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Pre-Hispanic and Colonial Period Aymara Ceremonial Garments of Bolivia and Peru:
Structure and Significance

By

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Doctor of Philosophy

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An abstract of
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Abstract

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By Shelley Alice Burian

This dissertation presents a comprehensive survey of men's tunics (*qhawa*) and women's mantles (*isallu*) from Aymara-speaking communities (*warami*) in modern Perú and Bolivia dating from the Late Intermediate Period through the early nineteenth century, comprehending classification according to Aymara terminology, an outline of stylistic development, and an analysis of the garments' significance in both the pre-Hispanic and post-Conquest periods. Through colonial-era primary sources and the results of current ethnographic fieldwork, the garments and their substyles are described according to indigenous terminology and reunited with their original names; of particular note is the correct identification of garments currently thought to be men's mantles (*llaquta*) as a substyle of women's *isallu*. The basic chronological development of the various garment styles and substyles is outlined with the assistance of Carbon-14 dating, the identification of features restricted to specific historical periods, and comparisons with ponchos and miniature garments. The analysis focuses on the major changes in garment composition and significance between the Late Horizon and the period of Spanish colonization (referred to as the Colonial period) common to all types: more highly-colored compositions, the techniques of *ll'uque* and *lluq'ita ch'ankha* (multicolored thread), and the use of the new luxury materials of silk and silver-wrapped thread. By elucidating the reasons for these developments, this study offers new insights into the ways in which the Aymara weavers adapted their tradition of textile-based expression and communication to function in the new Spanish-dominated society.

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Introduction

One of the most important indigenous groups of the Inka Empire (Tawantinsuyu), and later the Viceroyalties of Perú and Río de La Plata, were the various conglomerations of Aymara-speaking communities, collectively referred to as “Aymara,” a word originally used by the Spanish to identify the language locals called “*jaque-arú*” or “*aqaru*” which was later extended to the people themselves.¹ At the time of the arrival of the Spanish, there were a number of distinct Aymara communities (referred to as *naciones* or *señorío* by the Spanish), the most powerful of which were the Collas (Qullas), Lupacas (Lupaqas), Pacajes (Pakasa), Charcas (Charkas), Qaraqaras, Carangas (Karanqas), and Quillacas (Killaqas).²

At the time the highland regions began to fall under the control of the Inka during the reign of Wiracocha Inka, Aymara-speaking people are documented as organized

¹ Spelled *jaqui aru* by Adelaar, Muysken, and Anderson in *Languages of the Andes*, 259. Teresa Gisbert, *Arte textil y mundo andino*, 3rd edición. (La Paz, Bolivia: Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore: Embajada de Francia en Bolivia: Plural Editores, 2006).166. The word first appeared in the writings of Lic. Juan Polo de Ondegardo in 1559, when he attributed several words related to pre-Hispanic religious beliefs to the language “Aymará of the Collas,” see Rodolfo Cerrón-Palomino, *Voces del Ande ensayos sobre onomástica andina* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Fondo Editorial, 2008). 20. By the late sixteenth century, the term (now spelled Aimara by Spanish officials and priests) had been extended to reference the social group comprised by all who spoke the language, evidenced by the annotations to the Aymara translations of the proceedings of the *Third Provincial Counsel convened by Archbishop of Lima Toribio de Mogrovejo* published in 1584, see Cerrón-Palomino. 22.

² Cerrón-Palomino, *Voces del Ande ensayos sobre onomástica andina*. 22. The majority of these communities are listed in the annotations of the *Third Provincial Counsel convened by Archbishop of Lima Toribio de Mogrovejo*, considered to be the first listing of all the Aymara communities in the Viceroyalty of Perú. The majority of these polities (including Qaraqara which does not appear in the annotations *listing*) also appear in the list given by Santos Escobar in *La contribution* (1987:13), cited in Tristán Platt, Thérèse Bouysson-Cassagne, and Olivia Harris, *Qaraqara-Charka: mallku, inka y rey en la provincia de Charcas (siglos XV-XVII): historia antropológica de una confederación aymara* (La Paz, Bolivia: Plural Editores, 2006). page 92, footnote 220.

according to a communal system called *warami*.³ The term *warami* is complex; Jesuit friar Ludovico Bertonio's translation in the *Vocabulario de la lengua aymara* indicates that it was used to refer to a given territory as well as its leader and combines geographic control and administrative authority over people.⁴ An individual *warami* was further divided into *Alasaya* and *Majasaya* divisions (called in Quechua *Hanansaya* and *Hurinsaya*) and ruled by its own *mallku*, with the *mallku* of *Alasaya/Hanansaya* usually taking precedence.⁵ *Malku* Muruq'u of Qaraqara declared loyalty to Spain on behalf of his the entire *warami*, although he ruled jointly with *Malku* Wallqa within the traditional Aymara political structure.⁶ Each *saya* contained a number of kinship groups called *ayllu* in Aymara and Quechua, whose members share a common group of ancestors and place of origin, each ruled by a local leader called *jilqata* in Aymara.⁷

Linked by a common language and these basic political and social structures, the Aymara *warami* were the politically dominant ethnic groups in the Region of Puno in modern Perú and the Departments of La Paz, Oruro, Potosí, Cochabamba, and half of Chuquisaca in modern Bolivia at the beginning of the Inka's project of territorial expansion (figure 1.1).⁸ After their subjugation through a variety of the Inka's conquest

³ Platt, Bouysse-Cassagne, and Harris present the Aymara term "*warami*" to describe the political structure of Aymara-speaking groups. See also Tristan Platt, "Entre Ch'axwa y Muxsa: Para una historia del pensamiento politico aymara," in *Tres reflexiones sobre el pensamiento andino*, ed. Thérèse Bouysse-Cassagne (La Paz, Bolivia: HISBOL, 1987), 61–132. 47–49. The first engagement between an Aymara *warami* and the Inka is currently thought to be either an alliance between the Inka and the Lupaqa or the conquest by the former of the latter in the Lake Titicaca basin. See Terence N. D'Altroy, *The Incas*, 2nd ed. (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2015). 95–97.

⁴ Platt, Bouysse-Cassagne, and Harris, *Qaraqara-Charka*. 47–49.

⁵ Platt, "Entre Ch'axwa y Muxsa: Para una historia del pensamiento politico aymara." 69.

⁶ Platt, Bouysse-Cassagne, and Harris, *Qaraqara-Charka*. 97.

⁷ Platt, "Entre Ch'axwa y Muxsa: Para una historia del pensamiento politico aymara." 71–72. D'Altroy, *The Incas*. 42, see footnote 1.

⁸ D'Altroy, *The Incas*. 55–57 (see figures 2.4 and 2.5), 95–97. Teresa Gisbert, Silvia Arze, and Martha Cajías, *Arte textil y mundo andino* (La Paz: Gisbert y Cia., 1987). 155. I have followed D'Altroy's use of

strategies, they became the principle inhabitants of Kollasuyu (figure 1.2).⁹ The Spanish invasion led to the subsequent discovery of the massive silver deposits in the Cerro Rica (Potochisi in Aymara) in the Audiencia of Charcas. This became the wealthiest portion of the Viceroyalty of Perú, and the colonial cities of Potosí, Sucre, and La Paz (all located in the territory of various former *warami*, called by the Spanish *señorío*) became important cosmopolitan centers of the colony (figure 1.3).¹⁰ The immense revenue generated by the production and sale of camelids and camelid products in the new cash economy made the Lupaqa residents of the Corregimiento or Province of Chucuito one of the most affluent indigenous groups in the Viceroyalty.¹¹

The work of ethnohistorians, anthropologists, and archaeologists has established a comprehensive picture of Aymara geopolitical and economic structure before their conquest by the Inka, as inhabitants of Kollasuyu, and later the part of the Viceroyalty of Perú.¹² However, few attempts have been made to analyze the effects of these

the word “ethnic” taken from *etnia* to distinguish between the various *warami*. See D’Altroy, *The Incas*. 54-56. D’Altroy, 55-57 (see figures 2.4 and 2.5), 95-97. Teresa Gisbert, Silvia Arze, and Martha Cajías, *Arte textil y mundo andino*, 3rd ed. (La Paz, Bolivia: Plural Editores; Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore; Embajada de Francia en Bolivia, 2006).¹⁵⁵ I have followed D’Altroy’s use of the word “ethnic” taken from *etnia* to distinguish between the various *warami*. See D’Altroy, *The Incas*. 54-56.

⁹ D’Altroy, *The Incas*. 95, 176.

¹⁰ Teresa Gisbert and José de Mesa, *Historia del arte en Bolivia período virreinal*, vol. II (La Paz, Bolivia: Editorial Gisbert y Cia S.A. y Fundación Simón I. Patiño, 2012). 8, 10, 16. Herbert S. Klein, *A Concise History of Bolivia* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011). 32.

¹¹ John V. Murra, “An Aymara Kingdom in 1567,” *Ethnohistory* 15, no. 2 (April 1, 1968): 115–51. 120-121.

¹² Marie Helmer, “La vie économique au XVI siècle sur le Haut-Plateau andin Chucuito en 1567,” in *Cantuta: recueil d’articles parus entre 1949 et 1987* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 1993). This article was originally published in *Travaux de l’Institut Français d’études andines* in 1951. Murra, “An Aymara Kingdom in 1567.” Thérèse Bouysse-Cassagne, ed., *Tres reflexiones sobre el pensamiento andino* (La Paz: HISBOL, 1987). Thérèse Bouysse-Cassagne, *La identidad aymara: aproximación histórica (siglo XV, siglo XVI)* (La Paz: HISBOL-IFEA, 1987). Thérèse Bouysse-Cassagne, “Le Lac Titicaca: histoire Perdue d’une mer intérieure,” *Bulletin de l’Institut Français d’Etudes Andines* 21 (1992): 89–159. Platt, Bouysse-Cassagne, and Harris, *Qaraqara-Charka*. Helmer, “La vie économique au XVI siècle sur le Haut-Plateau andin Chucuito en 1567.” This article was originally published in *Travaux de l’Institut Français d’études andines* in 1951. Murra, “An Aymara Kingdom in 1567.” Bouysse-Cassagne, *Tres reflexiones sobre el*

monumental political changes on other aspects of local culture and worldview, most likely due to the nature of the existing primary sources. The chronicles and historical accounts by Spanish authors, such as Pedro de Cieza de León and Juan Diez de Betanzos, are written from the perspective of the Inka conquerors.¹³ Many legal documents which often provide invaluable information on personal effects and local interpersonal relationships to scholars (*testamentos* [wills], *cartas de dote* [dowry contracts], etc.) are written using either Quechua terminology, as the Spanish continued the Inka use of this language for official administrative documents, or entirely in Spanish.¹⁴ This also extends the *Visita de los Indios de la Provincia de Chucuito*, the written report of the visit made by royal inspector (*visitador*) Garci Diez de San Miguel to the Spanish Corregimiento of Chucuito in 1567, and one of the most important sources of information on the Lupaqa.¹⁵ This is also true of many documents relating to the history of the various parts of the Audiencia of Charcas.

pensamiento andino. Bouysse-Cassagne, *La identidad aymara*. Thérèse Bouysse-Cassagne, “Le Lac Titicaca: histoire perdue d’une mer intérieure.” Platt, Bouysse-Cassagne, and Harris, *Qaraqara-Charka*.

¹³ Pedro de Cieza de León, *El señorío de los Incas (2a. parte de La crónica del Perú)*. (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1967). 55-56, 160-161, 177-184. Note that the original text was written in 1551. Juan de Betanzos, *Narrative of the Incas*, trans. Roland Hamilton and Dana Buchanan (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996). 92-96. Note that the original was completed in 1557, see D’Altroy, *The Incas*. 20.

¹⁴ This observation is based on the research I conducted in La Paz, Bolivia from June-July 2016 in the municipal archives located on the campus of the Universidad Mayor San Andrés. I examined *testamentos*, *cartas de dote*, estate inventories, and *visita* records.

¹⁵ Garci Diez de San Miguel and Waldemar Espinoza Soriano, *Visita hecha a la Provincia de Chucuito por Garci Diez de San Miguel en el año 1567* (Puno: Universidad Nacional Del Altiplano, 2013). In his article analyzing the *Visita*, John Murra asserts that these types of documents can be used to gain an understanding of Aymara social organization. However, the interviews were aimed at ascertaining the status of the Spanish colonization process: land control, evangelization, taxation and the encomienda system. Thus, many aspects of indigenous life are necessarily excluded. See Murra, “An Aymara Kingdom in 1567.” 117-118. Platt, Bouysse-Cassagne, and Harris, *Qaraqara-Charka*. There are some exceptions among the documents presented, see Documentos 1-2, pages 182-206, which discuss syncretic cults and aspects of surviving shamanic practices.

The limited nature of detailed written sources is compensated for by the wealth of surviving material culture, especially textiles, which were the primary means of recording information as well as creative expression of Andean indigenous people in general.

Textile fabrication techniques were used to communicate ideas, encode societal hierarchies, and to mediate between the human and spiritual worlds, a philosophy of textile-based communication termed “textile primacy” by Rebecca Stone.¹⁶

Archaeological excavations demonstrate that plant fibers were used to fabricate objects before any other material, and garments woven of high-quality polychrome camelid fiber appear beginning in the Early Horizon (900-200 BCE).¹⁷

Although the invading Spanish imposed the alphanumeric system for government communication, religious instruction, education, and record-keeping, the indigenous Andean inhabitants of the Spanish colonial empire continued to rely on textile-based communication systems within their own communities and as a method of connecting with others across different regions, albeit with numerous modifications. These alterations and innovations within pre-existing textile traditions, as well as the

¹⁶ Rebecca Stone-Miller, *To Weave for the Sun: Andean Textiles in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1996). 13.

¹⁷ All date ranges are taken from those used by Michael Malpass in Michael A. Malpass, *Ancient People of the Andes* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2016). 25-26. Among these early artifacts are baskets from Guitarrero Cave (8600-8000 BCE), a pseudomorph of plain-weave cloth from the site of Valdivia in Ecuador (3000 BCE), and the elaborate twined cotton cloths from Huaca Prieta (2300 BCE). Camelid fiber first appears in the archaeological record in woven textile fragments at the Late Initial Period/Early Horizon Lighthouse cemetery at Puerto de Supe. See S. J. Doyon-Bernard, “From Twining to Triple Cloth: Experimentation and Innovation in Ancient Peruvian Weaving (ca. 5000-400 B.C.),” *American Antiquity* 55, no. 1 (January 1, 1990): 68–87. 74-77. An excellent example is the fragment of triple cloth from the site of Ocucaje in the Ica Valley in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts Boston (see Stone-Miller, *To Weave for the Sun*. Plate 2, Cat. no. 237, page 70).

development of new iterations, are thus important sources of information for understanding the impact of Spanish colonization on indigenous society.

Although Andean peoples (the Aymara included) wove a variety of different textiles for various purposes in the pre-Hispanic period, the clothing worn by women and men was the most common form of communication and expression. The Inka perceived garment styles to be synonymous with ethnic identity; conquered peoples were required to maintain their distinctive dress as a means of identification, or conversely, were required to wear garments specified by the Inka as signs of imperial domination or service.¹⁸ The significance of clothing as an encapsulation of an individual or group's identity continued unabated through the Colonial period. Indigenous garments were modified to conform to (or occasionally subvert) new restrictions imposed by the Spanish as well as in response to newly imported European styles and luxury materials.¹⁹ Colonial officials explicitly recognized the power of clothing as a means of expression in the conflicting range of sumptuary laws passed to alternately prevent indigenous people from adopting European high-status garments and materials as a means of social climbing, and to abolish indigenous garments as immodest and an incitement for political rebellion.²⁰

¹⁸ Rebecca Stone, "And All Theirs Different from His: The Dumbarton Oaks Royal Inka Tunic in Context," in *Variations in the Expression of Inka Power: A Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks, 18 and 19 October 1997*, ed. Richard L. Burger et al. (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2007), 391.

¹⁹ Elena Phipps, "'Tornesol': A Colonial Synthesis of European and Andean Textile Traditions," *Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings*, 2000, 221–30. Gabriela Ramos, "Los tejidos y la sociedad colonial andina," *Colonial Latin American Review* 19, no. 1 (2010): 115–49. 115.

²⁰ Phipps, "'Tornesol': A Colonial Synthesis of European and Andean Textile Traditions." 223-224. Elena Phipps, "Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes," in *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830* (New Haven and London; New York: Yale University Press; Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), 16–40. 27.

The continued use of garments as a means of expressing identity and intra/intercommunity status from the pre-Hispanic into the Colonial period make their various transformations an important window onto the wider effects of Inka and Spanish colonization within indigenous societies.²¹ In this dissertation, I aim to analyze the evolution of the composition and significance of garments worn by women and men from Aymara-speaking communities from the Late Horizon (1438-1532 CE) through the period of Spanish rule (1532-1825 CE).²² My research aims to recover the history and cultural significance of these garments by replacing them within the complex social and spiritual systems in which textile production in the Andes played a pivotal role.

Selection of the dissertation corpus

Over the course of a year and a half, I traveled to museums and private collections in the United States, Peru, and Bolivia to conduct a detailed analysis of a range of garments from Aymara speaking communities dating from the eleventh to the early nineteenth centuries. I visited the Metropolitan Museum, the de Young Museum, and the Brooklyn Museum in the United States, the Museo de Etnografía y Folklore in Bolivia, and the Museo Inka in Peru. I examined the private collections of the Linde family and the dealer William Siegal; four other private collectors wish to remain anonymous.

²¹ Ramos, “Los tejidos y la sociedad colonial andina.” 115.

²² Dates taken from Michael A. Malpass, *Ancient People of the Andes*. 25, and Klein, *A Concise History of Bolivia*. 98. The date 1825, the year Upper Perú (modern Bolivia) was subjugated by Sucre was selected to mark the end of the time period under consideration as the majority of Aymara-speaking communities were located within this area of the Viceroyalty.

After my initial survey of 151 garments (all included in the accompanying catalogue), I have elected to focus my analysis on the categories of women's large shoulder mantles (seventy in total), men's tunics (forty-two in total), and several ponchos (five in total) for a corpus of 117 garments. Variations of these basic types were worn by both Aymara and Inka, and their function was not significantly modified by Spanish laws. The ponchos are closely related to tunics in style and have roughly contemporary dates to them, thus they are important for tracing the relationships between pre-Hispanic and colonial men's clothing. In the case of the Aymara, these garments were worn until the mid-twentieth century --when hand-woven garments in general began to be discarded in favor of machine-woven cloth or hand-knitted clothing-- which increases the utility of modern anthropological studies to their interpretation. Men's tunics and women's mantles have survived in large numbers from a wide chronological span and are relatively easy to distinguish from other types of garments or textiles. Thus, they comprise an ideal set of objects with which gain an understanding of changes over time in the textile medium and the various effects of European colonization on Aymara clothing styles.

There were several limiting factors to the largest possible corpus due to collecting practices of the late twentieth century, the selective conservation of garments by indigenous communities, and the rampant misidentification of garment types by the initial collectors. The communities themselves likely only conserved garments of some significance, increasing the possibility that several more quotidian garments types present in colonial written and pictorial sources have not survived, and that the current corpus of surviving garments largely consists of elite garments. Influenced by Abstract Expressionism and other developments in modern and contemporary painting, American,

Canadian, and European collectors were originally attracted to the highly colorful, "abstract" textiles which did not contain figural or geometric designs. However, colonial pictorial sources show that the Aymara themselves did not differentiate between ceremonial garments with and without patterns, as I will discuss in the first chapter. Thus, it can be assumed that there were likely more examples of mantles and tunics with patterning which did not make their way into collections.

Due to several factors, there have been very few attempts to analyze Aymara garments and textile fabrication techniques during the pre-Hispanic and Colonial periods. Textiles from Late Horizon cultures *other* than the Inka and the Chimú have in general been overshadowed by the scholarly focus on relationships between state-level societies. The majority of garments from both timespans are also owned by private individuals in the United States rather than held in institutional collections, which drastically reduces their accessibility. Finally, and perhaps most significantly, international disputes in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century over the legality of the acquisition and importation of some of these textiles by certain individual dealers have made collectors reluctant to allow research access to them and researchers wary of the probable complications related to publication of their research.²³

²³ Katie Loux, "Adventures on the Altiplano," *Hali*, 2009. 60, 62-63. See cases *R. v. Yorke* 1996 (Canada) and *US v. Berger* (United States). For specific details of the agreements between the United States and Bolivia see the Bolivia-US Memoranda of Understanding, 2001 and 2011. It should be noted that all the textiles repatriated to Bolivia are now missing; there are no official records of their location and they are not in the collection of the Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore. Their reported return to Coroma has not been confirmed by an independent observer.

Previous Research on Aymara Textiles

There has been little research published on Aymara textiles. To date, there are only two publications dedicated to the study of Aymara textiles, neither of which was primarily authored by an established Andean textile scholar. The first and most detailed is the catalogue for the Smithsonian traveling exhibition *Aymara Weavings: Ceremonial Textiles of Colonial and 19th Century Bolivia* (published in 1983). Curated by two of the most active collectors and dealers of Aymara textiles in the mid-twentieth century, Laurie Adelson and Arthur Tracht, this exhibit and its catalogue presents Aymara textiles, mostly from Bolivia, within the context of the Andean textile (summarized in the introduction and catalogue essay “History of Lake Titicaca Plateau Textiles” by architect and independent scholar William Conklin). An essay entitled “Aymara Cloth” by the curators details the process of creating a textile and basic in the regions controlled by the various Aymara-speaking groups, based in part on the authors’ observations in the highlands during the 1970s and 1980s. They also identify the elements they consider the basics of the “Aymara style,” namely the tendency towards monochrome stripes rather than designs and placing stripes in groups of three.

Within the catalogue of objects, the authors devote a section to each of the following garment types divided into groups: one containing *ccahua*, ponchos, and ponchitos; one containing *huaka* (belts); one containing *llacota* (*llakota*), *iscayo* (*iskayu*), *ahuayo* (*awayu*), *hulla*, *phallu*, *mantita*, *urku*, and *aksu* (both women’s dresses); one containing *incuña* and *tari* (both coca cloths); and one containing *ch’uspa* and *alforjahuayaca* (both bags). This catalogue differs from others in that instead of limiting

the text to a description of each individual object, each section is accompanied by a fairly extensive description of the composition of the type(s) of garment(s), their use, and their history from pre-Hispanic to the late twentieth century when the authors were actively visiting Aymara-speaking communities in the Lake Titicaca region.

The summary of all the garment types and their uses is useful as a starting point, and the authors' attempt to summarize the stylistic components which encompass the textiles from all Aymara-speaking communities does recognize some important features. However, their distinction between stripes and designs is not accurate, especially since some very early colonial garments undeniably from Aymara-speaking communities do in fact contain designs. It is also based on the assumption that the weavers considered figural and geometric designs done in chosen warp techniques as a separate category from others which are simple alternations of colors, a technique called *k'uthu*, which more recent publications by anthropologists (discussed further below) have proven not to be the case.

The catalogue essays also present a distorted view of the history of the region, reducing the diversity present among all the Aymara *warami* to a monolithic cultural block. The authors do not discuss the complexity of the relationships between the Aymara and the Inka, which differed, in some cases drastically from each other. They also do not provide crucial links between the provenance given for the objects (which is based in the geopolitical composition of Bolivia in the late twentieth century) and the geopolitical structure of the region during the periods in which they were originally made.

The only other book exclusively dedicated to Aymara textiles is another catalogue, *Aymara-Bolivianische Textilien/Historic Aymara Textiles* at the Eine Ausstellung im Deutschen Textilmuseum Krefeld (German Textile Museum Krefeld) held from November 20, 1991 through January 26, 1992. This exhibition was curated by Brigitte Tietzel and Ingrid Guntermann and features textiles from a single collection, that of William Siegal. He collected Aymara textiles from 1974 to 1988 and recently retired and closed a gallery in Santa Fe, New Mexico. Siegal himself wrote the catalogue, which was translated into German and draws heavily on the information presented in the catalogue for the Smithsonian exhibition. The only essay is an extremely abridged version of the essays by Conklin and Adelson and Tracht in the 1983 catalogue. However, there is new information in the section on the carbon-14 dating of Aymara textiles, data crucial to identifying their stylistic development and the subject of the section chapter. The actual catalogue does not contain any explanation of the textiles, simply a large photograph with a caption stating the garment type, provenance if known, date, colors, dimensions, weave structure, and any unusual spinning elements. Since it draws so heavily on the Adelson and Tracht catalogue, it contains all the same flaws.

The only work dedicated to an analysis of Aymara garments from the Colonial period is Elena Phipp's brief but enlightening article "*Tornesol*: A Colonial synthesis of European and Andean textile traditions," published online in 2000 by the University of Nebraska as part of the proceedings from the Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings. The article analyses the origins and significance of a cloth, in which the warps are black, and the weft is silk of a bright color, usually pink, and the influence of European *tornesol* fabrics on Andean weaving techniques. Phipps identifies this type of

cloth as one of those referred to as *tornesol* in colonial documents and depicted in the clothing of various Inka rulers by Mercedarian priest Martín de Murúa and Guaman Poma, whose defining characteristic is the subtle color shift from black to another color when the cloth moves or is folded. She argues that the structure of this cloth stems from a desire to use the new material to proclaim high status, and its placement in the nearly invisible weft may have been a method of evading Spanish sumptuary laws. She also argues that the *ch'imi* technique, in which two-ply threads composed of single-ply threads in two different colors, developed from a desire to recreate the impression of *tornesol* fabrics which could be used in both tapestry and warp-faced techniques.

This article's major flaw is that Phipps analyzes *tornesol* and *ch'imi* as stylistic developments based on a desire to achieve an aesthetic effect and does not consider its role within the complex representational network at play within Andean textile production itself. This approach to Andean textiles in general has been heavily critiqued by anthropologists Denise Arnold and Elvira Espejo and largely discarded as a result of their research. Even prior to these recent anthropological studies, the importance of textiles as methods of communication and expression was well established by scholars such as Stone, Conklin, and Mary Frame, and it is thus rather surprising that Phipps does not include an analysis of the significance of these fabrics and techniques from this perspective.

Several textile scholars address the topic in the context of more general publications. *Arte Textil y Mundo Andino* (originally published in 1988, third edition published in 2006) written by Teresa Gisbert, Silvia Arze, and Martha Cajías, is the most

useful and comprehensive source, although it also remains limited. Analysis and discussion of specific Aymara weaving styles is restricted to the classification of patterns found in garments beginning in the late eighteenth century continuing through the twentieth. Although the book includes a section devoted to textile production in the Viceroyalty of Perú, these chapters focus on the development of the *obraje* or mechanized loom workshop system and the appropriation of the Inka's luxury textile production chain by the Spanish, rather than on garments produced by Aymara communities for their own use. However, the authors do provide a wealth of information on the geopolitical history of many of the Aymara *warami* as well as an in-depth discussion of their culture, political organization, and territorial location within modern nations.

Arnold and Espejo devote a chapter (entitled "Los Textiles de la Región Lacustre: Nuevas luces sobre el 'el lado oscuro' de la textilería Aymara") in their book *El Textil Tridimensional: La Naturaleza del Tejido como Objeto y como Sujeto* (published in 2013) to a discussion of the roots of certain aspects of contemporary textile weaving practices of the Aymara-speaking regions surrounding Lake Titicaca. The authors present the argument that the repertoire of designs and techniques used by weavers in this region is the product of many centuries of interaction between the Aymara and other cultural groups. They also aim to question the tendency in previous scholarship (including that of Gisbert, Arze, and Cajías) to label as "Aymara" many of the unique weaving styles developed in the Middle Horizon and the Late Intermediate Period around Lake Titicaca, despite the linguistic and archaeological evidence which indicates that the region was

extremely diverse in the pre-Hispanic period and that the Aymara were relatively late arrivals.

Unfortunately, in anchoring their analysis in contemporary techniques, the authors automatically eliminate the majority of Late Horizon and Colonial period styles and principal ceremonial garment types from their study, due to the fact that they were no longer produced or worn past the mid-nineteenth century. Although this renders the more detailed aspects of this ground-breaking and well-supported research of little practical utility for a study of the most common Late Horizon and Colonial period garments from Aymara *warami* which form the corpus for this dissertation, the authors' summarization and critique of the historiography of studies of Lake Titicaca region textiles to date remains extremely useful as a starting point.

A final work dedicated to Aymara textiles, albeit less scholarly, worth mentioning is the article "Adventures on the Altiplano" in the magazine Hali (published in issue 162, Winter 2009) written by the contributing editor Katie Loux based on the experiences of Steve Berger, a textile dealer who was actively collecting textiles in Bolivia from 1971-1988. While not a reliable source of information about the textiles themselves, it is a very useful summary of the history of foreign collection of textiles, especially Aymara textiles, during this time. It also includes accounts and detailed photographs of Colonial period textiles being used in modern ceremonies at the time of their removal (whether legally or illegally) from the country. There is also a photograph of a mantle whose whereabouts are currently unknown, but which constitutes an important example of a Late Horizon textile woven in an Aymara-controlled community.

In this study, I seek to address the inaccuracies of the early publications on Aymara garments, identifying and describing Late Horizon and Colonial period Aymara tunics and mantles through re-examining Bertonio's dictionary and applying the latest anthropological research on Andean weaving techniques which focuses on the links between textile design and agricultural production or animal husbandry. Moving beyond the type of aesthetic analysis presented by Phipps, I will analyze the most significant changes in garment design after the Spanish Conquest, demonstrating that the majority are expansions of older pre-Hispanic techniques and that all occurred in response to changes in indigenous society.

In addition to the textiles themselves, my research is guided by key historical documents, pictorial works, and the most recent anthropological fieldwork in contemporary Bolivian Aymara-speaking communities. The most comprehensive, although limited, source of information on the local culture of the numerous non-Inka residents of Tawantinsuyu is indigenous author Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's 1188 page to Philip III of Spain, the *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (written between 1600 and 1615 CE), which contains 398 black-and-white line drawings depicting nearly every aspect of pre-Hispanic and colonial Andean life as well as Inka history.²⁴ In his desire to convey an accurate summary of Inka history and the problems caused by the mistreatment of indigenous people by certain members of the colonial government, Guaman Poma was careful to identify the region and ethnic group under discussion, whether in the context of the Inka empire or the new geopolitical organization

²⁴ D'Altroy, *The Incas*. 25-26. D'Altroy. 25-26.

of the Viceroyalty of Perú.²⁵ His illustrations are ink line drawings, and thus do not contain much detail (the book only measures 14.5 x 20.5 cm) but provide accurate basic silhouettes of garments.²⁶ Several of his drawings of Inka queens (*qoya*) are equally important sources for the identification of certain extant mantles as the garments of high-ranking women. They also help identify these mantles' compositions as pan-Highland rather than culturally restricted to the Inka or Aymara due to their similarities to extant Late Horizon and Early Colonial examples from both cultures.

However, his accounts of the customs of non-Inka ethnic groups and their pre/post Conquest history should not be used as reliable sources without other corroborating archaeological, ethnohistorical, or object-based evidence due to his bias towards the Inka (he is currently understood to be a descendent of privileged *mitamaq* colonists commissioned by the Inka to settle as local ambassadors in conquered lands around Huamanga) and his desire to portray them as unofficially Christian before the arrival of the Spanish.²⁷ Like his Spanish counterparts, Guaman Poma was not objectively documenting the history and culture of the Andes. He had a specific argument for which his manuscript served as persuasive evidence, namely that Andeans were

²⁵ For indigenous lords of regions in the Viceroyalty of Perú, see Drawings 284 (page 751 in the original, 765 online), Drawing 285 (page 753 in the original, 767 online), Drawing 286 (page 755 in the original, 796 online); for those concerning Qullasuyu, see Drawing 52 (page 147 in the original and online), Drawing 54, showing Charka soldiers (page 151 in the original and online), Drawing 64 (page 169 in the original, 171 online), Drawing 68 (page 177 in the original, 179 online), Drawing 115 (page 293 in the original, 295 online), Drawing 127 (page 324 in the original, 326 online). Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, ca. 1615, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 2232 4^o Copenhagen, Denmark

²⁶ Adorno, *Guaman Poma and His Illustrated Chronicle from Colonial Peru*. Accessed online at <http://wayback-01.kb.dk/wayback/20101108104655/http://www2.kb.dk/elib/mss/poma/presentation/index-en.htm>, see Part II.

²⁷ D'Altroy, *The Incas*. 25-26. D'Altroy, Rolena Adorno, *Guaman Poma and His Illustrated Chronicle from Colonial Peru: From a Century of Scholarship to a New Era of Reading/Guaman Poma y Su Crónica Ilustrada Del Perú Colonial: Un Siglo de Investigaciones Hacia Una Nueva Era de Lectura* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, University of Copenhagen and the Royal Library, 2001). 27-40, 59-73.

already Christian before the arrival of the Spanish and thus merited better treatment, instead of the inhuman conditions imposed by Spanish officials and priests.²⁸ He had to strike a balance between representing Andean culture accurately, yet still support his argument.²⁹

The only known primary source which provides a detailed account of society beyond geopolitical and economic structure from the Aymara perspective is the *Vocabulario de la lengua aymara*, an Aymara-Spanish dictionary written by Bertonio and published in 1612 CE. Bertonio arrived in the Viceroyalty of Perú in 1580, and letters dating from 1585 CE state that he was ordained as a priest and given a post in Juli, a town in southern modern-day Peru that was one of the colonial centers populated by the Lupaqa (figure 1.3).³⁰ By 1595 CE, he had begun several manuscripts intended to aid priests in evangelization: a confessional, a compilation of sermons in Aymara, and the *Vocabulario de la lengua Aymara*.³¹ Including both an Aymara-Spanish and Spanish-Aymara section, this comprehensive dictionary provides an important window into Aymara culture and society through its detailed definitions and exhaustive cross-referencing. However, the dictionary format, with its emphasis on linguistic rather than cultural documentation, limits the amount of contextual information that can be gleaned from the brief word definitions; thus, this source is more limited than the historical chronicles and accounts which exist for the Inka and other Quechua-speaking

²⁸ Rolena Adorno, *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru* (Austin, Tex.: University of Texas Press, Austin/Institute of Latin American Studies, 2000). xvi, 60.

²⁹ Adorno. 122.

³⁰ Enrique Fernández García, “Prólogo,” in *Vocabulario de la lengua Aymara: transcripción del texto original de 1612* (Arequipa, Peru: Ediciones El Lector, 2006). 1-2 (note that the pages of the prologue are not officially numbered).

³¹ Ludovico Bertonio, *Vocabulario de la lengua Aymara: transcripción del texto original de 1612* (Arequipa, Peru: Ediciones El Lector, 2006). 22-30.

communities. In addition, as a priest charged with evangelizing the Lupaqa people, Bertonio was primarily interested in providing information for other priests and colonial officials working with Aymara-speaking communities; he did not care about preserving or understanding their culture beyond what was necessary for converting them, generally against their will.

Despite this innate bias, the portion of Bertonio's manuscript that describes the vocabulary related to weaving, textile production, and clothing corresponds closely enough with both the extant colonial garment corpus and the practices recorded among contemporary indigenous communities that the majority of the information he provides can be considered credible. Furthermore, in 2014, Aymara linguist Juan de Dios Yapita and Arnold published a specialized edition of the *Vocabulario*, distilling all terms related to textile production and clothing, grouping the words according to the process of textile production, beginning with the raising of camelids and plants for dye materials, harvesting, proceeding to spinning, plying, dyeing, weaving, and the finishing techniques necessary to transform cloth into clothing and utilitarian objects, and finishing with the terms describing the wearing and use of these products. This re-organization demonstrates that Bertonio was indeed exhaustive in his research, recording all synonyms and regional variants of terms. Remarkably, on several occasions he even quoted the words the Aymara people used when asked about the precise meaning of a term.

Other pictorial sources, such as Cuzco School paintings and illustrated manuscripts showing historical or mythical people and events, provide other opportunities to gain further information on the wearing and social contexts of various

garments (albeit with the realization that artists may not have been painting from an accurate model and thus drawing compositional details from their own imaginations).³²

One of the most often cited chronicles is Murúa's *Historia General del Piru* which contains thirty-eight colored illustrations, including "portraits" of Inka rulers and their *qoya* as well as scenes from the rulers' reigns.³³ It is often cited by scholars, presumably due to the scarcity of illustrated manuscripts dedicated to the pre-Hispanic and colonial history of the region and the author's collaboration and close relationship with Guaman Poma, who created some of the illustrations.³⁴

Although based on contemporary indigenous communities, current anthropological and ethnographic research provides excellent resources for the study of pre-Hispanic and colonial textiles. There has been a major re-working of the way in which scholars analyze indigenous textile production in the Andes, starting in 2012 with the publication of *Ciencia de tejer en los Andes: estructura y técnica de faz de urdimbre*, coauthored by Arnold and Espejo. This landmark publication, based on ten years of fieldwork in several indigenous Aymara and Quechua-speaking communities in Bolivia and Peru, presents an extended classification and description of weaving techniques,

³² Tom Cummins, "A Tale of Two Cities: Cuzco, Lima, and the Construction of Colonial Representation," in *Converging Cultures: Art and Identity in Spanish America*, ed. Diana Fane (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996), 157–70. Elena Phipps, "Woven Documents: Color, Design, and Cultural Origins of the Textiles in the Getty Murúa," in *Manuscript Cultures of Colonial Mexico and Peru: New Questions and Approaches*, ed. Tom Cummins et al. (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2014).

³³ Rolena Adorno and Ivan Boserup, "The Making of Murúa's *Historia General Del Piru*," in *The Getty Murua: Essays on the Making of Martin de Murua's "Historia General Del Piru"* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2008), 7–76.7, 31–34.

³⁴ Thomas B. F. Cummins and Barbara Anderson, "Introduction," in *The Getty Murua: Essays on the Making of Martin de Murua's "Historia General Del Piru"*, ed. Thomas B. F. Cummins and Barbara Anderson (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2008), 1–7. 3–4. Thomas B. F. Cummins, "The Images in *Historia General Del Piru*: An Art Historical Study," in *The Getty Murua: Essays on the Making of Martin de Murua's "Historia General Del Piru"*, ed. Thomas B. F. Cummins and Barbara Anderson (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2008), 147–74. 147–148.

innovatively grouped according to their method of production (rather than their completed form).³⁵ The authors found that Andean weavers conceptualized weaving through the interaction between a weaver and her tools as well as through the various production processes, and this interaction is what imbues the textiles with their significance(s).³⁶

Arnold and Espejo present copious examples of pre-Hispanic and Colonial period textiles in their two books dedicated to weaving techniques, as well as in the catalogue of the permanent collection of the Museo de Etnografía y Folklore in La Paz, Bolivia. They conclusively demonstrate that these examples were woven in the same techniques as their twentieth and twenty-first century successors, making a convincing argument that their similarities perpetuate a similar philosophy towards weaving as that of earlier periods. The appearance of identical words for certain techniques in Bertonio's dictionary provides further support for the applicability of their research in the context of historical textiles. I will reference their work periodically throughout as they are important sources for studying the development of Andean textile techniques and analyzing textiles' significance within Andean society.

³⁵ Denise Y. Arnold and Elvira Espejo, *Ciencia de tejer en los Andes: estructuras y técnicas de faz de urdimbre* (La Paz, Bolivia: Instituto de Lengua y Cultura Aymara, 2012). 5-11.

³⁶ Arnold and Espejo. 17-18.

Division of Chapters

In the first chapter, I will present an introduction to the various aspects of pre-Hispanic and Colonial period Aymara dress and a detailed description of the stylistic variations and components within the two garment types that are this study's primary focus. I will make an argument for the matching of these extant garments with several of those specifically described by Bertonio. This analysis will demonstrate that many of the garments have complex compositions made both ostentatious and subtle through a variety of techniques, with some examples rivaling those of the pre-Hispanic and Colonial Inka styles.

The second chapter addresses the related themes of chronological and regional stylistic development. I will propose stylistic trajectories for tunics and mantles from the pre-Hispanic period to the end of the Colonial period, identifying regional trends whenever a chronologically accurate provenance can be confidently ascertained. These stylistic trajectories reveal that those with the most elaborate compositions date from the Colonial period, primarily resulting from the expansion of color schemes, an increase in the use of dyed thread, and the development of new techniques involving combinations of thread plied in different directions or composed of two distinct colors.

In the third and final chapter, I will discuss the reasons for the stylistic changes which occurred in both garment types from the pre-Hispanic into the Colonial period. In addition, I will present interpretations of the general significance of the compositions of several variations of mantles and tunics. Ultimately, I will argue that these garments functioned not only as expressions of identity within Aymara *warami*, but also as

documentation of the relationships between these communities and the dominating political force at the time of their manufacture.

The Catalogue

Due to the fact that few Aymara textiles have ever been published, and in these rare cases lacking any detailed descriptions or information, I have included a comprehensive catalogue (Appendix 2) containing entries for every garment I examined, even those ultimately excluded from my main analysis. Each entry contains one or several photographs of the garment, a list of its individual features, and a summary of any unique characteristics or relevant observations. Garments were assigned a number according to the order in which they were entered into my original database, making them appear arbitrary in reference to styles or variations. In the interest of consistency and clarity, they are the identifying reference for a given garment throughout the text and are not altered when a typology or chronological sequence is established. An asterisk beside the number indicates that I did not examine a garment in detail; these are not included in the detailed analysis, only serving as a point of comparison for the others. Each entry also includes an overall photograph of the garment, as well as detail shots of any distinguishing features discussed in the text. Except for rare instances, detail shots of garments or their individual features are not listed as separate figures unless the given aspect under discussion is not visible in the photographs included in the catalogue entries.

Conventions

In general, I will use the phonetic spellings for Aymara words as recognized in the *Alphabet for the Aymara and Quechua Language* ratified by linguistic, educational, and cultural institutions in Bolivia in 1984 and Perú in 1985 both in paraphrasing and in original writing. If I am quoting from a historical document, I will provide the original spelling from the source with its current equivalent written after in parenthesis. I will transcribe words from historical documents according to the chart employed by Yapita and Arnold.³⁷ The exception will be in references to Inka versus Spanish provinces. To prevent confusion, I have opted to use the spelling of Spanish colonial provinces as they are referred to in primary source documents, without correction according to the current official alphabet. I will use the "c" in the Audiencia of Charcas rather than correct to "Charkas" the currently accepted spelling as the most accurate reflection of the Aymara.³⁸ However, I will use the "k" spelling when referring to the Late Horizon Charka territories. I will not correct the spelling of the Corregimiento of Pacajes to "Pakasa," using the latter only when referencing the *warami* directly.

There are many different opinions as to the use, spelling, and capitalization of historical periods. Due to the focus of this study on the differences between the period of Inka domination at the end of the Late Horizon and the Viceroyalty of Perú, I have elected to use "pre-Hispanic" (spelled and capitalized following Carolyn Dean) rather

³⁷ Juan de Dios Yapita, Denise Y. Arnold, and María Juana Aguilar, *Los términos textiles aymaras del siglo XVII de la región Lacustre, en base al vocabulario de la lengua aymara por Ludovico Bertonio vocabulario semántico según la cadena productiva* (La Paz: ILCA, Inst. de Lengua y Cultura Aymara, 2014). 13. Yapita, Arnold, and Aguilar. 13.

³⁸ This distinction is also made by Platt et. al. in Platt, Bouysse-Cassagne, and Harris, *Qaraqara-Charka*.

than “pre-Columbian.”³⁹ I will capitalize “period” when it is part of the name of a commonly recognized pre-Hispanic time designation, i.e. Initial Period, Late Intermediate Period, following Michael Malpass’ chronology in *Ancient People of the Andes*, the source of dates for this study.⁴⁰ I will not use a capital when “period” references the time of Spanish colonization, i.e. “Colonial period,” due to a lack of official recognition of the exact dates or date ranges that should be assigned to this time frame.⁴¹ Because of my focus on the Aymara *warami*, who primarily occupied regions of the modern countries of Perú and Bolivia (known under the Spanish as progressively the Viceroyalty of Perú, the Viceroyalty of Río de La Plata, and Upper Perú), I have opted to define the Colonial period as beginning with the arrival of Pizarro at Cajamarca in 1532 CE (the current date used to mark the end of the Late Horizon) and the official “liberation” of Upper Perú following the end of the conflict between the troops of General Pedro Olañeta and the general himself in January of 1825 CE.⁴²

For the purposes of my stylistic analysis of the garments, which revealed two distinct periods of change, I will also divide the Colonial period into two portions: the late sixteenth to the early eighteenth century will be referred to as the ‘Early Colonial period,’ while the mid-eighteenth to the early nineteenth century will be referred to as the “Late Colonial period.” Although reflective of historical events such as the indigenous rebellions in 1780-1781 CE, which had a lasting impact on garment styles, these

³⁹ See Carolyn Dean, *A Culture of Stone: Inka Perspectives on Rock* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010).

⁴⁰ Michael A. Malpass, *Ancient People of the Andes*. 25.

⁴¹ Joanne Pillsbury also uses this capitalization format, including a capital “c” for Colonial in her article “Inka Unku: Strategy and Design in Colonial Peru.”

⁴² Klein, *A Concise History of Bolivia*. 98. For the end of the Late Horizon see Michael A. Malpass, *Ancient People of the Andes*. 25.

divisions are used as a means of distinguishing between the two different periods of stylistic evolution and are not established terms in colonial Latin American scholarship. The designation “Republican period” in the text and the catalogue is used in a similar manner, namely as a means of identifying garments made after the final independence of Upper Perú.

There is also controversy regarding the use of BCE and CE rather than BC and AD. I realize that in a certain respect, the substitution of BCE or “Before the Common Era” for “Before Christ” and “Common Era” for “After Death” or “Anni Domino” still relies on the calendrical system based in Christianity and is no better regarding respect for local methods of measuring time. However, I believe that its use calls attention to the forced universal adoption as the result of European colonization and imperialism in general, rather than the mission of mass conversion to Christianity, which fortunately met with mixed results and a considerable amount of resistance. BCE and CE are also the designations most commonly used in current scholarship.

Regarding the difficult issue of using indigenous terminology without distortion while avoiding confusing the reader, I have elected to follow Dean’s solution to the difficulty of differentiating between singular and plural Quechua nouns. Rather than adding an “s,” which is a falsification of the Aymara language and contrary to the goals of this dissertation, I will only use the singular form.⁴³ I have endeavored to use Aymara words in all possible contexts; however, I have been conservative in instances where the

⁴³ Dean, *A Culture of Stone*. xvi.

identification of the correct term requires specialized linguistic knowledge, opting for English or Spanish to avoid inaccuracy and confusion for other scholars.

Chapter 1

Aymara Garment Construction, Composition, and Identification

In order to understand the significance and development of clothing worn in Aymara communities in the Colonial period, it is first necessary to study the garments' construction and composition. In this chapter, I will discuss two of the principal garments worn by Aymara women and men in the pre-Hispanic and Colonial periods, covering basic design and stylistic components, as well as the proper terminology with which to refer to them, setting aside the question of chronology, function, and provenance for subsequent chapters. My observations are based on: first-hand examinations of these garments, interpretation of historical primary source documents, archaeological excavations, and an application of the findings of the latest anthropological fieldwork in contemporary indigenous communities in Peru and Bolivia.

Although analysis of the structure and composition of the actual mantles and tunics is the primary means of analysis in this dissertation, various secondary sources which provide crucial information on the context in which these garments were worn will also be utilized. An invaluable source for the study of Late Horizon (1438-1532 CE) men's and women's clothing ensembles are the high elevation burial complexes created for the *capacocha* sacrificial ceremony on the summits of Chañi, Chuscha, El Plomo, Esmeralda (relatively low in altitude), Aconcagua, Pichu, Ampato, Sara Sara, Misti,

Quehuar, Copiapó, and Lullaillaco to name only a few.⁴⁴ This rite consisted of a pilgrimage and procession of the chosen human sacrifices (pairs of male and female children and sometimes young adults arranged in Cuzco) and other offerings to the imperial center in Cuzco from the various provinces, the consecration of these people and goods, and their redistribution to sacred sites throughout the Empire where they would be offered to the divine forces revered by the Inka.⁴⁵

Decked out in combinations of Inka ceremonial and their local regional dress, the frozen bodies of the victims have been preserved to an unparalleled degree, and when properly excavated, provide the most comprehensive source of evidence for the use of official Inka clothing by non-Inka, but still high-ranking, subjects.⁴⁶ One type of offerings included in the burials were miniature male and female figurines made of precious materials and fully dressed in similar garments to those found on the mummified child sacrifices; these tiny ensembles also provide excellent sources for understanding full-size high-status Late Horizon clothing.

The nature of the *capacocha* rite resulted in various redistributions of people throughout the Empire and their transformation from representatives of their regions into Inka offerings before their interment. However, the excavated evidence and current DNA

⁴⁴ Johan Reinhard and Maria Constanza Ceruti, *Inca Rituals and Sacred Mountains: A Study of the World's Highest Archaeological Sites* (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2010). 9-20.

Ann Pollard Rowe, "Inca Weaving and Costume," *Textile Museum Journal* 34-35 (1995): 5-53. 16. For a complete list of the find locations of all sacrificial mummies (twenty-seven total) found from 1898-1999 see Thomas Besom, *Of Summits and Sacrifice: An Ethnohistoric Study of Inka Religious Practices* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009). 9-11. For an analysis of remains found at Choquepukio, in the Cuzco Valley in 2004, one of the most recent discoveries, see V. A. Andrushko et al., "Investigating a Child Sacrifice Event from the Inka Heartland," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 38, no. 2 (2011): 323-33.

⁴⁵ Reinhard and Ceruti, *Inca Rituals and Sacred Mountains*. 121.

⁴⁶ Rowe, "Inca Weaving and Costume." 5.

testing results remain insufficient to determine which of the victims may have come from an Aymara *warami*.⁴⁷ Ann Pollard Rowe has pointed out that this also makes it difficult to determine conclusively if the garments found on the bodies represent Inka or local dress.⁴⁸ However, technical and visual comparisons between these burial ensembles and extant Late Horizon and colonial period garments identified as worn by Aymara peoples clearly indicate that some of the burial clothes must have been used within these particular communities. In turn, the context of these excavated garments and figurines provides crucial evidence for the identification and significance of the Aymara clothing whose regional identity is apparent although the original cultural context is not yet known.

Overview of Andean Clothing Production

All highland Andean people constructed their clothing out of square or rectangular pieces of cloth taken as complete pieces off the loom, a technique called four-selvedge weaving. A selvedge is a finished edge where the horizontal and vertical threads of a cloth are completely linked (found only on the vertical edges of cloth woven on floor looms because the vertical threads must be cut in order for the cloth to be taken off the loom, figure 1.4).⁴⁹ Pre-Hispanic Andean peoples considered pieces of cloth as individual living beings, and thus did not produce yardage suitable for tailored clothing until the

⁴⁷ Reinhard and Ceruti, *Inca Rituals and Sacred Mountains*. 103-104.

⁴⁸ Rowe, "Inca Weaving and Costume." 5.

⁴⁹ Elena Phipps, *The Peruvian Four-Selvedge Cloth: Ancient Threads/new Directions*, Fowler Museum Textile Series ; No. 12 (Los Angeles: Fowler Museum at UCLA, 2013). 11, 25.

arrival of Spanish treadle looms.⁵⁰ There are two types of looms which have been in continual use in the Andes since ca. 2000-1800 BCE: the frame loom and the backstrap loom (figures 1.5 and 1.6).⁵¹ A frame loom is constructed of four sticks tied together at the corners and the resulting rectangular form is attached to stakes driven into the ground.⁵² A backstrap loom is composed of horizontal sticks around which the warp is wrapped; one stick is attached to the waist of the weaver by a belt while the other is tied to a tree.⁵³ Both types are portable, even during the weaving process; a backstrap loom can be detached from the weaver and the tree/post and rolled up while a frame loom can be lifted off the stakes and carried.

Although they adopted European styles to an extent, they did not cease using the four-selvedge technique, whether on the frame or backstrap loom, to weave the majority of their clothing until the mid-twentieth century.⁵⁴ For various types of garments two pieces of cloth were woven and then joined together with forms of stitching to create seams. In garments of ceremonial importance, such joins were very elaborate. All edges, including armholes and neck holes in tunics, were given some form of woven border, either integrated directly into the primary fabric or woven separately and sewn on as the final step of the production process.

⁵⁰ Teresa Gisbert, Silvia Arze, and Martha Cajías, *Arte textil y mundo andino* (La Paz, Bolivia: Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore; Embajada de Francia en Bolivia; Plural Editores, 2006). 95.

⁵¹ Doyon-Bernard, "From Twining to Triple Cloth." 71.

⁵² Phipps, *The Peruvian Four-Selvedged Cloth*. 37, 39. Denise Y. Arnold, *Weaving Life: The Textile Collection of the Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore, La Paz, Bolivia, Following the Productive Chain*, trans. Denise Y. Arnold (La Paz, Bolivia: MUSEF, 2015). 69.

⁵³ Phipps, *The Peruvian Four-Selvedged Cloth*. 37, 39. Arnold, *Weaving Life: The Textile Collection of the Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore, La Paz, Bolivia, Following the Productive Chain*. 69.

⁵⁴ Elayne Zorn, "(Re-)Fashioning Identity: Late Twentieth-Century Transformations in Dress and Society in Bolivia," *Chungara: Revista de Antropología Chilena* 30, no. 2 (1998): 161–95. 165.

In an almost identical manner to their European counterparts, Andeans used the rarity of fibers, dyes, and the amount of labor required to produce a given type of cloth to convey the social status of its wearer. The Inka divided cloth into two categories of quality: *qumpi* and *awaska*.⁵⁵ *Qumpi* is defined as cloth of the highest quality, often compared in colonial sources to silk.⁵⁶ *Awaska* is described by chronicler Fray Bernabé Cobo as “coarse and thick,” and is usually interpreted to mean plain unadorned cloth, likely woven out of undyed and low-quality camelid fiber.⁵⁷

There are no precise written descriptions of exactly what types of cloth constituted *qumpi* to the *Inka*, and some scholars believe that feather work may have been the most prestigious type of cloth due to the difficulty of obtaining and working with feathers from birds in the distant Amazon rainforests.⁵⁸ However, this category is generally assumed to have included woven cloth made from fine alpaca fiber (figure 1.7) the second finest quality, vicuña fiber, the softest and finest quality (figure 1.8), and high-quality cotton dyed with bright colors, notably red from the insect *Dactylopius coccus* (cochineal) and *chapi* (a shrub from the genus *Relbunium*) and blue from *indigofera* (indigo).⁵⁹

⁵⁵ Joanne Pillsbury, “Inka Unku: Strategy and Design in Colonial Peru,” *Cleveland Studies in the History of Art* 7 (2002): 68–103. 70. Rowe, “Inca Weaving and Costume.” 9.

⁵⁶ Pillsbury, “Inka Unku,” 2002. 70. Phipps, “Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes.” 23–24. Stone, Rebecca, “The Best of the Best: *Qumpi* (Highest-Status Textiles) in Ancient Andean Thought and Practice,” in *Threads of Time: Tradition and Change in Indigenous American Textiles*, <http://threads-of-time.carlos.emory.edu/exhibits/show/essays/bestofthebest>.

⁵⁷ Phipps, “Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes.” 23.

⁵⁸ Stone, “The Best of the Best.” Elena Phipps, “Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes,” 25.

⁵⁹ Phipps, “Woven Documents: Color, Design, and Cultural Origins of the Textiles in the Getty Murúa.” 72–73. Stone, “The Best of the Best.”

The technique that the Inka favored for woven *qumpi* was almost certainly tapestry, in which a high number of the horizontal (weft) threads entirely cover the vertical (warps) (figure 1.9). Weavers created elaborate patterns by using a wide range of colored wefts, interlocking them to change color. Tapestry is a labor-intensive technique, requiring more thread and labor than many of the other weaving techniques used in the Andes. Over time, the resources and control over labor at the disposal of the Inka meant that their weavers (the *aclla*) created tapestry woven garments unparalleled in Andean history, the finest example of which is the “Royal Tunic” in the collection of Dumbarton Oaks (figure 1.10).⁶⁰

Bertonio provides an interesting set of Aymara words that relate to the production of *qumpi*. In fact, the word *qumpi* refers to the *person* who makes the cloth, rather than to the item itself, referred to in Aymara as *qumpita isi*.⁶¹ *Qumpita isi* is not defined explicitly as high-status cloth, only as tapestry-woven either with or without patterns, indicating that the Aymara did not automatically associate tapestry techniques with prestige or high quality within their own culture. This is likely because, although established in the Andean highlands since 1000 CE (long before the arrival of the Inka) the various Aymara neither controlled sufficient resources nor commanded enough labor tribute to develop a tradition of high-quality tapestry weaving for the elite. Tapestry was

⁶⁰ Stone, “And All Theirs Different from His: The Dumbarton Oaks Royal Inka Tunic in Context.” 391.

⁶¹ Yapita, Arnold, and Aguilar, *Los términos textiles aymaras del siglo XVII de la región Lacustre, en base al vocabulario de la lengua aymara por Ludovico Bertonio vocabulario semántico según la cadena productiva*. 58.

the highest form of Andean conspicuous consumption as it required massive amounts of thread and labor to produce.⁶²

Therefore, the most important technical difference between textiles woven in Aymara communities and those commissioned by the Inka is the Aymara's use of warp-faced weaves for all types and classes of garments, rather than the Inka's weft-face techniques, especially tapestry for the most prestigious ones.⁶³ "Warp-face" refers to the general class of weaving techniques in which the warp threads are visible, as opposed to the weft-face class, which includes tapestry (figure 1.11).⁶⁴ Warp-faced weaves overall are called *ina* in Aymara and *siq'a* in Quechua.⁶⁵

Although there are some overlaps between the two languages, the Aymara had their own words for elite clothing. The word *nañu juch'usa* is defined as "fine (*delgado*) thread or clothing, like silk or taffeta," and *chhuxtir isi* or *chhullunkhaya isi* is "clothing which is thin or fine to be like silk."⁶⁶ The words *jawa*, *jamqhu*, *charka*, *suyu*, and *ch'axchi*, refer to badly made or poorly woven clothing.⁶⁷ It appears, at least during the Colonial Period, that quality was determined by the skill of the weaver, the materials used, and the resulting texture of the finished cloth. However, the omission of any

⁶² Stone, "The Best of the Best." Rebecca Stone, "Technique and Form in Huari-Style Tapestry Tunics: The Andean Artist A.D. 500-800" (Dissertation, Yale University, 1987). 77.

⁶³ Elena Phipps, "Woven Silver and Gold: Metallic Yarns in Colonial Andean Textiles," *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 29, no. 3 (2010): 4-11. 7. Phipps, "Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes." 31. Laurie Adelson and Arthur Tracht, *Aymara Weavings: Ceremonial Textiles of Colonial and 19th Century Bolivia* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service, 1983). 46-47.

⁶⁴ Arnold and Espejo, *Ciencia de tejer en los Andes*. 20.

⁶⁵ Arnold and Espejo. 67.

⁶⁶ Yapita, Arnold, and Aguilar, *Los términos textiles aymaras del siglo XVII de la región Lacustre, en base al vocabulario de la lengua aymara por Ludovico Bertonio vocabulario semántico según la cadena productiva*. 69.

⁶⁷ Yapita, Arnold, and Aguilar. 68-69.

reference to color in these definitions may well reflect the lack of understanding of Bertonio himself. The most highly valued imported fabrics --silks, velvet, and taffeta-- were definitely colorful, according to the portraits of prominent citizens of indigenous descent and paintings of processions and masses.⁶⁸ Thus, the references to these fabrics as a comparison to those the Aymara wove themselves likely implied the use of bright colors and skillful dyeing techniques; Bertonio apparently did not question his informants further as to *why* they equated their own prestigious clothing with these European-introduced fabrics.

Characteristics of Aymara Clothing

The extant textiles demonstrate that the standard outfits for men and women in Aymara-speaking communities from the Late Intermediate Period (1000-1438 CE) until the Late Colonial period (mid-eighteenth through the early nineteenth centuries) were very similar to those of the Inka and their descendants. All Highland Andean women wore a wrap-style dress around the body (called an *anaku* or *aksu* in Quechua and Aymara before the arrival of the Spanish). The cloth was passed under the arms with the ends folded over the shoulder and then was fastened with pins.⁶⁹ After the Spanish invasion, these dresses were shortened so they could be worn over other garments

⁶⁸ Maya Stanfield-Mazzi, "Weaving and Tailoring the Andean Church: Textile Ornaments and Their Makers in Colonial Peru," *The Americas* 72, no. 1 (2015): 77–102. 77-83.

⁶⁹ Phipps, "Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes." 20-21. Rowe, "Inca Weaving and Costume." 11.

Pre-Hispanic and colonial Aymara *anaku* have not survived in great number, and those which exist are usually only half of the original garment; therefore, it is impossible to determine if a given example were part of the full-length Late Horizon style or the shortened colonial version. Several extant colonial complete examples will be discussed in connection with the chronological and stylistic development of other garment types in the following chapters; however, the limited body of evidence makes a comparative in-depth analysis of style conventions and significance impossible.

During the Late Horizon, the most common dress was square in shape, woven either in one or two pieces. Archaeological examples of this style were excavated by Max Uhle at Pachacamac and Old Ica, as well as at Acarí Valley.⁷⁰ Despite the standard square shape of the *anaku*, the material, technique, and composition of individual examples were highly variable. The highest-status fine tapestry *anaku* worn by royal Inka women were woven from a single piece of cloth with high-quality, brilliantly dyed camelid fiber and composed of a monochrome section with flanking stripe sequences of geometric and *tokapu* designs (figure 1.12). Those worn by women of lower status were woven in warp-face techniques with less prestigious materials and lacked the designs. The majority were monochromatic and woven with undyed thread; however, a small number contain stripes in various hues of dyed or undyed thread.

The other, much rarer, style was rectangular and was worn folded at the waist. It was composed of two or three pieces of cloth with an overall composition of a

⁷⁰ Rowe, "Inca Weaving and Costume." 12-13.

monochrome center field flanked by combinations of monochrome and elaborately warp-patterned stripes (figure 1.13).⁷¹ Primarily found in ceremonial contexts on figurines and sacrifices, this warp-faced style was restricted to ceremonial occasions according to Rowe.⁷²

As previously mentioned, early in the Colonial Period *anaku* were shortened so that they could be worn with an imposed Spanish style blouse and over a gathered skirt or petticoat.⁷³ An excellent illustration of this change is found in the late seventeenth century painting *The Marriage of Captain Martín de Loyola to Beatriz Ñusta* by an anonymous artist currently in the collection of the Compañía de Jesús in Cuzco (figure 1.14). *Ñusta* is the word used to designate a royal Inka woman by the Spanish. The bride, Beatriz, is wearing an elaborate *qumpi anaku*, white with red flowers, over an underskirt of dark blue (figure 1.15). Her light blue lace flounce is just visible on the viewer's right side of her body. Guaman Poma's illustration of a wife of an indigenous leader (figure 1.16) also shows the same alteration to the *anaku*. The woman wears a full-length gathered skirt or dress with a geometrically patterned *anaku* wrapped around it. The open edges of the *anaku* can be seen at the viewer's left side.⁷⁴ Over their *anaku* and later blouses, women wore layers of rectangular mantles of various sizes over their shoulders, either folded or unfolded, and fastened with metal pins (called *tupu* in Quechua and

⁷¹ Rowe. 14-15.

