1994

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CONTACT, CROSSOVER, CONTINUITY

Proceedings of the Fourth Biennial Symposium of The Textile Society of America

1994

Textile Society of America, Inc.
CONTACT, CROSSOVER, CONTINUITY:
PROCEEDINGS OF THE FOURTH BIENNIAL SYMPOSIUM
OF THE TEXTILE SOCIETY OF AMERICA, INC.

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PREFACE

The Fourth Biennial Symposium of the Textile Society of America, Inc. was hosted by the Fowler Museum of Cultural History, University of California, Los Angeles, California, on September 22-24, 1994. The papers addressed a broad theme which was chosen in order to accommodate the diverse interests of members. The Proceedings contains the thirty papers and two abstracts of papers presented at the symposium, plus a video script, and a list of the two hundred and forty participants.

Contact, Crossover, Continuity highlights the causes and effects of change on textiles around the world. The Proceedings provides an opportunity to identify and evaluate numerous external influences which cause textiles to change. Subsequently, these textiles continue in an altered form, usually with new significance. The transformation process often features creativity which, therefore, becomes an additional theme.

The papers address cultures around the world and extend in time from the fourth century B.C. into the future. They include a wide variety of artistic styles, technical structures, and cultural significance.

The most common thread in addressing the theme is the role of cloth as communicator. Cloth serves to communicate ethnic identity, personal status and legitimacy as well as personal and political power. Cloth also functions as a visual marker of historical traditions, and even assumes magical qualities. The fabrics and costume items, whether imported or indigenous, undergo change that endows them with a new cultural significance and meaning and affects their appearance, production, or function. Altogether, the variety of factors affecting change, the varied means of and reasons for their assimilation, and their subsequent significance underscore the fundamental importance of cloth.

Louise W. Mackie, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto
Patricia R. Anawalt, Fowler Museum of Cultural History, UCLA

Symposium Coordinators
In April of 1994, an amazing story hit the news-stands. A group of naturally mummified corpses dated to 2000 BC and later had been found in Chinese Turkestan. Not only were their Caucasian features and blondish hair well preserved by the dry heat of the Xinjiang desert, but also their clothes—brightly colored plaids and twills among them (Hadingham 1994). We know from later linguistic records that a group of Indo-European speakers we call the Tocharians had made their way to Xinjiang and the Tarim Basin in early times. We also know that the Indo-Europeans began to spread across Eurasia from somewhere in the Caucasus region during the mid to late third millennium BC. Thus I was delighted to learn eventually that the plaids and twills were of wool, for I had been tracking the origins of twill weave for many years and had concluded that it began with the advent of wool from Mesopotamia into the Caucasus and southeast Europe in the 3rd or late 4th millennium BC (Barber 1990). If these were indeed the Tocharians, then this theory must be right on target.

It is well documented by now that the arrival of a useful new fiber will radically alter the textile technology of a culture. So we see it in early China, with the addition of silk to the older tradition of spinning and weaving hemp (Becker 1987, 81 et passim), and so we see it in early Europe, with the addition of wool to the earlier knowledge of working flax. In Europe, moreover, the addition of wool altered the culture's views not just of how to produce cloth, but also of how cloth could be used.

The earliest actually preserved textiles that we have from both Europe and the Near East have all proved to be of plant bast, usually flax. The evidence begins around 7000 BC with a newly discovered fragment from Çayönü Tepesi, in Turkey (Wilford 1993) and continues with much larger finds from Nahal Ḥemar in Israel, about 6500 BC, and Çatal Hüyük in Turkey, around 6000 BC (see Barber 1991 for fuller descriptions of all early data not otherwise referenced). All of these sites, it should be noted, antedate somewhat the invention of pottery and even more so the start of metal-working. In fact, they are so early that people were only just learning to domesticate plants and animals, and it is questionable whether the flax of which these cloths were woven was domestic or simply collected from wild stands. If not domesticated in 6000 BC, it certainly was soon after.

Lots of surprises have accompanied our unraveling of the story of domestication. Contrary to popular belief, food
was not first. Dogs had come first—man's oldest as well as best friend—joining the human pack perhaps even as far back as 10,000 BC. Sheep were next, but various details show they were domesticated for their meat, not for wool, since they didn't have any wool to speak of yet. The wild progenitor of the domestic sheep, which still lives in parts of the Middle East, has a coat much like that of a deer. The outer coat is of thick kemp, so brittle under torsion that it shatters if you try to twist it into thread, while the undercoat of "proto-wool" is so short and fine that it, too, is unspinnable. Several lines of evidence show that truly woolly sheep finally emerged from the mutating domestic gene pool about 4000 BC or a bit before, in the foothills around Mesopotamia.

By 5500 BC, the powerful notion of domestication had spread from the Near East deep into southeastern Europe, where we see local Neolithic farmers planting wheat, flax, and legumes, and herding a primitive breed of sheep. By 5500 we also see cottage after cottage, in the Tisza Valley of Hungary, equipped with sets of clay loomweights. Soon after, the anthropomorphic vases and clay figurines begin to appear clad in geometric figures of a sort suitable to weaving. When we finally get glimpses of actual Neolithic European cloth, about 3000 BC, the technology has spread far to the west. Along with masses of spindles, loomweights, and hanks of worked and unworked flax, the muddy lake beds of Switzerland have disgorged fine linens embellished with fancily woven edges, beading, supplemental weft stripes, and brocaded geometric patterns. They are not a fluke: smaller shreds of equally elaborate material have turned up in communal Neolithic tombs in central Germany, where cloth had apparently been hung in curtains from the rafters. We get the impression that by 3000 BC the simple villagers of many parts of southeast and central Europe had become highly skilled in the production of patterned linens, using supplemental wefts on a plain-weave ground.

Then the woolly sheep began to arrive from the Near East. Back at Ground Zero—in Mesopotamia and Syria—the emergence of wool was already changing the local technology. Wool had new properties: it was ten to twenty times stretchier than flax, so it behaved very differently under tension; it came in various natural colors, the white variety of which was easy to dye; and its shortness and fuzzy crimp made it very different to spin, compared to long, smooth flax. Weavers apparently discovered that they could get a wonderfully dense cloth, and at the same time reduce wear on the more fragile woolen warp, by spacing the warp widely and beating in a fine weft. This technique of weft-faced cloth plus the easy availability of permanently colored thread eventually led to tapestry weaving, which in the late third millennium BC developed into the favorite pattern-making technique of Syria and presently of

Mesopotamia and Egypt.

Weft-facing may have seemed obvious to Near Easterners, who used a horizontal ground loom with the warp firmly stretched between two fixed bars. But the Europeans were using the vertical warp-weighted loom, in which the warp hangs from a beam and the bottom end is weighted in bunches by free-swinging weights of clay or stone. To them the convenient way of getting a dense fabric while saving wear on the warp was to pair or "twin" the warp threads in successive combinations: "twill" weave. And of course it has the wonderful advantage of mechanizing the otherwise lengthy process of patterning the cloth. We know that twill binding had been used for millennia in mats, but apparently it was the peculiarities of wool that finally forced its crossover into the making of cloth. We see this new binding system not only in the occasional scraps of textile that come down to us, but also in a significant change in the loom. Instead of the 10 to 20 large warp-weights that characterize Neolithic looms, we find that after about 3000 BC loomweights in the Balkans and western Anatolia begin to occur in sets of 50 to 100 rather small weights that fall in not two but multiple rows. These reflect the multiple sheds needed for twill weaving.

Other differences between the two areas surfaced also. The Near Easterners lived in a hot, dusty climate: the ideal clothing would be something cool, something wash-and-wear. A body-wrap of linen—with its smooth, coolly absorbent, dirt-shedding fibers—was ideal. The Egyptians took up this happy combination and never looked any further, wearing linen as kilts and jumpers for the duration of their civilization and stowing it in vast quantities for the world beyond. In equally hot Mesopotamia, strange to say, the Sumerians show themselves wearing woolly sheep-skins as a preferred garment, although this may have been chiefly an archaic religious garb. (We are at the mercy of the fact that all their representations of themselves were connected with religious rites.) They also knew linen as an important commodity, but their word for it—gada—may be a loan word from a still more ancient population of Mesopotamia, as was their word for "weaver," ishbar (Landsberger 1944). That is, they seem to have entered Mesopotamia from the eastern mountains in the mid-fourth millennium in complete ignorance of woven cloth, linen or otherwise. The Semites living to the west, however, who began to take over control of Mesopotamia in the mid-3rd millennium, were probably long-time experts in the art of linen-making. For it is from the Semites that everyone soon borrowed the word for linen tunics: from Akkadian kitinnu-, Hebrew kutonneth, etc. These terms will come back to haunt us.

The Europeans, for their part, lived in a climate that could get hot in summer but was quite cold in winter. One has to believe that they had long been in the habit, like
the Sumerians, of bundling a fur rug around themselves in cold weather, but our earliest evidence for European clothing is quite different. It comes to us from over 20,000 years ago, on carved Palaeolithic Venus figures, a few of whom wear a thin band around the torso, while two wear a more complex garment, the string skirt (fig. 1). These clothes are clearly so skimpy that they cannot have served as protection from the elements, and therefore they can only have been intended as some social signal about the woman. The string skirt in particular seems to have marked her ability and/or willingness to bear children—that is, her marital status. This fringed "marriage girdle" can be traced down through the Neolithic, Bronze, and Iron Ages in several parts of Europe, and all the way up into this century in grown women's folk costumes in isolated areas of the Balkans and Russia (Barber 1994, 54-69). It is never allowed to pre-puberty girls.

Now, consider the problems of a culture in which clothing is primarily a status marker. If you have only bast fibers like flax to work with, which come in only one or two pale colors and are very difficult to dye, you must depend largely on the form of the garment to encode social signals that will be recognizable at any distance. And so we find it in early Europe. What ornamentations there are appear to be mostly for such magico-religious purposes as promoting fertility and divine protection (which don't have to be seen to be effective). The forms of the garments, on the other hand, are few, decisive, and social: for men a sash of virility, and for women the marital string skirt and eventually a solid wrap-around skirt as well (or instead).

But when wool and its possibilities of strong color arrive, everything changes. Now one can swathe the body in as many visible social signals as one wishes by encoding them into varicolored clothing of a wide variety of designs.

Unfortunately there is a hitch: this otherwise wonderful wool is irritatingly scratchy to the skin. Somewhere in the early-to-mid-3rd millennium, not long after wool had arrived on sheepback from the Near East, a group of East Europeans solved their problem by borrowing another clothing idea from the same source: the linen tunic. Worn next to the body as a foundation garment, it keeps the skin comfortable not only by serving as a buffer between skin and wool, but also by absorbing sweat into a garment far more easily cleaned than wool. We know for certain that these people got the tunic from the Semites of Syria and/or Mesopotamia because they took the word along with it, as so often happens with cultural borrowing. From Semitic kitinnu- and kutonneth came Greek khiton and Latin *ktunica, which was simplified to tunica, whence English tunic. The garment seems first to have come into the Caucasian area, where it may have acquired a tube-like form.
Fig. 1: Palaeolithic "Venus figures" wearing clothing: left, from Kostenki, southern Russia (after Efimenko 1958, fig. 140 and pl. XIV); center, from Lespugue, France (Musée de l'Homme, Paris); right, from Gagarino, southern Russia (after Tarasov 1965, fig. 14). Ca. 23,000-20,000 BC.

Fig. 2: Late Bronze Age cult figure of woman wearing squared skirt and deeply fringed apron over full-sleeved chemise. From Kličevac, on Serbian shore of the Danube; late 2nd millennium BC. (After Hoernes 1898, pl. 4).
with simple tube sleeves, just as we find it still today in many European folk costumes. From there the expanding Indo-Europeans seem to have brought it word and all into central and southern Europe in the 2nd millennium BC. That it still had sleeves among the early Mycenaean Greeks is shown by the gold foil around the wrists of the royal occupants of the Mycenaean Shaft Graves: the gold is too flimsy not to have been backed by cloth, the fine dust from which was found all over the bodies. But the heat of the Mediterranean climate soon banished sleeves, and the classical tunic of Greece and Rome reverted to a simple draped and pinned linen that required no sewing. (Note that the Greco-Roman form of draping is quite different from the Near Eastern wrap; see Barber 1994, 133-34)

With the soft white tunic in place, regardless of its precise form, woolen clothes could proliferate as over-garments. And so they did. Already in the mid-3rd millennium, a Caucasian chieftain was laid to rest wearing a long white tunic decorated with red and purple thread, over which he wore a black and yellow plaid woolen garment of unknown cut, and a fur wrap. He presages the long line of development leading to our modern Western dress: soft white shirts, blouses, undershirts, and slips topped by colored skirts, dresses, and—that useful invention of the horseriders of 1000 BC—trousers, all of which were traditionally woven of wool until colored cottons and silks began to replace wool for luxury or coolness. Note that we dress our beds the same way we dress ourselves, putting next to our skin the soft white vegetable-fiber sheets (that we call linens while making them now out of cotton!), and over that the colored woolen blankets.

Many forms of over-garment developed, of course—some of them quite early and with lengthy histories. For example, towards the end of the 2nd millennium BC along the lower Danube we see statuettes of women wearing what appear to be scoop-necked jumpers with aprons. Nearby, in Bulgaria and parts of Serbia, the local folk costumes today are so closely similar that some even have the same decoration in the same places (Barber 1994, 141-42 and fig. 5.5). The simple apron, too, spawned back-aprons, skirts, and eventually shoulder-strap jumpers like the Russian sarafan, as I have shown elsewhere (Barber 1975).

