken from the early dictionaries and this lack of clear distinction may be due in part to confusion in the mind of the lexicographer. The metaphorical associations of edges with degrees of kinship appear, however, to be consistent whether these edges are structural or subsequent additions.

i) Contemporary terms for binding

In Bolívar the term used for woven bindings is either the Spanish **ribete** or the indigenous **awakipa**.

The former term refers to a narrow tubular binding which is simultaneously woven and attached to the body of the main textile; the weft, threaded on a large needle is alternately passed through the warp shed and sewn through the woven fabric. This type of binding is used on **coca** bags and ceremonial cloths and often carries complex multicoloured designs of **linku**, zigzags, and **ñawi**, diamond-shaped 'eyes' or 'seeds'. In some areas of Bolivia **llijllas**, **fajas** and **aksus** have a **ribete**, but it is no longer commonly used for this purpose in Bolívar.

The latter term refers to a narrow strip of cloth, about two inches wide, which is woven separately. The

awakipa is usually perfectly plain except for a narrow stripe which runs through its centre and, when the binding is in place, coincides with the fold. **Awakipa** is used for binding **ponchos**. The warp, which needs to be several metres long, is looped over a stick in the same way as a belt warp, and tensioned by the weaver's body.

ii) Binding a man's clothing, **qumpa**

Holguín contrasts the use of **cunpa** to that of **quilli**:

Quilli: Es el remate de la lliclla texido como la **yacolla** se dize **cunpa** (Holguín: 308).

In Macha the overcast side seams of a **custala** are called **qumpasqa**; the tight stitching used to make it is **qumpi** (Torrico: 12); Santo Tomás gives 'orilla de vestidura' **cumbisca**, o **cumbi** (op. cit.: 179). Overcasting can be classified as additional binding even though it is not a woven form, and **qumpa** is sometimes translated as **repulgo**, a form of **ribete**, or **cayrel**:

Cumpa: repulgo o cayrel grueso (Holguín: 54).

Cumpatha, **ipkhatha**: Repulgar o hazer orilla (Bertonio II: 59).

Though Bertonio does not stipulate that **cumpa** is used only on a man's clothing this is suggested by his description of the alternative, **ipkha**, as 'repulgo en el vestido de mugeres, del manto y saya' (Bertonio II: 176).

Cumpa also means a sledge hammer or a large stone for breaking something up (Holguín: 54; Bertonio II: 59). The root **cum** relates to thunder, **cum ñiñi** is 'hazer ruido el trueno' (Holguín: 54). On Taquile women still use a large stone fixed to a stick which they swing back and forth to break up the earth and Lara describes **kunpa** as

'almadena de piedra labrada con que se destroza los terrones en barbechos' (op. cit.: 134).

Holguín describes three sizes of *cayrel*, or *ribete*, of which *cumpa* is the thickest. The thinnest (op. cit.: 451) is *chichilla*; *chicchillacta ahuani* is 'texer o hazer molinillo' (op. cit.: 108). *Chicchi* is 'graniza menudita', fine hail (loc. cit.).

The middle size binding is *qqueqgo*, (Holguín: 451), or *cumpaqueco* (Ricardo: 125). In view of the associations of the other two sizes with hail and thunder it is tempting to see the name of this intermediate size as associated with Ekeko or Ecaco (Bertonio II: 99), the Aymara god of thunder and lightning, whose name is presumably derived from *kekhotatha*, 'tronar' (Bertonio II: 297). The zigzag *linku* design, which recalls the zigzag path of lightning, is frequently woven in a *ribete* and Santo Tomás describes a path which zigzags in this way, a 'camino que da vueltas' as *quecoñan* (op. cit.: 169)⁴⁸.

In Quechua mythology thunder, lightning and hail are all attributes of a single deity, Illapa, who hurls his fiery or frozen artillery to earth with a sling shot, of which the tubular form and serpentine designs recall those of the *cayreles*. I cannot, however, suggest a reason why these phenomena appear to be associated with this type of textile binding.

iii) Binding a woman's clothing, *k'illi* and *ipkha*

Except that it is used on women's *llijllas*, *quilli* (Holguín: 308) appears to refer to a *ribete* similar to *qumpa*. The broad stripe *qquilli* is comparable to a

camellon or a furrow, **qquilla**, and the binding **quilli** could be compared to the '**camellones del contorno**' included in the meanings of the analogous term for a broad stripe, **churu** [see II above]. Whilst the binding for men's clothing, **qumpa**, is associated with an active, downward directed pounding or breaking of the ground, the feminine **k'illi** enclose and protect it.

No associative meanings are given by Bertonio for the Aymara term for the binding of a **manta** or **llijlla**, **ipkha** (Bertonio II: 176-177). Though I found no evidence to justify an etymological connection, except that **ipkha** is written elsewhere **ipha** (Bertonio I: 411), in view of the comparable degrees of kinship which, it will be argued, are associated with edge terms such as **kaw** and **polo**, it should be mentioned here that **ipa** is 'tia de parte de padre' (Bertonio II: 177)⁴⁹.

iv) The weft selvedge, **killpa**

Killpa is 'orilla que se va haziendo en los lados de la tela mientras texe a lo largo de ambos lados (Bertonio I: 340), i.e. the weft selvedge.

The weft selvedge has female associations; it is formed by the outermost, female, warps and would appear to be semantically related to **quilli** [or **k'illi**, see Section III of this chapter], the edge binding used on female clothing (Holguín: 308).

The association with female blood attached to other terms for a textile edge or weft selvedge suggest that **killpa** also belongs to the same semantic field as the term for the Qaqachaka animal earcutting ceremony,

k'illpha or **k'illpi** (Arnold 1988: 234). Animals are inherited through the woman, and this ritual emphasises the importance of matrilineal ties (*op. cit.*: 229). Ancestral substance is seen as blood and breath (*op. cit.* 230) and a woman's menstrual blood represents the flow of matrilineal descent lines (*loc. cit.*); the identifying markers or 'flowers' tied in the ears of animals during the **k'illpha** ritual are seen as coagulated or menstrual blood. Because a woman is thought to be at her most fertile during menstruation, this coagulated blood has connotations of offspring, the future generations of the lineage.

Killpa, the weft selvedge, is associated with **polo**, the warp selvedge, in a situation denoting balanced contrast. **Killponi poloni arusitha** (Bertonio II: 302) is 'hablar concertadamente como hombre que esta en lo que habla', or 'to present both sides of an argument in a finished and convincing way'.

An alternative expression to **killponi poloni arusitha** is **thiani corpani arusitha**. Both **thia** and **corpa** mean 'limites' (Bertonio II: 53) or 'confines del mundo' (Bertonio II: 353), although used as a preposition **thia** has, like **kaylla** [see (vi) below], the contradictory meaning of **cerca** (*loc. cit.*). **Corpa**, or **qurpa** as it is now written, is, therefore semantically related to **killpa**, selvedge; **qurpa** is also used in the **k'illpha** ritual to refer to both the animals and the sacrifice (Arnold 1988: 240), and so would seem also to relate to **killpa** through its connotations of blood.

However, comparing the two phrases, **killponi poloni....** and **thiani corpani....**, **corpa** stands in place not of **killpa** but of **polo**. Its other connotations, of a host, or one who offers a ritual meal (Arnold 1988: 240), are close to those of **polo** (Bertonio s.v.), and **corpa** appears to have other meanings in common with **polo** also (Platt 1986a); these will be analysed further in (viii) below.

Although both weft and warp selvages are associated with blood, the blood sacrifice provided by a male element, **polo** or **lari** [see below], appears to be contrasted with a woman's blood signifying fertility and continuing reproduction.

v) A binding or a selvedge, sullko or sillko

Another term for binding which may possibly have been used, like **ipkha**, only on women's clothing, is **sullco** or **sillco**, 'trença o cayrel q echan alderedor de la manta, y tiene diuersos nombres, segun van labrados' (Bertonio II: 326)⁵⁰.

Whilst Bertonio clearly relates **sullco** to overcasting or **ribete**, i.e. some kind of additional binding, De Lucca translates it by the more ambiguous term 'edge': **sullko**, 'orilla de un tejido, los lados donde vuelve la trama' (op. cit. 391), i.e. the equivalent of Bertonio's **killpa**, the 'female' weft selvedge.

The non-textile associations of **sullco** with 'edge', or 'outside' are those of someone who does not belong, and with inferior status; **sullco** is used on women's **mantas**; women were sometimes captured in hostilities between

communities, and although marriage is seen as an equal partnership, in its representation of duality women are considered the 'inferior' sex.

vi) The surrounding edge, qaylla

Qaylla can refer to an edge or to the entire circumference of a textile: **caylla** or **kaylla** is 'estremidad, orilla o el ruedo de vestido' (Holguín: 140), 'la orilla arrabal o escalon de la chacra o linde o terminos' (loc. cit.).

Like the Aymara terms for warp and weft selvages, which when used together, as in **killponi poloni arusitha** (Bertonio II: 302), denote a thorough grasp of subject matter **qaylla** implies a knowledge of everything that is encompassed by its limits: **caylla manta doocrinactan yachani**, yo se la doctrina perfectamente (Holguín: 140), **cayllamanta librocta leyrcuni**, 'ley el libro desde el principio al fin sin dexarle una letra' (Holguín: 53).

It will be remembered that an alternative phrase is **thiani corpani arusitha** (Bertonio II: 302), and that **thia** means 'cerca', **corpa** 'limites'. In a similar way **caylla** or **kaylla** also expresses 'near' as well as 'far' (Holguín: 53, 85, 139-140)⁵¹.

Lara gives **qayllay** as synonymous with **chinpay** and **sispay** (op. cit.: 219). **Chinpay** means 'to get to the other side', either by passing through something, as in wading a river (Holguín: 110, Lara: 83), or by passing over something, as in crossing over a river by a bridge (Holguín: 110). These two examples of alternative ways of achieving the same result are comparable to the

alternating under/over movement of warp and weft as they cross the textile from one selvedge to the other.

vii) Kaw and llaw

I did not find these Aymara terms used for edges but both Bertonio and De Lucca appear to associate the two. In my analysis of their meanings I was interested to discover whether they are intended as synonyms or whether given the contrast between paired words such as warp and weft selvedge, or for example **catachillay**, **urcochillay**, [see Chapter 8], these terms represented some kind of female/male gendered opposition.

Bertonio associates **llau** with **kau** and describes both as 'una manera de orilla o repulgo en las mantas o mantos' (op. cit. II: 202), and as 'ribete algo diferente como repulgo' (op. cit. I: 414). This association is confirmed by contemporary usage, **llawuchaña**, **kawuchaña**, 'poner ribetes' (De Lucca: 839).

Llau, however, is also to put in two wefts (Bertonio II: 7), 'una vuelta entera de lo que se va texiendo, y rebolviendo en el palo' (Bertonio II: 202), i.e. an edge constructed as the cloth is being woven and rolled up on the warp beam and which would therefore appear to be analogous to the side or weft selvedge **killpa** (Bertonio II: 302), and to De Lucca's definition of **sullko**.

Both these edges have female associations and **llaw**, too, is associated specifically with female blood: **llausatha** is to menstruate (Bertonio II: 202). As already mentioned menstruation is the time at which a woman is

thought to be most fertile (Arnold 1986: 9); **llausa** can mean 'semen mulieris' (Bertonio II: 202).

Kaw is also associated both with red bindings and with female garments (Bertonio II: 48, De Lucca: 780), and both **kaw** and **llaw** have connotations of 'outside', similar to those which can attach to **pampa**, a thin strip of which, it will be remembered, appears in Bolívar at the weft selvedge of **llijllas**; **llau** is associated with the generosity or 'openhandedness' typical of 'open space' or the 'outside', which is believed to be particularly fertile: **kaway jake** is 'persona extraña' (De Lucca: 222), **kaw** surrounds a socialised space, a field or town, 'extramuros, lo extremo de un pueblo, arrabal' (loc. cit.); **llauka amparani** is 'dadivoso' (Bertonio II: 202).

It would appear, then, that **kaw** and **llaw** both, like **qaylla**, refer to the entire circumference or edge of a textile. Further examination of **kaw** in comparison with the 'male' **polo**, however, suggests that **kaw** represents a male element which interacts with or complements **llaw**, a female one [see (viii), (d) below].

The following section will attempt to show how this complementarity, which can represent the sexual complementarity of man and wife, is expressed in the textile as that between male weft (or warp selvedge, **polo**) and female warp (or weft selvedge, **killpa**).

viii) The warp selvedge, polo

The Aymara term **polo** is used by both Quechua and Aymara speakers to refer to the warp selvedges. **Polo** is

'orilla que se haze al principio y al fin de las telas' (Bertonio II: 273), 'la orilla ... idest los dos primeros hilos con que comienzan a tejer' (loc. cit.). *Polochatha* is to put in these first two wefts (op. cit. I: 341).

Further analysis will show that whilst in the context of textile edges female fertility is associated with menstrual blood, its male complement is associated with metaphors for the testicles and penis and with breath.

a) **The calabash as a source of seed**

*Polo polo*⁵² is 'redoma, o calabacita para agua' (Bertonio II: 273). In Quechua the /l/ of *polo* is modified to /r/: *puru*, 'calabaça para agua' (Holguín: 297)⁵³.

Puru, calabashes, contain thousands of seeds and their potential is apparent in *puruchallhua*, which Holguín translates as 'sapillos que se hazen de renequajos' (op. cit. 298). Translated literally, *puruchallhua* could be understood as 'seed fish'; *puruaucça*, literally 'seed' or 'potential' soldiers, were actually 'balas de piedra que echaban del fortaleza para defenderlo' (loc. cit.), and recall the mythical battle in which stones turned into armed men.

These 'balas de piedra' *puruaucça*, were also worshipped (Ricardo: 73). In this context they recall *samiri*, the stones worshipped amongst the Chipaya, which are comparable to talismanic stones believed to contain reproductive energy, and representing in diminutive form, its potential expression.

In rituals performed during local **fiestas** in Macha bread symbolising male seed is thrown from the (male) church tower into the surrounding (female) square (Platt 1986a: 239), in a manner comparable to the hurling of the **puruauccha** from a fortress; I observed a similar practice during a November **fiesta** in Tanga Leke, a community about an hour's walk from Bolívar. Like the talismanic stones the bread signifies abundance.

These tiny loaves of bread are called **qurpa** (Platt: 1986a: 239). It will be remembered that **qurpa** refers to the offering made during the **k'illpha** earcutting ritual and also that **qurpa** is contrasted to **killpa**, female weft selvedge and female blood and associated with **polo**, male warp selvedge and blood sacrifice provided by the male.

b) **Male seed as breath and female seed as blood**

A second meaning of **polo polo** also associates this term with male reproductivity. Paredes records the use of instruments called **pululu**, 'flautas que llevan poritos en las extremidades inferiores' (*op. cit.* 124) at potato harvest rituals whose object was

de no ahuyentar el alma de los frutos, que debe continuar vivicando ese terreno para que el año proximo se manifieste mas prodigo en sus dones (*loc. cit.*).

In Bolívar the complete repetition, **pulupulu**⁵⁴, is still retained to refer to this type of instrument.

I was told that **pulupulu** are only used to accompany a dance which I saw performed by a group of campesinos passing through Sacaca on their way home from a major gathering at Cala Cala for the festival of Exaltación

(14th - 21st September)⁵⁵. This dance, in which the men wear condor helmets, is called **tollka**, 'sons-in-law' or 'brothers-in-law'.

The **tollka** dance appears to be related to a ritual performed amongst the Laymi at their main annual feast in which the sister's husband [**tollka**] dresses up as a condor and carries his wife's brother [**lari**] round the square (Harris 1986: 268). This action demonstrates his 'senior' status as 'wife taker', but also commits him to performing certain services such as serving food and drink at rituals which are sponsored by the 'junior' **lari** (*loc. cit.*)⁵⁶.

It should be pointed out that in both the **tollka** dance and in the Laymi ritual the sons-in-law are in the superior role. In the dance they play the **pulupulu**, but as 'wife-takers' they cannot be seen as 'providing a ritual meal', the sense of **polo** which will be further analysed in the following section.

Arnold, however, in her account of marriage customs in Qaqachaka, sees the **tollka** as inferior to the **lari** or 'wife givers'. This interpretation is in keeping with that noted for **huñiy** [see Chapter 6, note 30], and with the complementarity of **polo** as 'wife giver', or 'sacrifice provider' and **killpa** as 'wife' or 'sacrifice', which will be suggested in the following section.

The differing roles of the **tollka** are no doubt due to regional differences and to the variation in type of ritual and time of year at which they are performed.

It will be remembered that this analytic theme originated in the possible complementary contrast between the associated edge terms **llaw** and **kaw**.

Kaw has already been shown to have two semantic similarities to **polo**, that of a textile edge, and that of male blood contrasted to female blood. The sexual symbolism attached to **polo** [stones or balls, flute or penis] is also to be found in terms with a possible phonological link with **kaw**: **kauna** is 'huevo' (Bertonio II: 48), **kauña** is 'caña assi como la de castilla' (*loc. cit.*), which De Lucca tells us is used for making flutes (*op. cit.* 222)⁵⁷.

The flute is an instrument played only during the rainy season (Harris: 1982) and only by men (Valcarcel 1959a: 191). This flute is comparable to a vessel containing water⁵⁸, an element signifying male seed, or to the seed itself and the sexual symbolism in the interacting parts of the **pulupulu** parallels the complementarity of **polo** and **killpa**, and of **kaw** and **llaw**.

During the dry season the earth is white, during the rainy season she 'dresses herself in red, an allusion to first ploughing' (Arnold 1986: 20-21)⁵⁹. Like the warp selvedge which is opened and penetrated by the male weft, the turned or opened earth is associated with menstrual blood and, as women are believed to be most fertile during menstruation, with fertility.

In the rainy season the earth's time is said to come (Arnold 1986: 20-21). Rain washing the earth turns it red and this, like the ploughing of the first furrow, is associated with fertility and menstrual blood (*loc. cit.*). The interaction of the flute and the calabash in the playing of the **pulupulu** is comparable to the laying of the first wefts, **polo**, within the female warp. Both acts

symbolise the fertilising of the earth by rain and the mingling of semen and menstrual blood which is believed necessary for conception.

The vital forces blood and breath have repeatedly been associated in the textile as a complementary pair. In the sexual complementarity of **polo** and **killpa**, **kaw** and **llaw**, the metaphorical fertilisation of a passive female element, associated with blood, is brought about by mingling with it an active male element, which appears, in the blowing of the **pulupulu**, to be associated with breath.

c) Those who give and those who receive

In both **qurpa** and **polo** the meaning of male seed appears to overlap with that of provision of a sacrificial meal. It will be remembered that weaving is a metaphor for the sexual act and that the male weft provides the 'food' of the textile. However, this image of provision can also be seen as having social or political implications.

The following sections will show that while the complementarity between weft and warp can stand for the sexual complementarity of man and wife it can also represent that between male and female elements coming from outside (ie from the edge of) the community, between the woman's brother who contributes the banquet or blood sacrifice [**polo**, **qurpa**] and who is the 'wife giver', and the woman herself, the wife or 'sacrifice', **killpa**. In order to demonstrate this it is necessary to analyse further the ways in which a male edge or warp selvedge and

a water calabash appear to be associated with someone who contributes and with a woman's brother.

The initial wefts of a textile, **polo** (Bertonio II: 273) function as heading cords and are usually of double thickness. **Polo polo** (Bertonio II: 273) is 'redoma, o calabacita para agua'.

In Quechua analogous meanings are attached to **ccauna**, 'el hilo o soguilla doblado o torcido dos veces' (Holguín: 63), and **ccauchi** an 'olla boca grande para chicha' (loc. cit.).

Though the shape of the gourds differ, further investigation suggests that it is its function, that of serving liquid as opposed to solid refreshment, rather than its form, which is significant [see (ó) below].

Holguín lists another type of calabash which appears to approximate **polo** in shape as well as function: **kaka**, 'calaboço boqui angosto' (op. cit. 446). According to Lara (op. cit. 123), this term denotes both 'frasco de arcilla de boca estrecha' and 'tío hermano de la madre'^{60, 61}.

Besides its meaning of 'wife's brother' **kaka** can also refer to 'those who contribute', ie who provide food from outside:

Cacac, el que contribuye (Santo Tomás: 240)

Kakacuna, los de pueblo que contribuye (Holguín: 127)

Kakana, lo que dan (loc. cit.)

Kakacuni, contribuir cosas de comer' (loc. cit.).

The Aymara equivalent of **kaka** as a kinship term is **lari**, 'tío hermano de la madre y casi a todos los varones

de parte de madre' (Bertonio II: 191), and **kaka** and **lari** appear to fulfill a common role: it will be remembered that in the **sucullu** ceremony it was the **lari** who provided the ritual meal, bringing in vicuña meat from outside the community.

Here again **kaw**, the term for edge which has repeatedly been shown to have comparable meanings to **polo** and to play a comparable role in the textile, appears semantically linked to **lari**, provider of the meal, wife giver, and woman's brother: the **lari**, like the **kaway jake** comes from outside the community; **lari** and **kaw** are both associated with blood⁶²; **kawina** also refers to a woman's brother⁶³ (De Lucca: 222).

d) San Bartolomé

A second occasion during my fieldwork when the use of calabashes appeared significant was for serving **chicha** to guests during the San Bartolomé **fiesta** in Bolívar. On this occasion the offering of a meal suggests not part of a male/female contrast but the consolidation of a group into a unified whole.

Gourds are, as a rule, considered inferior at least by villagers, to storebought enamel mugs and plates, and so their deliberate use would suggest a ritual significance. In addition they must be especially purchased at the market in Acasio, a valley town some distance away in Northern Potosi; when I spoke of plans to visit Acasio prior to San Bartolomé several villagers mentioned these gourds as a major trading item.

Splitting the gourd vertically produces a pair of wide mouthed drinking vessels with narrow handles. The original shape would therefore have been that of a narrow necked 'redoma', **polopolo**. They were usually used in pairs, every guest being required to drink a serving of **chicha** from each.

The association of terms comparable in meaning to **polo** with a obligation to provide food has already been mentioned. **Polochatha** means not only to put in two initial (red) wefts (Bertonio II: 273), but also 'comer el **combidado** especialmente en algun sacrificio de idolos' (loc. cit.).

The sharing of a ritual meal or blood sacrifice implies a reaffirmation of solidarity between participants (Martínez 1987). Eyewitness accounts speak of blood being drunk from a skull (Bandelier: 115, whilst others (La Barre: 184) describe potatoes libated with blood being eaten at potato harvest, a season associated with the playing of **pulupulu**. **Chicha** is still regarded as a ceremonial drink and would seem to be especially so when served, as it was during San Bartolomé, from a gourd, **pulupulu**, the rounded, slightly polished form of which recalls the bony contours of a skull. Serving **chicha** in this way at a moment when guests were about to leave the enclosed patio of the house and confront the guests of the other **pasante** in an open space just beyond the village, suggests that it, too, was intended to signify a reaffirmation of solidarity.

To summarise: It is in the act of sharing a blood sacrifice, **polochatha**, that the participants as members of

a single group simultaneously cancel past and reaffirm future obligations, initiating a new cycle. It is the act of putting in the initial wefts **polochatha** and thus 'waking up' the textile [see Chapter 3], which initiates its transformation from precultural, virgin, warp to cultural and productive cloth. This process is comparable to the act of ploughing, transforming 'tierra virgen' or 'tierra por labrar' into a cultivated field.

The sexual symbolism attached to both acts is signified by the playing of the **pulupulu**; it suggests the animating or fertilising of a passive female seed, as red blood, by its mingling with an active male seed, non-colour water or breath.

Summary

Edge bindings surround and protect the textile in ways comparable to the surrounding of a broad stripe by a narrow one, defining what is textile and what is not. They may be linguistically and/or metaphorically associated with the elements they contain.

Particularly when they bind together the sides of a bag, edge bindings resemble seams, areas signifying fertility; the designs used in bindings include those of **nayra**, 'eyes' or 'seeds'.

In the terminology of bindings, those of men's and women's textiles are sometimes distinguished. A distinction is also made between warp selvedge and weft selvedge; these latter distinctions appear to relate to male and female roles. At one level they can be understood as the complementarity between the sexes,

between male generative power, transferred through water or breath and female receptivity, or menstrual blood.

In terms of the textile as an image or map of society the connotations of edge terms which are contrasted in this way suggest the complementarity between near and far, or between inside and outside, as well as between those who receive and those who provide. In this context the male/female complementarity can be understood as that between a woman's brother, the wife giver, who provides the banquet or the sacrifice, and the woman herself, who represents that sacrifice.

The reinforcement of solidarity between centre and limits represented by the sharing of a ritual meal, and the concept of contribution being brought in from outside, balances the outward movement of the energy present in the central **sonqo** with a corresponding inward one, a sense of balance which is reiterated in the complementary association between warp and weft.



Plate 8. Llijlla with stylised branching design.

CHAPTER 8: FIGURED DESIGNS: A Suggested Iconography

Introduction

The preceding chapter analysed the complex metaphorical significance of stripes and showed how they could be seen to represent an image of Andean society and of the cosmos itself. In this chapter the figured designs analysed will be shown to embody similar concepts to the stripes but in a less abstract and constantly evolving form.

My observations of contemporary Bolívar figured designs are noted in Chapter 2. Information about the 'meaning' of these designs was difficult to obtain, particularly as women, with whom I had most opportunity to chat informally during weaving lessons, generally appeared to know less about their names and interpretations than the men. In addition, as Torrico points out:

Andean textiles ...are embedded with locally constituted symbolic meanings ...[which] are not rigid or static through space or time, they are reconstituted through each group's experience (*op. cit.*: 51).

My aim in this chapter is not, therefore, to offer detailed interpretations of any particular design, such as has been undertaken for the *inti* figure in Pisac by Silverman Proust (*op. cit.*). Instead I consider the design elements common to colonial and modern indigenous textiles and suggest possible reasons for their persistent popularity. By similar design elements I do not necessarily mean similar figures but rather figures which through their similar form or through the symmetry

or the contrast of their parts, might be capable of similar iconographic representation.

I also suggest that other, modern, figures may be transformations of these designs in which, although the outward form has changed, the iconographic intention remains constant.

Finally I attempt to show how complementary opposition, combined with a sense of continuous movement or change, which is expressed by certain colour combinations, is also expressed by the figured designs.

My starting point for the examination of each figure is, as in the case of stripes, a correlation from personal observation and the literature of their various names and interpretations, to see whether this suggests a consensus as to what they represent.

The figures investigated are:

1. The rhomboid, and the **cocha**, **ch'aska** and **laymi t'ika** which can be seen as variations of it,
2. The **laymi linku** and **mayu linku**,
3. The **amaru** or double headed snake.

I COLONIAL ANTECEDENTS OF CONTEMPORARY TEXTILE DESIGNS

i) The inclusion of indigenous flora and fauna

According to a manuscript in the Archivo Nacional de Bolivia (quoted in Gisbert et. al.), which refers to the practice of 'idolatry':

dichos naturales también adoran algún género de aves y animales y para el dicho efecto los pintan e labran en los mates... y en las puertas de sus casas....y los pintan en las paredes de las iglesias .

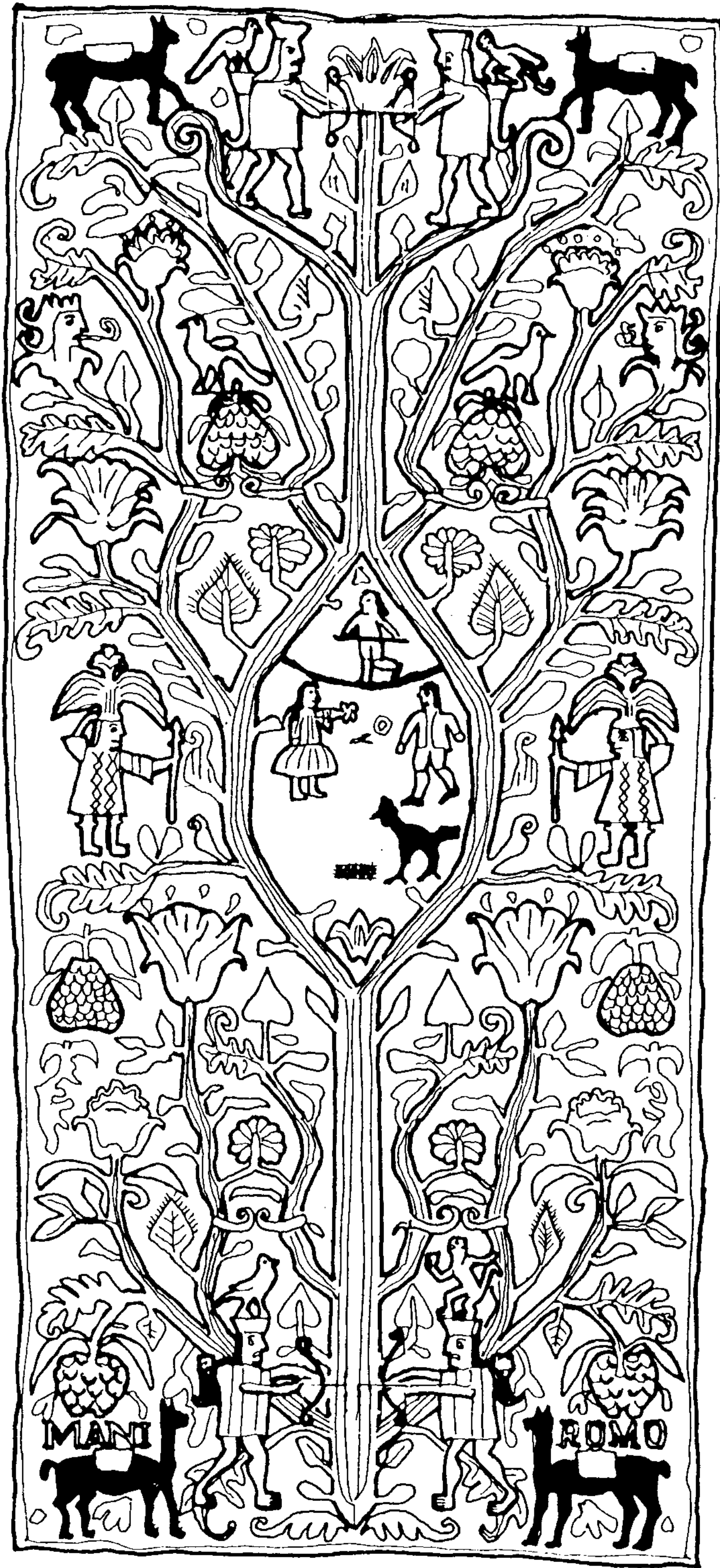


Fig 1. Sketch of the design of a colonial matrimonial rug.

For that reason a decree made by Viceroy Toledo stipulated that

no se labren figuras en la ropa ni en vasos, ni en las casas [y] que los que hallaren los hagáis raer y quitaréis de las puertas donde los tuvieren y prohibereis que tampoco los tejan en la ropa que visten (Gisbert et. al.: 10).

The indigenous population continued, however to depict their traditional gods in a superficially disguised form and their Spanish masters

tuvieron que tolerar ambiguas representaciones mimetizadas en la decoración barroca, en el caso de la arquitectura y relegadas a ciertas regiones en el caso de los textiles (Gisbert et. al.: 11).

During the 18th century the baroque style which the Spanish had brought with them from Europe took on a recognisably american or **mestizo** form (Gisbert et. al.: 312). This retained the original stylised structure, but incorporated local flora and fauna including the monkey, the viscacha and the llama.

ii) Symmetry and Complementarity

It seems possible from the way that similar structural elements persist in modern design that the visual symmetries and oppositions of the baroque style had an immediate appeal for the native weaver. Faced with the prohibition of overt cultural representation, these structures provided an iconographic means of expressing Andean concepts of time and space.

The matrimonial tapestry (Gisbert et. al.: 313 and plates 384 a, b and c) woven around 1770 (op. cit.: 314), which is now in the Convent of Santa Catalina in Cusco, is

an excellent example of the iconographic potential of **mestizo** baroque [Fig. 1].

The central panel depicts a stylised, branching plant, identified as a cross between the thistle and the artichoke (Gisbert et. al.: 314), commonly confused European plants which contain contrasting herbal properties (*loc. cit.*). The hybrid textile plant is thus a metaphor representing both complementary contrast and its resolution, concepts which earlier chapters have shown to be expressed in the **allqa** and **k'isa** of contemporary textiles.

The concept of **kuti**, reciprocal movement in time and space, has already been mentioned [see Chapter 6,III]; The way that the fruits in this tapestry reverse direction, or 'grow the other way', half way up the plant, can be seen as a comparable visual metaphor for spatial and temporal change; contemporary woven designs which branch in a similar way are sometimes described as **kuti** [see III,(iii)].

The images of the upper and lower parts of the panel balance each other. In each, two men wearing the native tunic or **uncu** (Gisbert et. al: 314) aim their bows at the stem of the plant. Each man has a loaded llama. The loads of the lower llamas are labelled **mani**, peanuts, and **romo**, yucca, products appropriate to the lower ecological zones, giving an added spatial dimension to the implied journey towards the upper portion of the panel. That this journey takes place in time as well as space is suggested by the way the upper pair are aiming at the 'flower' of the plant, and the acquisition of knowledge and maturity

is suggested both by the flower itself and by the fact that it 'speaks': flowers on slightly lower branches are depicted as 'green men' with tongues, an example of the use of a typically European **motif** to express an Andean idea¹.

Apart from minor variations the panel is vertically symmetrical: its two sides, which present a mirror image, are **yanantin**. In the central portion the plant stem divides and encloses a man and woman exchanging rings, whilst the complementarity of **yanantin** which '**hombre y mujer**' exemplifies, is kenneled for the European mind by the 'equilibrium' of a tightrope walker who 'balances' over their heads.

In contemporary textiles from San Pedro de Buena Vista the rhomboid figure often encloses a similar 'matrimonial pair' (Feminias 1987: 21, plate 23, and see Chapter 6, Fig. 6].

II THE RHOMBOID AND ITS RELATED FORMS

Introduction

The first textile figure to be analysed in this chapter, the rhomboid, or **rombo**, is generally a foursided diamond, or lozenge but in certain designs the same term refers to a hexagonal or octagonal shape.

The rhomboid can represent both male and female gendered elements. A **rombo dentado**, such as the **caripuyo**, appears to have consistently masculine connotations (Mandiri & Zolezzi); a rhomboid with 'rays' is ambivalent, its significance depending on details of its shape, size and arrangement with other figures (Meisch 1987: 55). In some cases gender is directly related to what is represented, as, for example, in figures which signify the sun or moon. In others, however, it is the image's metaphorical associations with male or female gendered elements, with a church tower or with a lake.

Male and female aspects will, where possible, be considered individually though the sexual ambivalence of both makes any definitive separation impossible.

i) The rhomboid as 'earth' or 'water'

In Macha the rhomboid is regarded as horizontal, feminine, and as representing a **cancha**, **plaza** or patio, the equivalent of **pampa**, in contrast to the masculine, vertical, zigzag, which signifies **torre** or **cerro** (Gisbert et. al.: 16); all these interpretations are included in the concentric series of metaphors in which enclosed spaces equate with **pampa** and represent a nurturing, female, fertility [see Chapter 7, II].