⁷² Rowe. 16.

⁷³ Phipps, "Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes." 30.

⁷⁴ Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Juana Guaman Chisque, ñusta, princess of the kingdom of the Indies* (Drawing 288 on page 759 in the original, 773 online), from GKS 2232 4º: *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, ca. 1615, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen, Denmark.

<http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/773/en/text/?open=idm46287305987728>

phicchi in Aymara).⁷⁵ Colonial dictionaries and accounts record that the Quechua word for a woman's mantle was *lliklla*, and the Aymara equivalent *isallu* (called *iscayo* in current Aymara textile scholarship).⁷⁶ These words applied to a large range of mantle sizes, compositions, and color schemes, with more specific terms used to refer to certain types (just as the word "shirt" is modified to "T-shirt," "dress shirt," etc. in contemporary discourse as context requires). There are three main compositional formats for women's mantles: one that was more common among Quechua-speaking communities, one that was restricted to Aymara communities in pre-Hispanic and Colonial times, and another that was equally common among both groups in the pre-Hispanic period and remained in use within Aymara communities in the Colonial period.

The most familiar style to many readers is that of *lliklla* currently worn in Quechua-speaking communities. Woven in either a weft or warp-faced technique in the pre-Hispanic and Colonial periods, this variation is a large rectangular mantle, woven in either one or two pieces. It contains monochrome fields (called *pampa*) and three sections of narrow stripes and patterns (called *pallia*, figure 1.17).⁷⁷ Thus, I will term this style *pampa/pallai*. The most common mantle style identified as worn by Aymara women is uniformly composed of two pieces joined by a central seam. In addition, its composition is diverse from the *pampa/pallai* mantle style in that each half contains either two or

⁷⁵ Yapita, Arnold, and Aguilar, *Los términos textiles aymaras del siglo XVII de la región Lacustre, en base al vocabulario de la lengua aymara por Ludovico Bertonio vocabulario semántico según la cadena productiva*. 79. Phipps, "Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes." 20.

⁷⁶ Yapita, Arnold, and Aguilar, *Los términos textiles aymaras del siglo XVII de la región Lacustre, en base al vocabulario de la lengua aymara por Ludovico Bertonio vocabulario semántico según la cadena productiva*. 90. Rowe, "Inca Weaving and Costume." 16.

⁷⁷ Phipps, "Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes." 31. Denise Y. Arnold, *Tejiendo la vida: la colección textil del Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore, según la cadena de producción* (La Paz, Bolivia: Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore, 2013). 17.

three wide monochrome stripes alternating with the *pampa* and two or three stripes at the end opposite the central seam (figure 1.18). I will refer to these mantles here as wide-stripe *isallu*, later arguing that they are *kunkani isallu*, a ceremonial type listed by Bertonio. The third type of large mantle has a bilaterally symmetrical three-part composition, whose center and lateral components were woven in a wide range of patterns, whether stripes or monochromatic colors (figure 1.19). I will refer to these examples as three-part *lliklla* or three-part *isallu*.

Currently, the large corpus of extant Aymara three-part *isallu* is erroneously identified as men's mantles in the exhibition catalogue by Adelson and Tracht, the first to propose classifications for Aymara garments. Their theory is primarily based on the finding of one example in association with a male mummy in a late sixteenth century burial at Caleta Vitor in Chile. The body of the deceased and his associated objects were purchased by Adolph Bandelier in 1894 CE and are currently in the collection of the American Museum of Natural History.⁷⁸ However, Junius Bird notes in his description of the find that relatively little is known about the site. There is no description of the grave as it appeared when excavated plus the list of goods is incomplete.⁷⁹ Furthermore, Bird also states that there was considerable looting at the site which would have disturbed important contextual clues. There were three other mummies acquired from the site, including one of an adult woman. I believe it is probable that either some of her objects were incorrectly attributed to the man's burial or were disturbed by looting and poor

⁷⁸ Adelson and Tracht, *Aymara Weavings*. 19.

⁷⁹ Junius B. Bird, "Excavations in Northern Chile," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 38, no. 4 (1943). 250.

excavation techniques.⁸⁰ Adelson and Tracht also observe that, despite their identification, these mantles were worn by women in the ceremonies they observed in the Coroma region in the late twentieth century. They explain the discrepancy by saying that women may have adopted the garment over time; this scenario seems highly unlikely as the gender use of almost all traditional Andean clothing is documented to have remained unchanged from the Colonial period, and in the case of some garments, from the Late Horizon. The present study corrects this major misclassification.

The vast majority of women's mantles are the three-part style, both Aymara and Inka, either dating from or depicted in pre-Hispanic and Colonial period contexts, are three-part style. They have been excavated from women's burials at Pachacamac and Llullaillaco and were depicted in the illustrations of Guaman Poma regarding *qoyas* Chinbo Urma Mama Yachi (Drawing 42), Cuci Chinbo Mama Micay (Drawing 44), Ipa Huaco Mama Machi (Drawing 45), Mama Yunto Cayan (Drawing 46), Mama Ana Uarque (Drawing 47), and Mama Ocllo (Drawing 48), as well as that of Poma Ualca, a *qhapaq warmi* (Drawing 66).⁸¹ They are also depicted in Murúa's manuscript -- in multiple color schemes and compositions -- in the illustrations of *qoyas* Chimpo Urma (folio 29v), Cusi Chimpo (folio 33v), Pahuaco (folio 35v), Mama Yunto (folio 37v), Mama Ocllo (folio 54v), and Mama Raba (folio 79r).⁸² *The Marriage of Captain Martin*

⁸⁰ Bird. 252.

⁸¹ Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, ca. 1615, GKS 2232 4º, Det Kongelige Bibliotek. Online page numbers: 126 (Drawing 42), 130 (Drawing 44), 132 (Drawing 45), 134 (Drawing 46), 136 (Drawing 47), 138 (Drawing 48).

⁸² Murúa Martín, *Historia General del Piru: Facsimile of J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. Ludwig XIII 16* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2008). In her essay on the accuracy of the garments represented in this colonial text, Phipps has noted the similarity between the compositions of several of these three-part mantles with extant Aymara mantles such as cat. nos. 121-134, 137, 141, 142, and 145, see Phipps, "Woven Documents: Color, Design, and Cultural Origins of the Textiles in the Getty Murúa." 75-77.

de Loyola to Beatriz Ñusta and *Portrait of a Ñusta* (figure 1.21), also by an anonymous artist and currently in the collection of the Museo Inka in Cuzco, show their respective subjects wearing three-part and *qumpi lliklla* as well.⁸³

High-status Aymara and Quechua women added a folded cloth on their head, one which fell over their shoulders (as seen in Guaman Poma's drawings of the second, fourth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth *qoya*).⁸⁴ All the head mantles are depicted with some form of lateral decoration. The head mantles of the second, *qoya* Chinbo Urma, the fourth, Chinbo Urma Mama Yachi, and the sixth, Cuci Chinbo Mama Micay, feature horizontal zigzags. These are reminiscent of the embroidery found on the bottom edges of male Inka official tunics, as also depicted by Guaman Poma in the drawing of the twelfth Inka, Tupac Cuci Hualpa Huascar, and in Murúa's illustrations of Inka Mango Capac (folio 21v), and Inka Cinchi Roca (folio 24v).⁸⁵ The head mantles of the seventh *qoya* Ipa Huaco Mama Machi, the eighth, Mama Yunto Cayan, the ninth, Mama Ana Uarque, and the tenth, Mama Ocllo, contain simple horizontal stripes. These are comparable to the lateral stripes in wide-stripe *isallu* and three-part mantles as well as the final *pallai* sections of *pampa/pallai lliklla*.⁸⁶

⁸³ Anonymous artist, *Portrait of a Ñusta*, 18th century, oil on canvas, Museo Inka, Universidad Nacional San Antonio Abad del Cuzco, Cuzco, Perú. Published in *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork 1530-1830*, see figure 30, page 30.

⁸⁴ Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*. Drawings 40 (page 122), 42 (page 126), 44 (page 130), 45 (page 132), 46 (page 134), 47 (page 136), and 48 (page 138). Rowe, "Inca Weaving and Costume." 24.

⁸⁵ Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*. Drawings 38 (page 115), 40 (page 122), 42 (page 126), 44 (page 130).

⁸⁶ Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*. Drawings 45 (page 132), 46 (page 134), 47 (page 136), and 48 (page 138).

It is evident from other colonial paintings that elaborate head mantles matching the compositions of *pampa/pallai qumpi lliklla* were created for royal Inka women. Elaborate and detailed head mantles were depicted in *The Marriage of Captain Martin de Loyola to Beatriz Ñusta* on the Inka royal woman sitting with a group of men (seen in the viewer's top left), and on the subject herself in *Portrait of a Ñusta* (figures 1. 20 and 1.21). In the latter work, the headcloth contains white *pampa* sprinkled with flowers, suggesting that it was woven in tapestry technique like elite *lliklla*.⁸⁷

Elite Aymara women wore two versions of head mantles. One was a small, rectangular warp-faced head mantle woven in the *pampa/pallai* style (cat. nos. 88-94). This example is incorrectly referred to as *lliklla* in Phipps' essay "Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes" in the exhibition catalogue *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork 1530-1830*.⁸⁸ Although no pre-Hispanic examples have been identified, colonial versions indicate that the earlier ones must have been woven of high-quality camelid fiber dyed in precious colors, although they were almost certainly woven in warp-face techniques, as in other Aymara elite garments, rather than in tapestry. Several colonial examples (cat. nos. 89-94) are composed of monochrome and patterned stripes woven out of fine camelid fiber, a myriad of colored silks, and gold and silver metallic threads. Although woven in warp- rather than weft-face techniques, their composition is similar to that of the head mantle of the *Ñusta*, with *pampas* (lacking the flowers) divided by groups of various stripes. Guaman Poma's drawing of the sixth *qoya*, Cuci Chinbo Mama Micay (Drawing 44), depicts her head mantle as a striped cloth. This suggests that

⁸⁷ Phipps, "Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes." 30.

⁸⁸ Phipps. See figure 32, page 32.

stripes may have dominated the composition of certain elite Inka and Aymara women's pre-Hispanic head mantles. The direction of these stripes, like those in the *Ñusta's* head mantle, suggest that this style was worn either folded or unfolded such that the stripes were oriented vertically rather than horizontally.

The second variation has the same compositional format as wide-stripe or three-part *isallu* (cat. nos. 105, 106, 107, 108, and 109). Murúa's illustration of the *qoya* Chympo (folio 25v) provides evidence that these could be worn as a pair with *isallu* sharing the same color scheme and/or composition.⁸⁹ The cloth the *qoya* holds in her hand has the same composition as her larger shoulder mantle: narrow red stripes and white *pampa*. This large mantle is comparable to an extant wide-stripe *isallu* (cat. no. 77), strengthening confidence in the veracity of the representation.⁹⁰ Although Chympo is holding the cloth rather than wearing it, another of the queens, Mama Ocllo (folio 54v), is wearing a cloth of the same size on her head. Hers also imitates the composition of larger mantles, in this case the three-part mantles worn by Mama Yunto (folio 37v) and Cusi Chimpo (folio 33v). The illustration of Mama Ocllo suggests that these types were worn unfolded with the stripes horizontal.

The head mantles on the female sacrificial victims found at Llullaillaco and the woman discovered at Ampato are in this style of three-part; however, they are much simpler in composition than the painted *qumpi* and three-part examples and the

⁸⁹ Murúa, *Historia General del Piru*.

⁹⁰ Phipps, "Woven Documents: Color, Design, and Cultural Origins of the Textiles in the Getty Murúa." 77.

previously mentioned six Aymara *pampa/pallai* and four wide-stripe style cloths.⁹¹ All three are composed of a light brown center wide section flanked by two narrower ones of dark brown with an elaborate colored border worked in a looped stitch.⁹² Although woven of undyed thread with a simple composition, their elaborate borders -- identical to those found on high-status Inka women's and men's garments-- indicate that these likewise played a ceremonial role and represented elevated status among women in both Inka and non-Inka cultures.

Guaman Poma, as well as the majority of the Spanish chroniclers, record that the word used by the Inka for these cloths was *ñañaqa* (although several sources, including Cobo, do use the word *p'ampakuna*).⁹³ Bertonio cites a number of different Aymara terms which are all defined as a small mantle (*mantellina*) or head cloth (*tocado/toca*): *unku*, *unkuña*, *tari* (only used by the Pacajes) and *iskayu* (also only used by the Pacajes).⁹⁴ Another, more specific term is *ghatita unkuña*, defined as “striped small mantle or headcloth.”⁹⁵ The mention of stripes suggests that *pampa/pallai* and wide-stripe style head mantles may have been referred to by this name in Aymara communities at the time.

Although there are more extant examples of head mantles than there are of *anaku*, I exclude them from the present study for several reasons. First, extant examples and colonial illustrations indicate that there was great diversity in styles, yet there are too few examples of each style to conduct a sufficiently thorough analysis of their similarities and

⁹¹ Reinhard and Ceruti, *Inca Rituals and Sacred Mountains*. 111-112.

⁹² Reinhard and Ceruti. 115, see figure 5.15.

⁹³ Rowe, “Inca Weaving and Costume.” See footnote 92 on page 43, also page 24.

⁹⁴ Yapita, Arnold, and Aguilar, *Los términos textiles aymaras del siglo XVII de la región Lacustre, en base al vocabulario de la lengua aymara por Ludovico Bertonio vocabulario semántico según la cadena productiva*. 92-93.

⁹⁵ Yapita, Arnold, and Aguilar. 92.

differences. There is also evidence that they were used both as garments and as cloths for offerings or *mesa* covers; indeed, cat. nos. 89 and 92 retain circular stains where *kero* (beakers) were placed. Furthermore, various collectors observed that these same cloths, as well as others, were in use in the late twentieth century to hold ceremonial offerings before they were sold.⁹⁶ It is unclear whether this usage dates to the Colonial period or whether this double usage may extend to all head mantles; however, lacking further information it would be unwise to identify all extant examples solely as garments.

The primary garment worn by Andean men was a rectangular, sleeveless tunic that reached to the knee, called an *unku* in Quechua and *qhawa* (spelled *ccahua* in current scholarship) in Aymara (figure 1.22).⁹⁷ *Unku* and the majority of *qhawa* were woven out of a single piece of cloth folded in half and sewn up the sides. A minority of *qhawa* are composed of two narrower pieces of cloth sewn together along the center as well as up the sides. In the single web type, the opening for the neck was woven into the structure, such that the cloth required no cutting, which would have violated Andean conventions and drained the cloth of its life force. In the two-piece type, the weaver simply left a gap in the center stitching. Ceremonial or official *unku* and *qhawa* constituted an important sign of a man's social status. This significance persisted into later periods, although the garments were slightly modified. To wit, *unku* and *qhawa* were shortened and slits were added up the sides to allow men to wear Spanish-style breeches underneath them.

Guaman Poma's Drawings 95 and 146 are useful in illustrating the difference between

⁹⁶ William Siegal, personal communication 03/13/2017.

⁹⁷ Yapita, Arnold, and Aguilar, *Los términos textiles aymaras del siglo XVII de la región Lacustre, en base al vocabulario de la lengua aymara por Ludovico Bertonio vocabulario semántico según la cadena productiva*. 91. Phipps, "Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes." 19.

pre-Hispanic and Colonial period *unku* (figures 1.23 and 1.24). Drawing 146 (figure 1.24) shows the author wearing a tapestry-woven *unku* shorter than the one worn by the Inka ruler in Drawing 95 (figure 1.23), which allows it to fit over the elaborate breeches Guaman Poma wears underneath his ensemble. Although *unku* and *qhawa* were banned by the Spanish in the late eighteenth century after an indigenous revolt engulfed the Viceroyalty from 1780-1782 CE, *qhawa* continued to be used in ceremonies in certain Aymara communities up until the mid-twentieth century, although they had long since been replaced by ponchos for daily wear.⁹⁸

Colonial paintings, illustrations, and Inka *capacocha* figurines show that *unku* and *qhawa* were always accompanied by a long rectangular shoulder mantle, called *llacolla* in Quechua and *llaquta* in Aymara (spelled *llacota* in early scholarship).⁹⁹ These mantles are always shown as monochrome and worn in a similar fashion to a cape, as seen on the Inka men in *The Marriage of Capitan Martín de Loyola to Beatriz Ñusta* (figure 1.20). Few examples of *llacolla* exist: a monochrome *llacolla* was found on the body of a boy sacrificed on Copiapó and a fragmentary *llacolla* of light-colored, undyed camelid fiber is held in the collections of the National Museum of Natural History. It is said to have been recovered from a child burial on Ancón.¹⁰⁰ The *llacolla* of the male *capacocha* figurines from Llullaillaco and Copiapó are similarly monochrome (figures 1.25 and

⁹⁸ Phipps, “Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes.” 27. The actual decree was issued in 1781, and there had been a previous law against wearing Inka dress issued in 1575 by Viceroy Toledo, but this was reversed in the early eighteenth century to clearly define the indigenous inhabitants from the European colonists.

⁹⁹ Yapita, Arnold, and Aguilar, *Los términos textiles aymaras del siglo XVII de la región Lacustre, en base al vocabulario de la lengua aymara por Ludovico Bertonio vocabulario semántico según la cadena productiva*. 91.

¹⁰⁰ Phipps, “Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes.” 20. Rowe, “Inca Weaving and Costume.” 26-28.

1.26). Two of the figurines found with the boy in the South burial at Llullaillaco were wearing white *llacolla* with blue and red borders (offering assemblage SII), and another wore a brown *llacolla* with identical border colors (offering assemblage SIII).¹⁰¹ A male figurine excavated from Copiapó was dressed in a black or brown *llacolla* with borders of red and another dark color.¹⁰² Another figurine in the collection of the American Museum of Natural History has the same style *llacolla* as those on the figurines from Llullaillaco offering assemblage SII.

As previously stated, without with a verified cultural identity, there is no way to be certain whether these represented Inka or regional clothing styles. There are no known extant Inka *llacolla* dating from the Colonial period, and no verified Aymara *llaquta* from either the pre-Hispanic or the Colonial period. The many words provided by Bertonio for variations of striped *llaquta* (*jat'uni manakani/jat'uni llaquta/mankani llaquta* and *k'ili /q'ichu llaquta*) indicate that the dominant composition of Aymara male mantles was likely striped; however, there are also terms for monochrome *llaquta* of dyed thread (*panti llaquta* and *qumpita llaquta*) and those woven of undyed thread (*qura llaquta*).¹⁰³ There is one identified striped male mantle from the Late Horizon, found on the seven-year-old boy in the South burial on the summit platform at the site of Llullaillaco. His large outer mantle is composed of a central pattern of wide red stripes and yellow narrow stripes flanked on each side by wide lateral sections of natural brown.¹⁰⁴ However, this

¹⁰¹ Reinhard and Ceruti, *Inca Rituals and Sacred Mountains*. 82-84, 140-141.

¹⁰² Reinhard and Ceruti. 141, figure 7.11.

¹⁰³ Yapita, Arnold, and Aguilar, *Los términos textiles aymaras del siglo XVII de la región Lacustre, en base al vocabulario de la lengua aymara por Ludovico Bertonio vocabulario semántico según la cadena productiva*. 91.

¹⁰⁴ Reinhard and Ceruti, *Inca Rituals and Sacred Mountains*. 72-73, 108-109.

composition does not absolutely match any known Aymara mantles and thus cannot be labelled as such simply due to its composition.

As these descriptions evince, the most visually distinguishing characteristic of clothing worn by both Aymara women and men is the use of stripes and certain color combinations. Weavers combined stripes of various widths and colors, monochrome fields, multicolored warp and weft threads, and patterns of right and left-plied warp threads in countless different ways. The subtlety of several of these design elements makes many Aymara textiles seemingly identical, but out of the 117 I have examined first hand, no two are exactly alike. Weavers chose their colors, stripe arrangements, and combinations of warp and weft threads based on the purpose of a given garment and their particular regional parameters.

In contrast, much of Inka clothing and that of other contemporaneous Andean communities at least partially features geometric and zoological patterns, whether in tapestry or complex warp-faced techniques called *palla* (Quechua) or *pallay* (Aymara).¹⁰⁵ In English, these terms are translated as "selected warp," (complementary warp in earlier scholarship) because different colored warp threads are selected or pulled forward for each row to form the pattern on the front of the cloth while the remaining warp threads create the same pattern in a different color on the back (figure 1.27).¹⁰⁶ Certain Aymara-speaking communities, especially the Lupaqa and Pacajes, did occasionally include selected-warp geometric and avian patterns among the stripes of women's and men's

¹⁰⁵ Arnold and Espejo, *Ciencia de tejer en Los Andes*. 193.

¹⁰⁶ Arnold and Espejo. 193-194. Translation taken from Arnold, *Weaving Life: The Textile Collection of the Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore, La Paz, Bolivia, Following the Productive Chain*. see Figure 1.1 on page 13.

garments; however, these exceptions are relatively few in number. When patterns do appear, they are fewer and much smaller than those used by the Inka or in other highland communities.

Description of Garments

In the following sections, I will describe the various features of women's *isallu* and men's *qhawa*. Further, I was able to distinguish distinct patterns by which it is possible to group individual garments together within these larger categories into styles. I will begin by describing and grouping the *isallu* and *qhawa* garment subtypes, moving on to common features whose appearance and use are the same in all styles within each garment type. I will conclude the presentation of each *isallu* or *qhawa* style by a comparison between the distinguishing qualities of the extant examples and Bertonio's descriptions, with the goal of determining if any of these specific types of *isallu* and *qhawas* can be securely matched to his descriptions.

I will also identify the provenance (if known) for each garment. The majority of the textiles in the corpus were collected in various regions of Peru and Bolivia from the early 1970s to the late 1980s.¹⁰⁷ Although only approximately half have written records of their provenance, with the assistance of one of the longest operating dealers currently residing in La Paz, I was able to identify a general region of origin for all but a few

¹⁰⁷ Loux, "Adventures on the Altiplano." 50, 52, 60. William Siegal and Brigitte Tietzel, *Aymara-Bolivianische Textilien: Eine Ausstellung Im Deutschen Textilmuseum Krefeld, 20. November 1991- 26-Januar 1992/Historic Aymara Textiles: An Exhibition in the German Textile Museum Krefeld, November 20, 1991 - January 26, 1992* (Krefeld, Germany: Deutsches Textilmuseum Krefeld, 1991). 19.

examples. All the information was recorded or identified by the sources according to the modern political administrative system of both countries, which is how it will be presented in the context of this chapter. In the second chapter, I will discuss provenances according to the organization of Tawantinsuyu or the Viceroyalties of Perú and Río de La Plata.¹⁰⁸

Regarding terminology, I have endeavored to use as many Aymara terms as possible, taken either from Bertonio's dictionary or the publications by Arnold and Espejo. There are also several instances in which Arnold and Espejo have established a Spanish word or short description for a specific technique or compositional element commonly used by the Aymara but with no transregional term. I have adopted these from the English translated editions of their book on Andean weaving structures, *Ciencia de tejer en los Andes: estructuras y técnicas de faz de urdimbre*, and the catalogue of the textile collection of the Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore in La Paz, *Tejiendo la vida: la colección textil del Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore, según la cadena de producción*, to ensure accuracy.¹⁰⁹ As in the case of three-part *isallu*, I have occasionally invented a novel term to identify a visually or technically distinct compositional feature or garment subtype. When employing terms taken from Bertonio,

¹⁰⁸ Bolivia is divided into nine departments each containing a number of provinces which are in turn divided into municipalities. Peru is divided into twenty-five regions that, like the departments of Bolivia, are subdivided into provinces. Chile is divided into sixteen administrative divisions, each also subdivided into provinces like the Regions of Peru and the Departments of Bolivia.

¹⁰⁹ Denise Y. Arnold and Elvira Espejo, *The Andean Science of Weaving: Structures and Techniques of Warp-Faced Weaves*. (Farnborough: Thames and Hudson Ltd, 2015). Arnold, *Weaving Life: The Textile Collection of the Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore, La Paz, Bolivia, Following the Productive Chain*.

initially I will list all synonyms, and thenceforth adopt the term with the most complete definition.

The most difficult aspect to classify is color. Distinguishing between colors, and among values of the same color, is always a subjective process, even with the use of color-coding systems. It is an even greater challenge in hand-dyed textiles, in which complete consistency between all instances of the same color within a single garment is virtually impossible, let alone between two different garments. However, color coding systems can provide a reference for general comparison as to how I have distinguished hue, value, and chroma (also known as saturation) within this study.¹¹⁰ I elected to use the Munsell Color System due to its three-dimensional model, based on the interrelations of hue (distinct colors not derived from black, white, or brown), value (the degree of a color's lightness or darkness, also called shade), and chroma (the degree of a color's intensity or saturation). In table 1.1, I have provided the Munsell numbers for the twenty-two colors I use in descriptions of the garments and their components. These numbers should be understood as anchors that point to the surrounding chips which constitute the dye lot differences, or slight differences between garments caused by fading.

Isallu

Before beginning my description and analysis, a historic misunderstanding as to the proper basic terms used for women's mantles and head mantles must be corrected. As

¹¹⁰ "A Dictionary of Color Terms," Munsell Color, accessed February 12, 2019, <https://munsell.com/about-munsell-color/how-color-notation-works/dictionary-color-terms/>.

previously stated, the examples currently recognized as women's large mantles from the Pre-Hispanic and Colonial periods, which I have referred to as wide-stripe *isallu*, are currently called “*iscayo*” (the correct phonetic spelling of which is *iskayu*) in past and current scholarship. These mantles have been distinguished by collectors and dealers from others according to their composition; they lack any figural or geometric patterns, containing various arrangements of wide and narrow stripes.¹¹¹ The head mantles in the wide-stripe *isallu* compositional format were assumed to be smaller versions of “*iscayo*” due to their practically identical composition (with the exception that they are woven in one piece), dubbing them “*iscayito*,” an invented term.¹¹² In fact, the proper term for head mantles is *iskayu*. Bertonio describes *iskayu*, as a small mantle according to the regional dialect of the Pacajes people, and the synonym of the word *unkuña*.¹¹³

Wide-stripe *isallus* are composed of two pieces of cloth called *khallu*, each of which are composed of wide monochrome stripes containing two narrow ones of a contrasting color in their centers, alternating with *pampa* woven in monochrome or multicolored thread (figure 1.18). Each *khallu* also contains a wide stripe adjacent to the center seam, called *ch'uku* or *ch'ukut'iri* (hereafter referred to as *ch'uku*); the stripe in each half is identical and when the halves are joined together create the impression of a

¹¹¹ Laurie Adelson and Arthur Tracht, *Aymara Weavings: Ceremonial Textiles of Colonial and 19th Century Bolivia* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service, 1983). Although Adelson and Tracht do use *isallu* (spelled *isallo*) in their general description, they use the word *iscayo* in the catalogue descriptions (78-84). They also maintain a distinction between striped and geometric pattern mantles. William Siegal, *Aymara-Bolivianische Textilien: Eine Ausstellung Im Deutschen Textilmuseum Krefeld, 20. November 1991- 26. Januar 1992/Historic Aymara Textiles: An Exhibition in the German Textile Museum Krefeld, November 20, 1991 - January 26, 1992* (Krefeld, Germany: Deutsches Textilmuseum Krefeld, 1991).44-58.

¹¹² William Siegal, personal communication, 03/13/2017.

¹¹³ Yapita, Arnold, and Aguilar, *Los términos textiles aymaras del siglo XVII de la región Lacustre, en base al vocabulario de la lengua aymara por Ludovico Bertonio vocabulario semántico según la cadena productiva*. 91.

single stripe double the width of those in the rest of the composition. There are two lateral stripes (narrower than the wide ones) at each end, with the color scheme of the stripes identical in both halves. Finally, there is a section of the same color as the *pampa* adjacent to the lateral stripes, intended to be covered by a decorative border called *silku* or *sulku* (hereafter referred to as *silku*). I have termed these sections *pampa* lateral stripes. The overall composition is always bilaterally symmetrical, with the same number of wide stripes and *pampa* in each *khallu*.¹¹⁴

Wide-stripe *isallu* can be further divided by the color and number of their wide stripes: 1) royal or dark blue (abbreviated in further descriptions to simply “blue”), 2) a shade of pink which varies from light to almost red (“pink-red”), or 3) alternation between stripes of blue and pink shades, (“alternating”). Cat. no. 65 represents a single exception with its decidedly light blue stripes. Blue stripes are the most common, accounting for twenty-three out of the thirty-seven (cat. nos. 1, 52, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66, 67, 69, 70, 71, 76, 79, 80, 81, 83, 84, 85, and 87). Pink-red stripes are less common, accounting for ten (cat. nos. 53, 54, 55, 58, 68, 74, 75, 77, 78, and 82). Three examples are the alternating style (cat. nos. 72, 73, and 86).

All wide-stripe *isallu* have either two or three wide stripes per *khallu*. Thus, the categories of blue and pink-red can be further subdivided into those with two or three stripes: blue two-striped, blue three-striped, pink-red two striped, and pink-red three-striped. As all alternating examples have three stripes, there is no need for further subdivision in this group. There are ten blue two-striped (cat. nos. 51, 57, 59, 60, 62, 69,

¹¹⁴ Yapita, Arnold, and Aguilar. 71.

70, 83, 85, and 87) and thirteen blue three-striped (cat. nos. 52, 56, 61, 63, 64, 66, 67, 71, 76, 79, 80, 81, and 84). There is only one pink-red two striped, cat. no. 68, and nine pink-red three-striped (cat. nos. 53, 54, 55, 58, 74, 75, 77, 78, and 82).

There are six different variations of *pampa* for wide-stripe *isallu*: 1) undyed warps, 2) dark undyed warps overdyed with another color, 3) alternating undyed warps with monochrome warps, 4) warps composed of two different colors plied together into a single thread, 5) alternating undyed and multicolored warps, and 6) monochrome warps (figures 1.28-1.33). By far the most common are undyed, present in sixteen examples: seven have brown (cat. nos. 51, 61, 63, 67, 76, 84, and 85), four have tan (cat. nos. 60, 64, 73, and 77), three have a mottled gray/brown (cat. nos. 62, 79, and 83), one has dark gray (cat. no. 52), and one has light gray warps (cat. no. 54). Second in frequency is the use of multicolored warps composed of two different colors, present in ten examples: three have purple/brown (cat. nos. 55, 59, and 82), three have pink-red/tan (cat. nos. 57, 69, 70), one has both lavender/brown and maroon/brown (cat. no. 68), one has red/blue (cat. no. 78), one has peach/gray (cat. no. 80), and one has red/brown (cat. no. 87). Five examples have monochrome *pampa*: two have dark purple (cat. nos. 75 and 86), two have dark blue (cat. nos. 65 and 74), and one has pink (cat. no. 72). Three examples have *pampa* woven of overdyed warps: two have black overdyed warps (cat. nos. 56 and 71), and one features tan overdyed with red (cat. no. 58). Two have combinations of multiple colors: one has an alternation of purple/brown and brown warps (cat. no. 53), and one has an alternation of pink and brown warps (cat. no. 81). Cat. no. 66 is unique in that not all the *pampa* are identical: some sections have only dark purple monochrome warps and others alternate dark purple and purple/black overdyed warps.

As the *pampa* lateral stripes would have been covered by a *silku*, at least partially, it might therefore appear as if their colors were of little importance. However, as I will demonstrate in the following chapters, no part of an Aymara garment was unimportant or lacked significance. Thus, I will record the appearance of *pampa* lateral stripes along with the other aspects of wide-stripe *isallu*. Only seven examples have *pampa* lateral stripes in a different color scheme than the *pampa*: one has purple/brown (cat. no. 53), one has lavender/brown and maroon/brown (cat. no. 55), one has purple and purple/brown (cat. no. 59), one has pink/tan and tan (cat. no. 60), one has blue and light blue (cat. no. 65), and one has brown (cat. no. 81).

In the same vein, it is also important to note the colors of weft, although they are almost entirely obscured by the warps. The vast majority, twenty-two examples, have brown (cat. nos. 51, 53, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 65, 67, 72, 74, 76, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 84, 85, and 87). There are two other natural colors of wefts: four examples have tan (cat. nos. 64, 69, 73, and 77), and one has a mottled gray/brown (cat. no. 83). Three have black overdyed weft (cat. nos. 56, 66, and 71) and another three multicolored threads of pink/brown (cat. nos. 55, 75, 86). The weft of cat. no. 70 was impossible to determine due to poor viewing circumstances. There are multiple cases of a mixture of wefts of different colors within a single garment. Cat. no. 52 has multicolored threads of pink/dark gray and monochrome gray, cat. no. 54 has a mixture of gray/brown and blue/gray, and cat. no. 68 has both pink/brown and brown monochrome threads.

There are four variations of center sections in wide-stripe *isallu*. The most common, seen in twenty-six examples, is identical wide stripes on each *khallu*, joined by

the *ch'uku* and containing two narrow vertical stripes composed of horizontal bars woven in a technique called *k'uthu* or “ladder” in English (cat. nos. 51-61, 63, 67-71, 74-76, 80, 82-85, and 87). *K'uthu* is a selected-warp technique in which the pattern is created through an alternation of two or more colors within the same horizontal row.¹¹⁵ There are two variations of *k'uthu*; *paris k'uthu*, created through an even count of warps (figure 1.34), and *ch'ulla k'uthu*, created through an odd count (figure 1.35).¹¹⁶

Nine examples have *paris k'uthu* in pink alternating with light pink (cat. nos. 51, 54, 63, 67, 69, 71, 76, 79, and 84). Four have pink-red alternating with purple (cat. nos. 53, 57, 70, and 74) and three have red and light pink (cat. nos. 52, 59, and 75). Cat. nos. 68 and 82 have silver thread alternating with pink in the former and red in the latter. Cat. no. 87 has red/white alternating with red. *Ch'ulla k'uthu* is much less common, seen in only six examples (cat. nos. 55, 56, 60, 61, 80, and 83): one has red alternating with blue (cat. no. 83), one has peach alternating with red (cat. no. 80), two have pink alternating with light pink (cat. nos. 61 and 55), one has red alternating with purple (cat. no. 56), and, finally, one has red/white alternating with red (cat. no. 60). Cat. no. 85 is unique in that three of its pink and light pink *k'uthu* sections are *paris* and one is *ch'ulla*.

The second variation of center section comprises identical sections of *k'uthu* on each *khallu* independent of a wide stripe, seen in six examples (cat. nos. 64, 65, 72, 77, 78, and 86). Three examples have one section of *paris k'uthu* in each *khallu*: two in red and blue (cat. nos. 64 and 78), and one in red and yellow (cat. no. 86). Two examples have a single section of *ch'ulla k'uthu* in each *khallu*: one in red and light blue (cat. no.

¹¹⁵ Arnold and Espejo, *Ciencia de tejer en Los Andes*. 159.

¹¹⁶ Arnold and Espejo. 160.

65) and one in red and blue (cat. no. 77). Cat. no. 72 has three sections of *ch'ulla k'uthu* in each *khallu*: two of red and yellow, one of blue and yellow, and one of *paris k'uthu* in blue and yellow directly adjacent to the blue and yellow *ch'ulla k'uthu*.

The third variation consists of narrow stripes in the center wide stripes on each *khallu*. This is seen in only two examples out of the thirty-seven: one has light pink (cat. no. 62) and one has white and red (cat. no. 66). There are three wide-stripe *isallu* which contain different center sections; since there is only one example of each, it is more accurate to consider them as exceptions rather than as variations. Cat. no. 81 contains a monochrome center section of pink with no *k'uthu* or narrow stripes. Cat. no. 73 has a center section composed of red and blue narrow stripes. Cat. no. 79 is unique in that one *khallu* possesses *k'uthu* in pink and light pink, while the other half has light pink narrow stripes.

The *ch'uku* can be sewn in two different ways. The simplest is what Arnold and Espejo term “diagonal stitch,” a back-and-forth movement of the thread which creates a zigzag pattern or a row of tight stitches, depending on the proximity of the stitches to one another. Although the technique is simple, Aymara weavers used a variety of different colors to make their *ch'uku* colorful and intricate. The most common variation of diagonal stitch, which I have termed “alternating,” interlocks two different colored threads so that they face each other across the divide between the *khallu* (figure 1.36). Thirteen wide-stripe *isallu* feature this sewing style and their *ch'uku* can contain up to four colors. There is great diversity in alternating diagonal stitch *ch'uku*: four have pink and light pink (cat. nos. 55, 63, 71, and 84); two have pink, purple, and yellow (cat. nos.

53 and 56); one has red and light pink (cat. no. 52); one has yellow, pink, and light pink (cat. no. 61); one has a combination of red, red/white, purple, and purple/white (cat. no. 69); one has red, yellow, and blue (cat. no. 72); one has red, yellow, blue, and green (cat. no. 78); one has red and blue (cat. no. 77); and, finally, one has pink, light pink, yellow, and silver-wrapped thread (cat. no. 82).

A special form of *ch'uku* I have termed “Inka-style diagonal stitch” because it is similar to the border used on official Inka *unku* and mantles (cat. nos. 58, 67, 74, 75, and 79). In this variation, sections of stitching alternate with sections composed of interlocked red and yellow threads (figure 1.37). Three have monochrome bands of purple, pink, and yellow (cat. nos. 58, 67, 74), while one displays bands of red, purple, light blue, and yellow (cat. no. 75). The difference between the examples in my study and Inka *unku* is that in the latter other sections of alternating threads (usually only one or two sequences of the color scheme) or a single short band of a contrasting color to the adjacent monochrome sequence are appended onto the red and yellow sequence. For instance, in the Inka *tokapu* waistband tunic in the Metropolitan Museum, short bands of green or purple threads are added to the beginnings and ends, and occasionally both green and purple alternate once or twice to form a repetition like that of red and yellow ones (figure 1.38 and 39).¹¹⁷ These green and purple additions appear in the miniaturized yet detailed renderings of checkerboard *unku* as *tokapu* in the singular Dumbarton Oaks “Royal

¹¹⁷ Elena Phipps, “Man’s Tunic (*Uncu*) (Cat. No. 9),” in *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830* (New York; New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Yale University Press, 2004), 137–39.

Tunic,” as well as in the quite numerous full-size counterparts of this *unku* related to top Inka military ranks (figures 1.40-1.42).¹¹⁸

Equally common to Inka-style diagonal stitch is the “monochrome diagonal stitch” (figure 1.43). Five examples contain this variation: one has pink (cat. no. 51), two have red (cat. nos. 62 and 80), one has brown (cat. no. 76), and one has purple (cat. no. 86). Less common is what I have termed the “banded” diagonal stitch, in which different monochrome sections of stitching alternate the length of the *ch'uku*: one has pink and light pink (cat. no. 54), one has red and light blue (cat. no. 65), and one has red and blue (cat. no. 73). Cat. no. 64 has a modification of this variation: two stitches in the center of each monochrome band are elongated, giving the *ch'uku* a tapering triangular shape. Finally, cat. no. 81 has a *ch'uku* with a combination of alternating and banded diagonal stitch in which large swaths of red diagonal stitch are interspersed with short bands of purple and yellow alternating diagonal stitch.

The second and much more technically complex, method of sewing a *ch'uku* is a selected warp technique. The most common is called *ch'iñi layra*, woven with eight warp threads in two colors (described by the Aymara as *chinu* meaning four groups of two) into the completed *khallu* through the wefts, creating an eye-shaped pattern (figure 1.44).¹¹⁹ All seven of the wide-stripe *isallu* with this selected-warp *ch'uku* are two-striped. Six examples have red and yellow warps (cat. nos. 57, 59, 60, 70, 83, and 85), whereas the lone pink/red two--striped *isallu* has pink and silver thread warp (cat. no.

¹¹⁸ Elena Phipps, “Man’s Tunic (*Uncu*) with Checkerboard Design (Cat. No. 11),” in *Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork 1530-1830* (New Haven and London; New York: Yale University Press; Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), 140–41.

¹¹⁹ Arnold and Espejo, *Ciencia de tejer en Los Andes*. 95.

68). An exception to the rest of the present corpus has a selected warp *ch'uku* in a different technique in which the thread which joins the two *khallu* serves as a weft for a larger number of warps than in *ch'iñi layra*; this increased number of warps creates a tubular rather than a flat pattern in red, white, and dark purple (cat. no. 66).

Only fourteen examples have at least a fragmentary *silku* in one of four different variations. In this study, a *silku* is defined as fragmentary if more than half of it is currently missing or if the stitches have frayed so as to become partially undone (see cat. nos. 51, 59, 72, 76, 77, 78, 81, and 84). If a *silku* is missing a large portion, it is difficult to determine the original color scheme with certainty, especially if more than one color is present in the remaining section. Fraying and undone stitches, especially in a *silku* of which only a small portion remains, make it even more difficult to determine the technique. However, in many cases it is still possible to identify both color and technique through a close examination of the location of the remaining threads relative to the main textile and to one another. In complete *silku*, if a group of colors is repeated, this sequence runs through the whole section. Thus, if a fragmentary section shows a repetition it can be assumed that these were the only colors present when the original piece was intact. In the same manner, if a long fragment is monochrome, it is likely that the *silku* contained only this color.

The most common technique I have termed “flat crossed warp,” combining the term for the larger technical group to which it belongs (crossed-warp) with the adjective used to distinguish the use of this flat technique as a border (figure 1.45).¹²⁰ In the

¹²⁰ Arnold and Espejo. 84, 85.

“flattened” variation of crossed warp, sets of colored warps are attached by weft threads to the garment’s front and back without wrapping around the edge. Six examples have evidence of this variation in a variety of colors: two in yellow, red, and purple (cat. nos. 59 and 80); two in pink and light pink (cat. nos. 51 and 76); one in pink (cat. no. 71); and one in yellow and purple (cat. no. 83). The next most common variation is *pit’akipata*, a form of interlocked wrap stitch (similar to crochet, figure 1.46) seen in three *kunkani isallu*: one has *pit’akipata* in natural brown (cat. no. 64); one in red, yellow, blue, and green (cat. no. 78); one in red, pink, yellow, and silver-wrapped thread (cat. no. 82).¹²¹ The *silku* of cat. no. 64 fits one of Bertonio’s more specific border terms, *qura silku*, defined as “a border made of only one color or undyed wool.”¹²²

The third variation, more commonly seen on *qhawa*, is called *sawukipata* (known as *ribete* in many early publications, figure 1.47).¹²³ *Sawukipata* is constructed in a similar manner to flat crossed warp in that it is woven onto the body of the *isallu* with a weft that interlocks with the cloth. This style has a more tubular appearance and wraps completely around the edges. Of the three examples containing *sawukipata*, two have the *ch’iñi layra* pattern: one in white, red, and yellow (cat. no. 75) and one in white, purple, red, and yellow (cat. no. 79). Two of the terms Bertonio provides for borders, *achankara silku/uq’ullu nayra silku*, both translated as “border of/with many eyes,” possibly refer to this *sawukipata* pattern. The third example has a simpler design of alternating red and light pink warps (cat. no. 52). The final variation is seen on only one example,

¹²¹ Arnold, *Tejiendo la vida*. 17.

¹²² Yapita, Arnold, and Aguilar, *Los términos textiles aymaras del siglo XVII de la región Lacustre, en base al vocabulario de la lengua aymara por Ludovico Bertonio vocabulario semántico según la cadena productiva*. 65.

¹²³ Arnold, *Tejiendo la vida*. 17.

incidentally the example with the earliest carbon-14 date (cat. no. 77). It is a type of wrap stitch in which loops of thread are placed next to each other to form the pattern (figure 1.48). Only fragments of it remain, but its colors were apparently red, blue, and a natural tan.

There is no discernable correlation between *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripe colors, weft color, center section type, *ch'uku* type, and *silku* type within or between the categories of blue and pink-red striped *isallu*. However, there are similarities in the color schemes of the wide and center stripes as well as other compositional elements. Blue-striped *isallu* have a more standardized color scheme than pink-red and are split roughly evenly between two and three wide stripes; ten have two stripes (cat. nos. 51, 57, 59, 60, 62, 69, 70, 83, 85, and 87) and thirteen have three (cat. nos. 52, 56, 61, 63, 64, 66, 67, 71, 76, 79, 80, 81, and 84). All have pink-red center sections and two lateral stripes, with two exceptions (cat. nos. 64 and 81). The majority have lateral stripes of two different shades of red or pink, sixteen out of twenty-three examples (cat. nos. 51, 52, 59, 60, 61, 63, 67, 69-71, 76, 79, 80, 84, 85, and 87). Out of the remaining seven, one has pink and purple (cat. no. 56); two have red and purple (cat. nos. 57 and 62); one has red and white (cat. no. 66); one has red and peach (cat. no. 80); and one has red and blue (cat. no. 83). The two exceptions have three lateral stripes in three different colors: one has red, blue, and green (cat. no. 64) and one has pink, yellow/light purple, and light purple (cat. no. 81). Although blue wide-stripe *isallu* feature two narrow stripes at the center of each wide stripe (with one exception) there is considerable variation in the color. The stripes can be the color of the center section, one of the lateral stripes, the *pampa*, or, in one case, a

brown found only on the *pampa* lateral stripes (cat. no. 84). The exception has three narrow stripes, white flanked on either side by red (cat. no. 66).

Pink-red wide-stripe *isallu* have either a center section of the same color as the wide stripes (cat. nos. 53, 54, 55, 58, 68, 74, 75, and 82), or *k'uthu* (cat. nos. 77 and 78). They also have three wide stripes (cat. nos. 53-55, 58, 74, 75, 77, 78, and 82), with one exception which has two (cat. no. 68). They have two narrow stripes within the wide stripes with one exception. Four have light pink stripes (cat. nos. 54, 55, 58, 75), two have blue (cat. nos. 77 and 78), one has purple (cat. no. 53), one has silver-wrapped thread (cat. no. 68), and one has pink (cat. no. 82). The exception has an arrangement of a pink stripe flanked by a purple one on each side (cat. no. 74).

The three alternating-wide-stripe *isallu* have little in common. Cat. no. 73 has two narrow stripes at the center of each wide stripe and cat. nos. 72 and 86 have three. Cat. nos. 72 and 86 have *k'uthu* centers; *ch'ulla k'uthu* in cat. no. 72 and *paris k'uthu* in cat. no. 86. Cat. no. 73 has red and blue narrow stripes in its center section. Cat. no. 72 has pink *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes and either two yellow and one red or two yellow and one blue depending on the color of the wide stripe (blue in red stripes and red in blue). Cat. no. 73 has tan *pampas* and *pampa* lateral stripes and two lateral stripes of red and blue. Cat. no. 86 has dark purple *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes and, like cat. no. 72, three lateral stripes of red, yellow, and blue.

Provenance

The majority of wide-stripe *isallu* were made in the Province of Pacajes, part of the modern Department of La Paz in Bolivia (cat. nos. 51, 55-57, 59, 60, 62, 63, 68-70, 82-85, and 87, figure 1.49). The second highest number were produced within the Departments of Oruro or Potosí (cat. nos. 54, 58, 64, 67, 74, 75, and 79). Three were made in the region of the town of Coroma in the municipality of Uyuni in the Province of Antonio Quijarro on the border between the Departments of Oruro and Potosí (cat. nos. 65, 72, and 73). Cat. nos. 71 and 76 originate from an unknown location within the Department of La Paz. Cat. no. 61 is from the municipality of Sica Sica and cat. no. 66 is from the municipality of Calamarca, both in the Province of Aroma, part of the Department of La Paz. Cat. no. 81 is from the Province of Caca Chaca and cat. no. 86 from the Province of Litoral; both provinces are part of the Department of Oruro. Regarding cat nos. 52, 53, 77, 78, and 80, it was only possible to determine their origin as an unknown location in Bolivia.

Classification

Wide-stripe *isallu* (with one possible exception), regardless of stripe color or number, can be identified as *kunkani isallu*. This type of *isallu* is defined by Bertonio as “a mantle for ceremonial occasions with three stripes in each of the two pieces.”¹²⁴ This

¹²⁴Yapita, Arnold, and Aguilar, *Los términos textiles aymaras del siglo XVII de la región Lacustre, en base al vocabulario de la lengua aymara por Ludovico Bertonio vocabulario semántico según la cadena productiva*. 90.

is the only *isallu* description he gives which specifies the number of stripes, indicating he is referring to the wide stripes which are the defining characteristic of wide-stripe *isallu*; displaying more uniform proportions and are more noticeable than the smaller stripes which appear in three-part mantles.

Although Bertonio describes *kunkani isallu* as having three wide stripes, there are enough similarities between many two and three wide-stripe *isallu* to argue that two-wide-stripe examples belong to this category as well. There is no difference in overall quality between them; two-striped examples are also woven out of high quality, well-spun and brilliantly dyed camelid fiber, and may contain silk and silver-wrapped thread. The pink-red and blue stripe color schemes can be used in either the two or the three wide-stripe composition. Apart from stripe number, the only other feature which differentiates the two groups the variation of *ch'uku*; all two-wide-stripe *isallu* are woven in the *ch'iñi layra* selected warp pattern.

The most probable reason for the difference in stripe number is that two-striped *kunkani isallu* were worn by women who played the same ceremonial roles but held a slightly lesser status within the Aymara traditional hierarchy. The pink-red two-stripe *kunkani isallu* (cat. no. 68) uses the same colors as another pink-red three-striped example (cat. no. 82) and both contain silver-wrapped threads in the *ch'uku*. This theory is strengthened by the relationships between *isallu* composition and the productive agricultural and animal husbandry cycles, a topic to be discussed further in the following chapter. The difference in *ch'uku* variation could be also be regional, as all the examples

(regardless of the number of wide stripes) containing *ch'iñi layra* are from the Province of Pacajes in the Department of La Paz.

It is possible that the three-stripe *isallu* with light blue wide stripes and slightly darker blue *pampa* (cat. no. 65) was distinguished from other *kunkani isallu* as it roughly corresponds to Bertonio's description of another *isallu* substyle, the *lamarni isallu*, obtusely defined as "a mantle striped in blue from top to bottom on both sides (front and back)."¹²⁵ Cat. no. 65 is the only example with monochrome blue *pampa*, which could have been interpreted as a second series of blue stripes, especially since the *pampa* are much narrower than usual in this *isallu*, making them approximately the same width as the wide stripes. Bertonio does not reference *pampa* as opposed to stripes in any of his definitions, thus it is conceivable that if the widths were approximately the same, he might have equated them, effectively ignoring the differences between these two compositional elements. However, there is not enough evidence to positively identify cat. no. 65 as a *lamarni* as opposed to a *kunkani isallu*; therefore, the latter term will be used to identify this example.

Three-part *Isallu*

Three-part *isallu* share some of the compositional features of wide-stripe *isallu*: a *pampa*, lateral stripes, *pampa* lateral stripes, *jiksu* patterns, and supplemental *silku*. They are usually composed of a single piece of cloth, always containing a central *pampa* and

¹²⁵ Yapita, Arnold, and Aguilar. 90.

lateral sections containing a variety of monochrome stripes and *k'uthu* patterns. As in the case of wide-stripe examples, it is possible to subdivide these *isallu* into substyles according to certain of their features, here the composition of the lateral sections.

The largest group of three-part *isallu* is distinguished by their lateral sections, composed of a group of narrow stripes in a variety of colors, a section of *k'uthu*, and featuring a range of colors (cat. nos. 121-134, 137, 138, 141, 142, 145, 147, and 148, figure 1.50). These examples will be referred to as three-part narrow lateral-stripe *isallu*. Four are woven in two pieces joined by a *ch'uku*. In every case, their monochrome diagonal stitch matches the *pampa* color: two have light brown (cat. nos. 138 and 147); one has purple (cat. no. 141); and one has pink/gold (cat. no. 148).

The color and numbers of these stripes for individual examples are too variable to list. The range of colors is: red, pink, purple, dark purple, blue, dark blue, pink/brown, black, brown, yellow, tan, gold, white, and red/white. There are five possible color schemes of *k'uthu* in this substyle. The most common is *paris k'uthu* in red and yellow, present in nine examples (cat. nos. 124-129, 131, 132, 134). The next is *paris k'uthu* in pink and light pink, present in five examples (cat. nos. 137, 138, 145, 147, and 148). Two have *paris k'uthu* in red and pink (cat. nos. 122 and 142) and one has *paris k'uthu* in pink and purple (cat. no. 123). Two have *ch'ulla k'uthu* in red and yellow (cat. nos. 130 and 141). Cat. no. 121 has a similar pattern to *k'uthu, patapata*, in red and yellow. Like *k'uthu, patapata* consists of alternating rows of color; however, unlike *k'uthu*, the color of a given row is the same across all columns or sections (figure 1.51).

Pampa color schemes are diverse as well. Ten examples are monochromatic: five have brown (cat. nos. 122, 127, 128, 137, 147); one has tan (cat. no. 123); one has purple (cat. no. 130); one has maroon (cat. no. 131); one has light brown (cat. no. 138); and one has blue (cat. no. 142). Five are composed of multicolored threads containing one dyed and one undyed thread: one has blue/brown (cat. no. 124); one has red/brown (cat. no. 125); one has purple/brown (cat. no. 129); one has pink/brown (cat. no. 134); and one has blue/gray (cat. no. 145). Four have a pattern of multicolored warps alternating with monochromatic warps: one has purple/pink and purple (cat. no. 121); one has red/brown and brown (cat. no. 126); one has pink/brown and brown (cat. no. 133); and one has dark purple/brown and purple (cat. no. 141). Finally, one has multicolored thread in two dyed colors, dark blue/black overdyed (cat. no. 132).

Out of twenty examples, nineteen have identifiable *pampa* lateral stripes; however, in cat. no. 148, these are hidden under *silku*. Eleven examples have stripes the same color as the center *pampa*: four have brown (cat. nos. 127, 128, 137, and 147); one has purple (cat. no. 130); one has tan (cat. no. 123); one has blue (cat. no. 142); one has maroon (cat. no. 131); one has pink/brown (cat. no. 134); one has blue/brown (cat. no. 124); and one has dark blue/black overdyed (cat. no. 132). Four examples have only one of the colors present in the *pampa*: two have the brown from the red/brown *pampa* (cat. nos. 125 and 126); one has the brown from a pink/brown *pampa* (cat. no. 133); and one has the dark purple/brown from a *pampa* of dark purple/brown and purple warps (cat. no. 141). Four contain a color not present in the *pampa*: one has pink/purple and pink/brown in contrast to a pink/purple and purple *pampa* (cat. no. 121); one has blue/brown in contrast to a purple/brown *pampa* (cat. no. 129); one has brown in contrast to a blue/gray

pampa (cat. no. 145); and one has blue/black overdyed in contrast to a light brown *pampa* (cat. no. 138).

A second group of three-part *isallu* (cat. nos. 110-120 and 151) are distinguished by an arrangement of three wide stripes, either two red and one yellow or two pink and one yellow, followed by lateral sections of pink and light pink (figure 1.52). These twelve will be referred to as pink-red lateral-stripe *isallu* due to the color of two of the wide stripes (either red or pink) and the pink of the lateral sections. Eight examples have red and yellow wide stripes (cat. nos. 110-112 and 115-119); three examples have pink and yellow (cat. nos. 113, 114, and 120); and one has one stripe of a slightly lighter pink than the other, coupled with the yellow stripe (cat. no. 151). The majority have alternating sections of left and right-ply thread in their lateral sections (cat. nos. 110-115 and 117-119). Six examples (cat. nos. 110-112 and 117-119) have a difference in shade between the left-ply and right-ply threads, light pink for the former and a more saturated pink for the latter. Two have narrow stripes in light pink and pink instead of the sections of thread plyed in alternate directions (cat. nos. 116 and 151), and one has *paris k'uthu* in the same shades (cat. no. 120).

Pink-red lateral-stripe *isallu* have a *pampa* that is woven in either undyed thread, multicolored thread composed of an undyed and dyed thread, or multicolored thread alternating with undyed warps. Three have brown (cat. nos. 110, 114, and 116); three have purple/brown (cat. nos. 115, 117, and 120); two have brown and pink/brown (cat. nos. 112 and 113); one has blue and blue/brown (cat. no. 111); one has brown and purple/brown (cat. no. 118); one has pink/brown (cat. no. 119); and one has light blue

and brown (cat. no. 151). In four examples, the colors of their *pampa* lateral stripes are identical to the color of the *pampa* (cat. nos. 110, 116, 115, and 120). In four other examples, they are one of the colors of the multicolored threads seen in the *pampa*: three have brown (cat. nos. 113, 114 and 119); and one has blue (cat. no. 111). In two examples, the *pampa* lateral stripes are the same multicolored thread seen in the *pampa* but without the additional brown warps: one has pink/brown (cat. no. 112) and one has purple/brown (cat. no. 118). In cat. no. 117, the stripe in the location of the *pampa* lateral stripe is a light blue seen nowhere else in the *isallu*. The *pampa* lateral stripes were not recorded for cat. no. 151.

Four three-part *isallu* (cat. nos. 135, 136, 143, and 144) can be distinguished by the presence of four wide lateral stripes of red, yellow, and purple which separate the *pampa* from the rest of the lateral section; thus, they will be referred to as three-part wide lateral-stripe *isallu* (figure 1.53). All four also have *paris k'uthu* in red and yellow at the end of the lateral sections. They have a variety of *pampa* colors: two have tan (cat. nos. 135 and 144); one has blue/gray (cat. no. 143); and one has tan and pink/tan (cat. no. 136). The lateral sections all contain nature brown in some form: three examples (cat. nos. 135, 143, and 144) have lateral sections of a shade of natural brown; one has small stripes of red/brown warps in left-plied thread alternating with brown right-plied thread adjacent to the *paris k'uthu* (cat. no. 143); and one has alternating brown left and right-plied sections (cat. no. 144). Cat. no. 136 has lateral sections composed of alternating stripes of red/brown and dark brown warps. The *pampa* lateral stripes of cat. nos. 143 and 144 are the same as the *pampas*, those in cat. no. 135 the same as the lateral sections, and those in cat. no. 136 brown the same shade as in the red/brown warps.

Three three-part *isallu* are distinct from these styles, as well as from each other, thus their compositions will be considered individually (cat. nos. 98, 149, and 150). Cat. no. 98 is composed of two *khallus* joined by a light brown diagonal stitch *ch'uku* and woven of various colors of undyed fiber. The *pampa* is light brown and the two lateral sections to either side of it are a mottled gray/brown terminating in *patapata* of natural white and black. Cat. no. 149 is also composed of two *khallu* joined by a diagonal stitch *ch'uku*, in this case light pink with historical repairs in neon pink polyester thread in the center. It has the composition of narrow lateral-stripe *isallu*, including the red, pink, purple, and white narrow stripes present in cat. nos. 125-127, 129, 131, 132, and 134. However, it is unusual in the presence of a stripe of selected warp pattern in purple and white bordered by a very narrow yellow stripe on each side instead of *k'uthu*. The *pampa* is a pattern of brown and pink warps and the *pampa* lateral stripes are brown. Cat. no. 150 is unusual in that the sections of lateral stripes are divided by a wide stripe of the same color as the *pampa* (a pattern of alternating lavender/brown and maroon/brown warps) with two stripes of red and pink to one side and a group of five stripes in pink, red, and light blue to the other. A wide section of this same pattern of multicolored threads bookends the lateral sections on each side.

The most common weft color in all three-part *isallu* substyles is brown, seen in twenty-three examples (cat. nos. 104, 103, parts of 111-113, 119, 121, 123-129, 132-135, 137, 138, 142-145, 149, and 151). Second in frequency is pink/brown multicolored thread, seen in ten examples (part of cat. no. 111, cat. nos. 114, 115, 117, 118, 130, 131, 141, 148, and 150). Third are other variations of multicolored thread: one has pink/blue (cat. no. 110); one has red/brown (cat. no. 116); one has blue/brown (cat. no. 120); and

one has orange/brown (cat. no. 122). Two examples have other natural colors: one has a mottled brown/white (cat. no. 98); and one has tan (cat. no. 136). It was impossible to observe the weft of cat. no. 147 due to unsatisfactory viewing circumstances.

As in the case of *kunkani isallu*, many (twenty-eight in total) are missing a *silku* or any evidence of one (cat. nos. 98, 111, 113-117, 119, 120, 122-129, 132-134, 136, 137, 143, 144, 145, 147, 150, and 151). There is evidence for some kind of *silku* containing yellow and white in cat. no. 118, but too little remains for its variation to be determined. While scarcely any remains of the *silku* of cat. no. 131, it originally had a very elaborate border, perhaps sewn, on unlike other variations of *silku*. The variations among the remaining fifteen are *pit'akipata*, *sawukipata*, and wrap stitch, with the addition of a variation on *pit'akipata* not seen in *kunkani isallu*. In general, they have only a single variation of *silku*. Nine examples have *sawukipata*: one in light blue silk and silver thread (cat. no. 110); one in light blue (cat. no. 112); and one in yellow with pink/brown weft (cat. no. 141). Cat. no. 142 has remnants of brown wefts, but the warp color is unknown. Three are woven in the *ojo de liendre* pattern: one in purple/brown, pink, white and yellow (cat. no. 138); one in yellow, gold, pink, and white (cat. no. 148); and one in white, red, yellow, and blue (cat. no. 149).

Three examples have a combination of different variations and a variation I have dubbed Inka-style *pit'akipata* (cat. nos. 121, 130, and 135). Similar to Inka-style diagonal stitch *ch'uku*, Inka-style *pit'akipata* is composed of alternating monochromatic sections of stitching with sections composed of red and yellow threads. Cat. no. 121 has a variation on the Inka-style on its four corners: monochrome sections of white, yellow,

red, pink, purple, and blue are combined with sections of alternating yellow and red single threads, yellow and purple single threads, and blue and white single threads. On the top and bottom (stretching the width of the *pampa*) and in the spaces between the *pit'akipata* sections on the sides, fragments of the type of wrap-stitch pattern seen in wide-stripe cat. no. 64, in purple, red, white, and yellow remain. Loops of white thread are also worked into the *pit'akipata* on the corners. Cat. no. 130 also contains two variations divided in the same way, but with a different color scheme; like cat. no. 121, the corners feature Inka-style *pit'akipata* with red, purple, pink and yellow monochromatic sections, while the top, bottom and sides display regular *pit'akipata*. However, in cat. no. 130, the *pit'akipata* on the bottom alternates red and yellow single threads whereas that on the sides contains only monochrome pink. Cat. no. 135 has an almost identical composition to cat. no. 130, the only difference being red rather than pink *pit'akipata* on the two sides.