Out of this prolific European tradition I wish to pursue here one line of dress in particular: the history of the "marriage girdle." As we said, it first turns up on Palaeolithic Venus figures from southern Europe—from France and from Russia. Next we see it on Neolithic figurines from the Balkans and Ukraine, the area between the two Palaeolithic figures, which is also the area of the earliest European farmers. During the Bronze Age, while continuing in the Balkans, it also spread along with textile technology into Denmark, where we are lucky enough to have found a complete string skirt of wool plus remnants
of several others and representations of girls wearing them. The complete skirt was found on the body of a young woman in an oak coffin and is newly dated by tree-ring chronology to about 1370 BC.

Homer, composing his poems about 800 BC, in the early Iron Age, talks of "girdles with a hundred tassels" owned by goddesses such as Hera and Aphrodite and used by Hera to seduce Zeus in a rather comical scene of the Iliad (Book 14: see Barber 1991, 257-58). Clearly the divine string skirt has much the same associations we have noted for the human one: to indicate the readiness of the woman for procreation.

We then lose sight of string skirts until fairly recent times, when 19th and 20th century ethnographers begin to record their presence in the remoter areas of southeast Europe. Surely it is significant that, with the omission of western Europe (that is, France and Denmark), the zone in which these folk costumes occur is almost identical in extent to the archaeological zone in which we have evidence for them, reaching from just west of the Urals through the Balkans to Greece (Barber 1994, 55 map-fig. 2.4).

But there is an interesting hole in the recent folk-distribution. The easternmost group of string skirts that I have found occurs among the Mordvin and Chuvash tribes, whose young women put them on over their white tunic or chemise at betrothal and wore them into old age. Similar customs surround the use of string skirts and deeply fringed aprons from southern Romania westward, through Serbia, Bosnia, Albania, and a few parts of Greece. (In some areas the woman is required to remove it or alter it if she proves barren.) But the Russians and Ukrainians in between these two areas did not wear string skirts. Instead, when their young women became of marriageable age, they added over their chemise a panjova, a solid cloth with a squared pattern, usually donned as a back-apron, and wore this garment into old age (Barber, i.p.). In other words, the custom is identical but the form of the garment is different.

I first noticed this peculiar situation from mapping my data concerning the relatively recent folk costumes. The configuration also looked rather familiar. If the map had been a dialect map showing the usage of vocabulary, I would have said that the two string-skirt zones at either end were remnants of an old use, and the central area with squared back-aprons was the result of an innovation—a variation in form that had begun somewhere in the middle of the zone of women's marital girdles and spread like a puddle of spilled ink, blotting out the old custom as far as it permeated.

So I went back to the archaeological record to see if this were in fact the case and if I could spot when and where the square-patterned panjova began.

To my amazement, there it was—in some of the same
excavations from which I had been culling examples of early string skirts. (I just hadn't seen it because I wasn't looking for it.) The most striking specimen is a large clay cult statue from a site along the Danube River near Belgrade (fig. 2). The lady, or perhaps goddess, wears an outfit that is almost a dead ringer for the Ukrainian national costume: a decorated, full-sleeved covering of arms and upper body, with a square-patterned skirt below and at the very bottom the same zigzag pattern as is traditionally found at the bottom of a Ukrainian chemise. Over this she wears a short apron--much smaller than the modern one, but ending in a long stringy fringe! So this Bronze Age lady is wearing both a string skirt and a squared one! Nearby sites from the Late Neolithic, such as Vinča, also gave evidence. Of the numerous female figurines, some wore only body paint, others string skirts or aprons, and still others solid skirts with a squared pattern. (No tunics yet.) The association with fertility and childbearing is there too: all of these Late Neolithic female figurines have had their heads knocked off, and anthropologists have found worldwide that primitive agricultural communities regularly make female figurines which they ritually "kill" before burying them in the fields or grain supplies so as to jump-start the critical cycle of rebirth each spring from apparent death (Littleton 1981).

Whereas the "modern" string skirts may be of either wool or bast fiber, the squared panjava is apparently exclusively of wool. In fact, it was often produced by the girl as a test of her weaving. Our archaeological records are scanty at best, but it seems to be no accident that the squared skirt first appears at the time and place that woolly sheep were first brought into Europe. This correlation leaves us with the following scenario.

Late Neolithic contacts with the Near East provided a new multi-hued fiber that would have made the weaving of squares and checks a simple, interesting, and elegant thing to do for the first time. These square-patterned skirts were immediately appropriated by the women who wove them, apparently becoming part of their ritual gear. Next the Near Easterners handed over the idea of the bast-fiber tunic or chemise to wear under the new woolen clothes; and now, wearing the fancy woolen social signals on a daily basis became reasonable. (In fact, I sometimes think that the panjava was a clever way to hide the stains of menstrual blood that would eventually accrue on the back of a nice white chemise.) The string skirt and squared panjava seem to have separated geographically, then, as independent and sufficient markers of the woman's marital status. And this state of dress maintained its continuity for some 6000 years, right up into our century.
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INTRODUCTION

This paper explores a wedding custom practiced for more than one hundred years in the Chicago area by the descendants of Czech, Polish and Slovak immigrant women. Through the custom's existence and perpetuation in America, the role of a transitional rite of passage is chronicled in both the process of assimilation and the preservation of ethnic heritage. The original textile symbols used in the ritual were modified to reflect the differences in culture in the United States, but with the "echoes" of European folk tradition still heard. Chicagoans today have continued to modify the custom as the role of women changes, and in the process, have created a form of American textile folk art.

THE EUROPEAN MATRIX

"The Folk Rite is a tunnel beneath history... that allows us to look far into our past."

- Milan Kundera

To understand the roots of the American custom, identification by clothing in European agrarian societies of the nineteenth to early twentieth centuries must first be examined. Dress was a language, infused with meaning beyond mere fashion. Each region had an identifying style of dress, which announced to others, the locale, religion, social and marital status of the wearer.

Life changes were often accompanied by changes in clothing details, most particularly in women's headwear at the time of marriage. An unmarried girl wore a floral wreath over her long hair for ceremonial and festive occasions, but the matron wore a cap or bonnet which covered all or most of her hair. In her work, classifying Slovak married women's caps,1 Alžbeta Gazdíková notes their importance in folk life:

As late as the first half of the 20th century, the bonnet was still (in most of Slovakia) a part of folk dress which marked a woman's position -- it was worn uniquely by married women . . . the custom to cover a married woman's head . . . was of considerable significance. (This is) evidenced by the fact that bonneting a bride became a part of the traditional wedding ritual . . . among Slavs in general (113).

The capping ceremony, usually performed near the conclusion of wedding celebrations, remained essential in Poland. Even when festivities lasted a week, the groom was not permitted to exercise "his marriage privileges" until after the ritual had been enacted, making it more important than the church ceremony. Early marriage ceremonies were performed to secure the fertility of the union, rather than as a rite of solemnization, and not until the Council of Trent, in 1563, was any ecclesiastical act necessary for the validation of a Christian marriage. The cap, then, not only identified the
married woman, but also symbolized the promise of new life, and ultimately, the existence of the group. Other Polish folk customs have disappeared, but theoczepiny or capping, has survived to this day (Knab, 210).

Capping customs are thought of as part of peasant culture, but a late eighteenth century diary entry describes the ceremony at the wedding of a Polish noble:

In the middle of (the) dancing, a curious ceremony took place. A chair having been placed in the centre of the room, the bride sat in it while the twelve bridesmaids unfastened her coiffure, singing all the while in the most melancholy tone, "Barbara, it is all over then - you are lost to us, you belong to us no more." Her mother took the rosemary from her hair, and a little matron's cap of lace was placed on her head. (Hutchinson, 220).

Most Slavic ceremonies followed a similar pattern, with bridesmaids singing melancholy songs, mourning the loss of girlhood. The bride's mother, godmother, or matrons of the village placed the cap on the bride's head, and with songs of welcome, accepted her into the ranks of married women. (Fig. 1)

Further evidence of the ritual's presence outside of the village setting can be seen today in the castle library on the estate of Krivoklat in Bohemia (Czech Republic), where an eighteenth century "capping chair" is kept. It was used solely for the brides of the estate to sit in while their headwear was ceremonially changed. (Fig. 2)

Milan Kundera, in his novel, The Joke, described not only the ceremony in Moravia (Czech Republic) during the post World War II era, but also the emotions created in the participants by its symbolism:

My friends staged a real Moravian (folk) wedding for me... late in the evening, the bridesmaids removed the garland of rosemary from Vlasta's head and ceremonially handed it to me. They made a pigtial of her loose hair and wound it round her head. Then they clapped a bonnet over it. This rite symbolized the transition from virginity to womanhood. Vlasta had long since lost her virginity. She wasn't strictly entitled to the symbol of the garland. But I didn't consider that important. At a higher and more binding level, she didn't lose it until the very moment when (the) bridesmaids placed her wreath in my hands... the women sang songs about the garland floating off, across the water and... it made me want to weep... I saw the garland go, never to return. No return (128-129).

In earlier times, virginity was highly regarded. Prior to World War II, the symbolism of the cap was so strongly associated with the loss of virginity, that unwed mothers were forcibly capped by village matrons in Moravian Slovakia (Bogatyrov, 72).
Cap styles, though differing from region to region, usually concealed most of the woman's hair. After marriage, her hair was not seen again in public, due, in all probability, to its traditional association with sexual potency (Vlahos, 128). By covering her hair, the woman avoided tempting other men and kept her honor safe.

In some areas of Moravia, not even the husband was allowed to see his wife without her cap. It was believed that the cap had a magical function, bringing fertility and good fortune to the marriage; failure to wear it brought misfortune which could extend to the entire community (Bogatyrev, 52). Since family financial success could also be attributed to a woman's diligence in keeping her hair covered, one well-off woman boasted, "The beams of my house have never seen my hair" (Vlahos, 134). Embroidered marriage caps were worn by Czech and Slovak women during childbirth confinement well into the twentieth century and seemed to represent a taboo.

Although the composition of the embroidery was not understood by the wearers, they respected it in the same way as they did liturgical symbols (Václavík 29).

AMERICAN ADAPTATIONS
"Every age has its symbols." - Milan Kundera

Custom is the essence of traditional societies and the core of custom is the expectation that nothing changes. In adapting to new circumstances, immigrants may abandon custom or find new ways to interpret it. John C. Messenger comments that reinterpretation of ritual is a universal phenomenon of acculturation, with borrowed elements interpreted according to traditional standards and indigenous elements according to borrowed standards (224).

During the thirty-year period from 1880 to 1909, seventeen million immigrants came to the United States. Over one-fifth originated in the Slavic regions of Europe, drawn largely from the agricultural classes and tied to a traditional way of life. One of the immediate cultural barriers they faced concerned dress. Letters from earlier immigrants advised those about to emigrate to leave village dress behind; wearing it made newcomers the object of ridicule. In order to avoid notice, many bought European urban fashions before they left. Those who arrived wearing folk costume purchased American style clothing as soon as possible. Assimilation, at least in the outer sense, was the goal of the immigrant.

"CAPPING" - CHICAGO STYLE
"The body . . . provides a basic scheme for all symbolism." - Mary Douglas

Population data indicates that the city of Chicago attracted large numbers of Slavic immigrants. It was the leading Czech-American metropolis in the 1860's and by 1900, after Prague and Vienna, was the third largest Czech urban center in the world. Poles were also attracted to Chicago, which, with its highly centralized community of Polish immigrants, became known, by the mid-1880's, as the American Warsaw. Of the Slavic groups in the United States, the Slovaks are outnumbered only by the Poles. They settled the industrial northeast and midwest, with significant numbers in the Chicago area. The essence of the capping ceremony was preserved in Chicago by these immigrants, who found ways to perform the ritual without using village dress.

A flowing white veil, modern American symbol of the fashionable bride, moved into the popular stratum of society during the same period as Slavic settlement occurred in
Prior to 1900, a wedding veil and white gown were usually worn only by the wealthy. In an effort to be fashionable, working class brides adopted the veil but paired it with a practical colored dress (Williams, 101). The veil and its accompanying floral elements, coupled with colored garments, likely served the immigrants as acceptable substitutes for traditional wedding wear.

Completion of the ceremony was dependent on the placement of the matron's cap, which had no parallel in America at this time. It would be necessary to choose a different symbol of the married woman, one which conveyed a similar meaning, in an American way. The kitchen apron, worn almost constantly by nineteenth century housewives, became the new symbol through which immigrant mothers signaled the change in status to their American-born daughters. Families in the Chicago area who have perpetuated the custom, relate that the apron was part of family wedding tradition from the time of their earliest immigrant ancestor, a range of approximately thirty years, from 1870-1900. They were unaware of the original capping ritual and assumed that the apron ceremony had come from Europe.

The earliest immigrants who developed the American version may have attached a deeper meaning to the apron. That it had significance in Europe beyond the utilitarian, is evidenced by its almost universal presence in ritual and festive costume. It functioned as the spiritual-magical protection of the sexual organs and fertility of the wearer, and as a ritual symbol, has been traced to the Neolithic period (Barber, 297; Gimbutas, 278). Folk embroiderers in Europe and those in America who learned the art from family members, have continued to repeat the old protective symbols found on aprons, in their work. Such symbols may be described as good luck signs, but are most often seen as a continuance of tradition, without regard for their original meanings (Kelly, 83-89; Cincebox, 74-77).