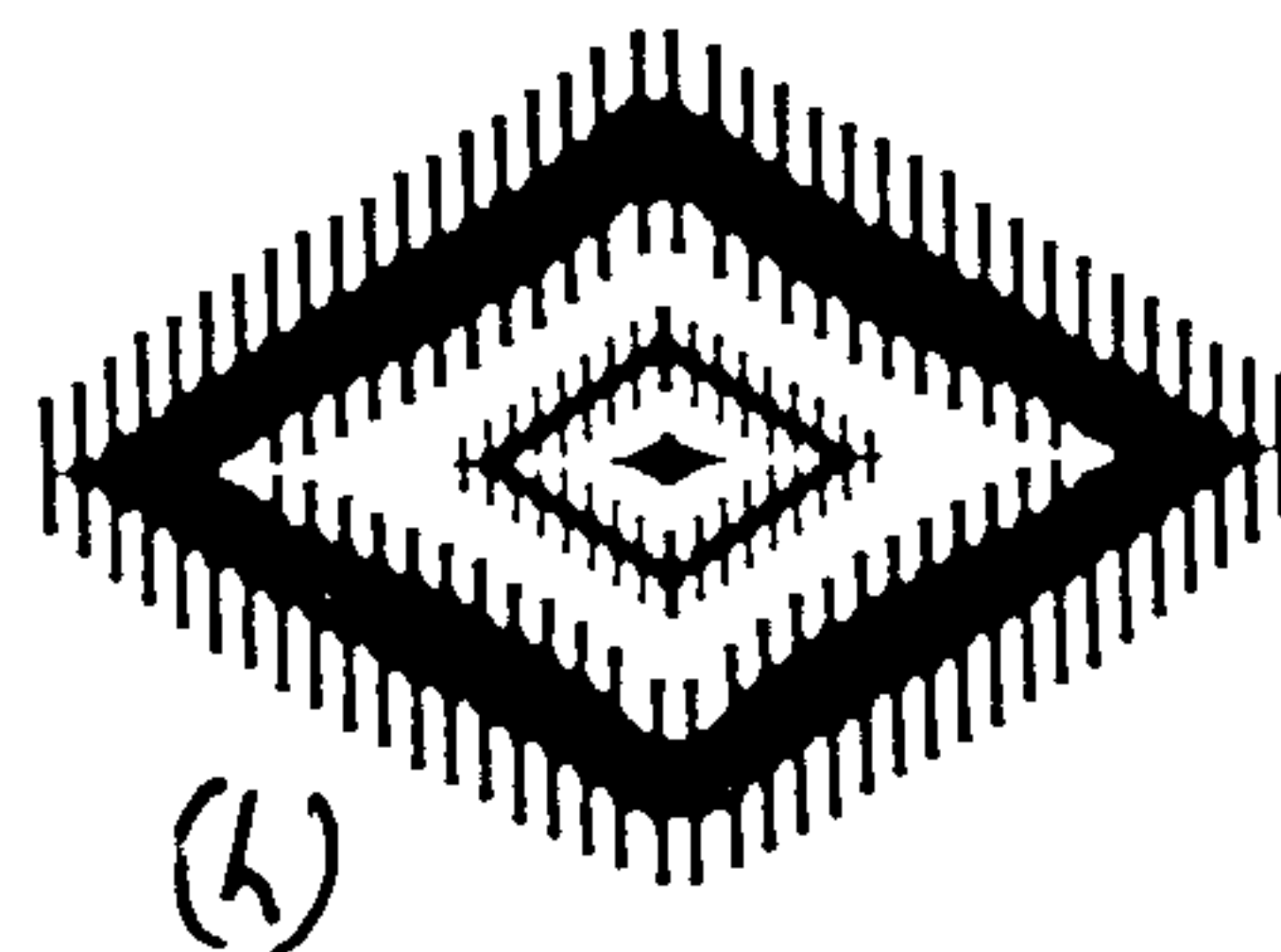
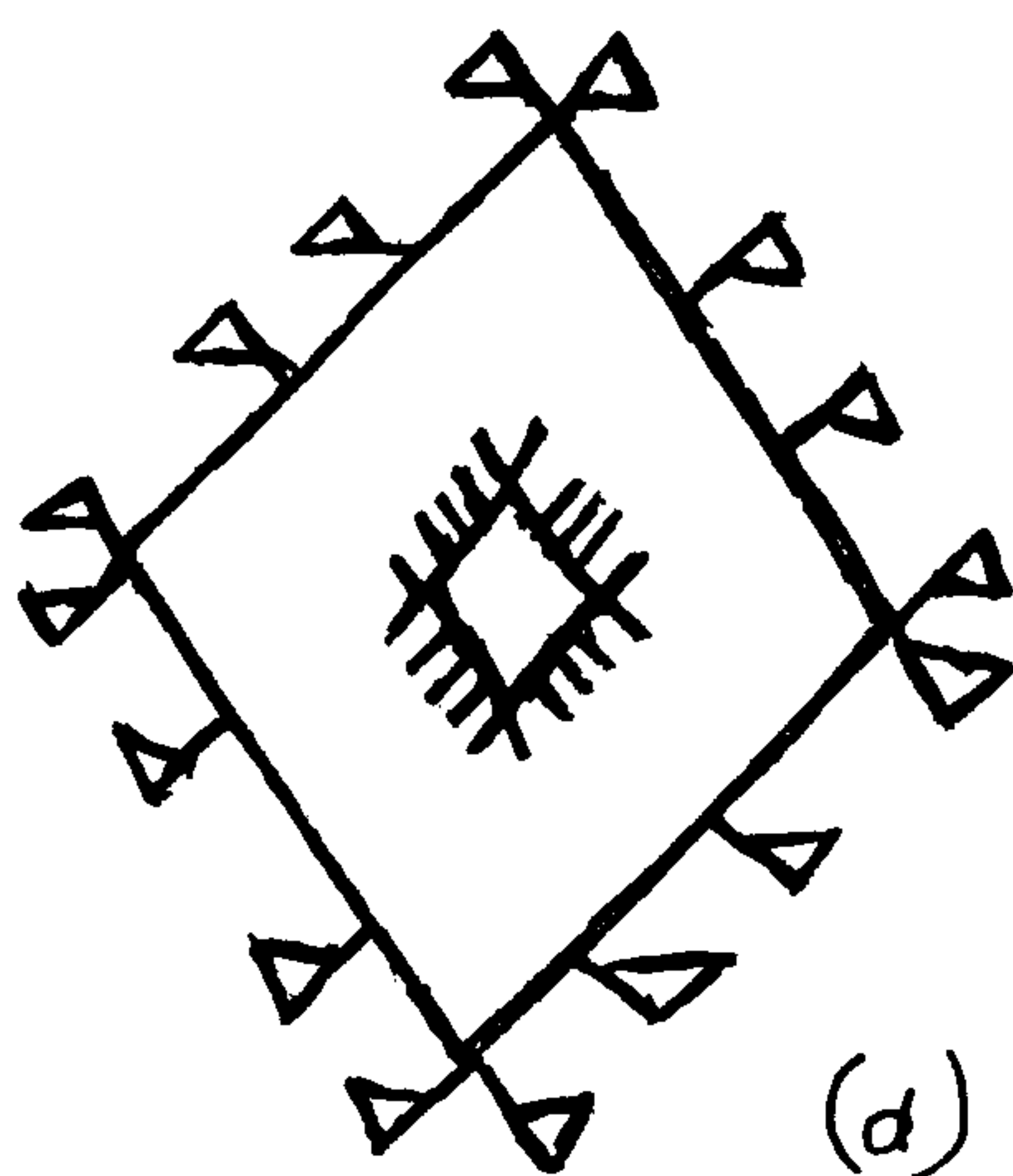
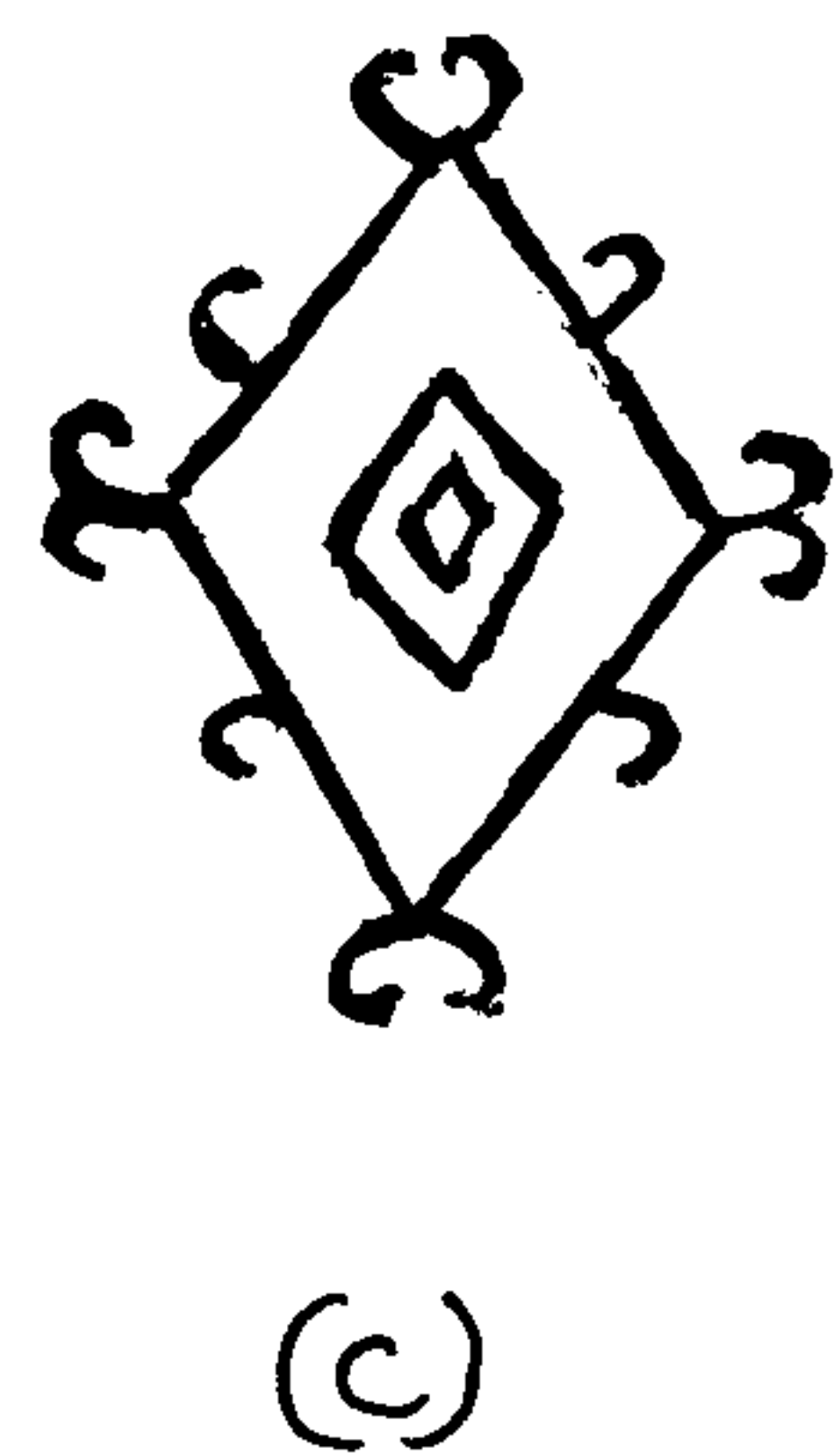
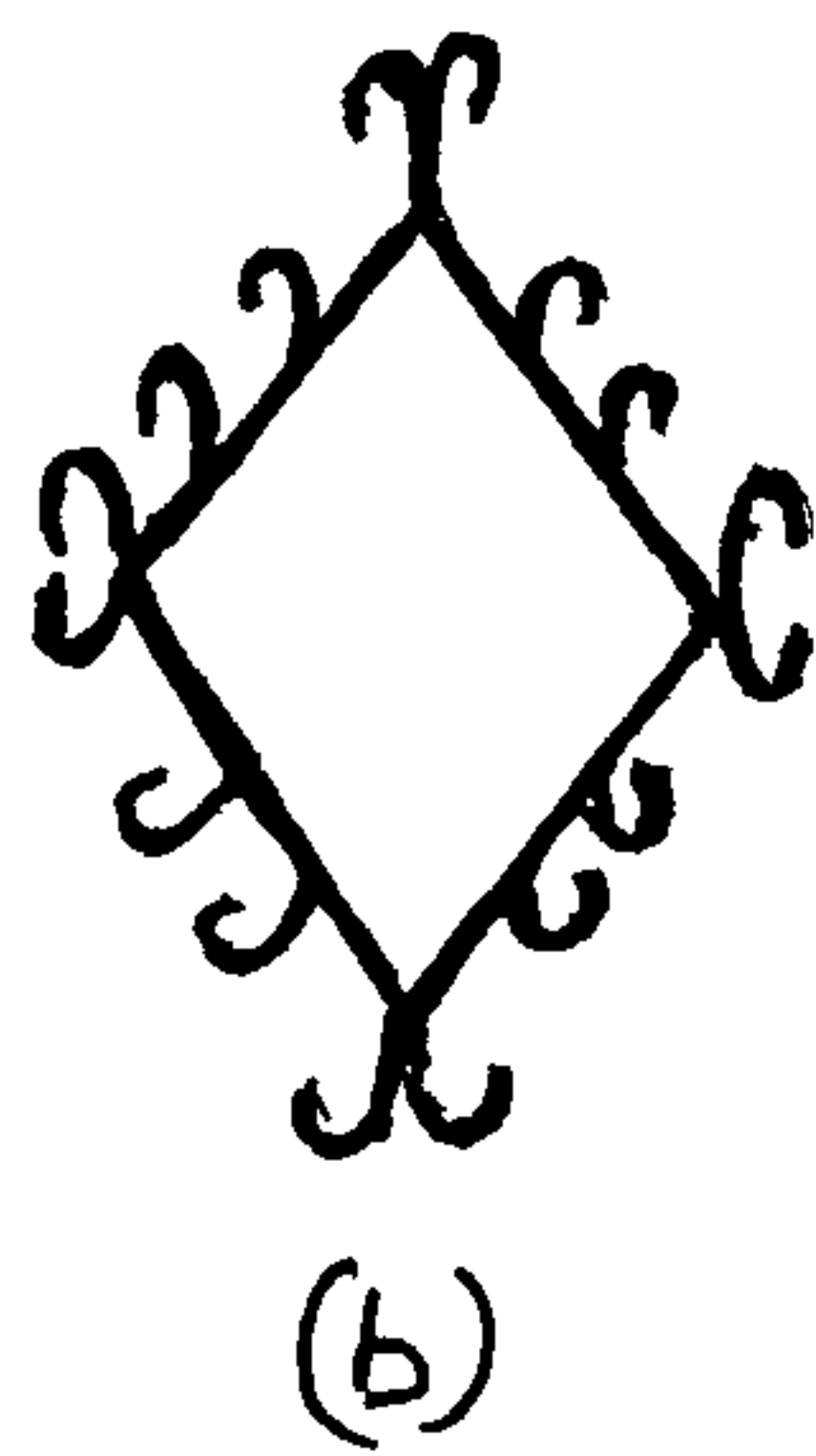
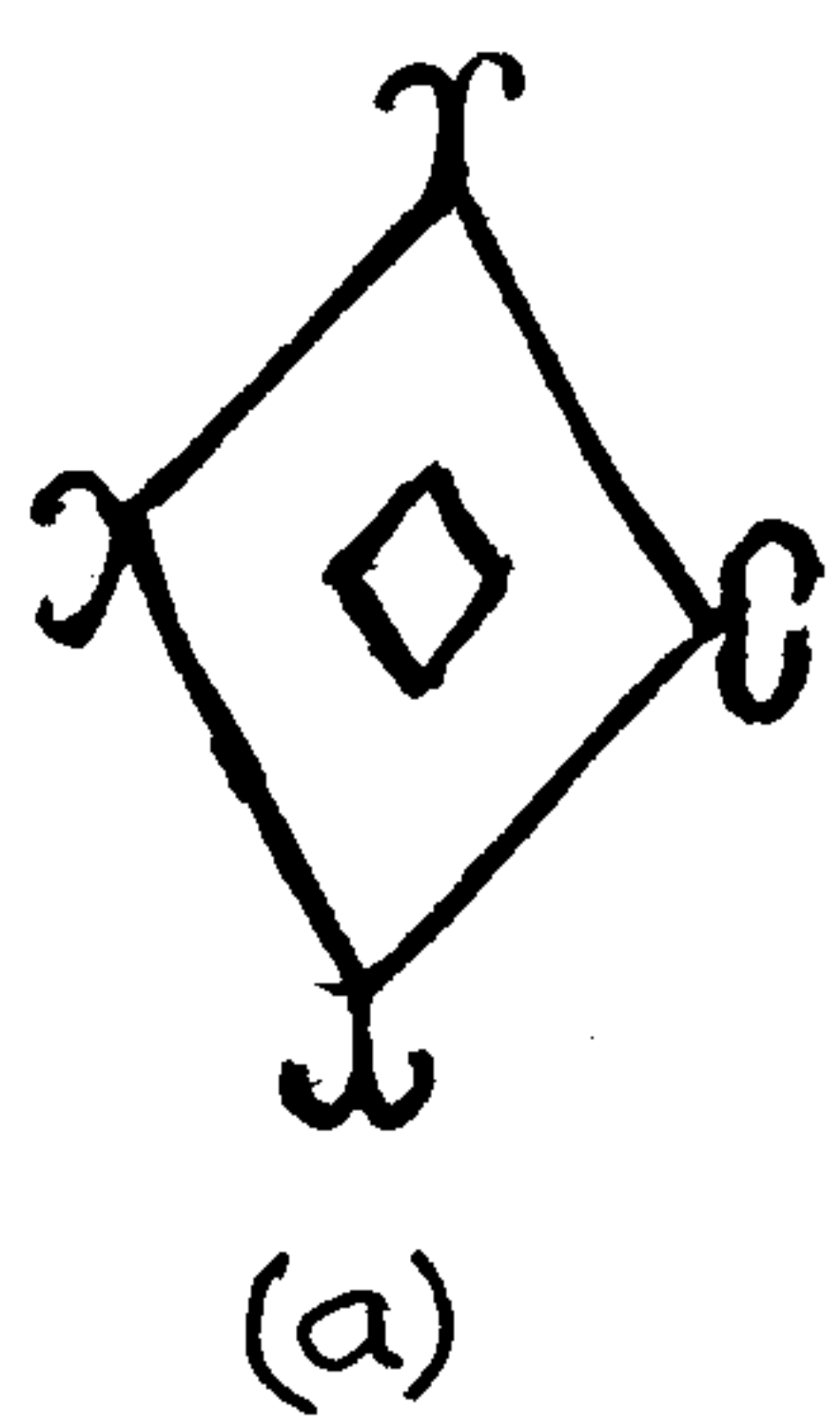


Fig. 2 (a) isañut'ika and (b), (c), (d), isimarka figures from Bolívar (e), (f), (g) (h), ch'aska from Tarabuco.

The gender-contrasted zigzag and rhomboid figures can signify not only the complementarity of church tower and village square but the similar complementarity that exists between **urqo**, vertical, male, mountain, and **uma**, horizontal, female, water (Gisbert et. al.: 16). It is not surprising, therefore, that the rhomboid can also signify a lake, **cocha** (Gisbert et. al.: 16); this applies particularly to the rhomboids woven in textiles from the Titicaca region, or to those which, like the **kurti** rhomboids woven around Bolívar, have **inflorescencias**, i.e. peripheral decorations of leaves and flowers (Gisbert et. al.: 212). A rhomboid can also represent a fish (Gisbert et. al.: 201, 202).

Gisbert considers the **inflorescencias** of the rhomboid as **cocha** are related to those of the figure she calls **laymi linku**, actually **laymi t'ika**, or 'rhomboid with flowers' of the Bolívar style (loc. cit.). This investigation will compare the nineteenth century **laymi t'ika** to that of the colonial 'rhomboid with flowers', and suggest that both are related to representations of the fish deity of Copacabana.

ii) The rhomboid as 'star' or 'flower'

A rhomboid with rays sometimes represents **inti**, the sun [see (vi) below]. However, this ancient and persistent figure, found in textiles from as long ago as the Maitas and Chiribaya cultures (700-1200) of the Peruvian and Chilean coast (Adelson & Tracht: 126) is more often said to represent a star, **ch'aska** (Girault 1969: 44, Meisch 1987: 55, personal observation).

Ch'aska in Bolívar are now woven as the eight-pointed Inca star but the Bolívar designs **isañut'ika** [Fig 2a] or **isimarka** [Fig 2 b, c, d], a diamond or lozenge with rays, are similar in appearance to the Tarabuco **ch'aska** and **ch'askañawi** [Fig 2. f - 1] (Meisch 1987: 55).

In Tarabuco **ch'aska** are identified with Venus, the evening and morning star (Meisch 1987: 55). They resemble the 1613 drawing by Pachacuti Yamqui of Venus as the morning star, **ch'aska q'oyllur** (*loc. cit.*) in having twelve 'rays', a similar number to the 'hooks' of the Bolívar **isañut'ika**. The drawing shows **ch'aska qoyllur** on the right-hand side, that associated with masculine elements. **Ch'aska** means 'shaggy' or 'untidy' hair, 'melena enmarañada o enhetrada sin peynar' (Holguín: 98), and the 'rays' or 'hair' of the Tarabuco **ch'aska** symbolise the light of the planet Venus (Meisch 1987: 55).

A twelve-rayed figure, called **ch'aska** (1987: 57. diag 5, no 1) by one of Meisch's informants was called **sujraya**, 'pájaros' by a woman from another community (*loc. cit.*), referring to the tiny forms in which each 'ray' ends [Fig. 4c], which could be interpreted as birds though their heavy bodies also suggest the possibility of some larger creature.

Whilst it is common for a figure to be given different names even by members of the same household, this example is significant on a number of counts.

Firstly, it illustrates the different levels at which a figured design can be read or understood. For one woman it is the essential shape, the twelve rays, which is

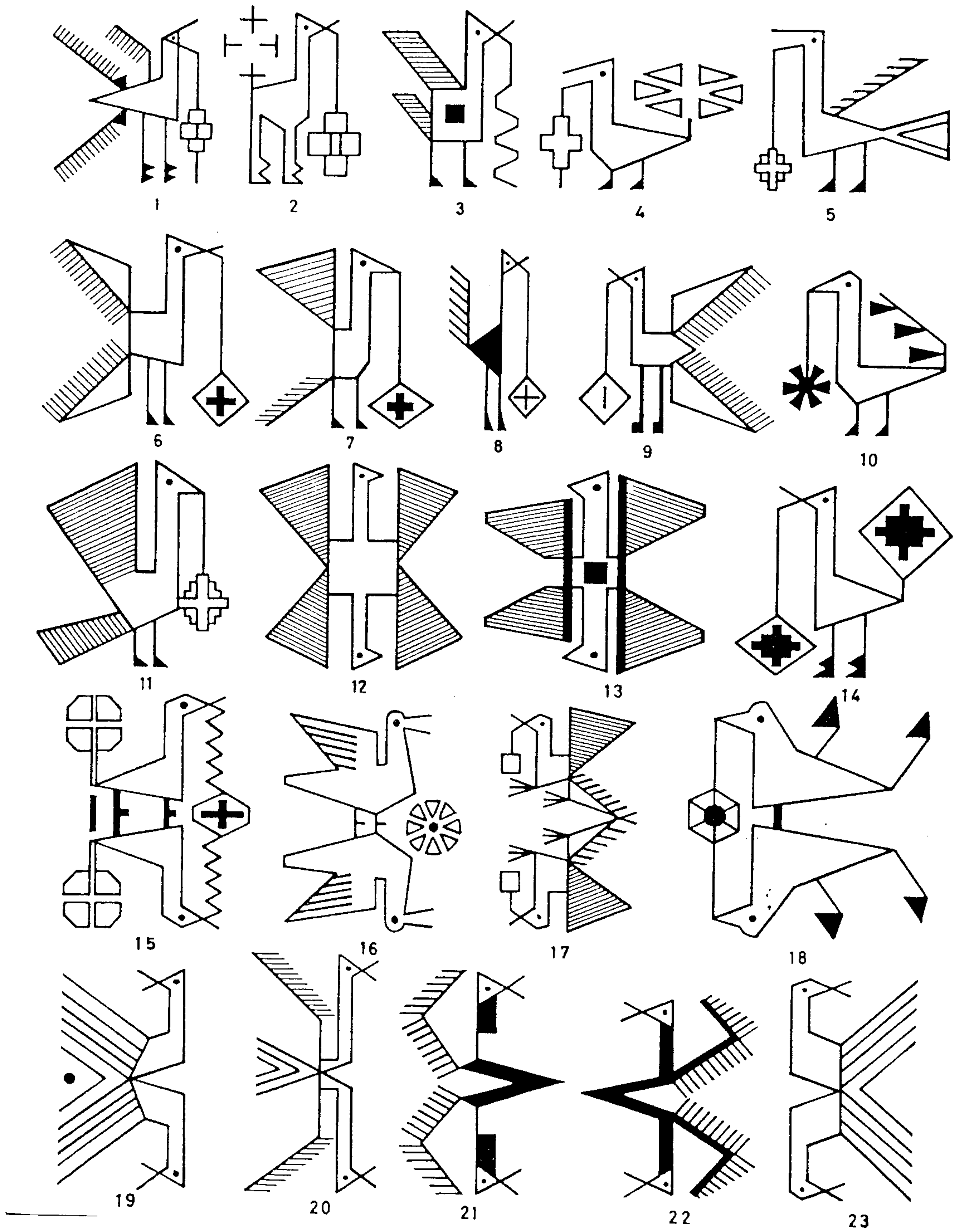


Fig. 3. Ch'aska, wallata and palomas de matrimonio from Charasani.

significant, for the other it is the easily identifiable detail of the birds, as which the rays are 'kenned'² (J.H. Rowe).

Secondly, that the star's rays terminate as birds is itself significant in suggesting a connection between the hair/feathers of birds, and the hair/light rays of stars.

Thirdly, that there are twelve of these rays is also significant. Twelve is a significant number in Andean ritual and is associated with **suerte** (Armstrong: 79). Six of the 'bird' rays branch in one direction, six in the other, a similar arrangement of design elements to that described for the ingredients of certain **despachos** by Aranguaran Paz (*op. cit.*). Twelve libations are made in the Churiña mine 'para mejorar la veta' (Platt 1983: 55), and to the '12 cerros' surrounding Macha **estancias** in order to 'asegurar la fertilidad de las chacras, la multiplicación de los rebaños y la prosperidad de la familia' (*loc. cit.*), suggesting the possibility that designs with twelve rays have properties comparable to those of the talismanic stones **mullu** or **sepja** [see Chapter 7, III].

The ambiguity which surrounds the significance of the **ch'aska** figure is due in part to the different sexual characteristics ascribed to Venus by the Quechua and the Aymara [see (vi) below]. This ambiguity is also found in the **linku** design examined in Section II which at times represents two contrasted but related elements and at others two contrasting aspects of a single entity.

According to Meisch interpretation of the rhomboid varies depending on its size and its relationship to other

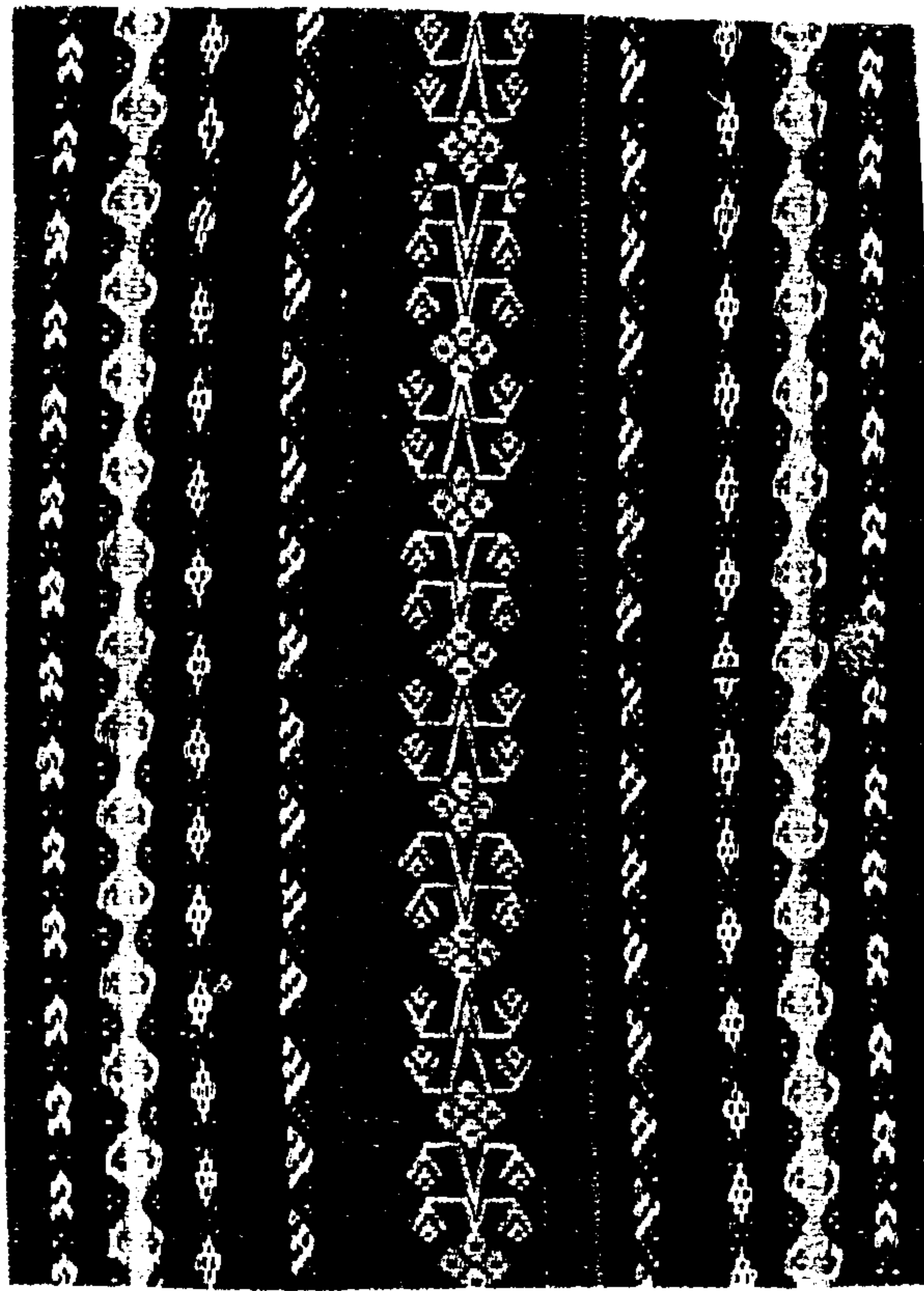
elements of a design (1987), and it may be the case that whether referred to as *inti* or as **ch'aska** a rhomboid with rays as the principal figure should always be considered as a masculine form. This situation appears distinct from those where various kinds of peripheral rays, such as the **inflorescencias** of the rhomboid as the female **cocha**, adorn and complement the central design.

Whichever is the case, the light signified by **ch'aska** and other forms of 'ray' appears to represent a relationship with, or an ability to transform into, another element not otherwise represented in the design. Because an awareness of this vitality is necessary to the investigation of the rhomboid as a female-gendered form, I have included the analysis of **ch'aska** here.

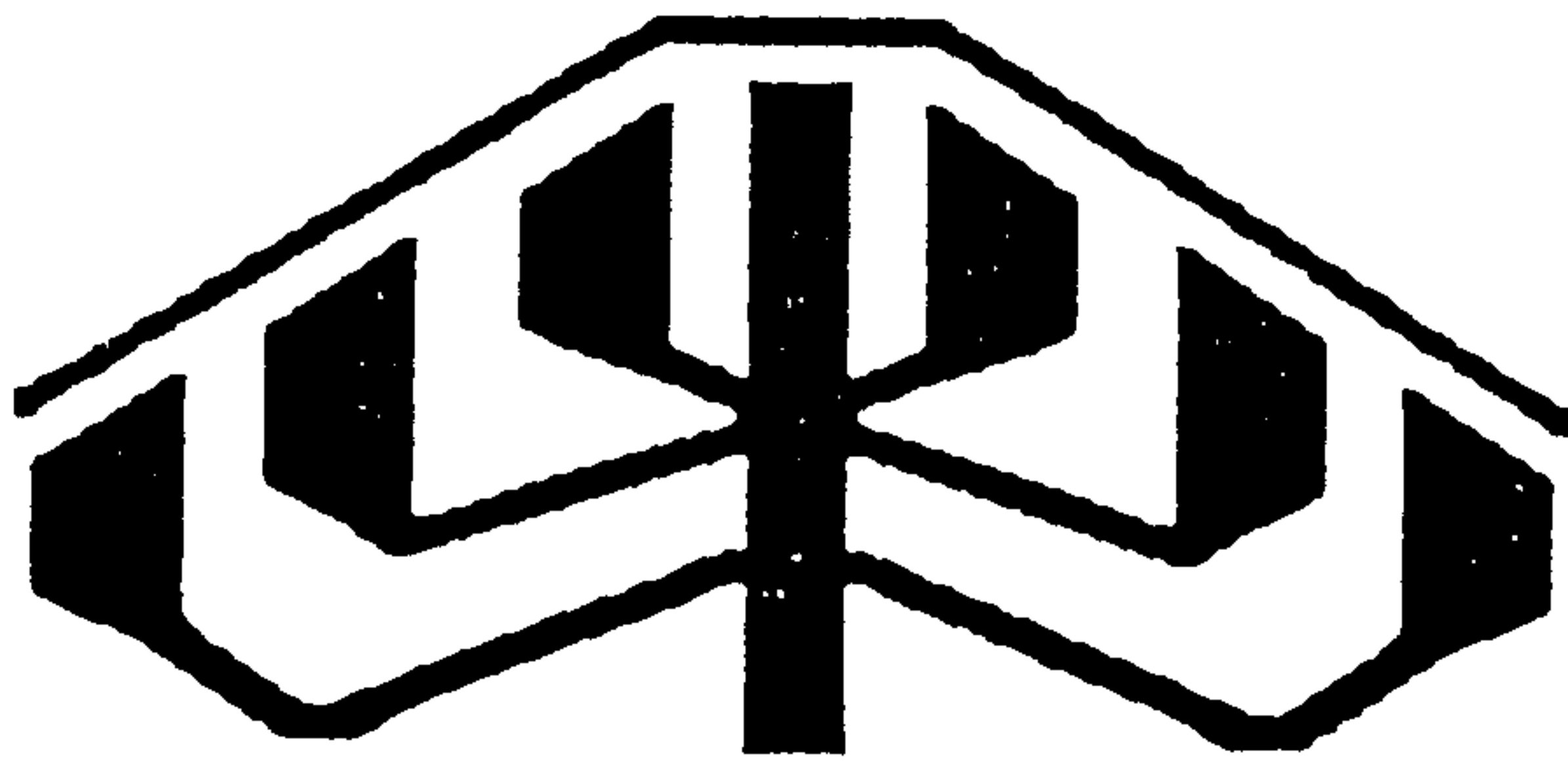
iii) 'Stars' or 'flowers' as 'peripheral rays'

Ch'aska also applies to designs in which the rhomboid plays a minor part or has been modified in some way. In Tarabuco a rhomboid attached to a stalk [see Fig 16a] is called either **ch'aska**, star, or **t'ikita**, little flower (Meisch 1987: 55); in the mouth of a bird it is a flower (loc. cit.); in Charasani similar figures [see Fig. 3] are called **chaska** (Girault 1969: 50, Fig 21), suggesting that there the rhomboid represents a star. 'Stars' and 'flowers' are terms used interchangeably in other contexts and both appear to represent the vital energy derived from the presence of light³.

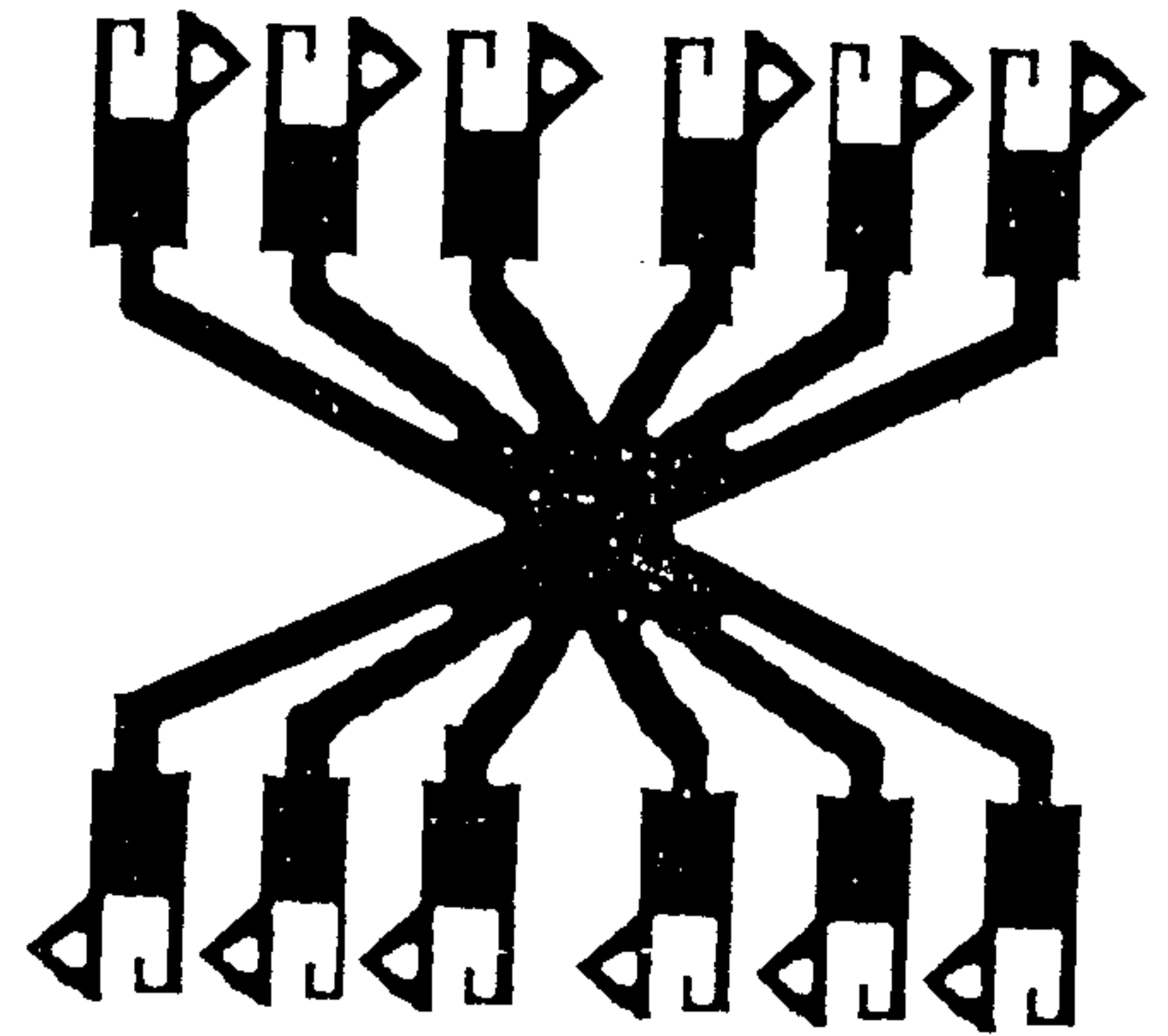
The Charasani **ch'aska** are also called **wallata**, a kind of Andean goose, and matching pairs of comparable designs called '**palomas de matrimonio**' have a similar 'star'



(a)



(b)



(c)

Fig.4 (a) Bolívar laymi t'ika (b) Parabuco kuti ch'aska and (c) ch'aska figures.

hanging from their mouths (*loc. cit.*) [Fig. 3], which, I was told, signified abundance.

Ch'aska branching from a main stem in a similar way to the 'flowers' in the Bolívar **laymi t'ika** [Fig. 4a] are **kuti ch'aska** [Fig 4b] in Tarabuco (Meisch 1987: 58).

To recapitulate, contemporary interpretations of the rhomboid as a female-gendered figure include that of **pampa**, patio, or **cancha**, enclosed spaces symbolising potential fertility and female nurturing, and **cocha**, an enclosed watery space, or **pez**, the fish which lives in it.

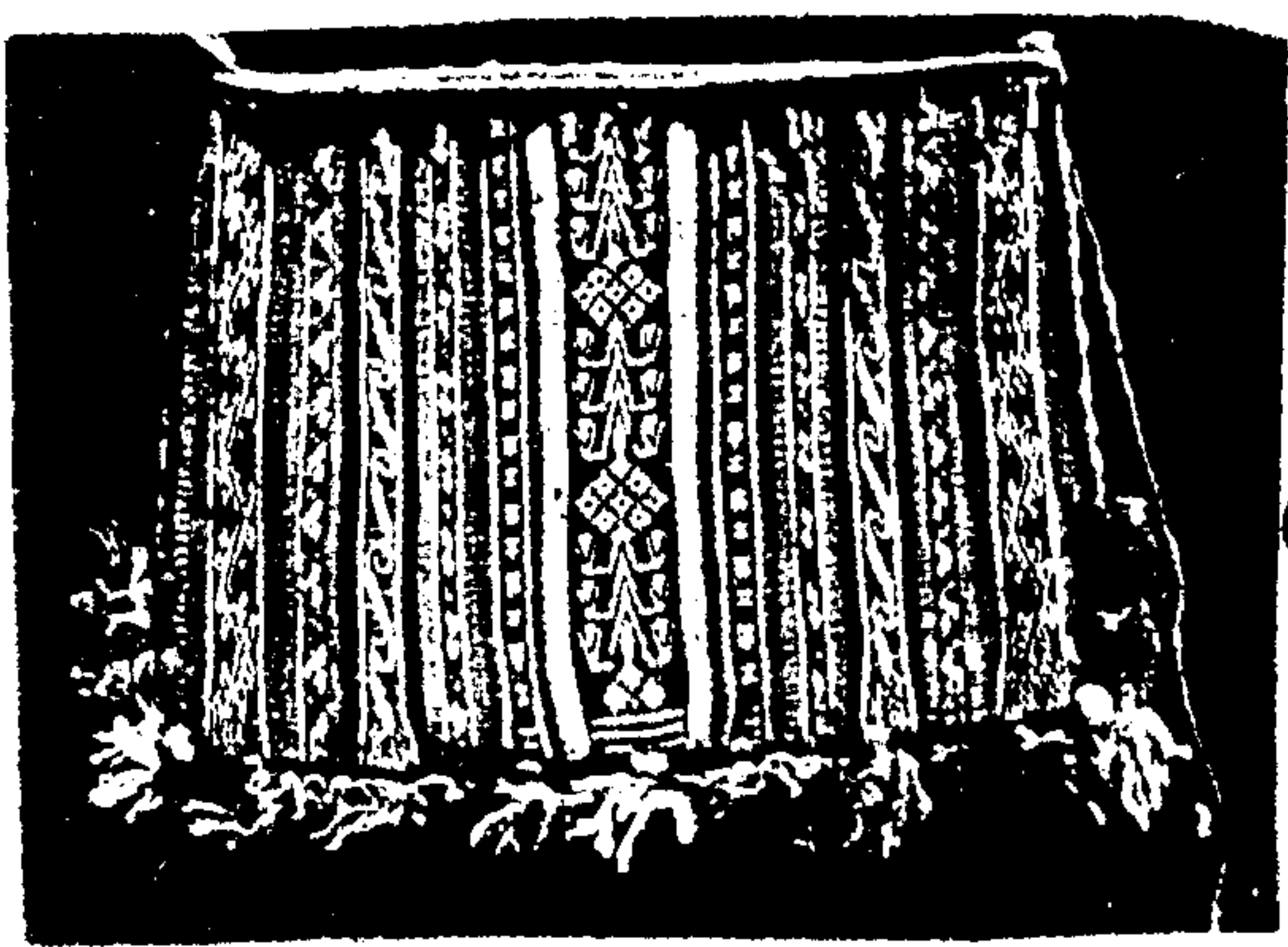
Its interpretation as **ch'aska**, star, can apply either to the rhomboid as a major design or to its attachment to larger figures. In the latter case **ch'aska**, star, is used interchangeably with **t'ika**, flower.

The rhomboid is frequently adorned with rays, which take the form of flowers, stars, feathers/birds, or hair, all of which represent rays of light.

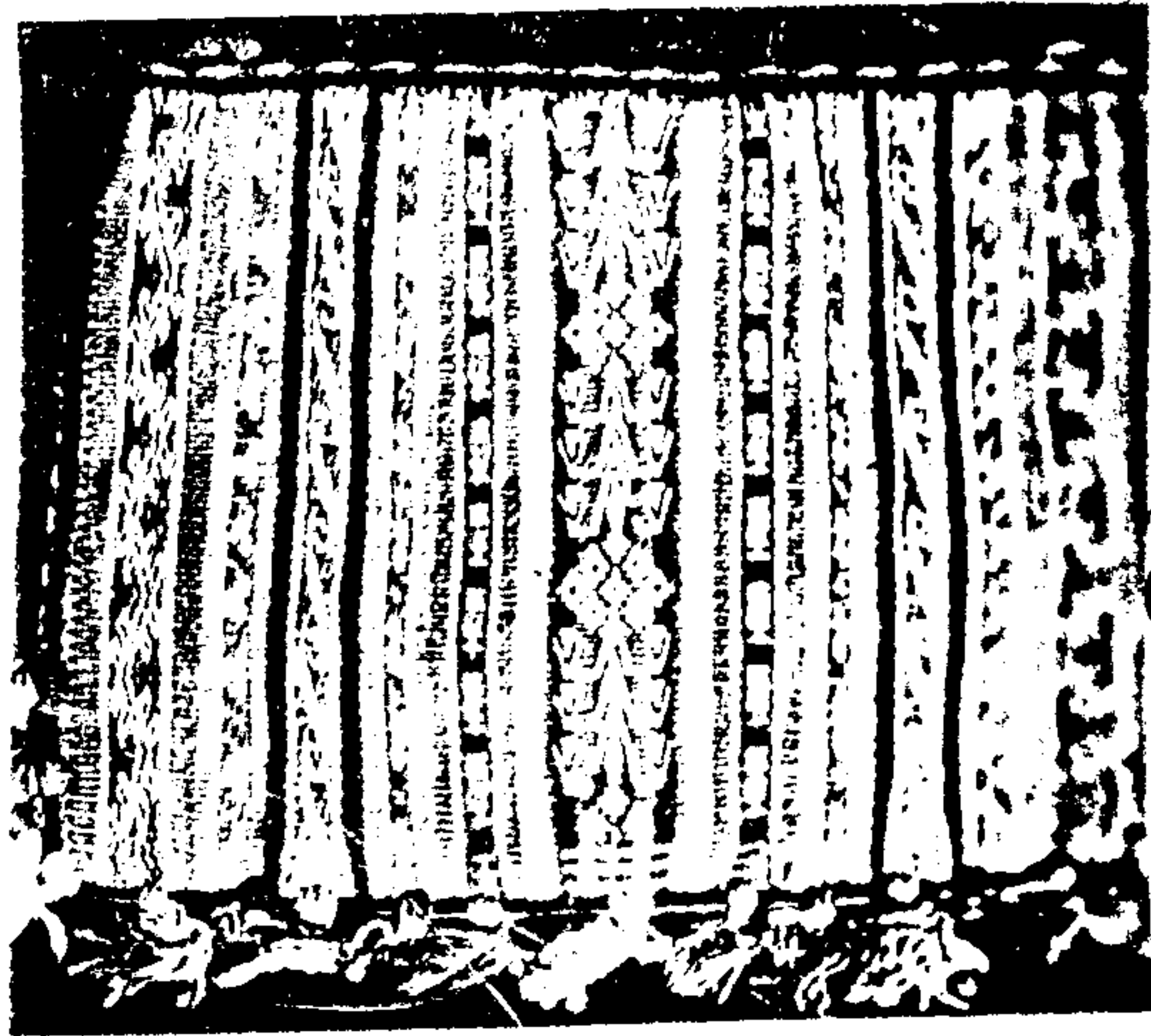
iv) Laymi t'ika, the 'rhomboid with flowers'

The 'rays' of the contemporary rhomboid figure, **cocha**, or lake, like those of **kurti** rhomboid designs [Fig. 5] are related to those of the **laymi t'ika** design of the Bolívar style [Figs. 4 & 5].