Provenance

In contrast to *kunkani isallus*, the majority of three-part *isallus* originate from the Departments of Oruro or Potosí (cat. nos. 114, 115, 116, 118, 119, 120, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 131, 133, 134, 137, 143, 144, 145, 148, and 151). Six (cat. nos. 111, 117, 121, 124, 135, and 136) are from the Department of Oruro while three (cat. nos. 110, 112, and 113) are from the Department of Potosí. Cat. no 149 is from the municipality of Pocoata in the province of Chayanta in the Department of Potosí. Cat. no. 150 is from the province of Pacajes. Cat. nos. 132 and 147 are from the Ubinas District in the General

Sánchez Cerro province of the Department of Moquegua in Perú (figure 1.54). The origin of cat. nos. 141 and 142 could only be narrowed down as far as the northern Altiplano regions of Bolivia, and that of cat. nos. 98, 122, 123, and 130 to the country in general. The provenance of cat. no. 138 is unknown.

Classification

Unfortunately, apart from a single example, it is not possible to match the various three-part *isallu* with any mantles identified by Bertonio apart from cat. no. 98. He defines the word *qura isallu* as referring to mantles which were undyed and cat. no. 98 matches this description as it is woven out of undyed thread.¹²⁶

Common Features of *Kunkani* and Three-part *Isallu*

Several elements play important roles in the composition of all *isallu*. These involve special threads: the multi-directional ply technique of *ll'uque*, the previously mentioned multicolored threads (whose proper term is *lluq'ita ch'ankha*), silk thread (called *seda ch'ankha*, an Aymara term invented with the arrival of this material), and thread made of silver wire wrapped around a silk or cotton core. *Ll'uque* is the technique of placing sections of threads plied in alternating directions adjacent to each other. There is no verb recorded by Bertonio for the action of weaving cloth with right and left-plied thread, nor does he supply a noun for these specific sections within a textile. There are

¹²⁶Yapita, Arnold, and Aguilar, *Los términos textiles aymaras del siglo XVII de la región Lacustre, en base al vocabulario de la lengua aymara por Ludovico Bertonio vocabulario semántico según la cadena productiva*. 90.

verbs which describe the act of placing something to the left (*ch'qatuqirchaña*), the state of being to the left (*ch'iqa tuqinkaña* and *ch'iqaxankaña*) and the state of being to the right (*kupituqinkaña*).¹²⁷ There are also adjectives to describe something positioned to either the left (*ch'iqa*) or the right (*kupi*) of a central point, as well as nouns for the left (*ch'iqa tuqi*) and right sides of a given object (*kupi tuqi*).¹²⁸ However, there is a word in contemporary Quechua, *lloq'e pañamanta* (recorded by anthropologist Gail Silverman) which combines the words for "left" and "right" with the suffix for "from." Therefore, due to the lack of a clear Aymara word which identifies the use of left- and right-plied thread together, the essence of the technique, I have elected to retain the Quechua origin word used in the earliest literature on Aymara textiles and also by Arnold and Espejo, *lloque*, modified to correspond with the official Roman alphabetic spelling for Aymara, *ll'uque*.¹²⁹

There are three different ways *ll'uque* is employed in *isallu*. The most common comprises groups of alternating stripes of left-plied or counter clockwise threads and right-plied or clockwise threads of approximately the same size. This creates a smooth texture (figure 1.55). The second is the alternation of single left and right-plied threads, which creates a rougher texture and the impression of rows of horizontal wavy lines (figure 1.56). Finally, in rare cases, sections of left-plied threads are found in the lateral and pampa lateral stripes of *kunkani* and three-part *isallu* and the narrow stripes within the wide stripes of *kunkani isallu*. Although there is no recorded name for the

¹²⁷ Yapita, Arnold, and Aguilar. 47.

¹²⁸ Yapita, Arnold, and Aguilar. 47.

¹²⁹ Adelson and Tracht, *Aymara Weavings*. 43. Arnold and Espejo, *Ciencia de tejer en Los Andes*. See figure 114, page 150.

arrangement of individual left- and right-ply threads (hereafter referred to as the 1 left/1 right pattern), it is possible to identify the word used for the alternation of groups of them. Bertonio mentions one type of male mantle, *k'ili llaquta*, which he defines as "1. mantle woven like a spine of a fish. 2. mantle containing sections worked like the spine of a fish."¹³⁰ The only design feature which fits this description is the *ll'uque* pattern in which groups of left and right-ply threads are alternated, which does resemble the backbone of a fish with the attached ribs. *K'ili* is also the noun used by the Aymara for a fish or any other vertebrate backbone.¹³¹ While this is commonly referred to as the arrowhead or chevron pattern in current literature, given this evidence, I believe it is more culturally appropriate to name this variation of *ll'uque* the "backbone pattern."

Out of seventy *isallu*, forty-six examples contain the technique in some form (cat. nos. 51, 55-60, 62-71, 74-76, 79, 80, 82-85, 87, 110-115, 117-121, 123, 125, 132, 134, 137, 141-144, and 148). Seventeen kunkani *isallu* have the backbone pattern in the final *pampa* and in the *pampa* lateral stripes within each half (cat. nos. 56, 57, 59, 60, 62-65, 68-71, 74, 80, 83, 85, and 87). Three examples have the backbone pattern only in the final *pampa* (cat. nos. 58, 75, and 79). Four examples contain the 1 left/1 right pattern: two in both the final *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes (cat. nos. 51 and 76), one in the *pampa* lateral stripes (cat. no. 84), and one in the final *pampa* (cat. no. 67). Cat. no. 55, in addition to having the backbone pattern in the final *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes, features left-ply thread in the light pink narrow stripes at the center of each wide stripe

¹³⁰ Yapita, Arnold, and Aguilar, *Los términos textiles aymaras del siglo XVII de la región Lacustre, en base al vocabulario de la lengua aymara por Ludovico Bertonio vocabulario semántico según la cadena productiva*. 19.

¹³¹ Ludovico Bertonio, *Vocabulario de la lengua Aymara*. 674.

and the light pink lateral stripes. Cat. no. 82 has left-plied thread in the light pink narrow stripes, a combination of left-plied thread and 1 left/1 right pattern in one pink lateral stripe with its counterpart in the opposing half composed entirely of left-plied thread. Two have *pampa* lateral stripes composed only of right-plied thread (cat. nos. 58 and 66). Thirteen three-part *isallu* have the backbone pattern in some part of the lateral stripes (cat. nos. 110-115, 117-119, 125, 132, 141, 142, and 144) and cat. no. 143 has the backbone pattern in the lateral stripes and *pampa* lateral stripes. There is left-plied thread in the *k'uthu* sections in three examples (cat. nos. 120, 137, and 148) and in the *pampa* lateral stripes of two (cat. nos. 123 and 134). Finally, cat. no. 121 has the backbone pattern in the pink lateral sections and left-plied pink stripes between the two sections of *patapata*.

Lluq'ita ch'ankha is defined by Bertonio as "a cord or string of two threads of different colors."¹³² He does not provide a verb for production of this thread or words for garments woven with it. Currently, this technique is called *ch'imi* in the scholarship on historical textiles from Aymara *warami* and contemporary weaving practices; however, Arnold and Espejo state that this term in both contemporary Quechua and Aymara is used to describe all techniques used to create an interplay of color (*ll'uque* included).¹³³ Therefore, I have elected to use the term *lluq'ita ch'ankha* due to *ch'imi*'s overly broad application in contemporary technical literature, this term's absence in Colonial period sources, and the discontinuation of the technique after the late nineteenth century.

¹³² Yapita, Arnold, and Aguilar, *Los términos textiles aymaras del siglo XVII de la región Lacustre, en base al vocabulario de la lengua aymara por Ludovico Bertonio vocabulario semántico según la cadena productiva*. 49.

¹³³ Adelson and Tracht, *Aymara Weavings*. 43. Arnold and Espejo, *Ciencia de tejer en Los Andes*. 145-151.

Lluq'ita ch'ankha appears in almost every part of *kunkani* and three-part *isallu*.

There are only two places it is never employed: the wide/narrow stripe combinations and the center wide stripes of *kunkani isallu* (excepting the *k'uthu*). The full color range of *lluq'ita ch'ankha* is too diverse to enumerate; however, the thread combinations of pink/brown, pink/tan, and purple/brown are the most common. It is a near ubiquitous design element, present in fifty-three examples out of seventy (cat. nos. 52-55, 57, 59, 60, 62, 66, 68-70, 74, 75, 78, 80, 81-83, 85-87, 110-122, 124-126, 129-134, 136-138, 141, 143, 145, 147, 148, and 150).

Aymara weavers also used other *ch'imi* techniques to create a mottled or multicolored texture in their work, usually by alternating warps of different colors. Seventeen examples have a *ch'imi* pattern either with a *lluq'ita ch'ankha* thread and monochrome warps, combinations of two different monochromatic warps, or two different *lluq'ita ch'ankha* threads (cat. nos. 53, 66, 81, 111-113, 118, 119, 121, 126, 133, 136, 141, and 148-151). The most frequent combination is *lluq'ita ch'ankha* with undyed warps in the *pampa*: four examples have brown and pink/brown (cat. nos. 112, 113, 119, and 133); two have brown and purple/brown (cat. nos. 53 and 118), one has brown and red/brown (cat. no. 126), and one has tan and tan/pink (cat. no. 136). Less common is *lluq'ita ch'ankha* with a dyed warp in the *pampa*: one has blue and blue/brown (cat. no. 111), one has purple and purple/pink (cat. no. 121), and one has purple and dark purple/brown (cat. no. 141). Three have combinations of monochromatic warps in the *pampa*; two have pink and brown (cat. nos. 81 and 149) while one has light blue and brown (cat. no. 151). Two others have a unique format: cat. no. 148 has gold/brown and pink/gold in the *pampa*; cat. no. 150 has brown, lavender/brown, and maroon/brown in

the *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes. Finally, one of the *pampa* variations in cat. no. 66 is an alternation of dark purple and purple/black overdyed.

Silk and silver-wrapped threads appear in five different locations within *kunkani* and three-part *isallu*. Three examples contain silk heading cords: cat. no. 55 (a pink-red three-striped *kunkani isallu*), cat. no. 110 (a three-part wide lateral-stripe *isallu*) and cat. no. 141 (a three-part narrow lateral-stripe *isallu*). Three examples have at least one of these materials as part of the *silku*: cat. no. 82 (a pink-red three-striped *kunkani isallu*) has silver-wrapped thread in the remnants of its *pit'akipata*; cat. no. 110 has remnants of *sawukipata* woven in light blue silk and silver-wrapped thread; and cat. no. 131 has the remains of a very remarkable border. First, lengths of running stitches in peach silk run along the top and bottom edges and around the corners. Second, in some places fragments of silver-wrapped thread are held in place by these stitches as well as by longer white and yellow silk threads. Third, on the bottom corners are the remains of loops of white coiled thread (material unknown) held in place by the peach silk stitches, along with a section of peach and yellow silk and silver-wrapped thread woven together (but not wrapping around the edges like a *silku*). Cat. nos. 68 and 82 (pink-red two-striped and pink-red three-striped *kunkani isallu* respectively) contain silver-wrapped thread in the *paris k'uthu*. Both examples also contain silver-wrapped thread as part of their *ch'uku*: cat. no. 68 contains silver-wrapped thread as part of the *ch'iñi layra ch'uku* and cat. no. 82 has silver-wrapped thread as part of the alternating diagonal stitch. Finally, silver-wrapped thread composes the narrow stripes within the wide stripes of cat. no. 68.

Qhawa

I examined forty-two full size and miniature examples of men's *qhawa* (cat. nos. 1-7, 9-14, 16, 18, 19, 20-22, 24-35, 37-42, 45, 46, 48, and 50). This is a considerably smaller corpus than *isallu*, which may be due to the banning of *qhawa* in 1781 CE by royal decree from King Charles III and their gradual replacement with ponchos for daily wear.¹³⁴ The majority of the *qhawa* I examined were complete: only two are in a fragmentary condition but enough remains to determine the majority of their features (cat. nos. 38 and 39). *Qhawa* share a common format: they are composed of either one or two pieces of four-selvedge cloth sewn up the sides with a neck hole called a *q'awtata* and armholes called *luqusu* (figure 1.22).¹³⁵ As previously stated, the majority of *qhawa* are composed of a single piece. Only five out of the forty-two are the two-piece type and contain a central *ch'uku* (cat. nos. 28, 30, 46, 48, and 49). All originally had a type of *silku* on the bottom edge, as well as around the *q'awtata* and *luqusu*; however, as in the case of *isallu*, many extant *qhawa* are missing these elements due to age and wear. Sixteen examples contain slits or evidence of them; the *ch'uku* does not extend all the way down the sides or there are remains of *silku* on the bottom of the sides (cat. nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 10, 11, 14, 16, 20, 21, 22, 25, 27, 42, and 48).

Almost all the *qhawa* in this corpus are woven in warp-faced techniques; however, there is a single extant Aymara men's *qhawa* woven in tapestry (cat. no. 37). Its

¹³⁴ Phipps, "Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes." 27.

¹³⁵ Yapita, Arnold, and Aguilar, *Los términos textiles aymaras del siglo XVII de la región Lacustre, en base al vocabulario de la lengua aymara por Ludovico Bertonio vocabulario semántico según la cadena productiva*. 72.

composition indicates that it was created for an Inka provincial official. This *qhawa* is very similar to the *unku* identified with the Inka military, which are composed of rows of small black and white squares with a red triangular section around the neck slit.¹³⁶ The Aymara version is also composed of small squares but lacks the red stepped triangular yoke and has two different color schemes (black and white on the top half and red and yellow on the bottom). Despite the differences, the strong association between tapestry checkered garments and the Inka indicates that this *qhawa* was made for a man who had an official role, perhaps in the military, under the Inka rather than one within the local political hierarchy. Bertonio identifies *quchusu qhawa* as garments of Aymara leaders or *malku* which could be woven of *qumbi*, indicating a tapestry technique and a possible identification for this *qhawa*.¹³⁷ However, the lack of further detail in the definition of *quchusu qhawa* makes it currently impossible to positively identify cat. no. 37 as this substyle.

Another example in the corpus of the present study is woven in a special, more complex warp-faced technique called discontinuous warp (cat. no. 32). In this technique, during the weaving process two or more sets of warps are wrapped interchangeably around scaffold threads tied at various intervals along the length of the loom (figure 1.57). This allows the weaver to change the color of the warps at a certain point while still weaving a continuous cloth. In cat. no. 32, the final two stripe sequences on either

¹³⁶ Elena Phipps, "Miniature Tunic (Uncu) with Checkerboard Design (Cat. No. 12)," in *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, ed. Elena Phipps, Johanna Hecht, and Cristina Esteras Martin (New York; New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Yale University Press, 2004), 141–43.

¹³⁷ Yapita, Arnold, and Aguilar, *Los términos textiles aymaras del siglo XVII de la región Lacustre, en base al vocabulario de la lengua aymara por Ludovico Bertonio vocabulario semántico según la cadena productiva*. 91.

side of the center field are different colors on the front and back faces of the *qhawa*. The color change occurs at the shoulder fold, with the red stripes changing to blue and vice versa. Another extant fragment of a discontinuous warp *qhawa* (cat. no. 160*) indicates that this technique, while not common, is not strictly unique.

Unlike *isallu*, which were not significantly modified through the centuries, many men's *qhawa* have had their side *ch'uku* opened at some point prior to their incorporation into museum and private collections. This may have been done for several reasons. One, the wearer may have wished to re-purpose the *qhawa* as a poncho (which is essentially a *qhawa* with no side *ch'uku*) either during or after the Colonial period. Two, the seams may have become so dilapidated through multigenerational use that they were removed altogether to allow for continual ritual use into the late twentieth century. In many cases, the approximate age of the garment and evidence of slits (either original or the result of a partial opening of the side *ch'uku*) makes it possible to determine that it was originally a *qhawa*. I will use the term "open *qhawa*" to distinguish these examples (cat. nos. 6, 7, 9, 10, 13, 18, 19, 35, and 38-42). Although some open *qhawas* are short, there are also short *qhawas* which have complete side *ch'uku*, including one which dates to the Early Intermediate Period (cat. no. 31). Thus, size does not determine whether a garment was a *qhawa* or was originally intended as a poncho. There are five examples which have complete *silku* on the sides as well as the bottom, eliminating the *luqusu* (cat. nos. 8, 15, 43, 44, and 47). These must be considered as originally conceived as ponchos. Therefore, they will be removed from the following discussion of the main features of *qhawa*; however, they will be analyzed in detail in the next chapter because these similarities provide crucial evidence for the interpretation of *qhawa* function and significance in

general. My analysis of *qhawa* reveals that they can be differentiated by the arrangement and size of stripes and the presence or absence of bilateral symmetry. There appear to be four possible formats, which I have divided into four different substyles.

Continuous-striped *qhawa* composed of a series of stripes in a repeating pattern across the body of the garment. In several examples, the central stripe is slightly larger than those to either side. Twelve of the forty-two are continuous-striped (cat. nos. 1, 18-20, 28, 30, 33, 34, 38-40, and 46) and four have the slightly wider center stripe (cat. nos. 1, 20, 34, and 46). The size and arrangement of stripes within the continuous-striped style varies: four only have wide stripes (cat. nos. 1, 20, 33, and 34); two have wide stripes alternating with sections of comparatively narrower stripes in several colors (cat. nos. 46 and 28); four have narrow stripes of selected warp patterns which alternate with monochrome wide stripes (cat. nos. 19, 38, 39, and 40); one has narrow stripes (sometimes called “pinstripes” in current scholarship) in four colors (cat. no. 18); and finally, one is composed of red stripes with a narrow yellow stripe down their centers which alternate with wider natural cream-colored stripes (cat. no. 30).

Striped *saya qhawa* have a bilaterally symmetric composition with a center section or *saya* composed of multicolored stripes of different sizes and lateral sections that are either monochrome or contain narrow stripes (figure 1.58). Fourteen examples out of the corpus are the striped *saya* style (cat. nos. 2, 3, 5-7, 9, 10, 12, 16, 25-27, 29, and 50). There are numerous variations on the color and number of stripes within the *saya* and the lateral sections. The most common combination is a *saya* containing narrow stripes of different colors and monochrome lateral sections. There are nine of these (cat.

nos. 2, 5-7, 9, 10, 16, 25, and 27). Furthermore, there are two examples which contain *saya* with both wide and narrow stripes: cat. no. 50 has groups of narrow stripes divided by slightly wider ones and cat. no. 3 has wide stripes divided by narrow stripes of contrasting colors. A third has groups of narrow stripes divided by single narrow stripes of a contrasting color (cat. no. 26). Two contain stripes in the lateral sections as well as the *saya*. Those of cat. no. 12 have narrow stripes of different shades of the same color. Those of cat. no. 29 have the same basic stripe arrangement as the *saya* (wide stripes divided by small groups of narrow ones) in its lateral sections, but in a different color scheme: the *saya* contains pink wide stripes alternating with narrow stripes of dark blue, white, or pink, while the lateral stripes contain yellow wide stripes alternating with dark purple and yellow narrow stripes.

Monochrome *saya qhawa* are composed of a *saya* woven out of monochrome or *lluq'ita ch'ankha* warps and lateral sections that are either monochrome or contain narrow stripes (figure 1.59). Ten examples have this format (cat. nos. 4, 13, 14, 17, 22, 24, 32, 35, 42, and 45). Six examples have arrangements of stripes (either of different colors or two shades of the same color) in the lateral sections (cat. nos. 17, 22, 24, 32, 42, 45, and 47) and four have monochrome lateral sections (cat. nos. 4, 13, 14, and 35).

Monochrome is the simplest style, as the *qhawa* is composed entirely of monochrome or *lluq'ita ch'ankha* warps. This is the least common type, encompassing only five examples (cat. nos. 11, 21, 31, 41, and 48).

Classification

It is possible to match these *qhawa* styles (with three exceptions) to five of the twelve named by Bertonio: *p'ita qhawa/apita qhawa*, *panti qhawa*, *qura qulini qhawa*, *qulini qhawa*, and *suku suku qhawa*. From the definitions of these styles, it is clear the Aymara used color and the presence of patterning to further distinguish between certain continuous-striped and monochrome examples. In addition, an examination of other nouns and adjectives in the dictionary used to describe parts of *qhawa* composition indicates that Bertonio may have overlooked a distinction the Aymara made between *qhawa* with or without bilateral symmetry. When this distinction is taken into account, the term *qulini qhawa* can be linked with both striped *saya* and monochrome *saya qhawa* and *suku suku qhawa* to continuous-striped *qhawa*.

The only monochrome *qhawa* explicitly defined is *panti qhawa*, described as “Red or purple qhawa,” which matches the composition of cat. nos. 21 and 41. *P'ita/apita qhawa*, hereafter referred to as *apita qhawa*, is defined as “1. qhawa woven with various colors of birds, flowers, etc. 2. qhawa woven in this way (with various colors and things woven into the textile), in stripes which run from top to bottom and do not extend beyond five locations.¹³⁸ The phrase “woven in the colors of flowers and birds,” as well as the word *labores* (whose nearest English equivalent is something woven within the textile requiring more work than another portion) likely refer to selected warp-faced patterns arranged in stripes, such as those seen in cat. nos. 19, and

¹³⁸ “labores,” WordReference.com, Diccionario Español, accessed February 12, 2019, <http://www.wordreference.com/definicion/labores>. “solar,” WordReference.com, Diccionario Español, accessed February 12, 2019, <http://www.wordreference.com/definicion/solar>. Rita Clavijo, personal communication.

38-40. Although it is not explicitly stated that there are *designs* of flowers and birds, other words in the dictionary for specific colors are used for actual objects and their colors such as flowers, plants, egg yokes, and coral.¹³⁹ This double meaning indicating that the color of an object could be used as a shorthand for the thing itself, thus the phrase “colors of flowers and birds” was used to refer their images. The use of the term *labores* also indicates the presence of designs; it is part of the definition for *qumpita isi*, alongside an explicit reference to the presence of figural designs in these garments.¹⁴⁰ These designs also involve the use of more complex and laborious warp weaving techniques than the other monochrome sections of the garment. The number of design stripes also matches the four extant *qhawas*; none have more than five. Based on this evidence, it can be reasonably assumed that these four are *apita qhawa*.

Matching continuous-striped, striped *saya*, and monochrome *saya* styles with ones listed by Bertonio is more difficult. He provides three terms which contain the word “stripe” as part of the definition. The first is *qulini qhawa* which is defined as “a striped *qhawa*.” The second is *suku suku qhawa* defined as “Qhawa striped from top to bottom with stripes of various colors.”¹⁴¹ The third, *qura qulini qhawa* is “1. Qhawas with stripes of diverse natural colors. 2. Qhawa striped in the seams of different colors.”¹⁴² The “striped seams” can be reasonably identified as *qhawas* with banded or Inka style

¹³⁹ Yapita, Arnold, and Aguilar, *Los términos textiles aymaras del siglo XVII de la región Lacustre, en base al vocabulario de la lengua aymara por Ludovico Bertonio vocabulario semántico según la cadena productiva*. 54, 55.

¹⁴⁰ Yapita, Arnold, and Aguilar. 58.

¹⁴¹ Yapita, Arnold, and Aguilar. 92.

¹⁴² Yapita, Arnold, and Aguilar. 91.

diagonal *ch'uku* (present in cat. nos. 1-3, 5, 12, 16, 20-22, 25-27, 31-33, 45, 48, and 50, and the bi-chrome *ch'uku* of cat. no. 11).

The generality of these terms is at odds with the diversity of stripe arrangements in extant garments and other words indicate that the bilateral symmetry central to several of them was glossed over by Bertonio. The word *quli* is defined as “the stripes on the sides of the *qhawa*” or as located “por dos lados.”¹⁴³ “*Por dos lados*,” (literally “on two sides” or “on either side”) in both seventeenth century and contemporary Spanish, is a phrase used to describe things located to either side of something else. These two definitions of *quli* imply the presence of two compositional requirements: a distinct center point for the stripes to be oriented around, and that those stripes “on either side” are bilaterally symmetrical. All textiles woven in Aymara-speaking communities from the Late Intermediate Period to today, with the notable exception of continuous-striped *qhawa*, are bilaterally symmetrical. The importance of this compositional feature was the focus of Cereceda’s late twentieth century fieldwork in Isluga (a community located along the border between Bolivia and Chile) on *talegas* or *wayajja*, a type of agricultural storage bag used for a number of purposes throughout the year.¹⁴⁴ The significance of a *talega* is anchored in the presence of a central stripe, called the “heart” by Cereceda’s informants, which creates and defines the relationship between the two other sides of the composition, defined as the “body” of the bag.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴³ Yapita, Arnold, and Aguilar. 55, 71.

¹⁴⁴ Verónica Cereceda, “Sémiologie des tissus andins: les *talegas* d’Isluga,” *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 33, no. 5 (1978): 1017–35. 1018.

¹⁴⁵ Cereceda. 1020-1021.

The idea that Bertonio overlooked the distinction between *qhawa* with a bilaterally symmetrical composition from those with continuous stripes, is further strengthened by his description of *suku suku qhawa* as “barred or striped from top to bottom.”¹⁴⁶ This phrase demonstrates that the Jesuit was hampered in his descriptions of striped *qhawas* by his foreign perspective and lack of understanding of warp-faced weaving techniques, not used in Europe for cloth production. In the weft-faced techniques used for yardage cloth for tailored clothing, it is easy to interrupt vertical stripes, because they alone do not dictate the colors and pattern. In warp-faced textiles, it is possible, but extremely difficult, to change between vertical stripes and another pattern. This is possible with the use of scaffold threads as previously described, but the technique of discontinuous warp is relatively scarce in *qhawa* and is used simply to change the color of a stripe in the single example in the present corpus.

Describing a *qhawa* as striped from top to bottom vertically would have been antithetical to the perspective of the weaver, as the warp-faced technique produces vertical patterns by its nature. The weaver’s perspective was the common view of textiles in Andean society, since many members of a community participated in some way in the production of clothing, and observed, if not actually wove, the process from a very early age. Even patterns, which create variation in vertical stripes in *apita qhawa*, are described by contemporary weavers from the point of view of the warp selection that occurs in each horizontal pass of the weft rather than their completed figural or geometrical appearance

¹⁴⁶ Yapita, Arnold, and Aguilar, *Los términos textiles aymaras del siglo XVII de la región Lacustre, en base al vocabulario de la lengua aymara por Ludovico Bertonio vocabulario semántico según la cadena productiva*. 92.

when viewed vertically.¹⁴⁷ For these reasons, I believe the term *qulini qhawa* can be reasonably assumed to refer to those with a three-part division, a *saya* with lateral sections (cat. nos. 2, 4-7, 9, 10, 13, 14, 16, 17, 22, 24, 25, 27, 32, 35, 42, and 45) and *suku suku qhawa* to those with a single field of stripes in a continuous repetition (cat. nos. 1, 18-20, 28, 30, 33, 34, 38-40, and 46).

The definition of *qura qulini qhawa* expands the category of bilaterally symmetrical striped *qhawas* to two substyles, those with stripes of natural, undyed threads and those with multicolored *ch'uku*. The adjective *qura* makes the application of the term to *qhawas* woven solely out of undyed fiber logical; however, the latter part of the definition seems to be contradictory. However, cat. no. 31 provides a possible explanation. This *qhawa* is woven entirely out of natural tan, but also features one of the most colorful sets of *ch'uku* out of the *qhawa* corpus, sewn in bands of five colors: pink, red, tan, blue, white, and yellow. They are bilaterally symmetrical in relation to the “body” of the *qhawa* itself and give the garment its shape and allow it to function as covering for the upper body. Side seams are an important element in the bilateral composition of the *talega* analyzed by Cereceda; external side seams allowed the entire body of the textile to be seen and formed the boundaries for the relationships between the different components.¹⁴⁸

The term *qura qulini qhawa* thus extends the classification of “striped” to *qhawa* which do not have bilateral stripes in the body but contain them in the *ch'uku*,

¹⁴⁷ Denise Y. Arnold, Miriam de Diego, and Elvira Espejo, “On the Relation between Andean Textile Iconography and Woven Techniques,” in *Textiles, Technical Practice, and Power in the Andes*, ed. Denise Y. Arnold and Penelope Dransart (London: Archetype Publications, 2014), 283–302. 283-286.

¹⁴⁸ Cereceda, “Sémiologie des tissus andins.” 1018-1019.

demonstrating that the *ch'uku* was considered as an element of equal significance to the composition of the main textile. This term technically encompasses cat. nos. 21 and 41, which are also *panti qhawa*. It is impossible to determine from the evidence if one feature would have taken precedence over the other; however, cat. no. 32 suggests that *qura qulini qhawa* was used primarily for those which had a main body woven out of undyed fiber but contain highly colorful *ch'uku* in prestige colors. Only cat. nos. 11, 37, and 48 cannot be directly matched to types provided by Bertonio; cat. no. 37 is the tapestry-woven Inka hybrid, and cat. nos. 11 and 48 are woven entirely in monochrome blue. The lack of a term for monochrome blue *qhawa* is likely due to a regional diversity not recorded by the author.

Provenance

As in the case of *isallu*, there appears to have been a regional divide between the different styles, although for certain styles there is no clear pattern. The greatest number of *qulini qhawa* come from the Departments of Oruro or Potosí (cat. nos. 2, 5-7, 10, 16, 22, 25, and 29). The second largest number come from the Department of Moquegua in Perú (cat. nos. 3, 9, 12, and 26). Three come from the region of the town of Coroma in the municipality of Uyuni in the province of Antonio Quijarro on the border between the Departments of Oruro and Potosí in Bolivia (cat. nos. 27, 32, and 45). Cat. no. 4 comes from the Department of Oruro. Cat. no. 42 comes from the Department of La Paz or the province of Puno in the Department of Puno in Perú (neighboring regions each occupying opposite shores of Lake Titicaca, figure 1.49). Cat. no. 50 comes from the Ubinas District

in the General Sánchez Cerro province of the Department of Moquegua in Perú. Cat. no. 28 comes from the border between Chile and Bolivia (further it is described as having been found in a grave, although no other details are available figure 1.60). It was possible to narrow the location of cat. no. 14 only as far as the country of Bolivia.

In the case of the *suku suku* style, the location with the largest number of examples is the region of the town of Coroma in the municipality of Uyuni in the province of Antonio Quijarro on the border between the Departments of Oruro and Potosí (cat. nos. 1, 18, 33, and 34). Cat. no. 28 comes from the regions of Arica y Parinacota (District 15) or Tarapacá (Districts 1) of Chile, while cat. no. 46 is from the border of Chile and Bolivia (it is also recorded as having been found in a grave). It was possible to narrow the location of cat. no. 30 only as far as the country of Bolivia.

The monochrome examples are evenly divided. Cat. no. 21 is from the region around the town of Toropalca in the province of Nor Chichas in the Department of Potosí (figure 1.49). Cat. no. 31 is from the border of Chile and Bolivia (again identified as found in a grave). Cat. no. 41 is from the Department of La Paz or the province of Puno. It was possible to narrow the location of cat. no. 11 only as far as the country of Bolivia.

Apita qhawa (cat. nos. 19 and 38-40) were all made in the province of Pacajes in the Department of La Paz. Of the two examples which contain European-style figural embroidery (cat. nos. 13 and 48), cat. no. 13 comes from an unknown location in Peru and cat. no. 48 from the province of Puno. Cat. no. 37 (the tapestry hybrid) is from the region surrounding the town of Coroma in the municipality of Uyuni in the province of

Antonio Quijarro on the border between the Departments of Oruro and Potosí. The provenance of cat. no. 20 is unknown.

Qhawa Common Features

Approximately half the *qhawa* contain a feature I will call *ch'uku* lateral stripes; these are very narrow stripes at the extreme edges which were at least partially covered by the side *ch'uku*. The stripes appear in *suku suku* and *qulini qhawa*. Nineteen examples lack this feature (cat. nos. 1, 4, 11, 13, 18-21, 28, 30-34, 38, 40, 41, 46, and 48) and it is impossible to discern its presence or absence in cat. no. 2. Across the different styles, the majority of *ch'uku* lateral stripes are brown (cat. nos. 3, 5, 6, 10, 12, 14, 24, 26, 29, 35, 45, and 50) or blue (cat. nos. 9, 16, 25, 27, and 42). Four examples have *ch'uku* lateral stripes in different colors: one in blue/brown (cat. no. 7); one in green (cat. no. 17); one in red/blue (cat. no. 22); and one in light blue (cat. no. 39).

Thirty-one examples have brown weft (cat. nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9-12, 14, 16-21, 24-26, 29, 32-35, 37-39, 45, 46, and 50). Four examples have tan (cat. nos. 27, 30, 31, and 40), one has mottled brown and gray (cat. no. 4), and one has mottled tan and gray (cat. no. 28). Three examples have *lluq'ita ch'ankha* weft: one has red/blue (cat. no. 22), and two both have pink/brown (cat. nos. 41 and 42). The weft of cat. nos. 48 and 13 were not recorded due to lack of lighting in the case of the former and time constraints in the case of the latter.

Qhawa can contain one of two variations of *ch'uku*, those which close the sides and give it its form and central ones which create a garment out of two pieces of cloth. Central *ch'uku* are always sewn with a diagonal stitch in thread the same color as the surrounding stripes or *saya*. Cat. nos. 28 and 30 feature tan, cat. no. 46 dark brown, and cat. no. 48 dark blue diagonal stitching. Side *ch'uku* are more complex, appearing in variations of diagonal stitch (alternating, monochrome, Inka-style, and banded) and one instance of what I term “*tokapu* embroidery.” The banded variation is the most common, appearing in eleven examples (cat. nos. 1, 16, 20-22, 25, 27, 31-33, and 45). Banded *ch'uku* color schemes are diverse, only cat. nos. 32 and 33 share the same combination (red and blue), while the remaining nine each contain a unique combination of colors out of a possible eleven: white, tan, red, pink, light pink, yellow, green, light blue, blue, dark blue, and purple. The number of colors within a given *ch'uku* ranges from two to five. Cat. nos. 1 and 22 have the same elongated triangular stitch pattern as *isallu* cat. no. 64. Eight examples have the monochrome variation: two in pink (cat. nos. 4 and 11), two in red (cat. nos. 28 and 30), two in brown (cat. nos. 28 and 46), one in yellow (cat. no. 14), and one in blue (cat. no. 48). Five have the Inka-style diagonal stitch: two have red, yellow, pink, and purple monochrome bands (cat. nos. 2 and 5); one has green, blue, pink, and light purple (cat. no. 3); one has dark blue, pink, and yellow (cat. no. 26); and one has red, purple, and dark blue (cat. no. 50).

Cat. no. 12 is unique in that the side *ch'uku* are composed of two sections of diagonal stitches, purple in the top half and pink in the bottom. Cat. no. 43 has the “*tokapu* embroidery” style (figure 1.61); in this technique, vertical threads of a contrasting color (called supplemental warps) were inserted into the edge of the *qhawa*.

These threads were then wrapped by horizontal threads of different colors to create bands of color and geometric patterns, reminiscent of the *tokapu* found in some Inka *unku* styles. This term has been adopted from Phipp's descriptions of the technique's use on Colonial Inka-style tapestry *unku*.¹⁴⁹ When it is used as a *ch'uku*, the horizontal threads wrap around the two selvages, binding them together, in addition to the supplementary warps to either side.

Qhawa silku can be very complex, as the *q'awtata* (neck hole), *luqusu* (arm holes), bottom edge, and slits can each have a different style and/or color scheme. Three of the variations seen in *isallu* also appear in *qhawa: pit'akipata*, Inka-style *pit'akipata*, and *sawukipata*. Cat. nos. 45 and 31 also have a variation on the three-dimensional embroidery technique developed by the Nasca in the Early Intermediate Period (ca. 100-250 CE).¹⁵⁰ Also called "cross-knit loop stitch," (although it merely resembles the look of knitting) this technique involves the creation of interlocking rows of individual threads looped around a central core of thicker thread to create three dimensional forms.¹⁵¹ In the case of Nasca embroidery, threads were interlocked around the central core thread to create highly sculptural renditions of birds, spirits, plants, etc. (figure 1.62).¹⁵² In the case

¹⁴⁹ Phipp's simply uses the term "embroidery" to describe the technique as it is used in this *unku*, but notes that it is always used to create geometric "*tokapu*" patterns. I have elected to use "*tokapu* embroidery" to indicate the distinction between this wrapping technique, not used in European stitched embroidery, from the latter. Elena Phipps, "Tunic (Cat. No. 52)," in *Converging Cultures: Art and Identity in Spanish America* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996), 184. Elena Phipps, "Tunic (*Uncu*) for a Child or a Statue (Cat. No 88)," in *Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830* (New York; New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Yale University Press, 2004), 271-73.

¹⁵⁰ Alan R. Sawyer, *Early Nasca Needlework* (London: Laurence King in association with Alan Marcuson, 1997). 136-159.

¹⁵¹ Irene Emery, *The Primary Structures of Fabrics* (Washington: Textile Museum, 1980). 32, 243.

¹⁵² Mantle fragment with hummingbird border, South America, Central Andes, South Coast, Nasca, Early Intermediate Period, ca. 100-200 AD, Cotton, camelid fiber, Ex Coll. C. Clay and Virginia Aldridge, 2002.1.3, Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta, GA. Photo by Bruce M. White, 2014.

of *silku* for *qhawa*, rows of stitches create a ribbed, tubular shape which projects off the edge of the fabric.¹⁵³ Four examples have *tokapu* embroidery along the bottom selvages and the *q'awtata* (cat. nos. 13, 41, 42 and 48). When this technique is used on the bottom edge, the supplemental vertical threads cover the bottom selvedge, and when it is used on the *q'awtata*, the horizontal threads cover the side selvages of the slit.

There are three *qhawa* which contain unique variations in one or more parts of the composition. The weaver of cat. no. 1 used a wrap-stitch technique to create *silku* around the *luqusu* in a pattern of nesting purple and yellow rectangles alternating with pink, green, and yellow stitches. Cat. no. 18, an open *qhawa*, has the same elongated triangular diagonal stitch as a *silku* for the now-vanished *luqusu* used for the central *ch'uku* of cat. no. 64 and the side *ch'uku* of cat. nos. 1 and 22. Cat. no. 28 contains a wrap stitch of blue and white in which the thread is simply looped around the selvedge without interlocking (as in *pit'akipata*) on the *luqusu*. The same type of stitch is also used on the *q'awtata* in natural tan. Finally, it has an integral fringe of blue on the bottom edges, created by looping a continual length of thread around the bottom two heading cords.

As in the case of *isallu*, the identification of the variations and colors is complicated by the fragmentary nature of many *silku*. Sixteen *qhawa* have *silku* in at least one place that is currently in a fragmentary condition (cat. nos. 6, 7, 10, 16, 18, 22, 25, 27, 29, 30, 34, 35, 40-42, and 45). There is no recognizable pattern to the damage: three have damage to the *q'awtata* (cat. nos. 29, 30, and 35); cat. nos. 25 and 16 to the *luqusu*,

Rebecca Stone, "Mantle Fragments with Hummingbird Border," in *Threads of Time: Tradition and Change in Indigenous American Textiles*, 2017, <http://threads-of-time.carlos.emory.edu/items/show/33>.

¹⁵³ Emery, *The Primary Structures of Fabrics*. 32 (see figure 14) and 243.

slits, and bottom edges; cat. no. 6 has fragmentary *q'awtata* and *luqusu*; cat. no. 22 has fragmentary slits; cat. no. 34 has fragmentary *q'awtata* and bottom edges; cat. no. 40 has fragmentary *luqusu* and bottom edges; cat. no. 27 has fragmentary *luqusu* and slits; cat. no. 18 has fragmentary *q'awtata*, *luqusu*, and slits; and finally, cat. nos. 10 and 41 have fragmentary *silku* in all four places. In the case of the *q'awtata* and *luqusu*, if the fragments are identical on either side of the opening or continuous around one of the curves, it can be assumed that these colors were present throughout the garment. The number of *qhawas* which have no remaining evidence of *silku* is small, only nine out of forty-two (cat. nos. 9, 12, 17, 19, 24, 37-39, and 46). This is likely due to the fact that it was not necessary to remove it to repurpose a *qhawa* into a poncho.

Among the *qhawa* containing *pit'akipata*, *sawukipata*, or three-dimensional embroidery, the number possessing the same type of *silku* in either a whole or fragmentary condition in multiple locations is larger than those with multiple *silku* variations. Fourteen *qhawa* have the same *silku* in two or more locations (cat. nos. 2, 4, 11, 16, 20, 21, 25-27, 32-34, 45, and 50). However, the color patterns may be different according to location; for example, in cat. no. 1 the bottom edge and the slits both have *pit'akipata*, but one is composed of solely of pink and the other of pink and purple. Eleven examples contain *pit'akipata* (cat. nos. 2, 4, 16, 18, 20, 21, 25, 27, 32, 33, and 50), cat. no. 11 has only *sawukipata*, and cat. no. 45 only has three-dimensional embroidery. Nine examples contain combinations of *pit'akipata*, Inka-style *pit'akipata*, *sawukipata*, and/or three-dimensional embroidery (cat. nos. 3, 5-7, 10, 14, 30, 31, and 40). Six examples combine *pit'akipata* and Inka-style *pit'akipata* (cat. nos. 3, 5-7, 10,

and 40), two combine *pit'akipata* and *sawukipata* (cat. nos. 14 and 30), and cat. no. 31 combines *pit'akipata* and three-dimensional embroidery.

The color combinations seen within *silku* of *qhawa* are too variable to describe and type, but it is possible to make general observations concerning color range and number. *Pit'akipata*, Inka style *pit'akipata*, and *sawukipata silku* may contain up to four different colors. *Pit'akipata* have the widest range, containing combinations of pink, purple, yellow, light blue, brown, white, green, blue, dark blue, silver thread, tan, or brown/blue. Inka-style *pit'akipata* has a more limited color range: pink, red, yellow, purple, green, or blue. There are even fewer possibilities for *sawukipata silku*: white, red, yellow, blue, or pink. Three-dimensional embroidery *silku* display the largest number of colors, up to five, but have a reduced range, being limited to blue, green, red, yellow, white, pink, dark blue, purple, or light blue.

The final distinguishing feature of *qhawa* are the horizontal threads used as support for the most vulnerable parts of the garment, namely the bottom of the *q'awtata* and the intersection of the *luqusu* and the side *ch'uku*. There are four types of *q'awtata* reinforcements in the present corpus. The first is the interweaving of thick supplemental threads, usually in two or more colors and in two separate sets, into the warps so that they remain at least partially visible. Often, the ends of the threads were left long and plied into a fringe. This variation of reinforcement is decorative as well as functional, perhaps accounting for why it is the most common, present in six examples (cat. nos. 1, 2, 5, 27, 33, and 46). Cat. no. 1 has two reinforcement bars each composed of pink and purple thread. Cat. nos. 2 and 5 have the same composition: one bar of pink and yellow placed

above one of pink and purple. Cat. no. 27 has two bars of light blue and is the only one lacking fringe. Cat. no. 33 has one bar of red and blue and cat. no. 46 has one bar of natural brown. The second variation (seen in two examples) is the insertion of supplemental horizontal threads completely under the warp threads, rendering them invisible except for a decorative fringe composed of the plied visible ends. Cat. no. 20 has black threads inserted under the black and pink warps, whereas cat. no. 21 has bright pink and black threads, possibly a later addition, inserted under the dark purple warps, also plied into a fringe on the ends.

The third variation is the use of *tokapu* embroidery, seen in three examples (cat. nos. 13, 42, and 48). In cat. no. 13, the embroidery is also divided into segments which alternate with squares of cloth sewn onto the *qhawa* and embroidered with various types of stitches. Finally, a single example, cat. no. 14, has a unique *q'awtata* reinforcement, woven in the *sawukipata* technique with the ends held in place by running stitches in brown.

Only two *qhawa* have extant *luqusu* reinforcements. Cat. no. 33 has decorative supplemental thread reinforcements which match those for the *q'awtata*, red and blue with the same decorative fringe. Cat. no. 28 has a row of red supplemental threads which are an extension of the red *ch'uku*.

In the same manner as *isallu*, weavers of *qhawa* used *ll'uque*, *lluq'ita ch'ankha*, silk, and silver thread in various parts of the garments. Twenty-four examples contain some form of *ll'uque* (cat. nos. 2-7, 9-14, 17, 20, 26, 27, 29, 35, 41, 42, 45, 48, and 50). Eighteen examples have the backbone pattern in the lateral sections (cat. nos. 2-7, 9-12,

14, 17, 20, 27, 29, 35, and 50) and two examples have it in the monochrome *saya* (cat. nos. 41 and 42). One *qhawa* has 1 left/1 right in the lateral stripes and the *saya* (cat. no. 13), and one has 1 left/1 right in lateral stripes (cat. no. 26). Finally, cat. no. 45 contains left-ply in the selvages covered by the *silku*.

Ch'imi techniques involving color are very rare in *qhawa*. *Lluq'ita ch'ankha* appears in seven examples (cat. nos. 7, 14, 17, 22, 35, 41, and 42). Four examples have *lluq'ita ch'ankha* in the warps of the *saya*; three of them have purple/brown (cat. nos. 14, 17, and 35) and cat. no. 22 has red/blue. Three have *lluq'ita ch'ankha* in the weft: cat. no. 22 has red/blue and cat. nos. 41 and 42 have pink/brown. Cat. no. 7 has *lluq'ita ch'ankha* in blue/brown in the edges that would have been covered by the *ch'uku* lateral stripes. The weaver of a single *qhawa*, cat. no. 35, used the same *ch'imi* technique as the weavers of cat. nos. 53 and 81, alternating *lluq'ita ch'ankha* of purple/brown with brown warps in the *saya*.

Three *qhawas* contain silver thread (cat. nos. 13, 22, 48) and two of these also contain silk (cat. nos. 13 and 48). In every case, the threads are used as *silku* or embellishments. Cat. no. 22 contains silver thread as part of the *pit'akipata*. Cat. nos. 13 and 48 have silk and silver thread incorporated into the intricate figural embroidery supplementing the *silku* on the *q'awtata*, the bottom edges, and in cat. no. 48, the slits.

Conclusion

This analysis of the techniques, materials, and overall compositions of historical *isallu* and *qhawa* reveal that many of the extant garments can be matched with styles described by Bertonio in the early seventeenth century. With the assistance of anthropological research, it is also possible assign the terminology he lists to individual components of garments and more accurately re-name the various techniques used to create color changes with threads of multiple colors and ply directions. Overall, while the majority of individual garments can be grouped into substyles due to common features, they are also highly original, with many different variations existing for different portions of their compositions. Although this variety may have been due to the aesthetic preferences of the individual weavers, I will demonstrate in the third chapter that these garments are in fact carefully crafted, detailed expressions of their wearer's role within their community.

Isallu provide a glimpse into the diversity which existed for a single garment type. It is apparent that the only standards which were adhered to uniformly in *kunkani isallus* were the use of two or three stripes per *khallu*, the formats of red wide stripes with a red center section, or blue wide stripe with a red or pink center section, and the lack of *lluq'ita ch'ankha* threads in the wide stripes and their corresponding narrow stripes. Every other aspect, from the color of the wefts, *pampa*, lateral stripes, narrow stripes, *k'uthu*, and *pampa* lateral stripes, as well as the colors and style of the *silku* and *ch'uku*, were variable.

Three-part *isallu*, both wide and narrow lateral-stripe are somewhat more standardized in color scheme and basic components, with one group among the wide stripe examples (cat. nos. 110 and 112-120) and one group among the narrow stripe possessing virtually identical compositions (cat. nos. 125-127, 129, 131, and 134). However, even within these groups, each *isallu* is ultimately unique through the use of *ll'uque*, *lluq'ita ch'ankha*, and innovative *silku*.

The differences between *qulini* and *suku suku qhawa* as well as the subcategory of *qura qulini qhawa*, indicate that distinctions among striped *qhawa* were made between basic compositional differences rather than specific color schemes or arrangements of stripes according to width. The colonial definitions also indicate that color and designs distinguished certain *qhawa* from others which share the same stripe compositions.

The common factor of all the garments in this corpus is their compositional complexity, at once ostentatious through brilliant dyes and subtle in technical details. The wide range and contrast of colors in stripes, *pampa*, and *saya*, the subtle use of *ll'uque* and *lluq'ita ch'ankha* to add color as well as texture, and the limited but strategic use of silk and silver thread create compositions as lavish as the pre-Hispanic and Colonial Inka tapestry garments. Having established these general characteristics and variations, in the next chapter, I will analyze the chronological development of these *qhawa* and *isallu* compositions from the Late Intermediate Period through the early nineteenth century and the end of Spanish rule.

Chapter 2

Chronological Stylistic and Regional Development of Garments in the pre-Hispanic and Colonial periods

Previous scholars and researchers have balked at the prospect of tracing the stylistic chronology of Aymara garments, despite the necessity of such an undertaking to gaining a more detailed understanding of the evolving significance these clothes held in colonial society.¹⁵⁴ In consequence, there has also never been an attempt to trace the ownership of individual garments back to their original *warami*. In this chapter, I will address both of these issues, tracing the development of Aymara garment design beginning in the pre-Hispanic Late Intermediate Period through the end of the Colonial period in the relevant locations in Bolivia, Peru, and Chile.

Carbon-14 dates and stylistic evidence demonstrate that in the case of both garment types, there were two waves of changes: one immediately after the conquest, a period which encompasses the late sixteenth to the early eighteenth century (the Early Colonial period); and another beginning in the mid-eighteenth century (the start of the Late Colonial period). However, a comparison between the overall evolution of *qhawa*

¹⁵⁴ William Siegal provides an excellent summary of the difficulties involving the dating of Aymara garments in the catalogue for the exhibition *Aymara-Bolivianische Textilien/Historic Aymara Textiles*. Although general dates are provided for the garments in this catalogue and that written by Adelson and Tracht (*Aymara Weavings: Ceremonial Textiles of Colonial and 19th century Bolivia*), neither includes an analysis of stylistic changes over time. Phipps has also indirectly addressed the issue in her article on *tornesol* (“Tornesol: a Colonial synthesis of European and Andean textile traditions”), arguing that the fabrics she analyzes (usually identified as Early Republican or nineteenth century) date from the Colonial period.

and *isallu* reveals that while there were several common changes after the Spanish conquest, they resulted in different stylistic alterations to pre-Hispanic compositions of these two key garment types. *Qhawa* underwent significant structural changes throughout the Colonial period, as they lost their side *ch'uku* and transformed into ponchos. However, garments with full and modified *ch'uku*, as well as ponchos, were produced alongside one another and often display comparable compositions and color schemes. Several of these compositions are virtually identical to those seen in pre-Hispanic *qhawa*, with changes only to the color palette. *Isallu* did not undergo any structural changes; however, in contrast to *qhawa*, their compositions and color schemes changed drastically over time. In addition, elements of *kunkani isallu* become increasingly woven with dyed thread as opposed to undyed thread. Three-part *isallu* compositions, while retaining some Late Horizon characteristics, were almost completely transformed by the early nineteenth century.

The general nature of the garments' provenance, even if the original regions and *warami* affiliations can be identified, means that it is not possible to draw many meaningful conclusions about the similarities and differences of stylistic development in different locations. While the basic compositions of *suku suku qhawa*, *qulini qhawa*, *kunkani isallu*, and three-part *isallu* appear throughout all regions, the *apita qhawa* style appears to be restricted to the Pakasa *warami*. In the Colonial period, the choice of color scheme for striped-saya *qulini qhawa* seems to have been dictated by regions/*warami*. Among *isallu*, the cross-regional appearance of certain compositions and color schemes as well as the diversity found among the Colonial period *kunkani isallu* from the Pakasa

warami make it too difficult to determine what aspects, if any, were determined by regional/*warami* affiliation based on the current information available.

Chronology Methodologies and Issues

The establishment of chronology for Aymara textiles is a difficult undertaking due to the fact that carbon-14 dating is the only consistently reliable method for determining precise date ranges. The process is based on chemical reactions instigated by the interaction of carbon atoms and energy from the sun. Carbon-14 atoms, a radioactive material with a half-life of 5,730 years, are created when energetic neutrons strike a nitrogen-14 atom, changing it to a carbon atom with an extra hydrogen atom.¹⁵⁵ This material is taken in by plants, which is in turn transferred to animals and people, giving them a mix of carbon-12 (nonradioactive) and carbon-14 (radioactive) atoms.¹⁵⁶ When living organisms die, the carbon-14 atoms begin to decay, while the amount of carbon-12 remains constant. Measuring the ratio of carbon-12 to carbon-14 thus gives an accurate estimate of how long the remains of a given organism or its products have existed past their death or separated from their living carbon source. In the case of textiles, this method requires a sample of fibers, usually between one and ten milligrams.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, s.v "Carbon-14 Dating," accessed January 10, 2019, <https://www.britannica.com/science/carbon-14-dating>.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ Renee Stein, Personal communication, 01/07/2019. "AMS Radiocarbon dating," Center for Applied Isotope Studies, University of Georgia, accessed January 8, 2019, https://cais.uga.edu/analysis_ams.html

Despite its advantages, carbon-14 dating has several pitfalls, and it is necessary to exercise extreme caution in the selection of test samples. Many garments were repaired in more recent times, either to allow for continued use of the garment or to make it more attractive for collectors. In general, historical repairs are made to *ch'uku* in both *isallu* and *qhawa* and occasionally the body of ponchos. These historical or practical repairs are usually easy to spot because they were functional rather than cosmetic and usually do not contain the same materials as the original. Several excellent examples are cat. nos. 34, 33, 37, 46, 47, 72, 84 and 149. The cosmetic repairs meant to make a garment appear more attractive to potential buyers pose a more serious obstacle to scientific testing. Many historical *isallu* have sections re-woven by contemporary indigenous weavers working for local dealers, and due to the artists' skill, these newer sections are virtually impossible to spot. If one of these repairs is inadvertently selected for a testing sample, the results will necessarily be inconclusive or inaccurate. Understandably, many collectors and institutions are reluctant to take multiple samples (especially if the garment is relatively undamaged) due to the inherently destructive nature of sampling.

Relying on carbon-14 dating also includes the problem of contaminants, such as external organic material in soil or stains common in objects stored or excavated among others created earlier or later. However, there are methods to reduce these contaminants. In the case of textiles, the most common procedure is placing the crushed sample in deionized water and rinsing it with three different solutions: hot HCl acid to eliminate carbonates, an alkali wash (NaOH) to remove secondary organic acids, and an acid rinse

to neutralize the final solution.¹⁵⁸ This procedure considerably decreases the possibility for error.

The testing results are reported as percentages of the total area of a sample for a given date or date range. It is rare for 100% of a sample to have the same date due to the strong potential for contamination, but usually a single date or range will have the highest percentage and is deemed to be the most accurate reflection of a garment's age. Due to the potential contamination from sampling and contamination, I do not consider results in which none of the area percentages are higher than 68% (approximately two thirds) to be accurate unless there is supporting evidence such as a high degree of compositional similarity with examples from the same time period or detailed knowledge of the object's provenance.

The presence or absence of certain colors as well as the presence of silk and silver thread, provide important supporting evidence for carbon-14 test results with relatively low accuracy rates. They are also useful for determining if a given garment is from the pre-Hispanic or Colonial periods when its carbon date range covers the transition between them. Whenever possible, it is important to identify whether a garment was made before or after the Spanish conquest in order to determine the overall artistic distinctions which exist between the pre-Hispanic and Colonial periods.

In her article on colonial tapestry-woven *unku*, Joanne Pillsbury observes that the use of blue, which had decreased after the Late Intermediate Period, i.e., during

¹⁵⁸ Beta Analytic Standard Pretreatment Protocols," BetaAnalytic Laboratories, accessed 04/30/18, <https://www.radiocarbon.com/pretreatment-carbon-dating.htm#Acid>.

Tawantinsuyu, makes a dramatic re-appearance in Colonial period *unku*. She cites as evidence the color schemes of *unku* in the Cleveland Museum and the American Museum of Natural History (figures 2.1 and 2.2).¹⁵⁹ Several other Colonial period Inka-style garments demonstrate that lighter purple and shades of pink, not present in Inka garments with the exception of the dark purple often mistaken for black, were employed in these same locations. A miniature *unku* in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum has a purple background field for its floral designs, as do two full-sized examples, one in the Museo Inka and another in a private collection (figures 2.3-2.5).¹⁶⁰ A tapestry-woven colonial *lliklla*, also in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum, has a pink center field serving as a background for its floral and avian designs (figure 2.6).¹⁶¹ An *unku* in the collection of the Ethnologisches Museum has a complex composition that includes bright blue as a background for the *tokapu* and floral designs on one side and the triangular stepped yoke on the other, the latter contrasting with the bright pink background (figure 2.7a and b).¹⁶² One *unku*, a miniature in the collection of the Museo Inka, combines all three colors: one side has a purple background and a pink yoke, while the other a pink

¹⁵⁹ Pillsbury, "Inka Unku," 2002. 85 and 87-89.

¹⁶⁰ Elena Phipps, "Man's Tunic (*Uncu*) with Felines and Tocapu Waistband (Cat. No. 26)," in *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830* (New York; New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Yale University Press, 2004), 170–75. Museo Inka, Universidad Nacional San Antonio Abad del Cusco, object cat. no. 729. Elena Phipps, "Man's Tunic (*Uncu*) with Lions and Double-Headed Crowned Eagles (Cat. No. 27)," in *Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830* (New York; New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Yale University Press, 2004), 172–75. Metropolitan Museum, object cat. no. 2007.470.

¹⁶¹ Elena Phipps, "Woman's Wedding Mantle (*Lliclla*) with Interlace and Tocapu (Cat. No. 46)," in *Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830* (New York; New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Yale University Press, 2004), 204–6. Metropolitan Museum, object cat. no. 08.108.10.

¹⁶² Elena Phipps, "Man's Tunic (*Uncu*) (Cat. No. 24)," in *Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830* (New York; New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Yale University Press, 2004), 167–69. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ethnologisches Museum, object cat. no. VA 4577.

background and blue yoke (figure 2.8a and b).¹⁶³ Clearly, these new colors are the result of the dramatic breakdown of Inka sumptuary rules and standards.¹⁶⁴

Silk was not present in the Americas before the arrival of the Spanish, although it arrived in the Viceroyalty of Perú as early as 1534 CE via the Manila Galleon route from the Philippines into the port of Lima.¹⁶⁵ Thus, when silk is used as heading cords, warps, or wefts, the garment in question could only have been made after this date. The same is true of metallic thread, which was created by wrapping a thin strip of silver or gilt-silver around a core thread of white cotton or silk.¹⁶⁶ The wire-drawing technique needed to create the strips was not in use in the regions that became the Viceroyalty of Perú before the late sixteenth century.¹⁶⁷

It is possible to combine the results of carbon-14 dating, visual analysis of compositional elements and techniques, and evidence from other studies of pre-Hispanic and Colonial period textiles to assign date ranges with a relatively high degree of certainty to some garments that have not undergone carbon-14 testing. Comparing laboratory results between garment types with identical features (*silku*, *ch'uku*, silk, silver thread, *ll'uque*, *lluq'ita ch'ankha*, and colors such as blue, purple, and pink) can establish the earliest date a given garment could have been created or a certain compositional style

¹⁶³ Phipps, “Tunic (*Uncu*) for a Child or a Statue (Cat. No. 88).” Museo Inka, Universidad Nacional San Antonio Abad del Cusco, object cat. no. Tex-108, Ant. 729.

¹⁶⁴ Joanne Pillsbury, “Inka Unku: Strategy and Design in Colonial Peru,” *Cleveland Studies in the History of Art / The Cleveland Museum of Art.*, 2002, 68–103. 85, 87-89, 90-91.

¹⁶⁵ Phipps, “‘Tornesol’: A Colonial Synthesis of European and Andean Textile Traditions.” 224.

¹⁶⁶ Phipps, “Woven Silver and Gold.” 4.

¹⁶⁷ Stanfield-Mazzi, “Weaving and Tailoring the Andean Church.” 91-93. Phipps, “Woven Silver and Gold.” 4.

developed, which in turn facilitates the process of determining a chronology and hence exploring the issue of stylistic development.

There is one compositional feature that can be used to determine if a garment were made before the end of the eighteenth century, even in the absence of a carbon-14 date or other decisive evidence. As described in the previous chapter, variations of the *silku* found on pre-Hispanic Inka *unku* are used as *silku* and *ch'uku* in numerous Colonial period *qhawa* and *isallu*. Their common choice of monochrome sections alternating with sections of red and yellow thread, appears not only in *unku* but a wide range of garments worn by men and women of high social position under the Inka, as evidenced by the many examples excavated or found in offering burials and sites connected with imperial administration and ritual.¹⁶⁸ Although, as will be demonstrated in the following sections, the colors of the monochrome sections changed from red, yellow, green, and dark purple/black to red, yellow, pink, and light purple, the basic design and technique remain the same. It is easy to argue that the wearers of these later garments wished to make evident their past affiliation, as if in some official capacity, with the previous indigenous Inka rulers.

Although it may at first glance seem contradictory that members of Andean communities would seek to advertise their close association with an empire that had been deposed, Inka elites and officials during the first half of the Colonial period commonly employed this strategy to claim and retain a level of their former status. Spanish

¹⁶⁸ Pillsbury, "Inka Unku," 2002. 71-76. Phipps, "Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes." 24. Phipps, "Man's Tunic (Uncu) (Cat. No. 9)." Phipps, "Miniature Tunic (*Uncu*) with Checkerboard Design (Cat. No. 12)."

authorities, themselves part of an elaborate system of inherited rights and privileges, recognized the superior status of descendants of the ruling families of the Inka as well as the hereditary local rulers in what was termed the “*kuraka*’ system.”¹⁶⁹ Maintaining these previous systems provided the Spanish with a means to assert their authority through traditionally accepted channels; many indigenous leaders and their families were anxious to retain their own power and saw cooperation with the invaders as a means of preserving the status quo, and in some cases, regaining local power and prestige that had been lost under the Inka.¹⁷⁰

However, the large-scale revolts led by Túpac Amaru II (a self-claimed Inka royal descendent), Tomás Katiri (the leader of the Chayanta community of the Charka Aymara ethnicity), and Túpac Katiri (an Aymara Pakasa resident of La Paz) from November 4, 1780 to May 18, 1781 CE in support of indigenous independence and sovereignty put an abrupt end to this practice. After these uprisings, prominent displays of Inka heritage or imperial service, or indeed material forms of indigenous authority down to pre-Hispanic style men’s garments themselves, were banned.¹⁷¹ Thus, by the early nineteenth century, there would have been no incentive to use or repair these designs to support personal or familial status claims; rather, they became symbols of a heritage that it had become more prudent to conceal.