It may be speculated that the selection of the apron was guided by its association with fertility, in combination with the accepted idea of American housework. This agrees with Yoder's comments that European rural populations have adapted factory-made clothing "in ways that still express folk cultural needs," marking changes "selectively to their own ideas." He saw this in the actions of country girls who wore peasant dress in the village and kept "modern" clothing for trips to the city (302-304).

If the idea of fertility was resident in the choice of an apron, the symbolic message of the veil and apron ceremony would have been altered in America by the descendants of the originators. Through loss of contact with their agrarian heritage and its emphasis on fertility, the allusions to the sexual aspects of both the matron's cap and the ritual apron would shift to emphasis on the new responsibilities of marriage. It is this idea which was cited by all present informants as the purpose of the ceremony.

ECHOES OF THE PAST

"The music is playing, cheerfully from afar." - Joseph Šudek

An early eyewitness account of the American ritual was given by a second generation Czech-American who was born in Chicago in 1904. She recalls seeing the ceremony as a child at the wedding of her uncle: Bridesmaids removed the veil of the seated bride, an apron was tied around her waist, and a peasant-style kerchief tied on her head. Wedding guests formed a circle and sang songs. The melancholy lyrics of
European songs were usually replaced in America by love songs, but some informants were told that the ceremony should properly be bittersweet; a new family was being formed, but at a loss to the families of the wedding couple. (Fig. 3)

At some point in the first half of the twentieth century, the groom was actively included in the ceremony. He was given a symbol of shared responsibility which usually incorporated the idea of humor. One informant stated that while the groom held a wrapped baby doll, the bride vigorously waved a wooden spoon to remind him of his new responsibilities. Household symbols, like brooms or drain plungers, were also cited as items given to the groom.

In the 1940's, the bride's utility apron was replaced by a delicate "tea apron," made specifically for the occasion. (Fig. 4) In some families, it was bad luck for the bride to make her own apron. This task was the responsibility of the godmother, and parallels European culture, where it is the duty of the godmother to provide a wedding cap for the bride. Satin and lace aprons were decorated with ribbons and wedding rings. In some cases, the groom also wore an apron which was embellished with miniature tools.

The ancient idea of fertility returned to the apron during the "Baby Boom" era, when small dolls, representing future children, were added to the decorations. (Fig. 5) One informant's family determined the number of dolls by the number of ribbons broken while unwrapping gifts at the wedding shower. Each informant related minor differences in the details. In some ceremonies, the bride removed the groom's boutonniere and placed it in her hair after her veil had been removed.

In the current climate of challenge to the traditional roles of women and men in society, many young women express distaste at the idea of an apron ceremony, linking it to an implication of subservience and male domination. Nonetheless, the strength of family and ethnic tradition have remained influential. Through mixed ethnic marriages and friendships, brides of non-Slavic background have also chosen to include "aproning" in their wedding celebrations. Chicago suburban gift shops and The House of Brides, billed as the world's largest bridal salon and wedding mall, sell aprons for brides without a family apron maker. Customers may add trimmings to the basic white or ivory satin model. When questioned about the custom, a bridal consultant responded that although those of Polish descent placed more importance on the ceremony, it was, along with garter and bouquet throwing, "One of those cute things they do at weddings," and had no ethnic reference.

The apron ceremony has survived as the product of an American subculture, with its continued use, as well as its abandonment, serving as an indicator of ethnic preservation. C. J. Hribal, writing of the resilient character of the immigrants, states that people adapt to circumstances and "reinvent their lives in the process," sometimes "through flight . . . . carrying their histories inside," and filtering everything new "through that shell of memory."
CONCLUSIONS....WHY CHICAGO?

Why the veil and apron custom evolved in Chicago and not in other Slavic-American settlements has not been conclusively determined. Informants who moved from the area reported that the custom was unknown in their new location, which they were surprised to learn; they had assumed it was done everywhere. Slovak families in Broome County, New York, have remained closely tied to the original European ritual since their arrival in America, around the year 1900. One informant was capped at her wedding reception in 1970, with a family heirloom. She was the fourth generation of brides to wear the family cap and has since constructed over a thousand replicas for Slovak-American brides. Portage County, Wisconsin, has the largest population of rural Polish-Americans in the United States, yet there is no tradition for capping or any modification of the ritual. In Cedar Rapids, Iowa, the sizable Czech-American community also has no history of either form of the custom.

There are factors which may have contributed to the differences in the degree of preservation or in the abandonment of the wedding ritual among Slavs in America. Some Slovaks outside of Chicago retained the original capping custom. Their background was entirely agrarian, but in America, they worked in factories or coal mines. Lack of a history as an independent country deprived Slovaks of a national identity, thus regional or village ties were strong. Preservation of an important ritual was a way to keep a sense of identity in a totally changed circumstance. They were a group who retained strong ties with their homeland, where many intended to return after earning money in America as unskilled laborers. Czechs and Poles outside of Chicago emigrated to small town and rural areas to settle permanently and were able to continue an agricultural way of life. With a stronger sense of national awareness, Czechs and Poles were able to abandon ritual and still know who they were as a group. In small towns and rural areas the native language was retained longer than in urban areas, easing the transition. For Slavs who came to Chicago, pressures to assimilate were stronger. The large Slavic community was surrounded by earlier arrivals from other countries who had already assimilated, and economics forced those who had skills to become "Americanized" in order to compete. The majority of the Chicago Slavs were rural in origin, but cut off in America from an agrarian or small town lifestyle. This combination of factors may have accounted for the retention of the wedding ritual in an Americanized form.

END NOTES

1. The word "cap" is similar in all Slavic languages: in Czech, čepice; in Polish, czepek; in Slovak, čepiec. There are also local variants in spelling.

2. As recently as the late nineteenth century, Poles and their eastern Slavic neighbors, particularly Russians, cut off the hair of the bride at the time of the capping ceremony.

3. For a discussion of ancient symbolism and taboo in Slavic textiles, see Patricia Williams, "Childbed Curtains and Churching Shawls"; Ars Textrina Journal No. 21 June, 1994.

4. Czechs were commonly known as Bohemians before 1918, since many came from what had been the Kingdom of Bohemia (which also had a non-Slavic German population). Presently, the Czech Republic is composed of the states of Bohemia and Moravia.

AUTHOR'S NOTE:

I have been able to observe the wedding custom, previously described, many times since my childhood. My ethnic heritage is Czech, and I share many of the same recollections as the informants interviewed. I have been a participant in "aproning," both as a bridesmaid and a bride, in a family where it was always part of the wedding celebration.

During my research for this paper, I also searched out German wedding traditions since there is an overlap with Czech culture, and in the process solved a childhood puzzlement. My mother and her elderly relatives always referred to a woman who was romantically interested in a man, as having "set her cap" for him. Although I understood, even as a child, the implication of the phrase, the words never made sense. How could those words indicate a woman's desire for a marriage? Maybe they really meant "setting a trap" for a man. Or did she "set her cap gun" in an effort to scare him into marriage? The old women stated that it was just a saying and didn't need to make sense since everyone knew the meaning. I had forgotten about these childhood musings until I discovered a Styrian folk song in which the phrase "girls set their caps for boys," brought it back. Knowing the headwear traditions and ceremonies surrounding them, the phrase finally made sense. It had arrived and survived in midwest America along with the immigrants.

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Fig. 1  Capping ceremony at folk festival; Myjava, Slovakia, 1992.
Fig. 2  Capping chair housed in the castle of Krivoklat Estate; Bohemia, Czech Republic, 18th century.
Photographed by P. Williams.
Fig. 3 White satin bride's apron with blue ribbon and lace trim; Chicago area, 1948.
Fig. 4 Removal of the bride's veil; Chicago area, 1958. Bridesmaid at right holds apron.
   Bottom: Photograph collection of the author.
Figure 5

Placing the apron; Chicago area, 1964. Apron is decorated with ribbons, lace and plastic baby dolls. Bride wears groom's boutonniere in her hair. Photograph courtesy of Karen Barger.
In his discourse on trade commodities, Igor Kopytoff argues that commodities assume what he calls a "cultural biography" through which one sees "the social system and the collective understanding on which it rests." (Kopytoff, 1986:89) What Kopytoff means by this is that commodities take on a life of their own based on the social and economic factors that have come to affect them. This paper will address the "cultural biography" of cloth in Southeastern Nigeria from its origins through trade to its various levels of assimilation both in use and production.

The biography discussed in this paper reaches an important highpoint in the late nineteenth century when weaving in the Igbo village of Akwete underwent significant changes. Weavers in this southeastern Nigerian village widened their cloths and began to use factory-produced threads and elaborate weft-float designs traceable to foreign sources. Already by 1915, the ethnographer P. A. Talbot had acknowledged this change when he wrote that Akwete cloth was once a simple-woven cloth used as bath towels but was now becoming more elaborate in design and was worn for occasions of ceremony. (Talbot, 1968:287).

The Akwete people have documented this change as well in a legend about a woman named Dada Nwakwata who they all agree was unsurpassed in her weaving abilities. The legend claims that Dada Nwakwata was able to maintain as many as four looms at once on which she wove a vast array of new and unforeseen weft-float designs with threads unraveled from imported cloths. So expensive were her cloths that the coastal Ijo canoemen sang a song which said EGEREBITE NWADA EREGH MKPOTA meaning, her cloth is difficult to purchase, only obtainable by the wealthy.

The weaving innovations so eloquently expressed in this legend seem to have appeared at the end of the nineteenth century when the British took a more active role in the palm oil trade that had so dominated the economy of Southeastern Nigeria throughout that century. Key players in that trade were the Eastern Ijo (including the Nembe, Kalabari, and Ibani) whose coastal location had always put them at the receiving end of trade goods from numerous trade channels feeding in from almost every conceivable direction.

Cloth was an important category of goods the Ijo received through these various networks of trade. Many of them are now preserved as heirlooms by descendants of trading families. An inventory of the cloths shows them to originate from the very
groups with whom the Ijo were trading, those being the Igbo to the north, the Ijebu Yoruba to the west, and the British along the coast. Through British hands, cloths from Europe, Africa, and India were also added to the Ijo collections.

The purpose of this paper is to assess the profound impact that these imported cloths, once introduced as by-products of the palm oil trade, had both on their Ijo recipients and the Akwete weavers with whom they were trading. As we will see, the impact was felt at two significant stages. The first involves the Ijo who claimed ownership of the imported cloth by assigning them local deities and incorporating them into their various rituals in ways that made them highly cherished if not indispensable commodities. The second concerns the Akwete weavers who subsequently appealed to this newly-acquired taste for imported cloth in an effort to retain their Ijo patronage as their trade with the Ijo was being threatened by the British.

Vast quantities of imported cloths were being traded to the coastal Ijo throughout much of the nineteenth century. Very quickly, the Ijo came to value these imported cloths highly and to use them as mediums of exchange and as social currency. Some of this value derived from the profitable trade through which they had been introduced. Several of the cloths are named according to their points of distribution. For example, the prototype for a strip weave in their collections which they call popo was originally traded from a coastal trading port near Togo known as Popo. The cloth, which is now woven in southeastern Nigeria, retains the popo name derived from its place of origin.

Perhaps more than economic value, the Eastern Ijo saw in these imported cloths an aesthetic that matched their own visual conceptualization of the spirit world. The Kalabari Ijo, for example, describe the body surfaces of their spirits as genigeni, loosely translated to mean "elaborate-patterned and multi-coloured". You can see this sense of patterning on the edges of ancestral screens believed to date to the early nineteenth century. It was patterning such as this that they saw replicated in imported cloth designs to which they would then assign a host of spirits.

This was observed by several nineteenth century English merchants. For example, Waddell noted that the Ibani Ijo perceived any traded items that bore flowered or figured image, such as cloth, as "juju" and would therefore place them in their "juju" house next to locally carved figures. (Waddell, 1863:420).

One particular "juju" or waterspirit applied in this manner was the highly regarded tortoise (ikaki). To the eastern Ijo,

1 "Ju-ju" was the somewhat misleading term Europeans used to describe African spiritual beliefs.
the tortoise is thought to have superior if not king-like qualities. He is slow and deliberate in his movements and wise, cunning, and superhuman in his behavior. Killing everyone in his path, he regarded himself as a "big chief" and would ally himself with the most powerful including the king or amanyanabo himself.

Given its power, the Ijo were quick to assign the tortoise to imported cloth so that its wearer or user could benefit from this cunning, shrewd, and powerful character. Not coincidentally, these imported cloths became the official attire of Ijo royalty and other positions of leadership.

For example, one particular type of cloth of possible Indian origins, is now the official royal attire of the Kalabari king of Buguma who sees in its design a resemblance to the shell of the tortoise. According to Kalabari oral tradition, this cloth was first introduced to the area by the Amayanabo Amachree IV (Abbi) who brought it to Buguma from Abonnema by boat for his wives and children to use. Formally introduced in a masquerade called egbelegbe, it has remained a standard feature of that masquerade as well as the official attire of the Amachree lineage. A photograph of the amanyanabo and his family shows his wife wearing the cloth.

Another imported cloth now linked to the tortoise is a weft-float woven example originating from the Ijebu Yoruba area on the western-most fringe of the delta. There, they use it as the official attire of members of the Oshugbo (Ogboni) society which is a secret governing institution at the very core of traditional Ijebu Yoruba leadership.