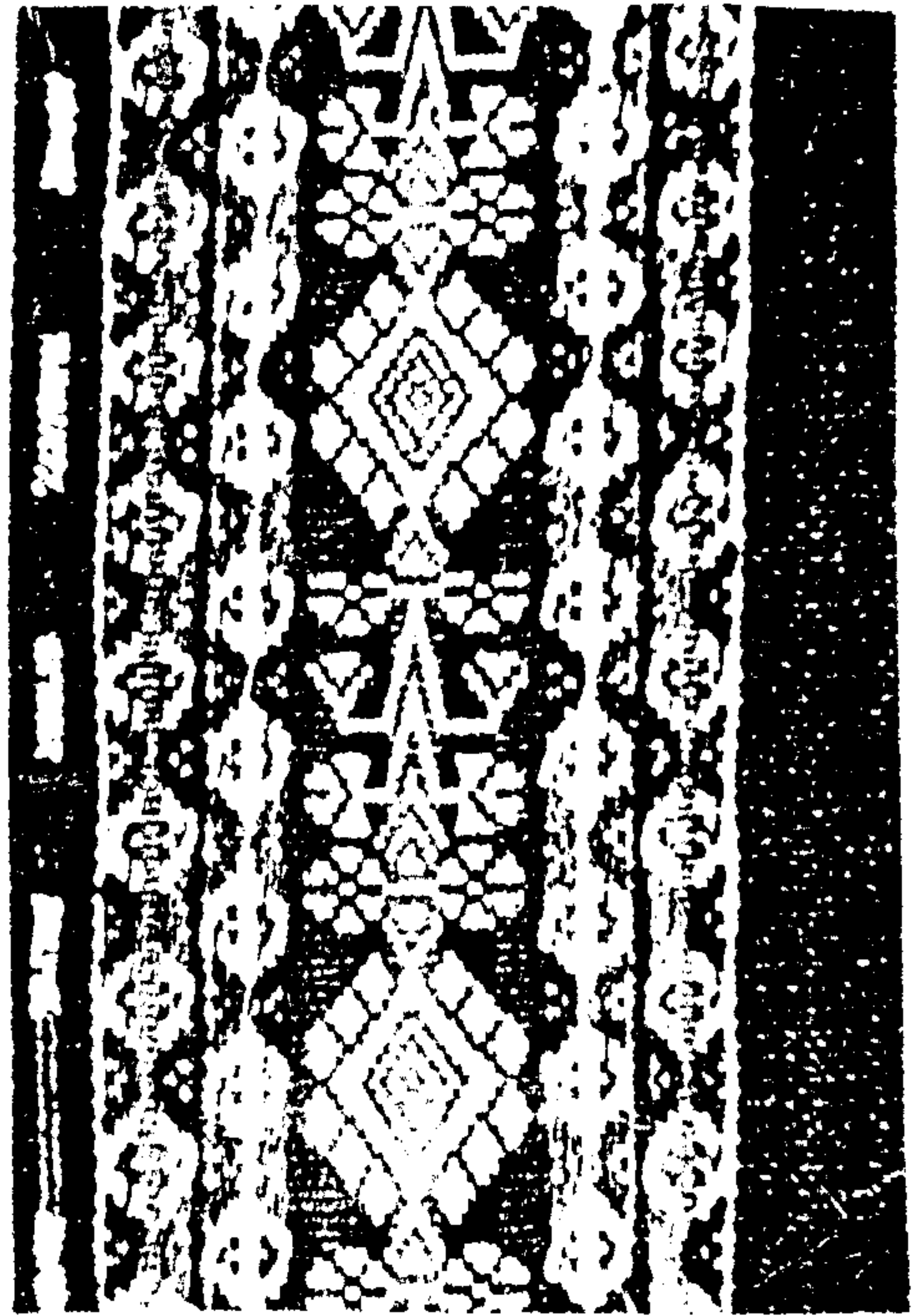
This figure is a rhomboid with four or six branching 'flowers' (Gisbert *et. al.*: plates 225, 226; Adelson & Takami: 24). The Bolívar style has not been woven for some considerable time but a design comparable to the **laymi t'ika**, of which I saw only a single example, was said to be 'muy antigua', and was described simply as 'florero', vase or pot of flowers, a common figure in



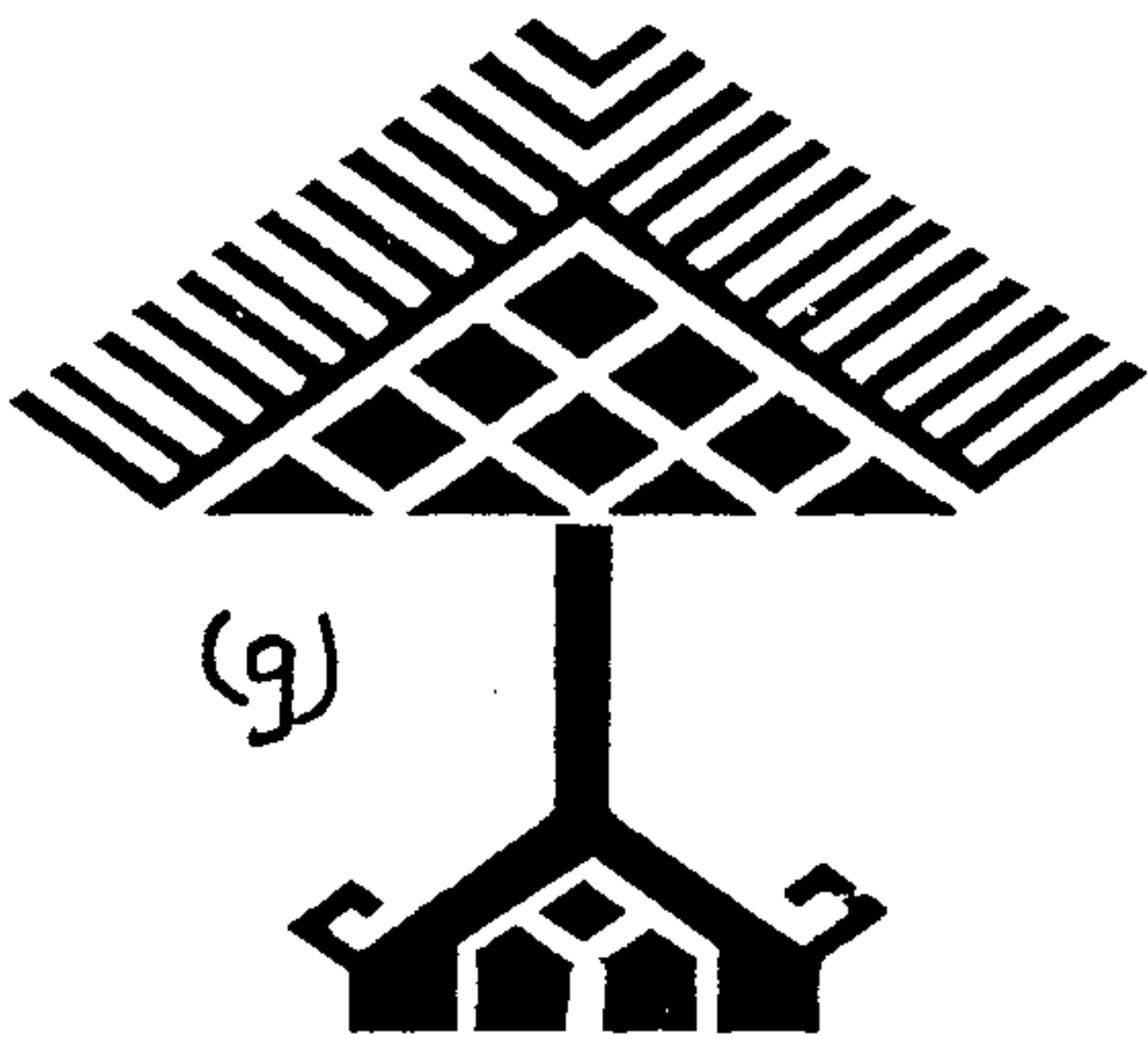
(a)



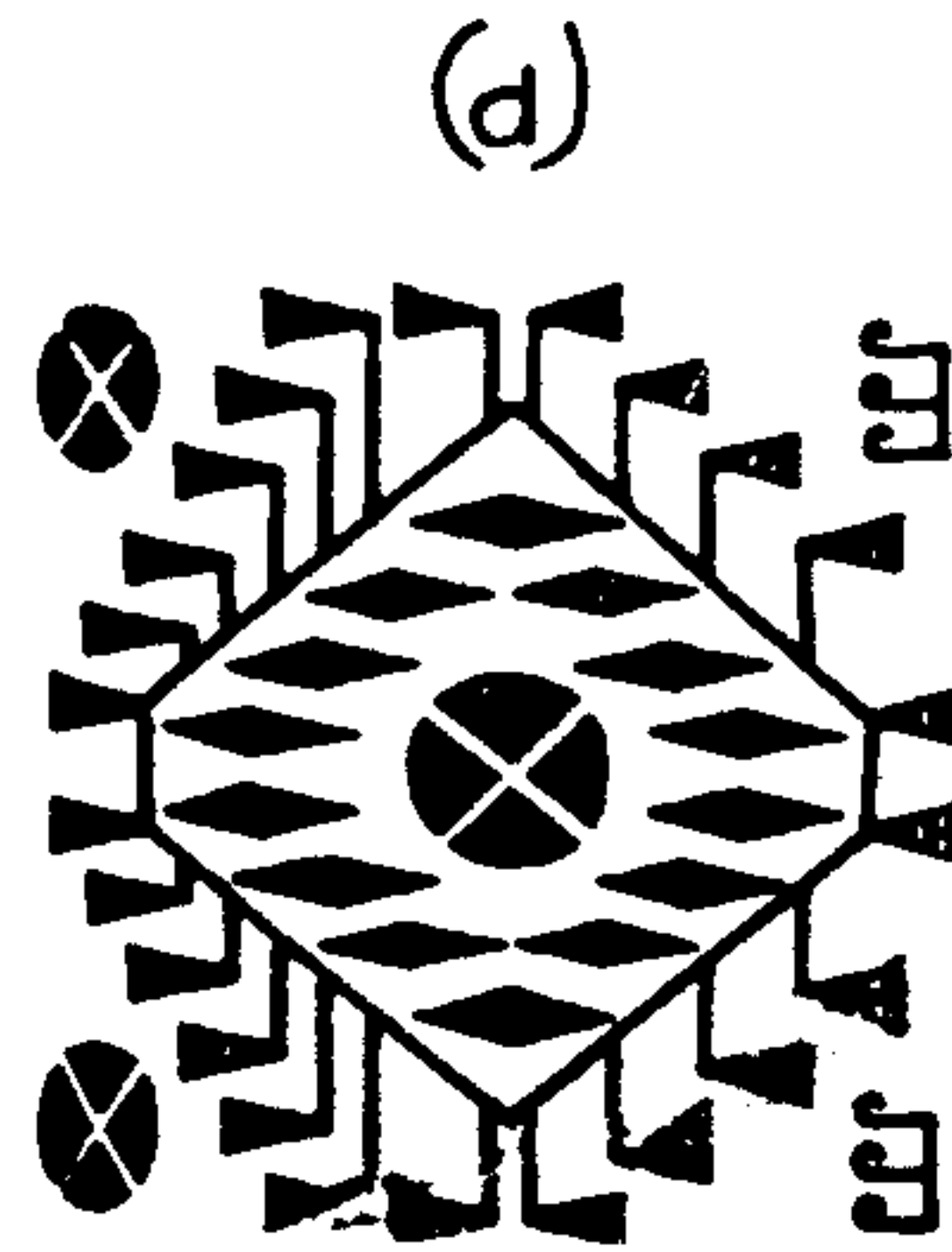
(b)



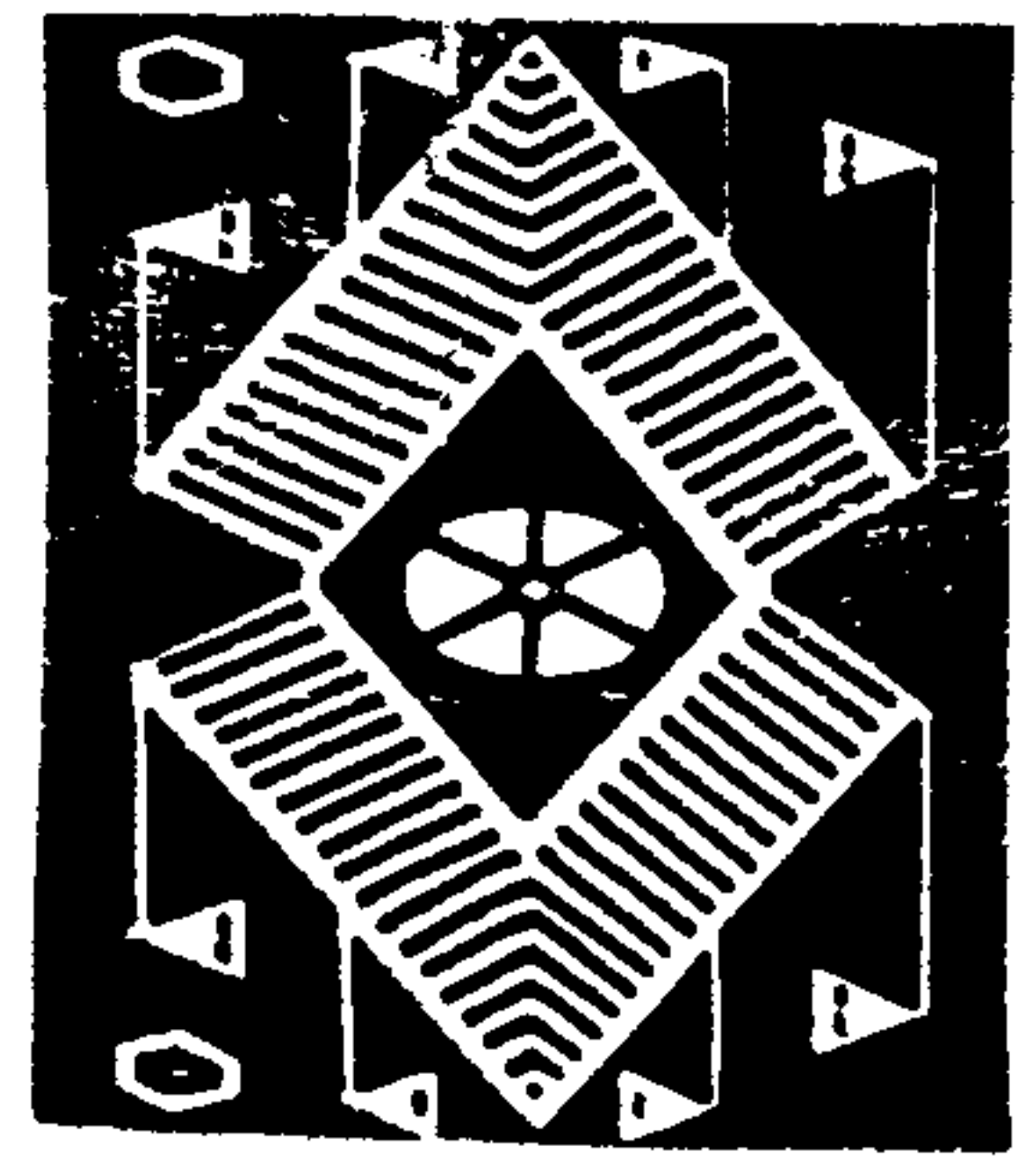
(c)



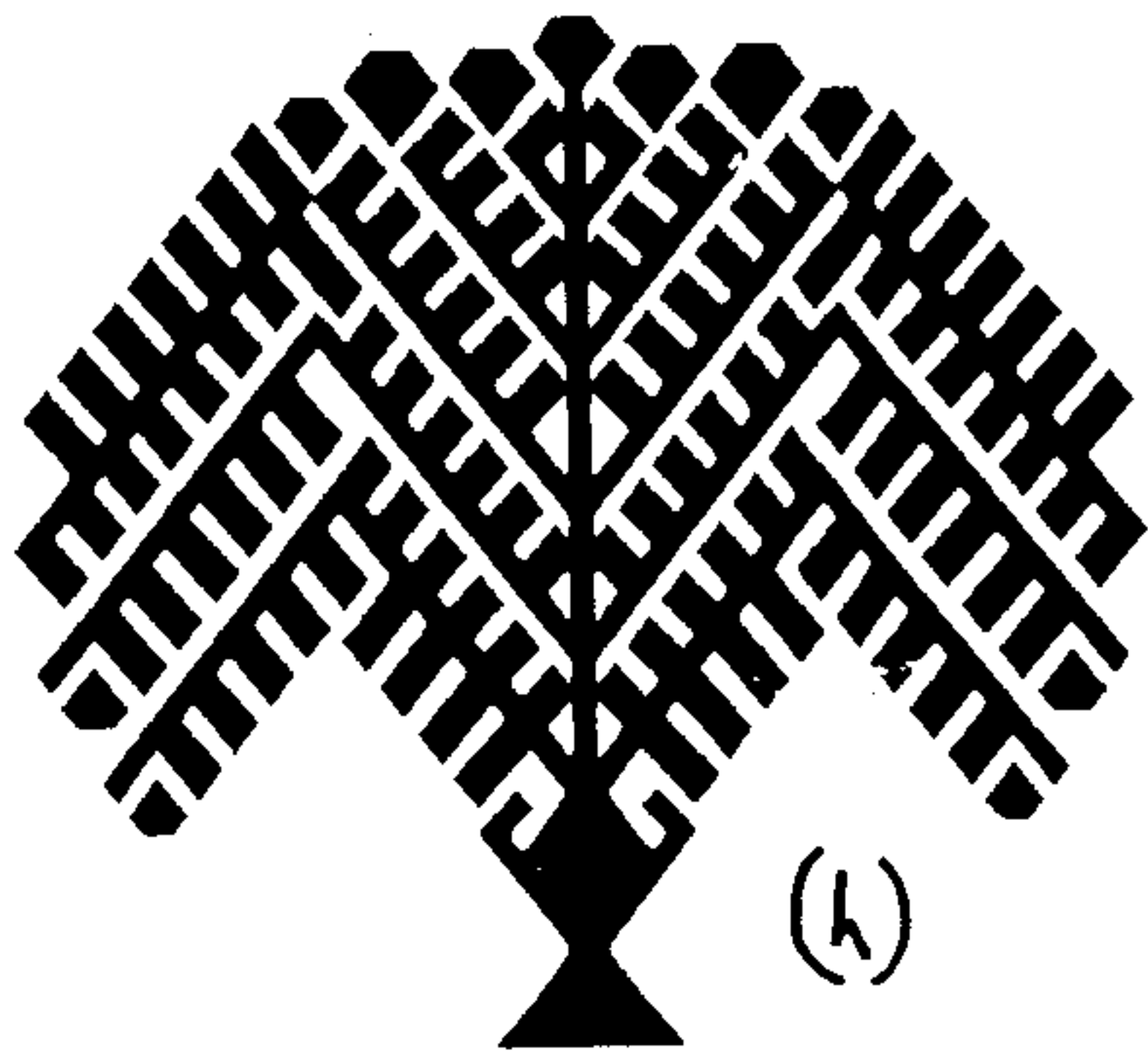
(g)



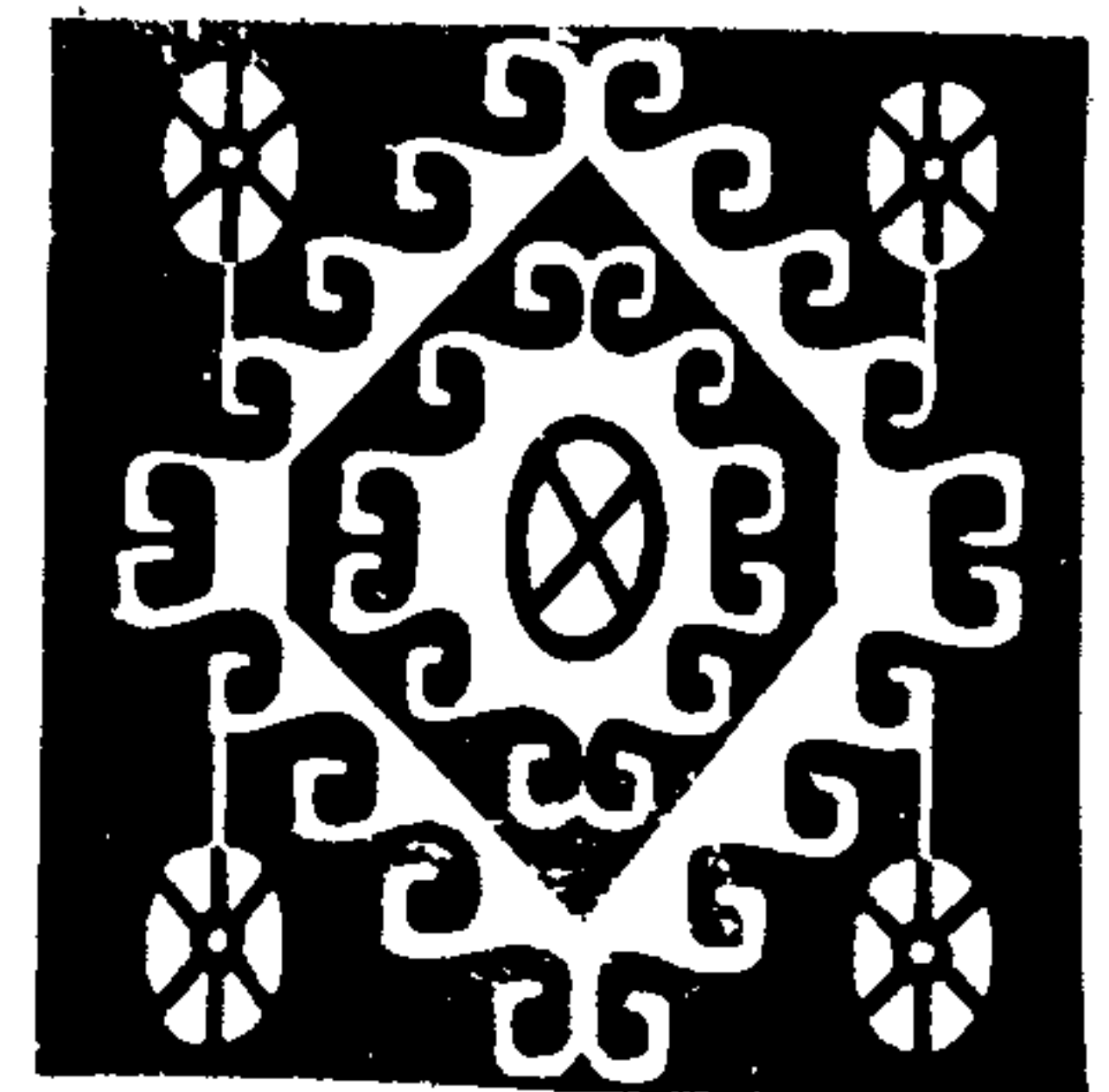
(d)



(e)



(h)



(f)

Fig. 5 (a), (b), (c) laymi t'ika (d), (e), (f) kurti rhomboids and (g), (h) the Guatemalan ceiba tree.

colonial textiles (Cavallo: plates 64, 66; Gisbert et. al.: plate 369); given the colonial influence in the **Bolívar** style it seems possible that the **laymi t'ika** form is derived from 'pots of flowers' like those of the colonial tapestries.

As already mentioned the rhomboid can stand for the **plaza**, or village square, a central space whose four corners represent the **ayllus** and **suyus** which lie beyond it; Andean communities can also be divided into six (Albo: 1972); it seems possible that the symmetrical, stylised form of the European **florero** may have been adopted by native weavers because of its visual suitability for expressing an Andean iconography of this kind and that the **Bolívar laymi t'ika** is its 19th century expression.

A design comparable to both the **florero** and the **laymi t'ika** [Figs 5. g & h] is popular in contemporary Guatemalan indigenous textiles (Deuss 55, figs l and m), which have other stylistic and conceptual similarities with those of Andean weaving [see Chapter 4]. The Guatemalan 'potted plant' is considered to represent the sacred **ceiba** tree which holds up the sky (Deuss: 55); might this design of a **florero** not have had a similar significance in the Andes, i.e. have represented a tree or pole at the centre of four corners, an image similar to that encoded in the terminology of stripes, and have been adopted in both regions for a similar reason, the prohibition of the wearing of textiles overtly depicting traditional beliefs?.

v) The 'rhomboid with flowers' as a representation of the siren

A symmetrical figure such as the *laymi t'ika*, may, then on one level represent a spatial centre with radiating divisions.

The centre of the Aymara civilisation was marked by the lakes Titicaca and Poopo and a figure comparable to that of the *laymi t'ika*, a rhomboid with inflorescencias can represent a lake.

It can, however, also represent the fish which inhabit the lake: the following paragraphs are an investigation of whether the rhomboid with flowers, or *florero*, of colonial tapestries from which the *laymi t'ika* appears to derive, represented the fish deity or siren worshipped at Copacabana and around the lake.

a) The siren or fish deity of Copacabana

According to Ramos Gavilán (quoted in Gisbert 1980: 51), the idol worshipped at the lakeside shrine was:

de piedra azul [*copa*] vistosa y tenia no mas de la figura que un rostro humano destroncado de pies y manos .

This is the appearance of early 'fish' deities (Gisbert 1980: plates 49, 51 and Gisbert et. al.: plate 109) as well as of the textile siren [see Fig. 8] (Cavallo: plate 61)⁴.

Gisbert suggests that sirens, particularly as they often occur in pairs, represent the two fish women Quesintuu and Umantuu who mated with Tunupa, the Aymara god of lightning whilst he was in the lake (1980: 48)⁵.

Sirens continue to be associated with lightning in the Titicaca area; on the day of San Bartolomé, the Christian saint considered to have replaced Tunupa, plaster mermaids are sold in the lakeside village of Tinta (Gisbert 198 : 40).

Figures such as the monkey and the siren were carved by indigenous craftsmen on the door pillars of early colonial lakeside churches (Gisbert: 198). If doorways provided the location where, as the *ordenanza* of Toledo indicates, native artists previously depicted their gods, it would seem likely that these partially syncretised figures were also intended to represent the forbidden images of deities such as the sun and moon or the still older idols lightning and the fish deity.

The complementarity between water and fire is expressed in textiles as that between the rhomboid, lake, and the zigzag, lightning [see III below], an iconographic *allqa*, which also expresses another form of contrast⁶.

male elements are associated with downwards movement and female with upward....the movement of the lightning is a manifestation of male energy, while a still body of water such as a lake or the sea and the inside of the earth are feminine concepts related to nurturing (Isbell: 210).

b) Early colonial representations of the siren

In both ecclesiastical painting and architecture sirens display peculiarly Andean characteristics (Gisbert 198 : 50). They are shown playing a *charango* or *guitarilla* rather than a harp or lyre and often carry baskets of fruit. In addition 'un buen número de ellas están indiatizadas pues ostentan tocadas de plumas'

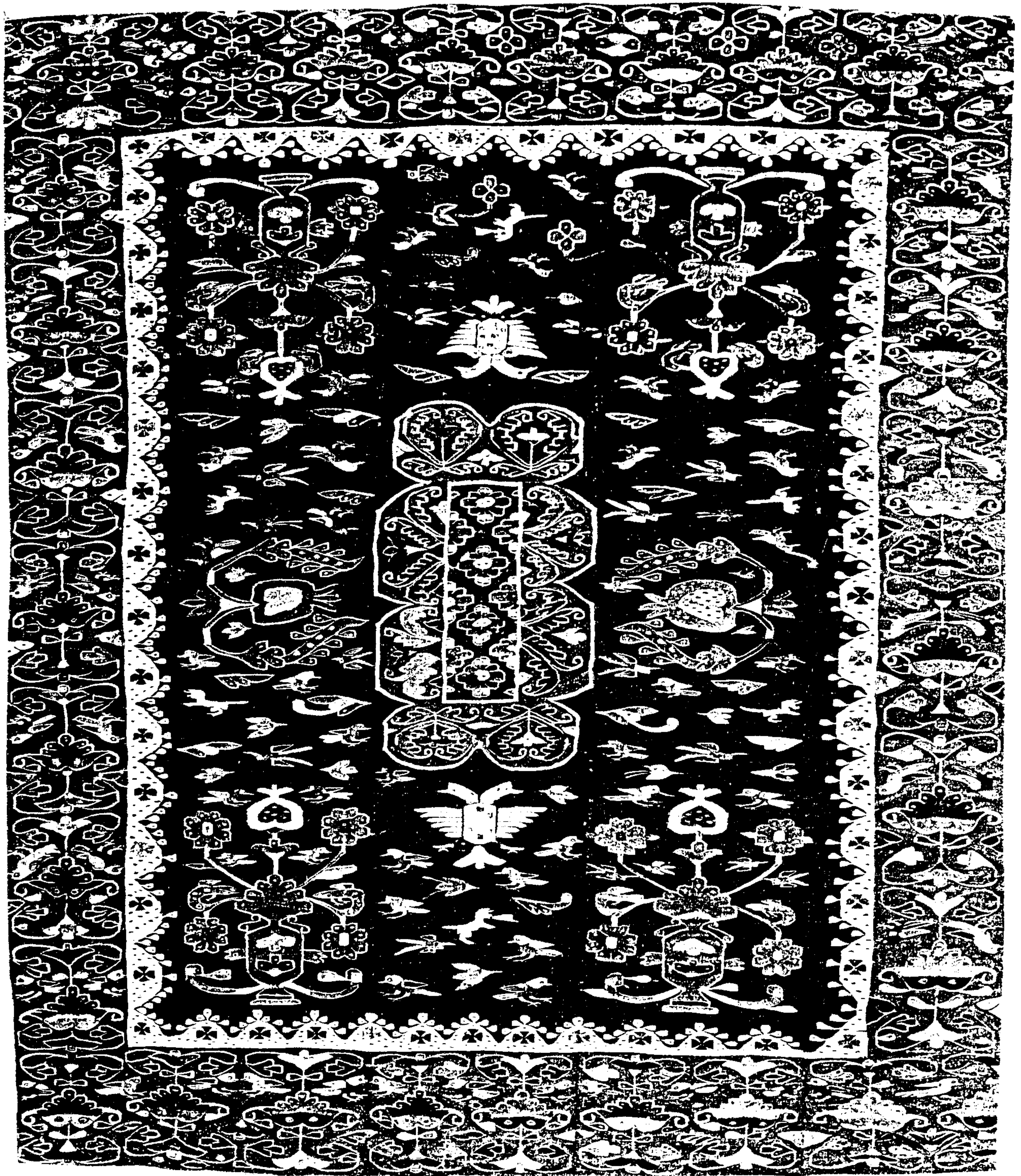


Fig. 6. Detail of 18th century colonial Peruvian tapestry with florero

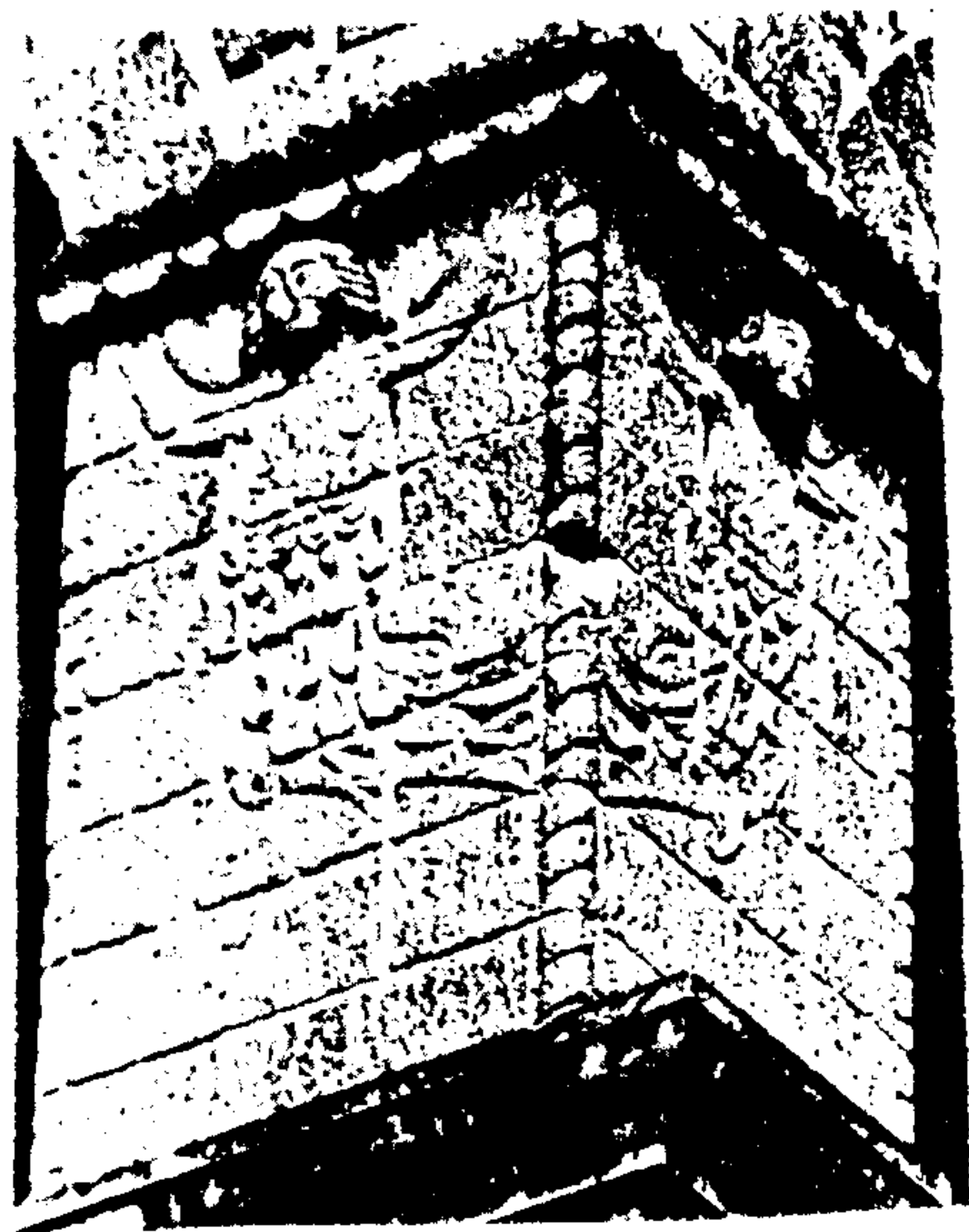


Fig. 7. Carved fish deities and sirens.

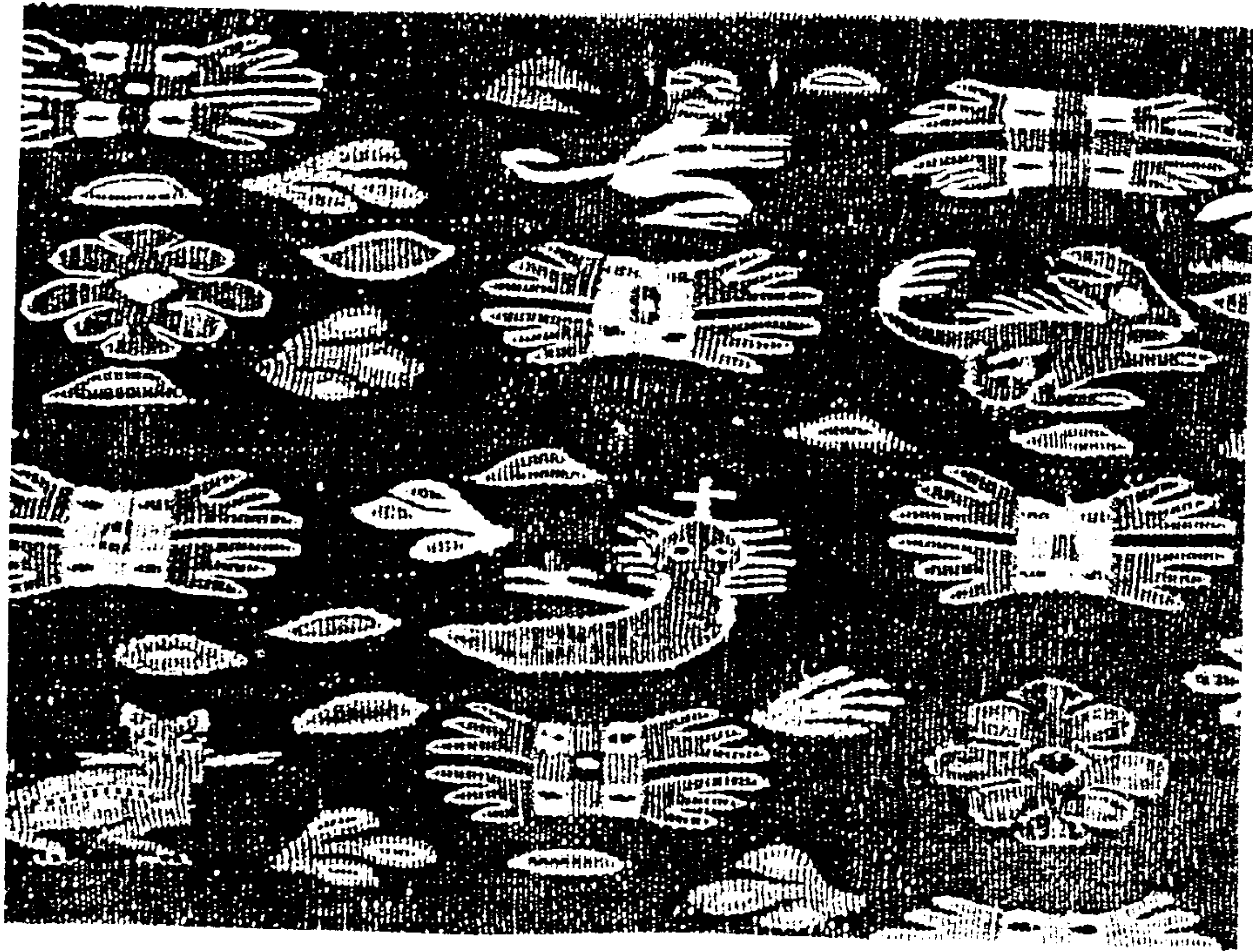


Fig. 8. 16th and 17th century woven representations of the siren.



Fig. 9. Detail of colonial tapestry with central sun and two associated siren figures.

(Gisbert 1980: 49); besides these feather headdresses they are sometimes shown with wings (*op. cit.*: 50).

In textiles the siren's head is surrounded by 'rays' or 'hair', like the 'tangled hair' or 'rays of light' that surround the rhomboid as *ch'aska* and *cocha*. In one tapestry (Cavallo: plate 61), the rays emerging from the siren's head take the form of a cross [Fig. 8], a possibly significant variant, as the shrine of the former fish deity has become the modern shrine at Copacabana.

c) **Substitution of the 'rhomboid with flowers' for the siren**

In the earlier colonial tapestries, the siren, while it is a frequently woven figure, does not occupy any particular position. In later examples they are a central feature. Fig. 8b shows sirens symmetrically flanking a central plant stalk or axis.

The centre of the inner panel of another tapestry [Fig. 9] shows a sun with zigzag rays; above and below it is the figure of a crowned, two headed eagle. Directly beneath the open wings of the eagle and likewise outspread are clearly defined female arms; the figure ends in a legless torso. This suggests that it is intended to represent a siren, a creature often depicted in the Andes with wings, though these are not attributes of the European mermaid. The zigzag form of the sun's rays suggests it might represent lightning, and it is associated, as was Tunupa, not with one 'fish goddess', but two.

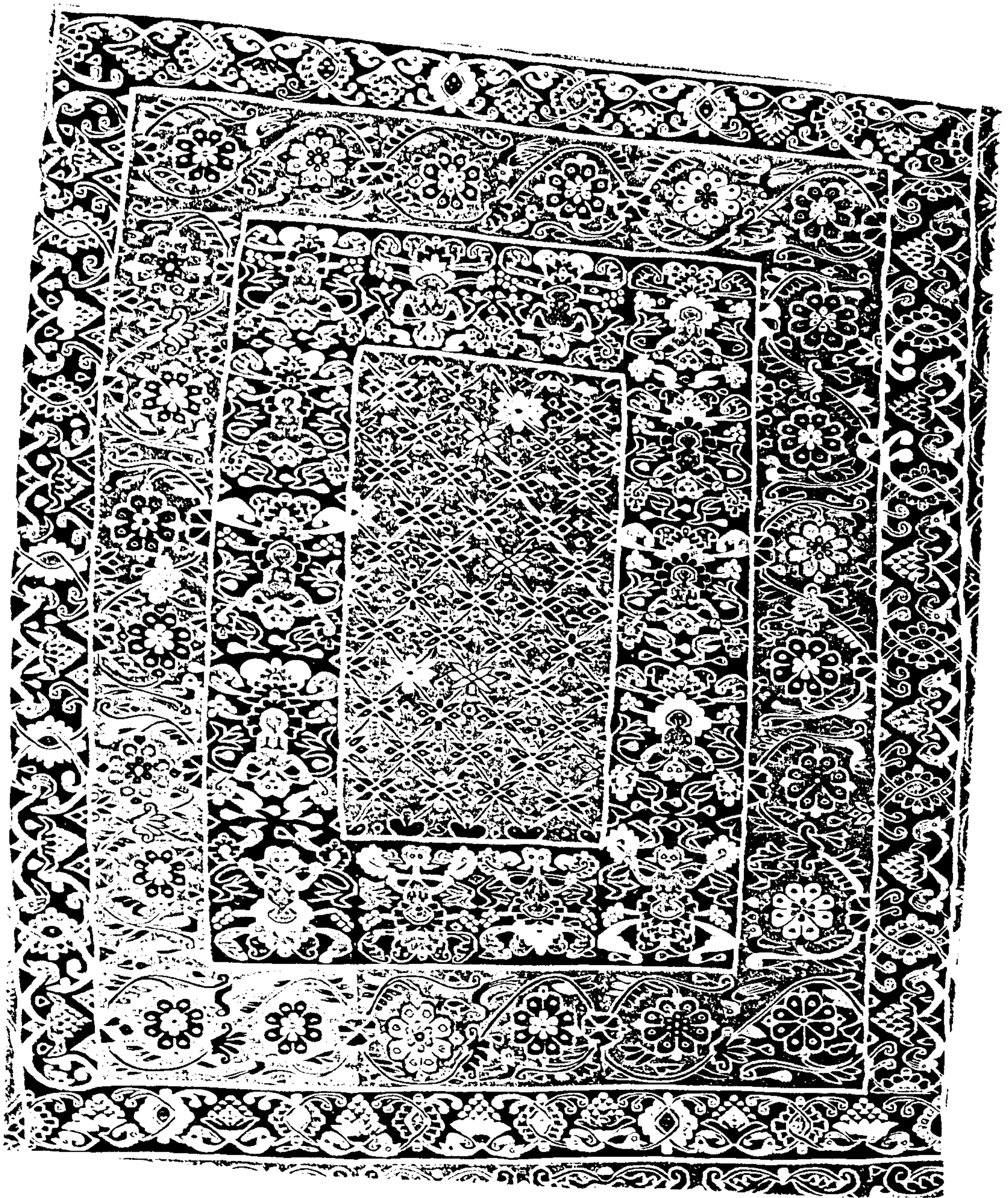


Fig. 10. Detail of a colonial tapestry showing sirens at the centre of a florero design.