¹⁶⁹ Pillsbury, “Inka Unku,” 2002. 79.

¹⁷⁰ Pillsbury, “Inka Unku,” 2002. 79-81.

¹⁷¹ Matthew Restall and Kris E Lane, *Latin America in Colonial Times* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018). 300-302. The end date listed is the date of execution of Tupac Amaru II and his family. Phipps, “Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes.” 27.

Provenance Issues and Geopolitical Overview

Determining the original ethnic affiliation of the wearers and/or weavers of individual Aymara garments presents its own set of challenges. As described in the previous chapter, there are no examples which can be linked to a specific town and only a few can be traced as far as the clusters of communities surrounding several larger settlements in Bolivia. Considerably more examples can be decisively linked to provinces or municipalities in Bolivia and Peru, but the majority can only be identified as coming from one or more large geographic divisions. These large administrative divisions incorporate land controlled by multiple *warami* during the pre-Hispanic and Colonial periods, making it difficult to pinpoint a likely *warami* affiliation for a given garment in many cases. In the instances in which a garment can only be traced as far as the Department of Oruro or the Department of Potosí it is impossible to make even an educated guess for a *warami* affiliation during either the Late Horizon or the Colonial period.

Both the Inka and Spanish were responsible for the movement of people throughout their respective empires; the Inka in particular moved various populations as far as hundreds of miles from their places of origin as colonists known as *mitimae*, either as allies to reduce the threat from local populations or as a punishment for rebellious groups.¹⁷² The most significant shift in residency under the Spanish were the *reducciones* began by Viceroy Francisco Álvarez de Toledo in 1596 CE, in which indigenous

¹⁷² D'Altroy, *The Incas*. 373-377.

populations were forced to consolidate into new settlements each designed to accommodate approximately four hundred families¹⁷³[^{OB}]. However, in the context of the present study, neither shift significantly impacts the tracing of the available modern provenance information to that of the garment when it was originally made, ironically due to its general nature. The *reducciones* consolidated local settlements and did not involve major movements of groups into foreign territory, and in the case of the Inka movements, none of the garments dating to the Late Horizon come from a region which has documented major upheavals or resettlements.

As can be seen in the descriptions of individual garment provenance in the previous chapter, the majority were found at various locations within the Departments of La Paz, Oruro, and Potosí in Bolivia. The rest (excepting those with unknown provenance or with only a country of origin) were found in the regions of Moquegua and Puno in Peru, as well as the Arica y Parinacota and Tarapacá regions in Chile. This geographic distribution according to modern geopolitical mapping is unsurprising; the majority of territory held by Aymara *warami* beginning in the Late Intermediate Period and continuing into the Early Republican period is encompassed by the modern country of Bolivia, the regions of Peru surrounding Lake Titicaca and the Moquegua Valley, and the region of Arica y Parinacota currently part of Chile, although claimed by Bolivia.

¹⁷³ Waldemar Espinoza Soriano, *Virreinato peruano: vida cotidiana, instituciones y cultura* (Lima: Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, 1997). 87-89. Jeremy Ravi Mumford, “La reducción toledana en el Perú y el Alto Perú, 1569-1575,” in *Reducciones: la concentración forzada de las poblaciones indígenas en el Virreinato del Perú*, ed. Akira Saitō and Claudia Rosas Lauro (Lima: National Museum of Ethnology; Fondo Editorial; la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2017), 67–102. 69-73.

Most scholars currently agree that the map published by Thérèse Bouysse-Cassagne in 1978 is still the most accurate depiction of the territorial division at the end of the Late Intermediate Period (figure 2.9).¹⁷⁴ Thus, the Lupaqa controlled the majority of the modern region of Puno in Peru after defeating, at least partially, the Qulla (although the latter retained a presence in the area until the Late Horizon).¹⁷⁵ They also had established satellite communities for the purpose of trade and food supply in the Moquegua Valley in the Department of Moquegua in Peru, although the exact extent of their territory is unknown and they did not completely dominate the area.¹⁷⁶ The Pakasa controlled the portion of the modern Department of La Paz south of Lake Titicaca.¹⁷⁷

Killaqas controlled the northern, eastern, and southern shores of Lake Poopó in the Department of Oruro and the regions south and southeast into the Department of Potosí, crossing the border between Bolivia and Chile in the regions of Arica y Parinacota and Tarapacá.¹⁷⁸ Karanqas controlled the western shore of Lake Poopó, with their territory also extending into the highlands of the regions of Arica y Parinacota and Tarapacá and colonies along the Chilean coast.¹⁷⁹ The Charkas confederation (which included Qaraqara, Chichas, and Chuyes) controlled the majority of the Departments of

¹⁷⁴ Gisbert, Arze, and Cajías, *Arte textil y mundo andino*. See figure 16, page 165. Klein, *A Concise History of Bolivia*. See figure I-3, page 13. Thérèse Bouysse-Cassagne, “L’espace aymara: urco et uma,” *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 33, no. 5 (1978): 1057–80. 1058-1059, see figure 1 on page 1059.

¹⁷⁵ Gisbert, Arze, and Cajías, *Arte textil y mundo andino*, 2006. 166. D’Altroy, *The Incas*. 373. The Qulla also had coastal colonies in Moquegua, see Prudence M. Rice, *Space-Time Perspectives on Early Colonial Moquegua* (Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado, 2013). 31-32, 39.

¹⁷⁶ Rice, *Space-Time Perspectives on Early Colonial Moquegua*. 31-31. 39.

¹⁷⁷ See figure 1.49. Gisbert, Arze, and Cajías, *Arte textil y mundo andino*. 169-170, 175-176.

¹⁷⁸ See figures 1.49 and 1.61. Gisbert, Arze, and Cajías. 170, 200-202.

¹⁷⁹ Thérèse Bouysse-Cassagne and Juan R. Chacama, “Partición Colonial Del Territorio, Cultos Funerarios y Memoria Ancestral En Carangas y Precordillera de Arica (Siglos XVI-XVII),” *Chungara: Revista de Antropología Chilena* 44, no. 4 (2012): 669–89. 670. Gisbert, Arze, and Cajías, *Arte textil y mundo andino*. 197.

Cochabamba and Potosí as well as the northern portion of the Department of Chuquisaca.¹⁸⁰

During the Late Horizon, the various Aymara *warami* were incorporated into Tawantinsuyu as part of Kollasuyu over the reigns of several Sapa Inka (the title of the Inka ruler), although scholars disagree on the precise timeline, and there are detailed records concerning their conquest for only the most powerful.¹⁸¹ By the time of the ascension of Waskar (the initial claimant and son of the previous ruler Wayna Qhapaq who oversaw the last significant territorial conquests, figure 1.1), Kollasuyu was divided into two provinces, Collao in the north and Charkas to the south, each governed by a provincial governor (figure 1.2).¹⁸² Each of these in turn was divided into smaller territories, based on the lands controlled by the formerly independent *warami*. Under this arrangement, the Lupaqa, Pacajes, Karanqas, Killaqas, and Charkas confederation maintained their authority (including over their respective coastal colonies) while ultimately subject to the Inka.¹⁸³

Only two significant changes to territorial control occurred during the Late Horizon. The Qulla *warami* was essentially dissolved in consequence of a rebellion put down by Thupa Inka Yupanki either at the end of his father's reign or the beginning of

¹⁸⁰ See figures 1.49 and 1.61 Gisbert, Arze, and Cajías, *Arte textil y mundo andino*. 213-214, 271-272.

¹⁸¹ Platt, Bouysse-Cassagne, and Harris, *Qaraqara-Charka*. 49. D'Altroy, *The Incas*. 95-97.

¹⁸² Rebecca Stone, *Art of the Andes: From Chavín to Inca*, 3rd edition. (London: Thames and Hudson, 2012). 194, 198. D'Altroy, *The Incas*. 107, 175, 353, 355. Platt, Bouysse-Cassagne, and Harris, *Qaraqara-Charka*. 49, also see footnote 221 on page 93 for the direct quote from Qhari, *mallku* of the Lupaqa in the *Visita hecho de la provincial de Chucuito*.

¹⁸³ D'Altroy, *The Incas*. 353. Platt, Bouysse-Cassagne, and Harris, *Qaraqara-Charka*. Citing Santos Escobar in *La contribution....* (1987:13), page 92, footnote 220, also pages 52-56. Murra, "An Aymara Kingdom in 1567." 123.

his own; the majority of the residents were dispersed as workers throughout the rest of Tawantinsuyu.¹⁸⁴ The Charkas confederation was also effectively divided and the allied groups of Vila Charka (Charka Rojo) and Hanco Charka (Charka Blanco) became designated as Charkas and Qaraqara respectively.¹⁸⁵ The designation “Qaraqara” for Charka Blanco dates to the reign of Wayna Qhapaq Inka. A Señor of Qaraqara recounted in a document from the eighteenth century that the title had been bestowed on Malku Uchatuma for service in battle against Tumipampa.¹⁸⁶ It is a possibility that in giving Charka Blanco a new title, Wayna Qhapaq was attempting to divide a political entity which was a threat to Inka authority.¹⁸⁷

The difficulty of tracking territorial divisions in the Spanish Empire in South America has been noted by several scholars, including Marie Helmer in her article on the economics of the Province of Chucuito.¹⁸⁸ The Viceroyalty of Perú was formally established in 1543 CE; however, its organization was in continual evolution, from its founding, through its division in order to form the new Viceroyalty of the Río de La Plata in 1776 CE, and the beginning of the wars of Independence in 1808 CE.¹⁸⁹ In the following summary, I have elected to highlight the political developments with the most

¹⁸⁴ D’Altroy, *The Incas*. 101-102, 384-385.

¹⁸⁵ Platt, Bouysse-Cassagne, and Harris, *Qaraqara-Charka*. 46, 69.

¹⁸⁶ Platt, Bouysse-Cassagne, and Harris. 45.

¹⁸⁷ Platt, Bouysse-Cassagne, and Harris. 53.

¹⁸⁸ Helmer, “La vie économique au XVI siècle sur le Haut-Plateau andin Chucuito en 1567.” 185. Nicanor Domínguez Faura, “The ‘Puquina’ Language in the Early Colonial Southern Andes (1548-1610): A Geographical Analysis,” *Journal of Latin American Geography* 13, no. 2 (2014): 181–206. 195-196.

¹⁸⁹ Klein, *A Concise History of Bolivia*. 91. Platt, Bouysse-Cassagne, and Harris, *Qaraqara-Charka*. 45, 51.

relevance for the current study, and have attempted to list all possible divisions as part of a garment's provenance to present as accurate an account as possible.

The Viceroyalty of Perú was divided into Audiencias containing a number of *corregimientos* (also referred in the literature and primary source documents as provinces). These were further divided into *repartimientos* under the direct authority of the king or an *encomendero*, an entity similar to a landlord or plantation owner.¹⁹⁰ All the territories of the Aymara *warami*, referred to by the Spanish as *señorios*, became part of the Real Audiencia y Cancillería Real de La Plata de los Charcas, known as the Audiencia of Charcas (sometimes referred to as the Province of Charcas in primary source documents) established by royal decree in 1558-1559 CE (figure 1.3).¹⁹¹ Initially, the Audiencia included the territories of the Charkas, Qaraqaras, Chichas, Chuyes, Killaqas, and Karanqas *warami*, namely the smaller divisions within the former Inka province of Charka/Charcas.¹⁹² Later, Viceroy Toledo expanded its jurisdiction to include the territories part of the former Inka province of Collao in a decree issued on May 26, 1573 CE.¹⁹³

The Audiencia of Charcas contained a number of *corregimientos* and other divisions, including the province or *repartimiento* of Chucuito under direct royal authority (populated by the Lupaqa).¹⁹⁴ The *corregimiento* or Province of La Paz (which

¹⁹⁰ Helmer, "La vie économique au XVI siècle sur le Haut-Plateau andin Chucuito en 1567." 184, 189. Espinoza Soriano, *Virreinato peruano*. 97-99.

¹⁹¹ Helmer, "La vie économique au XVI siècle sur le Haut-Plateau andin Chucuito en 1567." 184.

¹⁹² Helmer. 184-185.

¹⁹³ Helmer. 185.

¹⁹⁴ Helmer. 188. Gisbert, Arze, and Cajías, *Arte textil y mundo andino*. 166. Faura, "The 'Puquina' Language in the Early Colonial Southern Andes (1548-1610)." 191.

encompasses the modern Department of La Paz) was mainly controlled by the Pakasa.¹⁹⁵ The *corregimiento* of Potosí, also known as the province of La Plata, contained a number of *warami* including Karanqas, Killaqas, Charkas, and Qaraqaras (the modern Departments of Potosí and Oruro).¹⁹⁶ The *corregimiento* of Paucarcolla (the modern region of Puno in Peru) was controlled by the Qulla.¹⁹⁷ The *corregimiento* of Moquegua (the modern General Sánchez Cerro Province of the Department of Moquegua, including the Ubinas District) was the location of the satellite settlements from the Lupaqa and the Qulla, controlled from their main territories in the altiplano.¹⁹⁸ In 1620 CE, the territory of the Pakasa was further divided into the *corregimientos* of Pacajes (the modern province of Pacajes), Sica Sica (which includes the modern province of Aroma), and Omasuyos.¹⁹⁹

The Audiencia of Charcas became a part of the newly created Viceroyalty of Río de La Plata in 1777 CE, and was further divided into Intendencias shortly thereafter, including the Intendencias of La Paz (which included the *corregimientos* of La Paz, Pacajes, Sica Sica, and Omasuyos as well as part of the *corregimiento* of Potosí that is now the Department of Oruro), Charcas (the modern Department of Chuquisaca), Potosí (the modern Department of Potosí), Puno (which included the *corregimiento* of

¹⁹⁵ Bouysse-Cassagne, *La identidad aymara*. 41. Here it is called the province of La Paz.

¹⁹⁶ Bouysse-Cassagne. 40-41, see the *repartimiento* chart pages 42-46 for all the *repartimientos* in the sixteenth century. Note that Paucarolla is listed under the *corregimiento* of La Paz but became an independent *corregimiento* at some point in the 1570s. See Faura, “The ‘Puquina’ Language in the Early Colonial Southern Andes (1548-1610).” 186, see footnote 13 listed on page 198.

¹⁹⁷ See figure 1.54. Faura, “The ‘Puquina’ Language in the Early Colonial Southern Andes (1548-1610).” 186, 191, 192.

¹⁹⁸ Rice, *Space-Time Perspectives on Early Colonial Moquegua*. 31-32.

¹⁹⁹ Gisbert, Arze, and Cajías, *Arte textil y mundo andino*. 176.

Paucarcolla and the *repartimiento* of Chucuito).²⁰⁰ The *corregimiento* of Moquegua, having been broken off to join the Audiencia of Cuzco in 1787 CE as a response to the rebellions, became part of the Intendencia of Arequipa, remaining part of the Viceroyalty of Perú.²⁰¹

Due to the sheer bulk of information, most of which is unfortunately little use in evaluating stylistic development, the chronologically accurate provenance and *warami* affiliation (if known) for each garment discussed in the following analysis is provided in its corresponding catalogue entry rather than in the body of the text. In the few instances in which this information does provide additional insights into the reasons for certain compositional choices, it forms part of the discussion of the overall chronological development of the various *qhawa* and *isallu*.

Qhawa Stylistic Development

The similarities in materials and composition between the *qhawa* and *qhawa* fragments I examined dating from the Late Intermediate Period (cat. nos. 31, 159*, and 161*) indicate that there was likely a diverse range of compositions and garment structures (short or long, rectangular or trapezoidal). The earliest *qhawa* I examined in detail (cat. no. 31) has three-dimensional embroidery and *pit'akipata silku* as well as

²⁰⁰ Espinoza Soriano, *Virreinato peruano*. 51. Gisbert and Mesa, *Historia del arte en Bolivia período virreinal*. 20. Edberto Oscar Acevedo, *Las intendencias altoperuanas en el Virreinato del Río de la Plata* (Buenos Aires: Academia Nacional de la Historia, 1992). 48-52. M. Luque Talaván, “La Intendencia de Puno: de circunscripción colonial a departamento de la República Del Perú (1784-1824),” *Revista Complutense de Historia de America* 25 (1999): 219–252. 231, see also footnote 35.

²⁰¹ Eusebio Quiroz Paz-Soldán, “La intendencia de Arequipa: organización y problemas económicos,” *Histórica* 8, no. 2 (1984): 151–75. 157-160.

banded *ch'uku* in a wide range of colors: green, dark blue, red, pink, yellow, and white. The body itself is woven with undyed tan thread, with *pit'akipata* in the same shade on the bottom edge. It is much wider at the shoulder (80 cm) than the waist (59.7 cm) giving it a trapezoidal shape. A fragment of a *qhawa* dating from 1218-1272 CE (cat. no. 161*) is more rectangular (111.76 cm long x 91.44 cm wide); however, the composition is almost identical to that of cat. no. 31 in that the main body is natural tan fiber and the *silku* and *ch'uku* contain a wide range of colors. The diversity among basic compositional styles is made evident in cat. no. 159*; while it has a similar shape to cat. no. 31 (127 cm wide x 71.12 cm long), it features a blue body and simple, blue monochrome *ch'uku*.

Qhawa with Late Horizon dates (1438-1532 CE, cat. nos. 24, 28, and 30) demonstrate that undyed thread began to be combined with a range of colors of dyed thread in the body of the garment in addition to the *ch'uku* and *silku*, and that stripes became the dominant compositional form. Cat. no. 24, likely made/worn by members of the Karanqas or Killaqas *warami*, is a miniature *qulini qhawa* with a dark undyed brown *saya* and red, green, and dark brown lateral stripes. Cat. no. 28, also likely originating from Karanqas or Killaqas, is a *suku suku qhawa* with a central *ch'uku* in undyed tan with stripes of tan, blue, green, and red in the *saya*. It has a unique *silku* on the bottom edge, a fringe of blue inserted around the heading cords. The side *ch'uku* feature diagonal stitch in red which extends into *luqusu* reinforcements. The *silku* on the *luqusu* (blue and white) and *q'awtata* (undyed tan and gray) is the wrap stitch only seen in a few Aymara garments from the Late Horizon and Early Colonial period. Cat. no. 30, from an unknown region in Bolivia, is a *suku suku qhawa* with undyed tan, red, and yellow stripes. It also

has a unique *silku* on the bottom edge, *sawukipata* in the *ch'iñi layra* pattern in red and yellow.

Cat. no. 46, a *suku suku qhawa*, has not been carbon-14 dated, however, based on its similarities to these three *qhawa* just discussed, I believe that it can be assigned a Late Horizon date range. Like cat. no. 28, it has a central *ch'uku* matching the surrounding *saya* section. The *saya* is composed of wide stripes of a dark undyed brown alternating with two groups of much narrower stripes of red, yellow, and dark brown. The dark brown is similar to the *saya* and stripes in cat. no. 24 and the combination of undyed fiber with red and yellow is identical to the color scheme of cat. no. 30 and similar in its combination of natural and dyed fiber to cat. no. 28. Like the latter, it is said to have been found in a gravesite near the Chilean/Bolivian border, also making it most likely to have originated from the same two *warami*.

Cat. no. 18 (carbon-14 dated to 1492 CE) is a *suku suku qhawa* that, like cat. no. 30, is composed of a large number of smaller stripes; however, all the stripes are the same width and all woven with dyed thread. The weaver used vibrant shades of red, blue, yellow, and green. The most interesting feature of this *qhawa* is the remaining *pit'akipata silku* on the bottom of the sides. *Pit'akipata* is only employed on the edges of *qhawa* with slits, or ponchos which lack side *ch'uku*. The remains of a *silku* on the corners indicate that some time after its completion the *ch'uku* were partially undone to add slits which would allow it to be worn over the wide breeches that were in style for Spanish men in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The colors in the *pit'akipata* match those on the *luqusu* (the source of the sample for the testing) as well as the narrow stripes in the body.

Thus, these modifications were likely made in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century when it was possible to match the original materials. At a later point in time, the *ch'uku* were opened further, converting it into a functional poncho. This repurposing was not an anomaly; a fragment of another Late Horizon *suku suku qhawa* (cat. no. 162*, dated 1465-1509 CE) composed of red, blue, and brown wide stripes, has a historical repair carbon-14 dated to 1583-1620 CE.

This group of only eleven garments is a small sample from which to draw detailed conclusions about features of pre-Hispanic *qhawa* from Aymara-speaking communities; however, it is possible to make several observations. The use and range of colors of dyed thread seems to have been dictated by time period and provenance. Late Intermediate Period *qhawa* (cat. nos. 28, 31, 159*, 160*, and 161*) appear to have contained small amounts of thread dyed with a wide range of colors or larger quantities dyed in only two or three colors. All those from the Late Horizon (cat. nos. 18, 24, 28, 30, 32, 46, and 162*) show an overall increase in both the quantity of dyed thread and the range of color.

The modern provenance of cat. nos. 24, 28, and 46, the Chilean/Bolivian border, indicate that they are from settlements relatively far from Aymara centers of power during the Late Horizon. Although it is uncertain as to whether they were originally created and used by people belonging to the Karanqas or Killaqas, this region was the furthest south and southeastern extent of both their territories (figures 1.49 and 2.9). This would provide a possible explanation for the limited use of color and reliance on undyed camelid thread as opposed to the high-grade camelid fiber and red, blue, and green of cat. no. 18. The latter's modern provenance of the region of the town of Coroma in the

municipality of Uyuni in the province of Antonio Quijarro on the border between the Departments of Oruro and Potosí in Bolivia, indicates that during the Late Horizon, it was made by members of Qaraqaras, then part of the powerful Charkas confederation, in the heart of their territory (figures 1.49 and 2.9).

Colonial Period *Qhawa* and Ponchos

It is possible to divide the corpus of Colonial period *qhawa* and the ponchos used for comparison into three groups: those made in the Early Colonial period (cat. nos. 1, 19, 22, 25, 32-34, and 37-40), the Late Colonial period (cat. nos. 2, 3, 5-7, 9, 10, 12, 14, 20, 26, 29, and 50), and those whose precise date range within the Colonial period is impossible to determine at present (cat. nos. 13, 41-43, 45, and 48). Of the undated group, cat. nos. 13, 41-43, and 48 will be excluded from the present discussion and examined further in the third chapter. Their unique silk and silver thread embroidery, *lluq'ita ch'ankha*, and diverse *ll'uque* patterns were products of particular political and social circumstances, rather than being indicative of general compositional trends. There is another group of *qhawa* and ponchos (cat. nos. 4, 8, 11, 14, 16, 17, 21, 27, 35, and 47) which cannot be definitively identified as dating from the late sixteenth to the early nineteenth century or woven in a style developed during this time. Therefore, they will not form part of the following discussion except as points of comparison or reference.

Beginning in the late sixteenth century, *qhawa* underwent changes in structure, color scheme, and composition, although there was also significant continuity with some

pre-Hispanic styles. Shorter *qhawa* were constructed with slits to make them fit more comfortably over the wide breeches in fashion in Europe at the time of the invasion and forced on high-ranking indigenous men of the Andes (figure 1.23). *Lluq'ita ch'ankha* with dyed thread appeared for the first time in *qhawa*, and the new luxury materials of silk and silver thread began to be used in limited quantities.

Cat. no. 1 is an excellent example of the changes in Early Colonial color schemes. Pink and purple stripes are present in addition to the green seen in Late Horizon *qhawa*. The *ch'uku* are created using elongated diagonal stitch in purple, red, yellow, and green, and the elaborate wrap stitch on the *luqusu* contains pink and purple as well as green and yellow. The *pit'akipata* on the bottom is pink, and that of the *q'awtata* and slits is pink and purple. As a slitted *qhawa*, it is also an example of way in which transformed compositions were combined with the structural alterations to create new garments distinct from their predecessors.

Of the seven *qhawa* in this study that contain some form of *lluq'ita ch'ankha*, only one, cat. no. 22, can be identified as Early Colonial, with a Carbon-14 date of 1499-1599 CE. Its brilliant composition of blue, red, and yellow, as well as the presence of silver thread in the slit *pit'akipata*, identifies it as late sixteenth century in date. Prominent in this composition are a rare *lluq'ita ch'ankha* combination of red/blue (most are composed of one dyed and one undyed thread), used as both warp and weft threads.

A comparison of cat. no. 22 and an elaborate miniature poncho, cat. no. 15, indicates that certain compositions appear in both newly commissioned *qhawa* and in ponchos (figures 2.10 and 2.11). Both have the *qulini* format with lateral sections

composed of red and blue wide stripes separated by groupings of three narrow stripes: yellow, then red if next to a blue wide stripe and blue if next to a red, then another yellow. The *saya* and *ch'uku* lateral stripes of both garments are *lluq'ita ch'ankha*, although the colors are different; cat. no. 22 has red/blue and cat. no. 15 has pink/purple. The side *ch'uku* of cat. no. 22 and the left and right edge *silku* of cat. no. 15 are both composed of elongated triangular stitches, although-- as in the *lluq'ita ch'ankha*-- the colors are different; cat. no. 22 has red, blue, and yellow while cat. no. 15 has red, blue, yellow, and light green. They are the only Early Colonial men's garments in the corpus that contain the new foreign materials. Both contain silver-wrapped thread, albeit in different locations (the *pit'akipata* on the slits in cat. no. 22 and as *q'awtata* reinforcements in cat. no. 15). In addition to the silver thread *q'awtata* reinforcements, cat. no. 15 also has stitches of pale blue silk.

Uniquely for a poncho, cat. no. 15 does not have the same variation and colors of *silku* on all the edges. Besides the aforementioned elongated triangular stitch on the sides, the *q'awtata* has three-dimensional embroidery in red, blue, yellow, and light green, whereas the bottom edges have *pit'akipata* in the same colors on the left and right ends with a stretch of red *pit'akipata* between them. This style is reminiscent of the *silku* arrangements on several slitted *qhawa* in which either the colors or variations on the slits and the bottom corners are different from those along the middle of the bottom edge (see cat. nos. 1, 2, 5, and 39).

By the middle of the eighteenth century, the *suku suku qhawa* style had declined in favor of the *qulini qhawa*. *Ll'uque* patterns appear, becoming a standard feature of

qulini qhawa lateral sections. Three groups of Late Colonial *qulini qhawa* and ponchos from different regions provide a glimpse into the way in which regional variations developed in the wake of the introduction of the new colors and techniques. The re-purposing of older garments, the continued production of *qhawa* as well as the newly developed ponchos, and the use of similar compositions for both *qhawa* and ponchos continue through the Late Colonial period.

The *suku suku* style seems to decline drastically over time: out of the forty-two *qhawa* and five comparable examples, cat. no. 20 is the only *suku suku qhawa* dated to the Late Colonial period (dated to 1726 CE). Several of its compositional elements differ substantially from its pre-Hispanic and Early Colonial predecessors. The wide stripes are pink and black overdyed, a color scheme not previously seen in *suku suku qhawa*, and this is the only example to feature two rather than three colors.

The use of *ll'uque* as a design element, especially in the lateral stripes of *qulini qhawa*, expands in the Late Colonial period, as demonstrated by the similarities and differences between cat. nos. 7, 25, and 29, all made in the *corregimiento* of Potosí of the Audiencia of Charcas. Cat. no. 25 (carbon-14 dated to 1621 CE) is a *qulini qhawa* with yellow lateral stripes and a *saya* composed of narrow stripes in white, dark blue, purple, and pink. Cat. no. 7 has a very similar composition, with lateral stripes composed of the same shade of yellow and a *saya* of narrow stripes of white, dark blue, pink, and red. However, this example's lateral stripes are woven in backbone pattern *ll'uque*. Cat. no. 29 (carbon-14 dated to 1729-1804 CE) is similar in composition to cat. no. 7, with yellow stripes of backbone pattern *ll'uque* forming the dominant part of the lateral sections and a

saya composed of white, dark blue, pink, and red narrow stripes. Despite the larger role played by *ll'uque*, the overall composition and color scheme changes relatively little between the Early and Late Colonial periods.

The difference in color scheme between two groups of *qulini qhawa* from different regions suggests that color choice was location-specific in Late Colonial times. The previous comparison between cat. nos. 25 and 7 provides support for this theory, as the most significant difference between them is the Late Colonial addition of *ll'uque* to the lateral sections. Cat. nos. 2, 5, and 10 were all made in the *corregimiento* of Potosí and are virtually identical in both composition and color scheme: a *saya* with pink and light pink narrow stripes and yellow lateral sections woven in backbone pattern *ll'uque*. This same composition, *saya* with narrow stripes and lateral sections with backbone pattern *ll'uque*, was used in the *corregimiento* of Moquegua (cat. nos. 9, 12, 44, and 50) albeit in a different color scheme. Two open *qhawa* (cat. nos. 9 and 12) one regular *qhawa* (cat. no. 50) and one poncho (cat. no. 44) all have monochrome pink lateral stripes woven in backbone pattern *ll'uque* and *saya* composed of arrangements of narrow stripes: cat. no. 9 has a *saya* of blue and pink stripes; cat. no. 12 has pink, maroon, and brown stripes; and cat. nos. 44 and 50 have pink and dark blue stripes. Cat. no. 50 also has a compositional variation of slightly wider pink stripes dividing the other narrower stripes up into four groups.

It is not possible in either case to identify the *warami* affiliation of the weaver/wearer: Charkas, Qaraqaras, Killaqas, and Karanqas all held territory in the *corregimiento* of Potosí and both the Lupaqa and Qulla had settlements in the

corregimiento of Moquegua. However, the two regions are relatively far apart, and none of the *warami* held territory in both, suggesting that color choice was linked to place of origin, although not necessarily to the *warami* affiliation of the weaver or wearer.

There is only one *qhawa* (cat. no. 7) containing *lluq'ita ch'ankha* whose identity as a Late Colonial period garment can be verified. It has blue/brown *ch'uku* lateral stripes, which would have been concealed under the *ch'uku* when the garment was first made. This subtle use of *lluq'ita ch'ankha* stands in sharp contrast to the flamboyant red/blue of cat. no. 22. However, these two different uses of *lluq'ita ch'ankha* reflect the technique's multiple significances (as will be elaborated in the following chapter) rather than marking a chronological difference.

There are five other garments (cat. nos. 8 [poncho], 14 [slitted *qhawa*], 17 [unknown], 35 [unknown], and 47 [poncho]) whose date, whether Late Colonial or Republican, cannot be ascertained with certainty with the current evidence. However, they share a common composition that indicates the flawed nature of the Colonial period corpus of *qhawa* containing *lluq'ita ch'ankha*. They were created by members of the Pakasa *warami* from the *corregimiento* of La Paz or Pacajes (if Colonial) or the province of Pacajes (if Republican), a region from which I have not yet seen any Early Colonial *qhawas* in collections or publications beyond those woven in the *apita qhawa* style. It is therefore entirely possible, especially in light of cat. no. 22's composition, that the compositions and color schemes of these four developed much earlier, even if these specific examples were made at a later time.

All are woven in the *qulini qhawa* format with *saya* composed of *lluq'ita ch'ankha* alone or combined with undyed brown threads in a *ch'imi* pattern: cat. nos. 8, 14, and 17 have purple/brown, cat. no. 35 has purple/brown alternating with brown, and cat. no. 47 has blue/black overdyed. As in the *corregimiento* of Moquegua examples, all five have pink lateral sections woven in backbone pattern *ll'uque*. In addition to the *lluq'ita ch'ankha* in the *saya*, cat. nos. 14 and 47 have *lluq'ita ch'ankha* in the *pit'akipata* on the *q'awtata*, red/brown and blue/black overdyed respectively. The similarities in composition and color scheme indicate that a *saya* containing *lluq'ita ch'ankha* and pink lateral sections with backbone pattern *ll'uque* was a style particular to those members of the Pakasa living in region of the modern province of Pacajes. Even if all five were produced in the Republican period, their compositions are important for understanding the earlier use of this technique. The common element of a *saya* with *lluq'ita ch'ankha* between these five and cat. no. 22, produced in the *corregimiento* of Potosí, indicate that this was a feature used by Aymara *warami* in different regions, and that cat. no. 22's copious *lluq'ita ch'ankha* was not an isolated anomaly.

Miscellaneous Colonial Period *qhawa*

There is one regular *qhawa* (cat. no. 45) which lacks a carbon-14 date, the green color of the early colonial period, or the Inka-style *ch'uku* and *silku*, making it impossible to determine its exact position within the *qhawa* stylistic trajectory. However, certain of its compositional features indicate it was made in the Colonial period. A *qulini qhawa*, it has the same three-dimensional embroidery on the *luqusu* as cat. no. 31 (Late

Intermediate Period), the same arrangement of narrow lateral stripes as cat. no. 32 (Early Colonial), and the same *q'awtata* type as cat. no. 15 (Early Colonial). The main body, *silku*, and *ch'uku* are woven in purple, dark blue, light blue, pink, and yellow, a unique color palette which makes it difficult to determine if this *qhawa* is a lone Early Colonial example from a different region or a Late Colonial variation of earlier compositions.

Apita Qhawa

The developmental trajectory of *apita qhawa* (cat. nos. 19, 38, 39, and 40) encapsulates the most important changes to *qhawa* throughout the Colonial period: the re-use of pre-Hispanic garments, the modification of pre-Hispanic compositions, and the introduction of new luxury materials. Although there is currently no direct evidence that this style of *qhawa* originated in the pre-Hispanic period, it is a logical deduction. Only one, cat. no. 19, has been carbon-14 dated, with the results being a date range of 1499-1637 CE, which while limiting the possibilities to the end of the Late Horizon and the beginning of the seventeenth century, is too broad to be definitive. In general, its pink stripes are more typical of the Early Colonial period. However, the selected-warp techniques and patterns in cat. nos. 19, 38, and 39 are seen in other pre-Hispanic textiles from the Middle Horizon and Late Intermediate Period in the Arica region from the Maytas-Chiribaya culture, which point to a pre-Hispanic origin of the style.²⁰²

²⁰² Denise Y. Arnold and Elvira Espejo, *El textil tridimensional: la naturaleza del tejido como objeto y como sujeto* (La Paz, Bolivia: ILCA, Instituto de Lengua y Cultura Aymara, 2013). 275-286, figure 8-14 (page 282).

Despite their current condition as either fragmentary or lacking side *ch'uku*, it is likely that all four *apita qhawa* began life as either Early Colonial regular or slitted *qhawa*. Although fragmentary, cat. no. 39 contains evidence of slits. The Carbon-14 date of cat. no. 19 makes it unlikely that it was originally intended to be a poncho, and that, like pre-Hispanic cat. no. 18, it had its side *ch'uku* opened at a later time. These four *qhawa* are woven with the new colonial colors of pink, purple, and a unique shade of sea green. However, they lack the stylistic modifications seen in other colonial *qhawa* or ponchos, namely *ll'uque*, *lluq'ita ch'ankha*, silk, and silver thread.

A comparable *qhawa* held in the collection of the Museo de Etnografía y Folklore shows the style's evolution in the Late Colonial period. Significantly, it is identified as worn by an indigenous leader in La Paz during the revolts of 1780-1781 CE (figure 2.12).²⁰³ This *qhawa* contains supplemental decorations in silver thread; two leaf shape appliqués appear on the sides, one under the *q'awtata* and one on the bottom right corner. Similar to cat. no. 40, it contains five selected-warp pattern stripes with the central stripe divided for the *q'awtata*; however, all the designs in the stripes are the geometric triangular ones seen in the two stripes adjacent to the central one in cat. no. 40 (figure 2.13). These patterns are woven in the same colors as the patterns in cat. nos. 19 and 39, with the notable addition of silver-wrapped thread. Thus, this example shows how the new prestige stylistic elements and foreign materials were incorporated into an elite pre-Hispanic composition.

²⁰³ In my 2017 research visit to the Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore, I attempted to view this *qhawa* in person, but unfortunately it could not be located by the museum's collection staff. Gisbert, Arze, and Cajías, *Arte Textil y Mundo Andino*, see figure 89.

Isallu

In comparison with *qhawa*, very few three-part and *kunkani isallu* have been carbon-14 dated. However, in the case of three-part *isallu*, archaeological excavations of *capacocha* burials and the cemetery at Pachacamac allow an outline of their development to emerge. The development of *kunkani isallu* is substantially more difficult to trace, especially since only one example has been Carbon-14 dated to the Late Horizon. Despite this paucity of evidence, a comparison between its features and those of several colonial examples, as well as various aspects of the compositional development of the three-part styles, makes it possible to make a few observations regarding this type of *isallu*.

Late Horizon Three-Part *Isallu*

The most common style of three-part mantle in the Late Horizon appears to have been what I will term the bichrome style. This style is exemplified by cat. no. 98, which consists of a *pampa* with lateral sections of a contrasting color terminating in *patapata*, all woven in undyed thread. Four full-sized examples from the cemetery of the sacrificed women at Pachacamac in the collection of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology (hereafter referred to as the Penn Museum), one miniature in the collections of the Museum aan de Stroom in Antwerp (hereafter referred to as MAS), and one full-size example I examined in a private collection demonstrate the wide range in composition and color scheme, materials, and overall quality found in this three-part style

(figures 2.14-2.19).²⁰⁴ Among these seven, quality ranges from low-grade and poorly spun cotton (Penn Museum acc. no. 31653, figure 2.14) to the finely spun cotton and camelid thread commonly associated with ideas of *qumbi* (private collection example, figure 2.19).

Determining the characteristics of the narrow lateral-stripe style in the Late Horizon is challenging as there are very few comparable examples. I have identified two in museum collections, one in the Penn Museum (acc. no. 31658, figure 2.20) found at the site of Pachacamac and another in the collection of the Museum of Art and Archaeology at University of Missouri-Columbia (hereafter referred to as MAA Missouri-Columbia, acc. no. 88.96, figure 2.21), neither of which have been photographed in color.²⁰⁵ The most significant commonality between Penn Museum acc. no. 31658 and MAA Missouri-Columbia acc. no. 88.96 is that both are woven entirely in

²⁰⁴ Shoulder cloth (bichrome style *isallu*), South America, Peru, Pachacamac, Temple of the Sun, Inka, Late Horizon, cotton, William Pepper Peruvian Expedition; Max Uhle, subscription of Phebe A. Hearst, 1897, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia, PA, 31653. Accessed at https://www.penn.museum/collections/object_images.php?irn=29946. Shoulder cloth (bichrome style *isallu*), South America, Peru, Pachacamac, Temple of the Sun, Inka, Late Horizon, cotton, William Pepper Peruvian Expedition; Max Uhle, subscription of Phebe A. Hearst, 1897, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia, PA, 31656. Accessed at https://www.penn.museum/collections/object_images.php?irn=197122. Shoulder cloth (bichrome style *isallu*), South America, Peru, Pachacamac, Temple of the Sun, Inka, Late Horizon, cotton, camelid fiber, William Pepper Peruvian Expedition; Max Uhle, subscription of Phebe A. Hearst, 1897, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia, PA, 31655. Accessed at https://www.penn.museum/collections/object_images.php?irn=335062. Shoulder cloth (bichrome style *isallu*), South America, Peru, Pachacamac, Temple of the Sun, Inka, Late Horizon, camelid fiber, William Pepper Peruvian Expedition; Max Uhle, subscription of Phebe A. Hearst, 1897, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia, PA, 31649. Accessed at https://www.penn.museum/collections/object_images.php?irn=161602. Figure (female *capacocha* figurine), South America, Inka, Late Horizon, feathers, camelid fiber, cotton, natural dyes, silver, loanbruikleen - Vlaams Gewest, Paul and Dora Janssen-Arts Collection, Museum aan de Stroom (MAS), Antwerp, Belgium, MAS.IB.2010.017.314.1-6, 2-6, 3-6, 4-6, 5-6. Accessed at <https://search.mas.be/details/collect/322615>. Bichrome style *isallu*, South America, Peru or Bolivia, Late Horizon, cotton, camelid fiber, natural dyes, private collection.

²⁰⁵ Rowe, "Inca Weaving and Costume." See figure 21, page 18. Woman's mantle (narrow lateral-stripe mantle), South America, Peru, Inka, Late Horizon, cotton, anonymous gift, Museum of Art and Archaeology at the University of Missouri, Columbia, MO, 88.96. Accessed at <http://maacollections.missouri.edu/ArgusNET/Portal.aspx?lang=en-US>.

shades of undyed thread. The narrow lateral-stripe mantle in the Penn Museum is composed of a white cotton *pampa* and lateral sections of narrow stripes of at least four different shades of brown cotton and possibly white or tan; unfortunately, it is impossible to be more precise about coloring due to the nature of the photographic documentation.

The only three-part compositional type that appears to have been invariably woven with dyed thread during the Late Horizon is that of wide lateral-stripe *isallu*, demonstrated by three examples, two miniature and one full-sized. *Two capacocho* miniature mantles, one in the collection of the Brooklyn Museum (acc. no. 41.1275.111) and the other found with the burial of the younger girl in the Eastern Burial at Llullaillaco (find number E-160), have the same composition and color scheme: four wide stripes (two red, one green, and one yellow), a mottled gray/white *pampa*, wide dark brown lateral sections, and *patapata* in brown and yellow (figures 2.22 and 2.23).²⁰⁶ Both also have an identical, elaborate *silku* combination: Inka-style *pit'akipata* on the corners with monochrome sections of green, red, and dark purple/black; *pit'akipata* of alternating red and yellow threads on the top and bottom edges, and wrap stitch in red on the sides. This combination will henceforth be termed the “Inka-style *silku* combination,” as the only variations in its appearance in multiple garments are the colors of the monochrome sections and the side wrap stitch. The full-sized mantle from Pachacamac in the collection of the Penn Museum (acc. no. 27544, figure 2.24) differs slightly from these miniature versions with a black *pampa* of undyed thread, wide light brown lateral

²⁰⁶ Reinhard and Ceruti, *Inca Rituals and Sacred Mountains*. 72, 73, 76-77, 195, see figures 3.23, page 78. Miniature mantle (wide lateral-stripe mantle), South America, Peru, Inka, Late Horizon, camelid fiber and natural dyes, Museum Expedition 1941, Frank L. Babbott Fund, Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, NY, 41.1275.111. Accessed at <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/52834>.

sections, and *patapata* in white and black.²⁰⁷ From the photographs, its *silku* appear to be the Inka-style combination but with monochrome sections of red, yellow, and green in the corner *pit'akipata* sections and the wrap stitch on the sides may have been bands of red and yellow as opposed to monochrome.

There is only one known Late Horizon mantle (carbon-14 dated to ca. 1445 CE) in a private collection that could potentially be a pre-Hispanic pink-red lateral-stripe mantle (cat. no. 163*). However, despite some similarities, I believe that the twelve pink-red lateral-stripe *isallu* in the present study's corpus represent a Colonial period reinvention of the wide lateral-stripe style rather than an independent development. Cat. no. 163* has a wide brown *pampa* bordered by a series of extremely narrow stripes: two red alternating with two yellow, a blue, and another red. This section of stripes is flanked by a wider blue stripe, in turn followed by a much wider red stripe (comparable in size to a lateral section in a wide lateral-stripe *isallu*) and finally a group of narrow stripes: yellow, red, yellow, blue, and a final wider stripe of red. It has *pampa* lateral stripes in the same brown as the *pampa*.

This *isallu* is similar to the pink-red lateral-stripe examples in that it has a brown *pampa* and lateral sections in which the dominant element is a central wide red stripe. In this case, however, the two groups of narrow red, yellow, and blue lateral stripes do not survive in any form in the pink-red lateral-stripe composition. The latter's wide lateral stripe arrangement of a yellow stripe between two red or pink ones is much closer to that of Colonial period wide lateral-stripe *isallu*. In addition, as will be discussed below, the

²⁰⁷ Rowe, "Inca Weaving and Costume." 18, figure 21.

shift from a natural to dyed thread in the lateral sections, as well as the change of colors within stripe sections, are common stylistic trends throughout colonial *isallu*.

Late Horizon *Kunkani Isallu*

In sharp contrast to three-part *isallu*, there is only one *kunkani isallu* (cat. no. 77) which can be positively identified as pre-Hispanic, and no comparable full-size examples or miniatures have been identified in existing collections. Although carbon-14 dated to 1425-1648 CE, its features are much closer to those of Late Horizon three-part mantles than those of later Colonial period *kunkani isallu*. There are also several factors which could have interfered with the testing, resulting in the extension of the possible date range to the mid-seventeenth century. There is considerable damage to the body of the garment and there are several visible historical repairs; therefore, it is more likely that some of the newer fiber may have been inadvertently included in the test sample. There are also several large stains that may have resulted from either later use of the *isallu* as a *mesa* or altar cloth for traditional ceremonies or from its presence in a post-Conquest burial. If the sample was not properly cleaned, then there is also the possibility that organic material from the stains and/or burial dirt may have contaminated it.

As in the compositions of wide and narrow lateral-stripe three-part mantles, dyed thread is used sparingly, with the majority of the garment woven with undyed thread. It is a pink-red three striped example with red wide stripes, blue narrow stripes, red and blue lateral stripes, and a center section of red and blue *ch'ulla k'uthu*. All these elements are

considerably narrower than in later *kunkani isallu*: the "wide" stripes are only approximately two centimeters in width and the center section measures only four centimeters in total. In turn, the *pampa* are extremely wide, at an average of fifteen centimeters. The *ch'uku* is alternating diagonal stitch of red and blue and there are several remnants of wrap stitch in red, blue, and tan. The thread is very thin, and the weave is extremely tight, comparable in quality to the thread and construction in the two striped three-part mantles at the MMA Missouri-Columbia and in the bichrome style three-part mantle in the private collection. Although undyed, the thread in the *pampa* warp as well as the weft was determined to be *vicuña*, the softest, most prestigious and rare of the four types of camelid fibers.²⁰⁸

Colonial Period *Isallu*

The majority of the three-part *isallu* in the present corpus, twenty-seven examples, can be identified as dating to the Colonial period or woven in a style developed during this time (cat. nos. 98, 110-121, 124-127, 129-132, 134-136, 141, 143, 144, and 151). Through carbon-14 dating and stylistic comparisons with other verified Late Horizon and Early Colonial examples, cat. nos. 98, 124, 135, and 144 can be identified as Early Colonial and cat. nos. 110-120, 136 and 143 as Late Colonial. While it is possible to identify the compositional format of nine examples (cat. nos. 121, 125-127, 129, 130-132, and 134) as originating before 1780 CE via the presence of Inka-style *pit'akipata* and combination *silku* in a comparable example, it is impossible at present to determine if

²⁰⁸ This fiber was identified through its short staple, texture, and comparison with a sample of modern fiber.

all were woven at the same time. It is also impossible to identify the precise date range of cat. no. 141; its features indicate it is from the Colonial period, but none are diagnostic of the Early or Late periods and there is no comparable example whose date has been verified.

There are only two Colonial period *kunkani isallu* (cat. nos. 86 and 80) in the corpus which have been Carbon-14 dated (to the Early and Late Colonial periods respectively). Thus, there is a relatively small number, eighteen in total, which can be confidently assigned to the Colonial period or identified as woven in a style developed during this time (cat. nos. 51, 55, 58, 61, 63, 64, 65, 67, 68, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 78, 79, 82, and 84). Cat. nos. 64, 65, 72, 73, and 78 can be assigned to the Early Colonial period through a comparison of compositional features with cat. no. 86. The Inka-style *ch'uku* of four (cat. nos. 58, 74, 75, 79) identify them as pre-1780 CE. The *ch'uku* of cat. no. 67 indicates that its composition and color scheme (shared by cat. nos. 51, 61, 63, 76, and 84) is also pre-1780 CE; however, as in the case of cat. nos. 121, 122, 125-127, 129, 130-132, and 134, it is impossible to determine the date ranges of the individual examples. Cat. nos. 55, 68, and 82, while clearly created during the Colonial period, are impossible to assign more precisely due to the appearance of silk and silver thread (their diagnostic features) in other garments throughout the entire timespan.

The continued production of *kunkani isallu* into the Early Republican period makes it too difficult to propose a date range for the remaining sixteen (cat. nos. 52, 53, 54, 56, 57, 59, 60, 62, 66, 69, 70, 71, 81, 83, 85, and 87). Eight of these *isallu* are unique in composition and lack a verified colonial comparable example (cat. nos. 52, 53, 54, 62,

66, 81, 83, and 85). Six others (cat. nos. 57, 59, 60, 69, 70, and 87) share a common color scheme and composition with cat. no. 164*, which has a carbon-14 date range of 1806-1950 CE (the majority of which falls within the Republican period) and do not share features with any of the other verified Colonial *isallu*. The color scheme of cat. no. 71 has been connected with the nineteenth century rather than the eighteenth by other textile historians, thus it is prudent to assume a Republican period date for this *isallu* as well as for cat. no. 56, which shares a significant number of its features.²⁰⁹

Colonial Period Three-part *Isallu*

Two examples (cat. nos. 98 and 124) provide evidence that that the Late Horizon compositions dominated by shades of undyed fiber continued to be produced, but quickly gave way to newer, more highly colored ones, early in the Colonial period. Early Colonial narrow and wide lateral-stripe *isallu* indicate that the first changes to Late Horizon styles were a movement away from the restricted stripe and *silku* color schemes towards more varied shades of red, pink, purple, and blue, as well as an increase in the number of compositional components woven or constructed of dyed thread. While the compositions of narrow lateral-stripe *isallu* remained constant throughout the Colonial period, after this early series of dramatic changes, later wide lateral-stripe examples vary considerably from their Early Colonial counterparts. The compositions of pink-red lateral-stripe *isallu* are the best demonstration of the extent to which three-part *isallu*

²⁰⁹ See cat. no. 19 (page 81) in Adelson and Tracht, *Aymara Weavings*. Also see pages 54-55 in Siegal and Tietzel, *Aymara-Bolivianische Textilien*. Elena Phipps has also identified this composition as nineteenth century.

styles were almost completely re-invented by the end of the Colonial period, providing a marked contrast to the relative continuity seen in *apita qhawa*.

The carbon-14 test results for cat. no. 98, a bichrome style/*qura isallu*, are mixed with the highest being 60% for 1542-1625 CE. These results, combined with its composition and color scheme, indicate that it was most likely made immediately following the Spanish Conquest. It is woven in camelid fiber, with a light brown *pampa*, mottled gray/brown lateral sections, and *patapata* in white and dark brown. The color palette is comparable to that of the MAS miniature bichrome mantle (figure 2.18), making the composition of this early colonial *qura isallu* essentially that of a bichrome three-part mantle from the Late Horizon.

This continuance of a Late Horizon compositional scheme is sharply contrasted by the drastic changes that occurred in those of narrow lateral stripe *isallu* at approximately the same time. The narrow lateral-stripe *isallu* in the collection of the American Museum of Natural History (hereafter referred to as AMNH) made in the late sixteenth century demonstrates that extensive changes were made to both composition and color scheme relatively early in the colonial period (figure 2.25).²¹⁰ Photographic documentation shows that this *isallu*, unlike its predecessors (MMA Missouri-Columbia acc. no. 88.96 and Penn Museum acc. no. 31658), has a composition in which virtually every element is woven with dyed thread. The *pampa* is either dark blue or black overdyed (impossible to distinguish from existing photographic documentation). The narrow lateral stripes are woven with red, dark blue/black overdyed, and green thread in

²¹⁰ Laurie Adelson and Arthur Tracht, *Aymara Weavings: Ceremonial Textiles of Colonial and 19th Century Bolivia*. 18-19, see figure 5, page 19.

addition to natural white. There is *patapata* in red and yellow at the edges of the lateral sections and *pampa* lateral stripes of the same dark blue/black overdyed thread as the *pampa*. Overall, this *isallu* presents a stylistic reversal in that a majority of components are woven or constructed in dyed thread.

The composition of cat. no. 124 is comparable to that of the AMNH *isallu* in several aspects, and its differences indicate the ways in which compositions of narrow lateral-stripe *isallu* continued to evolve. It has a dark *pampa* whose color is created in part by a dark shade of blue (the warps are blue/brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha*) and which contrasts with some of the lighter colors of the lateral stripes that are bordered by *paris k'uthu* in red and yellow, the same colors as the *patapata* in the AMNH *isallu*. However, the *pampa* is woven in *lluq'ita ch'ankha* rather than using monochrome warps and the red is slightly less saturated and closer to pink. There are similar color contrasts in the narrow stripes albeit with different color combinations: a white stripe placed between two of darker tones, and one of a saturated color between two others of a comparatively duller tone. The white is paired with dark brown and the pink with light brown, as opposed to the red/green combination of the AMNH *isallu*. There are also additional stripes of blue and yellow in cat. no. 124, bringing the total number of colors in this piece to six, clearly more than in the AMNH example or any previous Late Horizon example with narrow stripes.

The similarities and differences between the compositions of a group of nine examples (cat. nos. 121, 125-127, 129-132, and 134) suggest that there were common compositions and color schemes which transcended regions and *warami* with only certain

aspects modified to correspond with local standards or individual needs. Cat. nos. 125, 126, 127, 129, 131, and 134 from the *corregimiento* of Potosí are distinguished by: narrow stripes of red, purple, pink, and white; *k'uthu* in red and yellow; and a *pampa*, *pampa* lateral stripes, and weft containing brown thread. However, they are all unique in their subtle combinations of *ll'uque* and *lluq'ita ch'ankha*. Cat. no. 125 has a red/brown *pampa*, brown *pampa* lateral stripes, and backbone pattern *ll'uque* in the red lateral stripe adjacent to the *paris k'uthu*. Cat. no. 126 has a *pampa* woven in a *ch'imi* pattern of alternating brown and red/brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha* warps. Cat. no. 127 has neither *ll'uque* nor *lluq'ita ch'ankha*, but does display a brown *pampa*, *pampa* lateral stripes, and weft. Cat. no. 129 has a purple/brown *pampa* and blue/brown *pampa* lateral stripes. Cat. no. 131 has a maroon *pampa* created by brown threads overdyed with pink or red and pink/brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha* weft. Finally, cat. no. 134 has a pink/brown *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes, with the latter composed entirely of left-plied thread.

Although none of these examples have a reliable carbon-14 date (cat. no. 134 has only 51.4% of the total sample dating to 1670-1783 CE), their common composition came into being before 1780 CE. Figure 2.26 is a narrow lateral-stripe *isallu* from a private collection published by Adelson and Tracht in their exhibition catalogue of Aymara textiles.²¹¹ It has the same narrow stripe composition, a brown or red/brown *pampa* (it is difficult to determine which from the photographic documentation), and red and yellow *k'uthu* (either *paris* or *ch'ulla*). Its *silku* is a variation on the Late Horizon Inka-style combination seen in the miniature and full-sized wide lateral-stripe mantles: red and yellow *pit'akipata* on the borders of the *pampa*, red wrap stitch on the sides, with

²¹¹Adelson and Tracht. See figure 23, page 86.

monochrome sections of red, pink, yellow, and light purple in the Inka-style *pit'akipata* on the corners. The pink and light purple are colors not present in the *silku* of the earlier mantles, indicating that they are a Colonial period innovation.

Cat. nos. 121 and 130, also from the *corregimiento* of Potosí, have compositions which are elaborate variations on the regional style of these eight *isallu* and the aforementioned example from Adelson and Tracht's publication. Cat. no. 121 has an expansion of their narrow stripe color scheme, with yellow and dark blue in addition to pink, red, purple, and white. The lateral narrow stripe sections terminate in *patapata* in red and yellow, the two sections of which are separated by a narrow pink stripe of left-plied thread. The *pampa* is a *ch'imi* pattern of purple/pink *lluq'ita ch'ankha* and monochrome purple warps. The *pampa* lateral stripes are not identical: the right has two stripes of pink/brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha* with left-plied thread alternating with two of pink right-plied thread, while the left has two stripes of the same pink/brown left-plied thread alternating with two of purple/pink *lluq'ita ch'ankha* right-plied thread. The *silku* is an elaborate variation of the Inka-style, moving beyond the simple color substitutions seen in that of figure 2.26. The Inka-style *pit'akipata* on the corners have monochrome sections of blue, yellow, red, pink, and purple and, in addition to the standard red and yellow thread groups, contain sections of alternating blue and white or blue and yellow thread groups. The corners also have white loops of thread worked into the *pit'akipata* at intervals, reminiscent of lacework. The wrap stitch on the sides appears to have been a pattern of alternating sections of red, white, and yellow threads; however, too little remains of it for the pattern to be positively identified beyond its basic color scheme.

Instead of red and yellow *pit'akipata* on the bottom, there is wrap stitch in a pattern of alternating sections of red, purple, and yellow.

Cat. no. 130 has a slightly less complex composition than cat. no. 121, but remains more elaborate than the other seven. The only addition to the narrow stripe composition is dark blue and the red and yellow *ch'ulla k'uthu* at the ends of the narrow stripe sections lack the middle stripe of pink right-ply thread seen in the *patapata* of cat. no. 121. The *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes are purple and do not contain *lluq'ita ch'ankha* thread or a *ch'imi* pattern. There are fewer modifications to the Inka-style *silku* combination, which has monochrome sections of purple, pink, red, yellow and pink wrap stitch on the sides. However, the weft is pink/brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha*, a feature not found in cat. no. 121, which has brown weft.

The composition of cat. no. 132 is comparable to that of cat. nos. 125-127, 129, 131, and 134, although it contains several differences. The narrow lateral stripes are the same pink, red, purple, and white and the lateral sections contain red and yellow *paris k'uthu*; however, the *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes are a dark blue or black overdye thread and there is backbone pattern *ll'uque* in the red stripes adjacent to the *k'uthu*. This *isallu* comes from a completely different region, the *corregimiento* of Moquegua (the modern Department of Moquegua in Peru), which suggests that the different *pampa* color and the inclusion of *ll'uque* may be a regional distinction.

The compositions of cat. nos. 135 and 144 indicate that the early changes to the highly standardized wide lateral-stripe style were less extensive than those to the narrow lateral-stripe styles. Like the Late Horizon examples, they have undyed *pampa* and lateral

sections (tan for cat. no. 135 and brown for cat. no. 144), four wide stripes, and a *k'uthu* pattern at the edges. However, two changes make them distinct from their predecessors. Both have two light red wide stripes (in which the saturation of the red is reduced) plus one yellow and a purple stripe instead of a green one. Their *paris k'uthu* patterns are woven in the same shades of red and yellow as the wide stripes, an abrupt change from the natural colors that were previously used for this part of the composition. Cat. no. 135 is one of the rare colonial three-part *isallu* with a complete *silku*, whose composition demonstrates that the shift in colors also extended to those of this element. The *silku* of the bottom and lateral edges are the same Inka-style as the Late Horizon examples; however, the red, yellow, green, and dark purple/black monochrome sections have changed to red, pink, yellow, and purple in the Inka *pit'akipata*.

Cat. no. 144 represents the middle point of the stylistic evolution of wide lateral-stripe *isallu*; the relationship between its composition and that of cat. no. 135 is comparable to that of *qhawa* cat. nos. 25, 29 and 7. Its composition is identical to that of cat. no. 135, with the exception of small sections of backbone pattern *ll'uque* in the brown lateral sections adjacent to the *paris k'uthu*. This subtle addition is a further step away from the Late Horizon composition. It places this *isallu* between cat. no. 135, which has modifications only to color scheme and the *k'uthu*, and the other two wide lateral-stripe examples, cat. nos. 136 and 143, which contain elaborate combinations of *ll'uque* and *lluq'ita ch'ankha* as well as the further expansion of color to *pampa* and lateral sections. These two wide lateral-stripe examples display the more dramatic effects of the new range of colors and techniques on this *isallu* style.

Both examples have the same wide stripe arrangement and colors as cat. nos. 135 and 144, as well as identical red and yellow *paris k'uthu*. However, their *pampa* and lateral sections present a sharp contrast. Cat. no. 136 has a *pampa* woven partially in a *ch'imi* pattern of tan and pink/tan *lluq'ita ch'ankha* warps. Its lateral sections are composed of alternating narrow stripes of dark brown and red/brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha*. Cat. no. 143 has a *pampa* woven with blue/gray *lluq'ita ch'ankha* warps and its brown lateral sections contain backbone pattern *ll'uque* adjacent to the *paris k'uthu*; the left-ply thread is the same brown as the rest of the lateral section but the right-ply is red/brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha*. Every element of both *isallu* has been transformed; only the basic format of four wide stripes, a *pampa*, and lateral sections ending with *k'uthu* remains from the Late Horizon style. Thus, the wide lateral-stripe style undergoes as drastic a transformation as the narrow lateral-stripe style, although likely later in time.

When viewed in light of this series of changes within the wide lateral-stripe style, the various features of the pink-red lateral-stripe *isallu* indicate that this style is a logical Late Colonial outgrowth of the former. As stated in the previous chapter, its basic lateral composition contains three wide stripes, two of pink or red and one of yellow, and a wide section of shades of pink. Ten have *ll'uque* in these pink lateral sections (cat. nos. 110-115, 117-119, and 151). Two others differ slightly: cat. no. 116 has narrow stripes of pink and light pink and cat. no. 120 has *paris k'uthu* with pink left-ply thread and light pink right-ply thread. All twelve contain either *lluq'ita ch'ankha* or a *ch'imi* pattern in at least one component. Eight have *lluq'ita ch'ankha* warps in the *pampa* (cat. nos. 111-113, 115, 117-119, and 120) while cat. no. 151 has blue warps in a *ch'imi* pattern with brown ones. Four also have *lluq'ita ch'ankha* in the *pampa* lateral stripes (cat. nos. 112,

115, 118, and 120). Eight have *lluq'ita ch'ankha* weft (cat. nos. 110, 111, 114-118, and 120). The use of pink rather than undyed thread in the wide part of the lateral composition as well as *lluq'ita ch'ankha* or dyed thread in the *pampa, pampa* lateral stripes, and weft can be interpreted as a further step in the direction of stylistic development evident in cat. nos. 136 and 143. It is also comparable to the overall shift from undyed to dyed thread that occurred in the compositions of narrow lateral-stripe *isallu*.

The carbon-14 date of cat. no. 110 (1725-1808 CE) and the predominance of *ll'uque* and left-plied thread as design features in the lateral sections indicate that this style dates to the mid-eighteenth century, approximately the same time when *qhawa* were exhibiting a second wave of stylistic innovations. The formal evolution of *qhawa*, as well as the difference between cat. nos. 135 and 144, demonstrate that *ll'uque* was a slightly later development than *lluq'ita ch'ankha*, therefore it is unlikely that any of the other eleven substantially pre-date cat. no. 110. This evidence of a Late Colonial period date for the style is a further point in favor of its identification as an offshoot of the wide lateral-stripe composition.