Once reaching Ijo hands through trade, its Ijebu Yoruba meaning was lost. This change is suggested by the contrasting ways in which each culture names their cloth. Ijebu Yoruba assign different meanings to each of the designs, none associated with the tortoise. By contrast, the Ijo use the term tortoise (ikaki) to refer to each of the patterns as well as the entire cloth suggesting that they have infused in it meaning basic to their own ethos and world view.

Bearing the tortoise name, the Ijo use the cloth to identify with or confront spiritual forces. In one Nembe masquerade, ikakibite was the only medium sufficient to purchase a spirit masquerade from the shrine priestess. Likewise, among the Kalabari Ijo, their female deity Owomekaso would always wear ikakibite as spiritual protection when faced with the ever-powerful python.

Like the gods and goddesses themselves, the Ijo priests and kings took to wearing the cloth to ally themselves with the powerful tortoise. Ibani Ijo Oral tradition tells us that King Fubara, who reigned in the late eighteenth century, not only brought peace and tranquility to his Ibani kingdom, but also introduced ikakibite as the official garb of his royal clan.
this day, all Ibani royalty wear the cloth as their royal attire to continue Fubara’s efforts at linking the power of their ruling dynasty with that of the tortoise spirit.

Assigning deities to traded cloth was just one way in which the Ijo took ownership of them. In other instances, the Ijo took to transforming imported cloths to conform them to an existing aesthetic and its related beliefs and rituals. One good example is a cloth the Ijo call *awumiebite* which translates to mean "red cloth." *Awumiebite* is made from a type of cloth traded from India that we generally refer to as Indian Madras and the Ijo as *injiri* or *george*. To make *awumiebite*, the Ijo dye the Indian import with root dyes to give it a reddish-yellow color. Insodoin, the resulting *awumiebite* bears a close resemblance to a raffia cloth known as *okuru* whose role in ritual it may have replaced.

*Okuru* was once thought to be the oldest, most indigenous, and most ritually charged of cloths in the Ijo area. Its basic material was raffia (*raffia vinafera*) which is thought to have protective properties. Such properties were enhanced by weaving the tan-colored raffia together with white or black cotton threads or dying it with red camwood.

*Okuru* was inherently female, both in the context in which it was used and its symbolic associations. Women wore it during their coming-of-age ceremonies, and in events surrounding childbirth, marriage and death. Such events often called for the cloth to be rubbed with camwood powder.

*Awumiebite*, the red dyed Indian madras, bears striking resemblance to *okuru*, both in its manufacture and symbolic meaning. Like the latter, it must be rubbed, or dyed, with a reddish powder. Also, like *okuru*, *awumiebite* is the quintessential symbol of womanhood. The Ibani Ijo have a saying: "If you think you are a woman, can you tie *awumiebite*?" By such an expression, they are asking if a woman has yet undergone their rite of passage, known as *iria*. It is during *iria* that senior women initially tie the cloth around her body to acknowledge her newly acquired status as an adult woman. Undergoing such a ritual earns herself the right to publicly wear a certain range of cloths in which *awumiebite* ranks among the highest. Worn in designated rituals throughout her life, *awumiebite* will also be the last or outermost cloth in which she is enshrouded before being buried.

We can conclude from this that *awumiebite*, like its *okuru* prototype, is an important expression of continuity from mother to daughter. It is also a significant marker of the most important stages of a woman’s spiritual transition beginning with her coming of age and ending with death. Just as *ikakibite* is associated with power and wisdom within the male sphere, *awumiebite* embodies all the nurturing qualities associated with femaleness.
Thus far, this paper has shown that cloths imported into the Eastern Delta area from elsewhere in Africa, Europe, and India were taken in, assigned meaning, and incorporated in traditional practices in ways that made them indispensable for ritual use. Understanding this biographical dimension of imported cloth will help us to understand the innovations in Akwete’s weaving.

By the end of the nineteenth century, Akwete weavers began weaving cloths that seemed to conform to this acquired taste. Oral tradition informs us Akwete weavers had once used handspun cotton to weave plain woven cloths that were narrow in width. Occasionally, the narrow panels were sewn together along the salvage to create wider ones. By the turn of the century, however, Akwete weavers were weaving cloths bearing a magnificent array of designs with imported threads and on a warp more than double the size of previous weaving. Museum examples of Akwete cloth suggest such changes.

One Akwete loom in the British Museum acquired in the 1880’s shows the change in process. A weaver was attempting the difficult task of weaving three individual strips on a single, wide loom. Once removed, the three panels would have been stitched together along the salvage to create one wide cloth. This mode of construction, in fact, typifies women’s weaving throughout most of Nigeria. Eventually, Akwete weavers took to conflating the three pieces to make one wide cloth, as they continue to do today. The Akwete weavers explained to me that they once wove narrow panels which they then sewed together. It was for the sake of expediency that they widened the warp. I would argue that also did it to conform to the two fathom dimension of imported cloths to which they were now gaining exposure.

Along with the dimensions of the cloths, we can trace the colors and designs Akwete weavers began to weave to imported fabrics. A number of Akwete cloths collected at the turn of the century are of a color not unlike the camwood dyed colors of awumiebite or okuru, implying that weavers might have been appealing to that color sense when selecting an imported thread. Other late nineteenth century Akwete cloths reveal a relatively solid color field in the center with contrasting colors along each salvage to create a border effect. This aesthetic seems to conform with that of Indian cloths being traded at that time.

At the same time, Akwete weavers begun weaving elaborate weft float patterns traceable to imported cloths and invented complex heddle systems to accommodate them. Another loom collected at the turn of the century and now housed in the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh reveals not only the intricacy and color sense of Indian-imported goods but a complex multiple heddle system for implementing the designs.

The one imported trade cloth which seemed to most inspire
Akwete weavers was the Ikakibite or tortoise originally traded to the Ijo from the Ijebu Yoruba area. Already appearing in the Akwete weaver’s repertoire by the late nineteenth century, this design continues to be the most popular one Akwete women weave. It is interesting to note that they use the Ijo name ikaki rather than the Igbo word for tortoise, mbe, to refer to the design. This suggests that they learned of this pattern and its name from their Ijo patrons who they know to use it in a variety of spirit-related events.

The popularity of the ikaki design among Ijo patrons can be measured by the frequency with which Akwete women now weave the tortoise pattern. At times every woman in a compound will be weaving ikaki. When commissioned by the Ijo, Akwete weavers will weave ikaki in three sections (ikaki mkepele) sewn together to parallel strongly the stylistic and structural aspects of the Ijebu-traded cloth. But more frequently, they weave the original three part pattern in one wide piece, again claiming it is more expedient to do so. And yet, in spite of this change, one can still discern the three-part construction characteristic of the Ijebu prototype.

To this day, Ijo patrons continue to commission Akwete weavers to duplicate cloths, ikakibite or whatever, as required for their own ceremonial use. I photographed an Akwete woman in 1978 painstakingly replicating an Indian madras cloth for an Ijo patron. Such trend towards replications to satisfy Ijo need clearly has roots in the time of Dada Nwakwata whose own weaving legend tells us attracted the attention of Ijo canoemen.

The data I have presented suggests that it was exposure to imported cloths that prompted Akwete weavers to innovate in their weaving at the end of the nineteenth century. Yet, we know that Akwete had been trading with the Ijo throughout that century. Why then did they respond to Ijo taste for imported cloths only in the decade or so?

One explanation may have to do the shift in trade prompted by British domination after 1890. By then the British had penetrated inland to gain more direct access to palm oil products. By by-passing the Ijo and trading directly with Akwete, the British gave little reason for the Ijo to travel northward in the pursuit of oil. In essence, the British had put a wedge in the trade relations that Akwete and the Ijo had enjoyed for over a century.

We can only speculate that weavers like Dada Nwakwata responded to this change by weaving cloths with dimensions, colors, and patterns that their Ijo patrons would find irresistible. They also adopted new marketing strategies by transporting them to Ijo villages in place of Ijo patrons coming to them. Akwete weavers continue to market their cloth in this manner to the Ijo who remain their chief patrons. In turn, the latter continue to commission them to satisfy their ongoing
ritual needs for cloths of a particular aesthetic based on imported textiles brought about through trade.

In conclusion, the biography of textiles in southeastern Nigeria is a rich and multi-faceted one involving the reaction of one set of cultures who at a strategic point in the history of things come to inspire another. The biography also speaks to the need for cultures, in this case, African ones to absorb outside influences in ways appropriate to their own belief system and only when deemed beneficial to do so.

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WHAT'S IN A NAME: THE DOMESTICATION OF FACTORY PRODUCED WAX TEXTILES IN COTE D'IVOIRE

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INTRODUCTION

In a frequently evoked passage from "Romeo and Juliet" William Shakespeare asks: "What's in a name? That which we call a rose by any other name would smell as sweet" (2.1.85-86). Yet, as Romeo and Juliet tragically come to learn human beings make much of names. Indeed, one's name is a significant part of one's social persona; it can describe who we are, it can join us and separate us from others, and it can link us to the past. In a sense, when we are named we are given an identity. Describing the complexities of naming for the Wamakua of Tanzania J.A.R. Wembah-Rashid states, "When the newborn passes the midwife's scrutiny, it is declared human, a baby. This is when it is given its first name ..." (1993: 202). Similarly, for those of the christian faith christening -- that is the giving of a name -- at baptism, is part of the ritual of acceptance into the church. For the Wamakua as for christians and many others the act of naming signifies that a person has been welcomed in, becoming part of a family, a community, a society.

In Côte d'Ivoire names inspired by daily life, popular wisdom, and contemporary events are given to the motifs of factory printed batik textiles, commonly referred to as "wax." This practice is rooted in the treatment of other kinds of luxury textiles in the region. Asante and Ewe artists in Ghana; Baule, Dyula, and Senufo artists in Côte d'Ivoire; and Bamana artists in Mali are among the weavers and dyers who have a long history of referring by name to the individual motifs and overall patterns of the cloth they produce. In this paper I will discuss the importance of naming in the context of wax textiles in Côte d'Ivoire. I will demonstrate that the naming of motifs constitutes a strategy for making mass produced cloth meaningful, especially to women, by giving it broad-based cultural relevance. Further, I will show how names are employed in linking new designs with those designs considered classics, authenticating the new designs through historical precedence.

Unlike handmade textiles, which most commonly are named by the maker, the names given to factory printed textiles by designers or manufacturers are not kept by the public. When a wax motif leaves the factory it is meaningless, an unknown commodity without identity. In the marketplace new names are coined for motifs by wholesalers, merchants, and consumers. These popular names are disseminated by word of mouth and are subject to acceptance or rejection by women, the principal purchasers of factory printed wax. Indeed, while both men and women may buy, sell, and wear wax textiles Ivoirians state firmly that it is women who desire and covet wax, and women who take an interest in wax names. Wax, they say, is a woman's affair. When asked why wax textiles are given names, Ivoirians respond that names make wax sell. However, there is more to the significance

of names than this statement would imply. In their article on Kalabari cut-thread and pulled-thread cloth Erekosima and Eicher point out that naming is one way in which imported textiles can be assimilated into a culture (1981: 51). The same is true for factory produced textiles whether manufactured in-country or imported from abroad. When a motif is named and that name is accepted by a majority of women the motif is given significance. A named motif is one which has been embraced, one which has been domesticated. Like the naming of people, the acceptance by women of a popularly derived wax name indicates that a motif has attained social status.

WHAT IS WAX?

Produced using a technique first developed in Holland, factory printed wax textiles have been manufactured since the mid-nineteenth century. In the wax process a thin resin or wax resist is rolled by machine in a repeating pattern onto cotton yardage. When the resin is dry the cotton is crinkled, leaving thin cracks in the resist. The cloth is then dyed, coloring the areas free of resin. As the dye seeps through the cracks in the resin thin veins of color, known as "crackling," appear on the textile. Subsequent colors are applied by hand using felt-padded wood blocks. This results in the overlapping and misalignment of color areas. Blocking increases the price of wax because it is both time and labor intensive. Since wax prints were first introduced to West Africa, carefully controlled crackling and irregular blocking have been qualities vital to the aesthetic appeal of wax and inseparable from its perception as a valuable commodity.

Originally conceived for trade in Indonesia, wax prints produced in Holland and England began to be imported into southern Côte d'Ivoire in the1890s (Kroese, 1976: 47-55). A postcard from southeastern Côte d'Ivoire shows several men wearing wax wrappers. The man at center front is identified as Boua Kouassi, a wealthy cocoa plantation owner who became chief of the Indéné Anyi in 1910 (Tauxier, 1932: 18-19). This image, showing him and his entourage with all of the trappings of wealth and status, including woven textiles, gold jewelry, a cane, a felt hat, and leather shoes, attests not only to the presence of wax textiles in Côte d'Ivoire at this time but also to the high regard in which they were held.

Today, factory printed wax textiles are manufactured not only in Holland and England but also in many African countries including Nigeria, Senegal, and Côte d'Ivoire (Werbeloff, 1987). In 1992 six meters of wax, the amount it takes to make a woman's outfit consisting of chemise, skirt or wrapper, and second wrapper or head tie could cost from between $30.00 and $80.00 US dollars. With the devaluation of the franc CFA early in 1994 the price no doubt has risen substantially.