The inner panel of this tapestry is surrounded by a border of vertically symmetrical **florero**, similar to those from which the **Bolívar laymi t'ika** appear to derive, and having like the **laymi t'ika**, six branches or 'flowers'. Ducks and what appear to be catfish appear in the lower branches, parrots in the upper ones (Gisbert et al 369). The **florero** of a similar tapestry [Fig. 7], which are symmetrically arranged in each corner of a central panel have humming birds and parrots in the upper flower stems whilst inquisitive seeming camelid heads peer from each side of the vase.

In Fig 10, a tapestry in the Boston Museum of Fine Art (Cavallo: plate 66), the central rhomboid or pot element of the **florero** figure is replaced by a siren holding in her upraised arms the flowers and vines which elsewhere sprout from the vase or pot⁷.

v) **Figures comparable with the female rhomboid**

The associations of the abstract rhomboid with rays as a female element can be summarised as those of a passive, enclosed, horizontal, watery space of particular fertility. It can be complemented by an active, open, fiery, vertical source of light which also has an animating or engendering power and is represented by the zigzag. Two contemporary naturalistic figures, the duck and the toad appear to be associated with similar properties.

The duck and the toad are not often represented in Bolívar textiles; a condor-serpent in various forms, is,

however, one of the area's most typical figured designs, and one which will be analysed in the following section.

The serpent shares many of the attributes of the toad, in particular its complementary relationship with the condor, into which both snake and toad appear to transform at certain times. In their associations with 'lower' and 'predominantly female', snake and toad balance the condor's associations with 'upper' and 'predominantly male'. As will be shown below, a similar relationship appears to exist between the duck and the llama; the ambiguous associations of the duck suggest that it, too, can at certain times represent the 'lower', 'female', or 'not predominantly masculine' aspect of the condor.

a) The duck

Although textile figures depicting the condor are sometimes referred to as 'pato', duck, it may seem ludicrous to suggest a comparison between two birds whose appearance, and habits are so very different. In the Andes, however, no object or creature is seen as entirely male or entirely female. As the following analysis will show, the duck has a masculine aspect, just as the condor has a feminine one. The co-existence of these contrasting aspects is indicative of a cyclical transformation between the two which takes place in time and space. Their complementarity is comparable to that of the female rhomboid and the male zigzag, and the creatures associated with the upper and lower branches of the **florero**, the parrot and humming bird, the llama and cat fish, suggest a similar vision of time/space.

On Taquile island the woven figure of a duck is called **nuñuma**; like the herb of the same name ducks are associated with damp places and islanders translate **nuñuma** as 'mother of the waters' (Fini: 26). **Nuñu** is 'teat'; ducks cannot nurture their young at the breast, but naked breasts were a characteristic of the Andean siren or fishwoman as they are of her European counterpart.

Ducks would, therefore, appear to exemplify the nurturing female but ducks are also associated with a more recent, male, deity of the lake, Viracocha (Fini: 26). Arnold notes the ambiguous sexuality of Viracocha, and that in his feminine aspect he is associated with damp and watery places [see Chapter 7, III]⁸, just as the condor, which is also associated with him, is thought to make its nest within the earth (Arnold: 1988).

b) The duck which transforms into a llama

The condor appears then, at certain times to 'become' a duck and the duck is related in a comparable way to the llama, another figure which appears to be primarily masculine, at least in its terrestrial aspect, and which will for that reason also be investigated in (vii) below.

Ducks are associated with **juturi** (Martínez 1976: 283), one of several types of sacred site found around the Chilean community of Isluga. As its name suggests (Bertonio II: 282), the **juturi** has especial powers of generation or increase (Martínez 1976: 283). **Juturi** are thought of as deep holes reaching right inside the earth (*loc. cit.*). Though they can be 'seco' (*loc. cit.*) it is at the **juturi** as 'manantial, ojo de agua' (Lara: 121),

i.e. damp and watery places that, on nights of the full moon, a kind of duck or goose called **chullumpi** transform into a magical herd of camelids (Martínez 1976: 283)⁹.

Chullumpi, and **wallata**, the name of another Andean goose (Bertonio II: 145), are associated elsewhere with camelid herds and their reproduction: they are the terms used to describe animals with markings on their backs like that of a **costala**. Such colour distribution is rare and the animals serve to remind herders of the loads the llamas carry (Flores Ochoa 1986: 146). Used in songs and prayers, **chullumpi** is the ritual name for the llama stallion, **wallata** of all alpacas (*op. cit.* 148).

Although Martínez does not tell us the colour of the magical **chullumpi**, actual **wallata**, and both **chullumpi** and **wallata** camelids are black and white (Bertonio II: 145). The conjunction of polar opposites such as black and white can release genésic energy and perhaps because of this other animals and birds whose colours show this complementary opposition, the **allcamari** and **illawi**, also have talismanic or lucky properties.

Talismanic **chullumpi** stones are usually black (Flores Ochoa 1976: 123). **Wallata**, on the other hand, refers to something totally white, a snowball (Bertonio II: 145). According to Arnold, all creatures begin life 'frozen', and gradually warm up (1991). Their colour opposition suggests that the ritual names represent contrasting aspects of a single whole. On nights of the full moon, when feminine influence is at its strongest, the (black), female **chullumpi** duck transforms into a (white) male llama. In the morning light wool torn from the fleece

of the magical camelids has changed back again to **chullumpi** feathers (Martínez 1976: 283).

It will be remembered that **wallata** are associated with light in the Charasani textile figure of a bird with a rhomboid in its mouth. This is called either **wallata** or **chaska**, and **ch'aska**, stars, like **t'ika**, flowers, and various other kinds of peripheral rays, including feathers, which are also **ticca** (Holguín: 340, 634) and birds, signify 'rays of light' and an ability to transform from one aspect to another. They can also signify fertility¹⁰.

c) The feathers of the duck and the music of the siren

Isluga also has another type of sacred site, the **sereno** again a damp, interior, female place. Its associations with the siren are not simply phonological, the spirit of the Islugan **sereno** is 'un animal desnudo con tetas grandes' (Martínez 1976: 288), characteristics also appropriate to the duck.

The **sereno** is not concerned with the fertility of the herds; it has the power of tempering musical instruments left in its waters (Martínez 1976: 287), and music appears to be the manifestation of a comparable vital energy to that of stars or flowers, **t'ika**, and feathers, **t'ika**.

Molina (*op. cit.*: 26) describes a kind of music played on wind instruments during the **citua** ritual celebrations in August. At this time of year the 'female' aspect predominates over the 'male', as is signified by the priests who participate in this ritual dressing themselves in garments of a feminine (red) colour and

style (Zuidema quoted in Fioravanti-Molinie: 276). The flute is an instrument played only by men; the music it produces is associated with the female, and it was suggested in the investigation of **pulupulu** that the playing of flutes at this time of year implies the mingling of male with female seed. This music, like the flowers and feathers which signify fertility, is called **tica tica** (Molina: 26).

d) **The toad**

Toads are not woven as frequently as ducks, but they are intimately associated with textiles both as a term for a stripe, **ppatticalla**, and in the interpretation of the Macha **kustala** (Torricono: 43).

The Macha **kustala**/toad is associated with the snake which is the **kustala's** rope (Torricono: 44). The toad and the snake are also alike in both having braided hair (Platt 1983: 5), i.e. they share a characteristic equivalent to 'rays of light'.

Like **chullumpi** and **wallata**, toads represent a black and white contrast; those associated with rain are dark, those of the dry season are white (Torricono: 45). Also like **chullumpi** toads are regarded as a powerful source of fertility for the camelid herds (Torricono: 46).

Toads also have characteristics common to **serenos** (Martínez 1976: 288); they are associated with damp places and with music: in one Macha myth singing girls turn into toads (Torricono: 45).

Toads are called **María**, and with the condor, **Mariano** (Platt 1986: 243) they form a complementary pair. In the

Macha **kustala** the toad transforms into a dove (Torricon); doves and condors are comparable in that as birds they both represent an 'upper' and therefore 'male' dominance. The dove, through its associations as a Christian symbol has an additional resonance, but the toad, too, is associated with the Christian virgin.

The condor is the form most often taken by the mountain spirits (Plett 1986a:243); in Macha men say the toad is the storage sack, or wife, of the mountain lord¹¹ (Torricon: 47), or **supay** (Torricon: 45)¹². In Charasani **supay** is associated with the spirit of the **sereno**, which I compare to the siren and the duck.

The lakeside shrine formerly dedicated to a fish deity is now the site of a church dedicated to the Virgin of Copacabana which attracts pilgrims from all over Bolivia. Toads are associated with the Catholic virgin (Torricon: 46) and with the Virgin of Copacabana in particular (Torricon: 49).

In Bolívar the way the relationship between the condor and the toad was expressed by my adopted family suggested not only an association between the toad and the Virgin Mary but between both and Supay. When chewing coca our first invocations were **condor mamani utapaj**, 'for the condor's nest', and then **tienda Mariapaj**, 'for 'María's shop'.

The Virgin is associated with Pachamama and the earth and with Paxsimama or the moon. Whilst it is hoped that Pachamama will provide agricultural abundance, Paxsimama looks after **qolq'e** (lit. white or silver), meaning either money or mineral wealth. In Bolívar Paxsimama is

associated with the *Virgen del Socavon* in Oruro, and thus like the toad, with *Tío*, or *supay*, the underground lord of the mines¹³.

e) **The toad which transforms into a condor**

Toads and condors are a female/male opposition, one which is often expressed by black and white colour contrast. The associations of the toad, however, show this basic opposition to be more complex.

While rainy season toads are black, dry season toads are white. During the dry season toads transform into doves (or condors) but toads are present together with condors on the mountain top. During the rainy season doves (or condors) transform into toads (Torrico: 48), and toads burrow beneath the earth (Urton: 1981) which is where the condor sometimes makes his nest (Arnold: 1988). In the rainy season the female toad is predominant and the male condor takes on some of her characteristics, i.e. becomes 'ducklike'. On the mountain top the toad of the dry season, during which the masculine (white) element is predominant, takes on some of the characteristics of the masculine condor, and becomes white. In addition, the springs on the mountain tops run down, a movement associated with masculine force; conversely light from below must push up, a concept associated with organic female growth.

The equation should therefore read:

Upper, dry white	Condor MM	Toad MF
Lower, wet, black/red	Toad FF	Condor FM

It will be noted that I have arranged the elements in this diagram to show the upward/downward movement of the toad and condor as diagonal rather than perpendicular. Condor and toad do not directly replace each other, but exchange predominating roles in time and space, maintaining a constant equilibrium.

The diagram is also intended to show that this interchange should be associated both with the diagonal cross and the twisting together of two threads, images which also emerge from the designs analysed in Sections III and IV and which also represent the continual and steady flow of energy necessary to maintain a beneficial state of equilibrium; it will be remembered that the zigzag or spiral is representative of the Andean concept of time.

The four colour divisions typical of Bolívar woven designs can also be related to this diagram. These colours represent two sets of **allqa**, or complementary pairs, and divide space into four quarters, blue and orange, pink (red) and green. The word for blue, **anca**, is also the name not, it must be admitted, for a condor, but for an eagle, the epitome of masculinity. Blue lies over red, the colour typifying, as does the toad, female fertility. Orange, in the position of the 'white', upper toad, is a paler version of this lower red; green, the

position of the subterranean condor, is the deep turquoise of **copa**, the green that comes from below, a darker shade of the upper blue. The Aymara term for the blue of the sky, **larama** (Bartolomeo I: 84), can also refer to the blue of deep water (*op. cit.* 385).¹⁴

vi) **The rhomboid as a representation of the sun**

The preceding sections suggested a possible connection between depictions of the fish deity as siren, the colonial **florero**, the colonial influenced **laymi t'ika** or 'rhomboid with flowers' and the contemporary rhomboid with **inflorescencias** or **cocha**.

However, a rhomboid either with rays (Silverman-Proust: 1988; Girault: 1969: 44), or without (Girault 1969: 44; Gisbert et. al.: 201, 202) can represent the masculine deity, **inti**, sun, or **ch'aska**, which should perhaps also be considered as having masculine associations.

As has already been mentioned, the ambiguity between **ch'aska**, star, and **inti**, sun, may be due in part to the varied significance attached to Venus by the Quechua and the Aymara. The Quechua, although they recognise a special relationship between the sun and Venus, which as morning and evening star heralds its arrival and departure, appear to consider the planet as more closely associated with the female moon. The Aymara, however, while they consider the evening star female, consider the morning star, **lucero**, to be masculine (Meisch 1987: 55), as is suggested by its appearance on the right-hand (male) side of the Aymara Pachacuti Yamqui's cosmological

drawing. It is the 'male' star which is depicted with twelve rays.

a) Colonial representations of the sun

The sun with human features at the centre of the tapestry illustrated in Fig. 10 (Gisbert et. al.: plate 369) is enclosed in a rhomboid. In two other eighteenth century weavings (Gisbert et. al.: plate 380; Cavallo: plate 65) this central position is occupied by a crowned two-headed eagle which stems from a 'body' which is actually a 'face' with clearly depicted features [Fig. 11]. The central position and the 'face' both suggest that the deity represented is the sun; whilst the moon is sometimes given features, she is more often depicted in profile (Poma 79, 53, 40, etc.).

The zigzag of the central sun may, as has already been suggested, represent or have become syncretised with a previous major deity, lightning.

b) Substitution of the 'rhomboid with flowers' for the sun

Interpretations of designs vary depending on their size and position and whilst I have suggested that the lateral **florero** of colonial tapestries might represent a female deity just as laterally placed two-headed eagles evoke a similar possibility, in a central position the **florero** may relate to the sun.

In a late seventeenth or early eighteenth century textile (Cavallo: plate 63) [Fig. 12], four ornate **florero**, are arranged one in each corner. Although these give an

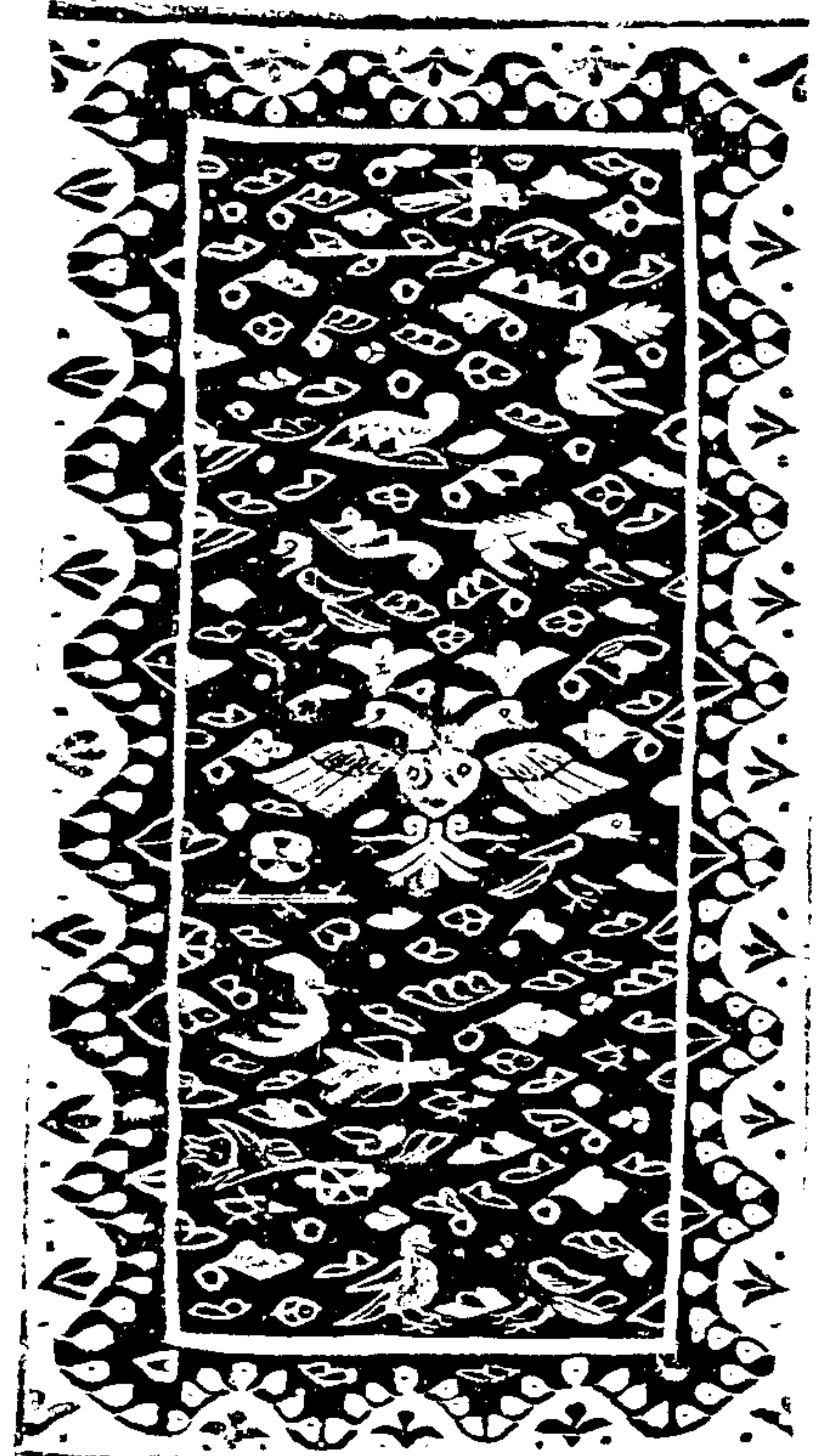


Fig. 11. Colonial tapestry with central aguila bicefala.

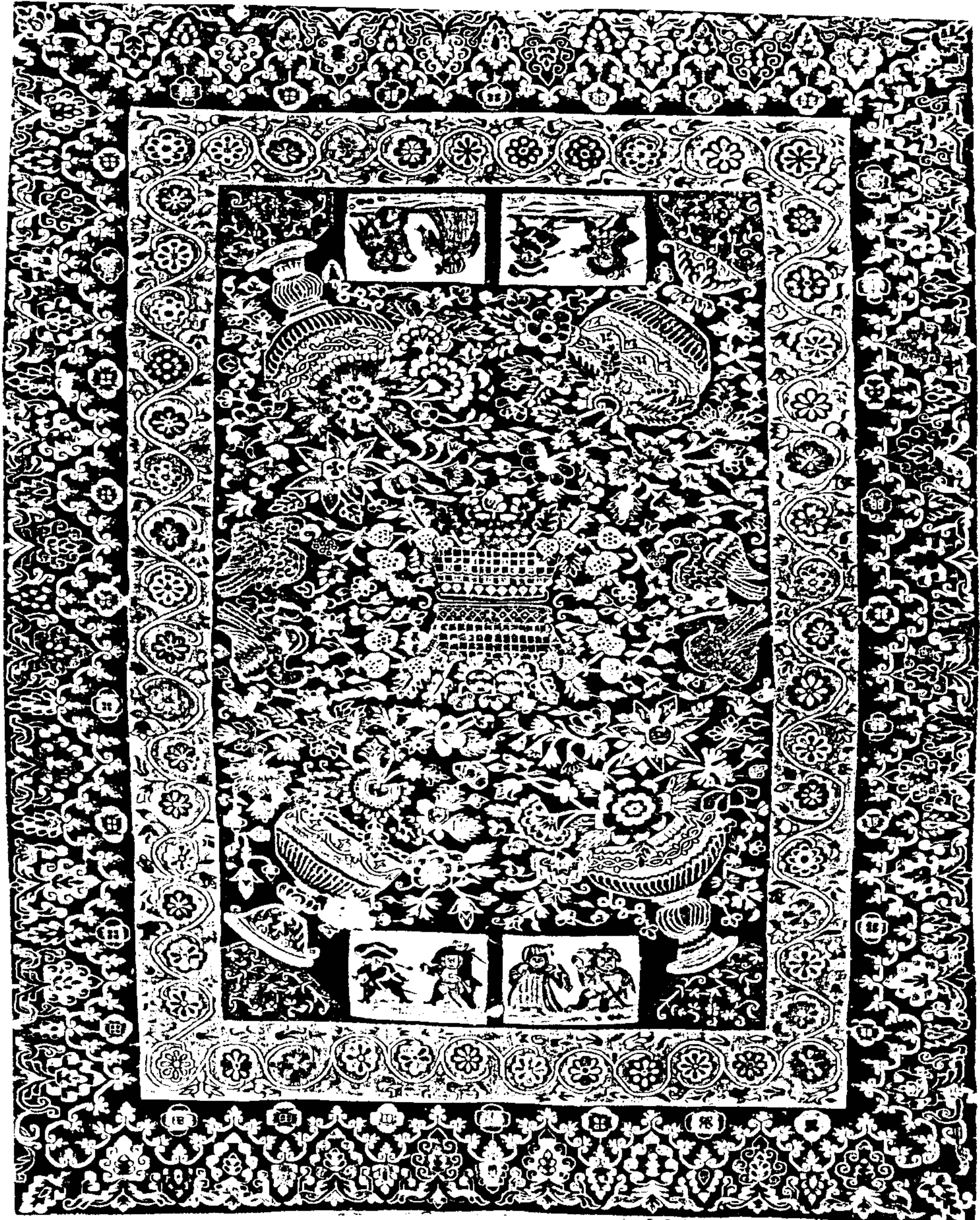


Fig. 12. Detail of colonial tapestry with central baskets of fruit.

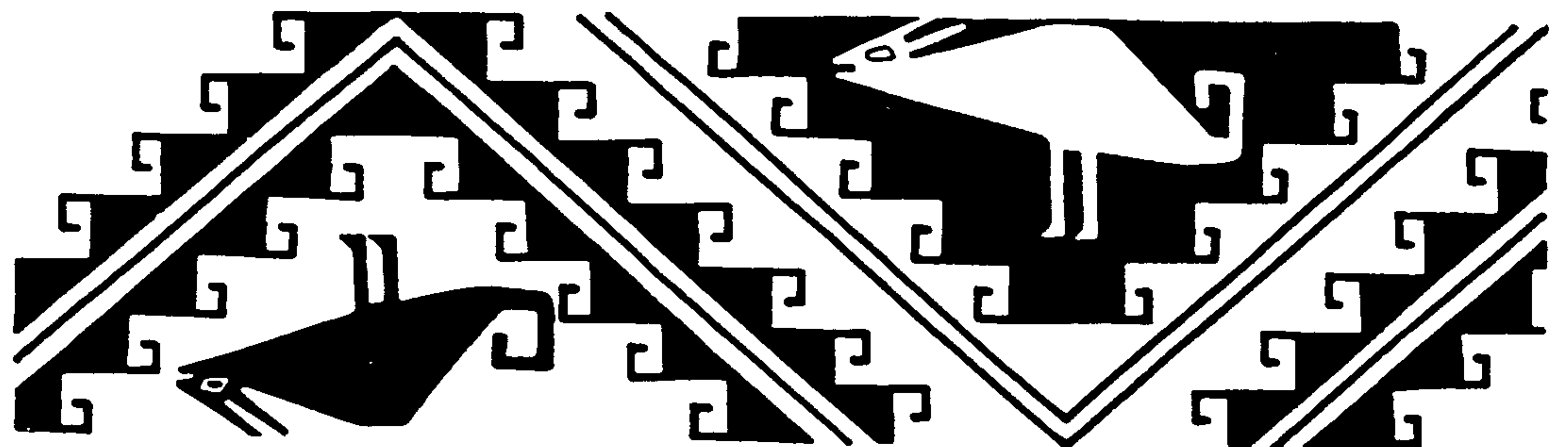
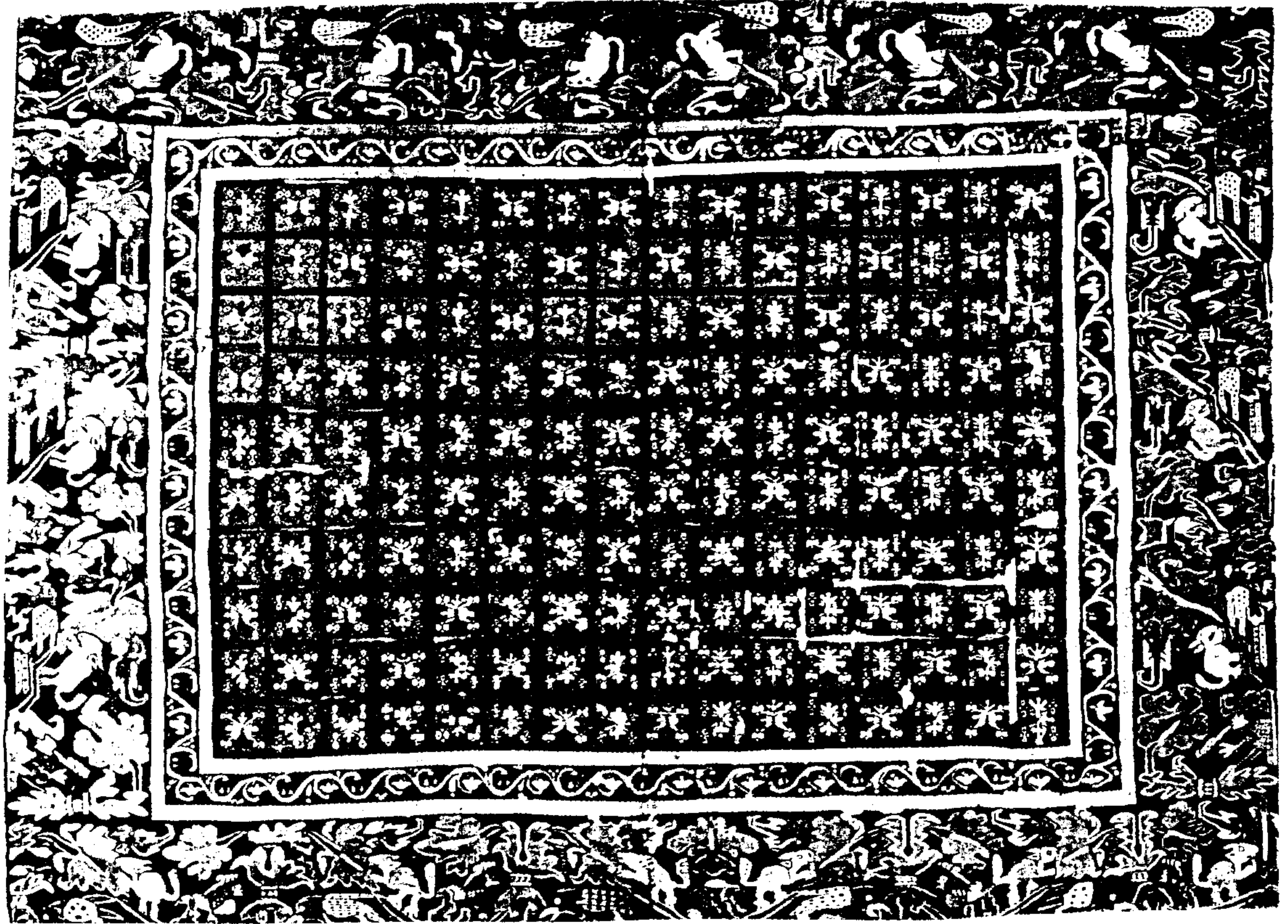
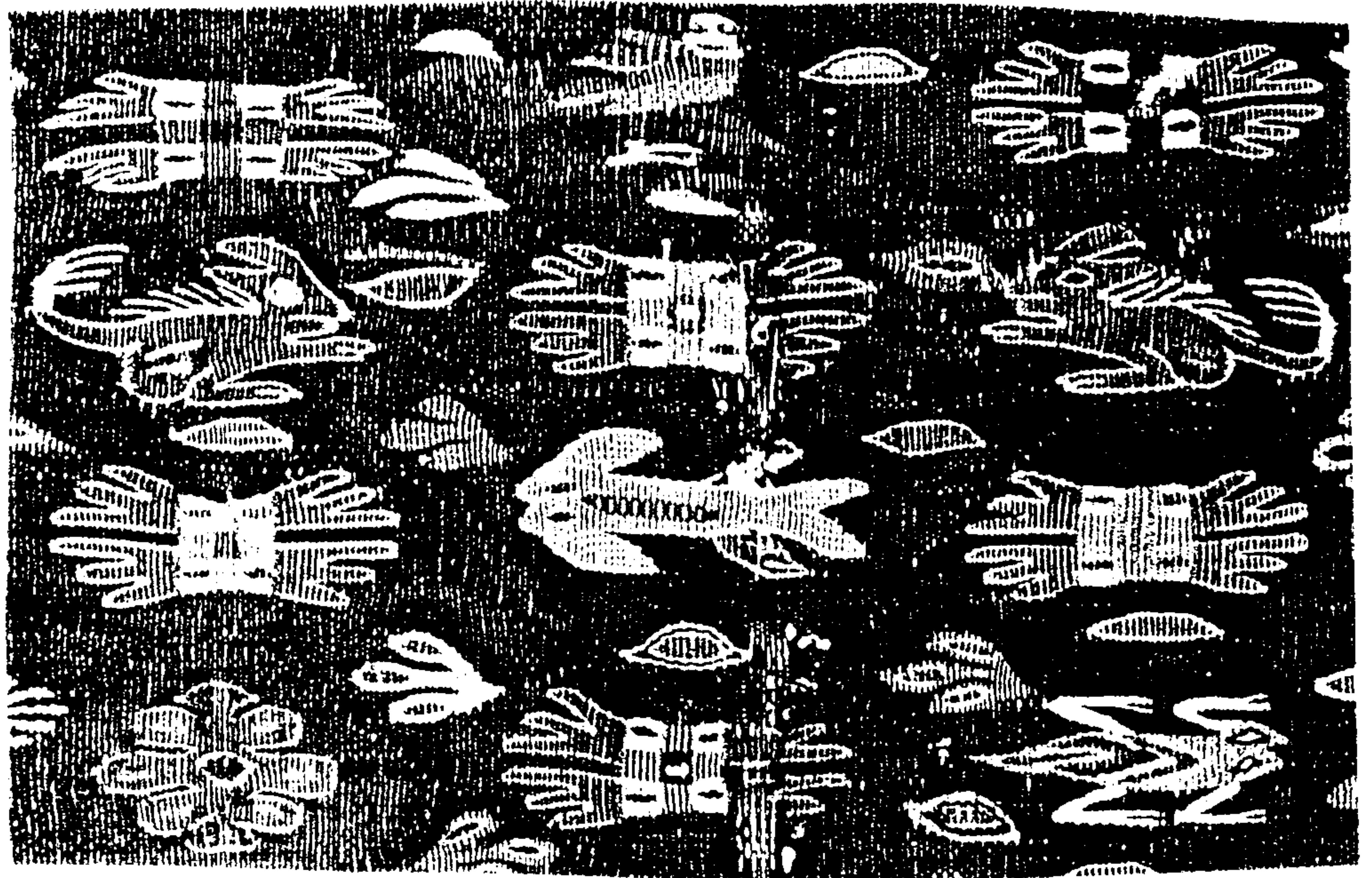


Fig. 13. Colonial and modern woven representations of the viscacha.

impression of symmetry, they differ slightly from each other, whilst also forming diagonally aligned pairs and thus recalling the arrangement of the four **suyu**.

The centre, which is flanked by two pairs of eagles, shows not **florero**, but opposed baskets of fruit, an image visually close to that of the pots of flowers, but metaphorically expressing with greater force the concept of growth or fertility stemming from a centre.

The usual rhomboid pot has been modified into a row of ten small diamonds surmounted by four rows of small blocks. Both the number of diamonds and the number of rows suggest that this figure might relate to the ten Inca lineages and to a four generation line of descent.

At another metaphoric level, similarly related to the concept of a central sun figure, the overall appearance of the basket recalls the grid divisions of the structure labelled **colcapata**, storehouse, at the bottom of Pachacuti Yamqui's cosmological drawing, which represents an abundance (Isbell: 207) comparable to that of the baskets of fruit. This example might, then, signify the storehouse of the sun deity also represented as a rhomboid just as a rhomboid signifying feminine elements can represent either the lake, **cocha**, or the fish/siren which lives in it.

vii) Figures comparable with a male gendered rhomboid

The significance of the abstract rhomboid with rays as a passive, fertile, watery, nurturing female-gendered form is comparable to that of the more naturalistic duck or toad. These female creatures appear to transform into

masculine forms, the llama and the condor, which are themselves associated with a masculine deity, the sun or lightning.

The significance of the condor is further investigated in Section III, the investigation of the llama also includes mention of the viscacha, which in mythology provides the underworld with a comparable means for the transportation of goods.

a) **The viscacha, pack animal of the underworld**

The viscacha is not in itself a significant animal: in Bolívar it is regarded as **chistoso**, witty or amusing. It was, however, frequently carved in the doorways of colonial ecclesiastical architecture as well as woven in textiles (Gisbert et. al: plates 22a, 367, Cavallo plates 56, 58, 59, 61a, 64, 65). Like other early decorative elements it may, therefore, have been intended to represent a major deity and its contemporary associations with **Tata** Santiago, **Tío** and **Supay**, as well as its frequent appearance around the lake, suggest it represents one or some of the various forms of lightning.

While the essentially female toad is the mountain lord's storage sack or wife, the dog viscacha is his pack animal (Platt 1983: 54). On behalf of **Tío** Jorge the viscacha carries silver from the mine at Potosí to the mine at Churiña (*loc. cit.*).

Not surprisingly, given the close links between Bolívar and several nearby mines, the viscacha is an extremely common figure on contemporary Bolívar textiles, where it is said to be recognisable by its curly tail.

Early woven examples [see Fig. 13] also depict the viscacha with furry 'rays' and a curly, hooked, tail; these textile elements were shown in the previous section to imply the possession of a transforming energy associated with light.

In Macha, the toad **kustala** transforms into a dove, a Christian symbol of the 'upper' world. In Andean tradition, however, the toad is associated, and at certain times appears to interchange with, the condor. In a comparable way the dog viscacha connected with a male **w'aka** near Churiña is both contrasted and associated with the denizens of a neighbouring, female **wak'a**, a toad with a white belly and a snake (Platt 1986b: 4). The toad appears to be similarly associated with the 'underworld aspect' of the llama, the vicuña.

This viscacha is the protagonist in a miracle analogous to that of the Macha toad, and one which also recalls the connection between the **t'ika** in camelid ears and the white **chullumpi** feathers to which the wool of the magical camelids reverts. This miracle took place at the male **wak'a** near Churiña: a fluttering white bird preceded the transformation of a viscacha with multicoloured **t'ika** in its ears into a white viscacha with a flashing mirror. Both the animal itself and the stones which remained where it vanished into the bushes are associated with **Tata Santiago** or lightning (*loc. cit.*).

b) **The llama, traveller between worlds**

The llama is also a frequently occurring figure on Bolívar textiles, though less so than the viscacha, and

certainly not to the extent that it occurs in the Tarabuco style. Camelids do not appear to have been carved on ecclesiastical architecture, though they did appear on colonial tapestries (Cavallo: plate 62; Gisbert et. al: plate 384).

Viscachas are the pack animals of the underworld god, camelids are pack animals in the world of everyday. Like the mythological viscacha they carry 'toad' storage sacks, not of silver, but of another white, underground substance, salt (Torrico: 27, 28), on a cyclical journey between one ecological zone and another.

Although camelids play a vital role in Andean life for their wool, meat and dung they appear to be primarily regarded as 'messengers' in trade and travel. In the colonial tapestry [see Fig 1, p 22 above] the llamas are shown with packs, as are those on modern Tarabuco textiles, and it is the camelids with pack-like markings which bear the ritual names and are associated with the fertility of the herd. Llamas and alpacas are also said to possess *enqa* or *illa*, generative energy (Flores Ochoa 1986: 138).

That a more than superficial significance attaches to the regular transportation provided by camelids is also suggested by the fact that the 'secret' name of Tío Jorge of the Churiña mine is *viajero* (Platt 1983: 54).

c) The *vicuña*, father of the herds

Camelids are both domesticated animals and animals with wool, *uywa* (Flores Ochoa 1976: 138). This would suggest they contrast in cultural time and space with the toad and the vicuña. However, as Platt points out in his

examination of miracle cults in southern Andean Christianity 'it is risky to assign specific elements to one world or the other, many are deeply ambiguous' (1986 b). Like condors, camelids are associated with below as well as with above. The celestial llama, Yacana, a black constellation in the Milky Way, is associated with water, and camelids are traditionally believed to have emerged from underground springs (Flores Ochoa: 1976).

The only camelid which is not domesticated, the vicuña, is associated like the viscacha, with the underworld and with Tío or Supay, who is sometimes referred to as Huari (Nash 1979: 122).

Huari, or wari as it is now written, is the term for an alpaca/llama cross (Flores Ochoa: 1986); according to Oblitas the god Huari was a blonde man with the body of a vicuña (1963: 96). He appears to be conceptually related to Coquena, the Northern Argentinian deity who takes the form of the chief male of a vicuña herd who is believed to be 'dueño de las vicuñas', and who is also perhaps related to Tío (Merlino: 181).

Like Tío and Supay, and also like the viscacha, Wari is associated with Chuquila, thunder and lightning (Molina, 25, 26), or 'resplandor del oro' (Cobo, Book III: 368); chuquila is also an ancient ritual dance intended to ensure the increase of the camelid herds (Van den Berg: 45)¹⁵.

As mentioned in the investigation of female-gendered figures, the siren is comparable with the toad, and the toad is associated with Supay (and the condor) and is his consort both on the mountain top and beneath the earth.

Wari, the vicuña, the father of the herd, appears to have a comparable relationship with the toad, who is also concerned with the fertility of the herds; **chuquela** is the name of an unusually large species of toad found around the lake (Bouysse-Cassagne 1988: 95).

It is also the name of a being reminiscent of the siren; in the same area **chuquila** or **chuquilla** is a spirit of the lake who lives on a mountain at the lake bottom. This spirit could be interpreted as the toad, who lives with the condor on his mountain, in her own lacustrine element and therefore holding an 'upper' or dominant position on the underwater mountain.

Alternatively, it could refer to a creature comparable to the condor, still in the position characteristic of its 'upper' aspect, but transported, 'ducklike', to the female world beneath the water. That this spirit is called **chuquilla** suggests an association with lightning, with whom the sirens mated in the waters of Lake Titicaca; it also suggests that in this context the vicuña, rather than the condor, complements the toad.

Domesticated animals such as the llama emerge from below (Flores Ochoa: 1986). **Uywa** derives from **uyway**, 'criar'; **uywiri**, the sacred sites around Isluga, have engendering powers. The **jatwiri** is a type of **uywiri** and it is there that the magical duck transforms into a llama.

The llama, then, can be seen as the manifestation of the engendering power of the underworld, of **supay**, or of **choquela**, the undomesticated (male) vicuña, and of his wife or storage sack, the toad; the llama journeys through this world with its **costala** on its back, before

returning through the underground springs to the upper world of the celestial (female) llama, the **Yacana**.

Summary

The investigation of the rhomboid and figures related to it demonstrates the truth of Torrico's statement, quoted in the introduction to this chapter, that the symbolic meanings of Andean textiles are constantly being reconstituted. There have been changes in what is signified: 'todos y cada uno en su momento tratan de destruir la religión del vencido asimilando en ella los puntos comunes con la religión del vencedor, así Viracocha toma el lugar de Tunupa, el sol de Viracocha a su vez María sustituye a Copacabana (Gisbert 1980: 53).

There have also been changes in how these elements are represented. The fish idol, or fish women become the moon, then the Virgin. They are represented first by naturalistic images, then by geometric forms, then in European baroque forms which take on their own intrinsically Andean meaning, before reverting to the naturalistic forms of animals and birds with analogous connotations, the duck, the toad and the viscacha.

Gisbert takes this transformation still further. She considers 'los mismos animales que en su origen ... fueron dioses ahora pasan a formar parte del mundo circundante, tal el caso de las innumerables viscachas; por otra parte las llamas y los caballos, que hoy alternan con medios de locomoción mecanizadas como el automóvil el tren y el avión son también parte del paisaje' (Gisbert et. al.: 16).

While I am not suggesting that a helicopter is the pack animal of any 'mountain spirit' unless it was that of General Barrientos, it does represent an 'updated' version of the concept of interregional transport, whilst the old symbols, llamas, recede into distant time and place like the other superceded deities, or the ancestors of the **chullpa** era.

The siren may have undergone this transformation. Syncretised with music through the influence of her European counterpart, and thought to have the power of tempering musical instruments, she is shown playing a **guitarilla** or **charango**. The same textiles which carry modern representations of transport in the form of trucks, buses, aeroplanes and helicopters also show 'musical updates' in the form of guitars (Wasserman & Hill: plate 30, Gisbert *et. al.* unnumbered plate, following 195).



Plate 9. Llijlla with typical linku design.

III LINKU: A MEANDERING LINE

Introduction

The analysis of the textile rhomboid showed that as a female element, water or **pampa**, it is contrasted to and complemented by a male element, lightning or mountain, **urqu**. In the context of woven designs this male aspect takes the form of a zigzag, **linku**.