Silk is employed in two different structural components of Colonial period three-part *isallu*, *silku* and heading cords, and is not restricted to any particular style; out of the three that contain it, two are narrow lateral-stripe (cat. nos. 131 and 141) and the other a pink-red lateral-stripe (cat. no. 110). As in the case of *qhawa*, this new material was used in traditional *silku* styles as well as in the new ones borrowed from European clothing. The *sawukipata* of cat. no. 110 contains light blue and white silk, while the elaborate

silku of cat. no. 131 was some kind of woven addition (not enough remains to be certain of its structure) of peach silk, yellow silk, and silver threads sewn onto the cloth with peach silk running stitches. White silk is used as the top and bottom heading cords in cat. no. 141, filling the most important role in the four-selvedge weave structure. Silver thread is only employed in the production of *silku* in three-part *isallu*: the *sawukipata* of cat. no. 110 contains silver-wrapped thread in addition to silk, as does the sewn-on *silku* of cat. no. 131.

Colonial Period *Kunkani Isallu*

Despite the small corpus, these eighteen *kunkani isallu* provide an interesting portrait of the style's evolution during the Colonial period. The increasing availability of large amounts of dyed thread led to a change in the proportions of stripes and *pampa*, and the widespread inclusion of *ll'uque* and *lluq'ita ch'ankha* transformed the compositions of the *pampa* and the lateral stripes. The composition of pre-Hispanic cat. no. 77, with its narrow stripes and bichrome color scheme, gives way to the more ostentatious and elaborate color schemes of the four alternating striped examples (cat. nos. 72, 73, 78, and 86). These compositions, as evidenced by the Late Colonial period example cat. no. 80, give way in their turn to subtler, but still complex, arrangements dominated by *lluq'ita ch'ankha* and *ll'uque*.

The earliest Colonial period *kunkani isallu* is cat. no. 64. Its exact date is uncertain; however, the number of its shared features with cat. no. 77 raise the possibility

that it dates from the pre-Hispanic period. Yet, its differences from the latter make it equally likely that cat. no. 64 is Early Colonial. I believe that the differences outweigh the similarities and indicate that this *isallu* is indeed an Early Colonial example, and its composition seems to evidence the first stylistic changes that moved these garments towards the brilliant and complex designs of the Late Colonial period. It is a blue three-striped example with red narrow stripes, natural tan *pampa* as well as *pampa* lateral stripes and weft, red, blue, and green lateral stripes, and a center section of *paris k'uthu* in blue and red. There is no remaining *silku*, and the *ch'uku* is elongated triangular diagonal stitch in red and blue. The prominence of the colors red and blue is comparable to cat. no. 77, as is the use of a natural tan fiber for the *pampa*, *pampa* lateral stripes, and the weft. Both *isallu* also have a *k'uthu* center of red and blue, although the warp counts of these center sections (and thus the widths) are different.

However, the wide stripes and center section of cat. no. 64 are wider in proportion to the *pampa* than those of cat. no. 77. Although still narrower in comparison with later colonial examples, this change in proportions is another indication that this *isallu* was made in the Early Colonial period. The addition of green to the lateral stripe group slightly expands the color scheme and the use of three lateral stripes is seen in cat. no. 86, the carbon-14 dated Early Colonial example. The most significant difference between the two is the use of backbone pattern *ll'uque* in cat. no. 64 in the final *pampa* and possibly in the *pampa* lateral stripes (the weave is too loose to be certain). The left-plyed and right-plyed sections are the same color as the *pampa* and the thread is not very tightly spun, thus the textural differences they create are very subtle. These locations, the final *pampa* and the *pampa* lateral stripes, are the same as in six out of the thirteen Colonial period

kunkani isallu that contain some form of *ll'uque* (cat. nos. 51, 58, 63, 68, 76, and 80) as well as in the possible *lamarni isallu* (cat. no. 65). Thus, this composition becomes the most standard *ll'uque* arrangement throughout the Colonial period.

Cat. no. 86 was carbon-14 dated to 1510-1648 CE. Although this date range begins in the pre-Hispanic period, this *isallu* shares few features with cat. nos. 77 or 64, and its brilliant color scheme and complex composition are comparable to three Early Colonial *qhawa* (cat. nos. 22, 32, and 45). It is an alternating three-striped example with red and blue wide stripes, each of which have a different arrangement of the central narrow stripes of red, yellow, and blue. The *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes are purple, whereas the center section features red and yellow *paris k'uthu*. The *ch'uku* is done in purple diagonal stitch and there is no remaining *silku*. The weft is pink/brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha*, representing the first documented use of the technique in an *isallu* that I have discovered to date.

Its compositional similarities and differences with cat. nos. 64 and 77 indicate the nature of the more dramatic stylistic innovations of the Colonial period. A common feature of the three is the use of *k'uthu* for the center section, suggesting that this center variation is a defining feature of early colonial *isallu*. As in the case of early colonial *qhawa*, cat. no. 86 contains a substantial amount of thread dyed with the new prestigious colors of pink and purple in addition to blue and red. The overall composition is also much more complex. The red and blue wide stripes have different arrangements of narrow stripes: the red have an arrangement of blue-yellow-red-yellow-blue, and the blue that of red-yellow-red-yellow-red. The *lluq'ita ch'ankha* weft, with a contrasting color to

those of the *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes as well as the blue wide stripes, lightens these darker areas with highlights of pink.

Compositional similarities between cat. nos. 86 and four others (cat. nos. 65, 72, 73, and 78) situate them firmly within the Early Colonial period and provide a more general picture of its characteristic style: three center stripes in the wide stripes, dyed *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes, *k'uthu* or unique center sections, and the use of *ll'uque* and *lluq'ita ch'ankha*. The most comparable example to cat. no. 86, rivaling it for complexity and number of colors, is cat. no. 72, also an alternating-striped mantle with red and blue wide stripes. Each wide stripe color also has a different narrow stripe composition; the red have yellow-blue-yellow narrow stripes and the blue have yellow-red-yellow narrow stripes. Its *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes are bright pink rather than purple, although it has the same number and colors of lateral stripes (red, blue, and yellow). Its center section and *ch'uku* are considerably more elaborate than those of cat. no. 86. The *ch'uku* is composed of alternating diagonal stitch of red, yellow, and blue in various combinations. The center section features a complex combination of stripes of blue and yellow as well as red and yellow *paris* and *ch'ulla k'uthu*. However, there is neither *lluq'ita ch'ankha* nor *ll'uque* in the body of the garment.

Cat. no. 73, the other alternating-striped *isallu*, has a composition comparable to cat. nos. 86 and 72, although with several significant differences. This composition, with a unique center variation, may represent a regionally specific alternating striped variation. Like the other two examples, it has alternating red and blue stripes with differing compositions of narrow stripes; two dark blue in the red wide stripes and two light blue in

the darker blue wide stripes. Like cat. no. 72, it contains neither *ll'uque* nor *lluq'ita ch'ankha*. However, the center section is composed of red and blue narrow stripes (three red and four blue in each *khallu*) in the same shades as their wider counterparts and has only two lateral stripes of red and blue. The *pampa, pampa* lateral stripes, and wefts are also woven with undyed tan.

Rather than an alternating-striped *isallu*, cat. no. 78 is a pink-red three striped example but shares many of the features of cat. nos. 86 and 72. It has a colorful composition with red wide stripes, blue narrow stripes, and red, green, and blue lateral stripes. It has an elaborate *ch'uku* of alternating diagonal stitch in bands of red and yellow, and blue and green. The center section is red and blue *paris k'uthu* bordered on each side with red narrow stripes. The most significant difference is the red/blue *lluq'ita ch'ankha pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes in place of monochrome ones, although they achieve the same goal of complementing the wide stripes with another color rather than with shades of undyed fiber, a distinguishing feature of the other two.

Although cat. no. 65 is potentially a *larmani* (an *isallu* “striped in blue from top to bottom,” according to Bertonio) rather than a *kunkani isallu*, it also shares certain features with cat. nos. 86, 72, and 78, including a *k'uthu* center section, indicating that it was produced in the earlier part of the Colonial period.²¹² It combines light blue wide stripes with dark blue *pampa* and the *pampa* lateral stripes contain both shades. The center section is red and light blue *ch'ulla k'uthu* and the *ch'uku* is banded diagonal stitch

²¹² Yapita, Arnold, and Aguilar, *Los términos textiles aymaras del siglo XVII de la región Lacustre, en base al vocabulario de la lengua aymara por Ludovico Bertonio vocabulario semántico según la cadena productiva*. 90.

in the same colors. It is the only Early Colonial example besides cat. no. 64 to contain *ll'uque*, which is present in the same locations: sections of light blue left-plied thread and dark blue right-plied thread alternate in the backbone pattern in the final *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes.

One garment, cat. no. 80, has been assigned a Late Colonial carbon-14 date, 1724-1809 CE. Although the result was only 68% accurate, the sample showed no evidence of material from later in the nineteenth century. The 24% of the sample area dating to 1648-1698 CE was likely contaminated by fibers from older garments with the *isallu* was bundled: documented ceremonial textile bundles contained clothes from the pre-Hispanic to the Republican periods.²¹³ Its color scheme and composition are very different from the previous group, demonstrating the development of the use of *ll'uque* and *lluq'ita ch'ankha*, in both natural and dyed threads, to create compositional complexity rather than arrangements of brilliantly dyed stripes and *pampa*.

Its color scheme is as diverse as the Early Colonial period *isallu*, but subtler, containing blue, red, peach, and light purple. A blue three-striped example, its narrow stripes are peach, the center section red with red and peach *ch'ulla k'uthu*, the lateral stripes peach and red, and the *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes peach/mottled gray-brown. There is backbone pattern *ll'uque* present in the final *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes with light purple left-plied thread and peach/mottled gray-brown right-plied *lluq'ita ch'ankha*. Thus, two of the four colors are relatively light in shade, as opposed to the bright purples and pinks of cat. nos. 86 and 72. The *lluq'ita ch'ankha* is also much

²¹³ Adelson and Tracht, *Aymara Weavings*. 17, see figures 3 and 4. Loux, "Adventures on the Altiplano." 60.

more subdued, a light shade of peach combined with undyed mottled gray-brown thread, as opposed to the brilliant red/blue of cat. no. 78. The use of a unique color of light purple in the *ll'uque* makes its presence more obvious to the eye and adds to the overall complexity of the composition.

The development of this alternative approach to composition does not result in the complete discontinuation of the earlier one. Two *isallu* (cat. nos. 75 and 79) indicate these two different approaches to *isallu* design were likely used simultaneously in the Late Colonial period. Although undated, their Inka-style diagonal stitch *ch'uku* situate them reliably in the Colonial period. While their identity as Late Colonial is not confirmed by carbon-14 dates, they both have the *sawukipata silku* patterns in the style most common in early nineteenth century and Republican period textiles.²¹⁴

Cat. no. 75, a pink-red three-striped example, has fewer colors than do cat. nos. 86, 72, 73, and 78, but the bright purple *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes, accented by pink/brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha* weft, create the same type of composition with a focus on bolder color contrasts. Although it contains backbone pattern *ll'uque*, both the left- and right-ply sections feature the same purple as the rest of the sections, reducing the pattern's prominence and overall contribution to the composition in contrast to the other components. Cat. no. 79, a blue three-striped example, has a more modest composition: a mottled gray/brown *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes, the former woven entirely in

²¹⁴ For some examples of nineteenth century *lliklla* and *awayu* with this *silku* style see cat. nos. 30 (page 96), 33 (page 99), 34 (page 100), and 35 (page 101) in Adelson and Tracht, *Aymara Weavings*.

backbone pattern *ll'uque*. In this *isallu*, the emphasis is on the texture created by the mottled natural-colored warps and the diagonal slats of the *ll'uque*.

Regionality in and of itself does appear to have played a significant role in determining the choice of composition or color scheme for *kunkani isallu*. Cat. no. 67, a blue three-striped with an Inka-style *ch'uku*, has a color scheme of blue, pink, and light pink complemented by brown *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes. The final *pampa* are accented by *ll'uque* in the 1 left/1 right pattern. It shares a color scheme with cat. nos. 51, 61, 63, and 84, with the latter examples containing only minor deviations from the other parts of cat. no. 67's composition. Their relationship is comparable to that between figure 2.26 and cat. nos. 125-127, 129, 131, 132, and 134. Although all have practically identical compositions, cat. nos. 51, 61, 63, and 84 are from the *corregimiento* of La Paz and the Pakasa *warami* while cat. no. 67 is from the *corregimiento* of Potosí. There was also considerable variety possible within the *corregimiento* of La Paz itself, as the following discussion of *kunkani isallu* cat. nos. 55, 68, and 82 will demonstrate. All are also from the *corregimiento* of La Paz and affiliated with the Pakasa *warami*, but their compositions are completely different from those of cat. nos. 51, 61, 63, and 84.

Cat. nos. 55, 68, and 82 have compositions in which practically every element was influenced by Colonial period innovations, including silver-wrapped and thus should be considered the epitome of the transformation of these garments. Cat. nos. 55 and 68 are the only two *isallu* that contain *lluq'ita ch'ankha* in both the warp and weft: cat. no. 55 has purple/brown *pampa*, lavender/brown and maroon/brown *pampa* lateral stripes, and pink/brown weft; by contrast, cat. no. 68 has lavender/brown and maroon/brown

pampa and *pampa* lateral stripes with pink/brown and brown weft. In cat. no. 68 the backbone pattern *ll'uque* in both the *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes contains left-plied sections of lavender/brown and right-plied sections of maroon/brown, while only the *ll'uque* in the *pampa* lateral stripes of cat. no. 55 has left-plied lavender/brown and right-plied maroon/brown sections.

Cat. nos. 55 and 82 also have unique *ll'uque* arrangements as well as the use of left-plied threads in other components. Cat. no. 55 has the backbone pattern in the standard format as well as complementary left- and right-plied lateral stripes (one light pink stripe composed entirely of left-plied thread and one pink entirely of right-plied), and narrow stripes composed entirely of left-plied thread. Cat. no. 82 also has narrow stripes composed of left-plied thread and combinations of left- and right-plied threads in the lateral stripes. The right light pink stripe has the 1 left/1 right pattern in one half while the rest is composed of left-plied thread, complementing the pink stripe of right-plied. The left light pink stripe is composed entirely of left-plied thread while its neighboring pink is woven with right-plied.

As in three-part *isallu*, silk and silver-wrapped thread are rare, and the amount used is relatively small. In cat. nos. 55 and 82, these materials appear in the same locations as in three-part *isallu*. Cat. no. 55 has white and pink silk heading cords while the *pit'akipata silku* of cat. no. 82 includes silver-wrapped thread.

Conclusion

The chronological stylistic evolutions of *qhawa* and *isallu* reveal interesting trends both within and between these two garment types. Early Colonial *qhawa* compositions retained a level of continuity with those of Late Horizon, albeit with substantial changes to the color scheme. Although *lluq'ita ch'ankha* is conspicuously employed in several Early Colonial *qhawa* and one miniature poncho, it is overall very rare in these garments throughout the Colonial period. There were a few further developments in the Late Colonial period: the *suku suku* style declines and *ll'uque* appears for the first time. However, with the exception of two *qhawa* and one poncho, it is only used in the lateral sections of *qulini qhawa*. *Qhawa* undergo significant structural changes with the shortening and removal of the side *ch'uku*, resulting in their eventual transformation into ponchos. The re-purposing of Late Horizon and Early Colonial garments alongside the production of new regular *qhawa*, slitted *qhawa*, and ponchos, in some cases with virtually identical compositions and color schemes, demonstrates that significance was tied to certain compositional components rather than strictly to a garment's type.

Isallu did not undergo structural changes from the Late Horizon to the Colonial period, yet their compositions -- especially those of three-part *isallu* styles -- change much more drastically than those of *qhawa*. Every stylistic development in both three-part and *kunkani isallu*, except for the appearance and expansion of the *ll'uque* technique, is connected to the increase in the amount of dyed thread in all compositional elements and the expansion of the Late Horizon color scheme. *Ll'uque* patterns and *lluq'ita*

ch'ankha in a myriad of color combinations were integral to the transformation of *isallu* compositions, in contrast to those of *qhawa* in which their influence is overall less pronounced. This implies that the significance of the compositions also evolved, a theme explored in depth in the following chapter.

In Early Colonial *kunkani isallu*, the colored stripes interspersed between the *pampa* (extremely narrow in the Late Horizon example) become much wider. Brilliantly dyed thread also begins to appear in *pampa* and weft in addition to the various stripes. In three-part *isallu*, the former color scheme of red, yellow, green, dark purple/black used in *silku* and wide stripes is altered as light purple and pink replaced the green and dark purple/black. New regional styles of narrow lateral-stripe three-part *isallu* quickly develop in response to the new availability of dyed thread, while wide lateral-stripe *isallu* undergo a more gradual transformation, from a simple change in the colors of the wide stripes and the *k'uthu* to the use of dyed thread and *lluq'ita ch'ankha* in the *pampa*, wide lateral sections, and weft. However, this transformation is ultimately just as drastic, resulting in the development of the pink-red lateral-stripe style with dyed thread in almost every compositional element and dominated by *ll'uque* and *lluq'ita ch'ankha*.

There are several changes between Late Horizon and Colonial period styles that occur in both garment types. The range of dyed thread expands to include a myriad of different shades of pink, purple, and blue that, in addition to the older colors, were employed in greater amounts and in more compositional components in the Colonial period. *Ll'uque* patterns and the use of dyed thread in *lluq'ita ch'ankha* appear for the first time in Aymara garments beginning in the late sixteenth century. Silk and silver

thread replace dyed thread and high-quality camelid fiber as the rarest, most precious materials used by the elite for declaring their status.

In the following chapter, I will trace these stylistic developments in detail, discussing the various meanings attached to them as they appear in different types of garments and parts of garment composition. I will argue that both *isallu* and *qhawa* compositions are complex, layered representations of the processes and products of agriculture and animal husbandry, Andean cosmology, and the reciprocal relationships between communities as well as between subordinates and ruling authorities.

Chapter 3

Colonial Period Stylistic Innovations and Compositional Significance

The previously established chronological stylistic trajectories demonstrate that there were several changes to Aymara *isallu* and *qhawa* in the Colonial period: a shift from undyed to dyed thread, a change in color palette, the development of *lluq'ita ch'ankha* with dyed thread, the appearance of *ll'uque* patterns, and the use of new imported European materials. In this chapter, I will examine the reasons behind these developments and the ways in which they transformed *isallu* and *qhawa* compositions. An analysis of pre-Hispanic textile traditions, contemporary anthropological studies of women's mantles and men's ponchos, and the compositions of the colonial garments themselves reveal that they played multiple roles. The significance of these components and techniques varied according to their presence in men's versus women's clothing, the different styles within the larger groups of *qhawa* and *isallu*, and their use in different compositional elements within individual garments. I will demonstrate that understanding these changes makes it possible to draw several conclusions about the general significance of *kunkani* and three-part *isallu* as well as *qulini qhawa* in both the pre-Hispanic and Colonial periods.²¹⁵

²¹⁵ While certain pre-Hispanic cultures such as Inka sewed pieces of precious metals to some of their clothing, the technology necessary to create metallic thread, wire drawing, did not exist in either South or Central America until the arrival of the Spanish. See Elena Phipps, "Woven Silver and Gold: Metallic Yarns in Colonial Andean Textiles," *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 29, no. 3 (2010): 4-11. 4. Stanfield-Mazzi has conclusively demonstrated that native Andean metalworkers mastered this foreign technique and were commissioned to create metallic thread for use in ecclesiastical vestments and church textiles. See Stanfield-Mazzi, "Weaving and Tailoring the Andean Church." 91-2.

Kunkani isallu arguably functioned as representations of the general prosperity of their wearers during both the pre-Hispanic and Colonial periods. I will suggest that Late Horizon wide lateral-stripe *isallu* represented agricultural production whose end products were intended to be used for state religious ceremonies. In the Colonial period, these garments became a symbol of elite status through historic association with the Inka. Later, after the 1780 rebellions, it may be contested that Late Colonial weavers created the pink-red lateral style, effectively eliminating the color combinations directly tied to Inka state religion. A comparative analysis of Late Horizon and Colonial period narrow lateral-stripe style *isallu* indicates they could serve either as representations of the general agricultural tribute produced and collected for the Inka by local elites or as documents of prosperity (irrespective of Inka affiliation) in a similar manner to *kunkani isallu*. As in the case of wide lateral-stripe examples, I argue that during the Colonial period, their novel, yet related color palette became symbolic of their wearer's claims to political power and special privileges rather than records of ongoing relationships.

Overall, there is much less evidence for the significance of the various aspects of *qhawa* compositions in both the pre-Hispanic and Colonial periods, especially in the case of *suku suku* and *apita qhawa*. However, in the case of many *qulini qhawa*, an examination of the ways in which *ll'uque* and *lluq'ita ch'ankha* were employed in their compositions reveals that they were likely records of agricultural production and animal husbandry and embodiments of the spaces in which these processes occurred. I will argue that their use increased in the Late Colonial period due to the decline of recordkeeping via *kipu*. The elaborate European-style embroidery featuring costly silk and thread made of wrapped silver wire (a new technology) in cat. nos.13 and 48 demonstrates the ways in

which the Aymara used the new foreign prestige materials to reinforce their ties with the new Spanish government while still asserting their own regional authority.

In contrast to the previous chapters, in which I divide the analysis of an overarching theme by garment types, this chapter is divided into three thematic sections considering *isallu* and *qhawa* compositions jointly. I will analyze the changes in color scheme, *ll'uque* and the use of left-ply thread, *lluq'ita ch'ankha*, and the uses of silk and silver thread. In each section, I will begin by discussing general reasons for the development or expansion of each stylistic innovation as well as the basic significances I argue hold true for their appearance in all garment types. Then, I will present more specific interpretations of each innovation's use in various components of *isallu* and *qhawa* compositions, demonstrating the complex networks of significance in which it played multiple roles at any given point. Finally, I will draw conclusions based on these analyses, as well as the anthropological and archaeological scholarship, to present interpretations of the overall significance of the various garment compositions in the sections devoted to the stylistic element which provides the foundational evidence.

Color

The creative changes to color schemes and the profusion of shades of red, blue, and especially purple (not seen since the Late Intermediate Period) are most likely the result of the lifting of Inka sumptuary laws and the increased availability of the necessary precious dyestuffs. Thus, the ability of local elites to express status through a greater

number of colors as well as the use of dyed thread for components previously woven with undyed ones expanded. Cobo attests that a key part of the Inka's strategy of control in their vast empire was dictating that their subjects' local dress must remain as it was before incorporation, as well as entirely distinctive from the imperial garments that clearly broadcast Inka authority.²¹⁶ After the defeat of the Inka by the Spanish, these laws were no longer enforced, allowing for a new freedom in garment design. Although the Spanish later enacted their own sumptuary laws, these were intent on restricting the use of European-style fine clothing and materials by indigenous people to mark unequivocally the distinction between the colonizers and their subjects. This left communities free to modify their own pre-Hispanic garment compositions.²¹⁷ Thus, after the mid-sixteenth century, the Aymara were free to diversify the hues and shades used in their textiles as they wished.

In her analysis of the significance of the Dumbarton Oaks Royal *unku*, Stone argues that polychromatic garments were explicitly associated with Inka royal control. She asserts that this *unku* is the highest form of representing official position through polychromatic design, followed by a complex hierarchy in which the Inka controlled what kinds of colored garments others were allowed to wear.²¹⁸ A telling example of the Inka's strict regulations for non-Inka elites are those surrounding the wearing of multicolored headbands or *llautu*. These were the first Inka-style garments bestowed on chosen non-Inka subjects; however, only that of the Sapa Inka could be colorful, all other

²¹⁶ Stone, "And All Theirs Different from His': The Dumbarton Oaks Royal Inka Tunic in Context." 391.

²¹⁷ Pillsbury, "Inka Unku," 2002. 74.

²¹⁸ Stone, "And All Theirs Different from His': The Dumbarton Oaks Royal Inka Tunic in Context." 394-400.

were black.²¹⁹ Even among the Inka nobility, there is evidence that the wearing of highly colored clothing was strictly controlled. Betanzos' description of the ceremonies to initiate a young man into the ranks of the *orejones* or warriors in the service of the Sun recounts that a young man began the series of ceremonies by wearing a black *unku*, later donning a red and blue one, and finally, near the completion of the ceremony, was dressed in a finely made colorful one and mantle signifying his promotion.²²⁰ It is evident from extant Aymara garments dated to the Late Horizon (cat. nos. 18, 24, 28, and 30) that prestigious colors were permitted for local elites, but the range of shades was more limited than in their Colonial descendants. This is most likely a reflection not only of Inka sumptuary policy, but also the great amount of material and time required to produce the tribute garments that the Inka extracted from their subjects, which would have left substantially fewer fine resources for the fabrication of their own garments. Thus, even if the use of a prestige color or material was not expressly restricted, the result was the same.²²¹

Blue and red were prestigious colors throughout Andean pre-Hispanic textile history due to the difficulties involved in the preparation and use of their primary dyestuffs. Blue dyes were created by the complex processing of *indigofera* plants. The dyestuff must first be prepared for its transportation and storage by introducing oxygen into a solution produced by steeping the plants and drying the resulting blue solids. To be used in the actual dyeing of thread, these solids must first be deoxidized (usually through

²¹⁹ Stone. 392-393.

²²⁰ Betanzos, *Narrative of the Incas*. 60-63.

²²¹ Betanzos. 57. D'Altroy, *The Incas*. 415-417, 429.

ammonia) to create a water-soluble version capable of being dispersed in the dye bath. The final transformation of the threads into the desired shade of blue is achieved by their removal from the bath and concomitant exposure to the air, re-introducing the oxygen.²²² Reds, pinks, and some shades of purple were produced by combining extracts of *Dactylopius coccus* or cochineal insects with various other ingredients.²²³ While the initial procurement of the dyestuff is highly labor intensive (seventy thousand insects equals one pound of dye) its basic dyeing process is somewhat simpler than that of the creation of an indigo vat: the parasitic insects must be tended, harvested, dried, ground, and heated in water to produce extracts of various strengths into which the thread or fabric is placed.²²⁴ However, the creation of specific shades of red, pink, and purple requires extensive knowledge of the necessary additives and the results of their interactions with the dye, which would have been gained through years of experience and dedication to mastering the techniques.²²⁵

The laborious process of both the production and final use of dye materials makes thread and fabric dyed in variations of red, blue, and purple -- usually a combination of both red and blue, making it doubly prestigious -- an implicit statement of the wearer/weaver's ability to access such precious material. The Inka adopted red as a special representation of imperial spiritual and political authority, worn by high ranking

²²² Rebecca Stone-Miller, "Tapestry Fragment with Jaguar (Cat. No. 214)," in *To Weave for the Sun: Andean Textiles in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1992), 115–16.

²²³ Elena Phipps, "Cochineal Red: The Art History of a Color," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 67, no. 3 (2010): 4–48. 10.

²²⁴ Phipps. 11–12. Stone, "The Best of the Best: *Qumpi* (Highest-Status Textiles) in Ancient Andean Thought and Practice."

²²⁵ Stone, "The Best of the Best."

Inka as a mark of distinction and by subordinate or conquered peoples as a sign of their subjugation. The ultimate symbol of authority of the Sapa Inka was the *mascaypacha*, a red headband with a distinctive fringe which cascaded down to forehead.²²⁶ The chronicler Betanzos notes that when the lords of Soras were defeated, they were made to wear long red tunics with fringes representing that of the *mascaypacha*.²²⁷ Red was the color of the dress worn by the mythical Inka *qoya* Mama Ocllo at the time of her emergence from Pacaritambo (one of the locations from which the Inka purportedly first appeared) and was also prominent in the garments worn by women sacrificed to Ilyapa, the lightning spirit, on high mountain summits.²²⁸ The *unku* worn by the provincial initiates to the rank of *orejones* during part of the ascension ceremony are described as “a red tunic with a white stripe across the middle from the bottom to the top of the tunic with a certain blue border at the bottom of the tunic.” The male members of the Cuzco elite are described as wearing red *unku* reaching their ankles during the thirty days in which songs to Sun were sung by the initiates.²²⁹ Thus, red and its associated dye material were one of the ultimate symbols of status in Tawantinsuyu.

Although much more sparingly used than red, purple was likely reserved for the Inka elite, in both tapestry and warp-faced garments. Dark purple, often mistaken for black due to fading, appears in the geometric patterns of “diamond waist band” *unku*, the “black” squares in the checkerboard pattern of the military *unku*, and *tokapu* seen in the

²²⁶ Phipps, “Cochineal Red.” 23, 26.

²²⁷ Stone, “And All Theirs Different from His’: The Dumbarton Oaks Royal Inka Tunic in Context.” 392

²²⁸ Phipps, “Cochineal Red.” 22, 24.

²²⁹ Betanzos, *Narrative of the Incas*. 61, 63.

Dumbarton Oaks Royal *unku*.²³⁰ In women's garments it is used for patterns and stripes within the folded rectangular *anaku* and mantles found on *capacocha* mummies and figurines. It is also described as worn by young Inka women assisting in the *orejón* initiation ceremony.²³¹ The Inka's requirement that all their subjects' garments must remain distinct from their own, combined with the color's use in military *unku*, official ceremonial garments, and those identifying the wearer as being in the Inka's service, indicate that its use was likely prohibited for local subjects' clothing.

The Colonial period changes to wide lateral-stripe *isallu* and Inka-style *silku* in both *isallu* and *qhawa* are perhaps the best illustrations of the results of lifting Inka color scheme restrictions for local elites. The change from red to pink and from green to a light purple, as well as the elimination of the dark purple/black in the monochrome sections of Inka-style *pit'akipata* indicate that, while the emblematic colors of Inka official positions were not eliminated, select colors were definitively changed to reflect local preferences. The use of purple in place of the green, the lightening of the shades of red, and the occasional substitution of pink in the wide-stripe section of wide lateral-stripe *isallu* is comparable to the exponential expansion of colors used for colonial versions of *tokapu* designs woven in tapestry *unku*, *lliklla*, and *anaku*; the composition remains recognizable as Inka in origin, while simultaneously reflecting the new ability of individuals to alter aspects of it at will, particularly colors.²³²

²³⁰ Phipps, "Miniature Tunic (*Uncu*) with Checkerboard Design (Cat. No. 12)." Elena Phipps, "Man's Tunic (*Uncu*) (Cat. No. 18)," in *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork 1530-1830*, ed. Johanna Hecht and Cristina Esteras Martin (New York; New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Yale University Press, 2004), 153–56. Phipps, "Man's Tunic (*Uncu*) (Cat. No. 9)."

²³¹ Rowe, "Inca Weaving and Costume." 14-16, 18-21.

²³² Pillsbury, "Inka Unku," 2002. 80.

Color in *Isallu* Compositions

Recent anthropological studies by Arnold, Espejo and Miriam de Diego on modern Aymara textiles suggest that the colors of earlier *isallu* compositions likely also represent aspects of agricultural production, camelid herding, or the production or control of other material goods. I argue that these theories are applicable due to the similarity between pre-Hispanic and Colonial *isallu* compositions and those of modern mantles, bags used for the storage of agricultural products, and textiles connected to camelid husbandry. Arnold, Diego, and Espejo interpret the composition of modern mantles, called *awayu*, worn in Aymara communities both for everyday and ceremonial occasions, as complex representations of all the reciprocal actions which define Andean culture played out in various spaces.²³³ Modern *awayu* have a comparable composition to *pampa/pallai lliklla* in that three basic components: monochrome *pampa*; *salta* (groupings of monochrome colored stripes and stripes containing selected-warp designs); and the *t'irja* (border) used for fastening the garment across a woman's shoulders (figure 3.1).²³⁴ The *pampa* represent future production or land at the stage in which it is fallow or not in use. The warp patterns in the *salta* signal the actions of people, animals, and spiritual beings in an agricultural, social, or spiritual contexts. The monochrome stripes

²³³ Arnold, de Diego, and Espejo, "On the Relation between Andean Textile Iconography and Woven Techniques." 287-289, 295-298.

²³⁴ Denise Y. Arnold, "Textiles, Knotted Khipu, and a Semiosis in Common: Towards a Woven Language of Documentation in the Andes," in *Textiles, Technical Practice, and Power in the Andes*, ed. Denise Y. Arnold and Penelope Dransart (London: Archetype Publications, 2014), 23–45. 35.

of various colors comprise records of harvested produce, with width of the stripes indicating yield.²³⁵

Arnold and Espejo have demonstrated through their fieldwork among various Aymara communities in Bolivia and Chile, as well as the comparative study of pre-Hispanic textiles, that the patterns on many types of bags and cloths used for the storage and transportation of agricultural and animal-based products form the basis of a system of documenting the productive process and the forms of a given product (such as potatoes, meat, or seeds) at various stages in the productive cycle (as dried, seed, fresh, etc.).²³⁶ The system is incredibly complex, and details vary according to specific regions and products; however, there are several basic common elements uncovered by the authors. Within farming regions (such as Qaqachaka) sections of *k'uthu* and *patapata* patterns represent the areas in which crops are sown.²³⁷ The hue and number of colors used represents the number and type of crops. The *patapata* pattern indicates that the crops are in the early stages of growth, while *k'uthu* indicates the crops are already thriving but not yet harvested. In the case of *k'uthu*, odd counts of warp threads (*ch'ulla k'uthu*) represent the potential for production, while even counts (*paris k'uthu*) represent something that is complete and fully mature.²³⁸ Among the K'ultha (a neighboring *ayllu* of Qaqachaka) who are camelid herders rather than agriculturalists, odd-and even-count *k'uthu* patterns

²³⁵ Arnold, de Diego, and Espejo, "On the Relation between Andean Textile Iconography and Woven Techniques." 288. Arnold, "Textiles, Knotted Khipu, and a Semiosis in Common: Towards a Woven Language of Documentation in the Andes." 35-36.

²³⁶ Elvira Espejo and Denise Y. Arnold, "Woven Techniques and Social Interactions in the South Central Andes: Ladder Designs and the Visualization of Productive Output," in *Textiles, Technical Practice, and Power in the Andes*, ed. Denise Y. Arnold and Penelope Dransart (London: Archetype Publications, 2014). 304, 320-321, 323.

²³⁷ Espejo and Arnold. 313.

²³⁸ Espejo and Arnold. 311-312, 315.

communicate the same basic associations of potential and completed.²³⁹ In this context, odd-count *k'uthu* patterns are woven in ceremonial textiles used to represent the fertility of the camelids, and the colors correspond to the hoped-for color variations in pelt produced through selective breeding.²⁴⁰ Even-count *k'uthu* represent the non-generative product of camelid husbandry, namely fresh and dried meat, and is used in the bags and cloths used to transport these products to the home kitchen or the market.²⁴¹

Unlike *kunkani isallu*, *awayu* do not feature selected-warp patterns in the body of the textile (although they are present in the *ch'uku* and *silku* of some examples) and are organized differently; however, similar to *awayu*, they are composed of *pampa* and groupings of stripes (the wide/narrow stripe combinations, center sections, and lateral stripes). Three-part *isallu* are distinct from *awayu* in that they do not consist of *pampa* alternating with groups of stripes in addition to lateral stripes; yet, they still share the basic compositional components of stripes and *pampa*. Additionally, the compositions of the various striped sections in both *kunkani* and three-part *isallu*, are also strikingly similar to those found in the agricultural bags: the same types of *k'uthu* and *patapata* patterns form part of lateral stripes in three-part *isallu* and the center sections of *kunkani isallu*.²⁴² These similarities make it possible to apply these various findings to three-part and *isallu* colonial color schemes, and shed light on the significance of colors used in

²³⁹ Espejo and Arnold. 322. The terms however are slightly different as the odd count patterns are called *mira k'uthu* rather than *ch'ulla k'uthu*.

²⁴⁰ Espejo and Arnold. 322-323.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² Espejo and Arnold, "Woven Techniques and Social Interactions in the South Central Andes: Ladder Designs and the Visualization of Productive Output." 304-305.

various components, the transition from undyed to dyed thread, and the complex balance between the different types of information and concepts represented.

High social status or ceremonial importance, rather than a direct representation of a specific product or process, is arguably represented in both *kunkani* and three-part *isallu pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes woven completely with dyed thread. Within the blue, pink-red, and alternating stripe categories of *kunkani isallu*, the number of examples with *pampa* woven entirely with dyed thread or *lluq'ita ch'ankha* composed of two colors (referred to hereafter as dyed/dyed) is relatively small. Furthermore, the colors are restricted to shades of pink, red, blue, and purple which express prestige in social terms (cat. nos. 58, 65, 72, 74, 75, 78, and 86). A similar trend is present within narrow lateral-stripe *isallu*; only five contain *pampa* woven with dyed thread rather than undyed thread or undyed/dyed thread combinations of *lluq'ita ch'ankha* (cat. nos. 121, 130, 131, 132, and 142).

The relationship between the color and type of the center *k'uthu*, the narrow stripes, and the lateral stripes suggests that within *kunkani isallu*, these components represent crops, the products of animal husbandry, or other material goods and their generative processes. Arnold and Espejo's research indicates that the use of *k'uthu* patterns of various counts and combinations to represent products and labor process is extremely common among contemporary Andean indigenous peoples (both Aymara and Quechua) and thus it is logical to conclude that its use in the center sections of *kunkani isallu*, either within a wide stripe or alone, carries the same significance.²⁴³ There is also

²⁴³ Espejo and Arnold, 304, 320-321, 323.

a similar consensus on the use of narrow monochrome stripes on the borders of *pampa* in *awayu* to represent crop or product yields. Therefore, the use of the same colors in the *k'uthu* and lateral stripes in fifteen of the nineteen Colonial period *isallu* containing *k'uthu*, supports my interpretation of the lateral stripes as representing products of some kind (cat. nos. 51, 55, 58, 61-65, 67, 68, 72, 74-79, and 86).

There also is a close correspondence between the colors of the narrow stripes within the wide stripes, the *k'uthu*, and the lateral stripes, making it probable that they have the same or a similar significance. Out of the eighteen, only cat. nos. 51 and 84 have narrow stripes which do not match either the *k'uthu* or the lateral stripes. In thirteen examples all three elements share one or more colors (cat. nos. 55, 58, 61, 63-65, 67, 72, 74-76, 78, and 86). Although there is the possibility that the significance of the colors is not precisely the same, the two instances in which the narrow stripes are a unique color indicate that a different color could be selected if it were necessary to make a distinction between the three. Cat. nos. 51 and 84 share virtually identical compositions with four other examples; however, in the other four the *k'uthu*, narrow stripes, and lateral stripes all share the color scheme of pink and light pink (cat. nos. 61, 63, 67, and 76). Thus, the use of a different color for the narrow stripes, light purple for cat. no. 51 and undyed brown for cat. no. 84, indicates a desire to differentiate between the narrow stripes and these other elements, a step that would not be necessary if the significance attached to the colors pink and light pink were different according to the elements in which they were used.

It is most probable that the wide stripes and the wide stripe used in the *k'uthu*/wide stripe center variation, represent a demarcated space --whether physical or conceptual-- in which a given action is performed or a product is stored. The different colors may be coded to represent cultivated land (as opposed to the uncultivated or unused land of the *pampa*) land controlled by certain individuals or groups, storage spaces, or other domestic spaces within which other productive or ritual process occurs. The identification of narrow stripes and *k'uthu* as likely representations of products provides substantial support for this interpretation, as does the very existence of the *k'uthu* center variation lacking the wide stripe. Without the stripe directly adjacent to the *pampa* in the composition, the product/process would be represented as located on the border of an inactive space. This indicates that the same processes or products could also, under certain circumstances, have a physical or theoretical tie to spaces other than those represented by the wide stripes and identifies the latter as an embodiment of space in the same manner as *pampa*.

While it seems clear that *k'uthu*, narrow stripes, and lateral stripes represent either products or their associated generative processes in actual or theoretical form, what exactly they and their attendant colors represent cannot be determined for a majority of *kunkani isallu* compositions without further informant information. Blue, pink, and purple, which account for the majority of the color palette, are not part of the current color-coding systems as recorded by anthropologists. Red, while playing a prominent role, conveys a multitude of meanings within these contemporary systems; thus, significance in older textiles cannot be identified without further contextual information. The majority of examples have *paris* or even-count *k'uthu* (cat. nos. 51, 63, 64, 67, 68,

74-76, 78, 79, 82, 84, and 86) rather than *ch'ulla* or odd-count *k'uthu* (cat. nos. 55, 61, and 65), in the center sections. This suggests that it was more common to represent completed products or processes (rather than those in process) in the center section, but there are few clues as to their identities. The unique narrow stripe colors of cat. nos. 51 and 84 reveals that there was no requirement for the same product/process to be represented in the wide stripes and the center section, although such combinations are rare.

Although the specific details may never be known, I argue that additional evidence suggests that the *k'uthu* colors and patterns as well as the colors of the narrow and lateral stripes in general, represent the generative processes and their products which contribute to the wearer's material wealth. Besides representing agricultural products and processes, *paris k'uthu* has another set of meanings among the Qaqachaka. These patterns are used to represent the belongings of married couples; when they are used in the striped blankets called *phullu* or *chusi* as opposed to storage bags, they serve as a means of documenting assets.²⁴⁴ *Ch'ulla k'uthu* patterns serve as a means of generating yield by the K'ultha herders who weave them into the *phullu* they place over the entrances of corrals; contact between the cloth and the animals is believed to stimulate them to reproduce the desired number and color of offspring, thereby multiplying the herd and increasing the owner's prosperity.²⁴⁵ The fact that these sets of meanings are attached to the patterns as they are used in mantles or blankets, as opposed to bags or other cloths,

²⁴⁴ Espejo and Arnold. 315.

²⁴⁵ Espejo and Arnold. 322. This is comparable to the practice of covering sacred *w'aka* with textiles in order to "capture" their essence and were brought to Cuzco as a way of keeping local ancestors and deities hostage.

increases the likelihood that similar significance was attached to them in *kunkani isallu* compositions, especially when they were woven in prestige colors created by indigo and cochineal dyes to heighten their connotations of wealth. Together with the association of lateral stripes with agricultural harvests, and the use of narrow lateral stripes to represent associated products or processes, these three components are a representation of a given group or individual's current or prospective assets which entitle them to elevated status.

This interpretation also provides two possible explanations for the use of two rather than three wide stripes. If these elements represent material wealth production, then the number of wide stripes represents the variable number of spaces in which this production occurs. The use of two stripes could indicate a lower degree of wealth and prestige. However, given the association of even counts with completed sets and odd with continuing generation established by Arnold and Espejo, together with the large number of three-striped examples, I believe it is more likely that the use of three indicated the expectancy of future increases in the amount of space available for production or storage.

It is possible to gain a general understanding of the significance of Late Horizon three-part *isallu* and their Colonial period *isallu* descendants through a similar application of anthropological studies, an examination of their use in Inka religious contexts, and analysis of the changes made to color and pattern throughout the Colonial period. In the Late Horizon, I argue that all wide lateral-stripe and certain narrow lateral-stripe and bichrome *isallu* and *lliklla* were textile-medium documents of the agricultural production conducted in certain regions, similar in manner to the symbolism of the compositional components in *kunkani isallu*. However, instead of functioning as a general symbol of the

prosperity of certain groups, these garments were signs of an individual's/family's/ayllu's prestige based on their relationship with the Inka, represented through a visual code that was standardized throughout Tawantinsuyu.

As previously stated, it can be reasonably assumed that the central *pampa* of three-part *isallu* represent land in an unused or dormant state, while various lateral stripes on each side represent the yield of certain crops. It can also be assumed, as in *kunkani isallu*, modern *awayu*, and other textiles, that the *k'uthu* or *patapata* patterns in the lateral sections also represent finished products or production processes. Wide-stripe *isallu* have a large lateral section of undyed thread, a compositional component which does not have a comparable modern equivalent. Its color and placement alone are insufficient to determine whether it represents another productive space, as do the wide stripes in *kunkani isallu*, or rather, a large yield of a single product. However, its identification does not necessarily impede the process of interpreting the compositions of these two styles, since the addition of a crop or productive space does not significantly alter the relationship between the key components of *pampa*, lateral stripes, and *k'uthu/patapata*.

The stripe colors of Late Horizon wide lateral-stripes suggest that this style represented people who functioned as representatives of the Inka state in various ceremonial contexts. As previously stated, these are the principle colors within the official Inka color scheme used in *unkus* and other types of women's clothing identified as worn by elite Inka women. As such, they would have been part of the sumptuary code and only permitted in clothing by express permission of the Inka government. As discussed in chapter two, the color and arrangement of these stripes is the common

element between the miniature mantles and the full-sized one found at Pachacamac (figures 2.22-2.24). This type of standardization is the core principle of official Inka garment construction, such as the military *unku*, worn by men from a variety of backgrounds when they represented the state in key capacities.²⁴⁶ Thus, these garments could have functioned as means of transforming Aymara women, of non-Inka origin, into high-level official representatives, a theory which merits further study.

As further regards the promotion of women under the Inka, important state religious ceremonies were conducted on a regular basis at Pachacamac, one of the most important provincial sacred sites in Tawantinsuyu. After the Inka gained control of the site, they constructed a temple dedicated to Inti or the Sun, their titular deity, within the pre-existing sacred precinct. This was the same in which the principle temple to the oracle and coastal deity known as Pachacamac or “Earth Maker,” by the Late Horizon, was located and whose cult was of ongoing importance.²⁴⁷ The full-sized mantle (figure 2.24) was excavated from underneath the front terrace of the Inka Temple of the Sun.²⁴⁸ This find spot provides an additional link between this mantle style and elite women involved in state religious ritual; few people, even among the Inka elite, were allowed inside these sacred spaces besides those responsible for conducting ceremonies.²⁴⁹

The use of the colors for the stripes rather than the *pampa* or the *patapata* suggests that these garments also functioned as representation of crops and other products

²⁴⁶ D’Altroy, *The Incas*. 425-6. Pillsbury, “Inka Unku,” 2002. 70.

²⁴⁷ Peter Eeckhout, “Change and Permanency on the Coast of Ancient Peru: The Religious Site of Pachacamac,” *World Archaeology* 45, no. 1 (2013): 137–160. 143-145, 147. D’Altroy, *The Incas*. 256.

²⁴⁸ Rowe, “Inca Weaving and Costume.” 18, figure 22.

²⁴⁹ D’Altroy, *The Incas*. 254-255.

used in these ceremonies. Each province in the Empire was required to set aside certain fields and herds of llama for ceremonial offerings, especially those dedicated to the Sun/Inti.²⁵⁰ Some of the produce from these fields, such as maize, was made into ceremonial food and drink, especially *aqha* (more commonly known as *chicha*) by the *mamakuna* or *acllakuna*, women dedicated to the service of the Inka administration.²⁵¹ It is impossible to verify if the women who wore these mantles were *mamakuna*, but it is conceivable that the dedication of crops or food products for religious use was seen as representative of the dedication of women to state service.

The lack of these Inka colors within the body of narrow lateral-stripe *isallu*, even those with Inka-style *silku*, as well as the diverse range of regional color schemes created in the early Colonial period, suggest that the crop yields represented by the stripes could represent general tribute paid to the Inka from state lands, rather than that specifically designated for sacrificial or religious use grown on lands dedicated to the Sun or other deities.²⁵² In this context, these products may have represented the obligations of local elites (who supervised the production and collection of this tribute) to the Inka.²⁵³ The use of different variations of *silku* also indicate that this composition was not used exclusively to represent the agricultural production conducted by local communities on behalf of the Inka. Those without Inka-style *silku* could have functioned in the same

²⁵⁰ D'Altroy. 255.

²⁵¹ D'Altroy. 255, 301. A house for *mamakuna* or *acllakuna* was excavated at Pachacamac, indicating that non-Inka elite women were in residence and active at this site.

²⁵² D'Altroy. 401, 404.

²⁵³ D'Altroy. 397-398, 401.

manner as *kunkani isallu*, representations of the local harvest and prosperity not related to Inka patronage, such as the produce from the private lands controlled by local rulers.²⁵⁴

The changes in the Colonial period color schemes and patterns of wide and narrow lateral stripe *isallu* indicate how representations of Inka affiliation could continue to be an important symbol of status until visual ties with the Inka became seen as treasonous in the eyes of the Spanish after the rebellions of the late eighteenth century. In both wide and narrow lateral-stripe styles, the patterns in the lateral section changed from *patapata* to *paris k'uthu*, with three exceptions (cat. no. 121 has *patapata* and cat. nos. 130 and 141 have *ch'ulla k'uthu*) and the colors red and yellow were used instead of various shades of undyed thread. The choice of these colors for the lateral stripe *k'uthu* patterns, previously discussed as representing Inka agriculture as well forming part of the official color scheme, suggest that in the case of both styles, the wearers wanted to represent their supervision or participation in the production of goods for use by the Inka state or religious hierarchy. However, the switch from *patapata* to *paris k'uthu* also may well indicate that they wanted to represent their relationship with the previous ruling group as finished, which would have been highly politically expedient. Further, such a tie to the Inka could appear as only generally symbolic rather than as a more controversial record of region-specific obligations to produce a certain product after the defeat of the Inka by the Spanish.

It may be impossible to determine the reasons for the substitution of purple for green in colonial wide lateral-stripe *isallu*, and the elimination of the purple from the later

²⁵⁴ D'Altroy. 407-408.

pink-red lateral stripe style. However, it is clear that women desired to represent past, perhaps familial, connections with certain ceremonies or rituals as a sign of status. They may have continued to serve as local religious specialists for *w'aka* until apprehended by the Catholic authorities and the sacred sites destroyed, a process which occurred throughout the Colonial period due to the reluctance of indigenous peoples to abandon their own traditions.²⁵⁵

The change in the color of the wide lateral section from undyed shades of fiber to pink is likely due to two factors and supports the interpretation of this component as a productive space, comparable to *kunkani isallu* wide stripes, rather than as harvested crop. As in *kunkani isallu*, the use of bright colors for components previously woven in undyed thread was a representation of status which did not change their primary significance as representations of harvests or productive spaces. This shift did not carry over into the *pampa*, which was not woven with monochrome dyed or dyed/dyed *lluq'ita ch'ankha*. This suggests that the primary significance of these components required a color-based distinction; all the pre-Hispanic wide lateral-stripe examples always have wide lateral sections in a shade of natural fiber different from that of the central *pampa*. This distinction between the two components, comparable to the difference between *kunkani isallu* wide stripes and *pampa* seems to indicate that wide lateral sections are representations of space, rather than objects.

²⁵⁵ Sabine MacCormack, "Gods, Demons, and Idols in the Andes," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 67, no. 4 (2006): 623–647. 626-628, Pablo José de Arriaga, *The Extirpation of Idolatry in Peru*, trans. L. Clark Keating (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1968). 12-13, 16, 19-21, 80-90.

This analysis of the colors and patterning of the various components of *kunkani* and three-part *isallu*, while based on later pieces and involving ethnographic analogy within the same cultural traditions, nevertheless contributes greatly to our understanding of the general significance of these earlier garments. The relationship between the colors of the *pampa*, wide and narrow stripes, and lateral stripes in *kunkani isallu* makes it possible to identify the ways in which each contributed to the representation of wealth and status related to subsistence production. The use of colors associated with the Inka state, both before and after the Conquest, in addition to the creation of the pink-red lateral-stripe substyle, suggest that three-part *isallu* composition often represented the wearer's relationship with the former rulers.

Color Significance in *Qhawa* Compositions

Unlike *isallu*, it is much more difficult to identify the significance colors carried in pre-Hispanic and Colonial period *qhawa* beyond the likelihood that they served as representations of high status. Comparatively little research has been conducted on the compositions of contemporary men's ponchos (the descendants of *qhawa*) in comparison with women's mantles. Furthermore, none have compositions (including patterns) or color schemes comparable to those of pre-Hispanic and Colonial period *suku suku*, *apita*, or *qulini qhawa*. Thus, it is not prudent to use the significance of these contemporary garments as a means of interpreting their *qhawa* ancestors. There is insufficient archaeological information attached to the few *qhawa* identified as excavated from burials for any information to be deduced from these contexts as was possible in the case

of three-part *isallu*. Although the similarities among the examples of *apita* and *qulini qhawa* styles allows for some deductions to be made; however, there is not enough consistency among the *suku suku qhawa* color schemes or compositions to draw conclusions based on visual analysis.

Despite these caveats, there is a discernable pattern in the colors used in the selected-warp pattern stripes in *apita qhawa*, contrasting with the diversity of the possible colors for the monochrome sections. Regardless of the pattern, blue, pink-red, and yellow form the color schemes of the selected-warp patterned stripes of cat. no. 19 (which contains bright pink monochrome sections, figure 3.2), cat. no. 39 (which contains green-blue monochrome sections, figure 3.3), and two of the four stripes in cat. no. 38 (which contain bright purple monochrome sections, figure 3.4). The remaining two selected-warp pattern stripes in cat. no. 38, as well as three of the five in cat. no. 40 (which contain yellow monochrome sections, figures 3.5a and b) contain blue, pink-red, yellow, and white. Unfortunately, at this time there is no way to determine the factors which influenced the choice of color for the monochrome sections and selected-warp pattern stripes.

There are several indications that the colors of *qulini qhawa* may have functioned in a similar way to those in *kunkani* and three-part *isallu*, namely as representations of productive spaces, processes, and final products. The most compelling evidence is the composition of the lateral sections of cat. no. 42. Each contains a central stripe woven with a complex combination of *paris* and *ch'ulla k'uthu* in blue and yellow flanked on each side by a stripe containing various shades of pink. The representation of beginning

and completed generative processes via *k'uthu* suggests that the pink lateral stripes in turn represent their resulting products. There is no other *qulini qhawa* in the corpus which contains *k'uthu* or *patapata* in the lateral sections, and without more evidence for a link between lateral stripes and products it is currently not possible impossible to extend this identification of lateral sections as representing subsistence production beyond this example. However, the range of meanings attached to *ll'uque*, a prominent feature of *qulini qhawa*, provide the information necessary to discern the function of these elements as records of relationships between products or the use of space.

Ll'uque

Contemporary textile terminology from Aymara communities in the province of Avaroa demonstrates that combinations of left-and right-ply threads serve two purposes in modern Aymara clothing. The noun *lluq'i* is defined as “a finishing technique in the warp with the use of threads spun to the left so that the corners of the cloth do not fold up.”²⁵⁶ The verb *lluq'ir k'anthiña* is defined as “To ply to the left to produce left-ply thread or *lluq'ir ch'ankha*. This form of spinning is used with the ritual intent of protecting the user of the cloth.”²⁵⁷ It is likely that the use of left-ply thread (with or without and accompanying group of right-ply thread) in the *pampa* lateral stripes of *isallu* served this practical purpose. It is also possible that an overarching association of left-ply thread with the more spiritual purpose of protection has long connected all the different uses of left-ply thread and *ll'uque* patterns.

²⁵⁶ Juan de Dios Yapita, Denise Y. Arnold, and Elvira Espejo, *Los términos textiles aymaras de la región Asanaque: vocabulario semántico según la cadena productiva*, 2014. 76.

²⁵⁷ Yapita, Arnold, and Espejo. 57.

However, these two practical and ritualistic functions do not provide a satisfactory explanation for the appearance of this technique, as well as the diversity of combinations with right-ply thread, within other textile compositional components whose general roles as embodiments of agricultural and social relationships have been previously established. Contemporary ethnographic fieldwork in both Aymara and Quechua-speaking communities and evidence from pre-Hispanic and Colonial period *kipu* indicates that the various patterns of *ll'uque* and left ply in stripes, center sections, *pampa*, and *saya* present in colonial *isallu* and *qhawa* may well serve as embodiments or metaphors of alliances and obligations regarding land usage and records of various product types.

On the basis of her fieldwork in the communities of the Qaqachaka *ayllu*, Arnold argues that woven textiles (clothes, bags, coca cloths, etc.) and the knotted *kipu* were two halves of the same system for documenting various aspects of pre-Hispanic Andean communal life, and that textiles from later periods continue to operate in this system even as *kipu* themselves gradually fell out of general use.²⁵⁸ She identifies each as representing the different roles assigned to each gender in highland Andean communities: women were responsible for recording information for a single community in their mantles, while men encoded the same types of information for an entire region in *kipu* which were passed to the governing authorities. Notably, all the officials responsible for

²⁵⁸ Arnold, "Textiles, Knotted *Khipu*, and a Semiosis in Common: Towards a Woven Language of Documentation in the Andes." 23. *Khipu* relating directly to spiritual or shamanic practice were banned in 1583 CE by the Third Lima Council, although administrative *kipu* continued to be used after this date. See Galen Brokaw, *A History of the Khipu*, Cambridge Latin American Studies ; 94 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010). 211.

kipu in Tawantinsuyu, called *kipukamayuc*, were men.²⁵⁹ *Khipu* were still used as part of this system until two generations ago in several Aymara-speaking communities.²⁶⁰

The relationship between *kipu* and garments as complementary methods of documentation, as well as the importance of spin and ply direction in *kipu* from the pre-Hispanic to the late twentieth century, means that the significance of left-ply versus right-ply threads in *kipu* may be useful as a starting point for interpreting the development of *ll'uque* in garments. During the time of the Inka, Silverman argues that the placement of a knot in the left or right direction recorded the movement of goods or services between communities and the Inka government; right knots and cords indicated that something had been received or paid and left that the state had given out goods or fulfilled an obligation.²⁶¹ Contemporary Andean accounting practices and records of obligations still retain these directional associations; in many modern Bolivian highland communities, knots tied with the right hand record a gain or debt repayment, whereas those made by the left hand indicate the transference of goods or the creation of an obligation.²⁶²

Another use of modern *kipu* documented within the Aymara-speaking region of Ventaimedia and Peñas in the Department of Oruro indicates that left and right-ply

²⁵⁹ Brokaw, *A History of the Khipu*. 98-99.

²⁶⁰ Arnold, "Textiles, Knotted *Khipus*, and a Semiosis in Common: Towards a Woven Language of Documentation in the Andes." 31-33. As of 2002, the community of San Andrés de Tupicocha in Huarochiri Province in Peru still used *kipu* as references regarding kinship and *ayllu* lineage. See Frank Salomon, "Patrimonial Khipu in a Modern Peruvian Village," in *Narrative Threads: Accounting and Recounting in Andean Khipu*, ed. Jeffrey Quilter and Gary Urton (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2002), 293-319.

²⁶¹ Gail P Silverman, *The Signs of Empire: Inca Writing* (Cusco: Editorial Kopygraf E.I.R.L., 2012). 178.

²⁶² Arnold, "Textiles, Knotted *Khipu*, and a Semiosis in Common: Towards a Woven Language of Documentation in the Andes." 38.

threads could also be used to represent the relationship between two different products or crops. In 1994, anthropologist Nelson Pimentel conducted a series of interviews with Aymara informant named Don Mario Crispín, who had spoken with two *kipikamayocs* who were in charge of hundreds of *kipu* and was able to describe in detail their construction and function as recording devices.²⁶³ These *kipu* recorded every aspect of life in these regions: demographic information of the various *ayllu*, agricultural production, animal husbandry, festivals, water resources, and conflicts.²⁶⁴ Within their complex structure, the ply direction of the pendant or hanging cords was used to represent two distinct objects which both belonged within a larger category. Pimentel gives the example of red cords which universally recorded animals raised for meat, but when placed next to each other, the one plied to the right represented *llamas* and one to the left represented sheep.²⁶⁵

The concept of associating the left or right orientation of fiber with interpersonal relationships and exchanges tied to agriculture has a direct connection with backbone pattern *ll'uque* in men's and women's garments within the modern Quechua speaking Q'ero people. Silverman recorded that backbone pattern *ll'uque*, called by the Q'ero *ll'oqe pañamanta*, was used in monochrome sections of *unku* (an example is cat. no. 49), *lliklla*, and bags and cloths for coca.²⁶⁶ The Q'ero men and women she interviewed in

²⁶³ Nelson Pimentel, "De qué y cómo 'hablan' los khipu etnográficos aymaras," in *Sistemas de notación inca: Quipu y Tocapu: actas del simposio internacional, Lima 15-17 de enero de 2009*, ed. Carmen Arellano Hoffmann (Lima: Ministerio de Cultura; Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú; Qhapaq Ñan, Perú, Sede Nacional, 2014). 179-180.

²⁶⁴ Pimentel. 181-182.

²⁶⁵ Pimentel. 186

²⁶⁶ Silverman, *The Signs of Empire*. 173.

2004 stated that “When there is *ll’oqe pañamanta* in the *lliklla*, in the *uncu*, it says that there is a black uncultivated land for you, and one black uncultivated land for me.”²⁶⁷

Silverman provides no further elaboration in her publications on this explanation beyond observing that although *ll’oqe pañamanta* represents uncultivated land, this land has been claimed. It is unclear whether the use of this technique records actual land arrangements between entities or is simply a metaphor for the system of mutual obligations which has governed Andean agriculture since pre-Hispanic times. However, it is clear for that the Q’ero, their version of backbone pattern *ll’uque* is a means of expressing the relations between people via their control over different agricultural fields.

The combination of complementary two elements in both *ll’uque* patterns is representative of the core Andean organizational principles of duality and reciprocal relationships, encapsulated in the word *ayni* in both Quechua and Aymara.²⁶⁸ *Ayni* is rooted in the Andean environment, in which cooperation between those living in different ecological zones (the arid desert, the high mountains, and the lowland valleys) was necessary for survival.²⁶⁹ Aymara *warami* organization was founded on this principle: all land held by Aymara-speaking people was divided into Urcosuyu and Umasuyu divisions, with each *warami* identifying their territory as belonging to one, and in the case of the Pakasa and Lupaqa a certain amount of land in both.²⁷⁰ Thus, *ll’uque* is an ideal technique for representing relationships based in land and personal relations.

²⁶⁷ Silverman. 176.

²⁶⁸ Stone, “Dialogues in Thread: The Quechua Concepts of *Ayni*, *Ukhu*, *Tinku*, *Q’iwa*, and *Ushay*,” in *Threads of Time: Tradition and Change in Indigenous American Textiles*, 2017, <http://threads-of-time.carlos.emory.edu/exhibits/show/essays/dialoguesinthread>. Bouysse-Cassagne, *La identidad aymara*. 199-200.

²⁶⁹ Stone, “Dialogues in Thread”

²⁷⁰ Bouysse-Cassagne, *La identidad aymara*. 209-211.

While the relationship between the meanings attached to the backbone pattern *ll'uque* by the Q'ero and the use of left-plied cords in *kipu* makes it possible to propose interpretations of the uses of this pattern as well as many of the isolated groups of left-plied threads in colonial Aymara garments, it is much more difficult to identify possible meanings for the 1 left/1 right pattern.²⁷¹ Its use in the same locations as the backbone pattern within *isallu* and *qhawa* compositions suggests that it also recorded land use and distribution and relationships between different kinds of crops/products. However, it remains impossible, given the current information to identify the differences between those represented by each pattern.