2 The wax technique was invented by the Belgium firm Prévinaire and Company which amalgamated into the Dutch N.V. Haarlemsche Katoen-Maartschappij in 1857 (Kroese 1976: 16-17). Pedler mistakenly attributes the development of the wax print process to N.V. Haarlemsche Katoend-Maartshappij in about 1882; despite this, the text is of interest concerning the history of wax textile trade (242).

3 The postcard is published in Bickford 1994 (photograph 1) and can be found in the Photograph Study Collection of the Department of the Arts of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

40 Textile Society of America, Inc., Proceedings 1994
WAX NAMES

Wax textiles are ubiquitous to the contemporary Ivorian scene. Worn in cities, towns, and villages, by men and women of all ages and ethnic origins, wax textiles are intimately entwined in the daily lives of many people. Likewise, while the influence of Indonesian textiles, as well as textiles from other parts of the world, is still evident in many wax designs, the names given to motifs are drawn from the perceptions and experiences of the Ivorians who use them. Because naming depends on mass appeal, names tend to support the opinions of the majority, expressing what is status quo.

Among the themes which inspire the naming of wax designs are current events and politics. For instance, a motif made up of various sized automobiles on a stylized road is called "The Cars of Alassane Ouattara," named for the former Ivorian prime minister who instituted a plan to raise money for the government by selling extraneous government vehicles. Another motif, featuring the centralized image of a peacock with spreading tail, is called "Golden Scissors," the name of an award given to a fashion designer who works with wax textiles. Religion and material culture also provide inspiration for cloth names. One design, called "Basilica," illustrates the famous basilica Notre Dame de la Paix in Yamoussoukro, Côte d’Ivoire which was consecrated by Pope John-Paul II in 1991. Another design, featuring horse tail fly whisks, is called "Horse Tail." Changing technologies are represented by the names "Computer" and "Fans," a design which illustrates oscillating electric fans. Celebrities who have lent their names to wax motifs include "Madame Aka Anghui," named for the former Ivorian Minister of Women’s Affairs, and "The Necklace of Madame Thérèse," named for the wife of the now deceased President Houphouët-Boigny. Finally, proverbs and popular wisdom provide textile names. Examples are "Eye Sees, Mouth Does Not Speak" which warns against gossip, and "Death Knows No Hour" a cloth frequently worn to funerals.

Moreover, topics of special concern to women frequently are addressed by wax names. Because food production and preparation takes up a large part of the average woman’s day the names of important crops such as "Coffee" and "Corn and Groundnuts" commonly are given to motifs, as are the names of dietary staples such as "Grilled Fish" and "Yam Leaves".

Likewise, women spend a good deal of time negotiating relationships with boyfriends or husbands, as well as discussing the relationships of others. Male/female relationships and polygamy are a major cause of concern, entertainment, and often of frustration for women; thus, it is not surprising that wax names centering around these issues are popular. In a study of the impact of factory textile names in the Anyi region of Côte d’Ivoire, Susan Domowitz has pointed out that topics like these are difficult for people to address directly. She suggests that by wearing a named textile a person can state her or his opinion of a given situation with impunity (1992: 84-85). Names which address interpersonal relationships include: "I Can Run Faster than my Rival" which refers to the competition between women, including co-wives, vying for the attention of the same man; "Men are not Grateful;" "If You’re not Next to Me, Roll Back the Ground" which can be translated loosely as "I’ll die without you;" and "You Leave, I Leave."
Finally, personal accomplishments or aspirations are expressed in the names of cloth. Among these are: "Capable husband", the motif of which is borrowed from a historic Turkish textile design. In Côte d'Ivoire this pattern is said to cost more than other wax designs as proof of a husband's capacity to earn; "Capable wife;" "I'm Well Placed in my Living Room," loosely meaning "I'm sitting pretty;" and "Children are Better than Money" which I was told might be worn by a woman who has difficulty conceiving children. Names like these, rooted in the everyday experiences of the Ivoirian women who popularize them, transform mass produced textiles into objects with specific identities and broad appeal. Because such names can be interpreted in many different ways they often are widely applicable and even personally relevant.

The importance of wax names is underscored by the association of names with lasting value. Chaka Diakité, a wax merchant in the Bouaké market, explained that owning wax is a mark of economic status. Being interested in the names of wax motifs, therefore, is synonymous with having the means to buy wax. Hortense Koudou, an Ivoirian woman of Bete origins made the point even more succinctly. She told me that a wax textile with a name is one with value, and that a woman who wears such a cloth does so literally "...to show wealth."

WAX CLASSICS

Accounts vary as to when the tradition of naming wax textiles became widespread; however, it is evident that many of the well-known and time-honored named motifs date back to the earliest days of wax importation. These designs, considered classics, are reintroduced to the market on a regular basis. There they compete with the many new wax motifs introduced each year. The design known as "A,B,C,D," featuring children's lettered building blocks, is among the classics which regularly are remarked upon. In the postcard already discussed a man wears an early version of the "A,B,C,D" design. I purchased a more contemporary manifestation of the same motif in 1989. Because they are associated with an idealized past, classic wax designs such as "A,B,C,D" are especially evocative. They are described by Ivoirians as durable and are seen as extending back through generations, having been worn by mothers and grandmothers. The continual revitalization of classic motifs attests to their ability to stand the test of time. It is understood that classic designs are not susceptible to the whims of the marketplace in the same way that other, more fashion-oriented goods are. Such consistency implies an inherent respectability which is passed on to the cloth's wearer. Women who dress in classic designs are said to be conservative, proper, and traditional. In contrast women who wear the newest unnamed motifs are said to be challenging the status quo.

4 Louise Mackie (1973, 1976) discusses this motif which in the literature on Turkish textiles is called "Chintamani".

5 Most research on the naming of factory printed textiles fails to address this issue. Touré simply states, "For a long time, even before [the problem of] inflation, names have been given to pagnes" (1985: 130).

6 The man is located to the far right.

7 This cloth is illustrated in Bickford 1994 (photograph 2).
As has been discussed, today wax names are perceived by both merchants and consumers as communicating the intrinsic value, in essence the pedigree, of a particular motif. Put more simply, a name indicates a motif's status as a classic. Because a name is seen as connected to a motif's salability, wholesalers and merchants try to name a new motif as quickly as possible. For this reason textiles may go through several unsuccessful names before one name sticks either because the motif or the name itself has caught the attention of consumers. It is by means of their popularity that new designs earn the right to be linked to the older, classic wax textiles, a linkage which is implied through the recognition of a name. Designation as "classic" allows such a design to share in the accumulative prestige of older wax designs, designs which have known generations of use and acceptance.

CONCLUSION

The theme of this symposium and its accompanying publication is "Contact, Crossover, Continuity." In this paper I have played with the notion of crossing over in an attempt to show how objects can be transformed not only when separated physically from their place of origin but also when separated by a distance less easily quantifiable. The importation of factory printed wax textiles from Europe to the west coast of Africa which began early in this century exemplifies the assimilation of objects decontextualized by distance. However, today wax prints are part of a multinational industry, being produced not only in Europe but also in many African countries including Côte d'Ivoire where my research was conducted. Thus, it stands to reason that the continuing need to assimilate these textiles is due not to their physical importation from abroad but rather to the disconnected quality of their production in factories. Because factory printed textiles, no matter whether manufactured in-country or imported, are not being produced on the inside, such textiles must be given significance by other means. Weiner and Schneider have observed that factory textiles illustrate the shift away from production as the locus for meaning. Following upon Marx, they state, "...under capitalism it is consumers and not producers who make commodities into fetishes, and in ways that have nothing to do with their manufacture" (1989: 13). In the case of factory printed textiles in Côte d'Ivoire, the domestication of textile motifs is indicated through the recognition of popularly derived names, names which promote the continuity of ideas rooted in the experience of a majority of wax consumers.


In the oriki (appellations) of an 18th century oba (king) in Okuku, references to cloth and indigo were included in the verses that attested to the oba’s wealth and greatness,

Abioye, my father, Olugbola, one who takes the image and all its children to dance
The beauty of cloth dyed in indigo does not fade
Adewale, the indigo is what gives the cloth its worth

The references suggestively point to the aesthetic as well as commercial value of indigo in Yoruba society. Scholars and travelers have long noted the importance of indigo dyed cloth in Yoruba society, and Yoruba women, the principal dyers in Yoruba society, are considered among the premier indigo dyers in West Africa. They are particularly renowned for their indigo resist dyed cloth, adire.

Nineteenth and twentieth century writers have described in detail the process women used to derive what Robert Campbell called the “beautiful blue” from the indigo plant indigenous to western Nigeria. Yet, Claire Polakoff noted in her 1981 volume, African Textiles and Dyeing Techniques.

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"Regrettably, today... synthetic indigo has largely replaced the natural."3 While some dyers continue to use natural indigo, Polakoff's assessment is nevertheless accurate.4 Since the 1930s, Yoruba dyers began incorporating synthetic dyes, and most dyeing today in the major dyeing centers of Abeokuta, Lagos and Ibadan is done with synthetic dyes.5

Few authors have sought to explore why this change occurred even though it reflected a significant development within the dyeing industry. Dyers had to learn and perfect a new line of ingredients with different qualities. In Abeokuta, the Yoruba town on which paper focuses, the shift to synthetic dyes occurred rather quickly, within a ten year period between the 1920s and 30s. This paper highlights one of the factors that contributed to this shift away from natural to synthetic indigo, specifically the shortage of natural indigo.

Dyers operated in an economic universe shared with agricultural producers and other craftspeople, yet we tend to look at them in isolation. One consequence of this practice is that developments whose epicenters are located elsewhere are either noted in passing, overlooked or unexplained. Historians share some responsibility for this because as Philip Shea argues, we have skirted the history of production of African textiles.6 General debates rage about the impact of the world economy on African textile producers for example, but empirical research exploring access to resources, capital or credit is still limited. More detailed examination of the economics of production,

4Dyers in Oshogbo, for example, continue to use natural indigo, and one can commission a cloth dyed in a natural indigo dyebath. Personal communication, Ohioma Pogoson, Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan.
the processes involved as well as the social relations of production will allow us to refine our understanding of how larger economic developments shaped the world of cloth producers and how those changes were reflected in the production process and the final product.

**Indigo Production**

One of the most striking things in trying to write this paper was the difficulty in obtaining information on indigo production in Nigeria, in general, and Yorubaland specifically. Sources on indigo production are scattered and fragmentary, unlike information on cocoa, kola and groundnuts which were desired by European markets. The British did have some interest in exporting dyes from West Africa, but they were primarily interested in logwood and camwood rather than indigo. A nineteenth century observer, W.H. Clarke, who spent several years in Yorubaland noted,

> At the present time there is no demand for any articles which might be exported in considerable quantities, such as corn, yams indigo, hides and shea-butter.

Clarke clearly felt that indigo was produced in sufficient quantity to make it a viable export product if the European market required it. He also called attention to Iseyin, a town 55 miles north of Ibadan, which appeared to specialize in the production of indigo. Iseyin’s reputation as a major weaving center in Yorubaland may have contributed to its large production of

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7My efforts to obtain more information in Nigeria this summer were hampered by the political crisis which led to the closure of the National Archives in Ibadan.
10Ibid., 263.
indigo, but geography also played a role. Iseyin is located toward the savanna region where indigo especially thrives. Although the northern areas of Yorubaland provided a nurturing growing environment for indigo, it was also found in the more southern parts of the region, such as Abeokuta.

The indigo that is indigenous to Yorubaland, *lonchorapus cyanescens*, grew wild, but was also cultivated for its commercial value. In Abeokuta, indigo was primarily cultivated on the farm land of Kemta, Itoko and Ijemo townships to the north and northwest just outside the borders of the town. It was usually planted near cassava which shaded the young indigo plants. When the plants were approximately two years old the leaves were plucked, pounded, molded into balls, dried and then sold. Dyers purchased the indigo balls from rural women.

The sale of indigo was at one time lucrative. It was argued that the regions which had indigo plantations made a lot of money out of the crop. The leader of the trade guild in one Egba township, the Olori Parakoyi of Ilugun, in describing indigo production as he remembered it in his youth reported

My father was an Itoko man and I was born there. He was engaged in the business of preparing indigo for sale. We were then thirty-four hands working for our father and solely engaged in the production

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11Jennifer Bray, "The Organization of Traditional Weaving in Iseyin, Nigeria," *Africa*, 38 (3)1968, 271. Bray argues that weaving in Iseyin received a considerable impetus during the first two decades of the nineteenth century, when refugees fled to the town from settlements destroyed by Ilorin raiders. Many of the refugees were weavers and they taught the local people their traditional techniques.

12O.A. Badejogbim, "The Relationship Between Environment and Culture: The Adire Industry in Southern Nigeria as a Case-study." (B.A. Honors Essay, Department of Archaeology, University of Ibadan, 1983), 28. Badejogbim reported that it was widely cultivated in Iseyin, Okeko, Igboho and Shaki.

13Proceedings of the Adire Cloth Committee, Appendix 1, Abe Prof 4-D29, p.1. Informants also included Iporo as one of the regions that had indigo plantations.