Whilst **linku** are sometimes outlined by rhomboids the linguistic and iconographic associations of the zigzag suggest that this form also contains within itself male and female aspects. This section will examine both the abstract **linku** figure and that of the more naturalistic condor-serpent, which appears to embody similar concepts and at the same time retains a comparable visual form.

i) Laymi linku and mayu linku

In Bolívar textiles an angular line or zigzag is called **laymi linku**¹⁶. In its many variations it is one of the most frequently woven figures.

This basic zigzag form can be interspersed with dots or have attachments of some kind such as hooks, or the leaves and flowers typical of colonial Bolívar **laymi linku**, or have separate, larger flowers or stars in its angles [see Fig 15. a-h].

A single diagonal line, repeating either in parallel or opposed pairs (cf Gisbert et. al.: 212) is also **linku**. These single **linku** usually take the form of a stepped fret, perhaps with attached leaves (cf Gisbert et. al.: 212), and alternate with a large flower or, more usually, an eight-pointed star [Fig. 16 a -e]. **Linku** designs are,

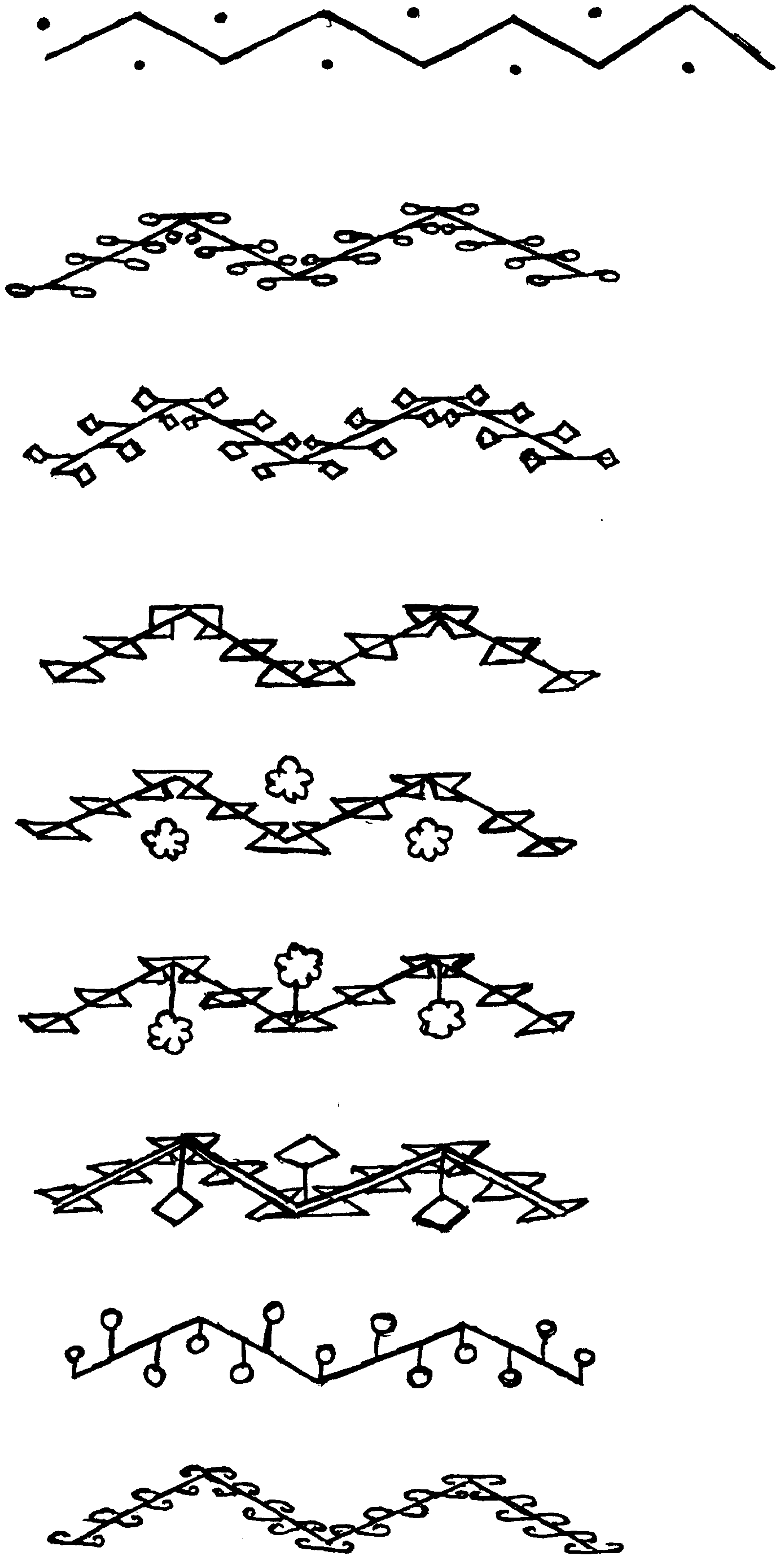


Fig. 14. Modern Solivara loymu linku designs.

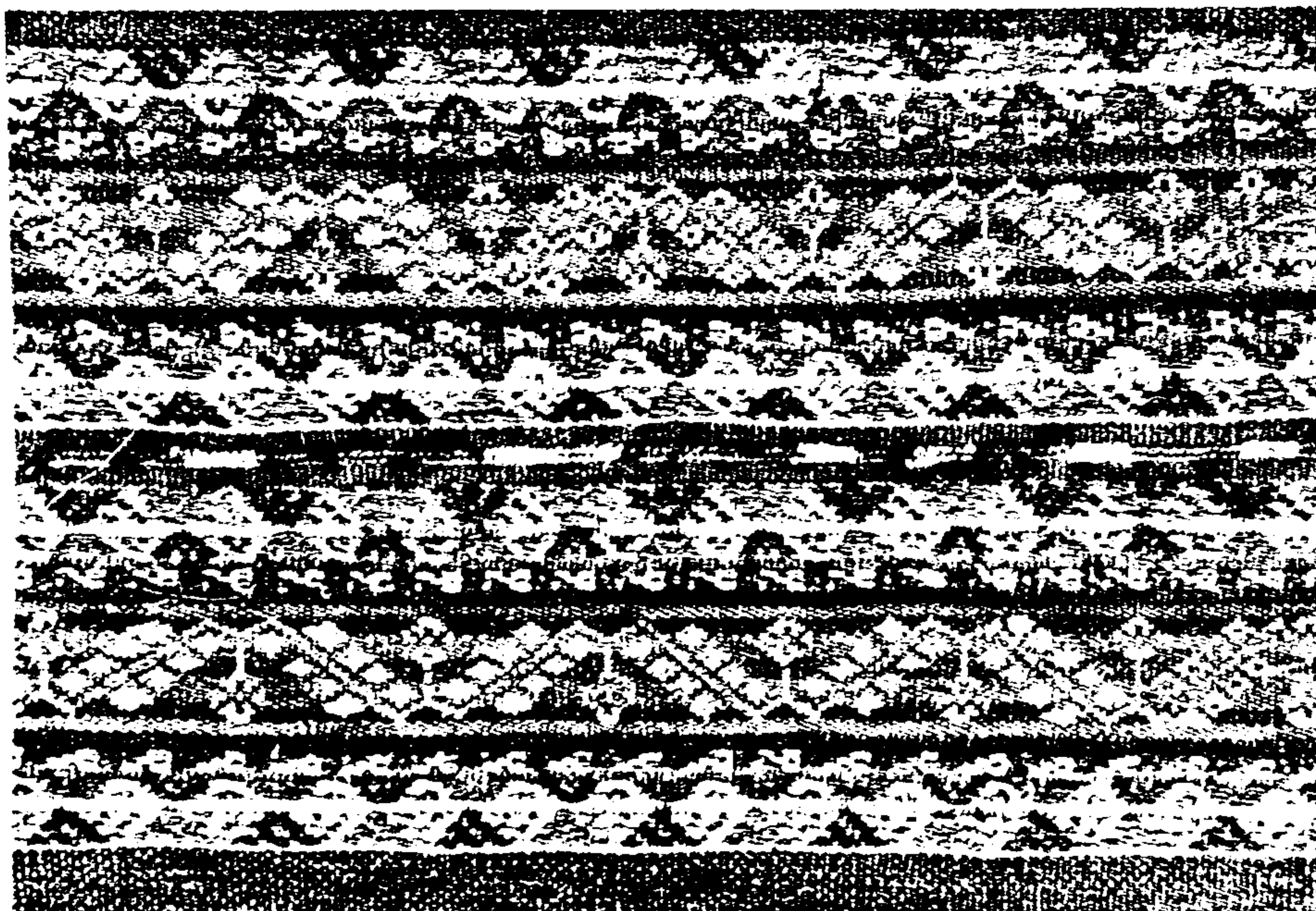
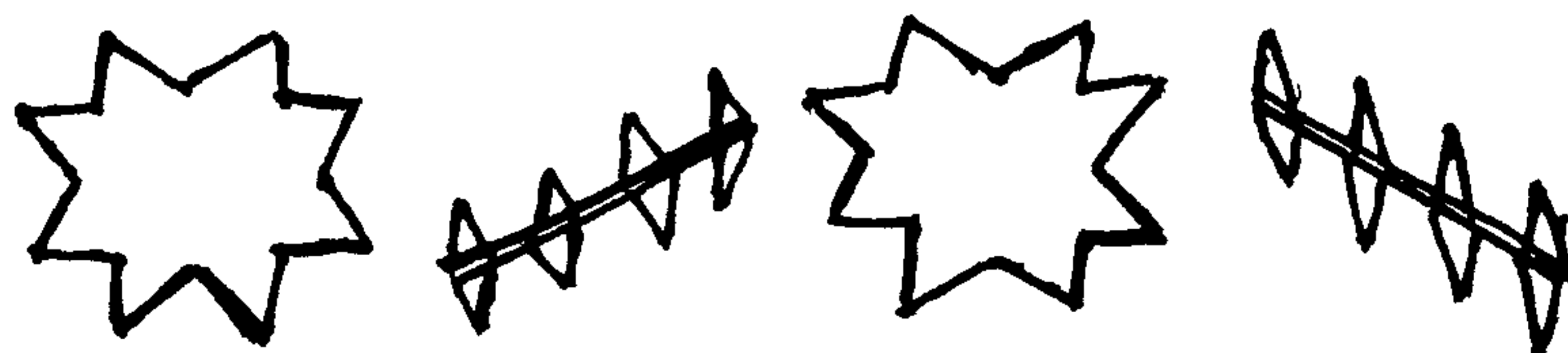
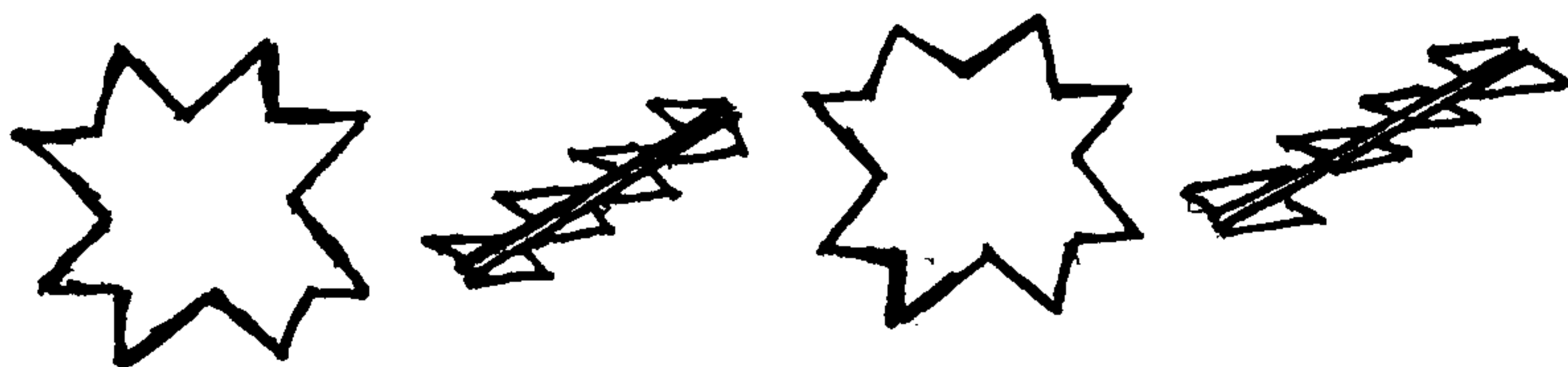
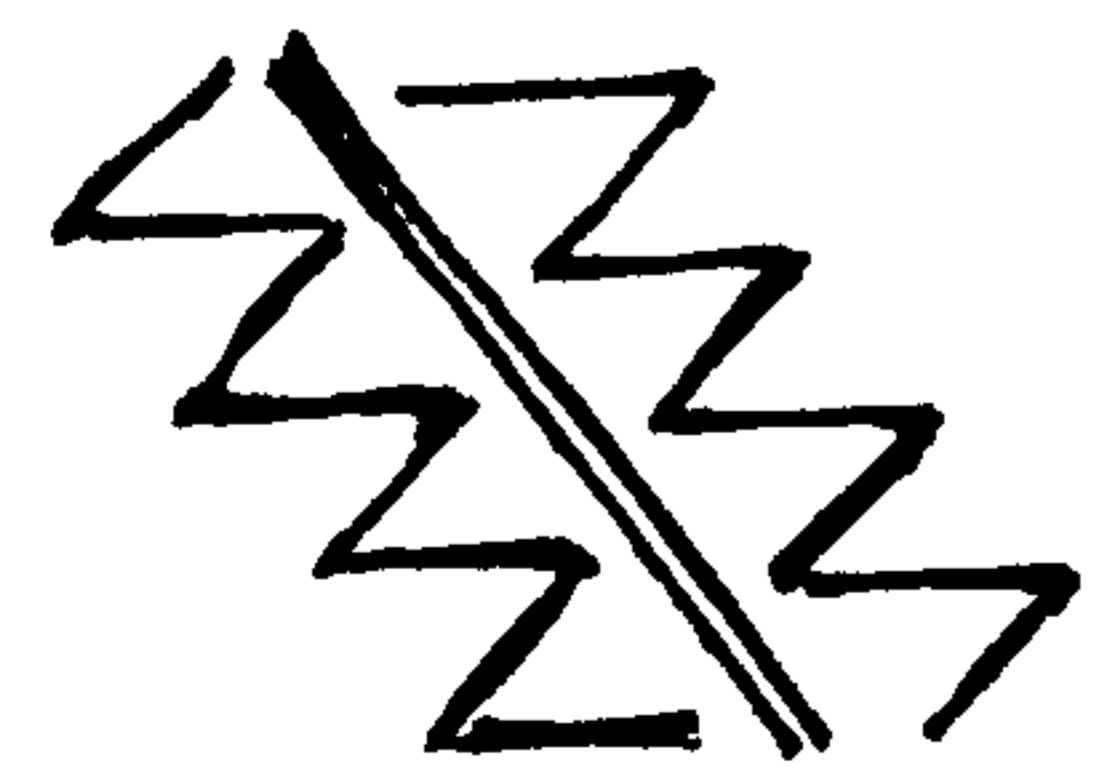
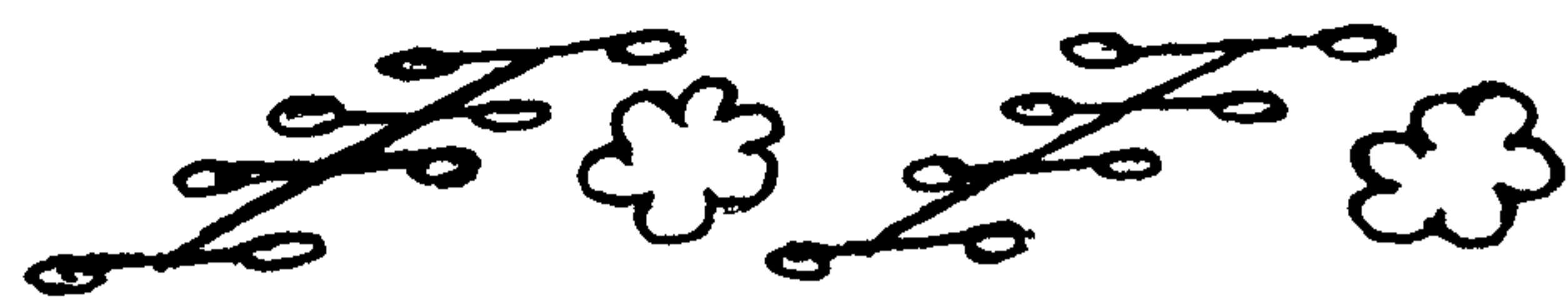
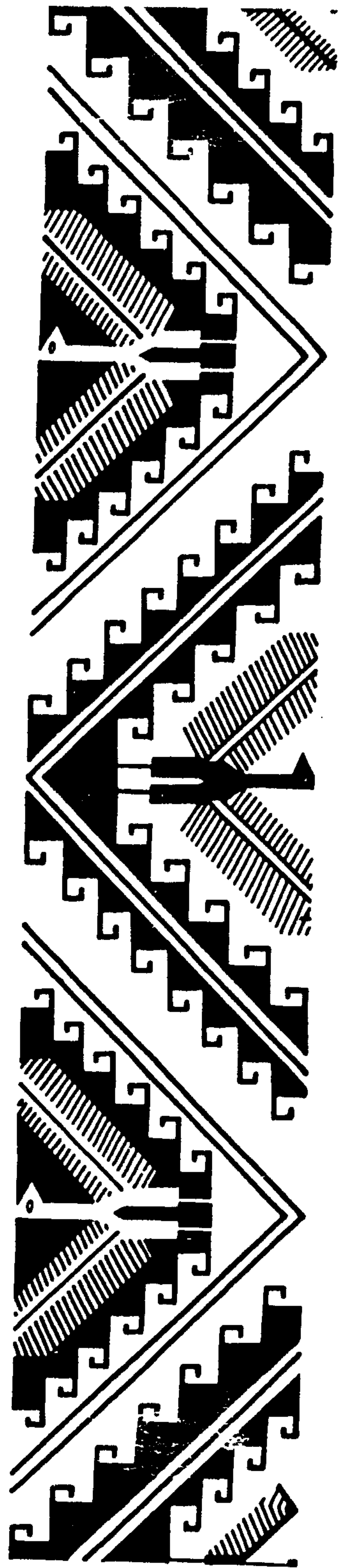
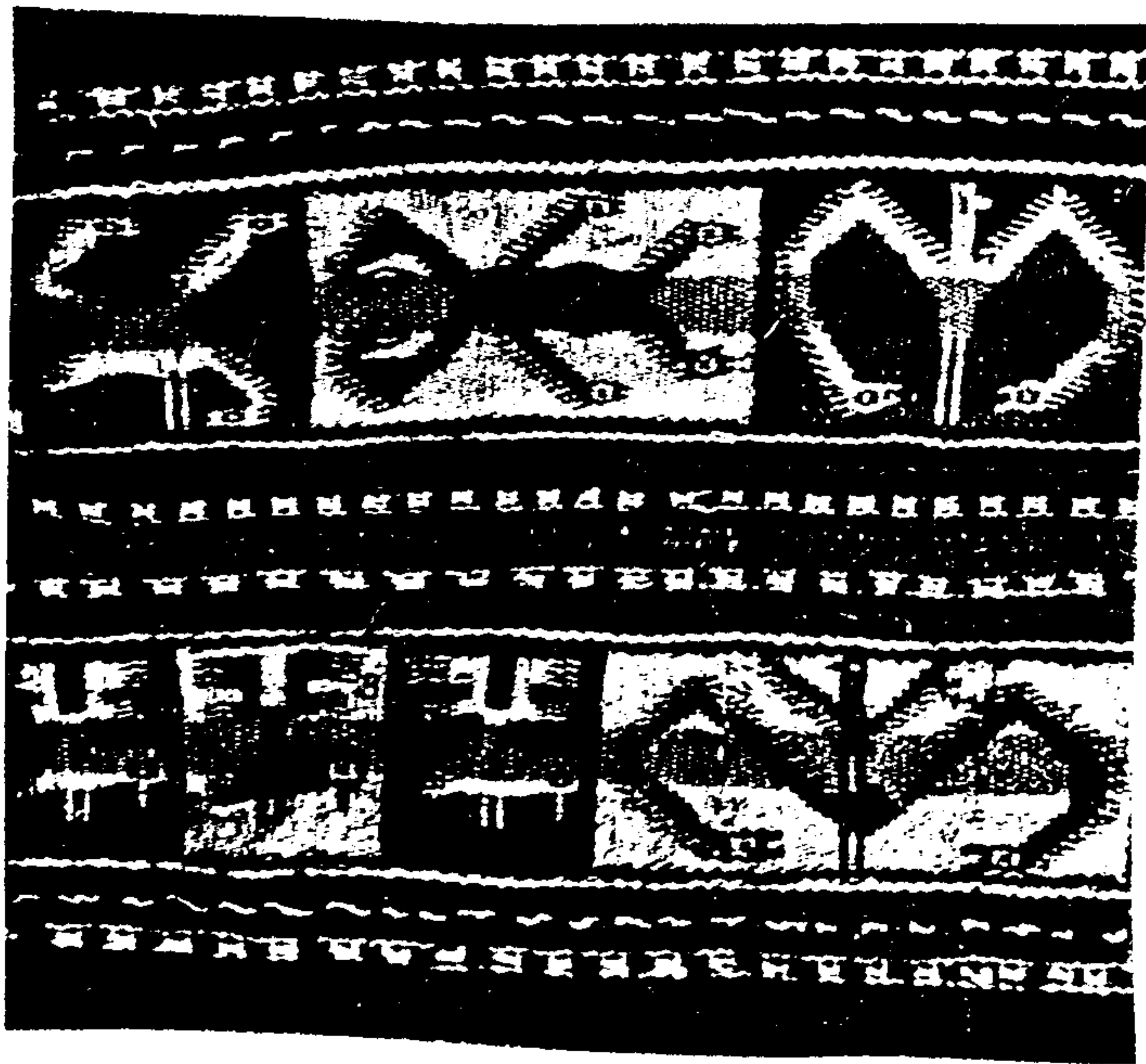
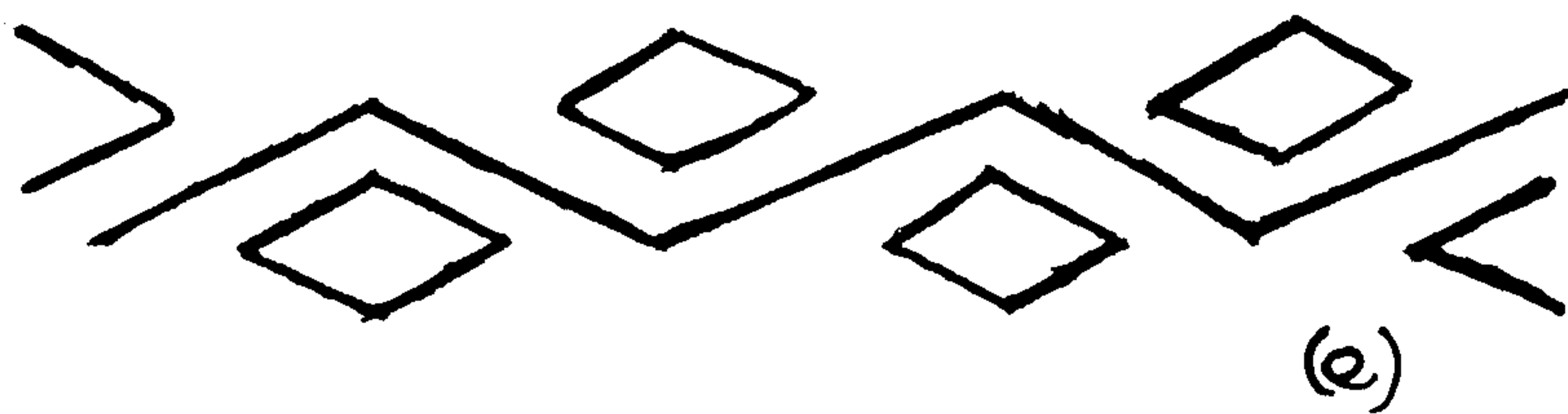
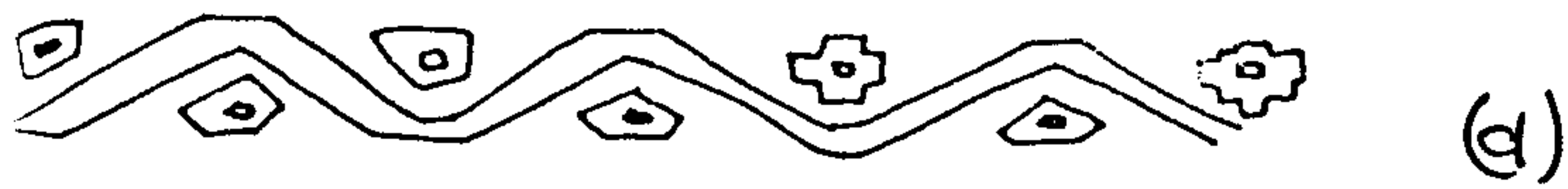
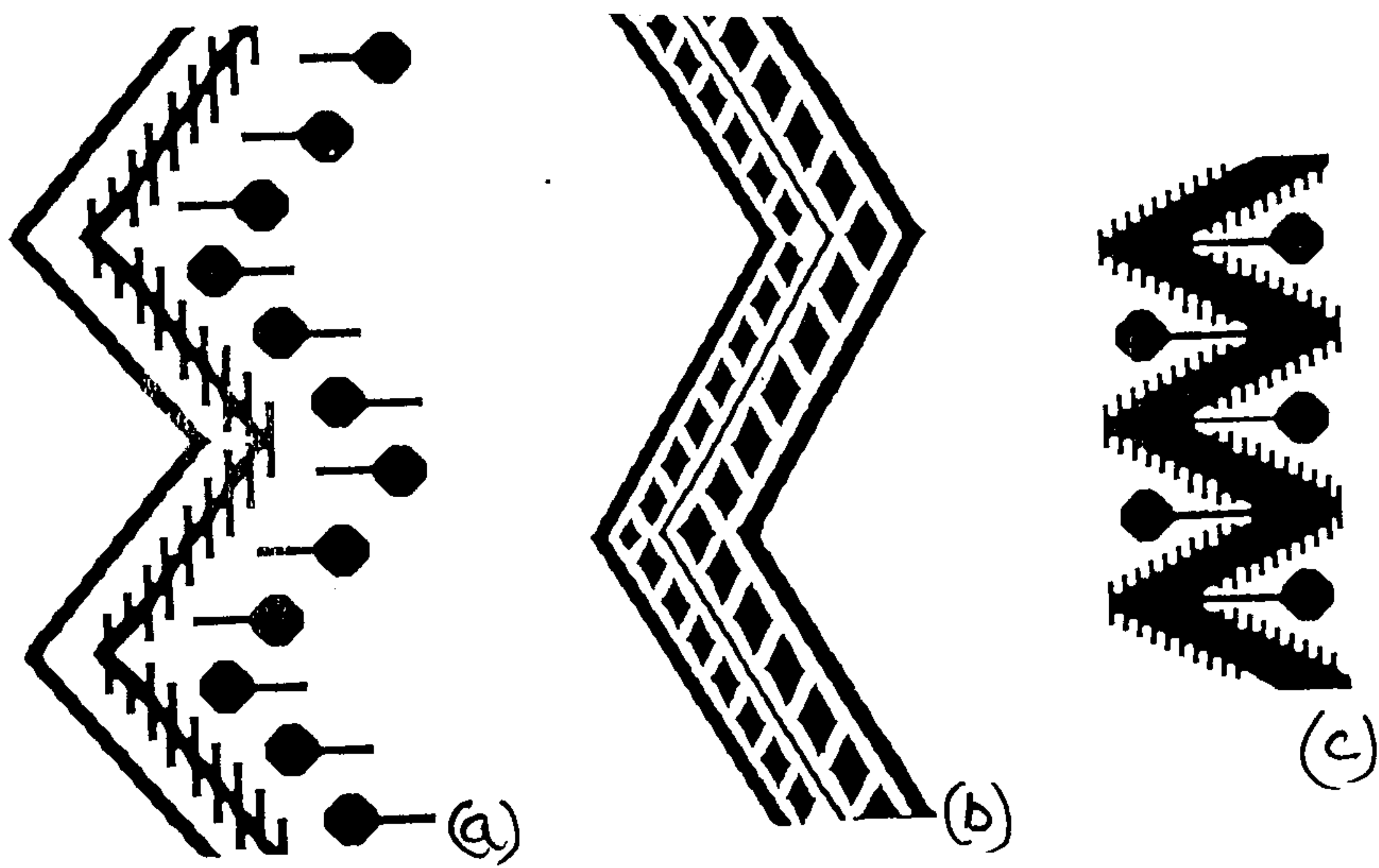


Fig. 15. Modern and colonial lintu designs.



(+)

Fig. 16. (a), (b), (c) mayu kenko (d) almanancito (e) cerro y serpiente (f), (g) condor-serpent figures.

then, always associated either with stars or flowers or with the *inflorescencias* which like them indicate the transforming energy of light.

In Tarabuco (Meisch 1987: 54) and in Chinchero (Franquemont et. al.: Fig. 6), a similar zigzag figure is called *mayu* (river) *k'inku*, or *kenko* [Fig 17 a, b, c]. Describing it as a 'river' zigzag, suggests a less angular form, and both *linku* and *k'inku* can mean 'curva' (Lara: 158), or 'ondulación, sinuosidad' (Lira: 228).

There would, then, appear to be no terminological distinction between a meandering zigzag line and a meandering wavy line. In Bolívar, however, there is always said to be a clear distinction: the angular forms were always *laymi linku*¹⁷; a less commonly woven and less ornate undulating line interspersed with dots is *mayu linku*.

ii) Sacha Mama and Yacu Mama

A myth recounted by Valcárcel about two cosmic serpents, *Sacha Mama*, Tree Mother, and *Yacu Mama*, Water Mother, makes a similar somewhat ambiguous distinction between the zigzag and the curve. Two-headed *Sacha Mama* climbs vertically from the lower to the upper world while single headed *Yacu Mama* first winds horizontally across the earth. *Sacha Mama* becomes the curvilinear rainbow, *Yacu Mama* the zigzag lightning (1959b)¹⁸.

Mayu refers to the snake which eventually becomes lightning, suggesting that if *mayu* and *laymi linku* represent contrasting aspects of a single concept, the latter should signify the rainbow.

In the sky, however, **mayu**, the passive, curvilinear body of water, becomes the active, downward striking, zigzag, lightning, whereas the upward thrusting tree takes on the curved, closed form of the rainbow.

Whilst **mayu**, the Milky Way or celestial river, is identified with lightning, the black constellations which lie within it, and particularly that of the **machac'uay**, serpent, are associated with the rainbow (Urton: 1981, Arnold: 1988).

Thus not only do these two related phenomena have contrasting celestial and terrestrial (or subterranean) aspects but these are simultaneously in opposition to those of their counterpart. The form and nature of lightning undergo a transformation comparable to that which takes place in the condor and the toad depending on its location in time and space and whether this is male or female dominated. These characteristics can be summarised as:

Table 1

	Lightning	Rainbow
Right Hand Side Up	male angular vertical above the earth downward directed white	female in male zone curving horizontal above the earth arching black (red)
Left Hand Side Up	female straight vertical coming from below upward growing coloured	male in female zone curving horizontal coming from below quietly flowing white (green)[copa]
	Rainbow	Lightning

The element of terrestrial/celestial contrast which is present in some *laymi linku* designs could then, apply equally to either lightning or the rainbow; names used in the Calcha area for a design similar to *laymi linku* relate this design to lightning, but the connotations of the spiral [analysed in Section III] suggest that the two should not be considered in separation; other names, as well as more evolved forms of the design suggest it represents a relationship between the two.

iii) Almañancito, tawanito

Whether curved as in Bolívar, or angular, as in Tarabuco and Chinchero, the 'river' referred to as *mayu linku* appears to be the 'celestial' river, or Milky Way, *mayu*, rather than a terrestrial one. In Calcha the zigzag figure is called *almañancito*, 'little pathway of the souls' (Medlin 1987: 61) [Fig 16]; at the beginning of November, the Milky Way touches the horizon and forms a bridge by which the souls of the dead can return to this world for the festival of Todos Santos (Sullivan 1987: 118).

An alternative name for this design, *tawanito*, 'little four' (Medlin 1987: 62), also suggests its association with lightning. Both *Taguacapa* (Sarmiento in Gisbert 1987: 40) and *pusicakha* (Bertonio II: 278) associate this deity with division into four.

Though division into four is a recurrent theme in textile terminology and in its design, it does not seem particularly appropriate to describe a zigzag or diagonal line, *linku*, as having four parts. In Calcha, however,

two opposed zigzags are also called **linku** (Medlin 1987: 62). Counterposed in this way the **linku** form a cross, **cata** or **chaka**, which divides space into four and which, like **almañancito**, the Milky Way, also represents a 'bridge' or 'ladder' (Urton 1981: 150)¹⁹.

The apparent ambiguity between zigzag and cross in the terminology of textile designs is repeated in Andean cosmology. The zigzag celestial **mayu** is seen as reflecting the serpentine form of the Vilcanota, and dividing the night sky, as the terrestrial river divides terrestrial space, into two **suyu** along an NW/SE axis; in addition its alternating axes as viewed from a fixed point on the earth form a diagonal cross which divides the sky into four celestial **suyus** (Urton 1981: 58, Fig 19).

iv) Cerros y Serpientes

An unadorned zigzag outlined by rhomboids or half-rhomboids on a textile purchased in Cusco is called **cerros y serpientes** (Dransart: 1986) [Fig 17 (d)].

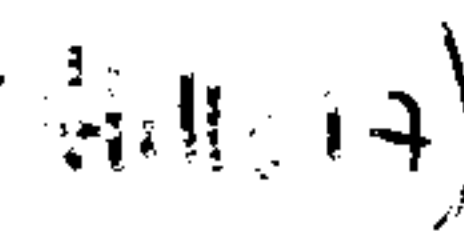
In metaphorical terms **cerro**, mountain, can be a masculine element comparable to 'condor', the bird whose form the mountain spirits most commonly take.

There is a mountain **wak'a** in Laymi territory called **condor nasa**, which is related to a river of the same name (Gisbert et. al.: 213). These **wak'as**, which are both associated with lightning (*loc. cit.*), make a similar contrast between its 'upper' and 'lower' aspects to that exhibited in the myth; the horizontal curves of the river, counterbalancing the vertical zigzags of the mountain peaks, complement and interchange with each other

in the same way as the movement and form of terrestrial Yacu Mama, and the celestial Rayo.

The relationship between mountain wak'a (condor nasa), and river wak'a (condor nasa), in the Laymi example implies that the textile cerro y serpiente figure could be described as cerro y río, which repeats the fundamental urqu/uma contrast; if both aspects of the design are related to living creatures rather than to geographic forms, it can also be interpreted as 'condor and serpent'. The contrast implicit in the condor-serpent design is, however, not that between celestial and terrestrial lightning but between lightning and the rainbow a contrast which could also apply to the cerro y serpiente.

v) The transformation between condor and serpent

There are, then, two 'versions' of this ambiguous woven figure, the abstract cerro y serpiente, and the naturalistic 'condor and serpent'. It is not only the former which is trompe l'oeil, posing a problem as to whether the zigzag should be read vertically (as mountains) or horizontally (as river), whether it separates the half-rhomboids or is defined by them; a typical kurti figure from Challa shows the condor perched in the interstices of the zigzag (Gisbert et. al.: plates 221, 222; Wasserman ) and in Bolívar the condor's spread wings sometimes end in the matched heads of a pair of serpents (Gisbert et. al.: plate 204 and unnumbered colour plate following plate 272); Gisbert includes several examples of this figure in textiles typical of the 'zona charcas'. In either case it is impossible to

distinguish which creature is 'transforming' into or 'emerging' from which [see Fig. 17]²⁰.

Although Gisbert associates serpentine designs with lightning (Gisbert et. al.: 213), in Bolívar the two-headed snake is primarily associated with the rainbow. This latter variation on the *linku* figure suggests more explicitly than do the other two, the contrast between lightning in its celestial aspect, white, and the rainbow in its terrestrial (or subterranean) aspect, colour.

a) The 'winged serpent', catari

The two-headed rainbow and the woven figure of the two-headed serpent which represent it are both called *amaru*, dragon serpent [see Section IV]. The Aymara term for a similar serpent is *catari*, and its associated meanings have a similar ambiguity to that expressed visually in the condor-serpent design.

Both in reality and as a woven design the horizontal shape and movement of the serpent, like that of the river, is repeated in the vertical outline of the mountain peaks and in the flap of the condor's wings. Linguistically *catari*, serpent, is related not only, as might be expected, to a verb describing a serpentine way of moving, *catatitha*, 'arrastrar' (Bertonio II: 38), *katatnaktaña*, 'reptar, caminar arrastrándose' (De Lucca: 221), but to a verb describing the flapping of a bird's wings, *catatha*, *quirquitha*, 'alear, batir las alas el pajaró en el ayre sin volar' (Bertonio I: 36)^{21,22}.

The appearance of *cata* and *kata* as separate entries, both in Holguín (*op. cit.*: 51, 138) and De Lucca (*op.*

cit.: 65-66, 221-222) is confusing, and may be the result either of inconsistent orthography or of regional variation. In Quechua and Aymara derivatives of both **cata** and **kata** express the idea of division into four or of four equidistant exterior points linked to a centre: **catachillay** (Holguín: 51, Bertonio II: 58, De Lucca: 65, and cf De Lucca: 221] is a cross-shaped constellation which will be examined further in (vi) below, **catalliña** is 'atar un animal por las cuatro extremidades' (De Lucca: 65).

This division is not visually apparent in the abstract **cerro y serpiente**, but it emerges clearly in the naturalistic condor/serpent figure where the outspread wings and two snake heads divide the design into four balanced parts [see Fig. 17].

vi) The condor-serpent figure and the cross

The cross and the zigzag are related to the condor and the serpent in celestial as well as in textile space: a constellation known as 'condor' takes the form of a cross (Urton 1981: 136), whilst **catari**, the serpent, relates to the zigzag form of Cassiopia, **catar paka** (De Lucca: 66).