Ll'uque and left-plied thread in *isallu* compositions

Generally, in *kunkani isallu*, *ll'uque* patterns are found in the *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes. Cat. no. 82 is the only example with left-plied narrow stripes. Left-plied thread is also used on rare occasions for lateral stripes (cat. nos. 55 and 74). They are arguably the most variable and unique compositional element in *isallu*; no garment has exactly the same pattern. This high degree of variability, especially in contrast with the standardization of many other components, indicates that while the type of products,

²⁷¹ This cumulative anthropological and archaeological evidence also makes it unlikely that backbone pattern *ll'uque* in colonial Aymara clothing, despite its name, had a direct connection to fish or other mammals. There is precedent, (as I argued in the previous chapter) in the relationships between names of colors and objects for *k'ili* to indicate a connection between the animal and the pattern. However, *k'ili* refers specifically to the spinal column rather than the whole organism and is also used for spines in general. There is no evidence to suggest that a reference to spinal columns has significance in Aymara garments, and moreover, in modern times the word *k'ili* is used to refer to the twill patterns woven on peddle looms (See Yapita, Arnold, and Espejo, *Los términos textiles aymaras de la región Asanaque*. 69). Therefore, it is more likely that the pattern's name does not indicate its significance because its role is dependent on its color and position within the composition.

generative processes, and space represented were standardized, *ll'uque* recorded details unique to a community or individual.

Based on the anthropological work of Silverman, Arnold, and Pimentel, I propose that within the compositions of *kunkani isallu*, backbone and 1 left/1 right pattern *ll'uque* located in *pampa* and woven with the same color thread as the rest of the *pampa* warps records the use or control of land by different groups of people. When the *ll'uque* is located in the *pampa* and is woven in the same color, it is effectively the same as that woven in Q'ero *lliklla*, a point in favor of its use as a record of land control. Another is the appearance of *ll'uque* in the same patterns and locations in *pampa* regardless of the use of dyed or undyed thread.

The potential diversity of land-based relationships recorded in *pampa* by *ll'uque* is illustrated through the five Colonial period blue-striped examples (cat. nos. 51, 61, 63, 67, and 84) with comparable compositions. All five have brown undyed *pampa*, however, there are differences in the patterns of *ll'uque*. Cat. nos. 51 and 67 have the 1 left/ 1 right pattern in the final *pampa*, while cat. no. 63 has the backbone pattern in the same location. Cat. nos. 61 and 84 lack any *ll'uque* pattern in the *pampa*. The use of backbone and 1 left/1 right pattern in the final *pampa* of cat. nos. 51, 63, and 67 could represent agreements or obligations between parties that portions of land were to be shared. The lack of *ll'uque* or the use of left-ply thread in the *pampa* of cat. nos. 61 and 84 may indicate that there were no mutual obligations connected to this part of the total agricultural area and that it was controlled by a single entity.

In the few instances when the *ll'uque* has a more complicated and colorful arrangement, such as in cat. nos. 74 and 80, it is more likely that the colors of the left- and right-ply threads represent distinct crops cultivated/animals grazing in a given field or that different sections of the same area are at different stages of the production process. In cat. no. 74, which has blue *pampa*, the left-ply threads are blue/brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha* and the right are the same blue as the rest of the *pampa* warps. The composition of cat. no. 80 is even more intricate: the left-ply threads are light purple while the right are peach/gray *lluq'ita ch'ankha*, the same as the rest of the *pampa*. The color combination of cat. no. 74 raises the interesting possibility (that I explore more fully below) that the *lluq'ita ch'ankha* left-ply threads represent areas of land in different stage of productions as opposed to the indigo right-ply ones. The use of an unrelated color for the left-ply threads in cat. no. 80, rather than one of the two colors in the *lluq'ita ch'ankha*, may indicate that this portion of land is intended for a different crop or animal than its neighbors. Located in the *pampa*, the pattern still references land use; however, different color combinations are used to indicate a difference in the projected yield or the progress of product development.

The use of thread ply in opposing directions for components representing production yields in three examples is similar to the use of left-ply thread in *kipu* as described by Don Crispín, and thus likely records some relationship either between different product types or products that are otherwise identical. Left-ply threads create an additional distinction between the lateral stripes in cat. nos. 55 (pink right-ply and light pink left-ply) and 74 (red right-ply and pink left-ply). Cat. no. 82 has the most complex combination: the red stripes in both *khallu* are composed of right-ply thread,

the pink stripe in the right *khallu* is one half left-plied thread and one half 1 left/1 right pattern, and the pink stripe in the left *khallu* is composed of left-plied thread. In contemporary communities, different colors do not necessarily reference a different product; they are more commonly used to identify a single product at various processing stages (fresh from the field, cut up, dried, etc.). It is tempting to infer, given the close visual (and in the Andes technical) relationship between red and pink shades, that in these *isallu* the left- and right-plied threads represent different stages of the same product and thus record their connection to a larger category.²⁷² However, in the same anthropological studies, the colors used to represent the transformation of a given product are always different hues, black versus white, red versus yellow, etc., with no mention of the use of different shades of the same color for a similar purpose.²⁷³ Therefore, based on current research, it is ultimately not possible to confidently assign this significance to these color combinations of left- and right-plied threads.

Although the placement of *ll'uque* patterns and left-plied thread is different in three-part *isallu* as opposed to *kunkani isallu*, it is nevertheless equally variable, suggesting that it served the same function of representing reciprocal relationships unique to a given group or location. Backbone pattern *ll'uque* is never found in the central *pampa* and the only example of left-plied thread by itself in any element besides *pampa* lateral stripes is the light pink warps of the *paris k'uthu* in cat. no. 120. In narrow lateral-stripe *isallu*, it appears as part of the lateral stripes only in cat. no. 141, being more

²⁷² Both colors are the result of dyeing with cochineal, with the creation of the different shades dependent on the mordants and additives used. See Phipps, "Cochineal Red." Figure 10, page 15, and page 24. Stone, "The Best of the Best."

²⁷³ Espejo and Arnold, "Woven Techniques and Social Interactions in the South Central Andes: Ladder Designs and the Visualization of Productive Output." 313, 316, 318-319, 321.

common in the monochrome sections adjacent to or between *k'uthu* and *patapata* (cat. nos. 121, 125, and 132). It is most often used in the monochrome wide lateral sections of wide lateral-stripe and pink-red lateral-stripe *isallu*, found in eleven out of fifteen examples (cat. nos. 110-115, 117-119, and 143-144).

The two distinct uses of *ll'uque* in narrow lateral-stripe *isallu* are comparable to those seen in *kunkani isallu*, and thus likely record land use and relationships between different products depending on the compositional component in which it is located. The alternating left-plied black and right-plied purple narrow stripes in the lateral sections of cat. no. 141 clearly record a relationship between two different products. However, as in the case of the left- and right-plied thread in the lateral stripes of cat. nos. 55, 74, and 82, it is not currently possible to determine any further details due to a lack of information on the particular significance of the colors themselves.

The other use of the technique is highly variable: it appears as a part of one or more of the monochrome pink-red stripes between and/or adjacent to the *k'uthu* or *patapata* patterns in three examples out of twelve (cat. nos. 121, 125, and 132). As with the *ll'uque* in the *pampa* of cat. nos. 51, 61, 63, 67, and 84, the exact arrangement of the pattern is different in every example, suggesting that in these *kunkani isallu* the information recorded varied according to location or owner. The significance of these stripes has been hitherto overlooked in the interpretations of the *k'uthu* or *patapata* patterns, but the use of backbone pattern *ll'uque* within them provides an opportunity to uncover more details about their function within the pattern. The division of the various sections of these patterns by monochrome stripes suggests that the latter may be

references to sections of land not currently in production, or with a fully mature crop surrounding the places in which production is ongoing and distributed among different groups. This interpretation is supported by the variable appearance of backbone pattern *ll'uque* in these stripes, comparable to the diverse arrangements of both backbone and 1 left/1 right pattern in the monochrome *pampa* of *kunkani isallu*.

The backbone pattern *ll'uque* in the wide lateral sections of cat. nos. 143 and 144, a small repetition located in the portion immediately adjoining the *k'uthu*, is reminiscent of the pattern's positioning in *kunkani isallu pampa*. This similarity makes it likely that in the wide lateral-stripe style, backbone pattern *ll'uque* represented different uses and control of portions of land in the same way as in the *pampa* of *kunkani isallu*. However, as evidenced by the color distinction between these sections and the central *pampa*, the land in question is that actively under cultivation or whose crop is fully developed. The use of the same color of undyed brown thread for the *ll'uque* and the remainder of the wide lateral section in cat. no. 144 indicates that the pattern records control over plots of cultivated land. Conversely, the use of red/brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha* as the left-plied sections in cat. no. 143 (comparable to the pattern in the final *pampa* of cat. no. 74) indicates that in this garment the *ll'uque* records a different use of plots of land rather than a division between the groups working them.

The transformation of the wide lateral-stripe into the pink-red lateral-stripe style includes a shift in the use of backbone pattern *ll'uque* in the lateral sections. Different shades of pink or red are used for the left and right-plied sections respectively in cat. nos. 111-115, and 117-119, narrow stripes of pink and red without *ll'uque* appear in cat. no.

116, and unusual *paris k'uthu* with left-plied threads is used instead of either in cat. no. 120. The use of different shades of pink or red for the left- and right-plied sections indicates that in this case, the *ll'uque* records a relationship between two products. Conversely, the lack of *ll'uque* in cat. no. 116 likely indicates the lack of a relationship between the different products being produced in this space. Finally, the substitution of *paris k'uthu* with pink right-plied threads and light pink left-plied threads for narrow stripes and backbone pattern indicates that the *ll'uque* here records the production process, rather than the products being produced or the control over the space in which it occurs.

Ll'uque in Qhawa

The use of *ll'uque* in certain *qhawa* styles provides the pivotal means for interpreting the significance of their various components as records of production, comparable to those of *isallu*, due to its established connection with the recording of information in *kipu*. The connection between vertically oriented textiles and *kipu* is even closer than that between *kipu* and *isallu*: in the community of Tupicocha, the *kipu* still in use there are read by men as they hang vertically from their arms, and are compared to garments.²⁷⁴ These relationships between verticality and men's clothing indicate that some of the regional information contained in these *kipu* was transferred

²⁷⁴ Arnold, "Textiles, Knotted *Khipus*, and a Semiosis in Common: Towards a Woven Language of Documentation in the Andes." 28, 34. Salomon, "Patrimonial *Khipu* in a Modern Peruvian Village." 298, figure 12.2 on 300,

into *qhawa* via *ll'uque* patterns during the Late Colonial period as *khipu* use began to decline at a more accelerated rate.

The similarities between cat. no. 41 and contemporary Q'ero *unku* (a monochrome color scheme and backbone pattern *ll'uque* throughout the body of the garment) make it probable that these *qhawa* served the same purpose, acting as records of the distribution of uncultivated or unused land of a given region. As in the case of *kunkani isallu* with brightly colored monochrome *pampa*, their pink and dark blue *saya* likely serve as general signifiers of high status or ceremonial importance rather than a reference to a crop or type of animal. The backbone pattern *ll'uque* in the *saya* of cat. no. 42 cements the identification of this *qhawa* as a complete record of a productive cycle, whether agricultural or that of animal husbandry, in the same manner as a *kunkani* or three-part *isallu*.

The varying roles of backbone pattern *ll'uque* in the lateral section composition of cat. nos. 2, 3, 5-7, 9, 10, 12, 26, 29, and 49 indicate that, as in the lateral sections of wide lateral-stripe and pink-red lateral-stripe *isallu*, this technique could be used to record land distribution and/or the relationship between different products within the same productive space. The pattern lacks distinctive shades for the left- and right-plied sections in the majority of examples (cat. nos. 2, 3, 5-7, 9, 10, 26, and 49), thus likely representing the distribution of fallow or active land without reference to products. In cat. no. 29, yellow sections of backbone pattern *ll'uque* divide the groups of purple and yellow narrow stripes. Therefore, in this case, it is likely the *ll'uque* represents the division of fallow land with the harvested produce piled to the side. Finally, in cat. no. 12, the backbone

pattern *ll'uque* in the pink lateral sections displays different shades for the left- and right-plied threads, making the pattern a representation of the relationship between products in a currently active space.

Collectively, these usages of the pattern make it possible to identify the lateral sections in *qulini qhawa* generally as representations of productive or potentially productive space, which in a select number of examples, is divided into portions by different usages or amounts of harvested produce. However, further details of the significance of the *saya* and the details of the information they record remain uncertain, especially as they are not monochrome as in *isallu* and cat. no. 42, but rather composed of combinations of narrow and/or wide stripes. However, the identification of the lateral sections as recording information connected to land firmly establishes the purpose of this *qhawa* substyle to contain and communicate regional information. In turn, it provides a probable explanation for the increase of the style in the Late Colonial period. The complex compositions of *qulini qhawa*, with their distinctive *saya* and lateral sections, allow for the recording of a wide range of information covering different aspects of production. Thus, these garments were the ideal candidates to assume the now eclipsed functions of *khipu*.

Lluq'ita ch'ankha

Pre-Hispanic textiles from different cultures demonstrate that there existed at least two distinct purposes for *lluq'ita ch'ankha* thread within garments well before the

rise of the Inka and the arrival of the Spanish: as a stand-in within woven cloth for iridescent feathers in high-status Nasca woven mantles in the Early Intermediate Period, and as weft within warp-faced Aymara garments in the Late Intermediate Period. I will argue that the technique of *ll'uqita ch'ankha* served as an expression of the Andean concept called *ukhu* in both Quechua and Aymara when used as weft or in locations meant to be concealed by *silku* or *ch'uku*, its most common use in *qulini* and monochrome *qhawa*. Like *ayni*, *ukhu* is one of the cosmological concepts of the indigenous Andean worldview. In both Quechua and Aymara, *ukhu* is the concept of hiddenness which is emphasized by its revelation.²⁷⁵ In the case of *kunkani* and three-part *isallu*, when it is used within *pampa*, lateral stripe sections, or as part of *ll'uque* patterns, it also likely played a role in the complex recording system previously discussed in the context of color and *ll'uque*.

Archaeological and linguistic evidence indicates that the Aymara migrated to the highlands from the regions of Cañete and Nazca on the south coast of Peru (the region occupied by the Nasca culture in the Early Intermediate Period) at some point between the end of the Early Intermediate Period and the beginning of the Middle Horizon. Ceramic evidence demonstrates that they were established in the Lake Titicaca region by 800-1100 CE, the date range corresponding with the Tiwanaku V ceramic phase.²⁷⁶ As they originate from the same region in which the Nasca culture thrived, the Aymara may have been particularly aware of this method of aptly imitating iridescent materials. Much

²⁷⁵ Catherine J. Allen, "The Incas Have Gone Inside: Pattern and Persistence in Andean Iconography," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 42 (2002): 180–203. 193-195.

²⁷⁶ Platt, Bouysse-Cassagne, and Harris, *Qaraqara-Charka*. 25-26, see footnote 6. Charles Stanish, *Ancient Titicaca: The Evolution of Complex Society in Southern Peru and Northern Bolivia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003). 169.

later, free from Inka sumptuary laws, they were able to develop this technique to its full potential in a new direction: to imitate the new foreign materials whose color shifting qualities became a symbol of the height of textile luxury in the Colonial period.

Phipps argues that the technique of *lluq'ita ch'ankha* (she uses the term *ch'imi*) was developed as a direct result of the introduction of silk fabric imported from Spain, unique in its ability to create color contrasts through the iridescent quality of the fiber, with no precedent in pre-Hispanic textile techniques.²⁷⁷ However, threads of red/white and red/blue were consistently used to imitate the color-shifting iridescence of feathers in the three-dimensionally embroidered hummingbirds in fragments surviving from intricate Nasca mantles, more than half a millennium before the arrival of the Spanish.²⁷⁸ In an example from the Michael C. Carlos Museum, red/blue threads compose two hummingbirds' throats and red/white threads are used as either head, tail, throat, or wing feathers in seven birds (figure 1.62).²⁷⁹ These same color combinations are also used in hummingbirds in a mantle fragment now held in the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes in Buenos Aires: at least three birds have red/blue throats and at least five have red/white feathers in various parts of their bodies.²⁸⁰ Another fragment in the Art Institute of

²⁷⁷ Phipps, "Tornesol: A Colonial Synthesis of European and Andean Textile Traditions." 222, 225.

²⁷⁸ Michael A. Malpass, *Ancient People of the Andes*. 131-136.

²⁷⁹ Mantle fragment with hummingbird border, South America, Central Andes, South Coast, Nasca, Early Intermediate Period, ca. 100-200 AD, Cotton, camelid fiber, Ex Coll. C. Clay and Virginia Aldridge, 2002.1.3, Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta, GA.

²⁸⁰ Detail of border, probably of a mantle or shawl, depicting hummingbirds and flowers, South America, Central Andes, South Coast, Nasca, Early Intermediate Period, ca. 100-200 CE, Cotton, camelid fiber, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 209597. Accessed at https://library.artstor.org/#/asset/SS35507_35507_23026685;prevRouteTS=1550016999825

Chicago has red/white or blue/red threads in various parts of fifteen out of seventeen birds.²⁸¹

Hummingbirds, which inhabit high altitude regions as well as the lowlands, have long been revered for their bright, iridescent plumage, whose color shifts are created not by pigments, but by light reflection through tiny, prism-like structures in the feathers.²⁸² Although high-quality alpaca fiber has some reflective qualities, its color is dependent on pigment, and it is not technically possible to re-create the same impression of *shifting* colors without combining different colored threads in some manner. By plying together individual threads of two different colors, weavers were able to better approximate the novel effects of the plumage colors. These fragments demonstrate that combining two different colors in the same thread was used as a solution to the problem of representing iridescent colors, without using actual iridescent material, more than a millennium before the arrival of silk.

The prestige of garments containing actual feathers within pre-Hispanic Andean cultures as a whole was such that the technique was imitated in other elaborate garments, establishing a precedent for the use of fine alpaca thread as a “stand-in” for other luxury and restricted materials. The individual feathers’ quills were bent over and strung together to create long strands, rather like modern spools of ribbon and trimming, then

²⁸¹ Fragment (border), South America, Central Andes, South Coast, Nasca, Early Intermediate Period, ca. 100-200 CE, Cotton, camelid fiber, Kate S. Buckingham Endowment, Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago IL, 1955.1635. Accessed at <https://www.artic.edu/artworks/85111>.

²⁸² Christine Giuntini, “Techniques and Conservation of Peruvian Feather Mosaics,” in *Peruvian Featherworks: Art of the Precolumbian Era*, ed. Heidi King (New Haven and London; New York: Yale University Press; Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2012), 89–100. 92. Jason G. Goldman, “What Makes Bird Feathers so Colorfully Fabulous,” 2016, <https://www.audubon.org/news/what-makes-bird-feathers-so-colorfully-fabulous>.

sewn onto plain woven cloth.²⁸³ During the Late Intermediate Period, the resulting rows of feathers were imitated in elaborate tapestry-woven garments in the Chancay culture (located on the central coast of Peru) as seen in this fragment of a mantle in the Michael C. Carlos Museum, one of many examples of actual featherwork's imitation in tapestry (figure 3.6).²⁸⁴ These renditions of feathers lack any reference to their iridescence, indicating that within these garments, importance was placed on representing the actual feather strings and the attendant elevated status their use symbolized, rather than feathers' shifting material quality.

In Tawantinsuyu, garments whose patterns were made partially or entirely from feathers were among the most prestigious, and the highest form of Inka featherwork was constructed with hummingbird feathers.²⁸⁵ Pedro Pizarro noted in his description of the precious materials in the Cuzco storehouses that large amounts of the tiny chest feathers attached to threads were stored for use in garment construction.²⁸⁶ Other Spanish chronicles indicate that clothing made from feathers was restricted to the Inka nobility and ethnic Inka high-ranking officers in the military.²⁸⁷ Therefore, it is likely that any imitation of the effects of featherwork or of iridescence itself would have been prohibited by Inka sumptuary laws on the basis of its reference to a restricted luxury material. As

²⁸³ Heidi King, "Feather Arts in Ancient Peru," in *Peruvian Featherworks: Art of the Precolumbian Era*, ed. Heidi King (New Haven and London; New York: Yale University Press; Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2012), 9–44.13. Giuntini, "Techniques and Conservation of Peruvian Feather Mosaics." 94-97

²⁸⁴ Fringed border with birds sharing feathers as their tails, South America, Central Andes, Chancay, Late Intermediate Period, ca. 1000-1470 AD, Cotton, camelid fiber, natural dyes, gift of Cindy Karp, Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta, GA, 2006.24.1.

²⁸⁵ King, "Feather Arts in Ancient Peru." 34-35. Susan A Niles, "Artist and Empire in Inca and Colonial Textiles," in *To Weave for the Sun: Andean Textiles in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, by Rebecca Stone-Miller (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1992), 51–67. 51. Stone, "The Best of the Best"

²⁸⁶ D'Altroy, *The Incas*. 425, citing Hemmings translation.

²⁸⁷ King, "Feather Arts in Ancient Peru." 34-35.

noted in the discussion of color, brightly colored garments could only be woven or worn with the express permission of the imperial Inka government.

With the prohibition on stylistic innovations and discouragement of the imitation of prestigious garments lifted and access to materials and work time increased, the colonial Aymara were able to use *lluq'ita ch'ankha* weft, and in some cases warp, as a mark of garment quality and garner its attendant status through imitating certain types of silk fabric, the new luxury material preferred by the ruling class. Clear connections can be drawn between the use of double-ply threads composed of two dyed single-ply threads and the two-toned Spanish *tornesol* fabric Phipps describes. As stated in the first chapter, these *lluq'ita ch'ankha* combinations are rare in Aymara colonial garments in general, only seen in one *qhawa* (cat. no. 22), one miniature poncho (cat. no. 15), one *kunkani isallu* (cat. no. 78), one pink-red lateral-stripe *isallu* (cat. no. 110), and one narrow lateral-stripe *isallu* (cat. no. 121) in the present corpus. In cat. nos. 22, 15, and 78, the *lluq'ita ch'ankha* is the only warp thread in the *saya* and *pampa* respectively, with the colors creating a dramatic effect. A subtler effect, one closer to the shifting color effect of *tornesol*, is created by the *lluq'ita ch'ankha* in three examples, the closest to the effect of the silk weft in the Andean *tornesol* in the present study. In cat. no. 42, the blue *saya* warps contrast with the pink/brown weft. A similar effect is created by the contrast between the brown *pampa* warps and blue/pink weft in cat. no. 110. In cat. no. 121, the pink/purple warps are combined in a *ch'imi* pattern monochrome purple warps in the *pampa*, giving the impression of a shift between pink and purple in certain areas.

The use of two different dyed/undyed *lluq'ita ch'ankha* color combinations in warp and weft or of dyed/undyed weft with monochrome warps effectively creates essentially the same effect as the warp/weft combination of cat. no. 110. In cat. nos. 42, 86, and 130, pink/brown weft is combined with the blue warps of the *saya* and the purple of the *pampa* to create a subtle color shift between blue and pink and pink and purple, respectively; the brown appears muted by the contrast between the color in the warp and that of the weft. Cat. no. 141 has a more complex version of this combination which creates a comparable effect. The brown of the pink/brown weft fades to the eye in the *pampa* through the use of a *ch'imi* pattern of purple and dark purple/brown warps while the pink contrasts slightly with the purple, rendering it more visible than the brown. The pink is more visible in the lateral sections, where it contrasts sharply with the dark purple and black-overdyed warps composing the *ll'uque* pattern.

The use of dyed/dyed and dyed/undyed combinations as weft also arguably had another layer of significance beyond serving as imitation silk. Undyed/undyed *lluq'ita ch'ankha* was used only as weft in Aymara garments during the Late Intermediate Period: cat. no. 139, an *anaku* dating from this time period, has white/light brown weft, both undyed. Unlike the colorful combinations in the previous examples, this weft is virtually invisible; it can only be glimpsed at the vertical selvages and through the red, green, and blue warps of the lateral stripes due to the lightness of the white thread components.

In much of her recent scholarship, Stone demonstrates how cosmological concepts that structure modern Andean indigenous communities can be used to understand the

construction of textiles from earlier periods.²⁸⁸ One of these concepts, *ukhu*, is defined by anthropologist Catherine Allen as “any movement-literal or metaphorical-into an interior location.”²⁸⁹ *Ukhu* is based on a dialogue between the hidden/unknown, and the visible/known; although something is hidden, its identity is known as is the nature of the place it has retreated to. The importance of a textile's hidden aspects, known to the creator but not visible in the final product as it is used or worn, is commonly associated with state-sponsored tapestry garments.²⁹⁰ For example, both Wari (the dominant Andean power during the Middle Horizon) and the Inka official textile artists finished tapestry cloth on the front and the back, weaving all loose threads from color changes back into the cloth, a process which makes the two sides identical in quality although one would be hidden as the recto face when the garment was completed.²⁹¹ The use of *lluq'ita ch'ankha* weft in warp-faced textiles is comparable to the completion of both sides of tapestry garments. Although wefts are hidden within warp-faced garments, they are understood to be present even if not readily perceived. Although their colors can be perceived more readily at the edges of the garments today, these edges would have been entirely covered by *silku* or *ch'uku* at the time they were made, concealing the only place in the weave structure where the weft could be clearly seen.

The transition from the use of two shades of undyed thread to a dyed/undyed or dyed/dyed combination to express this concept can be seen in the weft of two Early Colonial period *anaku*, cat. nos. 153* and 156*. These *anaku* have virtually identical

²⁸⁸ Stone, “Dialogues in Thread.”

²⁸⁹ Allen, “The Incas Have Gone Inside.” 191-192, 194-195.

²⁹⁰ Stone, *Art of the Andes*. 19.

²⁹¹ Stone, “Dialogues in Thread”

compositions and color schemes and both date from the late sixteenth century. Each of the two *khallu* is composed of a wide monochrome section, reminiscent of a *pampa*, and another containing various arrangements of stripes. This “*pampa*” section is woven with undyed brown warps in cat. no. 156* and a *ch’imi* of purple and maroon in cat. no. 153*; these different warp colors constitute the only visible differences between the compositions. In each example, the edge of the “*pampa*” not connected to the other *khallu* by the *ch’uku* is immediately bordered by a group of pink and blue narrow stripes, in turn followed by four wide stripes of a brighter pink, separated from each other by three narrow stripes, blue, yellow, and blue. However, the weft in each case is a different *lluq’ita ch’ankha* combination: cat. no. 153* has the same white/light brown as cat. no. 139, while cat. no. 156* has pink/brown. As in the Late Intermediate Period *anaku*, the color contrast of the weft is effectively invisible in cat. no. 153*. The color in the weft of cat. no. 156* is slightly more visible, but still hidden; the pink component peeks out from within the brown warps of the *pampa*, yet remains invisible in the lateral stripes.

This switch from undyed to dyed thread combinations adds a layer of elaboration to a ceremonial garment, combining cosmological significance and status representation in a single element. *Lluq’ita ch’ankha* weft is not restricted to women’s or men’s clothing, although it is more common in certain substyles than others. It is the least common in *qhawa*, only appearing in cat. nos. 41 and 42, and rare in *kunkani isallu*, only present in cat. nos. 55, 68 (and only in the right *khallu*), 75, and 86. In all six garments, the color combination is pink dyed thread with a brown undyed counterpart. It is equally as rare among narrow lateral-stripe style *isallu* (cat. nos. 122, 130, 131, and 141). *Lluq’ita*

ch'ankha weft is most common in pink-red lateral-stripe *isallu*, used in eight of the eleven (cat. nos. 110, 111 [only partially], 114-118, and 120).

A comparison between the effect achieved by *lluq'ita ch'ankha* weft in these garments reveals that there was a continuum (comparable to that established by Stone for the movement between representations of shamans as mixtures of human/animal/visionary features) between visibility and invisibility, and which correspond to the amount of dyed thread.²⁹² The weft is the most visible and provides the greatest contrast with the *pampa/saya* warps, in cat. nos. 42, 110. The choice of colors for the *lluq'ita ch'ankha* and the warps of the widest part of the composition create the greatest possible contrast between the two. I argue this indicates a desire to simultaneously represent Andean cosmology while mimicking silk fabrics.

The majority of the garments demonstrate that weavers used various ways to draw awareness to the near-invisibility of the weft as a structural element (cat. nos. 41, 86, 114-118, 120, and 130), emphasizing the cosmological aspect and implying a lesser status through a decrease in the amount of dyed thread, although the many instances of pink and purple still indicate the wearer was a person of relative importance. The most common method appears to have been the use of the pink/brown combination in the weft to create a contrast with the *pampa/saya* warps (cat. nos. 41, 86, 114-118, and 130). In six examples, one of the two threads of the weft is made visible by a contrast with the pink or purple color contained in the *pampa/saya* warps (cat. nos. 41, 86, 115, 117, 118, 120, and 130). The contrast in cat. no. 41 is even more subdued; the brown component of the weft

²⁹² Rebecca Stone, *The Jaguar Within: Shamanic Trance in Ancient Central and South American Art* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011). 66-67.

is brought to the viewer's attention by its contrast to the pink warps. In cat. nos. 115, 117, and 118, the purple component of the *lluq'ita ch'ankha pampa* warps and its pink counterpart in the weft mutually bring their presence to the fore.

Towards the more invisible end, cat. no. 114 contains the least amount of dyed thread; the pink of the weft is made visible by the monochrome brown *pampa* warps. In cat. no. 120, the blue of the blue/brown weft is clearly visible against the pink warps of the lateral section, but is invisible in the *pampa*, overpowered by the purple/brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha* warp. The partial visibility of pink/brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha* weft in cat. no. 111 in contrast to the blue of the blue/brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha pampa*, draws the viewer's attention not only to the concealed colorful thread but to the presence of the other, invisible threads.

On the extreme end of the continuum, the weft of seven *isallu* is effectively concealed, either through the choice of color for the warp or the tightness of the weave (cat. nos. 55, 68, 75, 122, 131, and 141). While in present times damaged sections make its presence obvious, originally it would have remained impossible to discern the use of *lluq'ita ch'ankha* weft without physically pulling the warps aside in cat. nos. 75, 122, and 131. The weavers of these garments apparently valued the concealment of these elaborate threads and wished to emphasize the attendant cosmological significance over the display of status through making the colorful weft more visible. In cat. nos. 55 and 68, only the brown component of the pink/brown thread is visible, and only in the light pink lateral stripes. The bright pink of the wide stripes and the *lluq'ita ch'ankha* in the *pampa*, together with the overall tightness of the weave, make the weft largely invisible; indeed, I

originally mistook it for brown. The weft of cat. no. 141 is invisible in the *pampa* and can only be discerned with difficulty through the narrow stripe colors.

This visible-invisible continuum is also expressed through *lluq'ita ch'ankha* warp. There are eighteen garments in which *lluq'ita ch'ankha* is used in the warp of an element that would have ultimately been partially concealed by a *ch'uku* or *silku* (cat. nos. 7, 15, 22, 55, 68, 78, 80, 112, 115, 118, 120, 121, 124, 129, 132, 134, 141, and 143). Conceptually, this is reminiscent of the complete finishing of Inka tapestry garments. The same *lluq'ita ch'ankha* color combinations are often used for the *pampa* lateral stripes and *pampa* or *saya* and *ch'uku* lateral stripes (cat. nos. 15, 22, 68, 78, 80, 112, 115, 118, 120, 124, 132, 134, 141, and 143). In cat. nos. 7, 121, and 129, the color combination of the *lluq'ita ch'ankha* in the *pampa* or *saya* lateral stripes is not present in any other element of the garment. Cat. no. 129 has blue/brown *pampa* lateral stripes and a purple/brown *pampa*. Cat. no. 121 has pink/brown in the right *pampa* lateral stripe, and purple/pink and pink/brown in the left, the only instances of *lluq'ita ch'ankha* in the composition. The blue/brown *ch'uku* lateral stripes in cat. no. 7, like the *pampa* lateral stripes in cat. no. 121, are the only places *lluq'ita ch'ankha* is present.

The extensive use of visible *lluq'ita ch'ankha* threads in compositional components with established ties to land make clear that in addition to its cosmological and status denotations, it had a representational role within the complex production record system of *isallu*. Twenty-three *isallu* (roughly one third of the corpus) have *lluq'ita ch'ankha* or a *ch'imi* pattern containing *lluq'ita ch'ankha* throughout the *pampa* (cat. nos. 55, 68, 78, 80, 82, 111-113, 115, 117-120, 121, 124-126, 129, 132, 134, 136,

141, and 143). Three have these choices as part of a *ll'uque* pattern sequence in either the *pampa* or the *pampa* lateral stripes (cat. nos. 74, 80, and 121). The diversity in the arrangements of the threads, as well as the fact that they do not appear in all *isallu*, indicate that it was used as a method of differentiating the stage-of-cultivation or state-of-use of sections of land from others represented in the same *isallu*.

Two especially interesting examples are the use of different color combinations of *lluq'ita ch'ankha* thread in six of the *pampa* sections of cat. no. 68 (lavender/brown and maroon/brown) and the *pampa* lateral stripes of cat. no. 121 (purple/pink with pink/brown and pink/brown with pink). In cat. no. 68, the presence of two different stages-of-cultivation or stages-of-use within a given area is likely represented by the brown undyed thread used in both *lluq'ita ch'ankha* types. The fact that two of the *pampa* contain only the maroon/brown threads also suggests that the lavender/brown combination was intended to represent a difference in the usage of some of the fields represented in the *isallu*. The compositions of the *pampa* lateral stripes of cat. no. 121 are more complex; as previously stated, the right *pampa* lateral stripe contains pink/brown in a backbone *ll'uque* pattern with pink, while the left stripe is composed of purple/pink and pink/brown threads also woven in backbone pattern *ll'uque*. However, the similarities and differences between the left and right stripes are comparable to the various *pampa* compositions of cat. no. 68; the pink threads common to both *lluq'ita ch'ankha* color combinations represent the shared space, while their combinations in *lluq'ita ch'ankha* with purple and brown identify the different stages of portions of land within this space. As in cat. no. 74, the *ll'uque* indicates that these components recorded land distribution in addition to stage-of-cultivation or stage-of-use.

Although the *lluq'ita ch'ankha* represents a different stage-of-use of a section of land, the connection of a single color among the threads in both examples indicates that the represented stage can be achieved within the adjacent sections. As previously postulated in the section devoted to *ll'uque*, it is most probable that these threads were used to indicate land that was seeded or in the early stages of production as opposed to that which was fallow but ultimately intended for the production of the same crop or raising of the same animal, the latter represented by the dyed thread.

The *lluq'ita ch'ankha* technique is an excellent example of the ways in which weavers used their new freedom from Inka restrictions to develop creative ways of communicating long- and deeply held Andean values. The combining of two distinct threads together, emphasized by their different colors, is yet another expression of *ayni* or duality. The use of multicolored thread for the weft highlights this elements hiddenness through its partial revelation, an embodiment of the concept of *ukhu*. The ability to use thread dyed in prestigious colors, a form of conspicuous consumption, to express such a concept is also a representation of high status, as is the use of these threads to imitate the silk fabrics worn by the high-ranking Spanish colonists. The increased access to dyed thread also allowed weavers to develop new methods of recording the details of agricultural production, as the *lluq'ita ch'ankha* warp threads could simultaneously express unity and uniqueness through their color combinations with adjacent monochrome threads.

European Foreign Materials and Techniques

The imported materials of silk thread and thread made of strips of silver gilt or silver wrapped around a core are only present within eleven garments in the 117 garments in the present corpus (cat. nos. 13, 15 [the miniature poncho], 22, 43 [the poncho], 48, 55, 68, 82, 110, 131, and 141). There are two possible explanations for this scarcity. It is comparable to the sparing use of brilliantly dyed, high-quality camelid thread in Aymara garments from the Late Horizon, indicating that these precious foreign materials were only available to the wealthiest and most prominent members of society and subsequently constituted the consummate textile status symbols. It is also possible that it reflects a reluctance on the part of the Aymara to fully embrace a material associated with the invaders and formerly with no significance within the complex recording and cosmological belief system governing almost every aspect of *isallu* and *qhawa* composition. The latter might seem the more likely, given the violent invasion and the imposition of “European modesty” standards which changed the structures of *qhawa* and *anaku*; however, the various uses of these materials, as well as the imported technique of embroidery, actually demonstrate that the Aymara were quick to incorporate them into their signification system as well as to co-opt their symbolism within Spanish culture to express status in a way that was also perceptible to members of the invasive culture.

Isallu

When used in the *ch'uku* or *silku*, silk and silver-wrapped thread arguably function as representations of status recognizable to the Spanish as well as indigenous Andeans. One of the ways in which Spanish women and men displayed their wealth and status in their clothing was copious use of elaborately crafted trimmings made of lace, velvet or silk ribbon, silk thread, and/or silver-wrapped thread.²⁹³ Aymara weavers created their own versions, incorporating the two latter materials into the *pit'akipata* (cat. no. 82) and *sawukipata* (cat. no. 110) variations of *silku*. Although *ch'uku* are a necessary structural element rather than supplemental, they also presented an opportunity to for the display of access to precious materials: silver thread composes part of *ch'iñi layra* in cat. no. 68 and the alternating diagonal stitch in cat. no. 82. As in the case of *lluq'ita ch'ankha*, these materials were imitated within weave structures, another indication of their assimilation into Andean value systems.

Arguably, the sewn-on woven strip or fringe of cat. no. 131 was an attempt to imitate lace, rarely made by Andean textile artists.²⁹⁴ In her catalogue entry on a colonial tapestry-woven seat cover in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Stone notes the imitation of European bobbin lace by the Andean weavers through an elaborate looped pattern

²⁹³ See the subject's dress the portrait of in Doña Marina Belsunse y Salazar, published in Maria Manzuri Cohen, "Doña Marina Belsunse y Salazar (Cat. No. 92)," in *Converging Cultures: Art and Identity in Spanish America*, ed. Diana Fane (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1996), 236–37. Stanfield-Mazzi, "Weaving and Tailoring the Andean Church." 79, 81, 92.

²⁹⁴ Stanfield-Mazzi, "Weaving and Tailoring the Andean Church." 79 and 81.

forming the outermost rectangular shape.²⁹⁵ The coiled loops of alpaca thread in the *silku* of cat. no. 121 also may have been an attempt to imitate a bobbin lace border.

In contrast, the use of silk as heading cords, the foundational structure of the four-selvedge weaving technique, indicates the incorporation of this foreign material into their own system of values, in which prestige was conveyed by the structural elements of a garment, comparable to *lluq'ita ch'ankha* weft. The heading cords (usually composed of a group of two-ply threads rather than a single one) are the means by which the weaver is able to keep the warps taut without the latter being fastened directly to the bars of the loom. Thus, the threads must be strong and resistant to stretching, a problem with longer animal fibers such as those of alpacas and llamas.²⁹⁶ Cotton was often used for both heading cords and warps due to the shortness of this plant fiber's staple and its relative resistance to breakage; however, it is more difficult to spin by hand.²⁹⁷ Silk is superior to both of these materials because it is stronger than cotton, easier to spin, and is more resistant to stretching than either cotton or camelid fiber.²⁹⁸ Given these material characteristics, the use of silk for this crucial structural role arguably represented the

²⁹⁵ Rebecca Stone-Miller, "Chair Seat or Cushion Cover with Dominican Symbols (Cat. No. 53, Plate 70)," in *To Weave for the Sun: Andean Textiles in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, by Rebecca Stone-Miller (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1996), 186–87.

²⁹⁶ I experienced the difficulty in using alpaca fiber as a heading cord in the initial stages of my experimental archaeology project re-creating a discontinuous Wari tie-dye textile during the Wari Textile Project (<https://scholarblogs.emory.edu/waritextileproject/>). See also "The Steps to the Steps: Recreating a Wari Tie-dyed Textile" (with Rebecca Stone), 7th International Conference on Pre-Columbian Textiles, Centre of Textile Research at the Saxo Institute, University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen, Denmark, May 31–June 3.

²⁹⁷ "Physical Properties of Cotton Fiber," TextileLearner.blogspot.com, 2011, http://textilelearner.blogspot.com/2011/05/physical-properties-of-cotton-fiber-end_846.html.

²⁹⁸ Singh, Ramandeep, "An Overview of Silk Fiber," TextileLearner.blogspot.com, 2013, <http://textilelearner.blogspot.com/2013/07/an-overview-of-silk-fiber.html>. I have hand-spun all three fibers on a drop spindle comparative to those used by Andean textile artists for over twenty years and can attest to this fact.

status of the wearer through their ability to employ such a rare and technologically superior material.

Silk and silver thread were also incorporated in the expression of cosmology and the methods of recording production. The hidden nature of heading cords --they are extremely hard to see unless the warps are pulled aside --indicates that silk was also used to represent the concept of *ukhu*. As with the colorful but concealed *lluq'ita ch'ankha* wefts, the use of a luxurious fiber in an element of a textile necessarily intended to be concealed was not only a sign of particularly elevated status, but also a material embodiment of this important principle in Andean culture.

To be used in *paris k'uthu* and central narrow stripes in *kunkani isallu*, silver thread apparently was given a role to play within the recording system for production cycles. It may have functioned in a literal fashion as a reference to silver mining, which expanded exponentially in Bolivia under Spanish rule, or the production of products containing metal.²⁹⁹ It could be self-referential, as the manufacturing of the thread is known to have been practiced by indigenous metalworkers.³⁰⁰ However, it is equally possible it has a more metaphorical significance as a representation of the wealth and power gained from control over agricultural production or animal husbandry.

²⁹⁹ Phipps, "Cumbi to Tapestry," 87.

³⁰⁰ Stanfield-Mazzi, "Weaving and Tailoring the Andean Church." 91-92.

Qhawa

In general, silk and silver thread appear in *qhawa* in the same compositional elements and roles as in *isallu*. The same type of lace imitation seen in cat. no. 121 was used around the *q'awtata* in cat. no. 48. Silver thread is used in the *pit'akipata* of cat. no. 22, the braid attachments of cat. no. 43, and alongside silk in the *q'awtata* reinforcement of cat. no. 15. As in *isallu silku*, these materials likely convey status by their use in supplemental elements. The only known *qhawa* containing silver thread in the actual weave is the previously mentioned *apita qhawa* in the collection of the Museo de Etnografía y Folklore, in which silver threads compose several of the triangular selected warp patterns (figures 2.11 and 2.12). Recall that this *qhawa* was worn by one of the Aymara indigenous leaders from the La Paz region, perhaps even Tomas Katari himself, during the revolts which occurred between 1781-1782 CE, and the silver additions have been identified as having a military significance by Gisbert, Arze, and Cajías.³⁰¹

Without further knowledge of the significance of the selected-warp patterns (unlike in the case of the silver thread in *k'uthu* and narrow stripes), it is not possible to propose a more specific interpretation for the use of this material in this compositional element. However, the use of silver thread and silk in tapestry-woven *unku*, such as the miniature *unku* in the Metropolitan Museum and an *unku* with *tokapu* and feline pelt patterns in the collection of the American Museum of Natural History (figures 2.3, 3.7a and b), suggest that a part of its function was to display both Andean and Spanish emblems of status side by side in order to communicate with Spanish as well as

³⁰¹ Gisbert, Arze, and Cajías, *Arte textil y mundo andino*. 66, figures 89 and 90.

indigenous audiences with the goal of maintaining as many of their former rights and privileges as possible.³⁰²

The creators of cat. nos. 13 and 48 used both imported material and techniques to make similar, yet more complex, statements about the wearers' relationships with the Spanish and the basis of their right to hold positions of power in their communities. Cat. no. 13 combines references to previous indigenous rituals with the emblems of the Hapsburg royal family in elaborate designs created through European-style embroidery and appliqué. The front and back feature completely different designs around the *q'awtata* and in the space above the bottom *silku*. On the front, the *q'awtata silku*, composed of *tokapu* embroidery and squares of appliqué cloth, is surrounded by elaborate abstract designs and floral elements, culminating in an elaborate crest containing the Hapsburg double-headed eagle embroidered on a red cloth appliqué. This crest is encircled by silver thread with three rows of smaller circular and oblong radiating elements reminiscent of petals in blue, silver thread, and pink (figure 3.8). The *tokapu* embroidered and appliqué *silku* on the back *q'awtata* is surrounded by floral patterns outlined with silver thread intertwined with spirals, terminating in an appliqué square of red cloth with circular patterns embroidered in blue, white, and silver thread. In place of the double-headed eagle, there is a strawberry-like fruit, albeit with blue thread for the flesh and white for the seeds (figure 3.9).

³⁰² Elena Phipps, "Man's Tunic (*Uncu*) with *Tocapu* and Feline Pelt Design (Cat. no. 19)," in *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830* (New York; New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Yale University Press, 2004), 156–59.

Above the bottom *silku* on the front is an intricate scene in European-style embroidery with two registers divided by a row of geometric patterns, embroidered in relatively coarse cotton or camelid thread. The bottom register is composed of alternating pairs of unidentifiable animals and birds separated by abstract designs (figure 3.10). The top register is considerably more elaborate, containing three variations of the same ceremonial scene involving a group of men and women in indigenous clothing (figure 3.11). Two women in *lliklla*, *anaku*, and *unkuña*, differing slightly in color and design in each repetition, flank a central male figure wearing a conical headdress, a collar composed of rows of colors, a *qhawa/unku*, and a leg covering reaching to the lower calf and containing cuffs or borders of a different design from the upper portion. This man is holding a staff with a top oblong element from which radiate several smaller ones forming a circle and a lower rectangular one filled with colorful geometric patterns, reminiscent of *tokapu*. The two women are, in turn, flanked by two men in colorful *qhawa/unku* and headbands or small hats, one playing a conch shell and the other a form of *maraca* or hand percussion instrument. The whole register is embellished with colorful floral elements.

The other side of the *qhawa* also features two registers of European-style embroidered designs above the *silku*; however, the designs are placed much closer together and all are outlined in silver thread, making them stand out even more against the pink and purple cloth (figure 3.12). As on the front, the lower register is relatively narrow, containing alternating pairs of flower and volute designs. One is composed of four petals embroidered with bands of different colors imitating the way that light reflects on the surface of real petals. The other features concentric circles of different colors (the

second-to-last is blue with sections of yellow) with an outer ring of small red petals. These two flowers are separated by purple volutes spiraling around small circles composed of concentric circles of blue and red. However, unlike on the front lower register, there is a central floral design of four purple oblong petals separated by purple triangles centered around concentric bands of blue and yellow. The position of this design makes the register bilaterally symmetrical.

The top register contains three repetitions of the same design: an elaborate shield-like form flanked by two rearing lions (whose bodies are composed entirely of silver thread while their heads are red) with flowers directly above their heads, comparable to the position of a crown (figure 3.12). The shield design itself is composed of a small flower of silver thread surrounded by rings of red and silver thread set against a light blue background outlined with purple volutes. Sprouting out of the top of the shield are two budding flowers in profile with a frontal flower in bloom with four red petals, four of silver thread, and a center circle of blue. The only variations between the three repetitions are the flower in the center of the shield and the central flower sprouting from the top: they can either be represented in profile or fully open (figure 3.13) The central lion-and-shield design is flanked on either side by two figures dressed in costumes similar to those on the main male figure in the scene featured in the top register on the front. Here the figure is depicted as wearing a *tokapu* waistband *unku*, the *tokapu* represented by tiny red and yellow triangles with a conical headdress decorated with a circular ornament (figure 3.14). He is standing on top of a low platform out of which sprouts a profusion of plants and flowers, including some with strawberry-like fruits.

The embroidery on this *qhawa* is masterful combination of Spanish and Inka symbols of power, simultaneously alluding to the previous status of the indigenous elite, while explicitly declaring the wearer's loyalty to the Spanish crown. The double-headed eagle on the front *q'awtata* is one of the symbols of the Hapsburg family, while the rearing lions in the top register on the back are a heraldic device long associated with the Spanish royalty beginning with the kingdom of Castilla y Leon.³⁰³ The scene on the front of the *qhawa* appears to be a celebration of central male figure, whose ensemble is very similar to that worn by Tupac Inka Yupanqui in the portrait painted in the mid-eighteenth century and the standard bearer or *alférez real* in *The Carriage of Saint Christopher* identified as a descendant of an Inka noble in the inscription.³⁰⁴ Thus, it is reasonable to infer that the man embroidered on the *qhawa* is from an elite Inka lineage. The two Inka elite figures embroidered on the back are even more closely tied to Inka royalty by their placement on platforms, reminiscent of the *usnu* which were one of the consummate architectural elements that embodied the Sapa Inka's authority.³⁰⁵ However, despite this explicit statement of their royal status, these figures are depicted as paying homage to the lions, representatives of Spanish royal power.

The most intriguing of the designs on cat. no. 48 are comparable representations of Spanish royalty: extremely detailed renditions of the two elements of the coat of arms

³⁰³ These emblems were also common in silverwork. See Cristina Esteras Martín, "Acculturation and Innovation in Peruvian Viceregal Silverwork," in *Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, ed. Elena Phipps, Johanna Hecht, and Cristina Esteras Martín (New Haven and London; New York: Yale University Press; Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), 58–71. 67.

³⁰⁴ Maria Manzuri Cohen, "Tupac Yupanqui (Cat. No. 95)," in *Converging Cultures: Art and Identity in Spanish America*, ed. Diana Fane (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1996), 239–40. Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, "The Carriage of Saint Christopher (Cat. No. 116b)," in *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, ed. Elena Phipps, Johanna Hecht, and Cristina Esteras Martín (New Haven and London; New York: Yale University Press; Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), 314–15.

³⁰⁵ Dean, *A Culture of Stone*. 131-132.

of Castilla y Leon, two rearing crowned lions flanking a castle, incorporated into the side *ch'uku* wrapping around the front and back of the *qhawa* and placed just above the *silku* of the slits on either side (figure 3.15). The towers are embroidered with light blue silk and silver threads dividing the blue field into distinct small squares to represent its blocks of the tower. The lions gaze outward from the castle with their manes hanging down, red tongues out, and long tails curled into loose spirals. Wavy lines radiating from the tops of their heads represent the crowns.

As in cat. no. 13, there is a row of European-style embroidery on the bottom above the *tokapu*-embroidered *silku*, separated by a horizontal pattern of intertwining red and blue lines enclosed in a rectangle of red. This top register is composed of a continuous row of two different color variations of the same pattern, a large group of intertwining floral-like volutes with oblong radiating elements (figure 3.16). The only identifiable plants are the strawberries which bridge the gap between the volute patterns at their tops. The intertwining elements of these patterns could be a reference to ribbon comparable to the border on the seat cover in the Museum of Fine Arts.³⁰⁶

Although both *qhawa* make explicit references to the Spanish crown, a notable difference between them is the lack of images and emblems relating to Inka authority in cat. no. 48. Beyond the *tokapu* embroidery on the *q'awtata* and *silku*, all the designs are obviously drawn from European sources and materials such as ribbon. This lack of indigenous imagery suggests that the wearer of this *qhawa* wanted to emphasize that the

³⁰⁶ Rebecca Stone-Miller, "Cover with Ribbon Design (Cat. No. 293, Plate 73)," in *To Weave for the Sun: Andean Textiles in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1996), 191–192.

basis of their status and authority was their loyalty to the new rulers rather than based on a combination of previous status and subservience to the Spanish.

Conclusion

The changes in Aymara *qhawa* and *isallu* compositions during the Colonial period indicate that weavers embraced the new freedom to innovate the design of their clothing through new techniques, a range of new colors, and access to traditional and newly imported luxury materials. They re-invigorated older traditions through using increased amounts of thread dyed with brilliant colors to create a variety of styles featuring multicolored stripes and patterns. Dyed thread was also used to further develop *lluq'ita ch'ankha*, a technique used to imitate the iridescent qualities of feathers as well as embodying the Andean cosmological concept of *ukhu*. Silk and silver thread were used to balance new standards of value and prestige with the continued assertion of indigenous heritage. They were employed in many structural elements and techniques key to four-selvedge weaving which had been part of the Aymara garment tradition since the Late Intermediate Period as well as in wholly unprecedented elaborate European-style embroidered scenes. Weavers also created new techniques in order to preserve a crucial aspect of their culture. The decline of the previous textile-based *khipu* system of recording information due to the Spanish invasion and the forced adoption of European writing was offset by the creation of *ll'uque* patterns; thus, vital natural and social information could still be recorded in textile form.

Analyzing these shifts allows several conclusions to be drawn regarding the significance of *kunkani*, three-part *isallu*, and *qulini qhawa* compositions. *Kunkani isallu* in both the pre-Hispanic and Colonial periods were arguably embodiments of the wealth and prosperity of a given family, community, or individual through their mapping of control over spaces of production as well as the processes and their resulting products. In the Late Horizon, the majority of three-part wide and narrow lateral-stripe *isallu* likely signified that those who wore them functioned as representatives of the Inka state in ceremonial contexts. The changes in the Colonial period color schemes and patterns suggest that representations of Inka affiliation became symbolic so they could continue to be an important sign of status until representing ties with the Inka was no longer politically beneficial. The complex composition of *qulini qhawa* with distinctive *saya* and lateral sections meant that they were the ideal *qhawa* style to assume many of the recording functions of *khipu*, and the standardization of backbone pattern *ll'uque* in the lateral sections during the Late Colonial period indicates that they became records in a similar manner to *isallu*.

Conclusion

In this study, I have endeavored to identify and interpret 117 pre-Hispanic and Colonial Aymara women's mantles and men's tunics as well as several ponchos and comparable miniatures. The two garment types that are the focus of this study, called *isallu* and *qhawa* by the Aymara, have survived in relatively large numbers. They continued to be used with their basic forms relatively unaltered until the mid-eighteenth century in the case of *qhawa*, and beyond the end of Spanish rule in the case of *isallu*. Thus, they allow for an analysis of the evolution of Aymara garments through pre-Hispanic times (beginning in the Late Intermediate Period) well into the Colonial period. Through analyzing the changes over time, I was able to propose interpretations for the four styles of *isallu* (*kunkani*, narrow lateral-stripe, wide lateral-stripe, and pink-red wide lateral-stripe) as well as for *qulini qhawa*. I demonstrated the creative ways in which the Aymara maintained old traditions while developing new methods of textile-based communication.

Through a careful comparison of the features of seventy *isallu* and forty-two *qhawa* with Bertonio's dictionary of the Aymara language, I was able to identify the specific names for many of them, links which had been previously lost. With the assistance of the re-organized version of Bertonio's dictionary written by Yapita et. al., I compared my records of the features of individual examples, classified according to the largest number of common features, to the words he recorded relating to the production and use of garments and other textiles. Thirty-seven of the thirty-eight *isallu* that I designated as

“wide stripe” match the description of *kunkani isallu*, defined by Bertonio as featuring a number of wide stripes. The other wide stripe *isallu* potentially fit his term *larmani isallu*; however, the description is too obtuse to be certain. While I was able to correctly establish the narrow, wide, and pink-red lateral stripe mantles as women’s *isallu*, rather than men’s *llaquta* (their current classification in scholarship), I was unable to match them with a specific style delineated in the dictionary.

The twelve *qhawa* I termed “continuous-striped” match the description Bertonio provides of *suku suku qhawa*. In turn, the twenty-four I termed “striped *saya*” and monochrome *saya*” matched that of *qulini qhawa*. These divisions indicate that the Aymara categories were based on stripe location and bilateral symmetry and did not distinguish the composition of the *saya*. Seven other *qhawa* were able to be matched with Bertonio’s terms: four examples matched the description of *apita qhawa*, two examples matched the description of *panti qhawa*, and one matched the description of *qura qulini qhawa*.

Examining the chronological development of the different *isallu* and *qhawa* styles revealed that common changes to garment composition during the Colonial period included an expanded color palette, the increase in *lluq’ita ch’ancka*, the creation of *ll’uque*, and the inclusion of silk and silver threads. Collectively, they demonstrate the ability of Aymara weavers to adapt their clothing so that it functioned within the new colonial standards of signifying status and social position, all the while maintaining its traditionally Andean elements and associated values. As in the Late Horizon, certain colors and the use of rare materials continued to represent high status; however, the

precious materials were no longer limited to fine camelid fiber and exotic feathers, but now also included those provided and valued by the invading Europeans. These materials were imitated through dyed/dyed and dyed/undyed combinations of *lluq'ita ch'ankha* in the warp and weft, particularly to mimic the different effects of silk fabric.

Yet, *ll'uque* patterns and the use of *lluq'ita ch'ankha* and silk in colonial garments demonstrate the ways in which the new elements, perhaps paradoxically, were used to maintain the role of textiles as embodiments of cosmological concepts and methods of record-keeping. The Spanish introduction of the written word as the dominant means of communication did not cause the recording of information in textile form to disappear, rather to change form as backbone and 1 left/1 right *ll'uque* patterns assumed some of the functions of the *kipu* previously used by Aymara *warami*. When used the most apparent threads in the warp-faced weave, the predominate technique favored in *isallu* and *qhawa*, or made visible in the weft, the brightly-colored *lluq'ita ch'ankha* threads were used to embody the principle of duality (*ayni*) central to Andean cosmology and social structure. When effectively invisible inside the weft, *lluq'ita ch'ankha*, as well as silk when used for the invisible structural element of heading cords, embody the highly charged connection between the visible and the invisible central to Andean shamanic spiritual practice (*ukhu*).

The analysis of Pre-Hispanic and Colonial period *isallu* according to the current ethnological studies on historic and contemporary textiles presents the case for viewing the compositions of all four styles as functioning to representations the wealth and reciprocal obligations which conferred high status on the wearer. The role of *isallu* (both

kunkani and three-part) as forms of material documentation meant that various aspects of their compositions played specific roles within a complex system of signification recording the processes of agricultural production and animal husbandry, the resulting products, and the spaces in which they occurred, or their resulting products stored.

In my interpretation, based on the pioneering fieldwork of Arnold and Espejo, in the compositions of *kunkani isallu* the *pampa* represented unused fields, while the wide stripes and center section represent spaces for production or storage. The *k'uthu* patterns represent the processes themselves, and the narrow stripes and lateral stripes represent their resulting products. This mapping and recording of products suggests that *kunkani isallu* were embodiments of human prosperity based on the products of the earth and animals in the pre-Hispanic and Colonial periods.

In the composition of narrow lateral-stripe *isallu*, the central *pampa* represents an unused field, the lateral stripes represent harvested produce, and the *k'uthu* or *patapata* represent the production processes. Due to the use of the Inka-style *silku* combination in several examples, as well as the red and yellow colors associated with the Inka for the *k'uthu/patapata* patterns, it is likely that in addition to embodying prosperity and status, this style could have served as a representation of local obligations of tribute or labor towards the Inka in the Late Horizon. The continued use of these colors and *silku* during the Early Colonial period suggests that they also became symbolic representations of status through their owner's prior association with the Inka after the Spanish invasion.

It is not possible to identify all the components in the compositions of wide lateral-stripe *isallu* with the current information; however, it is likely that the *pampa*, lateral

stripes, and *k'uthu/patapata* patterns represented unused fields, harvested crops, and productive processes respectively. The monochrome lateral section represented a productive space separate from the *pampa* in the same manner as the wide stripes of *kunkani isallu*. Due to their presence on *capacocha* figurines and the Temple to Inti at the pilgrimage site of Pachacamac, wide lateral-stripe *isallu* in the Late Horizon likely signified that those who wore them functioned as representatives of the Inka state (regardless of their place of origin) in ceremonial contexts. As with narrow lateral-stripe *isallu*, the Colonial period compositions likely became symbolic representations of Inka affiliation, possible until the indigenous revolts made representing former association with the Inka too dangerous as they were seen as sign of rebellion. A probable result of the abandonment of Inka-related status symbols was the development of the pink-red lateral-stripe style; these maintained the distinctive wide lateral stripes, while altering their color scheme and using pink (a prestigious color) for the lateral sections previously woven with undyed thread.

Due to the fact that *qhawas* were banned in the mid-eighteenth century and ceased to be in common use, and given the lack of ethnographic information, it is not possible to make comparable general observations on the significance of all *qhawa* styles and their various compositional variants. However, the standardization of backbone pattern *ll'uque* in the lateral sections of *qulini qhawa* during the Late Colonial period, as well as the elaborate *paris* and *ch'ulla k'uthu* patterns in the lateral sections of cat. no. 42, suggest that this style also served as means of documenting various aspects of communal life and subsistence production. The basic *qulini qhawa* composition of a *saya* and lateral sections meant that these *qhawa* were able to assume many of the recording functions of *kipu*,

which had been partially banned in 1581 CE and whose use had continued to decline through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Of particular note, two *qhawa* with European designs (cat. nos. 13 and 48) demonstrate that warp-faced woven *qhawa*, almost certainly worn by Aymara local elites, convey the types of complex relationships that could exist between local elites, the Inka, and the Spanish. This compares to the better known tapestry-woven *unku* worn by Inka descendants in the Colonial period as demonstrated by Pillsbury.³⁰⁷ The embroidery on cat. no. 13 expresses the wearer's relationship with Inka royalty through the front embroidered scene, in which an Inka ruler is shown as the center of a ceremony or celebration. Conversely, in the embroidered scene on the back, the same figure pays homage to the Spanish crown (represented in the form of rearing lions), clearly indicating the wearer's current allegiance. In contrast, the embroidery on cat. no. 48 contains no reference to the Inka; instead, prominently featured are the tower and lions associated with the kingdom of Castilla and Leon, and by expansion with the Spanish crown, without recourse to human figuration.

Through this analysis of a comprehensive sample of *isallu* and *qhawa*, I have been able to propose reconstructions of the ways in which the indigenous weavers themselves would have described and identified them. The garments' stylistic evolution in both the pre-Hispanic and Colonial periods ultimately demonstrates the skill and ingenuity of these weavers as they adapted to varying social and political contexts, even using weaving techniques to openly subvert the ruling Spanish authorities. Overall, these

³⁰⁷ Pillsbury, "Inka Unku," 2002.

garments conclusively show that, like the descendants of the Inka, the Aymara continued to preserve their traditions while using the new fashions and ideas about luxury and status brought by the Spanish to their advantage in order to assert their own authority and identity.

Future Research

This study's re-insertion of *qhawa* and *isallu* from Aymara *warami* into their pre-Hispanic and Colonial period contexts, as well as the conceptual framework which continues to govern textile production by indigenous Andean communities, provides a foundation for many future studies in Andean textile scholarship and beyond. The social life of high-status garments in the pre-Hispanic and Colonial periods, the role of non-Inka elite women during the Inka Empire and under the Spanish, and the social implications of the differences in garment style changes between indigenous men and women from all ethnicities during the Early Colonial period are all worthy topics for future study.