14Ibid., 20.
of indigo. At times for three consecutive months we would do no work other than that of preparing indigo for our father.\textsuperscript{15}

This connection between indigo and wealth was also reflected in religious practice. In an early study of Yoruba religion, J.O. Lucas argued the deity Aje Salug, the god of wealth, was worshipped by farmers and traders in dyes and farm products. He was not worshipped as a farm god, but as the god of wealth and good luck, who could bless them with the good fortune of realizing substantial profits from the sale of their wares.\textsuperscript{16}

By the 1930s, however, indigo was being imported from Dahomey and local farmers claimed that it was unprofitable. The price had fallen significantly. An informant during a 1936 Commission of Inquiry into the Adire (tie-dyeing) industry reported that in the late 1920s they sold 21 indigo balls for as much as 1/6, but the same quantity was sold for 3d - 4d in 1936. At that price, indigo was unprofitable. Farmers argued that indigo had become unprofitable because dyers stopped using the natural plant and consequently they stopped cultivating it.\textsuperscript{17} Dyers, on the other hand, argued that they adopted caustic soda and then synthetic dyes because of the poor quality of the indigo that was available. In addition, as early as 1927 dyers complained that they were sold adulterated indigo balls which often spoiled the dye bath.\textsuperscript{18} In essence, the dyers and the farmers were blaming each other for the decline in indigo production and use.

Each charge had kernels of truth. During inquiries into the adulteration of indigo balls farmers admitted to the practice. Indigo balls included leaves

\textsuperscript{15}\textit{Minutes of Council Meeting, Thursday, 30 April 1936.} ECR 1/1/74, vol. I.
\textsuperscript{16}\textit{J. Olumide Lucas.} \textit{The Religion of the Yorubas} (Lagos: CMS Bookshop, 1948), 155.
\textsuperscript{17}\textit{Proceedings of the Adire Cloth Committee, Abe prof 4-D29, National Archives, Ibadan, 36-39.}

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from other plants. The fact that producers of indigo balls were adulterating their product suggests that the supply of natural indigo was already in decline by the late 1920s. Dyers, on the other hand, initially used caustic soda because it brought out more dye from the indigo leaves. As synthetic dye came on the market, dyers used it alone or in conjunction with natural indigo which still resulted in lower demand for natural indigo. Invariable one has to question how changes in the agricultural landscape affected indigo production.

Testimony taken during moments of inquiry into the adire industry associated indigo production with food production. Indigo was interplanted with food crops, specifically cassava. Cassava production is often associated with soil depletion. Cassava supplanted yam production in those areas where the crop rotation cycle of yam-maize-beans had broken down and the soil became increasingly infertile. Cassava was an ideal replacement crop because it grew well in poor soil, it did not require constant weeding like yam, and it could be left in the ground for two to three years until farmers had the time and labor to harvest it or it became profitable. Labor and time saved from planting cassava could be invested in more lucrative crops such as cocoa and kola. Being able to reserve labor for cash crops was especially important in Abeokuta because the town had become one of the main centers of cocoa production in Nigeria by the beginning of the twentieth century, as well as an important center for kola nut production by the end of the first world war.

The changing agricultural landscape would have affected indigo production in two distinct ways. First, the spread of tree crops suggests that increasing amounts of land was turned over to crops which were not conducive to the spread of indigo. Second, indigo was increasing being raised

on poor, depleted soils. These two scenarios lend support to the dyers' contention that the quality of the indigo had deteriorated and help explain the decline in the supply of indigo. More research is needed on the production of indigo in southern Yorubaland, but there is no doubt that there was a ripple effect from changes taking place in agriculture as Yoruba farmers aggressively pursued the opportunities presented by cash crops.

Conclusion

The significance of the shift to synthetic dyes was not isolated to the dyeing industry; it also pointed to important developments in the region's agricultural history. The shortage of indigo undoubtedly contributed to dyers openness to caustic soda and synthetic dye. Yet, it would be remiss to suggest that the inadequate supply of good indigo alone accounted for the shift. The timing was critical; it occurred during the depression. This moment of world-wide economic crisis highlighted the interconnected relationship between dyers and the agricultural sector. Farmers not only produced indigo, the revenue they accumulated from cash crops supported the dyeing industry. As cash crop prices fell, particularly cocoa, consumer buying power also fell. Thus, both the production and consumption sides of the dyers' universe were affected by the economic changes that wound their way through the agricultural sector. Caustic soda and synthetic dyes were a part of the dyeing industry's response to these changes. They minimized dyers' dependence on farmers for natural indigo and allowed them to lower the cost of production so that they could continue to sell cloth and hopefully remain solvent during the depression years. In this instance, locating dyers in their larger economic universe is crucial for understanding how and why synthetic dyes eventually superseded natural indigo in Abeokuta.
THE TRANSFORMATION OF MEN INTO MASQUERADES AND INDIAN MADRAS INTO MASQUERADE CLOTH IN BUGUMA, NIGERIA

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INTRODUCTION
The Kalabari Ijo people of the Niger Delta area of southeastern Nigeria use a group of dark indigo-blue cloths with white patterning to cover the faces of masquerade performers. Subsumed under the name of alubite (masquerade cloth) are at least three distinct types: 1) ukara cloth, an indigo-resist of imported muslin, stitched and dyed by Igbo craftsmen, 2) alubite cloth, a gauze-weave, also an indigo-resist, but of unknown provenance, and 3) pelete bite, an Indian madras from which threads are cut and pulled by Kalabari women to form a new pattern.

The first two types of cloth apparently come from non-Kalabari sources. The third, pelete bite, transforms dark blue and white imported madras, using local technology, into a patterned masquerade cloth for which there is a cultural demand. We focus on this transformation, examining particular types of Indian madras considered appropriate for this adaptation and the ways that these cloths are altered (i.e., cut and pulled), their relationship in color and design to ukara and to the other alubite cloths, and the significance of the triangular motif, alu, for depicting water spirits in masquerade performances.

KALABARI IJO SETTLEMENTS AND TEXTILE TRADE IN THE NIGER DELTA
The Kalabari Ijo people reside in over thirty towns and villages nestled on bits of land in the riverain estuaries of the southern Niger River delta. Living in an environment that forms a transition between land and sea, many relied in the past on fishing as the primary source of livelihood, while others, acting as middlemen for trade—formerly in slaves and later, in palm oil—between inland Igbo-speaking peoples upstream and Europeans on the coast, amassed tremendous wealth.

Their environment amid myriad streams and mangrove swamps also supported an elaborate religious system which in the past included the honoring of various water deities and ancestor spirits, on whose good-will the well-being of the Kalabari people was believed to depend. While most Kalabari men and women presently subscribe to some form of Christianity, masquerade performances that depict the water spirits and sacrifices to the ancestors continue as an important part of Kalabari cultural life. One reason why these practices are so important has to do with the particular history and organization of Kalabari society.
In part because of their status of trading middlemen and the nature of trade during the 17th-19th centuries (Dike 1956), large families, centered on trade, emerged as the principal form of social organization in Kalabari towns and villages (Horton 1975). These family houses were in tremendous competition for not only for trade, but for local prestige and political authority. Membership in a house was in effect "open" to men with extraordinary intelligence and abilities, including former slaves. Membership depended as much on cultural knowledge as on blood ties which included knowing the spoken and the drum language and on exemplary masquerade performance and costuming (Horton 1960). Rather than emphasizing descent from a common apical ancestor to convey a sense of unity, the Kalabari have tended to emphasize their common cultural background, e.g., through their performance of their own special masquerades which distinguish them from their neighbors to the north, the Igbo, and from smaller ethnic groups in the delta area—e.g., the Ibani and the Nembe—who do not practice the same cultural traditions.

Thus masquerade performance and transformation of cloth are vital to Kalabari identity. This identity is reinforced by cloth use although the Kalabari do not weave or dye cloth themselves. Rather because of their position as prosperous traders, the Kalabari obtained textiles from many foreign sources (Adams [1823] 1966). Nonetheless, these imported cloths are transformed and used in various ways to make them distinctly Kalabari.

The process whereby textiles and other forms of material culture obtained outside of the Kalabari area are transformed into uniquely Kalabari objects has been called "cultural authentication" by Erekosima and Eicher (1981). In the case of the blue and white masquerade cloths discussed here, textiles obtained through trade have been transformed either through spiritual associations or in physical form to produce cloths appropriate for making men into water spirit (ọwụ) masquerades, the most common form of masquerade display in the Kalabari Ijo region (Horton 1960).

Ekineba, the Ekine Society, and Kalabari Masquerades

According to legend, masquerades were introduced to the Kalabari people by a female deity, Ekineba, who taught men the dance steps and songs of particular water spirits (Horton 1975). Individuals belonging to the men’s Ekine Society (Horton 1963), founded in her name, are responsible for organizing an extensive cycle of water spirit masquerade performances which takes place over several years. In the past, Ekine Society members' responsibilities included jural and religious functions, although these have been somewhat attenuated in modern Kalabari life where state government officials and Christian belief prevails. Nonetheless, Ekine Society members enjoy considerable local authority, a role which is reinforced through their control of masquerade performance which depicts various water spirits, an important part of Kalabari social life.

Water spirits are associated with the python (Horton 1960), the highest ranking water spirit deity according to traditional Kalabari religion. It is the
triangular depiction of the scales of the python's skin in the alubite cloth that reminds viewers of this water spirit's presence. This association also relates to the myth of the goddess Ekineba's final departure for the water spirit world:

Then she sat down and wrapped alu cloth about her face. By this time it was evening. A storm started to come up: the Water People were on their way. She told the townspeople to bring out their drums and play their drums and play them. Then they began to sing:

Wife of the chief priest of Ojoma
She has tied a strange cloth.
One who has no alu will not dance in Ekine (Horton 1975:35).

Thus the Igbo stitch-resist indigo-dyed ukara cloth used by Kalabari Ekine Society members, covered with geometric shapes which have their own meanings in Igbo society (Cole and Aniakor 1984), has its own distinctive associations in Kalabari society. The triangles, alu, depicted on ukara cloth refer to Ekinaba, the python's skin, and other water deities, whom Ekine Society members represent in masquerade performances. Dark blue and white geometrically patterned (alubite) cloths, then, are an integral part of their costumes.

The importance of masquerades and of geometrically patterned blue and white cloth in identifying water spirit representations is also reflected in ancestral shrine sculpture (duein fubara) where ancestors are dressed as masqueraders replete with bits of alubite cloth on their foreheads (Barley 1988). While Kalabari communities may have general masquerades owned by "everyone" (meaning the community-at-large), individual houses vie as well to introduce new masquerades whose costumes, songs, and dances are "owned" by them, thus adding to the reputation of the house. Horton (1960:32) suggests that the depiction of particular ancestors as water spirit masquerades on a house's ancestral shrine screen refers to an ancestor's introduction or superlative performance of these masquerades.

The expression of cultural knowledge through masquerade performance works to consolidate a group— in this case, a house— through its distinctive association of a merged ancestral and water spirit identity. The importance of a shared but distinctive cultural knowledge and identity— both

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1Cf. Drewal's (1986) description of Ijebu (Yoruba) masquerades that have been influenced by Ijo masquerade styles. One such Ijebu masquerade type, igodo, incorporates depiction of pythons and crocodiles into their headdresses. Drewal (1986:37) writes:

The surface, brightly colored triangular patterning in red, silver, and green, creates shimmering variegated textures that are meant to convey the distinctive quality of reptilian skin.

While the color scheme differs from the blue and white patterns depicted on Kalabari alubite cloth, the triangular motif prevails.
for the entire community and for individual houses is associated with particular stories and representations of water spirits. All types of alubite masquerade cloth, including the production of dark blue and white pelete bite cloths appear integral to the costuming of each masquerade dancer.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF MADRAS TEXTILES TO MASQUERADE CLOTHS

Before madras cloths are cut into the various patterns characteristic of pelete bite cloth, the appropriately colored and striped or checked madras must be obtained. In a photographic study of 213 pelete bite conducted in 1985, Renne found that particular pattern motifs tended to be associated with certain types of madras cloth (1985b). Some of these associations may be explained by the warp and weft striping of the madras; checked cloths lend themselves to geometric designs such as alternating blocks, diamonds, or triangles (alu), while warp striped madras may be cut with less rigidly geometric patterns.

Cloth colors are also important--plain blue and white madras (given the name of ikaki mgbe--tortoise bones--by Kalabari women) or blue and white madras with tiny yellow (amasiri--tiger's paw) or with red stripes (igodoye moru) are particularly favored. In fact, the alu masquerade triangle pattern is mostly found on the prestigious amasiri madras cloth (Eicher et al. 1982:17). Of the twenty-two handcut pelete bite cloths documented with patterns identified as alu, ten were cut on amasiri cloth. And, of the total of thirty-six handcut amasiri cloths documented, almost one-third incorporated triangle motifs into their design. Although the association of amasiri cloth specifically with masquerader costume has not been directly examined, it would seem possible that part of the reason these blue and white madras cloths are cut with alu masquerade motifs is because of their association with the face coverings of masqueraders.