The significance of the Andean cross, **cata**, or **chaka**, and those constellations outlining its various forms, have been studied in detail by Urton (1981). He draws a distinction (op. cit.: 130-131) between the type of cross associated with **chaka**, which he relates to **cruz**, and to prehispanic forms of cross which include the X, the V, the Y the T and I, a simple 'cross beam' or 'upright', and the

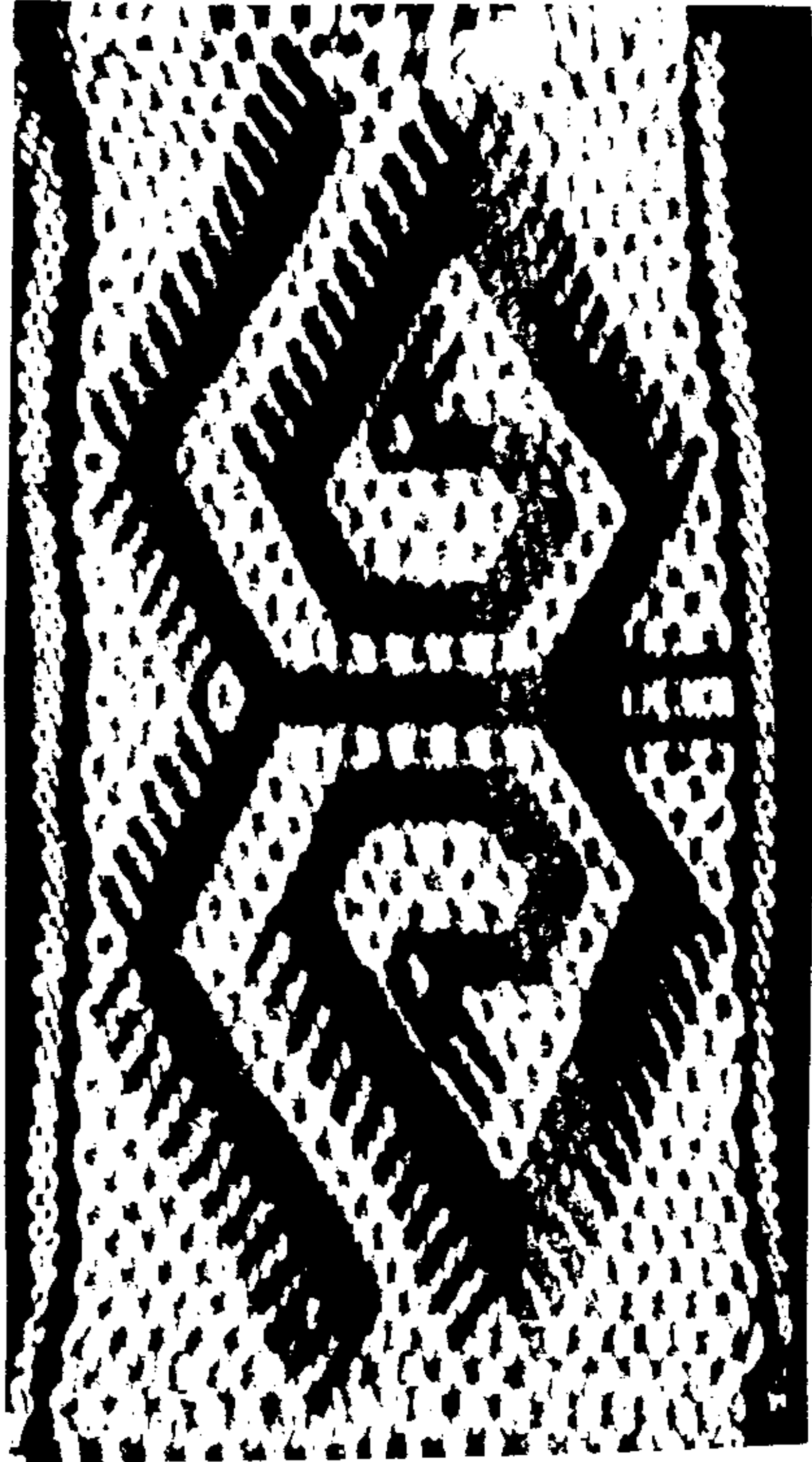
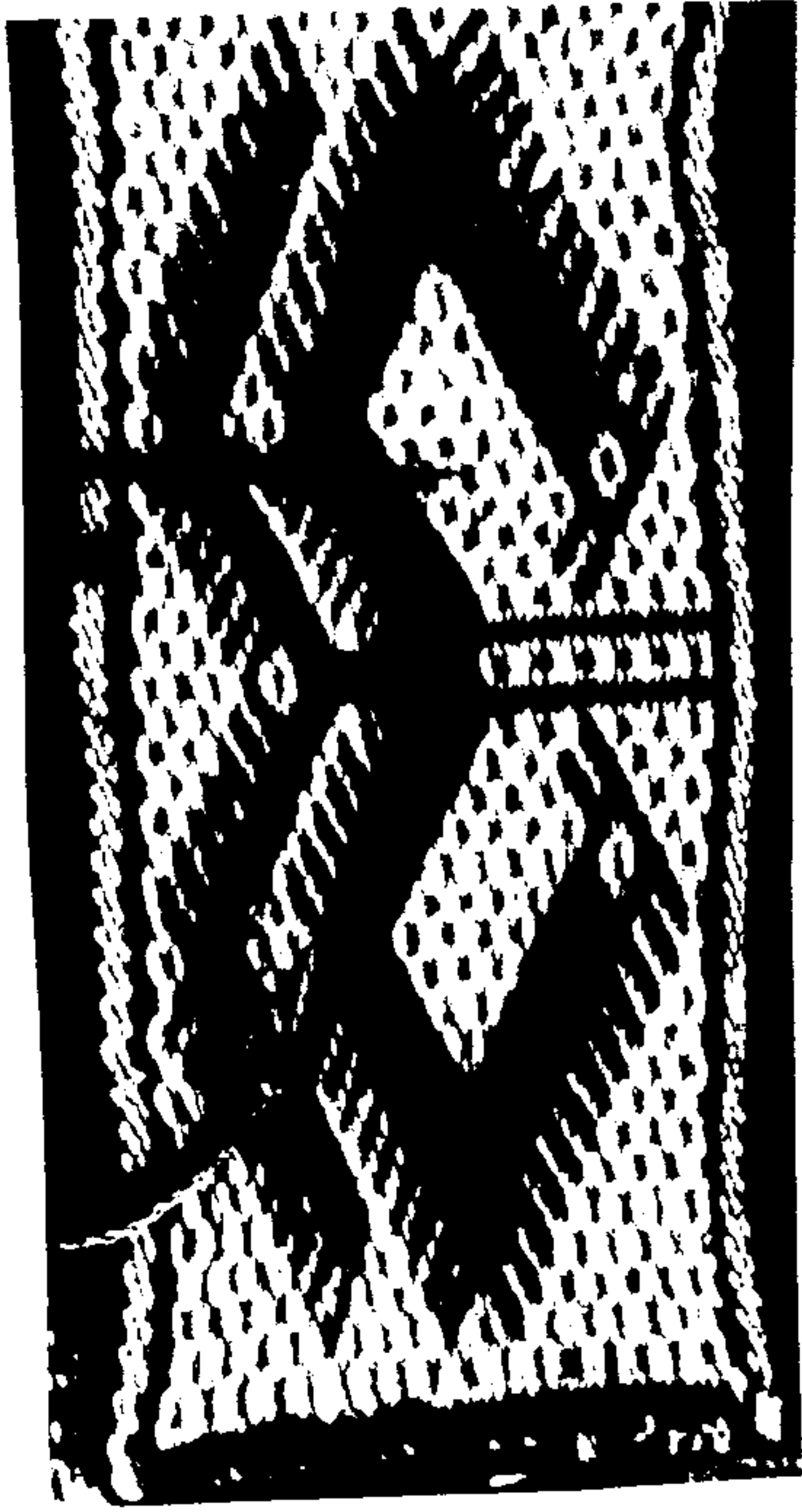


Fig. 17. Figured designs from Bolivar and from the Charcas region

type associated with **cata**, which he relates to **crucero**, the Latin or right-angled cross (1983: 149, Fig 55).

Whilst there appears to be a distinction both between a right-angle cross and a diagonal cross and between the application of **cata** and **chaka**, the image of four outstretched limbs suggests diagonal opposition; according to Bandelier (*op. cit.*: 108), in Aymara villages around Lake Titicaca, of the two superimposed crosses placed at the house gable, it is the diagonal cross which represents two snakes [**catari**] and is a symbol of lightning as a downward ray or bolt. **Chaka**, on the other hand, can refer to a bridge or leg, and if it represents, as **urqu** and **unu(chillay)** appear to do, a different type of cross to **cata(chillay)**, to be closer to their image of a single conductive pole or axis; the arms and head of the other, right-angle roof-top cross, which also represents lightning, are described by Bandelier as its hands, or **maki**, and suggest an upward movement [see Chapter 7, IV] complementary to the downward movement of the snakes.

a) The cross and the pole

Urton identifies an apparently cruciform constellation listed by the early lexicographers as **catachillay** as the Southern Cross. This formation is an astronomically important one as it provides a 'pointer' for locating the Southern pole (Urton 1981: 59).

Catachillay is listed together with **orcochillay** (Holguín: 51, Ricardo: 129), and with **unuchilla** (Bertonio I: 150). Neither of the latter terms is cross-referenced and, as it has not been identified as a constellation²³,

it is not clear whether the two form a related or an opposed pair.

Cata (Ricardo: 23. Santo Tomás: 251), [cf *kata* (Holguín: 138) and *ccata* (Bertonio II: 42)], is linked with the protection provided by a roof or blanket (in which it will be remembered the Qaqachaka house is seen to be wrapped). Both roof and blanket were related in Chapter 7 to the theme of four equidistant points or corners comparable to those of a conventional cross. Though concentric wrappings can have male or female connotations the concept of 'wrapping in a textile' has already been shown to be associated with the female [see Chapter 7: II].

Urqu or *unu* on the other hand both relate to a single upright pole with masculine connotations. *Orco* or *urqu* can mean mountain, which suggests a contrast *urqu/cata* similar to that already expressed in the mountain(condor)-serpent textile figure.

Urqu, 'mountain' or 'mountain spirit', can also be transcribed *jurq'u* (Platt 1986a: 243), and this suggests an additional significance. The possibility of the relationship between words with initial /j/ or /h/ extending to those with initial /q/, /k/ or /c/ was suggested in Chapter 6 and is also mentioned in the Appendix. Holguín uses the term *curcu* together with *chaka*: *chacatana curcu* is 'cruz' (op. cit.: 465). In this entry, however, there is no punctuation between the two words, as there is between the two 'pairs' of stars, suggesting that together they refer to a single cross=(*chaca*), beam, (*curcu*), a bridge between two point²⁴.

Urqu can also mean **macho**; the association of the roof beam with the penis and with masculine generative power is a recurrent theme and **curcu** also refers to a central roof support or beam: 'viga, o madera gruesa' (Holguín: 56).

Like Quechua **orqochillay**, Aymara **unuchilla** also suggests a single 'beam' or 'bridge' associated with a cross: Bertonio insists (*op. cit.* II: 377) that **unu** is an indigenous term for 'one'. **Unu** forms the root of verbs meaning 'menear', 'mover', and the example he gives of its application is of 'movimiento del cielo' (*op. cit.*: 378). The pairing of **unuchilla** with **orcochilla** thus provides a cosmological image of a single rocking or turning vertical pole complemented by the stability of four equidistant horizontal points or corners. The relationship between a moving cosmic axis and a diagonal cross is clearly illustrated by Urton (1981: 58) in the diagram reproduced as Fig. 18.

b) The loom and the spindle

In the mythology of tribes from northern South America, **catachillay**, the Southern Cross, is paired with and contrasted to the Northern Cross, or Cygnus (Urton 1981: 147). This pairing has a comparable metaphoric significance to its pairing with **orco/curcuchillay**.

In Aymara the Northern Cross is **kapu wara** (De Lucca: 219), literally 'spindle star'. Elsewhere in the Andes (Reichel Dolmatoff: 1978c) the spindle is regarded as an **axis mundi**.

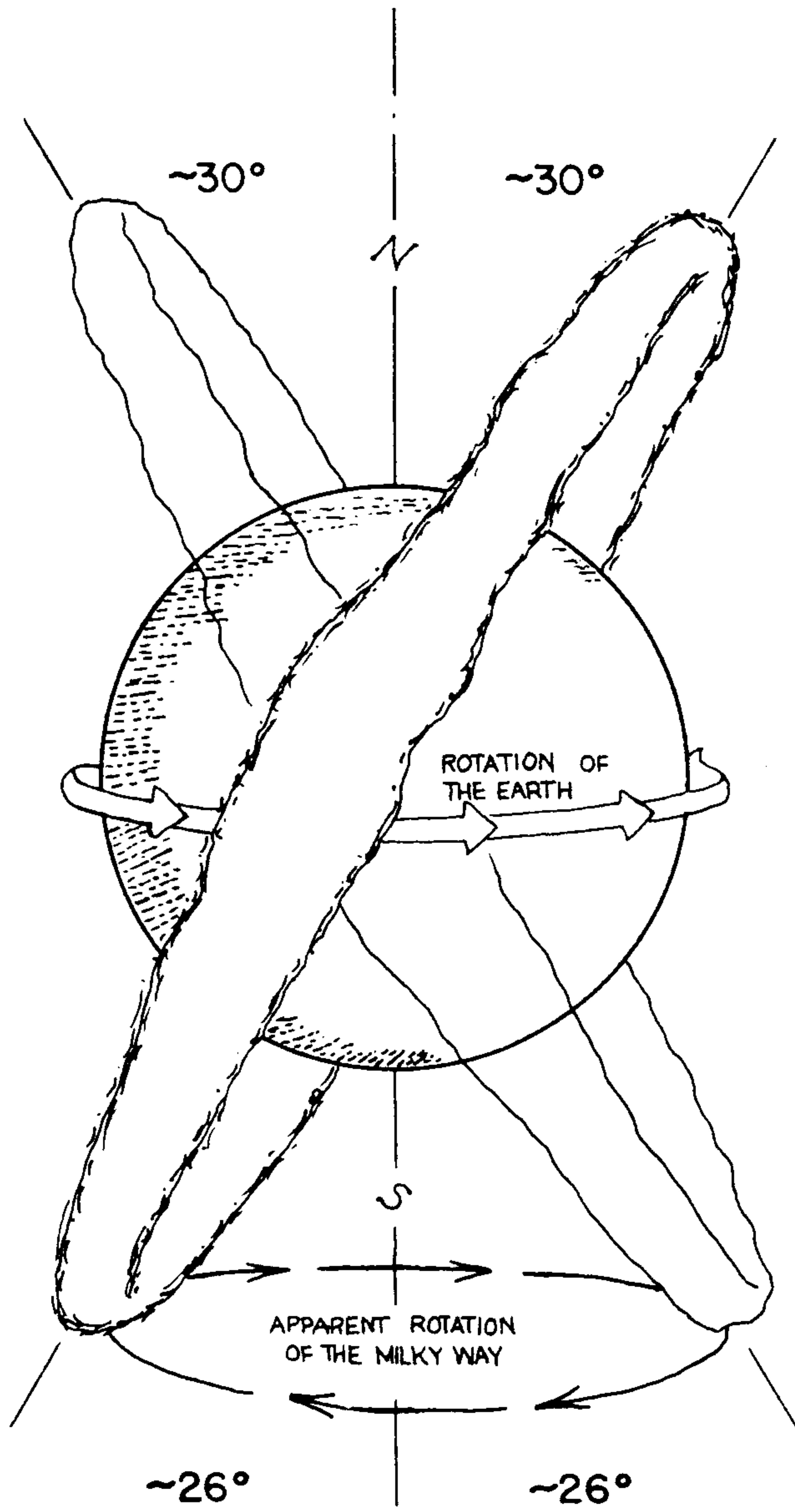


Fig. 16. Diagram showing the alternating axes of the Milky Way

Kapu is the spindle (De Lucca; 219). **Kapu aya** (loc. cit.), or simply **aya** (Bertonio II: 28), is the spindle with a full complement of spun thread. Derivatives of **aya**, like those of **cata**, relate to various kinds of cross and suggests this thread is seen as complementing the movement of the spindle in a way comparable to the pairing of **kapu wara**, **orco/unuchillay** with **catachillay**^{25, 26}.

Mythology also expresses this cosmic complementarity in terms of a weaving metaphor; according to Montesinos (op. cit.: 37) during the appearance of a comet or of lightning the people of the Cusco hid their spindles and their looms for fear that they would be turned into or taken over by serpents and 'bears', by which Montesinos probably meant pumas.

This myth can be understood as describing the fear of a potential **pachakuti**, brought about by the appearance of 'celestial fire', and the reversion from order to disorder implied by the change of the essentially 'cultured' implements of a craft into 'savage' reptiles and animals (cf. Hocquenghem: 1984). These instruments represent the complementarity between an upward moving force (the tree which becomes the two headed snake), and a corresponding downward movement (the forked or split lightning). This complementarity, like that between motion and stability is necessary for the maintenance of cosmic order, and hiding their symbols is a preventative measure.

Summary

The distinction made in Bolívar between **mayu** and **laymi linku** relates not so much to that between a curved

and an angular line but to the complementarity between either lightning and the rainbow or between terrestrial and celestial aspects of one or other of these bodies.

Names for the *linku* design used in other parts of the Andes imply its association with lightning, as does the dual location of ritual sites in the *Laymi* area. On the other hand, naturalistic variations of the *laymi linku* design, which include the Bolívar condor and (double-headed) serpent, suggest the lightning/rainbow contrast; the implications of this relationship will be further investigated in Section IV.

The cyclical transformation between two complementary entities apparent in the Peruvian myth of *Sacha Mama* and *Yacu Mama* and visually expressed in both the abstract *cerro y serpiente* and in the condor-serpent is also found in the linguistic associations of these designs.

Analysis of *urqu*, mountain/condor and *catari*, serpent reveal a further complementarity between two forms capable of conducting energy, those of a single bridge or pole and a cross. This complementarity, which signifies the complementarity of male and female forces, is encoded in the pairing of constellations, the pairing of design elements and in the pairing of the spindle and the loom.

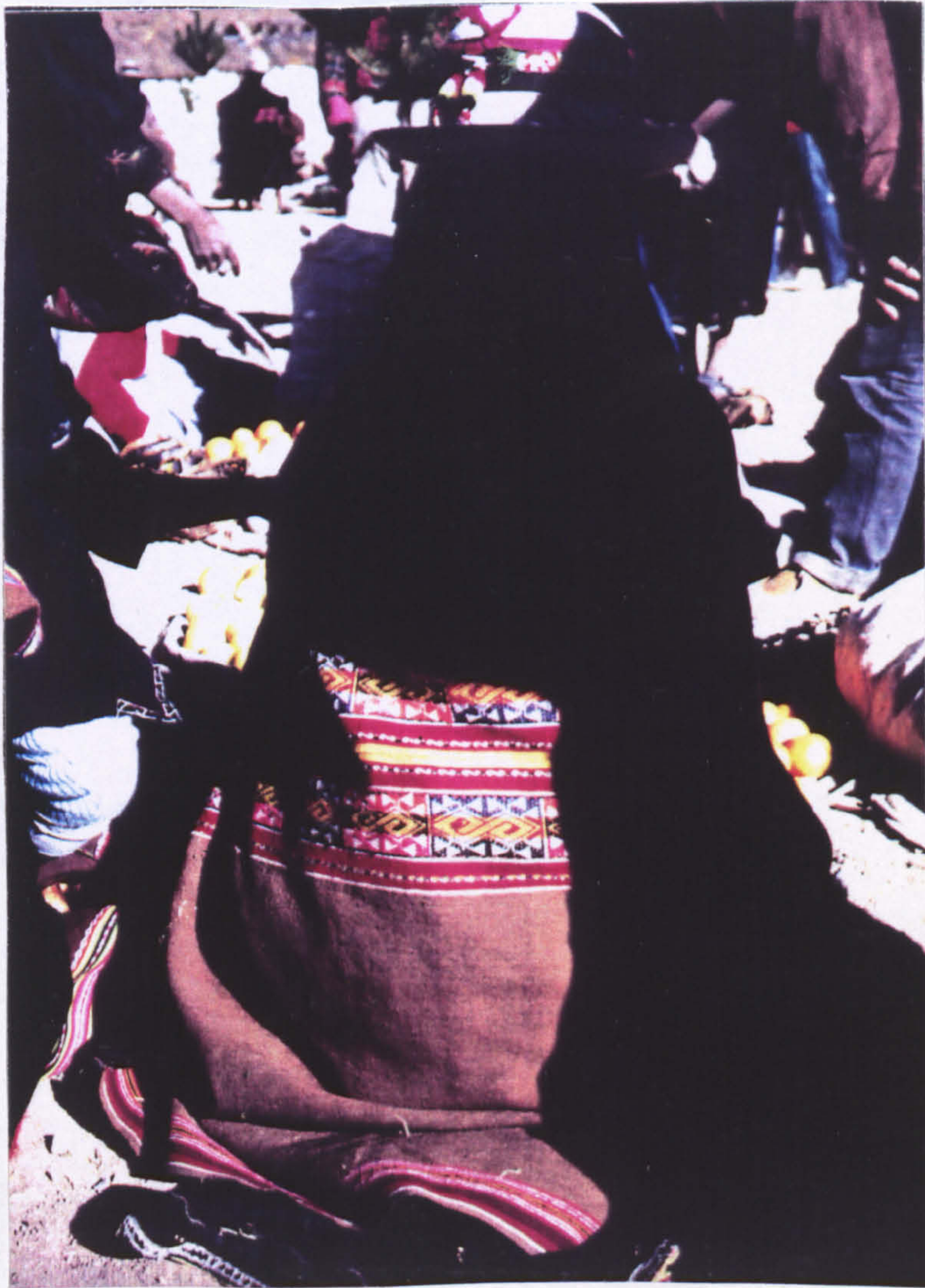


Plate 10. Llijlla with the kurti amaru.

IV THE TWO-HEADED SERPENT

Introduction

The idea that the elements of a figured design, specifically those of the Bolívar **laymi linku** or condor-serpent, might represent male/female complementarity and the many varieties of social, political and even cosmic dualism for which this basic contrast provides a metaphor, was analysed in Section III and many of the metaphorical associations of the serpent have already emerged in the examination of the zigzag, **linku**.

This section will examine a figure typical of the **kurti** style and one which I saw frequently in Bolívar, the two-headed serpent, **amaru**. Like the winged serpent mentioned in connection with the condor-serpent figure, its associations are primarily with the rainbow, but its relationship to the concept of **kuti**, which links change in direction or time to change in colour [see Chapter 6, III], suggest that the rainbow and lightning may be indissolubly linked.

The **amaru** appears to embody within a single design element, the S or Z, a comparable sense of reciprocal transformation and balance to that depicted in the contrasted elements of the **laymi linku** and the condor-serpent. In a chapter on figured designs, which can be seen as the most explicit textile representation of concepts embedded in colour terminology and in that of the abstract stripes, the twisting form of the **amaru** is visually the simplest and at the same time the most

complete expression of the equilibrium maintained through constant motion in space and time.

i) Amaru, the rainbow-dragon

In Bolívar a woven S or Z figure is called **amaru**, a name also used for the rainbow (Urton 1981: 88-89). In pebble weave the **amaru** figure can be a simple outline, or one with 'rays'; when woven in the double cloth technique it is usually decorated with small triangular 'flags', 'flowers' or 'stars', typical of the **kurti** style. Like 'wings', 'feathers', or 'hair', this type of decorative 'aura' signifies the vital energy of light [Fig. 19].

Santo Tomás (*op. cit.*: 233) and Holguín (*op. cit.*: 24) translate **amaru** as 'serpiente dragon'. The appearance of a serpent of this kind was recorded in Huamachuco around 1560 (Hocquenghem 1983: 5). It was 'hairy', with the head of a deer (*loc. cit.*), and was known as **Uscaiguai** (*loc. cit.*).

Hocquenghem likens this hairy or feathered **amaru** to the fanged deer-serpent-jaguar which appears on Moche pots (1983: 5). She considers that 'fangs' and 'serpents' are:

attributes and appendages characterising mythical ancestors[who are also] characterized by their **camay**, their vital animating power (*loc. cit.*).

In other words, 'fangs' and 'serpents' have a similar significance to the feathers, hair, stars and flowers attached to those textile figures which appear

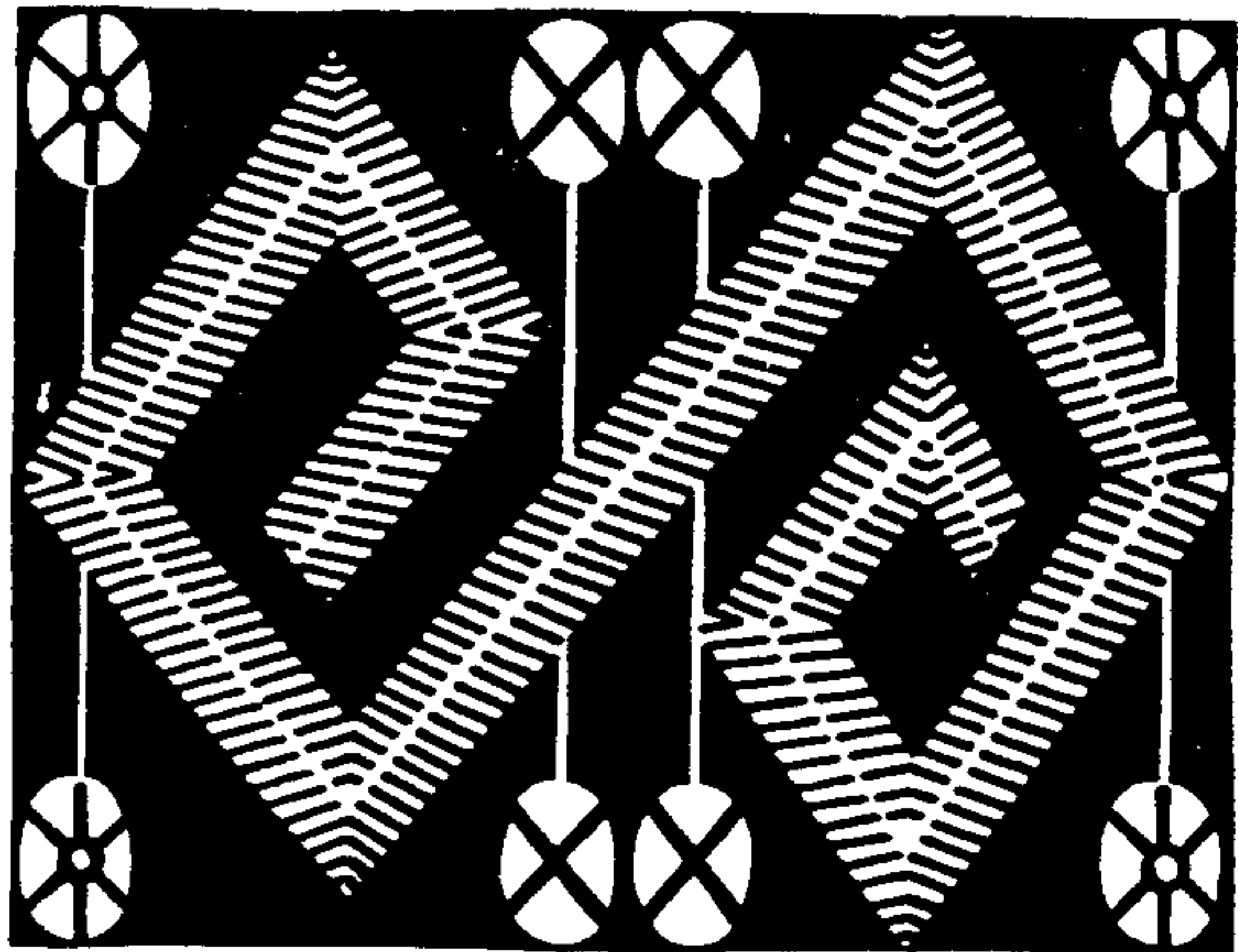
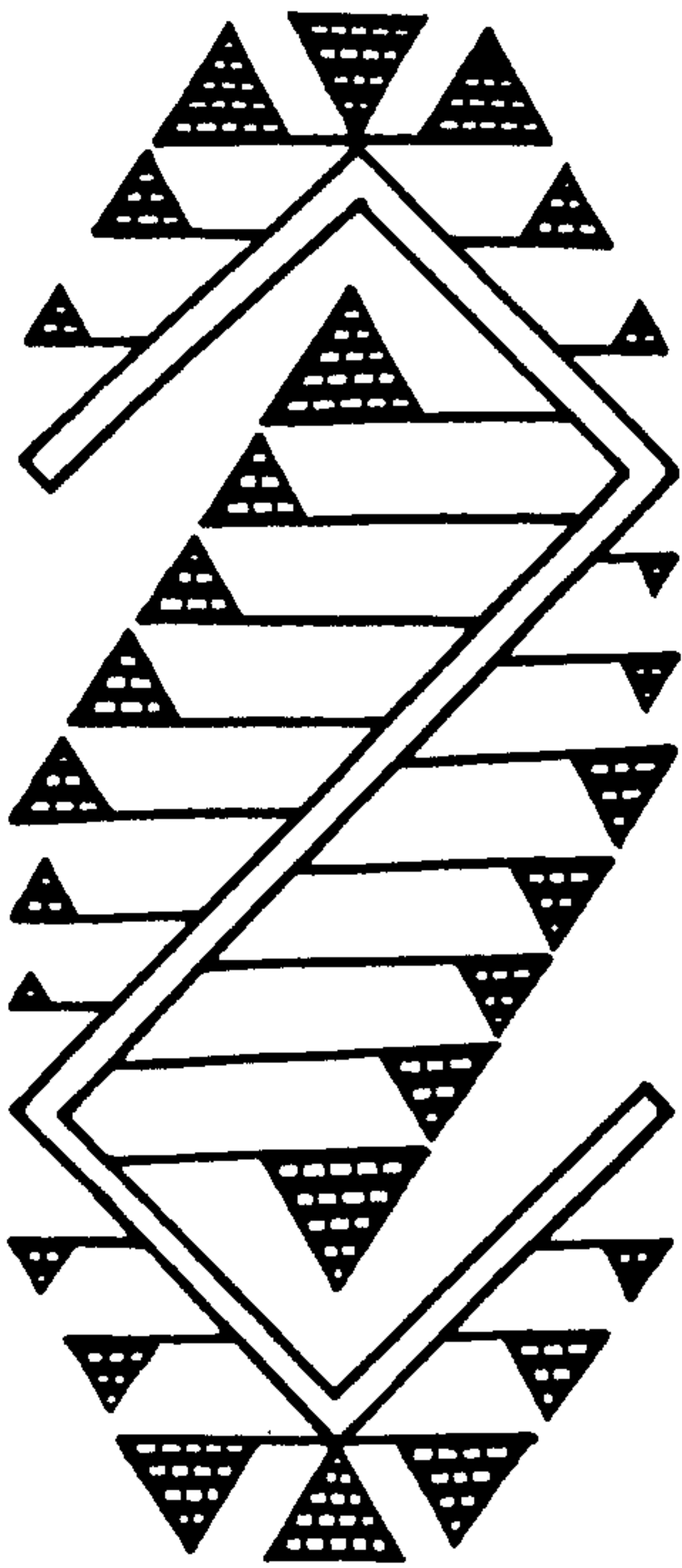
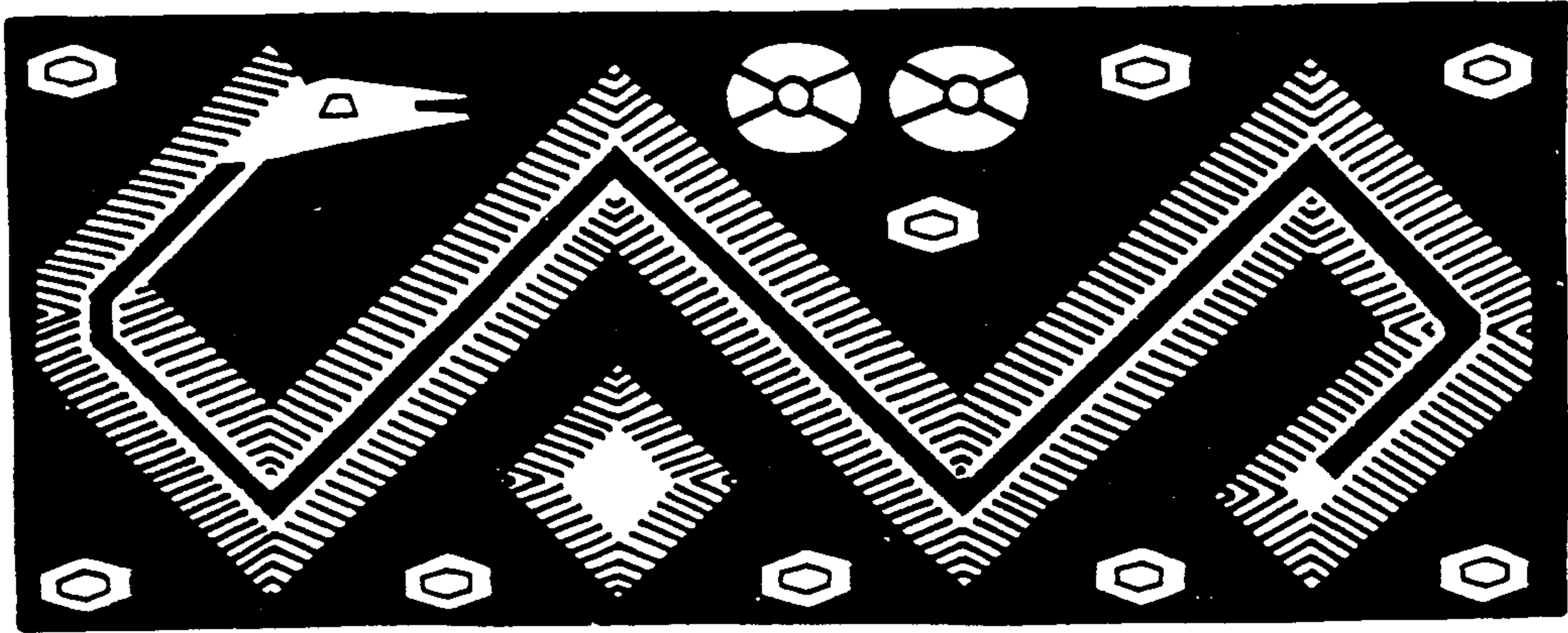


Fig. 19 Serpent figures in the kurti style.

to derive a transforming or generic power from their association with light²⁹.

ii) The relationship between order and chaos

The rainbow's appearance heralds sudden change, the onset of disorder; rainbows appeared at the death or succession of an Inca, and an **amaru**/dragon/rainbow emerged from Lake Titicaca on the arrival of the Spaniards, which heralded a **pachakuti** in the downfall of the Inca empire (Hocquenghem 1983: 6). **Amaru** was also 'a name adopted by rebel chiefs attempting to overthrow the order imposed by the Spaniards' (loc. cit.).

However, the **amaru** should also be understood as:

signifying the maintenance, through complementary opposition, of an order based on a delicate principal of equilibrium (Hocquenghem 1983: 6).

In this context the role of the **amaru** is comparable to that defined by Urton for the Andean cross, one form of which, the zigzag, it resembles.

The complementary opposition, or alternation, of order and disorder can also be seen as an expression of **cama**, of which 'fangs' and 'serpents' may be iconographical representations (Hocquenghem 1983: 5):

en **cama** existe más bien una relación dialéctica: puede ser arreglo y desarreglo de personas y cosas. Con el primero se vincula la capacidad de producir, bienestar y justicia social, en el segundo se asocia el caos y desorden (Valiente: 4).

Torrice puts forward a similar theory in her study of the Macha **Kustala's** transformation from toad into dove, which she considers indicates a search for

equilibrium with the past and the realisation of the necessary interaction of the opposing forces of order and disorder (*op. cit.*: 50).

Thus the **amaru**, possessing the vital force of light, or colour, **sama**, and the animating energy, **cama**, is associated on the one hand with terrestrial upheaval and on the other with wellbeing and the maintenance of stability; it will be remembered that the name of the Huamachuco dragon serpent, **Uscaiguai**, has similar connotations both of equilibrium and of provision of food and other wealth [see Chapter 5, I (vii)].

iii) The cross and the pole in the Andean pantheon

In the investigation of the condor-serpent figure a single pole or beam representing a 'cross', was associated with a horizontal cross connecting four equidistant points. In a comparable way the **amaru** design can be read either as a vertically spiralling axis or as a horizontal serpent.

The number four is one of recurrent significance in both textile iconography and Andean mythology, particularly in the names of its deities.

According to Calancha:

todas las naciones [i.e. Aymara, Quechua, Uru, Puquina] nombran a dios con una palabra que significa lo mismo que Tetragrammaton (quoted in Bouysse-Cassagne 1988: 91).

Lightning, for example, is referred to as **Taguacapa** or **pusicacya**.

An investigation of the associations of another 'creator god', will show how **Huscaguai**, the Huamachuco

dragon-serpent, relates not only to a four-point cross but also to a vertical pole or bridge.

The creator god, **Huscuriha** (Bertonio II: 68), 'el dador de la vida y bienes', whose name shares a root with the dragon-serpent **Uscaiguai** is synonymous with **Yocaniha**. Given the possibility of transformation between the initial consonants /y/ and /ll/ the name of this god expresses both the four horizontally connected points and a fifth connecting axial centre: **llocani**, 'andar a gatas' (Holguín: 214) suggests a similar image of four connected extremities to **catalliña**, but **llucana** is a synonym for **chacana**, 'escalera generalmente' (Santo Tomás : 254), and for **quenco pata**, 'caracol, escalera para subir' (op. cit.: 310), a meaning confirmed by Holguín: 'escalera subir', **llocani**, **chacanacta** (op. cit.: 512)³⁰. **Huscuriha** and **Yocaniha** thus contain elements both of the male bridge or pole, **chaka**, and of the female cross, **cata**.

In a comparable way the spiral form of the **amaru**, with its 'feathers', 'rays', or 'hair', appears to contain elements of pure white (predominantly male) light and the prismatic colours of the (predominantly female) rainbow, and to be perpetually twisting (and untwisting) the two.

iv) Perpetual motion and creative energy

Hocquenhem and Valiente associate the **amaru** with provision a concept also associated with the creator god **Huscuriha** and with the dragon serpent **Huscaguai**. **Huscutha**, 'hazer bien', 'dar a mano llena, o a contento

del que recibe (Bertonio II: 68), is used synonymously with **camatha**, which also means 'criar', and a third term, **ccuyatha**.

It will be remembered that in the Charasani area a spiral or twisting textile figure comparable to the rainbow **amaru** figure is called **chchuru** or **kewillo** (Girault 1969: 43).

Words with the root **kewi** also relate to twisting; **k'ewi** (De Lucca: 258) or **qhiwi** (De Lucca: 367), can mean 'mover', 'menear', 'oscilar', 'devanar' (loc. cit.), that is, like the earth during the **pachacuti** (Holguín: 269; Ricardo: 187) 'to tremble' or 'to shake', but also 'to rock', or 'to swing', essentially a balanced, alternating movement. The form and linguistic associations of the **kewillo** design recall, then, not only those of the **amaru**, but those of the spindle, **kapu**, and the beam, **unu**, which provide an **axis mundi**.

K'ewi is particularly associated with the twisting of thread and its untwisting or twisting the 'other way', as in 'devanar', 'destorcer', 'desenroscar', and 'dar vueltas a un cuerpo por sus dos extremos en sentido opuesto' (De Lucca: 258); this final reference exactly describes the form of the **kewillo** (and **amaru**) textile design³¹.

Ccuyuni has similar associations not only with twisting thread (Holguín: 73), but with twisting the other way: **cuyorina** is 'volvible' (Santo Tomás: 251), thus relating a perpetual balanced movement spiralling

in alternate directions between order and disorder to a manifestation of the life force **cama**.

iv) **Kutij**, that which turns back

The meanings associated with **kewillo** are closely linked to those of **kuti**, which were briefly referred to in Chapter 6. **Kutij** is the name given to the **kewillo** or **amaru** design in Chinchero (Franquemont *et. al.*: Fig.6). **kuti** describes the transformation of one form into another related form, it also describes forms like **kuti sara**, where similar elements turn in contrary directions; these are considered as having **suerte**; the contrasting spirals of the **kewillo** are thus 'en rapport avec le travail agricole' (Girault 1969: 43, and see p. 152). To make a figure of eight, **kutichiy**, is to make two contrasting spirals, and this movement thus has protective properties (Cummings: 35), similar to those of thread plied with yarn twisted in contrary directions.

It will be remembered that the verb **kutichiñay** relates both to twisting/untwisting and to losing/strengthening of colour. This transformation between colour and non-colour, which relates to both the human cycle and agricultural cycle, in the context of the **kutij**, **amaru**, or **kewillo** spiral figure can be seen as a juxtaposition of the contrasting characteristics of lightning and the rainbow³² summarised in Table 1, an equivalent of twisting together right twisted white and left twisted red (or black) thread³³.

It has already been suggested that the spiral or zigzag, with its connotations of time and history, forms an **axis mundi**. The Warao of the Orinoco delta see the snake as an **axis mundi** (Wilbert: 49). This snake has several attributes in common with the deer-serpent-jaguar, with Huscaguai and **amaru**: it is four-headed with deer horns; the cosmic snake of their neighbours, the Yekuana, is feathered (*loc. cit.*). Further to the west, amongst the Colombian Desana, the fissure between the two sides of the human brain (the complementary functions of which are recognised by the Desana) is occupied by an anaconda and a rainbow boa (Reichel Dolmatoff 1981: 88), which are imagined as 'spiralling rhythmically in a swaying motion from one side to another'. This rhythm 'marks a daily, monthly and yearly pattern' (*op. cit.*: 87).

Vital energy, **cama**, is generated by the juxtaposition of opposites, which is represented by the contrasting directions of the two heads or hooks of the **amaru/kutij**, just as it is by two conversely spun threads of yarn plied together or by the juxtaposition of complementary colours, which represent the female, red, and male, white, generative principles, blood and breath.

The generative energy present in **cama** is also concerned with provision. It will be remembered that **kutichiña**, besides having meanings which relate to change of direction and colour, also refers to the obligation to pay back (Lira: 343), suggesting that **cama** can be seen as a perpetually spiralling life

force, alternating between non-colour (credit) and colour (debit), and alternately giving and receiving back.

Summary

Transformations in the woven figures used to represent a particular idea, although they demonstrate the continuing vitality of textile iconography, are linear in their perspective.

The individual designs, however, represent a cyclical transformation motivated by a generative or regenerative force. Designs also express this cyclical transformation through a visual interchange between their parts as in the *cerro y serpiente* or condor-serpent.

This movement from 'disorder' to 'order' is associated with the transforming power of light. Its presence is expressed in the various additions to a basic design of 'rays', 'stars', 'hair', 'inflorescencias', 'feathers' or 'wings', 'hooks' and 'crosses', or by the 'cultural' attributes, 'speech' and 'music'.

In the system of Andean religious belief

'antagonistic and differentiated spheres are bound together', and 'it is only through the union of the forces of below and above that the Andean world and man recreates itself' (*Ternero*:48). The opposed spirals of the *amaru* or *kutij* represent this cyclical transformation as that between colour and non-colour brought about by the perpetual movement of a spiralling

cosmic axis formed by the two snakes rainbow and lightning.

CONCLUSION

The conclusions which can be drawn from the analysis of textile terminology undertaken in this thesis fall into two main categories.

One concerns the way in which the textile is perceived, the type of message it transmits and the ways in which it communicates this message.

The other concerns the relationship between the language and the graphic design of a culture. This point was raised in the Introduction and explored in the chapters on coded imagery and symmetry.

I repeatedly found that a rigid approach to linguistic relationships meant the rejection of associations which seemed to me valid on the grounds of semantic similarity or through various types of 'play on words'. Making the kind of connections suggested by Randall and Mannheim, however [eg those of metatheses and palindrome, of lexical association and sound imagery), allowed a far richer picture to emerge.

The Andean textile is not an inanimate two-dimensional piece of cloth, but a vital three-dimensional object and its function is not merely to clothe or contain but ~~outwardly to~~ communicate information about what it contains through the designs on its exterior surface, whilst its hidden, inner surface also exerts its own inwardly directed influence.

At a ritual level every element of textile structure and design forms part of a communication or interaction between the worlds of above and below and those gods or ancestors who inhabit them, and provides a framework for a series of concentric (inner/outer) and symmetric (rightside/leftside) oppositions. The textile is only one of a series of objects used as homologous metaphors for or models of the Andean world view. The textile can be interpreted as a body, a loom, a house, a village, an empire, or a cosmos. At one level its contrasting areas of plain weave and stripes and their colour combinations provide a temporal and spatial map of family and community territory and of the webs of kinship which bind them together. At another, ritual level, these same elements express an awareness of the interaction of opposing forces in the everyday life of the individual and in the cosmos and a desire to encourage these forces to achieve a steady rhythmic flow.

These opposing tensions are visually expressed as contrasting directions of spin, as contrasting areas of plain and patterned weave, as contrasting colours, and as designs which express this contrast in a number of ways: as contrast of their two halves, as contrasted elements such as the rhomboid and zigzag or the condor-serpent, or as colour-contrasted repeats.

At the same time these tensions are reconciled in the reduction of colour contrast to a minimum either of scale or degree and in the symmetry between the two halves or repeats of a design. The result is one which is intended to be more than visually pleasing. Linguistic evidence indicates these arrangements, like the ingredients of the **despacho**, are intended to form a sweet and persuasive discourse and achieve harmony and balance between upper and lower worlds, between upper and lower **ayllus** and between man and wife. This sense of balance is embedded in the structure of the textile as the balance between warp and weft.