The next steps in the process of understanding the function of these garments in the pre-Hispanic and Colonial periods is more extensive research into their provenance. In the instances in which the provenance for a given garment can be narrowed down to a modern province or municipality, consulting local colonial archives (including those kept by churches) may yield more specific information on the location of various *warami* settlements, the relationships between local residents and the Spanish, and the previous local traditions and history, especially those tied to their relationships with the Inka.

This information would facilitate further interpretation of garment composition. For, instance, the Qullas *warami* consistently allied themselves with the Spanish, which would further explain the pro-Spanish embroidery of cat. no. 48 if its ties to this *warami* could be confirmed.³⁰⁸ The strong alliance between the Charkas confederation and the Inka could explain the concentration of wide-lateral stripe and narrow-lateral stripe three-part *isallu* in the Inka province of Charkas/*corregimiento* of Potosí; however, more information regarding the relationships between the two groups in these regions is necessary to support this theory.³⁰⁹ In addition, it would potentially provide insights into the color scheme choices among the different *warami*, allowing more detailed comparisons between the different-colored compositions.

As demonstrated in the descriptions of pre-Hispanic and Colonial period Andean dress in the first chapter, colonial paintings and illustrations can be extremely useful sources of information on the social contexts in which garments were worn, especially if the original location in which a given work of art was created were known or reconstructable. Although few known works depict the type of garments found in the corpus of the present study, little research has been conducted on murals in local churches or any works which remain in other original colonial provincial locations in Peru and Bolivia. The fact that the only representations of *kunkani isallu* identified to date are featured in parochial church murals (in the churches of Tiwanaku and Carabuco) suggests that additional representations await discovery in locations previously

³⁰⁸ D'Altroy, *The Incas*. 325.

³⁰⁹ Platt, Bouysse-Cassagne, and Harris, *Qaraqara-Charka*. 28, 72, 91.

overlooked (likely due to their distance from Colonial period centers of power).³¹⁰ The possible starting points for such a search include the cities of Sica Sica, Coro Coro, and Coroma in Bolivia as well as settlements in the department of Moquegua and the cities of Chucuito and Juli in southern Peru.

Another untapped source of information are the collections of nineteenth century photographs held in the Museo de Etnografía y Folklore in La Paz and the Musée du quai Branly Jacques Chirac in Paris. Many of these have not yet been digitized, making first-hand perusal necessary. These collections contain commissioned portraits of indigenous patrons as well as ethnographic images taken in various locations. Although the majority are likely staged, they could potentially provide the concrete connections between earlier garment styles and specific roles within communities. Additionally, if the dates of these historical photographs are known, they could increase the understanding of how the significance and use of these garments changed and took on new roles through time.

The interpretations presented in the third chapter demonstrate the ways in which anthropological fieldwork in contemporary indigenous communities can provide crucial information for interpreting older textiles. Future studies within present day Aymara-speaking communities, focused on gathering any remaining oral knowledge on the textile traditions of the nineteenth century could be modeled on the types of interviews conducted by Pimentel.³¹¹ Such studies would likely increase our current understanding

³¹⁰ Siegal and Tietzel, *Aymara-Bolivianische Textilien*. 18, 42. Gisbert and Mesa, *Historia del arte en Bolivia período virreinal*. 138-142, see figures 124 on page 138 and 127 on pages 140-141.

³¹¹ Pimentel, “De qué y cómo ‘hablan’ los khipu etnográficos aymaras.”

of Late Colonial and Early Republican period garments compositions, as they are closer to the present day.

Additional technical analysis not possible due to monetary and time constraints would provide more detailed information about stylistic development and chronology. Carbon-14 dating cat. nos. 8, 13, 14, 41, 42, 43, 45, and 48 would increase current knowledge of the transition from *qhawa* to ponchos, and potentially provide a more precise date for the beginning of the use of European-style figural embroidery on *qhawa*. Testing *kunkani isallu* cat. nos. 52-55, 57, 59, 60, 62, 66, 69-71, 81, 83, 85, and 87 would allow the identification of the period in which the compositional variations they represent were first created. Obtaining a Carbon-14 date for cat. no. 64 would not only resolve the debate of whether this *kunkani isallu* does date from the Colonial period, but also that of whether the *ll'uque* technique originates in the Late Horizon or the Early Colonial period as it is currently the earliest known garment from any culture which contains a *ll'uque* pattern.

The complex compositions of *kunkani* and three-part *isallu* provide a new source of information for studies focused on the role of women within Tawantinsuyu and indigenous women in the Spanish colonial empire. Further studies on the use of the wide-lateral stripe style in Inka state sacrificial or ceremonial contexts by non-Inka, elite women have the potential to shed new light on the ways in which women were transformed into representative of Inka state authority. They may also elucidate women's roles as powerful spiritual figures. The narrow lateral-stripe style, which could be used to express Inka affiliation, should uncover further details of the roles played by local female elites in the production of material tribute and labor organization, perhaps even that they

were directly responsible for the collection and delivery of certain kinds. As distinctly local garments, Colonial period *kunkani isallu* have the potential to serve as points of comparison with the tapestry-woven Inka Colonial style *lliklla* worn by Inka noble women. Other potential studies may focus on the ways in which different ethnic groups in the Andes used imported foreign materials and imagery in their clothing, specifically in order to preserve their former ways of representing status while adapting to the new colonial context.

In terms of gender studies, as the comparisons between *isallu* and *qhawa* in the second chapter demonstrated, there were several significant differences in the ways indigenous clothing styles worn by men and women developed from the pre-Hispanic period into the era of Spanish domination. *Qhawa* compositions remained relatively unchanged in the Early Colonial period, although their structure (with the addition of side slits) was significantly modified. In the Late Colonial period, styles which had been common in the Late Horizon and the Early Colonial period gave way to the *qulini qhawa* style and ponchos once *qhawa* were officially banned. By contrast, *kunkani* and narrow lateral-stripe *isallu* compositions in the Early Colonial period dramatically differed than those of the Late Horizon, although neither changed significantly through the Late Colonial period. The wide lateral-stripe style changed more slowly, perhaps due to its importance during Tawantinsuyu. However, in the Late Colonial period, it was transformed to the extent that it becomes the new pink-red lateral-stripe substyle.

These differences indicate that different adaptations were desired or required by elite Aymara men versus elite Aymara women in order to promote their status and secure their

social positions in the new colonial society. These garments thus provide an important source of information on the different roles of indigenous men and women (the latter being especially neglected in scholarship) in the Spanish-ruled Andean regions. Hopefully, they will engender further comparative studies in the context of the wider field of gender relations in the greater Spanish empire.

The Aymara textile tradition is arguably the only one in the Andean highlands whose trajectory from the Late Intermediate Period through the rise of the Inka, the arrival of the Spanish and their subsequent domination of the region, and the Early Republican period (in future work) can be concretely traced through extant examples. Thus, these garments have the potential to serve not only as evidence for the changes within Aymara communities in the post-Hispanic period but indigenous Andean society in general. They merit far more attention than they have received from scholars of Andean textiles and those who study indigenous peoples within the Viceroyalties of Perú and Río de La Plata. It is my hope that this study will ultimately serve as inspiration for future innovative research on these important embodiments of indigenous Andean culture.

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Illustrations

Note that many figures are redacted due to copyright

Figures

1.1 Redacted

1.2 Redacted

1.3 Redacted

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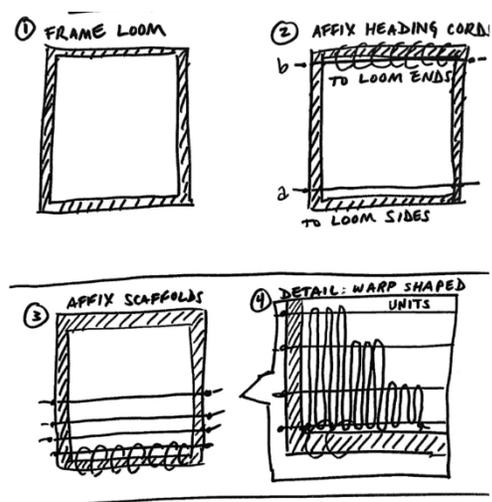
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1.57 Diagram detail the process of the discontinuous warp and weft technique (specifically showing the warping of Wari tie-dye stepped triangles), created by Rebecca Stone, 1995

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- 2.1 Redacted
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Tables

Color	Munsell number
Red	5R 4/8
Pink	7.5RP 5/10
Light pink	5 RP 6/4
Peach	5R 7/6
Lavander	7.5 PB 6/8
Light purple	2.5 P 6/8
Maroon	7.5P 5/10
Purple	7.5P 3/4
Dark purple	10 PB 3/2
Blue	5PB 4/8
Light blue	10B 6/8
Dark blue	2.5PB 3/6
Green	10GY 5/2
Dark green	10G 3/2
Olive green	2.5GY 6/2
Yellow	5Y 6/6
Gold	2.5Y 7/6
Brown	5YR 3/2
Dark brown	2.5R 2.5/2
Tan	2.5Y 6/2

Table 1.1 Shelley Burian, Munsell Color System values for the corpus

Appendix 2

Catalogue

Note: All images redacted due to copyright

Qhawa/Open Qhawas/Ponchos

1.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, border between the Departments of Oruro and Potosí, province of Antonio Quijarro, municipality of Uyuni, region of the town of Coroma

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas, *corregimiento* of Potosí, Qaraqaras *warami*

Date: Early Colonial

Type: Continuous-striped, *suku suku qhawa*, (slitted)

Dimensions: 78.7 L x 83.8 W cm

Silku type: Wrap stitch in pink, purple, green, and yellow on *luqusu*; pink *pit'akipata* on bottom, pink and purple on slits and *q'awtata*

Ch'uku type: Banded diagonal stitch in purple, yellow, green, and red

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: The style similar to other Coroma pieces. The *qhawa* is composed of central wide stripe and lateral intermediate stripes and lacking bilateral symmetry. It has unusual elongate triangular stitch *pit'akipata* on the *ch'uku* and the *luqusu silku* has unusual nesting rectangles. The *q'awtata* has a double decorative supplemental thread reinforcement with purple and pink fringe. Brown weft.

2.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Oruro or Potosí

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas, *corregimiento* of Potosí

Date: pre-1780 CE

Type: Striped *saya*, *qulini qhawa* (slitted)

Dimensions: 69.5 L x 80 W cm

Silku type: Pink *pit'akipata* on bottom edges; pink and purple *pit'akipata* on the bottom part of the front of the *q'awtata* and yellow and pink on the bottom part of the back. The upper part of the *q'awtata* in the front and back is pink *pit'akipata*. Inka-style *pit'akipata* in pink, red, yellow, and purple on the slits and bottom corners

Ch'uku type: Inka-style diagonal stitch in pink, red, yellow, purple

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: This *qhawa* has narrow stripes of pink and light pink in the *saya* and backbone pattern *ll'uque* in the lateral sections. The *q'awtata* has a double decorative supplemental thread reinforcement with one bar of pink and yellow and another of pink and purple beneath it. Impossible to determine if there are *ch'uku* lateral stripes. Brown weft.

3.

Modern provenance: Peru, Department of Moquegua

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú, Audiencia of Charcas, *corregimiento* of Moquegua, Qullas or Lupaqaq *warami*

Date: pre-1780 CE

Type: Striped *saya*, *qulini qhawa*

Dimensions: 67.3 L x 85 W cm

Silku type: Blue *pit'akipata* on *q'awtata*, Inka-style *pit'akipata* in green, blue, pink, and light purple on *luqusu* and bottom edge

Ch'uku type: Inka-style diagonal stitch in green, blue, pink, and light purple

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: There is backbone pattern *ll'uque* in yellow sections. Subtle dye differences divide the *saya* into wide stripes of pink and light pink with narrow stripes of blue or white in the centers of each. *Silku* on the bottom has a green thread which runs continuously across the length of the *silku* which is unusual, usually the edge for each section of the pattern is the same as its color. Brown *ch'uku* lateral stripes and weft.

4.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, border between the Departments of Oruro and Potosí, province of Antonio Quijarro, municipality of Uyuni, region of the town of Coroma

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Unknown

Type: Monochrome *saya*, *qulini qhawa* (slitted)

Dimensions: 76.2 L x 83.2 W cm

Silku type: *Pit'akipata* in light blue on *luqusu* and *q'awtata*, pink on slits

Ch'uku type: Pink diagonal stitch

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: The blue *saya* is an unusual color, as is the light blue *silku*. There is backbone pattern *ll'uque* in the pink lateral sections; no bottom *silku* remains. Mottled brown and grey weft.

5.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Oruro or Potosí

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas, *corregimiento* of Potosí

Date: pre-1780 CE

Type: Striped *saya*, *qulini qhawa* (slitted)

Dimensions: 69.5 L x 80 W cm

Silku type: Pink *pit'akipata* on bottom, Inka-style *pit'akipata* in pink, red, yellow, and purple on *luqusu* and slits. Pink and purple *pit'akipata* on the bottom part of the front of the *q'awtata*, yellow and pink on the bottom part of the back. The upper part of the *q'awtata* in the front and back is pink *pit'akipata*

Ch'uku type: Inka-style diagonal stitch in pink, red, yellow, and purple

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: Virtually identical to cat. no. 2. The *saya* has narrow stripes of pink and light pink and has the same two bars of supplemental thread decorative neck reinforcement. There is backbone pattern *ll'uque* in the yellow lateral sections. Brown *ch'uku* lateral stripes and weft.

6.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Oruro or Potosí

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas, *corregimiento* of Potosí

Date: pre-1780 CE

Type: Striped *saya*, *qulini qhawa* (open *qhawa*)

Dimensions: 73.5 L x 83.6 W cm

Silku type: Inka-style *pit'akipata* in red, pink, purple, and yellow on *luqusu* and red *pit'akipata* on *q'awtata*

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: There is backbone pattern *ll'uque* in the yellow lateral sections. The arrangement of the *saya* narrow stripes is very similar to that on many narrow lateral-stripe *isallus*. Brown *ch'uku* lateral stripes and weft.

7.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Oruro or Potosí

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas, *corregimiento* of Potosí

Date: pre-1780 CE

Type: Striped *saya*, *qulini qhawa* (open *qhawa*, was slitted)

Dimensions: 74 L x 91.1 cm W

Silku type: Inka-style *pit'akipata* of green, yellow, red, and blue on *luqusu*, slits, bottom edges, and dark green *pit'akipata* on *q'awtata*

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, blue/brown

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: This *qhawa* has similar stripes to many narrow lateral-stripe *isallus*. There is *lluq'ita ch'ankha* only in the *ch'uku* lateral stripes which would have been covered unique among the *qhawas*. The dark green in the *q'awtata pit'akipatas* is also unusual. There is backbone pattern *ll'uque* in the yellow lateral sections. Brown weft.

8.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, region unknown

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Unknown

Type: Poncho

Dimensions: 69.2 L x 95.3 W cm

Silku type: Light blue *sawukipata* on the sides and bottom edges, brown *pit'akipata* on the bottom part of the *q'awtata*

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, purple/brown

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Metropolitan Museum, 1999.47.227

Comments: This poncho has remains of a decorative supplemental thread *q'awtata* reinforcement. *Lluq'ita ch'ankha* is present in the *saya*. The pink backbone pattern *ll'uque* lateral sections are very wide. There is very little *silku* left. There are several comparable examples in this catalogue (cat. nos. 9, 12, 14, 17, and 34).

9.

Modern provenance: Peru, Department of Moquegua

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas or Intendencia of Arequipa, *corregimiento* of Moquegua, Qullas or Lupaças *warami*

Date: Late Colonial

Type: Striped *saya*, *qulini qhawa* (open *qhawa*)

Dimensions: 67.3 L x 88.9 W cm

Silku type: None

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Metropolitan Museum, 1999.47.229

Comments: The *saya* has narrow stripes of blue and pink, and the pink lateral sections have backbone pattern *ll'uque*. There are several comparable examples in this catalogue (cat. nos. 8, 9, 12, 14, 17, and 34) some open and some closed with diagonal stitch. Blue *ch'uku* lateral stripes and brown weft.

10.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Oruro or Potosí

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas, *corregimiento* of Potosí

Date: pre-1780 CE

Type: Striped *saya*, *qulini qhawa* (open *qhawa*, slitted)

Dimensions: 62.2 L x 87.6 W cm

Silku type: Pink *pit'akipata* on bottom edges and *q'awtata*, Inka-style *pit'akipata* in pink, purple, and yellow on *luqusu* and slits

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Metropolitan Museum, 1999.47.228

Comments: The *ch'uku* were opened up but the presence of Inka-style *pit'akipata* on other parts and the obvious presence of slits indicates that it was a *qhawa*. It has narrow stripes in the *saya* of shades of pink. The yellow lateral sections have backbone pattern *ll'uque*. Brown *ch'uku* lateral stripes and weft.

11.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, region unknown

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Unknown

Type: Monochrome (slitted)

Dimensions: 80 L x 79.4 W cm

Silku type: White *sawukipata* on *luqusu*, bottom, slits

Ch'uku type: Pink diagonal stitch

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Metropolitan Museum, 1999.47.226

Comments: In this *qhawa* the *saya* and lateral sections are the same color but the lateral sections are distinguished by the presence of backbone pattern *ll'uque* (figure c). This is similar to cat. no. 43 where the lateral sections are created by dye lot differences between the left- and right-plyed stripes. There is no *silku* left on the *q'awtata*. The white *sawukipata silku* is unusual as is the pink diagonal stitch of the *ch'uku*. Brown weft.

12.

Modern provenance: Peru, region of Moquegua

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas or Intendencia of Arequipa, *corregimiento* of Moquegua, Qullas or Lupaqas *warami*

Date: Late Colonial

Type: Striped *saya*, *qulini qhawa* (slitted)

Dimensions: 73.3 L x 86.4 W cm

Silku type: None

Ch'uku type: Pink and purple diagonal stitch

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Metropolitan Museum, 1999.47.230

Comments: The lateral sections are composed of backbone pattern *ll'uque*. The narrow stripes in the *saya* are in a brown, pink, brown, maroon, brown pattern. There is pink diagonal stitch on one edge and purple on the other; possibly one is a repair or this *qhawa* was re sewn like cat. no. 34. Brown *ch'uku* lateral stripes and weft.

13.

Modern provenance: Peru

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Colonial (period unknown)

Type: Monochrome *saya*, *qulini qhawa* (open *qhawa*)

Dimensions: 67.5 L x 77.5 W cm

Silku type: *Tokapu* embroidery in white, pink, blue, yellow, and dark purple in combined with European style embroidery on bottom and *q'awtata*

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes, silk, silver thread, other fiber types in embroidery thread?

Collection: Brooklyn Museum of Art, 86.224.51

Comments: This *qhawa* has *ll'uque* in 1 left/1 right in lateral sections and *saya*. It is unusual to have 1 left|1right in both *saya* and lateral sections. The *silku* also include small squares of cloth sewn on top of the *qhawa* and covered with geometric and figural embroidery on the bottom edges and *q'awtata*. Weft unknown. See chapter 3 for a complete description.

14.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, region unknown

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Unknown

Type: Monochrome *saya*, *qulini qhawa* (slitted)

Dimensions: 74.5 L x 89 W cm

Silku type: *Sawukipata* (*ch'iñi layra* pattern) in red, white, and yellow on bottom edge and slits, *pit'akipata* in red, yellow, and brown on the *luqusu*, red/brown on the *q'awtata*

Ch'uku type: Yellow diagonal stitch

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, purple/brown, red/brown

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Textile Museum, D.C., 2005.35.1

Comments: This *qhawa* has a bar of *sawukipata* sewn on as a *q'awtata* reinforcement. The purple/brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha* is present in the *saya* and the red/brown in the *pit'akipata* on the *q'awtata*. Brown *ch'uku* lateral stripes and weft.

15.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, border between the Departments of Oruro and Potosí, province of Antonio Quijarro, municipality of Uyuni, region of the town of Coroma

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas, *corregimiento* of Potosí, Qaraqaras *warami*

Date: Early Colonial

Type: Miniature poncho

Dimensions: NA, miniature

Silku type: Elongated banded diagonal stitch on the sides in yellow, blue, red, and green, *pit'akipata* in the same colors on the ends of the bottom edges and pink in the center, three-dimensional embroidery in red, yellow, green, blue the *q'awtata*

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, pink/purple

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes, silk, silver thread

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: Green silk and silver threads along with pink alpaca thread form a *q'awtata* reinforcement of embroidery on the front and back. The green silk only remains on the back. Pink/purple *lluuq'ita ch'ankha* is present in *saya*. Purple *ch'uku* lateral stripes and brown weft.

16.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Oruro or Potosí

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Unknown

Type: Striped *saya*, *qulini qhawa* (slitted)

Dimensions: 79 L x 77 W cm

Silku type: Brown pit'akipata on *q'awtata*; pit'akipata in white, dark blue, and pink on slits, *luqusu*

Ch'uku type: Banded diagonal stitch in white and blue

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: It is unusual that the lateral sections have no *ll'uque*. The narrow stripes in the *saya* have the order blue, light blue, dark blue except for a section in the center of the *saya* which lacks the blue. No *silku* remains on the bottom edge. Blue *ch'uku* lateral stripes and brown weft.

17.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of La Paz, province of Pacajes

Original provenance: Pakasa *warami*

Date: Unknown

Type: Poncho or open *qhawa*?

Dimensions: 107.6 L x 85.1 W cm- unsure if folded or unfolded, measured by the collector

Silku type: None

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, purple/brown

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: The green on the *ch'uku* lateral stripes is unusual because it is not present anywhere else. There are some pink wefts woven double, possibly a repair. The *lluq'ita ch'ankha* is present in the *saya* and there is backbone pattern *ll'uque* in the lateral sections. There is a clear dye difference between the left- and right-plied sections (light pink for left-plied and a brighter pink for right-plied). There are several comparable examples in this catalogue (cat. nos. 8, 9, 12, 14, 17, and 34). Brown weft.

18.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, border between the Departments of Oruro and Potosí, province of Antonio Quijarro, municipality of Uyuni, region of the town of Coroma

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas, *corregimiento* of Potosí, Qaraqaras *warami*

Date: Late Horizon (1438-1532 CE), 95.4% of sample area 1492 CE, tested 2009

Type: Continuous-striped, *suku suku qhawa* (slitted later, then turned into an open *qhawa*)

Dimensions: 90.2 L x 80 W cm

Silku type: Green *pit'akipata* on *q'awtata*, *pit'akipata* in green, blue, red, and yellow on *luqusu* and the bottom left corner, indicating a slit

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection (personal reference Polk Collection 491)

Comments: Little evidence remains of the *silku* remains. Each segment on the *luqusu* has a bottom stitch that juts out, indicating the presence of the elongated *pit'akipata* seen on the sides of cat. no. 15. Brown weft.

19.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of La Paz, province of Pacajes

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú, Audiencia of Charcas, *corregimiento* of Pacajes or La Paz, Pakasa *warami*

Date: Early Colonial, 95% of sample area 1499-1637 CE, tested 2010

Type: Continuous-striped, *apita qhawa* (open *qhawa*)

Dimensions: 91.4 L x 74.9 W cm

Silku type: None

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: The *ch'uku* has been opened up and there is no evidence of *silku* left on any edge. Brown weft. See chapters two and three for a more complete description of the patterns.

20.

Modern provenance: Unknown

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Late Colonial, 20.7% of sample area 1652 CE; 74.7% of sample area 1726 CE, tested 2009

Type: Continuous-striped, *suku suku qhawa* (slitted)

Dimensions: 87.6 L x 83.8 W cm

Silku type: *Pit'akipata* in pink and blue on bottom edges and slits

Ch'uku type: Banded diagonal stitch in pink and blue

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: The shades of pink in the wide stripes and center wide stripe varies quite a bit. There is backbone pattern *ll'uque* in the final overdyed black wide stripes on either end. There is a warp insert *q'awtata* reinforcement of black overdyed threads. Brown weft.

21.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Potosí, province of Nor Chichas, region of the town of Toropalca

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Late Colonial or Early Republican? 26.4% of sample area 1669-1712 CE; 28.9% of sample area 1719-1784 CE; 11.2% of sample area 1795-1813 CE; 17.3% of sample area 1836-1889 CE; 11.3% of sample area 1923-1950 CE, tested 2010

Type: Monochrome, *panti qhawa* (slitted)

Dimensions: 69 L x 86 W cm

Silku type: *Pit'akipata* in blue, red, and white on bottom edges, *luqusu*, slits, and *q'awtata*

Ch'uku type: Banded diagonal stitch in blue, red, and white

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes, another thread type in *q'awtata* reinforcement?

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: This *qhawa* has a warp insert *q'awtata* reinforcement of pink and brown. The color of the *saya* is a dark purple. Hoskins identifies this as a modern *qhawa* from the southern altiplano, however I do not have a better provenanced example for comparison. The bright pink of the neck reinforcement suggests a repair and possibly aniline dye/polyester fiber. Brown weft.

22.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Oruro or Potosí

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú, Audiencia of Charcas, *corregimiento* of Potosí

Date: Early Colonial, 79.7% of sample area 1499-1599 CE; 15.1% of sample area 1609-1633 CE, tested 2010

Type: Monochrome *saya*, *qulini qhawa* (slitted)

Dimensions: 84.5 L x 81.3 W cm

Silku type: *Pit'akipata* in red, blue, yellow, and silver thread on the slits

Ch'uku type: Elongated triangular banded diagonal stitch in red, blue, and yellow

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, red/blue

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes, silver thread

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: There is *lluq'ita ch'ankha* in the *saya*, the weft, and the *ch'uku* lateral stripes. This *qhawa* is almost identical to cat. no.15 (a miniature poncho) except for the color of the *lluq'ita ch'ankha* in the *saya* (red/blue instead of pink/purple) and the use of *lluq'ita ch'ankha* weft. The *silku* on the slits contains silver threads. There is no *silku* left on *q'awtata*, bottom edges, or *luqusu*.

23.

Modern provenance: Unknown

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Unknown

Type: Miniature poncho

Dimensions: NA, miniature

Silku type: Woven looped fringe of silver thread and pink thread (camelid?)

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Camelid fiber?, natural dyes, silver thread, another thread type in sewing thread?

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: This is a miniature poncho, probably for a *santo* or saint figure. A *silku* of silver thread is placed around the edges and the *q'awtata* which was woven with looped silver thread and pink thread as a separate piece and sewn onto the *saya*, typical of normal size ponchos. Each corner had a tassel of silver thread but only one remains. The weft of the *saya* is pink.

24.

Modern provenance: Chilean/Bolivian border, region unknown

Original provenance: Kollasuyu, Karanqas or Killaqas *warami*

Date: Late Horizon (1437-1532 CE), 85.1% of sample area 1452-1501 CE; 9.9% of sample area 1597-1612 CE, tested 2013

Type: Monochrome *saya*, miniature *qulini qhawa* (open qhawa)

Dimensions: NA, miniature

Silku type: None

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: This was excavated from Late Horizon grave in Chile near the border with Bolivia (re. Hoskins). The narrow stripes of pink and green are not bilaterally symmetrical with the left section having the order brown, green, pink, green, brown, green, and pink (figure b) and the right brown, green, brown, green, pink, green, pink (figure c, orders from left to right in figure a). Brown weft and *ch'uku* lateral stripes.

25.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Oruro or Potosí

Original Provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú, Audiencia of Charcas, *corregimiento* of Potosí

Date: Early Colonial, 27.3% of sample area 1510 CE; 68.1% of sample area 1621 CE, tested 2009

Type: Striped *saya*, *qulini qhawa* (slitted)

Dimensions: 83.9 L x 78.7 W cm

Silku type: Blue *pit'akipata* on slits and *q'awtata*

Ch'uku type: Banded diagonal stitch in red, white, blue, and purple

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: It is unusual for *qhawa* with this stripe arrangement and color scheme not to have backbone pattern *ll'uque* in the lateral sections; this might possibly indicate an earlier date. The diagonal stitch remains intact on only one side, the edges on the other are simply stitched together, a historical repair. There is no *silku* left on bottom edges and *luqusu*. Blue *ch'uku* lateral stripes and brown weft.

26.

Modern provenance: Peru, Department of Moquegua

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú, Audiencia of Charcas, *corregimiento* of Moquegua, Qullas or Lupaqas *warami*

Date: pre-1780 CE (2013 Carbon-14 dating inconclusive due to more modern repairs)

Type: Striped *saya*, *qulini qhawa*

Dimensions: 70 L x 71.1 W cm

Silku type: *Pit'akipata* in pink and yellow on *luqusu*

Ch'uku type: Inka-style diagonal stitch in dark blue, pink, and yellow

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: There is 1 left/1 right *ll'uque* in pink lateral sections and the *saya* is divided into four wide stripes by narrow pink stripes. Each wide stripe is composed of narrow stripes of brown and blue. Brown *ch'uku* lateral stripes and weft.

27.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, border between the Departments of Oruro and Potosí, province of Antonio Quijarro, municipality of Uyuni, region of the town of Coroma

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Late Colonial or Early Republican, 19.9% of sample area 1691-1728 CE; 75.7% of sample area 1805-1950 CE, tested 2014

Type: Striped *saya*, *qulini qhawa* (slitted)

Dimensions: 66 x 80 W cm

Silku type: *Pit'akipata* in red and blue on *luqusu*, *pit'akipata* in blue, red, and yellow on slits and bottom corners

Ch'uku type: Banded diagonal stitch in red, pink, and yellow

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: The *q'awtata* has two decorative warp insert reinforcements in light blue. There is backbone pattern *ll'uque* in the pink lateral sections and the *saya* is composed of narrow stripes of tan undyed fiber, blue, and light blue. There is no *silku* left on the *q'awtata* or bottom edges. Blue *ch'uku* lateral stripes and undyed tan weft.

28.

Modern provenance: Chile, the Arica y Parinacota or Tarapacá regions (Districts 15 and 1 respectively)

Original provenance: Kollasuyu, Karanqas or Killaqas *warami*

Date: Late Horizon (1438-1532 CE), 66.9% of sample area 1448 CE; 0.9% of sample area 1551 CE; 27.6% of sample area 1574 CE, tested 2009 carbon dating

Type: Continuous-striped, *suku suku qhawa*

Dimensions: 92.7 L x 80 W cm

Silku type: Blue fringe on the bottom, wrap stitch of blue and white on *luqusu* and mottled tan/grey on the *q'awtata*

Ch'uku type: Red diagonal stitch on the sides, tan in the center

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: This *qhawa* may have been a grave piece. The intermediate stripes of blue, green, and red as well as the *ch'uku* divide it into six wide stripes composed of narrow stripes of red and undyed mottled tan/grey. The center *ch'uku* is also a diagonal stitch of the same shade of tan. There is an unusual fringe on the bottom edges created by knotting threads around the original heading cord, not made separately and sewn on such as the border in cat. no. 23. There are short red stitches under the *luqusu* which serve as reinforcements. Mottled tan/grey weft.

29.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Oruro or Potosí

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas or Intendencia of Chuquisaca, *corregimiento of Potosí*

Date: Late Colonial, 17.9% of sample area 1667-1688 CE; 77.2% of sample area 1728-1804 CE, tested 2013

Type: Striped *saya*, *qulini qhawa* (open *qhawa*)

Dimensions: 68.6 L x 86.4 W cm

Silku type: Pink *pit'akipata* on *q'awtata*

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: This *qhawa* is unusual in that both the *saya* and lateral sections are divided by narrow stripes. The *saya* is divided into intermediate stripes by narrow stripes of dark blue and white; each intermediate stripe consists of alternating pink and light pink stripes. The final intermediate stripe on each *ch'uku* is distinguished by pink instead of white in its narrow stripe divider. The yellow lateral sections of backbone pattern *ll'uque* are divided into three stripes by two dark purple narrow stripes containing a single warp of yellow in their centers. No *silku* remains on the bottom edges. Brown *ch'uku* lateral stripes and weft.

30.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, region unknown

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Late Horizon (1438-1532 CE), 74.8% of sample area 1450 CE; 20.6% of sample area 1587 CE, tested 2010

Type: Continuous-striped, *suku suku qhawa*

Dimensions: 85.1 L x 78.7 W cm

Silku type: Tan *pit'akipata* on the *q'awtata*, red and yellow on the *luqusu*, *ch'iñi layra* pattern of *sawakipa* in red and yellow on the bottom edges

Ch'uku type: Red diagonal stitch on the sides, tan down the center

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: The red thread in the *sawakipa* is triple ply which is very unusual. The weft is the same undyed tan as the tan warps.

31.

Modern provenance: Chilean/Bolivian border, region unknown

Original provenance: Karanqas or Killaqas *warami*

Date: Late Intermediate Period (1000-1437 CE), 94.8% of sample area 1029-1151 CE, tested 2012

Type: Monochrome, *qura qulini qhawa*

Dimensions: 59.7 L x 80 cm W at shoulder, 59.7 at waist (trapezoidal)

Silku type: *Pit'akipata* in pink, red, tan, blue, dark blue, white, green, and yellow on *q'awtata*, both *pit'akipata* and three-dimensional embroidery on *luqusu* in the same colors

Ch'uku type: Banded diagonal stitch in pink, red, tan, blue, dark blue, white, green, and possibly yellow

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, vicuña, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: There is an unusual combination of *silku* types on the *luqusu*; I am not sure why they would have mixed *pit'akipata* (placed on the front) and three-dimensional embroidery (placed on the back). There is no *silku* left on the bottom edging. The *saya* is made of tan vicuña and possibly the tan weft as well. Said to have been found in a gravesite.

32.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, border between the Departments of Oruro and Potosí, province of Antonio Quijarro, municipality of Uyuni, region of the town of Coroma

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas, *corregimiento* of Potosí, Qaraqaras *warami*

Date: Early Colonial, 95 % of sample area 1514-1601 CE, tested 2009

Type: Monochrome *saya*, *qulini qhawa*

Dimensions: 85 cm L x 78 W cm

Silku type: Red and blue *pit'akipata* on *luqusu*, red *pit'akipata* on bottom edges, and purple *pit'akipata* on *q'awtata*

Ch'uku type: Red and blue banded diagonal stitch

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: This is one of the *qhawa* containing discontinuous weave from Coroma. Only the wide lateral stripes with the interchange of narrow stripes on their borders are discontinuous with opposing colors (red on one side becomes blue on the other. The narrow lateral stripes of red and blue are not discontinuous. Brown weft.

33.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, border between the Departments of Oruro and Potosí, province of Antonio Quijarro, municipality of Uyuni, region of the town of Coroma

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas, *corregimiento* of Potosí, Qaraqaras *warami*

Date: Early Colonial

Type: Continuous-striped, *suku suku qhawa*

Dimensions: 90.5 L x 74.4 W cm

Silku type: Red and blue *pit'akipata* on *luqusu*, red *pit'akipata* on bottom edges, blue *pit'akipata* on *q'awtata*

Ch'uku type: Red and blue banded diagonal stitch

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes, aniline dyes (historical repair, polyester or sheep fiber?)

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: This is one of the *qhawas* shown in photographs from Coroma in use. It has *luqusu* reinforcements of red and blue. There is a decorative supplemental thread *q'awtata* reinforcement of the same colors. There is a more modern second decorative neck reinforcement, green and light blue, likely dyed with aniline dyes and perhaps using a different fiber type. Brown weft.

34.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, border between the Departments of Oruro and Potosí, province of Antonio Quijarro, municipality of Uyuni, region of the town of Coroma

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas, *corregimiento* of Potosí, Qaraqaras *warami*

Date: Early Colonial

Type: Continuous-striped, *suku suku qhawa*

Dimensions: 80 L x 78.6 W cm

Silku type: Red *pit'akipata* on bottom edges and *q'awtata*

Ch'uku type: Modern *ch'uku* of alternating red, white, purple, and blue diagonal stitch

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes, aniline dyes, polyester or sheep fiber?

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: The *ch'uku* were completely re-done at some later point in a variation of diagonal stitch not seen in pre-Hispanic and Colonial period *qhawa*. The *ch'uku* include the neon pink and off-white colors seen in other historical repairs (cat. nos. 21, 37, 47). Brown weft.

35.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, region unknown

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Unknown

Type: Poncho?

Dimensions: 66 L x 82.5 W cm

Silku type: Pink *sawakipa* on *q'awtata*

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, purple/brown

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: In some places in the *saya* brown warps alternate with the *lluuq'ita ch'ankha* warps in a *ch'imi* pattern. There is backbone pattern *ll'uque* in the pink lateral sections. No *silku* remains on the bottom edges. There are several comparable examples in this catalogue (cat. nos. 8, 9, 12, 14, 17, and 34). Brown *ch'uku* lateral stripes and weft.

36.

Modern provenance: Unknown

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Unknown

Type: Miniature poncho

Dimensions: NA

Silku type: Woven silver thread braid

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Silk brocade fabric, silver thread, cotton fabric?

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: This was probably made for a *santo* or saint figure. The *silku* was woven separately and sewn on. The core of the silver thread appears to be cotton. The brocade is a mix of silk, silver thread, and possibly cotton or linen.

37.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, border between the Departments of Oruro and Potosí, province of Antonio Quijarro, municipality of Uyuni, region of the town of Coroma

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas, *corregimiento* of Potosí, Qaraqaras *warami*

Date: Late Horizon

Type: Exception (interlocked tapestry weave)

Dimensions: 72 L x 70 W cm

Silku type: White and black diagonal stitch on the top, red and yellow on the bottom

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes, aniline dyes, fiber mix (historical repairs)

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: Published in the Hali article (Hali issue 162, 2009, page 5), identified as an Aymara version of the checkerboard unku. It is heavily repaired and some repairs are made in the neon pink aniline seen in other qhawas (cat. nos. 21 and 47). This *qhawa* appears in Coroma photographs in use. Brown weft.

38.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of La Paz, province of Pacajes

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú, Audiencia of Charcas, *corregimiento* of Pacajes or La Paz, Pakasa *warami*

Date: Early Colonial

Type: Continuous-striped, *apita qhawa* (fragmentary)

Dimensions: NA (two fragments)

Silku type: None

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: This is not a whole *qhawa*; in its current state it is split into front and back pieces with no *ch'ukus*. It contains selected warp stripes with both animal and geometric pattern. The warp in the selected warp stripes is 3-ply. Brown weft. See chapter three for further description of patterns.

39.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of La Paz, province of Pacajes

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú, Audiencia of Charcas, *corregimiento* of Pacajes or La Paz, Pakasa *warami*

Date: Early Colonial

Type: Continuous-striped, *apita qhawa* (fragmentary)

Dimensions: 70 cm W, impossible to measure length

Silku type: Red *pit'akipata* on the center of the bottom edges, *pit'akipata* of red, yellow, and blue on the corners of the bottom edges

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: This is one whole side of a *qhawa* cut into two pieces horizontally. It originally had slits because of the multicolor *pit'akipata silku* left on the corners. Some of the bird designs are similar to those present in Chancay and Chimú textiles. The warp in the selected warp stripes is 3-ply like in cat. no. 38. There are *ch'uku* lateral stripes of light blue. Brown weft. See chapters two and three for a further description of the patterns.

40.

Region: Bolivia, Department of La Paz, province of Pacajes

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú, Audiencia of Charcas, *corregimiento* of Pacajes or La Paz, Pakasa *warami*

Date: Early Colonial

Type: Continuous-striped, *apita qhawa* (open qhawa)

Dimensions: 70 cm W (impossible to measure length due to work space)

Silku type: Possibly blue *pit'akipata* on the bottom edges, red and yellow *pit'akipata* on the *luqusu*.

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, vicuña, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: The tan warps have the short staple of vicuña but the selected warp stripes are alpaca. The weft is possibly vicuña as well. The *q'awtata* is woven into the central selected warp stripe. There are two color palates for the selected warp stripes: gold, pink, and light purple for the stripes with geometric designs adjacent to the central one, and red, blue, gold, and white for the central and outer stripes which have geometric and animal designs. For a further description of the patterns see chapters two and three.

41.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of La Paz or Peru, department of Puno, province of Puno

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Colonial (period unknown)

Type: Monochrome, *panti qhawa* (open *qhawa*)

Dimensions: 71.5 cm L x 82 cm W

Silku type: *Tokapu* embroidery on the bottom edges, slits, *luqusu* and *q'awtata* (colors not recorded)

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, pink/brown

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes, another fiber type in embroidery thread?

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: This *qhawa* is composed of a pink *saya* woven in backbone pattern *ll'uque* (both left- and right-ply sections have between three and four warps each). While there is fluctuation in the dye, there is no consistent difference between them. Like cat. no. 13, it has *tokapu* embroidery in geometric patterns with a row of European style embroidery above on the bottom edges. Unlike cat. no. 13, the European embroidery is little more than outlines and entirely geometric. Unique among the *qhawas* with Inka style embroidery, the embroidery is also done up the side edges, bordering where the *ch'uku* was. Brown *ch'uku* lateral stripes. The weft is a pink/brown *lluuq'ita ch'ankha*.

42.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of La Paz or Peru, Department of Puno, province of Puno

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Colonial (period unknown)

Type: Monochrome *saya*, *qulini qhawa* (open *qhawa*)

Dimensions: 85 L x 82 cm W

Silku type: *Tokapu* embroidery on bottom edge, slits, *luqusu*, and *q'awtata* reinforcement (colors not recorded)

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, pink\brown

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes, another fiber type in embroidery thread?

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: There are circles of European style embroidery in the bottom corners on both the front and the back but they are either badly preserved or unfinished (I believe unfinished). The designs are figural, composed of birds and flowers\stars. The birds consist of outlines rather than filled in figures and the flowers\stars consist of radiating lines. Each lateral section contains a stripe of blue and yellow *paris* and *ch'ulla k'uthu*. Backbone pattern *ll'uque* is present throughout the blue *saya* and there is *lluuq'ita ch'ankha* of pink/brown in the weft. There is a decorative supplemental thread *q'awtata* reinforcement of *tokapu* embroidery. One of the lateral stripes is *paris* and *ch'ulla k'uthu*. Blue *ch'uku* lateral stripes.

43.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, border between the Departments of Oruro and Potosí, province of Antonio Quijarro, municipality of Uyuni, region of the town of Coroma

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas, *corregimiento* of Potosí, Qaraqaras *warami*

Date: Colonial (period unknown)

Type: Poncho

Dimensions: 69.5 L cm x 87 cm W

Silku type: Braid of silver thread on the side and bottom edges, and *q'awtata*

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes, silver thread

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: This poncho has a complete *silku* of silver thread (including the *q'awtata*) sewn onto the cloth. There are outlines of leaves or trefoils also constructed of silver thread (possibly military *galones*) spaced out along the edges on the front and back and possibly closed by buttons now missing. There are also elaborate trefoils sewn onto the bottom of the *q'awtatas* as a type of reinforcement. There is backbone pattern *ll'uque* throughout the whole *saya* with a clear dye difference between the left- and right-plied sections close to the side edges (the left-plied sections becomes a darker blue).

44.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, region unknown

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Unknown

Type: Poncho

Dimensions: 54 cm L x 84 cm W

Silku type: *Sawakipa* on sides, bottom edge, and *q'awtata* in blue, yellow, white, and pink

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: MUSEF, 158

Comments: This garment is in poor condition; it is heavily used with some damage. The *saya* is composed of pink and dark blue narrow stripes. There is backbone pattern *ll'uque* in the pink lateral sections. There are several comparable examples in this catalogue (cat. nos. 8, 9, 12, 14, 17, 34, 47) some open and some closed with diagonal stitch. Dark blue *ch'uku* lateral stripes. Brown weft.

45.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, border between the Departments of Oruro and Potosí, province of Antonio Quijarro, municipality of Uyuni, region of the town of Coroma

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas, *corregimiento* of Potosí, Qaraqaras *warami*

Date: Colonial (period unknown)

Type: Monochrome *saya*, *qulini qhawa*

Dimensions: 67 cm L, width not recorded

Silku type: Three-dimensional embroidery on right *luqusu* in yellow, light blue, light pink, dark blue, purple

Ch'uku type: Banded diagonal stitch in yellow, light blue, light pink, dark blue, purple

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: MUSEF, 531

Comments: This *qhawa* has the interchange of narrow and wide lateral stripes seen in other Coroma pieces. The light blue color is rare, but all other features indicate that it is a genuine colonial period piece. There is one section of left-ply thread next to each *ch'uku*. No *silku* remains on the bottom edges, *q'awtata*, or left *luqusu*. Brown *ch'uku* lateral stripes and weft.

46.

Modern provenance: Chilean/Bolivian border, region unknown

Original provenance: Karanqas or Killaqas *warami*

Date: pre-Hispanic (1000-1532 CE)

Type: Continuous-striped, *suku suku qhawa*

Dimensions: 88 L x 67.5 W cm

Silku type: None

Ch'uku type: Brown diagonal stitch on sides and center

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: MUSEF 02728

Comments: Gail Hoskins says that this was an archaeological piece, probably from a grave. The left side has an addition of approximately 3.5 cm of warps inserted between the *ch'uku* and the wide brown lateral stripe. Hoskins thinks that it was added by the original seller to make it more attractive, but it is also possible that it was a historical repair, especially since the warps on the right lateral side seam are stretched out as if someone wore the *qhawa* who was bigger than the person it was originally made for. The *q'awtata* has a warp insert reinforcement in brown. The bottom edges possibly had brown *pit'akipata*. Brown weft.

47.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of La Paz, province of Murillo

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Unknown

Type: Poncho

Dimensions: 58.5 L x 81 cm W

Silku type: *Sawakipa* in purple, yellow, white, pink on the bottom and side edges; *pit'akipata* in blue/black overdye on *q'awtata*

Ll'uque: Yes, in lateral stripes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: yes, blue\black overdye

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes, possibly another fiber type in repairs and *q'awtata* reinforcement?

Collection: MUSEF 28999

Comments: The historical repairs on the front and the back were made with a sewing machine in neon pink and black. The black may be alpaca fiber, but the pink appears to be a different fiber type. There is a supplemental thread decorative *q'awtata* reinforcement in pink, possibly made of a polyester fiber. Brown weft.

48.

Modern provenance: Peru, Department of Puno, province of Puno

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú, Audiencia of Charcas, Corregimiento of Paucarcolla, Qullas *warami*

Date: Colonial (period unknown)

Type: Monochrome (slitted)

Dimensions: Unknown due to viewing circumstances

Silku type: *Tokapu* embroidery in red, white, yellow, blue, light blue, and possibly green on bottom edge, slits, parts of the *luqusu*, and *q'awtata* reinforcement; blue *pit'akipata* on *q'awtata*, parts of the *luqusu*

Ch'uku type: Diagonal stitch in dark blue

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes, silver thread, silk

Collection: Museo Inka, number unknown

Comments: This is the finest Inka and European embroidered *qhawa* I examined with elaborate floral and volute designs on bottom edge including strawberries. The coat of arms of Castilla y Leon is embroidered on each side *ch'uku* wrapping around them from front to back right above the slits. The *saya* is composed of backbone pattern *ll'uque*. Weft unknown. For further description see chapter 3.

49.

Provenance: Perú, Cuzco region, Paucartambo, Q'ero

Date: 20th century

Type: NA

Dimensions: Unknown due to viewing circumstances

Silku type: *Sawakipa* on bottom edges and *luqusu*

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes? aniline dyes?

Collection: Centro de Textiles Tradicionales del Cuzco, number unknown

Comments: This is a modern *unku* from a Quechua-speaking community near Cuzco. It is woven out of undyed dark brown alpaca. Backbone pattern *ll'uque* is present throughout the *saya*. The *sawakipata* on the bottom edge possibly contains aniline dye; it was impossible to ascertain due to viewing circumstances. It was also impossible to determine *ch'uku* construction and weft color.

50.

Modern provenance: Peru, the Department of Moquegua, General Sánchez Cerro province, Ubinas district

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú, Audiencia of Charcas, Corregimiento of Moquegua, Qullas or Lupaqa *warami*

Date: pre-1780 CE

Type: Striped *saya*, *qulini qhawa*

Dimensions: 52 L x 71 W cm

Silku type: Inka-style *pit'akipata* in red, yellow, and dark purple/ on *luqusu*, *pit'akipata* in red and yellow on bottom edge

Ch'uku type: Inka-style diagonal stitch in red, dark blue, and purple

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: de Young Museum, 1992.107.74

Comments: This *qhawa* has four sections of dark blue and pink narrow stripes divided by wider pink strips. The pink lateral sections with backbone pattern *ll'uque* are bordered next to the *saya* by a greenish blue wider stripe. There is also a greenish blue narrow stripe next to each brown *ch'uku* lateral stripe. There is no *silku* left on the *q'awtata*. Brown weft.

Kunkani Isallu

51.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of La Paz, province of Pacajes

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas or Intendencia of La Paz, *corregimiento* of Pacajes or La Paz, Pakasa *warami*

Date: Colonial (period unknown)

Dimensions: 131.5 L x 118.6 W cm

Type: *Kunkani isallu*, blue two-striped

Silku type: Flat crossed warp of pink and light pink

Ch'uku type: Pink diagonal stitch

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Color scheme: Blue wide stripes with with purple narrow stripes, pink center stripe with pink and light pink *paris k'uthu*, pink and light pink lateral stripes, brown *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: There is *ll'uque* in the *pampa* lateral stripes as well as *pampa* one and six in the 1 left/1 right arrangement. Brown weft.

52.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, region unknown

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Unknown

Dimensions: No measurement L x 134 W cm

Type: *Kunkani isallu*, blue three-striped

Silku type: *Sawukipata* of red and light pink

Ch'uku type: Red and light pink alternating diagonal stitch

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, pink/dark grey

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Color scheme: Blue wide stripes with red narrow stripes, red center stripe, light pink and red *paris k'uthu*, red and pink lateral stripes, dark grey *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: *Lluq'ita ch'ankha* of pink/ dark grey is present in the weft only in the left half. Pink/dark grey and dark grey weft.

53.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, region unknown

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Unknown

Dimensions: 136.3 L x 113 W cm

Type: *Kunkani isallu*, pink-red three-striped

Silku type: None

Ch'uku type: Alternating diagonal stitch of purple, pink, yellow

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, purple/ brown

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Color scheme: Wide stripes of pink with purple narrow stripes, pink center stripe with purple and pink *paris k'uthu*, pink and purple lateral stripes, brown and purple/brown *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: *Lluq'ita ch'ankha* is present in the *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes and alternates in a *ch'imi* pattern with brown warps. Brown weft.

54.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Oruro or Potosí

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Unknown

Dimensions: 115 L x 132.5 W cm

Type: *Kunkani isallu*, pink-red three-striped

Silku type: None

Ch'uku type: Banded diagonal stitch of pink and light pink

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, blue/mottled grey/brown

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Color scheme: Pink wide stripes with light pink narrow stripes, pink center stripe, light pink and pink *paris k'uthu*, pink and light pink lateral stripes, mottled grey/brown *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: The weft is a mixture of mottled grey/brown grey and blue/mottled grey/brown in both *khallu*.

55.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of La Paz, province of Pacajes

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas or Intendencia of La Paz, *corregimiento* of Pacajes or La Paz, Pakasa *warami*

Date: Colonial (period unknown)

Dimensions: 101.5 L x 130.5 W cm

Type: *Kunkani isallu*, pink-red three-striped

Silku type: None

Ch'uku type: Alternating diagonal stitch of pink and light pink

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, purple/brown, lavender/brown, maroon/brown, pink/brown

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes, silk

Color scheme: Pink wide stripes with light pink narrow stripes, pink center stripe, pink and light pink *ch'ulla k'uthu*, pink and light pink lateral stripes, purple/brown *pampa*, lavender/brown and maroon/brown *pampa* lateral stripes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: Backbone pattern *ll'uque* is present in the *pampa* lateral stripes (one left and one right-plied section in each), *pampa* one and eight (one has three section of both left- and right-plied thread while eight has three left-plied and two right-plied) and the lateral stripes on both sides (the light pink stripe is left-plied and the pink is right-plied). All the narrow stripes are left-plied. There is *lluq'ita ch'ankha* in the *pampa*, *pampa* lateral stripes, and weft. Both the top and bottom heading cords are white silk and there is some pink silk in the bottom heading cord. Pink/brown weft.

56.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of La Paz, province of Pacajes

Original provenance: Pakasa *warami*

Date: Unknown

Dimensions: 125 W cm, length not recorded

Type: *Kunkani isallu*, blue three-striped

Silku type: Flat crossed warp of pink, purple and yellow

Ch'uku type: Alternating diagonal stitch of purple, yellow, and pink

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Color scheme: Blue wide stripes with black narrow stripes, pink center stripe, pink and purple *ch'ulla k'uthu*, pink and purple lateral stripes, and black overdye *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: Backbone pattern *ll'uque* is present in the *pampa* lateral stripes, and *pampa* one and eight. *Pampa* one and eight have five narrow stripes of left- and right-ply thread with one wide stripe of black next to the adjacent wide stripe. The *pampa* lateral stripes have two left and two right-ply narrow stripes. Black overdye weft.

57.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of La Paz, province of Pacajes

Original provenance: Pakasa *warami*

Date: Unknown

Dimensions: 116 L x 124.2 W cm

Type: *Kunkani isallu*, blue two-striped

Silku type: None

Ch'uku type: *Ch'iñi layra* selected warp in red and yellow

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, pink/tan and red/tan

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Color scheme: Blue wide stripes with pink narrow stripes, red center stripe, purple and red *paris k'uthu*, red and purple lateral stripes, pink, pink/tan, red/tan narrow stripes in the *pampa* lateral stripes, pink/tan *pampa*

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: *Lluq'ita ch'ankha* is present in the *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes. The *pampa* lateral stripes have two sections of pink left-plied thread and three sections of *lluq'ita ch'ankha* right-plied. *Pampa* sections one and six have six narrow stripes of pink left-plied thread and six narrow stripes of *lluq'ita ch'ankha* right-plied with one wide stripe of *lluq'ita ch'ankha* next to the adjacent wide stripe. Brown weft.

58.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Oruro or Potosí

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas, *corregimiento* of Potosí

Date: pre-1780 CE

Dimensions: 139.5 W, length not recorded

Type: *Kunkani isallu*, pink-red three-striped

Silku type: None

Ch'uku type: Inka-style diagonal stitch in purple, pink, and yellow

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Color scheme: Pink wide stripes with light pink narrow stripes, pink center stripe, pink and light pink *paris k'uthu*, pink and light pink lateral stripes, rust orange (tan overdyed with red) *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: The *pampa* lateral stripes are a single section of left-plied thread. *Pampa* one and eight have sixteen sections of left-plied thread and fifteen sections of right-plied. The rust orange color of the *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes is very unusual. Brown weft

59.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of La Paz, province of Pacajes

Original provenance: Pakasa *warami*

Date: Unknown

Dimensions: 99 L x 128 W cm

Type: *Kunkani isallu*, blue two-striped

Silku type: Flat crossed warp of red, yellow, and purple

Ch'uku type: *Ch'iñi layra* selected warp in yellow and red

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, purple/brown

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Color scheme: Blue wide stripes with pink narrow stripes, red and light pink *paris k'uthu*, red and light pink lateral stripes, purple/brown *pampa*, purple and purple/brown *pampa* lateral stripes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: The *pampa* lateral stripes have three left-plied and two right-plied sections and *pampa* one and six have five left-and right-plied sections. All the left-plied sections are in purple and the right-plied sections in *lluq'ita ch'ankha*. There is *lluq'ita ch'ankha* in the *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes as well as in narrow stripes adjacent to the *ch'uku*. brown weft.

60.

Modern Provenance: Bolivia, Department of La Paz, province of Pacajes

Original provenance: Pakasa *warami*

Date: Unknown

Dimensions: 105.5 L x 114.5 W cm

Type: *Kunkani isallu*, blue two-striped

Silku type: None

Ch'uku type: *Ch'iñi layra* selected warp in red and yellow

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, red/tan and white/red

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Color scheme: Blue wide stripes with pink narrow stripes, red center stripe, white/red and red *ch'ulla k'uthu*, red and pink lateral stripes, tan, tan and red/tan *pampa*, tan and red/tan *pampa* lateral stripes, brown weft

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: There is *lluq'ita ch'ankha* (white/red) in the *ch'ulla k'uthu* and in the backbone pattern *ll'uque* (red/tan) in the *pampa* lateral stripes and *pampa* one and six. There is one section of left-plied thread and two of right-plied in the *pampa* lateral stripes. There are four sections of left- and right-plied thread in *pampa* one and six. All left-plied sections are red/tan and all right-plied sections are tan.

61.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of La Paz, province of Aroma, municipality of Sica Sica

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas or Intendencia of La Paz, *corregimiento* of Sica Sica, Pakasa *warami*

Date: Colonial (period unknown)

Dimensions: 99 L x 132.5 W cm

Type: *Kunkani isallu*, blue three-striped

Silku type: None

Ch'uku type: Alternating diagonal stitch of yellow, light pink and red

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Color scheme: Blue wide stripes with pink narrow stripes, pink center stripe, pink and light pink *ch'ulla k'uthu*, pink and light pink lateral stripes, brown *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: Brown weft.

62.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of La Paz, province of Pacajes

Original provenance: Pakasa *warami*

Date: Unknown

Dimensions: 117.5 L x 143.3 W cm

Type: *Kunkani isallu*, blue two-striped

Silku type: None

Ch'uku type: Diagonal stitch in red

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, purple/brown

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Color scheme: Blue wide stripes with red narrow stripes, light pink narrow stripes in red center stripe, red and purple lateral stripes, mottled brown/grey *pampa*, brown and purple/brown *pampa* lateral stripes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: There is backbone pattern *ll'uque* in the *pampa* lateral stripes and *pampa* one and six. There are two sections of left-plied thread in the *pampa* lateral edges and three of right-plied. There are two sections of left-plied thread in *pampa* one and six and two sections of right-plied. There is *lluq'ita ch'ankha* in the *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripe *ll'uque* left-plied sections. This *isallu* is unusual in that there are narrow stripes in the center stripe rather than *k'uthu*. Brown weft.

63.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of La Paz, province of Pacajes

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas or Intendencia of La Paz, *corregimiento* of Pacajes or La Paz, Pakasa *warami*

Date: Colonial (period unknown)

Dimensions: 110.5 L x 137.5 W cm

Type: *Kunkani isallu*, blue three-striped

Silku type: None

Ch'uku type: Alternating diagonal stitch of pink and light pink

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Color scheme: Blue wide stripes with pink narrow stripes, pink center stripe, pink and light pink *paris k'uthu*, pink and light pink lateral stripes, brown pampa and pampa lateral stripes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: There is backbone pattern *ll'uque* in the *pampa* lateral stripes and *pampa* one and eight. The right *pampa* lateral stripe has six sections of left-plied thread and seven of right-plied and the left has seven sections of left-plied and eight of right-plied. There are three sections of both left- and right-plied thread in *pampa* one and eight. Brown weft.

64.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Oruro or Potosí

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú, Audiencia of Charcas, *corregimiento* of Potosí

Date: Early Colonial

Dimensions: 134 L x 121.8 W cm

Type: *Kunkani isallu*, blue three-striped

Silku type: None

Ch'uku type: Banded diagonal stitch in red and blue

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Color scheme: Blue wide stripes with red narrow stripes, *paris k'uthu* center section in red and blue, red, blue, and green lateral stripes, tan *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: There is *ll'uque* in *pampa* one and eight. There are six sections of left- and right-plied thread in *pampa* one, seven sections of left-plied and six sections of right-plied in *pampa* eight. There is also possibly *ll'uque* in the *pampa* lateral stripes but the weave is too loose to be certain. The *ch'uku* has the elongated stitches seen in the side *ch'uku* of some *qhawas* (cat. nos. 1 and 22) and the *silku* of one miniature poncho (cat. no.15). Tan weft.

65.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, border between the Departments of Oruro and Potosí, province of Antonio Quijarro, municipality of Uyuni, region of the town of Coroma

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas, *corregimiento* of Potosí, Qaraqaras *warami*

Date: Early Colonial

Dimensions: Impossible with workspace

Type: *Larami isallu?* light blue three-striped exception

Silku type: None

Ch'uku type: Banded diagonal stitch of light blue and red

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Color scheme: Light blue wide stripes with red narrow stripes, red and light blue *ch'ulla k'uthu* center section, red and light blue lateral stripes, dark blue *pampa*, blue and light blue *pampa* lateral stripes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: There is backbone pattern *ll'uque* in the *pampa* lateral stripes and *pampa* one and eight. All of the left-plied sections are light blue and all right-plied are dark blue. There one section of left-plied thread and two of right-plied in the *pampa* lateral stripes, three sections of left-plied in *pampa* one and eight and four sections of right-plied. This *isallu* has a very unusual color scheme. brown weft.

66.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of La Paz, province of Aroma, municipality of Calamarca

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Unknown

Dimensions: 96 L x 110.5 W cm

Type: *Kunkani isallu*, blue three-striped

Silku type: None

Ch'uku type: *Sawukipata* in white, dark purple and red

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, dark purple/black overdyed

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Color scheme: Blue wide stripes with white and red narrow stripes, red center stripe with white and red narrow stripes, white and red lateral stripes, dark purple and dark purple/black overdyed *pampa*, dark purple *pampa* lateral stripes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: The *pampa* lateral stripes are left-plied. There is *lluq'ita ch'ankha* in *pampa* one to three and six to eight while four and five are simply dark purple. This color scheme is unique to the Calamarca municipality with the white narrow stripes and lateral stripes. The *ch'uku* is *sawukipata* in a simple design of alternating colors with three warps each. Black overdyed weft

67.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Oruro or Potosí

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas, *corregimiento* of Potosí

Date: pre-1780 CE

Dimensions: 93.4 L x 134.3 W cm

Type: *Kunkani isallu*, blue three-striped

Silku type: None

Ch'uku type: Inka-style diagonal stitch in pink, purple, and yellow

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Color scheme: Blue wide stripes with pink narrow stripes, pink center stripe, pink and light pink *paris k'uthu*, pink and light pink lateral stripes, brown *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: There is *ll'uque* in *pampa* one and eight in the 1 left/1 right pattern. Brown weft.

68.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of La Paz, province of Pacajes

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas or Intendencia of La Paz, *corregimiento* of Pacajes or La Paz, Pakasa *warami*

Date: Colonial (period unknown)

Dimensions: 130.6 W, length impossible due to workspace

Type: *Kunkani isallu*, pink-red two-striped

Silku type: None

Ch'uku type: *Ch'iñi layra* selected warp in pink and silver thread

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, lavender/brown, maroon/brown, pink/brown

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes, silver thread, white silk weft insertion

Color scheme: Pink wide stripes with silver narrow stripes, pink center with pink and silver thread *k'uthu*, pink and light pink lateral stripes, lavender/brown and maroon/brown *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: There is backbone pattern *ll'uque* in *pampa* one and six and the *pampa* lateral stripes. There are three sections of left-plied lavender/brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha* in the *pampa* lateral stripes and one in *pampa* one and six. There is *lluq'ita ch'ankha* of pink/brown in the weft of the right half; the rest is brown. There are some weft insertions of white silk. *Pampa* two, three, four, and six have an alteration of lavender/brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha* with maroon/brown in a *ch'imi* pattern. *Pampa* one and five contain maroon/brown only. All the right-plied sections in the *pampa* lateral edges are maroon/brown (number not recorded).