Blue and white plaid to alubite

The process whereby dark blue and white madras textiles are transformed into pelete bite covered with geometric patterns has been previously discussed by Eicher and Erekosima (1982) and Erekosima and Eicher (1981) and will only be briefly described here. Essentially, selected white warp and sometimes weft threads are removed from the textile by first lifting the selected thread or threads with a needle and then cutting them with a razor blade or knife. The cut threads are then pulled from the cloth leaving a dark, gauzy motif consisting of the remaining dark threads. Kalabari women perform this process without a pattern although the madras plaid tends to serve as design grid. On some cloths, particularly the type called ikaki mgbe but also amasiri madras cloths, the checked centerfield may be divided up into smaller squares or rectangles which are then filled with different geometric motifs. This configuration of design layout resembles that of the Igbo ukara cloth which is similarly divided into smaller rectangles which are filled with various motifs.
In general, designs motifs cut in pelete bite depict objects in the natural world, as well as those made by hand or machine and often those used in masquerade performance. The most common named motifs include alternating square patterns called abili (referring to the game of "draughts" or "checkers" because of the checkerboard design), diamonds patterns called etere (referring to the design found in indigenous matting), and triangles called alu (referring to the design of masquerade triangles). Other motifs refer to objects such as chains (ikoli) and broken plates (okoloba igila) or to fish gills (sangolo) and cowrie shells (otobo). Some motifs which refer to masquerade performance or to water spirits such as igbiri (masquerade leg rattles) and okiaka (shark's teeth) consist of grouped triangles; these patterns may be differently named, with some people referring to these patterns by the individual motif, alu triangle, as well as by the composite name.

While the depiction of triangular patterns on blue and white madras cloth would seem to be the logical choice for pelete bite cloth used for masquerade, the extent to which this is done remains undocumented. Presently, available data on the use of pelete bite and other alubite cloth comes largely from photographic documentation of the owu masquerade performances themselves.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF MEN INTO MASQUERADES

The cycle of water-spirit masquerades may presently be performed over several years, depending on the number of masquerades to be danced each year, and the wherewithal of the community and individual families to muster the necessary personnel and materials. Every year, one to three different masquerades appear in the main square of Kalabari towns or villages where they dance and perform short skits, often depicting legends about the particular deity. Thus the masquerade Mgbula, a water spirit doctor who is depicted as ugly, deaf, and paranoid may be shown fighting with local fisherwomen as part of a play performed in the Kalabari community of Degema (Horton 1960:31).

Prior to the commencement of the cycle, Ekine society members and men from the various families participating in the performances amass the necessary cloths and headdresses. These materials are stored in Ekine or family meeting houses until the performance. Because of the considerable prestige associated with these masquerades, much care is taken in preparing these material manifestations of the water spirits.

On the opening day of the cycle, Ekine Society members take a canoe to a special part of the creek known as the Beach of the Water People to make a sacrifice to the water spirits and to encourage their presence at the subsequent performances. After these opening rites, the men return to the village or town singing Ekine songs and soon after, the masquerade performances begin.

Ekine Society masqueraders and masqueraders from the various houses are then prepared through prayers and libations and through the careful preparation of headdresses which are given final painted touches and
cloths which are sewn in place (Horton 1960:30). After a masquerade performer emerges in public, he leaves an offering at the shrine of the deity Ekineba, the patroness of the masquerade, praying for success in the upcoming performances.

During the cycle, masqueraders representing specific water-spirits make their appearance individually. However at the end of the cycle, the entire group of masquerades come out together in a final, two-day performance known as Owu-arosun (Parade of the Water Sprits). Afterwards, the masqueraders retire to a special beach called Owusara after they remove their headdresses. They enter the water as a way of sending the water spirits back to their domain and returning men dancers to the everyday world of humans.

Alubite Cloths Used in Masquerade Performances

In masquerade performances documented by Eicher and Erekoshima in Buguma over the past fourteen years, several masquerades have incorporated different types of alubite cloth into facial coverings and headdresses. For example, during the 1991 owu masquerade cycle, the masquerade Alagba used the alubite cloth ukara as a face covering. Two prominent masquerade figures from the owu play called Krimani, which is the name of a small weasel-type animal, are elephant and monkey, both of whom use peletebite as a type of alubite for their face coverings.2

While alubite cloth clearly plays a significant role of the transformation of men into water-spirit masquerades, it remains to be seen whether these blue and white geometrically patterned cloths may be used interchangeably or whether the different types of alubite cloths are hierarchically distinguished or associated with particular masquerades. Aside from further research on these cloths in the Kalabari Ijo area, additional information about the origins and uses of alubite cloths elsewhere in southern Nigeria may contribute to our knowledge of these cloths.

DISCUSSION

One of the alubite cloths, ukara, for example, is produced by Igbo people to the northeast of the Niger delta area. These raffia-stitched, indigo resist-dyed cloths are known to be designed by men in the villages of Abiriba, Aro Chukwu, and Ohafia, who draw the motifs upon a wide commercially woven cotton cloth (Cole and Aniakor 1984:59). The cloths are then transported to Nkalagu, a town near Enugu, for sewing by older women and young men and for dyeing by men. The cloths are then transported back to Igbo towns and villages to the south. Ukara cloth is used by the Eko and Efik in Ekpe (Leopard) Society functions (Cole and Aniakor 1984:59; Nicklin and Salmon 1988). The cloths are used for display "backdrops," for funerals and as wrappers for important men chiefs. The motifs called nsibidi are geometric,

2 An example of the sheer, wax-resist alubite is seen very clearly in a video produced by Eicher from the 1991 Owuwarusun titled "Textile Trade and Masquerade Among the Kalabari of Nigeria."
anthropomorphic, and zoomorphic, and are used to decorate the cloths as part of a symbol system used by the Ekpe Society. The zoomorphic images are representations of indigenous deities. The ukara cloth is a sacred cloth among the Igbo (Cole and Aniakor 1984:61) although they are apparently not used in Igbo masquerade costume. However a type of indigo resist-dyed cloth, similar to ukara is used as part of masquerade costume in the Middle Cross Rivers area (Nicklin and Salmons 1988).³

In the Kalabari Ijo town of Buguma, at least one ukara cloth was owned by the Ekine Society, a men's society in the town that serves as similar function in Kalabari society as the Ekpe society serves in Igboland. Indeed, the first time Renne saw an ukara cloth was when it was being flown as a flag to indicate that an Ekine Society meeting for dispute settlement (Renne, 1985a) was in process. In 1984, Eicher saw two ukara cloths used as a wari (War Canoe House) flag during the Centenary celebrations. The Kalabari call ukara cloths alubite, i.e., masquerade cloth, possibly because the blue-and-white geometrically patterned cloth is to cover the masquerader's face and also because it resembles the description of the cloth described in the Ekineba myth (Horton 1975:36).

Tariah (1982:11) gives a rather functionalist explanation of why alubite cloths are used to cover dancers' faces, namely that the "perforated cloth allow[s] air to pass in order to keep the masquerader from overheating." Although both the gauze-weave cloth and pelete bite perform this function, it seems more likely that it is the particular configuration of colors and patterning that would support the use of particular cloths, for perforated cloth can come in many colors and pelete bite is made from red and burgundy madras as well as indigo.

Pelete bite cloth is also cited by Tariah (1982:11) as used as masquerade face cover cloths (Tariah 1982:11). The one pelete bite cloth used for masquerade shown to Renne, by a small boy who used it to practice masquerade, was a dark blue and white cloth. While the open work of pelete bite has a similar aerating effect of the gauze-weave alubite, the colors and patterning on pelete bite more directly relates it to masquerade performance. The alu triangular motif found on alubite more obviously supports the connection of a motif depicting the python. One old pelete bite now in the collection of the Fowler Museum of Cultural History at UCLA depicts the free-hand design of the "sinuous python," odum ikelekele. One is struck, when looking at some of the very old ukara cloths at the visual similarity, not only in types of motifs, but in the division of design fields as well as in the appearance of the python motif. The latter is not contained within a

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³ Another type of stitch-resist indigo-dyed cloth called ndop is used by the Bamileke masqueraders of Cameroon as skirts, associating dancers both with chieftaincy and the spirit world.
smaller block but rather appears floating "over" the surface of the other motifs.4

Aside from the classification of the dark blue and white ukara and some types of pelete bite as alubite cloth and their identical use in masquerade as face covers, there is another similarity in the use of ukara and pelete bite cloths that is worth mentioning. Dark blue and white pelete bite is most commonly used in funerals. During the extensive funeral displays for which the Kalabari have gained renown (Eicher and Erekosima, 1987), men and women wear pelete bite wrappers during certain parts of the ritual. Ukara cloths are also associated with funeral displays in Igbo society, however, their use appears to be restricted to men holding high titles in the Ekpe (Leopard) Society. Nonetheless, their use in funerals reinforces the other-worldly associations made with these cloths.

CONCLUSION

Through their use in masquerade performances subsumed under the term alubite, there would seem to be a connection between the dark blue and white pelete bite produced by Kalabari women and ukara cloths produced by Igbo men. However, whether there is a historical connection between these two cloths, with the desire for ukara cloth perhaps influencing the production of certain types of pelete bite, or vice-versa, remains to be seen. One possible avenue for investigation might involve a historical study of the material connections between the Kalabari men's Ekine Society and the Igbo men's Ekpe Society, both of which use ukara cloths in their rituals. Further, the association of the three types of alubite mentioned initially in this essay with particular masquerades requires additional research. By uncovering the connections between cloth types, production processes, and ritual uses, questions about why specific textiles might be considered culturally appropriate candidates for particular transformations may be better understood.

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4 There is another type of cloth also classified as alubite that is used by the Kalabari in masquerade. Woven in a single strip in a type of gauze or leno weave and then either stamped or stencilled with wax (or starch) and indigo-dyed, the provenance of the cloth Renne examined is unknown. The long fringes were finished in long braids that were then tie-dyed as were the two extreme ends of the woven cloth. A similar cloth called omada is handwoven and dyed by Okpella (Edo-speaking) women (Borgatti 1983:22); Lamb and Holmes (1980:235-236) mention a similar cloth from Eruhun, a village in the Urhogo-speaking area near Okpella. The Okpella and Eruhun cloths which come from an area north of the delta, however, are stitched with raffia thread, rather than resist-printed like the Kalabari cloth used as alubite, and it is not clear how or whether these cloths are related.


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Harcourt.
I have divided my discussion of these papers into two parts. First, I would like briefly to address each of the papers individually—highlighting what I find to be some of the most important issues raised by each. And second, I would like to put forth two dichotomies—(1) regarding the relationship between the sacred and the profane, and (2) on the relationship between aesthetic value and commercial value—both of which strike me as critical organizing principles that join these four papers into a coherent statement on the relationship of African textiles to capitalist transformations in the modern world system.

Judith Byfield's paper raises a number of interesting issues regarding the transition from natural to synthetic indigo dyes in Yoruba society during the first few decades of this century. She introduces the problem with a quotation from a 1981 book on African Textiles and Dyeing Techniques which states: "Regrettably, today . . . synthetic indigo has largely replaced the natural." This deceptively simple statement is packed with assumptions about the authenticity of Africa and African material culture, and evokes, I would argue, a certain sentiment which anthropologist Renato Rosaldo recently referred to as "imperialist nostalgia"—a colonial longing for the pre-colonial. According to this reasoning, natural indigo is assumed to be better than synthetic indigo because it is closer to nature and therefore untainted by the outside influences of mercantile capitalism and industrial technology.

In a remarkably subtle presentation of historical fact and circumstance, Byfield unpacks the arrogant simplicity inherent in this nostalgic attitude by situating the transition from natural to synthetic indigo within the context of the world economy during the 1920s and 30s, and in terms of the shifting relations of production between indigenous African farmers and textile dyers. Far from being a simple case wherein a "modernist" aesthetic replaced a "primitivist" one, the shift from natural to synthetic indigo was the result of depleted agricultural resources caused by the over-production of other cash crops, and the diminishing buying power of local consumers—or, put slightly differently, the shift from natural to synthetic indigo resulted simultaneously from the harvesting of a crop whose organic properties were becoming less and less blue, and from a slumping consumer class whose financial outlook was growing increasingly blue. Caustic soda and later synthetic dyes provided a less expensive and higher quality alternative which insured the continued livelihood of Yoruba dyers. In this regard, Byfield's analysis offers a model or template for other investigations of African transitions from the natural to the synthetic, or from the local to the imported,
which could be applied not only to shifts in textile manufacture but also to other domains of African material production and consumption.

Kathleen Bickford’s paper reminds us in a forceful and elegant way that production of textiles does not end when the cloth is removed from the loom, but that production is an ongoing process that extends well into the "social life" of the fabric. If one assumes, as I do, that the production of material culture is as much responsible for the creation of social meaning as it is for the construction of physical form, then the naming of a cloth is just as much a form of production as the weaving of cloth.

Bickford concludes her paper by referring to the naming of factory-cloth as a form of "domestication." Her word is well-chosen and reminds us of many other domains wherein language and words serve to bring the distant or the remote into the realm of the Self or, more broadly, of culture. How different to all of this, for example, was the naming of the 48 constellations according to mythological figures by Ptolemy in the second century A.D.? Or the binomial system of nomenclature developed by Linnaeus to classify and catalogue the plant and animal kingdoms? Science brings nature under the control of culture by assigning names to the unknown. Naming is a process of appropriation (from the Latin proprius, "to make one's own") which functions to make the unknown knowable through the mediation of language. One is reminded too in this context of the manner in which a child names his doll to make it his own. The name chosen is usually not the one which has been arbitrarily assigned to it by the manufacturer on the box, but is of the child’s own choosing--brought into his world through its personal association with something meaningful.

Finally, here too, as in Byfield’s paper, we are confronted with a clash between the industrial and the homespun, between the so-called "modern" and the "traditional." Like constellations or the remote genera of nature, factory cloth is perceived by those who buy and wear it as something distant and foreign (even if it’s made in factories within the nation-state). Naming cloth adds a dimension of familiarity to the remote, and perhaps even more importantly returns an element of control to those who may otherwise perceive themselves as cogs in impersonal machinery of capitalist production and circulation.