Colour represents the living energy, the blood and breath, of the textile, and its combinations allow this energy to flow freely through it as blood and breath flows through human veins and lungs. One name for this vital energy flow is **suerte**, and its many alternative names are associated with the concept of a delicate reciprocal balance and with the colour combinations used in textiles to express this balance.

As emerged from the analysis of iridescent cloth, **llipi**, **chhipi**, or **ch'imi**, the concept of balance, however, is bound up with that of change; the textile expresses a sense of constant interchange or movement

between contrasting aspects of a whole, between twisting and untwisting thread, between fading and strengthening, light and dark colours. These latter transformations are facets of *kuti*, which relates to the spiralling movement of the Andean concept of time and history. This interchange is expressed in figured designs as that between the rhomboid and the zigzag, the serpent and the condor, as well as in the Z or S shape figure known as *kutij* or *amaru*.

At one level these contrasts, like that between red or black and white, can be understood as the generative opposition between an active male force and a passive female one. At another, exemplified in the double headed serpent, they represent the interaction of the two cosmic snakes, lightning and the rainbow, which in an image derived from that of spun thread, form a cosmic axis between the world of past and future, above and below.

My analysis of colour terminology suggested it to be associated with the sweetness of sound as well as of taste and smell. These are themes which have not been sufficiently pursued in this thesis. I hope, however, that my references to the latter may prove useful to those investigating the field of Andean cookery; my analysis of the 'phrasing' of colour in textiles, and its varied symmetries and repetitions, may also, perhaps, be helpful in suggesting correspondences between colour and sound to those working in the field of Andean music.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

¹Both Santo Tomás and Bertonio failed to register the distinction between post-velar /q/ and velar /k/ (Albó & Layme: xlvii). One can be fairly sure, however, that in association with /e/ or /o/ the consonants /c/, /qu/ and /k/ correspond to postvelar /q/, whilst in association with /i/ and /u/ they indicate velar /k/ (loc. cit.). Unfortunately, no such inference can be made where they appear in association with /a/, as in this case no influence is exerted on the phonetic environment.

²*Simi quellca* is translated 'baladron' (R. C. V. de: 117), 'embaydor' (op. cit. 80, quoted in de la Jara), and as 'charlatan' (Holguín: 427), 'chismoso' (op. cit. 470) and 'mentiroso' (op. cit. 537). This sense is carried across the languages, Bertonio has *quellcata aro*, 'mentira bien compuesta que parece verdad' (op. cit. II: 288).

³Mannheim points out that some of these sound relationships or sound patterns are non-meaningful or intuitive, particularly when used in the coining of a new word (1991: 183). This may be done by amalgamating two separate existing elements or by using an element consistently found in words which are semantically related. Mannheim gives as an example of this 'flicker', 'flutter', 'flap', as examples of small rapid movements. In Quechua Arguedas makes a comparable claim for *yllu*, which means the music of tiny wings in flight, music created by the movement of light objects, and which is similar to another term *illa*, which he defines as all that light which vibrates (Arguedas, quoted in Mannheim 1991: 184-185). *Yllu* also appears to be comparable to *tillu* (Isbell & Roncilla: 30); *tillu* 'does not have a denotative meaning, but native speakers [in the Ayacucho region] find it pleasurable and say that it brings to mind something small and delicate' (loc. cit.).

CHAPTER 1

¹*Pacha* has been studied in detail by Gifford (op. cit.: 1986) and by Harris & Bouysse-Cassagne (op. cit.: 1987); I refer to this complex term here only in so far as it appears to relate to textiles.

²I found that participation, in however minor or unsuccessful a capacity, was regarded positively, as a form of 'helping'. I also found that lack of familiarity with traditional foods was as much a barrier as distinctive styles of dress or language. Reluctance to show the usual hospitality to 'gringos' was often explained by 'they won't like' or 'they won't know how to eat our food', and several were described to me as 'very nice but they couldn't eat our food'; I was sometimes introduced with the words 'she knows how to eat *chuño*'.

³This is a comparatively common occurrence for foreign visitors but in my case my future **compadre's** alcohol-inspired enthusiasm meant that I wore the clothes before I had been asked to undertake the responsibility. His anxiety to formalise the arrangement was no doubt due in part to the thought of its possible benefits but meanwhile he, as lender, and I, as borrower, were also in a false position as regards the message being relayed through the clothing to the rest of the community. From my understanding of the ritual significance of 'disguise' [see (vi) below] it seems possible that with my obligations still unfulfilled this liminal situation was also, for me, one of potential danger.

⁴In the **señalakuy** earmarking ritual not only do men imitate animals by dressing in their skins, but the role of the animals is also humanised. Their faces and bodies are painted, as occurs at human 'socialisation' ceremonies, and they are 'put to bed' together under a **poncho** in an imitation of the 'human' marriage festivities (Araguren Paz, Zorn: 1987a).

⁵Like the clothing appropriate to a person in his own world, the disguise which allows him temporarily to step outside its bounds is associated not only with its own forms of speech but also with its own foods. As in many old world myths these foods, **ají** and salt, for example, must not be eaten whilst taking part in ritual.

CHAPTER 2

¹A similar change of practice has occurred on Taquile island in Peru, where both men's and women's belts and men's **ch'uspas**, which previously had a central band of pebble weave figures, are now woven in double cloth (Zorn 1987b: 75)

CHAPTER 3

¹ A contemporary example of this association is found in Chuani, where weavers say the rainbow colours of a **k'isa**, which they consider the 'beauty' of a textile, is also its light (Cereceda 1987: 212).

²It is confusing to attempt to apply to the textile the opposition 'inside/outside' used elsewhere in this thesis to indicate 'cultural' and 'noncultural'. When referring to the surfaces of a flat textile the spatial and metaphorical definitions coincide, 'inside' being the central stripe or seam, 'outside' the edge or border. Unfortunately, this is not the case when referring to a bag or other 'enclosing' textile; here the 'inside' is unseen or non-cultural, and therefore metaphorically 'outside' whilst its exterior is seen and metaphorically 'cultural' or 'inside'. I would, however, like to retain 'inside/outside' to signify

'cultural/non-cultural', and the following may clarify the ambiguities:

'inside'	'outside'
cultural'	'non-cultural'
bag exterior	bag interior
textile face	textile reverse

³When a single piece is used, as for example in a bag it is folded in half horizontally so that the 'reverse' forms the inside and both warp selvages form the 'top'.

⁴A permanent structural distinction between vertical and horizontal orientation is also evident in the figured designs. **Apsu** is a zig-zag woven and read vertically. **Linku** is a zig-zag read horizontally even though it is woven in the warp direction and often worn oriented vertically.

CHAPTER 4

¹**Quellca** or **quillca** is used as a noun for 'letra' (Santo Tomás: 158, 357), 'carta' (Ricardo: 74, 124), 'libro' (Santo Tomás: 158, 357), 'papel' (Santo Tomás: 82, 357), 'cedula' (Ricardo: 130), all meanings which denote surfaces bearing alphabetic writing which would have been assigned to the term only after the arrival of the Spaniards

²It will be remembered that **ricchay** (Ricardo: 145) or **rikchhay** (Holguín: 315) standing alone is 'color, haz de qualquiera cosa, rostro, o imagen o figura', and represents a potential newly awakened by some creative act such as beginning to weave. I would suggest that the verb **quellcani** refers to a similar creative action on the surface of an object, bringing out, as in **ricchaynin** (**ni** euphonic, **n** 3rd singular possessive) its face, colour or image.

³In Bolívar I found a similar association between **lack** of flavour in cooking and **lack** of colour or light. **Lakha**, 'oscuridad' (De Lucca: 263), is also said of food which has had insufficient salt added to the cooking water. Textile elements are conceived as having consistent metaphorical properties: the 'pre-cultural', monotone **pampa** lacks associations with flavour; the brightly coloured, 'cultural' **k'isa** and **kacha** stripes, however, are not only full of light but of sweetness [see Chapter 7: I & II].

⁴A similar association between 'breath', 'understanding' and 'soul' is found in the terminology of the central stripe **sonqo** [see 7: IV].

⁵The previous paragraphs showed **quellqa** and weaving to be analogous in their metaphorical association with the introduction of light. A similar association between understanding and light as that implicit in **quellqani** is found amongst the Desana of Northern Colombia (Reichel Dolmatoff 1978b) who recognise perception and conception as two distinct functions of the brain. The word used for the latter contains

the root 'white', or 'light', and means literally 'to shed light on', or 'to dawn'.

⁶Amu, something which has just 'woken up' or achieved its visual potential, shares a root with **amtaña**, 'recordar' (De Lucca: 23).

⁷An example of this coding applied to woven figures is mentioned by the native Guatemalan Rigoberta Menchu (*op. cit.*: 81), 'we express ourselves through our designs, through our dress - our **huipil** for instance, is like an image of our ancestors'.

⁸In a similar way the designs painted on Desana long houses are encoded by their shaman with traditional beliefs (Reichel Dolmatoff 1978a).

⁹Taking off or putting on your clothes is an image also associated with a derivative of **hamutha**, **hamuquipatha**, 'mudarse transformarse de una manera' (Bertonio II: 127). If you change your location, i.e. associate yourself with another group, you will also need to change your clothes to clothing similar in its visible designs to theirs.

¹⁰Aymara **quellqa** repeatedly gives a meteorological slant to this metaphorical levelling or cleansing. **Quellcanoctatha** as in **llaccampuro quenaya quellcanocti** is 'auer muchas nubes en el cielo' (Bertonio II: 287). The same weather conditions are described using the related term **llucchu**: 'las nubes cubren el cielo', **quenaya laccampu llucchuquipti** (Bertonio II: 206).

Quellcanocatha, which differs only in lacking the suffix **ta**, inceptive, or indicative of upward motion (Hardman:157) is 'escribir muchas cartas o muchas razones en sola una carta' (Bertonio II: 288).

What does the presence of innumerable **cartas**, **razones**, or **nubes** represent, or are we merely to understand **nubes** as meteorological messages written on the face of the heavens?

¹¹The verb **mayttutha**, 'revolver hilo en un palo o piedra' (Bertonio II: 220), suggests a 'winding sheet', and raises the question of whether thread is seen as maintaining a link with the ancestors.

¹²The description 'entre renglones' could well apply to **tocapu**, figures which repeat in checks along a woven or painted band, as do many of the modern **pallay**, which are often bordered by stripes or **renglones**.

¹³Reversing this process is **quellcutusnutha**, 'salirse a fuera el que se avia empadronado diziendo que no quiere estar en aquel padron o memoria' (Bertonio II: 288). In the context of the textile **chinu**, as counted threads, are associated with 'order', 'inside', and contrasted to uncounted, 'disorder', 'outside' **pampa**. This contrast is repeated here by describing someone who wants his name to be removed from the register, who wants no longer to be counted, as 'saliendo afuera'.

CHAPTER 5

¹Washburn and Crowe give as an example a group of Californian indians who, although they spoke different languages, used the same symmetries in decorative design and also produced identical fishing boats.

²These beliefs as well as that in the origins of their designs (Gebhart-Sayer: 1986) are similar to those found amongst another tribe on the periphery of Quechua influence, the Bolivian Izozog (Mandiri & Zolezzi).

³These include the textile term **tari**, transposed from its meaning of ritual **coca** cloth to that of a shaman's design-covered ritual poncho (Gebhardt-Sayer 1986: 193).

⁴Holguín's orthography varies, **callallallan**, **ccallallallak**, **camamamak** (op. cit.: 513). The linguistic associations of these mystic syllables can, therefore, be understood as associated with beginnings, **calla**, particularly the beginnings of a lineage (Bertonio II: 33, Holguín: 61), and with a creator god (Bertonio II: 35, Holguín: 47).

CHAPTER 6

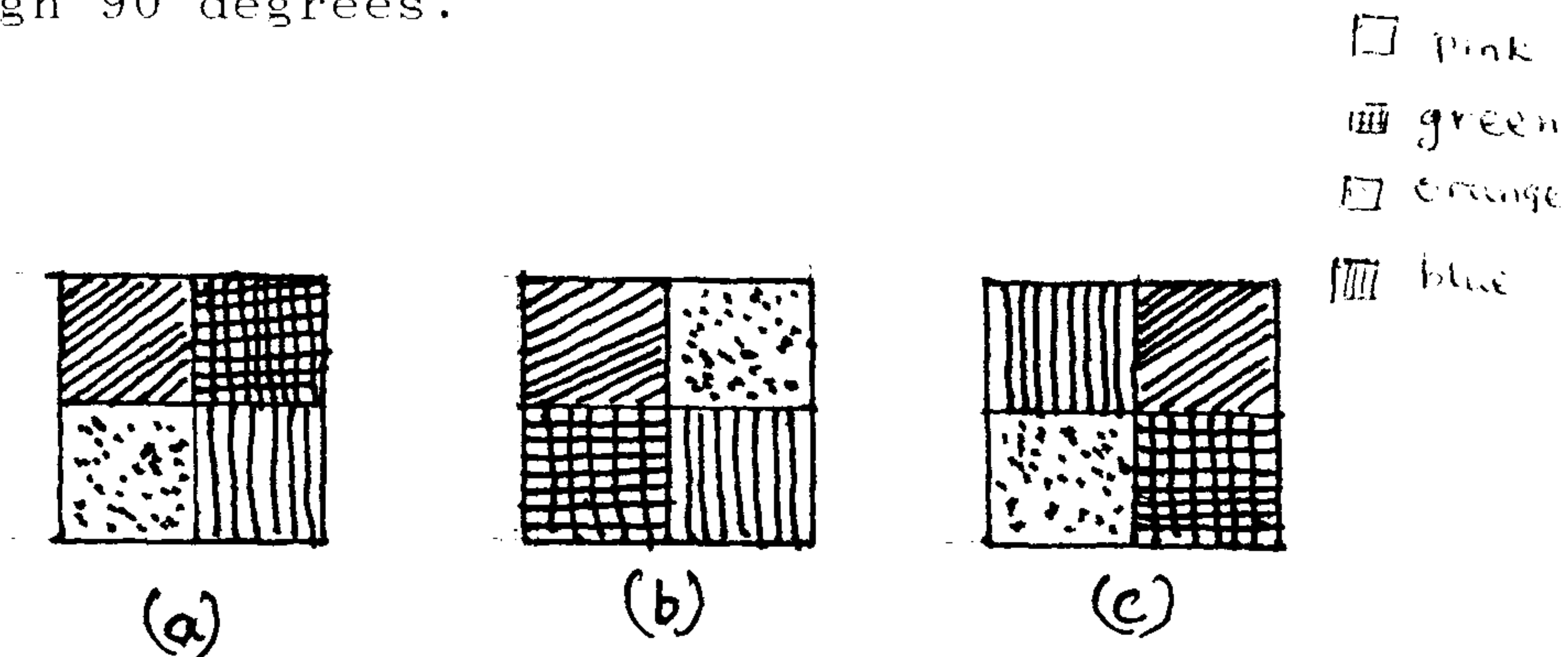
¹This is described as a 'double bout' by Western weavers (Cason & Cahlander: 42), a bout being one complete turn of the warp around the loom bars or sticks which hold it in tension.

²This means that pink and black form the figure reversed out on the lower face of the belt against a background of yellow and white with purple at the edge.

³It is significant that red rather than black is chosen to describe the dark face in opposition to white.

⁴The initial, dual, dark/light opposition, through its repetition in reverse, thus becomes quadripartite, like the oppositions inherent in the terminology of stripes [see Chapter 7], dark over light alternating with light over dark.

⁵I rarely saw the colours arranged as in (a) or (b). Arrangement (c) is sometimes used but this does not interfere with the integral relationship of the colours, merely rotates them through 90 degrees.



⁶Two sisters whom I watched warping a *llijlla* in a field outside Wila Kayma were copying size and areas of weave from a *llijlla* in which these stripes were arranged pink, blue, orange/red, green on the part displayed, whereas they chose green, pink, blue, orange/red. In addition Bolívar *llijllas* are not completely symmetrical and on the other half, *qhallu* [see Chapter 7, III], they arranged the colours green, orange, blue, pink.

⁷*Llacollas* are now very rare in Bolívar a result of the area being frequently visited by American textile buyers in the 1970s. A family will hire them out (*fletar*) but arrangements have to be made well in advance, as they are not returned immediately after the wedding, but kept wrapped in a *q'epi* for an entire year, and libated regularly.

⁸A mantle, dating possibly from the colonial period which achieves a still more subtle effect by plying red with beige and blue with beige and warping them alternately is illustrated by Adelson and Tracht (1983: plate 24).

⁹Perhaps because their diminished scale reduces the visual effect of contrast or discontinuity, the complementary colours of *ch'imi* are not considered as *allqa* (Martinez, 1987:49 n 29).

¹⁰A parallel modification of *ña* to *na* frequently occurs in the termination of words passing the other way, from Aymara to Quechua (Meisch 1986: 257).

¹¹I have tried to ascertain whether *llipi* and *chiphi/chhipi* apply to contrasting aspects of lightning as is the case with some other 'paired' words [see Chapter 8]. I found no indication that this was so, but as *lipi* is 'hombres vicuñas' or the dance of the vicuñas (De Lucca: 274) it is suggestive that *chiphiratha*, 'desterronar', also means 'matar muchas vicuñas' (Bertonio II: 83).

¹²When cooked the shimmering colours of *lliphilliphi pachachi* transform to white.

¹³In Quechua *paco* refers to a type of camelid, *pacco* or *ppaccu* to a lightish red (Holguín: 271). This term would also appear to be associated with lightning: those destined to become shamans because they have survived being struck by lightning are called *paqo*.

¹⁴In the prehispanic Andes, at least during the reign of the Incas, cloth was divided into two categories, everyday, *ahuasca*, woven on an *ahua*, loom, and fine, *cumbe*, spelt variously and including : *cumpi* (Holguín: 67), *cunpi* (Holguín 678), *cunbe* (Guaman Poma: 230), *ccumpi* (Holguín: 67), *conbi* (Guaman Poma: 193) *cumbi* (Murua quoted in Des Rosiers: 236) and in modern times *kkonphi* (Lira: 469). A textile of this kind was *conbana* (Guaman Poma: 230, 316), and was woven not on an *ahua*, but on, or with *cunpinacuna* (Holguín: 678) or *ccumpinacuna* (Holguín: 67).

¹⁵References as to exactly what type of cloth constituted this especially fine weaving differ. Figured designs were woven

in **cumbi** (Cobo, Book IV: 238; Bertonio II: 51) and it has been suggested that **cumbi** refers to tapestry weave, perhaps because it was described as being woven on a different type of loom from **ahuasca**.

¹⁶**Chipipiik** and **llipipipik**, **llipipipin**, though not precisely palindromes, recall the incantatory **callallalak**, **camamamak**, which are associated both with new beginnings and with agricultural fertility.

¹⁷Holguín uses **llipi** in a similar sense to refer to the disappearance of a race or lineage:

Perderse un linage...y un pueblo y del
todo: **kullurccun purumyarccun llipichiy
tucun** (op. cit.: 624).

¹⁸**Estrella**, star, is used here in the European sense, 'tener estrella o fortuna como dize' (Bertonio I: 236). **Istrilla** is a small 'found object' thought to impart well-being to the finder (Allen 1988:259), in which **estrella** appears to have become syncretised with **illa**. **Estrella** is also used in Macha as a title for Santiago, lord of thunder and lightning, and is associated with the thunder bolt or **bala**, a small round object used for summoning the mountain spirits (Tristan Platt, personal communication).

¹⁹Armstrong considers **suerte** comparable to a flow of energy and in referring to it I have adopted her use of 'positive' and 'negative'.

²⁰Sickness can be guarded against by wearing a four-colour bracelet of left-twisted [**lloq'e**] thread (Cummings: 33). This imitates but does not reproduce the colours of the rainbow. Pachacuti Yamqui (1950: 226, quoted in Urton, 1981: 88) uses only four lines in his representation of a rainbow and four is also the commonest number of colours used in the **k'isa**.

²¹**Chirapa** is literally **lluvia con sol** (Holguín: 113), the weather conditions which produce a rainbow, but which do not normally appear together; **lluvia con sol** form a sort of meteorological **allqa**.

²²A similar approach is used by the Desana of Northern Colombia, whose shaman passes his white crystal, thought to be the solidified sperm of the sun, over the sick person (Reichel Dolmatoff 1978b).

This belief may possibly have been influenced by European ideas; the following account of Sicilian 'rainbow sickness' and its cure provides such a close parallel to Andean beliefs that I have quoted it in full.

'The peasants call jaundice **male dell arco**, or 'rainbow sickness', because it makes a man change his colour to that which is strongest in the spectrum of the sun, namely yellow. And how does a man catch jaundice? The rainbow walks across the sky with its feet on the ground. If the rainbow feet step on clothes hung out to dry, whoever puts them on will take on the colours of the rainbow, with which they have been impregnated, and fall ill. They say, too, (but the first theory is better founded and enjoys wider belief) that one

must be careful not to urinate in the direction of the rainbow because the curved jet of the urine resembles and reflects the arched bow in the sky and the whole man may be turned into an image of the rainbow. The cure for jaundice was to carry the sick man at dawn to a hilltop outside the village. A knife with a black handle was applied to his forehead first vertically, then horizontally, making a sort of cross. The knife was then applied with slightly different gestures but still in the sign of the cross, to every joint in the body. This operation was repeated three times over without skipping a single joint, for three consecutive mornings. Then the rainbow faded away, one colour at a time and the sick man's skin was white again (Levi: 227-228).

²³The Aymara suffix **ni**, like Quechua **yoq**, denotes 'possession of'; **desdicha** is indicated by the suffix **visa**, 'without' or 'lacking in' (Bertonio I: 177), and in Quechua by **mana ...yoq**, 'not having' (Holguín: 482 etc).

²⁴**Alquerque** is 'juego de tres en raya', which is 'acedrex, or calculorum ludus' (Corominas: 166).

²⁵Lara gives **saminchij** as synonymous with **panpasami**, 'arbitro en las competencias deportivas. **Pampa** like **cuzca** is associated with a levelling either of the earth (Holguín: 276) like that achieved in Platt's suggested ritual battle to balance accounts, or of 'negocios, riñas y dificultades' (Holguín: 58). **Cuzcuni** (Holguín: 58) applies this levelling action to the gradation of colours, whilst the additional significance of absolution and forgiveness attached to **pampa** again suggests a 'balancing of accounts'.

²⁶Mannheim has pointed out that confusion in the interpretation of /f/, used in Spanish to represent /x/ has given rise to 'pairs' of words such as **sora** and **jora** [see Appendix]. On occasion, Bertonio (*op.cit.* II: 61) spells **sami** as **fami**, but this may also represent a regional variation similar to those noted by Santo Tomás.

²⁷If, as I attempt to show in the Appendix, **sami** is equivalent to **cami**, the latter also appears as red in the entry **cami hupha**, 'mayz muy colorada' (Bertonio I: 310).

²⁸Holguín translates **inquillcuna** as 'flores' (*op. cit.*: 369). The significance of 'flowers' and 'stars' as a representation of vital energy will be investigated in Chapter 8.

²⁹Is it, perhaps significant that these 'lucky' creatures are all divided, like the woven figures in Bolívar, by a horizontal rather than a vertical colour change?

³⁰These meanings are reminiscent of those attached to **camatha**, itself a synonym for **ccuyatha**, which besides its associations with light and colour also denotes balanced alternating movement. **Huñini** means 'conceder, o dar licencia el superior', **huñicupuni** is 'conceder o darcomo dar la hija en casamiento' (Holguín: 202). This meaning is significant in view of the superior role played by the Qaqachaka wife givers

[see Chapter 7, V(e)] which has been noted by Arnold (1988: 288).

³¹Like other aspects of **kuti**, **kutichiy** is associated both with **lloq'e**, to turn to the left (Cummings: 35) and with **tijray**, to turn over (Cummings: 36).

³²When helping me to finish my belt Corina was shocked when I suggested that plaiting of the warp ends would be easier if these were cut, and in some parts of Bolivia cutting the warp is equivalent to killing the textile (Des Rosiers 1982, quoted in Zorn 1987a: 518).

³³A detailed analysis of the complexities of **kuti** has been made by Gifford (1986) I have only attempted to analyse those aspects which relate to textile iconography.

³⁴When I was learning to spin I proudly showed some rather lumpy and loosely twisted thread to a friend, who commented, unimpressed, 'It looks like wool'. Thinking she meant this as opposed to acrylic yarn, and rather puzzled that she should bother to state something so obvious, I agreed. In fact she referred to the thread as in a state of still not being thread, thread before it is (properly) twisted. Untwisted thread becomes as it was previously, wool, and just as fading colour indicates marginality, also suggests a less 'civilised' time, before the wool has been 'processed' into thread.

³⁵Given the association between colour separation, separated couples and bad luck, and between colour fusion, married couples and good luck, it is interesting that **kuti sara** is used to reunite separated couples (Cummings: 23), suggesting that although no mention of colour is made that it represents not only contrasting directions but like **misa sara** contrasting colours. Similar concepts are associated with a synonym of **cutichini**, **pazcani** (Holguín: 486). Besides meaning 'destorcer', **pazcani** means 'absolver, perdonar' (op. cit. 279). A more usual translation is **pampachani**, which, it will be remembered also means 'allanar el suelo' (op. cit. 276). Given that **pazca** appears similar to **kuti**, and **kuti sara** is used to reunite married couples or 'undivorce' them, it is interesting that **pazccanaccuni** means to 'divorce' (op. cit. 271).

³⁶The summer and winter solstices, the points when the sun reverses its journey, represent **kuti** (Harris & Bouysse-Cassagne: 31-32), whereas the equinoxes, 'tiempo de hacerse mitades iguales', represent **tinku** (op. cit.: 31-32). Although at this time of year day and night are of equal length, suggesting they could be represented by a black and white **allqa**, on a larger scale the equinoxes divide the year approximately into wet, red, and dry, white, seasons (Arnold 1986: 20-21). If they have colour values, the equinoxes should be seen as mediating between the red and white halves epr

which have a **kuti** at their central point.

CHAPTER 7

¹Another example of striping associated with a socialisation ritual is reported by Torrico. In Macha 'lista' stripe, refers to both the animal earmarking ceremony and to the ear marker itself, a symbol indicating that unlike the unclaimed animals of the **pampa** it belongs within the community (cf. Arnold 1988: 230).

²Guaman Poma refers to the tenth Inca **Coya** Mama Occlo as wearing 'betas de Lari' (op. cit. 139). **Lari** is 'voz Cunza por sangre' (Bahamonde: 209).

³De Lucca (op. cit.: 391) describes the **sucull cahua** as woven in red and blue.

⁴Related meanings of **tinku** are:

Tincutha: Encontrarse los exercitos, o bandos contrarios en la guerra (Bertonio II: 350).

Tincuthaptatha: encontrarse los que van y vienen en el camino (op. cit.: 351)

Tincusitha: ser igual **cchama pura tincusiquihua:** Iguales son en fuerças, tan fuerte es el uno como el otro (loc. cit.).

Ñauiptincun: la enatreceja division de los ojos (op. cit. 342).

and in Quechua

Tincuni: encontrarse, topar o darse una cosa con otra (Holguín: 342).

Tincu: la junta de dos cosas (loc. cit.)

Tincuscactarimani: a proposito decir o lo justo o conveniente (loc. cit.).

⁵The description in Guaman Poma of the eighth **coya** 'tenía su lliclla de naranjado y lo del medio blanco o **tocapo** con sus **cuychis**' may refer to colour use in the weaving rather than **joyas** (jewels) as is suggested by Murra (Poma: 135).

⁶In Calcha some blanket designs are described by the number of pairs of warp threads (**chinu**) in their composition (Medlin 1987: 62). These include stars, leaves and birds, common designs in Bolívar. Geometric designs in the Calcha region are almost always named for their number of warp threads (loc. cit.).

⁷On Taquile 'calendar belts' often include a design called **cuenta mesa** (month counter) from which one can tell the month in which the belt was woven by counting the number of warps from bottom to top of a design (Fini: 28).

⁸Used in the plural, however, **chinu** refers to a seething, uncountable horde, 'andan en este pueblo tantos hombres como hormigas' [**chino chino**], (Bertonio II: 83). A similar

ambiguity is apparent between the stripes **suyu** and **suyu suyu** [see this chapter, III: (i)].

⁹The **kustala** is stood on its end, until the salt inside falls to a certain height, which is then marked with a red yarn called **chimpuna** (Torricco: 19).

¹⁰A similar ability to use a textile or textile related objects as a geographical diagram, particularly with regard to aspects of ritual, is shown by the Kogi of Northern Colombia. For them, certain points on the frame of a loom, (itself a metaphor both for and of a man's body) symbolise ritual sites in their Santa Marta homeland (Reichel Dolmatoff 1978c: 12). The Guatemalan Maya also see the square or rectangular form of the textile as a metaphor for their universe (Girard: 29).

¹¹Zuidema proposes a connection between **ceque/cachawi** lines and the designs of a preconquest textile, suggesting them to be indicative of socio-political hierarchy as well as being used for calendrical purposes (Zuidema 1982: 448). The rainbow pathway is associated with descent (Arnold 1988: 402) as is the house gable, suggesting that the contemporary stripes, such as **kacha**, may also have this significance.

¹²According to Torricco, in Macha **pampa** can refer to the very broad **pallay** band of an **aksu** (*op. cit.* 19).

¹³This inside/outside opposition occurs in another form in Bolívar. The rival musical groups who perform nightly throughout November are drawn either from **chimpa lado** or **pampa lado**. **Chimpa lado**, literally 'en frente', or 'opposite', refers to that part of the village which contains the municipal offices, the church and the main square, its civic centre, **pampa lado** to the remainder of the houses, which lie on the outskirts of the village.

¹⁴During a visit to Taquile in 1983 when the island was suffering from drought, the entire community asked forgiveness of each other in a ritual which took place in the village square immediately after the Catholic Sunday service.

¹⁵**Mama** is a provider or generic archetype (Torricco: 6). It also describes the veins of mineral (Holguín: 225) with which the toad is associated (Arnold 1986: 21).

¹⁶A woven **manton** or blanket such as that in which **ppatticalla** stripes would have been woven is also larger than the Macha **kustala** which is called by the name of a smaller toad, **hamp'atu** (Torricco).

¹⁷In the 'upper' or 'masculine' aspect of **k'illi** the fishbone is used as an image of the ridge and roof beams of a house; in Western architectural terminology these can also be described as 'hips'. This duality is consistently apparent both in textile terminology and in its figured designs [see Chapter 8.]

¹⁸This may not, however, have been an invariable rule. Guaman Poma's description of Coya Mama Ocllo (*op. cit.*: 138) mentions her clothing as having **oque chumbi suyo**.

¹⁹Possibly the two colour terms are metathese of each other as in the case of **sami** and **misa**, Bertonio uses an identical phrase to define **allca**: **kalla ccahua** is 'camiseta parte de una color parte de otra' (Bertonio II: 145).

²⁰The quartering of a **t'iculla**, or **kochu unkhuña**, as a similar textile is called in Macusani (Zorn 1987a: 513), is achieved by using discontinuous warps, an unusual example of **allqa** disjunction. The technique is both time consuming and unsuitable for large items or those in common use; visually the vertical divisions of four different colour stripes like those of contemporary Bolívar blankets are capable of expressing the same concepts.

²¹Bertonio gives 'suu vide suyu que es todo una cosay en este pueblo y provincia [ie that of the Lupaca] más usan de suu que de suyu' (op. cit. II: 33i).

²²In two examples a third, intermediate-colour **muyorqa** was interposed between the black and white pair on either side of the central stripe.

²³According to De Lucca **aysaktaña** (op. cit.: 54) and **jalakniña** (op. cit.: 164) have a common meaning beyond the context of the textile, that of 'derrumbarse', again suggesting rapid downward movement.

²⁴Torrico mentions narrow areas of plain weave which have offspring, **uña pampa**, at the 1/4 and 3/4 position on **ch'uspas** and **aksus** (op. cit.: 19). In Bolívar the small pocket sometimes formed in the central **pallay** band of a **ch'uspa** is its **uña**.

²⁵Bertonio's description of the occasions when the **kechu** or **haylli** were sung suggests a transformation of the socially homogeneous crowd assembled for the hunt into the rival bands organised by territorial division for the 'batalla fingida' similar to that between the different aspects of **suyu**. The use of interchangeable terms denoting communicative design, **k'illi**, and song, **kechu**, recalls the Shipibo shaman's lack of distinction between the two forms as in 'mi canción pintada, mi diseño resonante', and also that language forms an inseparable adjunct of dress.

²⁶**Qallu** has connotations of masculine force in another context, where it is contrasted with a term also used for a broad, female, textile stripe. It will be remembered that the lower stone of a grinding mill is **tayca**. According to Lara the upper stone is **kalluta** (op. cit.: 221).

²⁷**Qallu**, the penis, and **qallu**, the child are also seen as related in that both pass through the vulva, the first in an inward and the second in an outward direction (Tristan Platt, personal communication).

²⁸The position of the roof beam, **cullu**, in the house, is comparable to that of the shuttle carrying the weft which is 'the male of the fabric', in the loom with which the house is an interchangeable metaphor.

²⁹Curcu, given by Holguín as a synonym for **cullu** (*op. cit.*: 19), again shows a similar phonological relationship to words meaning male (**urqo**, **jurq'o**), as appears to exist between **allu** and **callu** and between **ullu** and **cullu** [see also Chapter 8].

³⁰Lightning, **Illapa**, is thought to be responsible for a split or 'hare' lip (Platt: 1986a). The description of this deformity as **lacca kallujata** (Bertonio II: 45) also suggests a parallel between the action of the creative force, **callu** or **calla** and that of light, **illa**.

³¹This is possibly the same implement as **kallana**, 'objeto para tejer' (De Lucca: 216).

³²According to Mackay (*op. cit.*: 47) the weft beater is the most highly valued of all weaving implements and may be passed on from one generation to another. It is often made of **chonta**, an extremely hard tropical wood (*op. cit.*: 48), and recalls the **chonta** wood household sticks, **kamana para**, worshipped amongst the Chipaya (Métraux: 265).

³³The **inkuña** or **tari**, which is used only by women, is worn folded on the head, to carry **coca**, medicinal herbs or food or as a ground cloth in ritual (Adelson & Tracht: 117). The example illustrated combines **k'utu** with the blue and red bands found on the **iscayo**, the ceremonial mantle worn by a chieftain's wife (*op. cit.*: 79). Their similarity of design suggests a 'family relationship' between these textiles similar to that between **talegas** and **costales** (Cereceda 1986: 150).

³⁴The orthography for **k'utu** is confusing. As a term for hardworking Bertonio spells it without a glottal: **kutu** (*op. cit.* I: 455 and II: 67), or **kotu** (*op. cit.* II: 302), whilst a 'strong man' is **cutu** (*op. cit.* II: 62). 'To pluck the hairs of the beard', an action analogous to picking the warps he spells variously **kutu** (*op. cit.* II: 66), **coto** (*op. cit.* II: 53), and **kotu** (*op. cit.* II: 58). **Kotu** as 'rebuscar', 'glean potatoes', is also transcribed as **cutu** (*op. cit.* I: 401).

³⁵This division parallels the way the fields in Bolívar are often divided for work when planting the potato crop. A male/female pair is assigned to each third, the man digging, the woman planting, and the person with the crop fertiliser going all the way across like the weft, the food of the textile.

³⁶Oblitas (1963:206) offers no translation, but according to Girault **sepkakuj** means 'seductivo' (1989: 61), **ojan** is 'almuerzo, sustento' (*loc. cit.* 55), **pakas** is 'tierra' (*loc. cit.* 38).

³⁷**Khutu** is less clear. Girault has meanings of ordering, complaining, but also of destiny (1989: 48).

³⁸Harris has suggested a similarity between the articulation of territorial and textile space (1985b), but, whilst in the case of the Macha **kustala**, stripes can signify different ecological zones, the central stripe does not necessarily represent this intermediate territory (Torricco: 26).

³⁹**Machi** and **mizqui** can mean not merely 'sweet' but 'well seasoned' (Holguín: 222, 244); in the Andes this usually means that a dish has been well salted. Speaking of my jeans flapping on the clothesline in Bolívar Corina said laughing 'pantalones sin sal'. To herself she had used the Quechua **machin** or **mizquin** and translated it to me not in its intelligible meaning of 'trousers without legs', but as 'trousers without seasoning'.

⁴⁰It will be remembered that **chinu**, multicoloured stripes resembling **k'isa**, had similar associations with sweetness and with joints and limbs.

⁴¹In Aymara **vicchu** has similar potential being both 'la canilla de la pierna hasta el pie, y del codo hasta la mano', whilst **vicchinca** is 'la cola de los animales' (Bertonio II: 384).

⁴²The centre of a ball of wool is its **sonqo** (Torricco: 39).

⁴³Each cardinal point in the Guatemalan system is associated with a particular colour, white with north, red with east, yellow with south and black with west (Girard: 29, 140), the colours of the Mayan dietary staple, maize; these colours are also related to maize in Andean weaving (Silverman-Proust: 226).

⁴⁴In Macusani an **unkhuña** with four different colour **pampas** is called a **kuchu**, 'corner', **unkhuña** (Zorn 1987a: 509) and it will be remembered that in the Macha **kustala** the four different-colour **pampa** represent four different ecological zones and the different crops grown in them (Torricco: 31).

⁴⁵Taylor considers this a deliberate attempt on the part of Santo Tomás to indicate three distinct aspects of 'the soul by which we live': **camac**, source of vital force, **sonco** the natural body which receives it and **çamay**, the breath or spirit (op. cit.: 58). Holguín gives a rather different interpretation, **caman camayñiy**, **camanniyqui**, 'el talento caudal ingenio y haultidad natural o industria' (op. cit.: 46), but still one which implies, in abstract terms similar to those used to describe narrow stripes, the possession of a vital force.

⁴⁶**Achancara** is a plant with either red or white flowers (Lira: 26), the colours used to restore a balance of energy, **suerte** (Armstrong: 160), and perhaps the **achancara** textiles used these colours to represent the balanced judgement of the wise men who wore them.

⁴⁷Bertonio, however, describes **tocapu** as 'ropa de mil maravillas y assi llaman agora al tericiopelo telas y brocadas' (op. cit.: 357). There is no suggestion here of intricate woven designs, but fabrics such as brocade, and to an even greater extent those with a pile like velvet, catch the light in different ways, like **paya samiri isi**.

⁴⁸It should be admitted, however, that in the Spanish convention of the time, the Spanish *n* or *ñ* was frequently omitted and **queñco** would mean 'zigzag' pathway.

⁴⁹It will be remembered that several terms apply to both a broad and a narrow stripe, or to an interior stripe and an exterior binding. The broad stripe **tayka** does not appear to have these alternative textile applications, but its contemporary meanings include the kinship terms 'mother', 'godmother' and 'grandmother'; in the **sucullu** ritual it was the **ipa**, the father's sister, who acted as 'godmother' and held the child to be 'baptised' in her arms.

⁵⁰Bertonio describes in some detail the kinds of designs woven in **sullco** (*op. cit.* II: 316); those 'de muchos ojos' and 'de gusanillos' (*loc. cit.*) may have resembled the **linku** and **ñawi** still used today.

⁵¹The exactitude with which **qaylla**, warp and weft selvages, reflects the meaning of **killpa/polo** warp and weft selvages and the comparable **thia/corpa** is apparent in **cayllamanta**, 'dice todo sin quedar nada' (Holguín: 53) and **corpanithiani arusitha**, 'hablar sin dejar nada al negocio que trata' (Bertonio II: 53).

⁵²Holguín's entry **ppuru puru**, 'plumage [sic] redondo como bola' (*op. cit.* 298), suggests that there is a similar association between feathers and seed or generative energy as that suggested by the connection between feathers and flowers in Chapter 8, II.

⁵³**Puru** appears to belong to the same semantic field as **puruma**, 'tiempo antiquissimo' (Bertonio II: 278), which can be understood as 'seed time' both in its connections with a beginning or early stage of life and in the potential fertility associated with it. **Puruma** has similar connotations to **kaw** of 'outside a civilised centre'. In particular **purum runa** is 'barbaro salvaje' (*loc. cit.*), a meaning similar to **kaway jake** 'persona extraña' (De Lucca: 222).

⁵⁴Children born with six fingers or toes are called **pulupulu** and considered 'beloved of god' (Beuchler & Beuchler). Objects or creatures displaying this type of deviation from the norm are thought to be lucky or to possess special powers, and for this reason are often adopted as talismans. This use of **pulupulu** then, recalls the 'balas de piedra' of the **puruaucca**.

⁵⁵This date falls closer to potato sowing than potato harvest, and there were only two musicians rather than the four described by Paredes. Perhaps their role at the approach of Todos Santos is partly to appease the 'almas' of the ancestors, who are responsible both for the rains due to begin around this time and for the potato crop (Allen 1982: 185) which in its various forms provides the staple diet.

⁵⁶Harris points out that the ritual carrying of the **lari** by the **tollka** is a transformation of a myth in which a condor carries away a girl (1986: 268). **Tollka**/senior/male/husband

may therefore be said to carry **lari**/junior in place of female/wife.

⁵⁷It will be remembered that the roof beam of the house, **qallu**, can represent the origin of lineage and the penis, and that **curcu**, the roof beam, also has connotations of **macho**. The entries **pincu**, 'cumbre de la casa o el madero de la cumbre', and **pincullo**, 'todo genero de flauta' (Holguín: 286), suggest a corresponding symbolism not only for the **pulupulu** but for other types of flute.

⁵⁸In Mayan cosmology calabashes are instruments of the gods of rain who pour down from the sky the waters which fertilize the earth (Girard: 116).

⁵⁹In some parts of the Andes this initial furrow is made in the centre of the field and given an explicit sexual significance.

⁶⁰Despite variations in orthography, cross reference to other early Quechua lexicons reveals a consistent association. Water calabash is **kaka** (Holguín: 127, 441) or **caka** (Ricardo: 19); Maternal uncle, wife's brother is **caca** (Holguín: 42, Santo Tomás: 240, Ricardo: 19), and **kaka** (Lira: 296).