69.

Region: Bolivia, Department of La Paz, province of Pacajes

Original provenance: Pakasa *warami*

Date: Unknown

Dimensions: 117.2 cm W, length impossible due to workspace

Type: *Kunkani isallu*, blue two-striped*Silku* type: None*Ch'uku* type: Alternating diagonal stitch in pink, pink/white, purple, and purple/white*Ll'uque*: Yes*Lluq'ita ch'ankha*: Yes, tan/pink, light tan/pink, pink/white, purple/white

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Color scheme: Blue wide stripes with pink narrow stripes, pink center stripe, pink and light pink *k'uthu*, pink and light pink lateral stripes, pink/tan and pink/ lighter tan *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: There is backbone pattern *ll'uque* in the *pampa* lateral stripes and *pampa* one and six. There is one section of left-plied thread and two sections of right-plied in the *pampa* lateral stripes, five left-plied sections and six right-plied sections in *pampa* one and six. All the left-plied sections have pink/light tan *lluq'ita ch'ankha* and the right-plied sections have pink/tan *lluq'ita ch'ankha*. The *ch'uku* has a very unusual alternating diagonal stitch pattern of pink/white and pink, purple/white and purple, and pink and purple. Tan weft.

70.

Region: Bolivia, Department of La Paz, province of Pacajes

Date: Pakasa *warami*

Dimensions: 92.8 L x 115.5 W cm

Type: *Kunkani isallu*, blue two-striped

Silku type: None

Ch'uku type: *Ch'iñi layra* technique selected warp in yellow and red

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, pink/tan?

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Color scheme: Blue wide stripes with pink narrow stripes, pink center stripe, pink and dark purple *k'uthu*, light pink and pink lateral stripes, tan and possibly pink/tan or brown *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes

Collection: De Young Museum, 1992.107.152

Comments: There is backbone pattern *ll'uque* in the *pampa* lateral stripes and *pampa* one and six. There are four sections of left-ply thread in *pampa* one and six composed of either pink or pink/tan *lluq'ita ch'ankha*. There are also left-ply sections in the *pampa* lateral stripes which are also either pink or pink/tan *lluq'ita ch'ankha*. This piece was examined while on display in the exhibition *On the Grid: Textiles and Minimalism*, de Young Museum, 7/23/16 - 2/12/17, and thus minimal information was recorded. Weft unknown.

71.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of La Paz

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Unknown

Dimensions: 109 L x 134 cm w

Type: *Kunkani isallu*, blue two-striped

Silku type: Flat crossed warp in pink.

Ch'uku type: Alternating diagonal stitch of pink and light pink

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Color scheme: Blue wide stripes with black narrow stripes, pink center stripe, pink and light pink *paris k'uthu*, pink and light pink lateral stripes, black overdyed *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: There is backbone pattern *ll'uque* in the *pampa* lateral stripes and *pampa* one and eight. There is one section of both left- and right-ply thread in the *pampa* lateral stripes, four of both in *pampa* one and five of both in *pampa* eight. Black overdyed weft.

72.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, border between the Departments of Oruro and Potosí, province of Antonio Quijarro, municipality of Uyuni, region of the town of Coroma

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas, *corregimiento* of Potosí, Qaraqaras *warami*

Date: Early Colonial

Dimensions: 112 L x 122 cm W

Type: *Kunkani isallu*, alternating three-striped

Silku type: *Pit'akipata* of pink

Ch'uku type: Alternating diagonal stitch of red, blue, and yellow

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, supplemental thread of red/white

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Color scheme: Red wide stripes with blue and yellow narrow stripes, blue wide stripes with red and yellow narrow stripes, red, blue, and yellow *paris* and *ch'ulla k'uthu*, red, blue, yellow lateral stripes, pink *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: There is *lluq'ita ch'ankha* in supplementary threads likely added later to edges. The structure of the *k'uthu* in the center is quite complex, containing two different types. Brown weft.

73.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, border between the Departments of Oruro and Potosí, province of Antonio Quijarro, municipality of Uyuni, region of the town of Coroma

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas, *corregimiento* of Potosí, Qaraqaras *warami*

Date: Early Colonial

Dimensions: 105 L x 106 cm W

Type: *Kunkani isallu*, alternating three-striped

Silku type: None

Ch'uku type: Banded diagonal stitch of blue and red

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Color scheme: Red wide strips with blue narrow stripes, blue wide stripes with red narrow stripes, narrow red and blue stripes as the center stripe, red and blue lateral stripes, tan *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: The use of multicolored narrow stripes in place of a center stripe is unusual. Tan weft.

74.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Oruro or Potosí

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas, *corregimiento* of Potosí

Date: pre-1780 CE

Dimensions: 103 L x 133.8 cm W

Type: *Kunkani isallu*, pink-red three-striped

Silku type: None

Ch'uku type: Inka-style diagonal stitch in purple, pink, and yellow

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, blue/brown

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Color scheme: Red wide stripes with pink and purple narrow stripes, red center stripe, pink and purple *paris k'uthu*, red and pink lateral stripes, dark blue *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: There is backbone pattern *ll'uque* in the lateral stripes and *pampa* one and eight. There are twenty sections of right-ply thread and nineteen sections of left-ply in *pampa* one and eight. The pink lateral stripes are right-ply while the red are left-ply. The right-ply sections in the *pampa* are dark blue while the left-ply sections are blue/brown. Brown weft.

75.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Oruro or Potosí

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas, *corregimiento* of Potosí

Date: pre-1780 CE

Dimensions: 107 L x 146.5 cm W

Type: *Kunkani isallu*, pink-red three-striped

Silku type: *Sawukipata* in red, yellow, and white.

Ch'uku type: Inka-style diagonal stitch in purple, red, yellow, and light blue

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, pink/brown

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Color scheme: Red wide stripes with light pink narrow stripes, red center stripe, red and light pink *paris k'uthu*, red and light pink lateral stripes, dark purple *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: The weft is pink/brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha*. There is backbone pattern *ll'uque* in *pampa* one and eight with twenty-one sections of both left- and right-plied thread in each. There is a slight dye difference between the left- and right-plied sections; the left-plied sections are a darker purple.

76.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of La Paz, province of Pacajes

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas or Intendencia of La Paz, *corregimiento* of La Paz, Pakasa *warami*

Date: Colonial (period unknown)

Dimensions: 111 L x 134.8 cm W

Type: *Kunkani isallu*, blue three-striped

Silku type: Flat crossed warp in pink and light pink

Ch'uku type: Diagonal stitch in brown.

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural deyes

Color scheme: Blue wide stripes with pink narrow stripes, pink center stripe, pink and light pink *paris k'uthu*, pink and light pink lateral stripes, brown *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: There is *ll'uque* in the 1 left/1 right pattern in *pampa* one and eight as well as the *pampa* lateral stripes. Brown weft.

77.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, region unknown

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Late Horizon (1437-1532 CE), Carbon-14 dated to 1425-1648 CE (no further details available)

Dimensions: 116 L x 128 W cm

Type: *Kunkani isallu*, pink-red three-striped

Silku type: Wrap stitch in red, blue, and tan

Ch'uku type: Alternating diagonal stitch in red and blue

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, vicuña, natural dyes

Color scheme: Red wide stripes with narrow blue stripes, red and blue *ch'ulla k'uthu* center section, red and blue lateral stripes, tan vicuña *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: The weft is tan, also probably vicuña. The proportions of the stripes are much smaller and the *pampa* much wider than in later *isallu*.

78.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, region unknown

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Early Colonial

Dimensions: 122.5 L x 118.5 W cm

Type: *Kunkani isallu*, pink-red three-striped

Silku type: *Pit'akipata* of red, yellow, blue, and green

Ch'uku type: Alternating diagonal stitch in red, yellow, blue and green

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, red/blue

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Color scheme: Red wide stripes with blue narrow stripes, red and blue *paris k'uthu* center section, red, blue, green lateral stripes, red/blue *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: There is *lluq'ita ch'ankha* in the *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes. Brown weft.

79.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Oruro or Potosí

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas, *corregimiento* of Potosí

Date: pre-1780 CE

Dimensions: 121.9 L x 120.4 cm W

Type: *Kunkani isallu*, blue three-striped

Silku type: *Sawukipata* in red, yellow, white and purple

Ch'uku type: Inka-style diagonal stitch in red, blue, yellow and purple

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Color scheme: Blue wide stripes with pink narrow stripes, pink center section, pink and light pink *paris k'uthu* (right half only), red and pink lateral stripes, mottled grey/brown *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: The left half has two stripes of light pink instead of *k'uthu* in the center section. There is backbone pattern *ll'uque* present in *pampa* one and eight. There are eighteen sections of left-ply thread and nineteen sections of right-ply in *pampa* one, twenty of both left- and right-ply in *pampa* eight. Brown weft.

80.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, region unknown

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Late Colonial, 24.3% of sample area 1648-1698 CE; 68.7% of sample area 1724-1809 CE; 0.9% of sample area 1869-1877 CE; 0.6% of sample area 1946-1950 CE, tested 2012

Dimensions: 82.6 L x 119.6 cm W

Type: *Kunkani isallu*, blue three-striped

Silku type: Flat crossed warp in yellow, red, and purple

Ch'uku type: Diagonal stitch in red

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, peach/grey

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Color scheme: Blue wide stripes with peach narrow stripes, red center stripe, red and peach *ch'ulla k'uthu*, red and peach lateral stripes, peach/grey *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: There is backbone pattern *ll'uque* present in the *pampa* lateral stripes and *pampa* one and eight. All left-plied sections are purple and all right-plied sections are *lluq'ita ch'ankha*. There is one section of left-plied thread and two of right-plied in the *pampa* lateral stripes, four sections of both left- and right-plied thread in *pampa* one and eight. There is *lluq'ita ch'ankha* present in the *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes. The peach color used in the *lluq'ita ch'ankha*, lateral stripes, *k'uthu*, and narrow stripes is very unusual. Brown weft.

81.

Modern provenance Bolivia, Department of Oruro

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Unknown

Dimensions: 97.8 L x 123.2 cm W

Type: *Kunkani isallu*, blue three-striped

Silku type: None

Ch'uku type: Alternating diagonal stitch in red, purple and yellow, banded in red

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, yellow/light purple

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Color scheme: Blue wide stripes with light pink narrow stripes, pink-red center stripe, pink, light purple, and yellow/light purple lateral stripes, alternating pink and brown warps in *pampa*, brown *pampa* lateral stripes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: There is *lluq'ita ch'ankha* in one of the three lateral stripes in each half. This *isallu* is very unusual for a number of reasons. There are three lateral stripes on each end: pink, yellow/light purple, and a narrow stripe of light purple. The *pampa* consist of warps of pink and brown alternating in a *ch'imi* pattern. The center stripe is composed of a section of pink and red on each side of the *ch'uku*. Brown weft.

82.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of La Paz, province of Pacajes

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas or Intendencia of La Paz, *corregimiento* of Pacajes or La Paz, Pakasa *warami*

Date: Colonial (period unknown)

Dimensions: 100.3 L x 148.3 cm W

Type: *Kunkani isallu*, pink-red three-striped

Silku type: *Pit'akipata* in red, pink, yellow, silver thread

Ch'uku type: Alternating diagonal stitch in red, pink, yellow, and silver thread

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, purple/brown

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes, silver thread

Color scheme: Red wide stripes with pink narrow stripes, red center stripe, red and silver thread *paris k'uthu*, pink and red lateral stripes, purple/brown *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: This *isallu* has silver threads in the *k'uthu* and the *silku*. There is *ll'uque* in the 1 left/1 right pattern in part of lateral stripe one while the rest is left-plied. Lateral stripe two and three are right-plied while four is left-plied. The pink narrow stripes are left-plied. *Lluq'ita ch'ankha* is present in the *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes. This *isallu* is comparable to cat. nos. 68 and 55, and possibly contains white silk heading cords, it was too difficult to tell from the *silku* still being present. Brown weft.

83.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of La Paz, province of Pacajes

Original provenance: Pakasa *warami*

Date: Unknown

Dimensions: 119 W cm, length not recorded due to workspace

Type: *Kunkani isallu*, blue two-striped

Silku type: Flat crossed warp in yellow and purple

Ch'uku type: *Ch'iñi layra* selected warp in yellow and red

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, blue/mottled grey-brown

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Color scheme: Blue wide stripes with brown narrow stripes, red center stripe, red and blue *ch'ulla k'uthu*, blue and red lateral stripes, mottled grey/brown and blue/mottled grey-brown *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: There is *lluq'ita ch'ankha* in *pampa* one and six as well as the *pampa* lateral stripes. There are four sections of both left- and right-ply thread in *pampa* one and six, two sections of right-ply and one section of left-ply in the *pampa* lateral stripes. All left-ply sections are *lluq'ita ch'ankha* while the right-ply are grey/brown. The brown narrow stripes are possibly overdyed for consistency. Mottled grey/brown weft.

84.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of La Paz, province of Pacajes

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas or Intendencia of La Paz, *corregimiento* of Pacajes or La Paz, Pakasa *warami*

Date: Colonial (period unknown)

Dimensions: 103 L x 133.5 W cm

Type: *Kunkani isallu*, blue three-striped

Silku type: *Pit'akipata* in brown

Ch'uku type: Alternating diagonal stitch in pink and light pink

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Color scheme: Blue wide stripes with brown narrow stripes, pink center stripe, pink and light pink *paris k'uthu*, pink and light pink lateral stripes, brown *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: There is *ll'uque* in the 1 left/1 right pattern in the *pampa* lateral stripes. The brown in the narrow stripes is possibly overdyed for consistency. Brown weft.

85.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of La Paz, province of Pacajes

Original provenance: Pakasa *warami*

Date: Unknown

Dimensions: 97 L x 83 cm W

Type: *Kunkani isallu*, blue two-striped

Silku type: None

Ch'uku type: *Ch'iñi layra* selected warp in red and yellow (eroded or poorly done)

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, pink/brown

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Color scheme: Blue wide stripes with pink narrow stripes, pink center stripe, pink and light pink *paris* and *ch'ulla k'uthu*, pink and red lateral stripes, brown and pink/brown *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes

Collection: MUSEF, 97

Comments: There is backbone pattern *ll'uque* in the *pampa* lateral stripes and *pampa* one and six. There are two sections of right-plied thread and one section of left-plied in the *pampa* lateral stripes, three sections of both left- and right-plied thread in *pampa* one and six. All left-plied sections are *ll'uq'ita ch'ankha*, the right-plied sections brown. One of the *k'uthu* sections in the left half has a count of 3/3, making it *ch'ulla* rather than *paris*. Brown weft.

86.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Oruro, province of Litoral

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas, *corregimiento* of Potosí, *Karanqas warami*

Date: Early Colonial, 49.8% of sample area 1510-1576 CE; 45.5% of sample area 1621-1648 CE, tested 2012

Dimensions: 118 L x 127 W cm

Type: *Kunkani isallu*, alternating three-stripped

Silku type: None

Ch'uku type: Diagonal stitch in purple

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, pink/brown

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Color scheme: Red and blue wide stripes with red, yellow, and blue narrow stripes, red and yellow *paris k'uthu*, red, yellow, and blue lateral stripes, dark purple *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: The weft is pink/brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha*. Like the other early *isallu*, this one has *k'uthu* in place of a center stripe (numbers 64, 65, 72, 73, 77, and 78). The bright red, yellow, and blues also correspond with other early examples (cat. nos. 72 and 78).

87.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of La Paz, province of Pacajes

Original provenance: Pakasa *warami*

Date: Unknown

Dimensions: 122 cm W, length not recorded

Type: *Kunkani isallu*, blue two-striped

Silku type: None

Ch'uku type: Diagonal stitch in red

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, red/white, red/brown, pink/brown

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Color scheme: Blue wide stripes with pink narrow stripes, red center section with *paris k'uthu* in red/white and red, pink and red lateral stripes, red/brown and pink/brown *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: There is red/white *lluq'ita ch'ankha* as part of the *paris k'uthu* in the center section. There is backbone pattern *ll'uque* present in the *pampa* lateral stripes and *pampa* one and six. There is one section of left-plied thread and two sections of right-plied in the *pampa* lateral stripes, six sections of both left- and right-plied thread in *pampa* one, and five sections of both in *pampa* six. All the left-plied sections are pink/brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha* and all right-plied sections are red/brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha*. Brown weft.

Miscellaneous mantles

88.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of La Paz, province of Pacajes or Achiri or Peru,
province of Chucuito, Juli

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Colonial (period unknown)

Garment type: Head mantle, *pampa/pallia* style, *qhatita unkuna?*

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Ll'uque: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Brooklyn Museum of Art, 30.1165.10

Comments: The museum identifies this mantle as being from Achiri but it is also possibly from Juli, a town famous for this type of small mantle. The *ch'uku* is white diagonal stitch and the center stripe is also white which is unusual. It has *paris k'uthu* in the lateral stripes. The weft is black.

89.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Oruro

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Colonial (period unknown)

Garment type: Head mantle, *pampa/pallia* style, *qhatita unkuna?*

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Ll'uque: Yes

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes, silk, silver threads

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: The red and purple are the only alpaca in the warp; the weft is pink alpaca. the yellow, blue, green in the selected warp stripes and center stripes are silk, including the heading cord (which is yellow silk) and the *ch'uku*. The was probably a *silku* which was cut off; the side edges have marks of being cut. There is a circular stain (from a kero) which indicates it was used as a ceremonial mesa cloth at some point in its life. There is *ll'uque* in the 1 left/1 right pattern in both the left and right red lateral stripes. The *ll'uque* on the right lateral stripe does not extend all the way across the stripe, the rest is left-plied.

90.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Oruro, Pampa Aullagas?

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Colonial (period unknown)

Garment type: Head mantle, *pampa/pallai* style, *qhatita unkuna*?

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Ll'uque: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes, silk, silver and silver gilt thread

Collection: MUSEF, 03029

Comments: The red is the only alpaca in this piece, everything else is silk or metallic thread. The *pampa* are very narrow and composed of two colors, yellow and peach, which is very unusual. The peach and grey silk seem to be unique to this piece. There is also two different types of metallic thread, silver and rare silver gilt, which has a gold tone.

91.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Oruro, Pampa Aullagas?

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Colonial (period unknown)

Garment type: Head mantle, *pampa/pallai* style, *qhatita unkuna*?

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Ll'uque: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes, silk, silver thread

Collection: MUSEF, 03030

Comments: This piece could have been part of a pair with cat. no. 90; their *pampa* are both dark purple and they have identical colors in the center and lateral selected warp stripes, but the patterns are slightly different. The heading cords are white and pink silk, and the weft is also pink silk. There was originally a *silku* sewn to the left and right lateral edges with white silk thread, perhaps a fringe.

92.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Oruro, Pampa Aullagas?

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Colonial (period unknown)

Garment type: Head mantle, *pampa/pallai* style, *qhatita unkuna*?

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Ll'uque: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes, silk, silver thread, sheep fiber and aniline dyes?

Collection: MUSEF, 02835

Comments: Its *ch'uku* was obviously repaired at some point in the twentieth century and is possibly sheep fiber with aniline dye. The warps in the *pampa* are very worn and damaged in many places. There is a circular stain for a *kero*, indicating that this piece was also used at some point as a *mesa* or altar cloth. There was also something sewn to the top and bottom edges with light blue silk thread, possibly a *silku* of silver thread and some type because there are several pieces sticking out of the heading cords which are not part of them.

93.

Modern provenance: Peru, region of Cuzco

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Colonial, Carbon-14 dating inconclusive: 26.7% of sample area 1675-1713; 12.8% of sample area 1718-1740; 10.3% of sample area 1799-1815; 27.8% of sample area 1831-1891, tested 2010

Garment type: Head mantle, *pampa/pallai* style, *qhatita unkuna*?

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Ll'uque: Yes

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes, silk, silver and silver gilt thread

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: There is *ll'uque* in the 1 left/1 right pattern in the left and right pink lateral stripes but in the left stripe, like in cat. no. 87, it does not extend all the way across and the rest is right-ply thread. This one has the least amount of silk of all comparable head mantles; only the light yellow in the selected warp stripes is silk. Like in cat. no. 87, the metallic thread has two tones, gold created by silver gilt thread, and regular silver thread.

94.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Oruro or Potosí

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Colonial (period unknown)

Garment type: Head mantle, *pampa/pallai* style, *qhatita unkuna?*

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Ll'uque: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes, silk, silver thread

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: Some of the white in the selected warp stripes is alpaca, and its combination with white silk creates the impression of monochrome brocade. The weft is pink silk, matching the pink alpaca *pampa*. The light green in the *ch'uku* and the adjacent lateral stripes is only present in this part of the piece.

95.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Mepartment of La Paz, province of Aroma

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Unknown

Garment type: Mantle

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, dark blue/purple

Ll'uque: Yes

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes, sheep fiber, aniline dyes in selected warp stripes?

Collection: Textile Museum, 2003.35.1

Comments: The *pampa* are an extremely dark blue, maybe a dark brown or black overdyed with indigo. The patterns in the selected warp stripes are very loose, not a tight weave. There is *lluq'ita ch'ankha* of dark blue with varying shades of purple in parts of the *pampa*. The left half has a section of *ll'uque* at the end in the 1 left/1 right pattern.

96.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, region unknown

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Unknown

Garment type: Mantle

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, blue/red

Ll'uque: Yes

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: The weft is blue/red *lluq'ita ch'ankha* and the warp is dark brown. There is one section of *ll'uque* in the 1 left/1 right on the edge of the left side. This was woven in one piece.

97.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Oruro or Chile, the Arica y Parinacota or Tarapacá regions (Districts 15 and 1 respectively)

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Late Horizon (1438-1532 CE), 92.4% of sample area 1433 CE; 3.0% of sample area 1599 CE, tested 2009

Garment type: Mantle

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Ll'uque: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: Gail Hoskins thinks this is from a burial *chulpa* or cave. On the right half there are a series of alterations to the weft, moving between sections of dark and light brown with one section of blue. The color scheme of the stripes is unusual and it is difficult to say if the olive-green sections are *pampa* or wide stripes. There is a lack of bilateral symmetry within the blue/light blue “wide stripes.” This piece is closest in layout to a *kunkani isallu*. The *ch'uku* is blue and red diagonal stitch.

98.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, region unknown

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Early Colonial, 34.5% of sample area 1463-1515 CE; 60.3% of sample area 1542-1625 CE, tested 2010

Garment type: Three-part *isallu*, bichrome, *qura isallu*?

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Ll'uque: No

Materials: Alpaca

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: Woven in two pieces with a light brown diagonal stitch *ch'uku*. The entire *isallu* is woven in undyed fiber. *Patapata* is used for end lateral stripes in each half. The *pampa* is light brown and the lateral sections are mottled grey/brown. Brown weft.

99.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, region unknown

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Unknown

Garment type: Mantle

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Ll'uque: Yes

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: de Young Museum of Art, 2014.102.73

Comments: The piece is composed of two pieces with a dark brown diagonal *ch'uku* and entirely woven in dark brown undyed alpaca. It has a *sawukipata silku* in white, yellow, purple, and pink. There is backbone pattern *ll'uque* in the lateral edges; eight sections of left- and right-plied thread in the right and left sides. Some of the left-plied sections are woven with a darker brown but the difference is inconsistent.

100.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, region unknown

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Unknown

Garment type: Mantle

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, blue/brown, pink/brown

Ll'uque: Yes

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: There is backbone pattern *ll'uque* in the lateral edges with eight sections of left- and right-ply thread on both the left and right sides. The warp and the threads of the *ch'uku* are blue/brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha* and the weft is pink/brown.

101.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of La Paz

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Colonial (period unknown)

Garment type: Head mantle, three-part style

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Ll'uque: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes, silk, cotton, silver thread

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: Tapestry weave with cotton warps, a combination seen in other Colonial period tapestry-woven pieces. There are two different types of bird represented (one being a hummingbird) both partially woven with white and yellow silk thread.

102.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Oruro?

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Late Horizon (1438-1532 CE) or Early Colonial?

Garment type: Mantle

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Ll'uque: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: Slightly similar to cat. no. 95 in that there is an arrangement of stripes in bilateral patterns around a central section but there is even less distinction between possible *pampa* and/or wide stripe sections.

103.

Modern provenance: Peru, Department of Moquegua

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Late Colonial, 16.7% of sample area 1666-1686 CE; 78.4% of sample area 1729-1804 CE, tested 2010

Garment type: Mantle, three-part *isallu*?

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Ll'uque: Yes

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: The contrasting color *ch'uku* of pink diagonal stitch is very unusual. There is backbone pattern *ll'uque* in the brown, purple, and pink lateral stripes. There is a selected warp stripe towards the left and right edges with *paris k'uthu* in pink and light pink.

104.

Modern provenance: Peru, Department of Moquegua

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Early Colonial, 90.4% of sample area 1633-1670 CE; 1.0% of sample area 1749-1753 CE; 3.7% of sample area 1785-1794 CE, tested 2013

Garment type: Mantle, three-part *isallu*?

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, pink/brown

Ll'uque: Yes

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: This example does not have the contrasting *ch'uku* of the previous piece (it is the olive-green of the *pampa*) but the basic color scheme is the same with slightly different shades for each stripe and the *pampa*. There is backbone pattern *ll'uque* in the wide pink lateral stripes (on either side of the green, yellow, and purple stripes) and the parts of the brown and pink/brown stripes adjacent to them. The right-plied sections in the latter are brown and the left-plied are pink/brown. There are selected warp lateral stripes between sections of *k'uthu* (impossible to determine count due to loose weave).

105.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Oruro or Potosí

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Colonial (period unknown)

Garment type: Head mantle, wide-stripe style, *qhatita unkuna?*

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Ll'uque: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: The difference between the dark blue and dark purple is difficult to see but they are two different colors. There are the remains of *pit'akipata* in pink along the edges and pink, yellow, blue, and purple on the corners. This format for the *silku* is closer to that of three-part rather than *kunkani isallus*. There is a small group of white, pink, and blue threads tied to the center section, comparable to the ties found on the edges of cat. no. 72.

106.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, border between the Departments of Oruro and Potosí, province of Antonio Quijarro, municipality of Uyuni, region of the town of Coroma

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Colonial (period unknown)

Garment type: Head mantle, wide-stripe style, *qhatita unkuna?*

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Ll'uque: Yes

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: This head mantle is almost identical to cat. no. 65. There is backbone pattern *ll'uque* present in the *pampa* lateral stripes and *pampa* one and eight. There is one section of left-plied thread and two of right-plied in the *pampa* lateral stripes, four groups of both left- and right-plied in *pampa* one and eight. All left-plied sections are dark blue while the right-plied sections are the blue of the *pampa*.

107.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of La Paz, province of Pacajes?

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Unknown

Garment type: Head mantle, wide-stripe style, *qhatita unkuna*?

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, red/brown

Ll'uque: Yes

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: The weft is red/brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha*. There is backbone pattern *ll'uque* present in the *pampa* lateral stripes and *pampa* one and six. There are three sections of left-plied thread and four sections of right-plied in the *pampa* lateral edges, six sections of both left- and right-plied in *pampa* one, and five of both in *pampa* six.

108.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of La Paz, province of Pacajes?

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Unknown

Garment type: Head mantle, wide-stripe style, *qhatita unkuna?*

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, red/brown

Ll'uque: Yes

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: There is *ll'uque* in the 1 left/1 right pattern in the *pampa* lateral stripes and *pampa* one and six. The *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes are composed of a *ch'imi* pattern of alternating warps of brown and red/brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha*.

109.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Oruro or Potosí

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Colonial (period unknown)

Garment type: Head mantle, wide-stripe style, *qhatita unkuna?*

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, green/blue

Ll'uque: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: The *pampa* are a unique green/blue *lluq'ita ch'ankha* as is the weft. The *pampa* lateral stripes and the narrow stripe in the center in place of a seam are green. There are narrow blue stripes alternating with the *k'uthu* in the center section.

Three-part *isallu*

110.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Potosí

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas or Intendencia of Chuquisaca, *corregimiento* of Potosí

Date: Late Colonial, 23.8% of sample area 1666-1697 CE; 70.1% of sample area 1725-1808 CE, tested 2014

Type: Pink-red wide lateral-stripe

Dimensions: 134 Lx 123 W cm

Silku type: *Sawukipata* in light blue, white and silver thread

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, blue/pink

Lateral wide stripe colors: Red and yellow

K'uthu type and colors: NA

Pampa and *pampa* lateral stripes: Brown *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes, silk, silver thread

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: The weft is blue/pink *lluq'ita ch'ankha*. The *silku* is composed of light blue and white silk and silver thread. There is backbone pattern *ll'uque* in the lateral section. There are eleven sections of right-plied thread and twelve sections of left-plied in the left section, nine sections of right-plied and ten sections of left-plied in the right section. The heading cords are composed of white silk.

111.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Oruro

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas or Intendencia of Chuquisaca, *corregimiento* of Potosí

Date: Late Colonial

Type: Pink-red wide lateral-stripe

Dimensions: 126 L x 99 cm W

Silku type: None

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, pink/brown, blue/brown

Lateral wide stripe colors: Red and yellow

K'uthu type and colors: NA

Pampa and *pampa* lateral stripes: Blue and blue/brown *pampa*, blue *pampa* lateral stripes

Materials: alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: There is *lluq'ita ch'ankha* present in the *pampa* warps and some of the wefts. Part of the weft is pink/brown and the rest is brown. The *pampa* is woven in a *ch'imi* pattern of two blue warps alternating with one *lluq'ita ch'ankha* warp. There is backbone pattern *ll'uque* present in the lateral sections. There are five sections of left- and right-plied thread in both the left and right sections. All left-plied sections are pink while the right-plied are red.

112.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Potosí

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas or Intendencia of Chuquisaca, *corregimiento* of Potosí

Date: Late Colonial

Type: Pink-red wide lateral-stripe

Dimensions: 130.5 L x 110 cm W

Silku type: *Sawukipata* in light blue

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, pink/brown

Lateral wide stripe colors: Red and yellow

K'uthu type and colors: NA

Pampa and *pampa* lateral stripe colors: Brown, pink/brown *pampa*, pink/brown *pampa* lateral stripes

Materials: alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: There is backbone pattern *ll'uque* present in the lateral sections. There are five sections of both left- and right-ply thread in the left and right. All the left-ply are light pink and the right-ply red. The *pampa* lateral stripes are left-ply pink/brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha*. The *pampa* is woven in a *ch'imi* pattern of two brown warps alternating with one pink/brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha*. Brown weft.

113.

Region: Bolivia, Department of Potosí

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas or Intendencia of Chuquisaca, *corregimiento* of Potosí

Date: Late Colonial

Type: Pink-red wide lateral-stripe

Dimensions: 127 L x 76.5 cm W

Silku type: None

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, pink/brown

Lateral wide stripe colors: Pink and yellow

K'uthu type and colors: NA

Pampa and *pampa* lateral stripe colors: Brown and pink/brown *pampa*, brown *pampa* lateral stripes

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: There is a *ch'imi* pattern of an alteration of brown and pink/brown warps in the *pampa*. There is backbone pattern *ll'uque* in the lateral sections with seven sections of left- and right-plied thread in the left side and eight in the right side. The left-plied sections are a slightly lighter pink. Brown weft.

114.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Potosí or Oruro

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas or Intendencia of Chuquisaca, *corregimiento* of Potosí

Date: Late Colonial

Type: Pink-red wide lateral-stripe

Dimensions: 125.5 L x 106 cm W

Silku type: None

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, pink/brown

Lateral wide stripe colors: Pink and yellow

K'uthu type and colors: NA

Pampa and *pampa* lateral stripe colors: Brown *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: The weft is pink/brown *lluuq'ita ch'ankha*. There is backbone pattern *ll'uque* in the lateral sections with twelve sections of right-plied thread and thirteen sections of left-plied in the left and right sides. Part of the *ll'uque* section on the right has the left-plied sections in a lighter pink than the right-plied.

115.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Potosí or Oruro

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas or Intendencia of Chuquisaca, *corregimiento* of Potosí

Date: Late Colonial

Type: Pink-red wide lateral-stripe

Dimensions: 105 L x 105 cm W

Silku type: None

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, purple/brown and pink/brown

Lateral wide stripe colors: Red and yellow

K'uthu type and colors: NA

Pampa and *pampa* lateral stripe colors: Purple/brown *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: There is backbone pattern *ll'uque* in the lateral sections. There are six sections of right-plied thread and seven sections of left-plied in both the left and right sides. The left-plied sections are a slightly lighter shade of pink than the right-plied. The *pampa* is purple/brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha* and the weft is pink/brown.

116.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Potosí or Oruro

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas or Intendencia of Chuquisaca, *corregimiento* of Potosí

Date: Late Colonial

Type: Pink-red wide lateral-stripe

Dimensions: 119.5 L x 112.5 cm W

Silku type: None

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, red/brown

Lateral wide stripe colors: Red and yellow

K'uthu type and colors: NA

Pampa and *pampa* lateral stripe colors: Brown *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: The lateral sections have no *ll'uque* but alternating pink and red stripes. The weft is red/brown; red is an unusual shade for *lluq'ita ch'ankha*.

117.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Oruro

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas or Intendencia of Chuquisaca, *corregimiento* of Potosí

Date: Late Colonial

Type: Pink-red wide lateral-stripe

Dimensions: 130 L cm x 110.5 cm W

Silku type: None

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, purple/brown, pink/brown

Lateral wide stripe colors: Red and yellow

K'uthu type and colors: NA

Pampa and *pampa* lateral stripe colors: Purple/brown *pampa*, light blue *pampa* lateral stripes

Materials: alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: There is backbone pattern *ll'uque* present in the lateral sections. There are four sections of left- and right-ply thread in both the left and right sides. The left-ply sections are pink and the right-ply are red. The *pampa* lateral stripes are a light blue found nowhere else in the *isallu*. The *pampa* is purple/brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha* and the weft is pink/brown.

118.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Oruro or Potosí

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas or Intendencia of Chuquisaca, *corregimiento* of Potosí

Date: Late Colonial

Type: Pink-red wide lateral-stripe

Dimensions: 131 L x 113.5 cm W

Silku type: Remains of some type in white and yellow

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, pink/brown, purple/brown

Lateral wide stripe colors: Red and yellow

K'uthu type and colors: NA

Pampa and *pampa* lateral stripe colors: Brown and purple/brown *pampa* and purple/brown *pampa* lateral stripes

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: There is backbone pattern *ll'uque* present in the lateral sections. There are four sections of left-and right-ply thread in both the left and the right sides. The left-ply sections are pink and the right-ply sections are red. There is remains of yellow and white *silku*. The *pampa* lateral stripes are purple/brown *ll'uq'ita ch'ankha* and the weft is pink/brown *ll'uq'ita ch'ankha*. There is a *ch'imi* pattern of one purple/brown warp alternating with two brown in the *pampa*.

119.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Oruro or Potosí

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas or Intendencia of Chuquisaca, *corregimiento* of Potosí

Date: Late Colonial

Type: Pink-red wide lateral-stripe

Dimensions: 114.5 L x 108.8 cm W

Silku type: None

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, pink/brown

Lateral wide stripe colors: Red and yellow

K'uthu type and colors: NA

Pampa and *pampa* lateral stripe colors: Brown, pink/brown *pampa*, brown *pampa* lateral stripes

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: There is backbone pattern *ll'uque* present in the lateral sections, six sections of left- and right-ply thread in both the left and right edges. The left-ply sections are pink and the right-ply sections are red. There is a *ch'imi* pattern of two *ll'uq'ita ch'ankha* warps alternating with one brown in the *pampa*. Brown weft.

120.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Oruro or Potosí

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas or Intendencia of Chuquisaca, corregimiento of Potosí

Date: Late Colonial

Type: Pink-red wide lateral-stripe

Dimensions: 105.5 L x 115.8 cm W

Silku type: None

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, blue/brown, purple/brown

Lateral wide stripe colors: Pink and yellow

K'uthu type and colors: *Paris k'uthu* in pink and light pink

Pampa and *pampa* lateral stripe colors: Purple/brown *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: The light pink warps in the *k'uthu* are left-plied. This *isallu* is a bit different from other wide lateral-stripe examples because instead of alternating sections of left- and right-plied thread in shades of pink and red, it has *k'uthu* in the same colors with a mixture of left- and right-plied threads. The weft is blue/brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha* and the *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes are purple/brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha*.

121.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Oruro

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas or Intendencia of Chuquisaca, *corregimiento of Potosí*

Date: Colonial (period unknown)

Type: Narrow lateral-stripe

Dimensions: 85 cm W, length not recorded

Silku type: Inka-style *pit'akipata* in white, yellow, red, pink, purple, blue on the corners, wrap stitch in purple, red, white, yellow on the bottom and the sides

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, purple/pink, pink/brown

Lateral narrow stripe colors: Red, pink, white, purple, yellow, dark blue

K'uthu type and colors: *Patapata* in red and yellow.

Pampa and *pampa* lateral stripe colors: Purple, purple/pink *pampa*, purple/pink, pink/brown *pampa* lateral stripes

Materials: alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: There is backbone pattern *ll'uque* present in the *pampa* lateral stripes and the pink stripes between the *patapata* sections. This *isallu* has a very unusual color scheme and a very elaborate *silku* with two different variations including wrap stitch and thread loops in on the corners. The *pampa* is a *ch'imi* pattern of purple/pink *lluq'ita ch'ankha* and purple warps. The *pampa* lateral stripes on the right have sections of pink/brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha* while on the left the stripes are purple/pink. Brown weft.

122.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, region unknown

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Colonial (period unknown)

Type: Narrow lateral-stripe

Dimensions: 97 L x 91.5 cm W

Silku type: None

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, orange/brown, pink/white

Lateral narrow stripe colors: Red, pink, purple, pink/white

K'uthu type and colors: Red and pink

Pampa and *pampa* lateral stripe colors: Brown *pampa*

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: This *isallu* is not in good condition so it was not possible to determine the *k'uthu* count. Some of the lateral narrow stripes are pink/white *lluq'ita ch'ankha*. The weft is a very unusual orange/brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha*.

123.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, region unknown

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Unknown

Type: Narrow lateral-stripe

Dimensions: 111 cm L x 99 cm W

Silku type: None

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Lateral narrow stripe colors: Red, brown, blue, dark blue

K'uthu type and colors: *Paris k'uthu* in pink and purple

Pampa and *pampa* lateral stripe colors: Tan *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: Backbone pattern *ll'uque* is present in the *pampa* lateral stripes. There are two sections of left-plied thread and one section of right-plied in the left *pampa* lateral stripe and one section of left- and right-plied in the right *pampa* lateral stripe. Brown weft.

124.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Oruro

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú, Audiencia of Charcas, *corregimiento* of Potosí

Date: Early Colonial

Type: Narrow lateral-stripe

Dimensions: 102 L x 87 cm W

Silku type: None

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, blue/brown

Lateral narrow stripe colors: Yellow, dark brown, pink, white, blue, light brown

K'uthu type and colors: *Paris k'uthu* in red and yellow

Pampa and *pampa* lateral stripe colors: blue/brown *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes

Materials: alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: The *pampa* is *lluq'ita ch'ankha* of blue/brown. The left and right edges are damaged, but there are a few blue/brown warps remaining on the left edge to indicate that the *pampa* lateral stripes were also *lluq'ita ch'ankha*. Brown weft.

125.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Potosí or Oruro

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas or Intendencia of Chuquisaca, *corregimiento* of Potosí

Date: Colonial (period unknown)

Type: Narrow lateral-stripe

Dimensions: 111.5 L x 91 cm W

Silku type: None

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, red/brown

Lateral narrow stripe colors: Purple, red, white, pink

K'uthu type and colors: *Paris k'uthu* in red and yellow

Pampa and *pampa* lateral stripe colors: Red/brown *pampa*, brown *pampa* lateral stripes

Materials: alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: There is backbone pattern *ll'uque* present in the red lateral stripe adjacent to the *paris k'uthu*. There are four sections of right-plied thread and three sections of left-plied in the left and right sides. The *pampa* is a red/brown *lluuq'ita ch'ankha*. Brown weft.

126.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Potosí or Oruro

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas or Intendencia of Chuquisaca, *corregimiento* of Potosí

Date: Colonial (period unknown)

Type: Larrow lateral-stripe

Dimensions: 110.5 L x 88 cm W

Silku type: None

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, red/brown

Lateral narrow stripe colors: Red, white, pink, purple

K'uthu type and colors: *Paris k'uthu* in red and yellow

Pampa and *pampa* lateral stripe colors: Brown and red/brown *pampa*, brown *pampa* lateral stripes

Materials: alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: The pampa has a *ch'imi* pattern of an alteration of brown warps and red/brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha* warps. Brown weft.

127.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Potosí or Oruro

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas or Intendencia of Chuquisaca, corregimiento of Potosí

Date: Colonial (period unknown)

Type: Narrow lateral-stripe

Dimensions: 118 L x 99.8 cm W

Silku type: None

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Lateral narrow stripe colors: Red, white, purple, pink

K'uthu type and colors: *Paris k'uthu* in red and yellow

Pampa and *pampa* lateral stripe colors: Brown *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: Brown weft.

128.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Potosí or Oruro

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Unknown

Type: Narrow lateral-stripe

Dimensions: 118 L x 103 cm W

Silku type: None

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, red/white

Lateral narrow stripe colors: Gold, dark purple, red/white, white, red

K'uthu type and colors: *Paris k'uthu* in red and yellow

Pampa and *pampa* lateral stripe colors: Brown *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes

Materials: alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: There are red/white *lluq'ita ch'ankha* stripes in the narrow lateral stripe sections on each side. Brown weft.

129.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Potosí or Oruro

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas or Intendencia of Chuquisaca, corregimiento of Potosí

Date: Colonial (period unknown)

Type: Narrow lateral-stripe

Dimensions: 113.5 L x 98.8 cm W

Silku type: None

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, purple/brown, blue/brown

Lateral narrow stripe colors: Red, white, pink, purple

K'uthu type and colors: Red and yellow

Pampa and *pampa* lateral stripe colors: Purple/brown *pampa*, blue/brown *pampa* lateral stripes

Materials: alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: There is purple/brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha* in the *pampa* and blue/brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha* in the *pampa* lateral stripes. Brown weft.

130.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, region unknown

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: pre-1780 CE

Type: Narrow lateral-stripe

Dimensions: 130.5 L x 98 cm W

Silku type: Inka-style *pit'akipata* in purple, pink, red, yellow around the corners; wrap stitch in pink on the sides, red and yellow *pit'akipata* on the top and bottom edges

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, pink/brown

Lateral narrow stripe colors: White, dark blue, pink, purple, red

K'uthu type and colors: *Ch'ulla k'uthu* in red and yellow

Pampa and *pampa* lateral stripe colors: Purple *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: The weft is pink/brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha*. There are three different patterns of *pit'akipata*; the bottom and top edges have alternating yellow and red, the corners have Inka-style with yellow, purple, pink, and red, and the left and right sides have pink.

131.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Potosí or Oruro

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas or Intendencia of Chuquisaca, corregimiento of Potosí

Date: Colonial (period unknown)

Type: Narrow lateral-stripe

Dimensions: 124 cm L x 98.4 cm W

Silku type: Yellow and peach silk, silver thread

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, pink/brown

Lateral narrow stripe colors: Purple, pink, red, white

K'uthu type and colors: *Paris k'uthu* in red and yellow

Pampa and *pampa* lateral stripe colors: Maroon *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes, possibly a brown overdyed with pink or red

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes, silk, silver thread

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: There was some kind of woven *silku* which wrapped around the edges on each corner and there are the remains of the same types of loops found in cat. no. 121, however in this case the materials are different. There are also remains of silver thread in these same areas but how it would have been incorporated into the *silku* or attachments is unclear. There are the remains of a running stitch in peach silk along the top and bottom edges and around each corner. This could have been the stitches for the *silku*. The weft is pink/brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha*.

132.

Modern provenance: Peru, the Department of Moquegua, General Sánchez Cerro province, Ubinas district

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas or Intendencia of Arequipa, *corregimiento* of Moquegua

Date: Colonial (period unknown)

Type: Narrow lateral-stripe

Dimensions: 97 cm W, length not recorded

Silku type: None

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, dark blue/black overdye

Lateral narrow stripe colors: Purple, pink, red, white

K'uthu type and colors: *Paris k'uthu* in red and yellow

Pampa and *pampa* lateral stripe colors: Dark blue/black overdye *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: de Young Museum of Art, 1992.107.64

Comments: There is backbone pattern *ll'uque* present in the red stripes adjacent to the *k'uthu* sections in the left and right. There is a total of nine sections of left- and right-ply thread in the left side and eight sections of both in the right side. The *ll'uque* is placed to either side of the *k'uthu* section which is unusual. The *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes are a dark blue/black *lluq'ita ch'ankha*. Brown weft.

133.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Potosí or Oruro

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Unknown

Type: Narrow lateral-stripe

Dimensions: 130.5 L x 105 cm W

Silku type: None

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, pink/brown

Lateral narrow stripe colors: Purple, white, pink

K'uthu type and colors: *Paris k'uthu* in pink and light blue

Pampa and *pampa* lateral stripe colors: Brown and pink/brown *pampa*, brown *pampa* lateral stripes

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Textile Museum, 1983.33.1

Comments: It is unusual to have a pink and light blue color combination in the *k'uthu*. The *pampa* has a *ch'imi* pattern of two brown warps alternating with one pink/brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha* warp. Brown weft.

134.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Potosí or Oruro

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas or Intendencia of Chuquisaca, corregimiento of Potosí

Date: Colonial (period unknown), 51.4% of sample area 1670-1783 CE; 11.3% of sample area 1796-1815 CE; 21.2% of sample area 1834-1892 CE; 10.9% of sample area 1923-1950 CE, tested 2014

Type: Narrow lateral-stripe

Dimensions: 121.9 L x 104.3 cm W

Silku type: None

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, pink/brown

Lateral narrow stripe colors: Purple, pink, red, white

K'uthu type and colors: *Paris k'uthu* in red and yellow

Pampa and *pampa* lateral stripe colors: Pink/brown *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: The *pampa* is pink/brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha*. The *pampa* lateral stripes are composed of left-plied pink/brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha*. Brown weft.

135.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Oruro

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas, corregimiento of Potosí

Date: pre-1780 CE

Type: Wide lateral-stripe

Dimensions: 120 L x 98 W cm

Silku type: Inka-style *pit'akipata* in red, pink, purple and yellow on the corners, red and yellow on the top and bottom edges; wrap stitch in red on the left and right sides

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Lateral wide stripe colors: Red, purple, yellow

K'uthu type and colors: *Paris k'uthu* in red and yellow

Pampa and *pampa* lateral stripe colors: Tan *pampa*, brown *pampa* lateral stripes

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: The arrangement of the variations of *silku* is identical to that in cat. no. 130 except the left and right sides are red rather than pink. Brown weft.

136.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Oruro

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas or Intendencia of Chuquisaca, *corregimiento* of Potosí

Date: Colonial (period unknown)

Type: Wide lateral-stripe

Dimensions: 117 L x 101 W cm

Silku type: None

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, pink/tan, red/brown

Lateral wide stripe colors: Red, purple, yellow

K'uthu type and colors: *Paris k'uthu* in red and yellow

Pampa and *pampa* lateral stripe colors: Tan and pink/tan *pampa*, brown *pampa* lateral stripes

Materials: alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: This *isallu* is unusual among wide lateral-stripe examples because it has a section of red/brown and dark brown narrow stripes adjacent to the wide red, purple, and yellow stripes. The central part of the *pampa* has *lluq'ita ch'ankha* of pink/tan. Tan weft.

137.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Potosí or Oruro

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Unknown

Type: Narrow lateral-stripe

Dimensions: 112.8 L x 96 cm W

Silku type: None

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, red/white

Lateral narrow stripe colors: Brown, yellow, blue, white, red/white

K'uthu type and colors: *Paris k'uthu* in pink and light pink

Pampa and *pampa* lateral stripe colors: Brown *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: One of the narrow lateral stripes is composed of red/white *lluq'ita ch'ankha*. There is backbone pattern *ll'uque* in the *k'uthu* sections. The pink stripes to either side and between the two stripes of *k'uthu* are left-plied while the *k'uthu* pattern itself is right-plied in both the left and right sides. Brown weft.

138.

Modern provenance: Unknown

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Unknown

Type: Narrow lateral-stripe

Dimensions: 103.5 L x 144.2 cm W

Silku type: *Sawukipata* in pink, white, yellow, and purple/brown

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, blue/black overdye, purple/brown

Lateral stripe colors: Blue, black overdye

K'uthu type and colors: *Paris k'uthu* in pink and light pink

Pampa and *pampa* lateral stripe colors: Light brown *pampa*, blue/black overdyed *pampa* lateral stripes

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: This *isallu* has a *ch'uku* of light brown diagonal stitch. There is *lluq'ita ch'ankha* of blue/black overdyed in the *pampa* lateral stripes and purple/brown in the *sawukipata*. Brown weft.

139.

Modern provenance: Bolivia or Chile, region unknown

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Late Intermediate Period (1000-1431 CE)

Garment type: *Anaku*?

Dimensions: 91 L x 141 cm W

Silku type: *Pit'akipata* in brown overdyed indigo for purple

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, light brown/white

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes, vicuña?

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: The weft is *lluq'ita ch'ankha* of undyed cream and light brown, the earliest instance of *lluq'ita ch'ankha* for a structural element in a garment. The *pampa* may be vicuña, I was unable to verify.

140.

Modern provenance: Bolivia or Chile, region unknown

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Late Intermediate Period (1000-1431 CE)

Garment type: *Anaku?*

Dimensions: 91.5 L x 132 cm W

Silku type: Three-dimensional embroidery in white, blue, red, pink, and gold

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: The weft is brown overdyed with red for a rust color.

141.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Northern Altiplano

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Colonial (period unknown)

Type: Narrow lateral-stripe

Dimensions: 115 L x 124 cm W

Silku type: *Sawukipata* in yellow with pink/brown weft

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, pink/brown, dark purple/brown, purple/brown

Lateral narrow stripe colors: Purple, black overdyed

K'uthu type and colors: *Ch'ulla k'uthu* in red and yellow

Pampa and *pampa* lateral stripe colors: Purple, dark purple/brown *pampa*, purple/brown *pampa* lateral stripes

Materials: Alpaca, silk, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: This *isallu* is woven in two pieces with a *ch'uku* of purple diagonal stitch. The *pampa* contains a *ch'imi* pattern of two purple warps alternating with one dark purple/brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha* warp. The weft is a pink/brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha* and the weft threads of the *silku* are also pink/brown. The heading cords are white silk and there are several white silk weft inserts. Part of the narrow lateral stripe sections contain backbone pattern *ll'uque*. There are eighteen sections of left-plied thread and nineteen sections of right-plied in the right side; I was unable to count the left.

142.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Northern Altiplano

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Unknown

Type: Narrow lateral-stripe

Dimensions: 103.5 L x 121 cm W

Silku type: Remains of *sawukipata*

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Lateral narrow stripe colors: Purple, dark purple, pink

K'uthu type and colors: *Paris k'uthu* in pink and red

Pampa and *pampa* lateral stripe colors: Blue *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: There are the remains of wefts for *sawukipata*. There is backbone pattern *ll'uque* present in the narrow lateral stripes. There are twelve sections of right-plied thread (the light purple and pink stripes) in the left and right section with eight sections of left-plied (the dark purple stripes). Brown weft.

143.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Potosí or Oruro

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas or Intendencia of Chuquisaca, corregimiento of Potosí

Date: Colonial (period unknown)

Type: Wide lateral-stripe

Dimensions: 125 L x 108.5 cm W

Silku type: None

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, blue/grey, red/brown

Lateral wide stripe colors: Red, yellow, purple

K'uthu type and colors: *Paris k'uthu* in red and yellow

Pampa and *pampa* lateral stripe colors: Blue/grey *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: There is *lluq'ita ch'ankha* of blue/grey in the *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes. There is backbone pattern *ll'uque* in the brown lateral sections. There are five sections of left-plied red/brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha* and four sections of right-plied brown thread in the left side and six sections of left-plied and five of right-plied in the right side (same colors). There is one section of left- and right-plied thread in each *pampa* lateral stripe. Brown weft.

144.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Potosí or Oruro

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas or Intendencia of Chuquisaca, *corregimiento* of Potosí

Date: Colonial (period unknown)

Type: Wide lateral-stripe

Dimensions: 105 L x 91.1 cm W

Silku type: None

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Lateral wide stripe colors: Red, yellow, purple

K'uthu type and colors: *Paris k'uthu* in red and yellow

Pampa and *pampa* lateral stripe colors: Tan *pampa*, brown *pampa* lateral stripes

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: There is backbone pattern *ll'uque* present in the brown lateral sections. There are four sections of left- and right-plied thread in the right side and five sections of left-and right-plied in the left. Brown weft.

145.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Potosí or Oruro

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Unknown

Type: Narrow lateral-stripe

Dimensions: 125 L x 97.8 cm W

Silku type: None

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, blue/grey

Lateral narrow stripe colors: Brown, black overdye

K'uthu type and colors: *Paris k'uthu* in pink and light pink

Pampa and *pampa* lateral stripe colors: Blue/grey *pampa*, brown *pampa* lateral stripes

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: There is blue/grey *lluq'ita ch'ankha* in the *pampa*. Brown weft.

146.

Unknown: Bolivia or Chile?, region unknown

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Late Intermediate Period (1000-1431 CE)

Type: *Anaku?*

Dimensions: 96 L x 130.4 cm W

Silku type: *Pit'akipata* in brown; three-dimensional embroidery in red, white, blue, green, yellow, and gold

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: de Young Museum of Art, 1994.196

Comments: There was a different type of *silku* on the top and bottom than on the sides. The sides have an alteration of brown *pit'akipata* with three-dimensional embroidery in yellow. The top and bottom had a multicolored *silku* of three-dimensional embroidery which extended around each corner like the *silkus* in cat. nos. 130 and 135. Tan weft.

147.

Modern provenance: Peru, the Department of Moquegua, General Sánchez Cerro province, Ubinas district

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Unknown

Type: Narrow lateral-stripe

Dimensions: Unavailable due to viewing conditions

Silku type: None

Ll'uque: Unknown

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, pink/dark purple or brown

Lateral narrow stripe colors: Pink/dark purple or brown, blue

K'uthu type and colors: Pink and light pink

Pampa and *pampa* lateral stripe colors: Brown *pampa* and *pampa* lateral stripes

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: de Young Museum of Art, 1992.107.65

Comments: This *isallu* was woven in two pieces with a *ch'uku* of diagonal stitch in light brown. Some of the narrow lateral stripes are a *lluq'ita ch'ankha* with pink and either a dark purple or brown. It was impossible to determine if there was *ll'uque* in the garment. It was also impossible to photograph the *k'uthu* in enough detail to count. This piece was examined while on display in the exhibition *On the Grid: Textiles and Minimalism*, de Young Museum, 7/23/16 - 2/12/17, and thus minimal information was recorded.

148.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Potosí or Oruro

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Unknown

Type: Narrow lateral-stripe

Dimensions: 115.2 L x 115.1 cm W

Silku type: *Sawukipata* in white, pink, yellow, and gold

Ll'uque: Yes

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, pink/brown, pink/gold, gold/brown

Lateral narrow stripe colors: Pink, purple

K'uthu type and colors: *Paris k'uthu* in pink and light pink

Pampa and *pampa* lateral stripe colors: Pink/gold, gold/brown *pampa*, *pampa* lateral stripes not visible.

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: The light pink warps in the *paris k'uthu* are left-plied. The *pampa* consists of a *ch'imi* pattern of an alternation of one gold warp, one gold/brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha* warp, and one pink/gold *lluq'ita ch'ankha* warp. The weft is pink/brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha*.

149.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Potosí, province of Chayanta, region of the town of Pocoata

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Unknown

Type: Exception

Dimensions: 116.5 cm W, length not recorded

Silku type: *Sawukipata* in white, red, yellow, and blue

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Lateral narrow stripe colors: Red, white, purple, pink

K'uthu type and colors: NA

Pampa and *pampa* lateral stripe colors: Brown and pink *pampa*, brown *pampa* lateral stripes

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes, aniline dyes, other fibers?

Collection: MUSEF, 19249

Comments: The *pampa* has a *ch'imi* pattern of two brown warps alternating with one pink warp. There is a stripe of selected warp weave in purple and white at the very edge of the lateral sections bordered on each side by very narrow yellow stripes. This *isallu* has been heavily repaired, and some of the repair thread is dyed with aniline dyes. It is unclear what type of fiber the repair threads are composed of. This *isallu* was woven in two pieces with a *ch'uku* of light pink diagonal stitch. It is unusual for the *ch'uku* to be a contrasting color and thus it may not be original. Brown weft.

150.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of La Paz, province of Pacajes

Original provenance: Pakasa *warami*

Date: Unknown

Type: Exception

Dimensions: 126 L x 109.5 cm W

Silku type: None

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, pink/brown, lavender/brown, maroon/brown

Lateral stripe colors: Red, pink, light blue medium stripes, lavender/brown, maroon/brown wide stripes.

K'uthu type and colors: None

Pampa and *pampa* lateral stripe colors: Brown, lavender/brown and maroon/brown *pampa*

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: The weft is pink/brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha*. The *pampa* and some of the lateral sections are a mixture of brown, lavender/brown, and maroon/brown warps. These different warps alternate in a *ch'imi* pattern but it does not appear to be consistent. There are what appear to be the remains of mottled grey and brown wefts for *sawukipata* but they may also have been part of another type of *silku*.

151.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Potosí or Oruro

Original provenance: Viceroyalty of Perú or Río de La Plata, Audiencia of Charcas or Intendencia of Chuquisaca, corregimiento of Potosí

Date: Late Colonial

Type: Pink-red wide lateral-stripe

Dimensions: 124.5 L x 104.1 cm W

Silku type: None

Ll'uque: No

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Lateral wide stripe colors: Light pink and yellow

K'uthu type and colors: Impossible to tell from photos

Pampa and *pampa* lateral stripe colors: Light blue and brown *pampa*, *pampa* lateral stripes not recorded.

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: There is a *ch'imi* mix of light blue and brown warps in the *pampa* but there is no clear pattern. Brown weft.

Comparison examples

152*.

Modern provenance: Bolivia

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Unknown

Garment type: *Anaku*

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Ll'uque: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: It has natural tan *pampa*, *ch'uku*, weft, and wrap stitch *silku*. The narrow stripes are *paris k'uthu* in red and blue.

153*.

Modern provenance: Bolivia

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Early Colonial

Garment type: *Anaku*

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, light and dark brown, grey and purple?

Ll'uque: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: Light pink central *ch'uku* contrasts with purple *pampa*. The weft is light brown/dark brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha*. There are also possibly sections of purple/grey *lluq'ita ch'ankha* in *pampa*. There are small fragments of a blue, yellow, and red *silku* which appear to be wrap stitch but too little remains to be certain. Their position indicates that they may have been part of a *silku*.

154*.

Modern provenance: Bolivia

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Early Colonial

Garment type: *Anaku*

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Ll'uque: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: It has natural tan *pampa*, a matching central *ch'uku*, and weft. There is no remaining *silku*.

155*.

Modern provenance: Bolivia

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Early Colonial, 1500-1597 CE (80.0% of area), 1611-1635 CE (15.2% of area), tested 2013

Garment type: *Anaku*

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Ll'uque: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: It has a natural tan *pampa*.

156*.

Modern provenance: Bolivia

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Early Colonial

Garment type: *Anaku*

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, pink/brown

Ll'uque: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: It has a complete *silku* of wrap stitch in pink with small sections of yellow and blue. The weft is pink/brown *lluq'ita ch'ankha*. It has a natural brown *pampa*.

157*.

Modern provenance: Bolivia

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Colonial, 52% of sample area 1636-1675 CE; 42.1% of sample area 1738-1798 CE, tested 2010

Dimensions: 121 L x 107 W cm

Garment type: Mantle

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Yes, red/blue

Ll'uque: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: None

158*.

Modern provenance: Bolivia

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Colonial, 52% of sample area 1636-1675 CE; 42.1% of sample area 1738-1798 CE, tested 2010

Dimensions: 201 L x 117 W cm

Garment type: Unknown

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Unknown

Ll'uque: Unknown

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: None

159*.

Modern Provenance: Bolivia

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Late Intermediate Period (1000-1433 CE), 1.7% of sample size 995 CE; 93.7% of sample size 1015 CE, tested 2001

Dimensions: 127 W x 71 L cm

Garment type: Monochrome *qhawa*

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Ll'uque: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: None

160*.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Oruro, Salar de Uyuni?

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Late Intermediate Period (1000-1437 CE), 95.3% of sample area 1211-1271 CE, tested 2012

Garment type: *Qhawa* (type unknown)

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Ll'uque: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: None

161*.

Modern provenance: Bolivia

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Late Intermediate Period (1000-1437 CE), 95% of sample area 1218-1272 CE, tested 2012 dating

Garment type: Monochrome *qhawa*

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Ll'uque: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: Has elongated triangular stitch in some parts.

162*.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of Oruro or Potosí

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Late Horizon (1437-1532 CE), 64.4% of sample area 1456-1509 CE; 30.6% of sample area 1583-1620 CE, tested 2014

Garment type: Continuous-striped, *suku suku qhawa*

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: No

Ll'uque: No

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: Historical repair dates to 1732-1801 CE (79.7% 2014 dating).

163*.

Modern provenance: Bolivia

Original provenance: Unknown

Date: Late Horizon (1437-1532 CE), 88.7% of sample area 1445 CE; 6.7% of sample area 1597 CE, tested 2009

Garment type: *isallu*?

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Unknown

Ll'uque: Unknown

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: None

164*.

Modern provenance: Bolivia, Department of La Paz, province of Pacajes

Original provenance: Pakasa *warami*

Date: Late Colonial or Early Republican period, 19.9% of sample area 1690-1728 CE; 75.1% of sample area 1806-1950 CE, tested 2012

Garment type: *Kunkani isallu*, blue two-striped

Lluq'ita ch'ankha: Unknown

Ll'uque: Unknown

Materials: Alpaca, natural dyes

Collection: Private Collection

Comments: None