⁶¹**Kaka** as a kinship term can refer not only to the wife's brother but to any male relative belonging to previous generations; **caca** 'to hermano de abuelo o abuela (Santo Tomás: 217), **cacacona**, ascendientes en linaje (Santo Tomás: 240).

⁶²In Cunza, a Northern Chilean language containing many Aymara words, wife's brother, **lari**, means 'blood' (Bahamonde: 209). That it can, like **wila**, blood, refer to colour and to a textile stripe, is suggested by the description of Mama Occlo's garments as having 'betas de **Lari**' (Poma: 139).

⁶³Though Aymara **kaw** is not associated with calabashes, it will be remembered that textile edges or headings cords, **polo** (A), or **ccauna** (Q), appear to form part of the same semantic field as **polo polo** (A) and **ccauchi** (Q), gourd. Though the suggestion of a phonological link between **kaw** and **ccauchi** appears unjustifiable, particularly as this occurs across the languages (but cf Bertonio II: 48), the agglomeration of similar meanings attached to **polo** and **kaw** suggests the possibility of some kind of 'play on words' like that referred to by Albó [see Introduction].

CHAPTER 8

¹Though I cannot suggest its significance, the **uncus** and **costales** are both striped in the lower area, both plain in the upper. The lower left-hand man has a parrot on his head, the right-hand one a monkey; these creatures are retained in the upper panel, but have been transferred to the men's shoulders.

²The apparent analogy between literary and woven conventions has already been mentioned [see Introduction and Chapter 4]. The literary convention of kenning has been described by J H Rowe as taking simile and metaphor a stage further and making 'comparison by substitution' (*op. cit.* 78). Rowe discusses the use of kenning in the art style of Chavin, taking an example comparable to the **sujraya** birds heads: the projecting bodily appendages of Chavin figures are compared to tongues and so shown issuing from additional faces added to the body for that purpose (*op. cit.* 79).

³A similar overlap in interpretation between 'stars', 'flowers' and other types of minor **inflorescencias** attached to a major design figure occurs in Bolívar textiles also.

⁴Fish women deities probably originated in the pantheon of the lake dwelling Uru-Chipaya (Gisbert 1980: 47). Amongst the modern Chipaya a **lauraque** resembling a fish with breasts (Gisbert 1980: plate 53a) is used by women in their braids. A similar trace belief may account for the popularity of fish earrings amongst the Aymara **cholas** of La Paz.

⁵This is perhaps the intention of the tapestry illustrated in Fig. 9 where two fish deities/ sirens appear above and below a central sun whose zigzag rays recall lightning.

⁶Though the deities they represent may change, this opposition persists. The lakeside shrine at Copacabana was contrasted to a '**peña ardiente**' associated with the lightning god Tunupa's successor Viracocha (Gisbert 1980: 51). San Bartolomé, the Christian replacement for Tunupa is also associated with volcanic fire (Gisbert 1980: 41); the fish deity has been replaced by the Virgin of Copacabana who is associated with the female moon.

⁷Similar figures occur in other tapestries; these have been provisionally dated from the 16th to the early 18th centuries (Cavallio: 204).

⁸I was told that if you are very lucky you can sometimes catch a glimpse of golden ducks not only beneath the surface of Lake Titicaca just south of Yunguyo, but also in one of the **puna** lakes close to Bolívar.

⁹Woolen markers tied in the ears of camelids identifying them and representing their fertility are **puyllu** or **coyllu**, stars, (Bertonio :II: 278), or **t'ika**, flowers or feathers; it will be remembered that alpacas with long silky and shiny coats are **suri**, a name for the ostrich. Not only does this suggest a connection between 'shiny' wool and feather 'rays of light',

but like the toad which transforms into a dove the ostrich buries its head in the sand.

¹⁰The 'transformation' takes place between female (dark) and male (light) aspects of a single whole; not only does the juxtaposition of opposites have a genesic power, but hermaphrodite animals (ie those with characteristics of both sexes), although they are known in fact to be sterile, are regarded as talismans for the fertility of the herd (Flores Ochoa 1976: 124)

¹¹Just as Viracocha is associated with both upper and lower realms in Macha the springs on mountain tops are associated with the toad (Torrico: 45).

¹²**Supay** or **Tío** is associated with lightning (Platt 1983: 60) and given the relationship between the two fish women and Tunupa (Gisbert 1980: 49, Rostworowski: 78) it is interesting that in Platt's account (1983: 55) of the mine in Churiña, **Tío Jorge** has only one name and his wife, **Tía Asunta Luisa**, has two, suggesting a similar triadic relationship of some kind.

¹³The paper 'money' which has replaced the white stones, **qolq'e** or **samiri**, previously exchanged for the miniature goods sold during the **calvario** market on the third day of the San Bartolomé **fiesta**, also belongs to Paxsimama.

¹⁴The Franquemonts have suggested that Andean symmetries of colour and design are capable of representing social and political models [see Chapter V, (iv), p. 60]. In this context the four part division could apply to:

Upper allqa	
Husband ++	Wife+-
Blue	Orange
Lower allqa	
Husband's sister	Wife's brother
Red --	Green -+

¹⁵A dance called **choquela**, performed by men wearing vicuña skins and said to be '**wari wawa**', sons of **Wari**, which I watched during the 1986 San Pedro festivities in the Callawayá village of Curva is now seldom seen and may be a last vestige of the earlier ritual. De Lucca refers to a similar dance as **lipi** (op. cit.: 274) [cf Chapter 6, note 11].

¹⁶I was told **laymi cinta**, hatbands, were so called because they came from the Laymi area, and this may be the explanation of **laymi linku** also; certainly this type of figure originates from Northern Potosí and is associated with the Laymi group (Gisbert et. al.: 202; Femenias: 15, Fig. 8).

¹⁷The stars dots and rhomboids which accompany the **linku** are frequently interpreted as **t'ika**, flowers, and one informant related the curved **mayu linku** to the more complex forms typical of **laymi linku** by calling it **p'ika salta**. **P'ikay** (Lara: 207), is 'coger flores o fruta, quitar las hojas de las ramas', referring here to the way the dots are unattached to the main form.

¹⁸Valcárcel notes that the terrestrial river Ucayali is also considered as the 'mother of waters' (1959b: 10); given the ritual importance ascribed to palindromes and metatheses by Randall (*op. cit.*), the relationship of lightning to the Milky Way, and the fact that this 'celestial' river is believed to mirror another 'mother of the water', the Vilcanota, it seems relevant that its name, Ucayali, is a mirror image of **Yacu Illa**, the celestial 'river of light' or Milky Way which it reflects.

¹⁹Throughout the Andes bread in the shape of ladders is baked at Todos Santos and laid on the graves or on domestic altars to enable the souls of the recently dead and of the ancestors to come and go.

²⁰The upper and lower halves of the textile can be understood both as the upper and lower **ayllus** and as having wings and a tail [see Chapter 7, IV]. The woven design in which bird and reptile transform one into the other is an explicit realisation of this concept.

²¹When suggesting that the Laymi **huacas** of **condor nasa** are associated with lightning in its celestial and terrestrial aspects Gisbert also draws attention to the meaning of nearby Sacaca, previously the capital of the kingdom of Charcas, as **exhalación ígnea**, or celestial fire (Gisbert *et. al.*: 213). Bolívar, like its patron saint San Bartolomé, is associated with, terrestrial, volcanic fire. This suggests that there might once have been a relationship between the two communities similar to that between the two shrines, one which can be iconographically expressed by the locally typical condor-serpent figure; it is perhaps significant, then, that the original name of Bolívar, Quirquiavi, appears to relate to the alternative term to **catatha**, **quirquiatha**.

²²Although in this context condors and serpents appear to transform one into the other, condors do represent political and social seniority; Aymara **tollka**, brothers-in-law or sons-in-law of the man, are represented by condors [see Chapter 7, V:(d)]. Quechua **katay** (Holguín: 138), or **catay** (Santo Tomás: 251), are sons- or brothers-in-law of the woman.

²³In their study of black constellations Zuidema and Urton (*op. cit.*) suggest that **catachillay** denotes the female **Yacana**, **orcochillay** its offspring.

²⁴'Lintel' and 'cross beam' are both terms associated with the Andean concept of 'cross' (Urton 1981: 149).

²⁵**Aaja** is 'el palo atrevesado' (Bertonio II: 29), **ayatayaña**, 'abrir unas tijeras, un compás' (De Lucca: 52). Like the derivatives of **cata**, these meanings also relate to the roof of a house: **ayquipa**, 'cruzar los palos del techo' (Bertonio II: 29), to a loom: **ayjaña**, 'cruzar atravesar dos palos o maderos en forma de cruz' (De Lucca: 52), and to the fabric woven on it: **ayquipa**, 'cosa tejida con cruces' (Bertonio II: 29).

²⁶Amongst the Kogi, for whom the spindle is a cosmic axis, the expanding metaphor of the house as cosmos includes the bars of the loom and the crossed arms of the human body (Reichel

Dolmatoff 1978c: 11). A comparable metaphoric potential is also present in the meanings of **aya/ayja**: **ayhatha**, 'tender el telar' (Bertonio II: 29), **ayatataña**, 'abrir las piernas, tender colocar el telar para tejer' (De Lucca: 51), **ampara aathapitha**, 'cruzar los brazos o por devocion o para atarlos', and **chactatha**, **aajatha**, 'cruzar atrauesar' (Bertonio I: 150).

²⁹Several analogies have already been noted between Andean cosmology and weaving traditions and those of the Maya. The latter see 'a synonymy between the solar ray as a symbol and the divine feathers or hairs of the plant-life mantle, whose magical properties are held to be equivalent' (Girard: 33).

³⁰This suggests that **catachillay** has vertical as well as horizontal dimensions. Zuidema and Urton have suggested that **catachilla** is the black constellation of the celestial llama, which is reached by a mountain pathway, **Huacayñan** [see Chapter 7, I:(iv)]. Could **llucaña** refer to this black constellation, **Yacaña** as well as to **Yocaniha**?

³¹The name given by Isbell for this figure, **pawsa** (op. cit.: 143), appears to derive from the Aymara **pawiña**, 'enroscar la culebra', and **pawiquipaña**, 'devanar el hilo' (De Lucca: 336).

³²It will be remembered that the Milky Way signifies both a zigzag 'vertical cross' or 'pole' and a diagonal horizontal cross. The zigzag refers to lightning, which suggests that the cross represents the rainbow or black constellations that lie within it. But whilst lightning is associated with the white light of the Milky Way, the rainbow pathway of the black constellations is associated with red. Together these colours signify blood and breath, female and male generative principles, and the flow of energy or **suerte** between them.

³³It may be significant that the verb **ccuyuni** or **cuyuni**, to twist, appears to be genetically related to both the rainbow, **cuychi**, and to **cuyllu**, white.

APPENDIX: The possible cognative relationship
between copa and supay, cama and sama

Introduction

During the course of my research I repeatedly found a close similarity of meanings between several 'pairs' of words beginning with /c/ and /ç/ or /s/, suggesting the possibility of their cognative relationship. On occasion this relationship appeared to extend to the word when written with an initial /h/ or /j/ and to examples where the initial consonant had been dropped.

A similarity in meaning was particularly noticeable firstly between **sama**, colour, which plays a major part in my thesis and which relates to both blood and breath, and **cama**, an inspiring or animating force, and secondly between **supay** and **copa**.

Whilst a lengthy study is beyond the scope of this thesis I would like to present here some preliminary evidence based primarily on the early lexicons of Santo Tomás (1560), Ricardo (1586), Holguín (1608), and Bertonio (1612) and the studies of Gerald Taylor (1980) and Bruce Mannheim (1988, 1991).

i) The sixteenth century background

As Mannheim points out 'the Achilles heel of phonetic reconstructions of sixteenth century sibilants is that they ultimately refer to what Spanish speakers wrote or what they thought they heard' (op. cit.: 175); in assessing the possible relationship between words

apparently of such disparate phonology four major factors should be borne in mind:

1. That around the time that the early lexicographers were making their compilations, Spanish, the native language of many of them, was undergoing significant changes in its sibilant and spirant system (Mannheim 1988: 170).

2. That the Spanish system was both unsuitable and inadequate to record the Quechua sibilant and spirant system (Mannheim 1988: 180).

3. That the lexicographers collected their entries from a wide area and deliberately attempted to include regionalisms.

4. That words may have passed between Aymara and Quechua taking on in the process a fresh agglomeration of meanings and a modified phonology.

One major confusion appears to have been caused by the use of **f**, used in Spanish to represent /x/, but in Quechua, which was thought not to have an /x/, to represent /s/. This has given rise to 'pairs' of words, both written and spoken, such as **usuta/ojota**, **sallica/jallica** and **sora/jora** (Mannheim 1988: 175). The concepts under discussion, **cama** and **supay**, are amongst those chosen by the early missionaries to bear a heavy load in the interpretation of Christian doctrine; special catechisms were issued to priests who did not themselves speak Quechua and were quite unable to preach or hear confession in that language. These priests may have given a Spanish interpretation to the transcription of Quechua

phonetics thus giving rise to similar 'pairs' or words, of which **supay** and **hupay** appear to be an example.

Though it is less convincing as an argument a discrepancy between initial /c/ and /ç/ could be the result purely of typographical error in the accidental omission of a cedilla; the misspellings could rapidly have been perpetuated as two separate entries, and the two pronunciations been adopted in the spoken language through imitation by native speakers of the Spanish who dominated them.

Although Holguín, whose 'observed lexical variation in the use of sibilants makes his the standard for sibilant orthography' (Mannheim: 181), states categorically that there was no /x/ in Quechua, Santo Tomás was equally convinced that there was, and gives separate listings of **ximi** and **simi**, for example, as regional variations (op. cit. 351). The examples **qamiles/kamiles/hamites** (the 'herbal doctors' mentioned in Chapter 6), and **urqu/jurq'u/curcu** (mentioned in Chapter 8) suggest this variation can extend to /q/ or /c/. **Sama** and **cama** could then, be regional or historical variations of the same term rather than the result of mispronunciation by non-native speakers.

It should also be borne in mind that in order to facilitate the spreading of the Christian message an attempt was made by the early missionaries to standardise dialectal differences into a single **lengua general** (Mannheim 1991: 34). Changes in pronunciation may, then, have become permanently inserted into the language due to the efforts of priests to carry out this 'levelling' (loc.

cit.) process, rather than due to their lack of familiarity with the way in which Quechua was spoken.

Santo Tomás and Holguín both distinguished initial /ç/ and /s/ in Quechua (Mannheim 1988: 173), as did Ricardo, who chose to use initial /z/. Landerman (quoted in Mannheim 1988: 171) concludes that Southern Peruvian Quechua had a dual sibilant system, and that /ç/ and /z/ represented an apical, /s/ a dorsal. Aymara had only a single sibilant, represented as /s/. The use of /z/ and /ç/ does not, then, appear in Bertonio.

ii) Supay, an 'evolution' from copa

The first set of correspondences to be considered are those between **copa** (Bertonio II: 52) and **supay** (Bertonio II: 328; Holguín: 88). Whilst this term is not directly connected with weaving its connection with masks and with the inhabitants of the underworld does form part of my thesis. In suggesting a cognative relationship between **copa** and **supay** I am concerned primarily with the modification of the initial /c/ to /s/. One possibility is that this came about via the regional variation /h/. **Hupani** means 'soul of the dead' (Taylor : 57, Howard Malverde: 109). I also attempt to account for the accretion of /y/ to **supay**. It is, however, the correspondence in meanings between the two terms which provides the most conclusive evidence for my argument.

a) Aymara copa, the green energy of the ancestors

Copa is an old Aymara word for green (Bertonio II: 52), one which according to De Lucca (*op. cit.*: 233) is

now little used. It refers primarily to a green originating from beneath, a bluish green, like that of the blue stone idol of the lakeside shrine of Copacabana (Ramos Gavilan quoted in Gisbert, 1980: 51), or like the acidic greenish **copajira** which seeps from the mines. Its meaning in Quechua is 'turquoise' (Ricardo: 25, Holguín: 74).

Copa also refers to the green of new plants bursting from beneath the ground (Bertonio II: 52). This interior world, ~~manqapacha~~ **manqapacha**, is the domain of the ancestors (Harris & Bouysse-Cassagne: 37) who watch over the crops. According to Zuidema (personal communication quoted in Fioravanti-Molinie: 263), green is associated with 'tiempos primordiales y la muerte'. **Copa** is also the term for a glowworm (Bertonio II: 52), a creature which is present during the whole of the sowing and growing period; for this reason it is associated in the Laymi area with presence of the ancestors (Harris 1982a: 59), although it is not certain from the account whether it is referred to as **copa**.

As **koparatha**, **copa** is also associated with a kind of 'underground' lightning, an element linked both to Quechua **copa** and to the underworld deity **supay** [see Chapter 6, II(vii)(b)].

The **copa haque** (Bertonio II: 52), literally 'green man', is associated with similar properties of fertility and abundance to the European green man; **copanturu**¹, **curikhuu**, is 'prodigo en dar'. **Copa haque** is also associated with masked representations of the ancestors:

Copa haque, sokho: Espantajo, mascara (Bertonio II: 52).

b) **Aymara copa and Quechua supay as devil dancers**

The appearance of these dancers much have been strange and frightening, particularly to children:

Espantajo, copa haque, soncomalla, culunculun:
Espantajo niños (Bertonio I: 227).

and in a further entry these figures have become associated with minor demons:

Diablillos o espantajo: sokho, sancatilla, culun culun saynata, llama llama, copa haque
(Bertonio I: 189).

In yet a further one these masked figures or demons are joined with the dance:

Demonuelos o diablillos de las danças sokho, sancatilla culun culun saynata llama llama hayachucu (Bertonio I: 170).

Copa, of which the original meaning is related to a greenish blue primordial force from the ancestral underworld and to the masked men who represent that power in the dance is, then, associated in Spanish with the demons or devils which these idolatrous dancers would represent to a Christian missionary.

This change in meaning continued with the adoption of the concept into Quechua, but includes a further divergence in spelling.

Perhaps the most significant argument in favour of an identity between **copa** and **supay** is the description of both by the term 'diablillo', and their simultaneous association with **culunculun**.

Copa haqqe is 'espantajo o mascara' (Bertonio II: 52), **copa haqqe** and **culunculun** are 'diablillos o espantajo' (Bertonio I: 189). Holguín has an entry:

Calan calan, çupay tucuni: Hazerse diablillo (op. cit.: 88).

The similar repetition of **calan calan** associated with **tucuni**, 'to become' or 'convert oneself into' a **diablillo** (by putting on a mask as in the contemporary dance of the **diablada**), so closely parallels the Aymara as to suggest that **copa** and **çupay**² originated as the same word.

Though the lapse of time between the compilation of the two dictionaries lends less strength to this example, De Lucca (op. cit. 75) refers to **cupa** as formerly meaning mask, but includes a further entry, 'hechicero, brujo'. Bertonio, however translates 'hechicero diestro en sus embustes' as **tutu, phuu, supayona, allcomata** (op. cit. I: 261), an example, within the Aymara language, of **copa** and **supay** having an identical meaning.

c) Quechua **çupay** and Aymara **supay**, demon or devil

In post-conquest Peru Quechua **supay** was used to translate 'devil'³, but as has been pointed out by Taylor (op. cit.: 48) this devil shared few characteristics with the Christian idea of devil other than dwelling where Christians were accustomed to place him in the underworld. It seems likely that the confusion between 'ancestor' and 'devil' was brought about by the early missionaries attempting to translate a Christian concept with an existing Aymara or Quechua term.

Santo Tomás has two entries for **çupay**, which in Christian terms are contradictory, and which at the same time indicate the ambivalent nature of the Andean **supay**:

çupay: angel bueno o malo (op. cit.: 279).

çupay: demonio bueno o malo, trasgo de casa (loc. cit.)

The Christian concept of 'angel' seems as inappropriate to the Andes as the Christian devil, but one characteristic they had in common was that they were both inhabitants of another world who watched over the inhabitants of the present one. Everyone was believed to have a 'familiar spirit' (Alden Mason: 211); Holguín lists **çupay niyoc o çupaypa çamaycuscan**, 'el que tiene familiar o habla con el demonio' (op. cit.: 88).

Translated literally this entry refers to someone 'inspired by the devil'; its significance will be returned to in the analysis of the similarities between **sama** and **cama** below.

The indigenous character of **çupay** is also shown in the way that whether translated as 'angel' or 'devil', instead of being all good or all bad, both phenomena were capable of displaying either characteristic, an ambiguity typical of the Andes.

In the meaning of 'trasgo de casa', household imp, there remains both the sense of a 'familiar spirit', and that of a being such as an ancestor, rightfully associated with the house and family.

In addition to 'hechicero' Aymara **supayona** meant a madman, a man possessed of devils:

Supayo demonio, **supayona** Hombre endemoniado o como endemoniado, o furioso que por otro nombre

llama **loqhuetiri haque**, y suelen a veces andar por los cerros (Bertonio II: 328).

It is possible that **supayo** is a re-entry from Quechua, originating as **supa yoq**, possessed of **copa** or **supa**. Similarly, Duviols suggests (Taylor: 56-57) that the **ni** termination for the variant **upani** [**upa**: soul] is the Aymara suffix meaning 'that which has' or 'possessing'.

The **supayona** or **loqhuetiri haque**, then, like the **purum** and **pampa haque**, was a being belonging to a place and time outside society, but not a demon in the Christian sense. Not only does the **supayona** inhabit the same world as the **copa haque**, but the meaning of **dadivoso** associated with **copanturu** is likewise associated with the 'otro nombre' of **supayona**, **loqhuetiri haque** (Bertonio I: 267). Both Quechua **çupay** and Aymara **supay** appear closely related to **copa** as an ancestral spirit or mountain lord.

d) Quechua **çupay** and Aymara **supay**, 'ghost' or 'soul'

Besides the early example given by Cieza (note 3) instances of the use of **supay** or **çupay** to translate 'ghost' or 'shadow' also suggest that the confusion leading to the translation of 'devil' stemmed from Spanish misunderstanding or intolerance of the significance as **wak'as** of the tribal ancestors.

Zupay: demonio, fantasma, la sombra de una persona (Ricardo: 32)

Demonio: **Supayo**. Antiguamente dezian **hahuari** que es fantasma (Bertonio I: 170).

çupan: la sombra de una persona o animal (Holguín: 88).

çupay çupay o **tapia**: vision o duende o fantasma (loc. cit.).

Phantasma por el coco o espanta niños **huacca o aya** (op. cit. 630).

Ricardo's entry still associates **zupay** with the soul or shadow of a person. Bertonio's entry suggests that 'fantasma' is an older translation and one, therefore, which is likely to reflect more accurately the indigenous concept of 'demonio'. **Hahuari** (Bertonio II: 108) is 'el muerto o como sombra del' and **amaya** is given as an alternative, repeating the connection of this 'demon' with an ancestral, human origin. That **supayo** replaces **hahuari** also suggests that the former term may have been readopted into Aymara and that it is **copa** returning as **supa yoq**.

Holguín clearly associates **çupay** with the **phantasma** or ghost of a former living being whether animal or human; the 'phantasma por el coco', is, like **copa haqqe** and **culun culun**, an 'espanto niños', one clearly related to the head, the 'mascara', or **coco**, and its Quechua translation, **aya**, ancestor, repeats the image **hayachuco**⁴ used by Bertonio for the masked ancestral dancers (op. cit. I: 170). Santo Tomás also translates 'máscara o carátula' as **ayachuco** (op. cit. 161).

In summary, then, the above analysis has attempted to show that the Aymara term **copa**, which originally denoted an engendering fertility deriving from an ancestral source and by association the masked dancers who represented both ancestors and the continuing power of reproduction, when it came into contact with European influence came to mean ghost, and subsequently demon. With these meanings it appears to have been adopted into the Quechua language as

çupay, and having completely lost its associations with its origins as the primordial green of the underworld, it later re-entered Aymara with the Quechua suffix 'possessed of' and meanings of demon or wizard.

iii) Semantic similarities between sama and cama

This section will attempt to demonstrate that parallels in meaning between **sama** and **cama** also suggest that the two terms are cognates. Not all the meanings of the highly complex term **cama** are included, only such as appear to relate directly to those included in entries for **sama**.

a) Sama, breath, and cama, animating force

One of the principle meanings of Aymara and Quechua **sama** is that of breath: *

Zamay: el aliento (Ricardo: 29).

Samana: el aliento, huelgo, hanelito o respiracion (Bertonio II: 306).

çamaruni: respirar a fuera el ayre o baho (Holguín: 76).

Zamaycuni: Infundir el alma, dale vigor o insuflar (Ricardo: 26).

çamaycuni: Infundir Dios el alma (Holguín: 76).

Samaj: el que alienta (Lara: 250).

The last three examples represent 'breath' as an animating force, the last two associate this force with a god, and the final example recalls the name of the creator god, **Pachacamac**.

According to Garcilaso (*op. cit.* 124-127), the Andean concept of **cama** did not correspond to the Christian idea of creation by a 'Dios hacedor'⁵:

Pachacamac es nombre compuesto de **pacha**, que es mundo universo, y de **camac**, participio de presente del verbo **cama**, que es animar; el cual verbo se deduce del nombre **cama**, que es ánima: Pachacamac quiere decir el que da ánima al mundo universo, y en toda su propia y entera significación quiere decir el que hace con el universo lo que el ánima con el cuerpo.

Garcilaso repeats this explanation of the relationship between the animation of the universe and of the body:

Pachacamac ... quiere decir el que hace con el mundo universo lo que el alma con el cuerpo, que es darle ser, vida, aumento y sustento (*op. cit.* 127).

Though the sense attached to **camac** in the early chronicles is that of 'creator' god, in all cases the word used in its translation (Ricardo: 20; Santo Tomás: 245; Holguín: 47; Bertonio II: 35) is not 'crear', but 'criar' 'to nurture or engender'. This is consistent with Lara's description of **samaj**.

As already mentioned, the suffix **iri** [denoting the actor, or customary action] causes the preceding vowel to drop (Hardman: 271). **Camiri** is translated as 'criador, propio de Dios' (Bertonio II: 34-35) and it will be remembered that **samiri** is a fertilising breath associated with the ancestors; **samiri** is also the term used by the Chipaya to denote their gods, the ancestors who now inhabit the mountains surrounding their village (Metraux).

There seems, then, to be a close approximation of meaning between **camac**, a regional or ancestral god who brings to life or animates rather than creates and **samaj**,

one who breathes life into things, as there is between **camiri** a god who nurtures or engenders, and **samiri** regional and ancestral gods who engender life through breath.

b) **Alternative spellings of çama and cama**

As was mentioned in the section on the sixteenth century background, apparently inconsistent entries for **çama** and **cama** might be due to typographical error. I found two examples of alternative spellings of **çama** and **cama** which could fall within this category. Santo Tomás writes both

Camaquenc, camaynin songo : anima, poz la qual vivimos (op. cit.: 246).

and

Alma: **camaquenc o songo o çamaynin** (op. cit.: 35).

Holguín writes:

çamaycuni, rantiycuni unccuyta: pegar la enfermedad por el baho (op. cit.: 88).

and

camaycuni o ranticuni allin cayniyta: peguele mis buenas costumbres, dar buen o mal exemplo' (loc. cit.).

Much has been made by Taylor (op. cit.) of the first example and it suggests significant parallels to the explanation given by Garcilaso that the world was 'animated' in a similar way to the animation of the body by the soul.

Whilst it is tempting to use both 'pairs' of entries as convincing evidence of my argument, it is also impossible to say definitely whether they are a deliberate

attempt to register regional variations or merely the result of the accidental omission of a cedilla.

In the example from Holguín the means of influence or exchange is breath: **çamaynin** refers to 'baho de la boca o de la olla' (*op. cit.* 427), the 'visible breath', or steam from the cooking or dye pots already referred to in Chapter 4.

Bertonio gives a comparable example:

Samaquipatha: aconsejar mal a otro o con su mal exemplo infundirse sus malas costumbres (*op. cit.* II: 306).

His Spanish interpretation is also significant as it recalls the 'infundir dios el alma' given by Holguín and Ricardo for **çamaycuni** (see preceding section).

Holguín's entries are also significant, however, at another level. **Rantini** means 'trocar, cambiar' (*op. cit.* 312). This suggests that the 'breath' of **çamaynin** in the first example can transmit its influence in more than one direction⁶. It will be remembered that **cama** can also mean 'negocio' (Holguín: 600, Bertonio I: 32) and the idea that this influence or exchange can be of a negative as well as a positive kind is also brought out in the second example, 'dar buen o mal exemplo'.

c) **Sama** and **cama**, a brief period of rest

A second basic meaning of **sama** is that of rest, and here once again its meaning parallels **cama**: **çamaycuni** is 'descansar en el camino o trauao un poco' (Holguín: 75), **camatha** is 'morar por poco tiempo o descansar del camino' (Bertonio II: 35), **camiri**, 'descansado' (*op. cit.* I: 174). The reciprocal action attached to both **cama** and **sama** has

been mentioned in my thesis. This rest which is now applied to the **midday** rest and meal taken in the fields, can, I believe, be seen as the infinitesimal pause or turning point in the balance between an incoming and outgoing breath.

Murra translates **Camai, Inca Raimi**, April or Carnival, as 'descanso, festejo del Inka' (Guaman Poma 242). Although this would be appropriate to my argument, '[fulfilment of] obligation', another meaning of **camay**, would also be appropriate as many animals were sacrificed at this time.

Murra also translates **Capac Raimi Camai quilla** as 'mes de descanso' (Poma: 237). Not only does this fall at the time of the summer solstice when ritual sacrifices to ensure the return of the sun would have been obligatory, but the accompanying picture shows the performance of a far from restful 'penitencia y ayunos al Ynga' whilst the text records that 'acimismo en todo el reyno guardan esta y hordenanzas'.

This last sentence does, however, suggest a possible correspondence between **cama** as obligation and **sama**, as rest. In Bolívar, as elsewhere (Arnold 1936: 6), **guarda** is now used to refer to certain saints days of which the obligatory observation or 'keeping of the feast' means that no work can be done in the fields (cf **samaña uru pista, fiesta, dia de huelga**' Bertonio I: 241).

e) **Sama** and **cama**, 'devilish energy'

It will be remembered that the sense of both Aymara **supayona**, 'hechicero' or 'hombre endemoniado' as well as

of Quechua **çupaypa çamaycuscan** was that of being possessed or 'inspired' by **supay**. Holguín confirms this in a second similar entry:

çupaypa çamay cusccan o çamasccan:el hechizero o inspirado del demonio (Holguín: 77).

Once again the means of influence is breath. Ricardo has a similar entry:

Zamasca runa: hechicero (op. cit. 29).

but he also transcribes it:

Camasca runa: hechicero (op. cit.: 21).

Whilst the previously cited discrepancies in Holguín and Santo Tomás may be merely the result of the loss of a cedilla such is not the case here. This appears to be strong evidence that the two terms are cognates.

Copa/supay appears to refer to 'ancestral energy', ie to some form of power, something by which one is possessed. **Cama/sama** refer to the transference of that power. Even without those examples where **çama** and **cama** have been shown to be used interchangeably, the Spanish terms used to describe the transference of this power, 'animar', 'inspirar' and 'infundir', as well as the comparison made with animation of the body, suggests that both **cama** and **çama** refer to breath.

Summary

My examination of the similarities in meaning between **copa** and **supay** show them to be sufficiently close as to suggest that these terms are cognates. I have, in

addition, attempted to trace the path of change which resulted in their present appearance as unrelated terms.

Cama is a term of such complexity that only direct comparisons have been made between its meanings and those of **sama**. A longer investigation could, however, suggest parallels between **cama** as reciprocal obligation and **sama** as debit and credit, and between **cama** as social organisation and division and **sama**, colour. The examples of both **cama** and **sama** as 'inspirational energy' provides a strong argument for these terms also being cognates, but it should also be remembered that terms which appear as separate entries in the lexicons may do so as the result of an artificial fragmentation of their indigenous meaning by the European compiler.

NOTES

¹According to Arnold (1988; 339) 'turu' is associated with the world of the mountains and the mountain spirits and most especially with the **samiri**, those spirits which possess the power to engender by breath alone.

²I have found at least one occasion where Holguín transcribes **çupay** as **cupay** (op. cit. 37).

³Cieza de León (quoted in Taylor: 48) wrote that **sopay** took the form of a dead lord who returned amongst the living to tell them what a good life awaited them in the land of the dead. At this early stage both the orthography and the connection with an ancestor are still close to those of **copa**.

⁴**Chuco** is 'bonete' (Santo Tomás: 272), 'todo pieza para tocarse, como sombrero, gorra, bonete etc (Lira: 139).

⁵'Para decir hacedor había de decir **Pacharurac**, porque **rura** quiere decir hacer'.

⁶This entry recalls the use of **sami**, which appears to belong to the same semantic field as **sama**, in barter, and also its meaning of good and bad luck in 'juegos y ganancias' [see Chapter 6].

GLOSSARY OF TEXTILE RELATED TERMS

alforja (Sp.), woven saddle bags.

allqa (A.), complementary colours such as black and white, red and green.

allwi (Q.), the warp.

almañancito (Q.), a meandering line interspersed with rhomboids (Calcha).

almilla (Q.), woman's dress made from loom widths of homespun cloth.

amaru (Q.), an S-shape design believed to represent the rainbow.

asi (A.), the warp.

awa (Q.), the loom.

awakipa (Q.), a strip of binding woven and attached after the main textile is completed.

awaska (Q.), plain woven cloth.

awayo (Q.), rectangular, factory-made cloth used for carrying goods, babies, etc.

aysaka (A.), narrow stripes separating the broad stripes of a **costala** (Macha).

brocadero (Sp.), embroidery or supplementary weft.

caito (Q.), yarn made of natural fibre, usually sheep.

cantu lado (Q. + Sp.), the side or outer edge.

capacho (Sp.), a large woven shoulder bag used by men.

caripuyo (Q.), a diamond-shape design made up of four opposed stepped frets woven in the Bolívar area.

cañhua (A.), man's shirt or tunic.

ccatiatha (A.), to dye (Bertonio I: 46).

cerro y serpiente (Sp.), a meandering line with half rhomboids (Cusco).

ch'aska (Q.), a diamond or star-shape design; this may include a bird (Charasani).

ch'uspa (Q.), small woven bag used by men for carrying coca.

chank'a (A.), thread spun of natural fibre.

chawpi pallay (Q.), the central band of designs (Macusani).

chchuru (Q. or A.), an S-shape design (Charasani).

chhipipipic (Q.), a term listed by Holguín for silk or shot fabrics or those which are shiny.

chichilla (Q.), a narrow tubular binding (cf. Holguín: 108).

chimi or **ch'imi** (Q. and A.), thread spun of two contrasting colours producing a third colour and a giving a stippled appearance to the cloth for which it is used.

chimpu (A.), a marker of coloured thread used for identifying animals or amounts of goods.

chinu (A.), a narrow stripe used to separate different areas of a textile, (cf. Bertonio **chino**, knotted cords).

chullo (Q.), conical knitted hat, usually with ear flaps, worn by men and boys.

chumpi (Q.), woven belt.

chupi (A.), a dark pink or red.

churu (A.), a broad woven stripe in **talegas**, also the outer stripe of belts.

chuyma (A.), the central stripe of a design.

compita ilacota (A.), a mantle described by Bertonio as being either entirely red or entirely blue.

corte grande (Q.), a design using interlocking hooks (Charasani).

costal (Sp.), woven sack for storing and transporting goods.

cumbi (Q. and A.), see **qumpi**.

cumpa (A.), a binding used according to Bertonio on mens' clothing, see also **qumpa**.

cuyllu (Q.), white (Holguín: 59).

guardan (Sp.), narrow stripes separating the broad areas of **pampa** in an **inkuña** (Macusani).

huateca isi (A.), a term used by Bertonio for shot fabric.

huaycutha (A.), to dye (Bertonio I: 46).

illahua (A.), the heddles of the loom and the rod round which they are wound.

inkuña (Q.), small square woven cloth used by women for carrying food or **coca**.

inti (Q.), a diamond shaped design representing the sun.

ipkha (A.), a binding used according to Bertonio on womens' clothing.

isañut'ika (Q.), a diamond-shape design woven in the Bolívar area.

isi (A.), cloth.

isimarka (A.?), a diamond-shape design woven in the Bolívar area.

jalaka (A.), narrow stripes separating the broad stripes on a **costala** (Macha).

jaija (A.), narrow stripes separating the broad stripes on a **costala** (Macha).

jatun pallay (Q.), a design using interlocking hooks (Charasani).

juscusi (A.), a wide-mouth **talega** (De Lucca: 210).

kachitas (Q.), multicoloured bands of narrow stripes around the main **pallay** of a **ch'uspa** (Tarabuco).

kalla (A.), a type of stripe mentioned by Bertonio as similar to **allqa**.

kapu (A.) spindle.

kaw (A.), a term recorded by Bertonio for the edge of a textile.

kechu ilacota (A.), a mantle described by Bertonio as being half red and half blue.

kepa (A.), the weft.

kewillo (A.), an S-shape design (Charasani).

khipu (Q.), knotted cords for recording information.

k'illi (A. and Q.), a V shaped design or weave (cf. **qquilli**, a broad stripe or edge binding used on women's clothing (Holguín: 308) and **kili** (Bertonio II: 198, 302)).

killpa (A.), the weft selvedge.

k'isa (A.), multicoloured bands of carefully graded colours.

kochu unkhuña (Q.), a small cloth woven in four different colours (Macusani).

kurti (?), the term used by Yorke to describe certain designs woven in the Bolívar area.

k'utu (A.), woven bands of checks or broken horizontal stripes.

kuwichi (Q.), multicoloured bands of narrow stripes.

llacolla (Q.), rectangular woven cloth worn round the shoulders previously used by men, and now used by both men and women only for the marriage ceremony.

llacota (A.), rectangular woven cloth worn round the shoulders previously used by men.

llaw (A.), a term recorded by Bertonio for the edge of a textile.

llijilla (Q.), rectangular hand-woven cloth worn round the shoulders or used for carrying by women.

llipipic ppacha (Q.), a term listed by Holguín for silk or **qumpi** fabric, or those which have a shiny surface (cf. Bertonio **lliphilliphi isi**).

lloq'e (Q.), thread that it is spun to the left.

lluchu (A.), conical hat knitted and worn by men and boys.

laymi cinta (Q.), a narrow woven hat band used by both men and women.

laymi linku (Q.), an angular meandering line.

laymi t'ika (Q.), a design in which stylised flowers branch from a central rhomboid typical of the colonial influenced Bolívar style.

mayu linku (Q.), a curving meandering line.

mini (Q.), weft.

mini hakchi (Q.), the shuttle.

muyorga (Q.), a narrow stripe, usually used in groups of two or three, which separates different areas of a textile.

ñan (Q.), multicoloured bands of narrow stripes around the main **pallay** of a **ch'uspa** (Taquile).

ñawi (Q.), tiny diamond or 'eye'-shape designs.

p'acha (Q.), clothing.

p'anta (Q.), rectangular woven cloth worn by women over the head and down the back.

paku (A.), a reddish brown colour found naturally in camelid fibre.

- pallay** (Q.) woven designs formed by picking the warps.
- pampa** (Q.), the plain weave area of a textile, or a wide plain weave stripe.
- panay** (Q.), thread spun to the right.
- paya samiri isi** (A.), a term used by Bertonio for shot fabric.
- phutitha** (A.), to dye (Bertonio I: 46).
- pollera** (Sp.), full skirt of homespun wool or felt.
- polo** (A.), the warp selvedge.
- ppatticalla** (A.), a broad stripe mentioned by Bertonio as used in blankets or large carrying cloths.
- pushka** (Q.), spindle.
- puyllu** (A.), identifying thread or a tassel on clothing.
- qallu** (A.), narrow stripes separating the broad stripes in a **talega** (Isluga), (cf. Bertonio II: 94, **calluni**, narrower stripes used in blankets or large carrying cloths).
- qasi** (A.), term used to describe **inkuñas** which are all of one colour (Macusani).
- qaylla** (Q.), the surrounding edge of a textile.
- qhallu** or **qallu** (Q.), one half of a two-piece hand-woven textile.
- qquecco** or **cumpaqucco** (Q.), a medium-size tubular binding.
- quillicani** (Q.), to dye (Santo Tomás: 216).
- qumpaska** (Q.), oversewn edging of black and white thread (Macha).
- qumpi** (Q. and A.), very finely woven cloth.
- rama de olivo** (Sp.), a design similar to the **lymi linku** used in the Laymi area.
- ribete** (Sp.), a woven tubular binding.
- saka** (Q.), a sampler of woven designs.
- salta** (A.), woven designs formed by picking the warps.
- sama** (A.), colour, or breath.
- sami** (A.), colour, or shot fabric (De Lucca: 377).
- samiri** (A.), colouring or dyeing (De Lucca: 377).

siray lado (Q. + Sp.), the seam, or inner edge.

sonqo (Q.), the central stripe or colour change of a design.

suko (A.), a stripe used, according to Bertonio, on men's clothing.

sullco, or **sillco** (A.), a term recorded by Bertonio for a textile edge, possibly a selvedge (C.P.C.T. II: 326).

suyu (Q. and A.), a general term for stripe, according to Holguín used only on men's clothing.

t'ika (Q.), a flower design often used instead of **ch'aska**. Also the identifying threads tied in an animals ears, and the tassels on bags or head cloths.

tari, a small square woven cloth used by women for carrying food or **coca**.

tawanito (A.?), a design of a meandering line interspersed with rhomboids (Calcha).

tayka (A.), a broad stripe used, according to Bertonio, on blankets (C.P.C.T. II: 94)

ticulla (Q.), a small cloth with four different colour sections formed by discontinuous warp (Cusco area). ▲

tocapu (A.), painted or woven geometric designs used in bands or checks.

tullpuni (Q.), to dye (Santo Tomás: 216).

vestido (Sp.), clothing, dress.

wayaka (Q.), small woven bag for storing seeds.

wichuña (A.?), an animal leg bone used for beating down the weft.

yuraj (Q.), white.

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