Although Igor Kopytoff’s notion of "the cultural biography of things" runs through all four of these papers to some degree, Lisa Aronson addresses this issue most explicitly in her paper on the cultural impact of imported cloth on patterns of textile consumption among the Ijo and the responding effect on textile production among the Akwete. The story she tells is first one of incorporation (that is to say, how the Ijo incorporated imported cloth into the geography of their religious and spiritual landscape) and second it is one of transformation (that is, how the Akwete responded to Ijo demand and reconfigured their aesthetic of production to imitate the patterns of imported fabrics). This story of transformation is particularly interesting (if not perhaps ironic) when viewed in light of my own research on how textile manufacturers in
Europe at the end of the 19th century tried to imitate African textile patterns and motifs. While one community of producers was eagerly trying to assimilate and copy what they perceived to be the styles demanded by their consumers, another community of producers (oceans away) was just as quickly imitating the foreign designs that were attractive to their clientele. The potential results of this dual arrangement are, to say the least, baffling and complex.

Two other points raised by Aronson deserve to be mentioned here. First, in pursuing her analysis of the "cultural biography of things," Aronson presents an excellent case wherein the same textile motif or design can have drastically different meaning depending in which context it is being consumed or interpreted. Describing a type of cloth used by the Ijebu Yoruba, Aronson notes that in its original context the cloth drew its cultural significance from its association with the Oshugbo secret governing institution. When consumed by the Ijo, the cloth bears no association to Oshugbo but rather is valued for its imputed references to the tortoise. Travelling through different cultural spaces, the same symbol may be read in totally contrasting ways.

The second point, which also comes up in Renne and Eicher's paper, has to do with the impact of religious belief on commodity consumption and demand. Imported cloth was woven by the Ijo into the fabric of their spiritual beliefs. "Assigning deities to traded cloth," Aronson states, "was one way in which the Ijo took ownership of the cloths" (p.7). Now Marx, in his writings, was very clear on the logic of capitalist production and its relation to systems of consumption. And, so too, was he clear on his critique of religion and its numbing relationship to regimes of governance and the hegemonic state. But nowhere, to my knowledge, does Marx explore the convergence of these two phenomena. That is to say, nowhere does he consider the impact of religion on mercantile demand. The case of Akwete weaving and Ijo consumption begs the question, however, of how do specific religious beliefs fuel certain capitalist demands? And, how do "sacred" requirements create and sustain markets for particular commodities?

This remarkable nexus of the sacred and the secular brings me to Elisha Renne and Joanne Eicher's paper on masquerades and Indian madras among the Kalabari. What is of particular interest here is the way in which the transformation of cloth is linked to the transformation of man. A metonymic relationship has been drawn by the authors, albeit in a largely implicit manner, between the technical process responsible for the modification of foreign cloth into local cloth, and the cultural process which accounts for the transformation of men into spirits. Although these two types of transformation are very different, their success hinges on precisely the same point. Madras becomes pelete bite and men become pythons because, in both instances, the process of transformation is acknowledged or sanctioned by members of society and their definition of what constitutes such a transformation in the collective unconscious.

A second, equally compelling point, raised by this paper has to do with the association of water and cloth. Although the authors speculate at some length about the
relevance of the triangular pattern and the symbology of the python, more in my opinion could have been made of the possible association between a cloth which comes from afar (i.e., from across the water) and a spirit associated with the water. The final performance of the "Owu-arosun" in which the masqueraders remove their headdresses and enter the water is highly suggestive of such an association. The cloth which, as it were, emerged from the water now remains on the land, while the men, who emerged from the land, now submerge themselves into the water. The masquerade thus ends with a sense of balance having been restored between land and water, between Self and Other.

Let me conclude quickly with two general observations. First, in different ways, these four papers make interesting statements about the relationship between the realms of the sacred and the profane. Aronson's paper in particular opens a remarkable avenue of investigation wherein specific ritual demands appear to fuel certain forms of commodity exchange. How do the realms of the sacred and the profane interact in such a situation? What are the processes whereby something as secular as trade cloth can become as religiously charged as the costume for a spirit masquerade?

The second point is closely linked to the first and has to do with different realms of value used to evaluate and endow meaning to cloth and cloth products. Byfield begins her paper by noting that indigo in Yoruba society has both an "aesthetic" value and a "commercial" value. The implication, of course, is that indigo was treasured both for its "beauty" and for its power to suggest wealth and economic success. Later in the paper she notes that "th[e] connection between indigo and wealth was reflected in religious practice" (p.4). Here the suggestion is that the commercial value of indigo was associated with its spiritual value, and that both realms of value informed one another.

Thus the realms of aesthetics, economics, and spirits are inextricably intertwined in the "social life" of cloth in Africa, and analysis of such cloth cannot be adequately carried out unless equal weight is given to each of these three spheres of value. These papers explore the transformation and continuity of African textiles by throwing light from all directions on these different spheres of value and, in so doing, highlight the permeable and sometimes impermeable boundaries of their intersection. In that sense, these papers lay important groundwork and models for future research.
THE CONVERSION OF CHINESE COURT ROBES INTO JAPANESE FESTIVAL HANGINGS

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INTRODUCTION

Decorated silken robes historically worn in China to garb the emperor and his family were disassembled and resewn in Japan into hangings for Kyoto's Gion Festival during the 16th to 18th centuries. The twenty robes, which were converted into coverings for festival carts called yama and hoko, include silk tapestry weaves (kesi), brocades, and embroidered examples. Eleven date from the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) and nine from the early to mid- Qing Dynasty (1644-1911). This distribution contrasts with other world collections of Chinese imperial robes, in which Qing Dynasty examples are far more numerous. In addition to the robes, ninety-five early Qing rank badges were also imported. These were joined into vertical or horizontal strips to serve as borders or valences. Chair covers, table and altar frontals, and wall hangings, as well as prized weavings from a number of other countries in Asia as well as Europe, are also included in the Gion collections. There are a total of around 900 textiles of which approximately 300 are derived from foreign sources.

QING DYNASTY COURT ROBE AND OVERCOAT WITH RANK BADGE

The robes and badges were acquired in their original form by fourteen of the approximately thirty-two neighborhood associations of the Gion Matsuri Yamaboko Rengokai (Gion Festival Float Association) which produce the Gion Festival (Matsuri) each July. Funds to acquire textiles were donated by the members over the centuries, often at great personal sacrifice, and even while recovering from Kyoto's periodic and devastating fires and floods. The formidable hurdle of the shogunate's Exclusionary Edicts (1616-1854), which prohibited the importation of foreign goods was also overcome. Presumably the neighborhood (cho-nai) association members had to cope as well with the ego and financial needs...
of local weavers and dyers, who had been the pageant's exclusive suppliers before foreign textiles became available (Kajitani and Yoshida 1992).

The townsmen who founded the associations were motivated by sincere spiritual fervor inspired by the festival's religious origins, a profound desire to express loyalty to community, a keen sense of neighborhood competition, and a deep-seated Kyoto tradition of homage to craftsmanship and beauty, particularly in the textile arts.

Fortunately, nineteen of the associations possess records, going back as far as 1576, of the member's donations to acquire, repair, rework, and back the textiles. Kita Kannon Yama possesses journals from 1724 (see illustration) which refer to an inventory of 1671, which has unfortunately been destroyed by fire, as have many record books of other cho-nai. Extant screens, scrolls, and panels believed painted concurrently with the textiles' adoption, seem to provide graphic corroboration of the existing documents (Okamoto 1972). Over the centuries, the festival has generated sufficient excitement to inspire repeated paintings, sketches, and since the mid-19th century, photography (Takagi 1907). The dates and descriptions inscribed on the old documents, official ship's cargo entries, graphic representations, as well as a preserved spectator's account from 1757, have been on the whole corroborative of one another (Kajitani and Yoshida 1992).

THE GION FESTIVAL
The origins of the Gion Festival are said to have occurred in the year 869 when the Emperor enlisted the Head Priest of nearby Yasaka Shrine, at the edge of Kyoto's Gion District, to help him put an end to a long and terrible plague that had been decimating the inhabitants of the nation's capital. In the belief that the spirits of sickness and evil hovering about the city's atmosphere might be pierced and destroyed, tall sabers were placed atop carts and moved through the city streets. These scouring devices were the origin of the hoko, carts bearing towering red-draped structures...
nearly six stories high, whose massive wooden wheels continue to be pulled through the city streets each year at this time.

Concurrently a complementary structure was designed to beckon the health-bestowing forces of the powerful deity Susano-no-Mikoto, dynamic brother of the Sun Goddess, whose spirit was believed housed in Yasaka Shrine. These were platforms that the head priest directed be built so that treasured relics sacred to the shrine might be placed upon them. The platforms were also circumnambulated. As the platforms became formalized, a sculpted mountain and an actual young pine tree, both regarded as sacred abodes of the Shinto deities (kami) were added, fronted by tableaux of costumed mannequins depicting a favorite legend or play. These smaller structures, borne originally on poles by young Shinto priests (Yamanobe), and later by townsmen, became known as "yama" meaning "mountain" (Bauer and Calquist 1965).

Each of the constructions was named for the themes they presented. Since the end of the 15th century, the sides, front and back of the hoko and yama have also been draped with opulent textiles which were not related to their designated themes, but hung for purposes of grandeur and effect. Foreign fabrics were introduced by the 16th century, when international trade first made them available (Boxer 1986).

The spear-like hoko, during the three days of assembly and exposure, performed to attract evil spirits as well, and although unhealthy and unwanted vapors were intended to be pierced by their knife-like tips, many dangerous aspects were also thought to be absorbed into the decorations. This necessitated the urgent dismantling of these structures within hours of the procession's closing, and the speedy folding away of the decorative hangings before evil spirits had time to disperse. Until around 1200 A.D. the float and all its decorations were immediately ritually burned to prevent this disaster. By contrast, the yama served as celestial vehicles which were thought to facilitate the descent of the kami into the community, and were leisurely dismantled (Joya 1960). (Kishimoto).

THE FESTIVAL TEXTILES
By the 16th century the appearance and activities of the festival came more and more to reflect the interests of the merchants and artisans, who were becoming more numerous, influential and prosperous as the city grew in size (Yamane, 1973 #32). Reflection of financial success in one's business or craft grew in importance as a festival goal. To accomplish this, increasingly opulent, showy, brightly hued fabrics were sought. The patterned silk and gold thread fabrics of imperial China were deemed especially appropriate. For a city of skilled weavers and dyers, Chinese textiles had particular prestige, acknowledged as supreme examples of the textile arts. As expensive imports, they projected the aura of the rare and exotic. At the same time their imagery was familiar and widely understood, linked over the centuries to mutually shared symbolism.
The dragon motif was linked to the earliest history of the community. Before Kyoto was established as the capital in the year 794, the area was a modest agricultural settlement which held a "water festival" to celebrate the existence of a nearby spring and to appease the water deity, thus ensuring rainfall crucial to the rice crop. Later the concern developed that unsanctified or impure water was a source of pestilence and disease, a recurrent danger in midsummer (Yoneyama October). The dragon, in Japan as in China, was regarded the powerful rain-bringer and controller of the water supply, and thus served as the main symbol of the ancient festival. His image was carried forward and incorporated as icon of the Gion Festival. Court robes of the dragon throne, with their tapestried, brocaded, and embroidered dragons were therefore ideal decorations (see illustration). The large-scaled Ming dragons were appealing as they could be seen easily from the streets. It is thought that one reason relatively few Qing Dynasty robes were acquired was that their smaller dragon designs were relatively inconspicuous (Kajitani and Yoshida 1992).

Selection of cart draperies was also influenced by the dimensions of the sides of the conveyances. Several of the textiles imported were capable of being used nearly "as is". Evidently the court robes garnered admiration sufficient to inspire the members to tolerate the expenditure and trouble of disassembling them, cutting them into sections, and finishing them to create rectangular panels of the required sizes. Afterwards the drastically altered robes were backed with imported red wool fabric (rasha), which was allowed to extend several inches on all sides providing lively coordinated frames the hangings.
ROUTES OF IMPORTATION

How did Chinese imperial robes come into the possession of the merchants and craftsmen of Kyoto? Interestingly, although there is extensive documentation in the records of the neighborhood associations related to member's financial contributions for the acquisition, repair, and replacement of Chinese and other textiles, there is total silence on the subject of sources of artwork. There are also intriguing gaps between the likely date of their production, probable dates of entry, and their first appearance on Association documents (Kajitani and Yoshida 1992).

Although many of the imported hangings unquestionably came into Japan legally, and in fact were openly reordered, a number of the textiles may have come in on ships that did not dock at official, patrolled, and taxed ports of entry. In addition, several robes were likely to have been gifts from traders and clergymen to provincial rulers (daimyo) who, as samurai, were strictly prohibited from engaging in trade. Utmost secrecy had to be maintained about commerce in rare and exotic items, which were known to have been gifts especially welcomed by individuals in power (Matsuda 1965).

The robes reached their Kyoto destination in sequential phases via varying paths. Their main ports of entry to Japan included the Ryukyu Islands in the south, Nagasaki in the southwest, and Hokaido Island in the north (see maps).

One clue to the southernmost route was revealed by the existence of a hanging derived from a Ming Kesi robe documented as having been transported from The Ryukyu Kingdom (present Okinawa Prefecture) in 1606 by Fukuchujōnin, a Buddhist monk who had journeyed to that island kingdom three years earlier. The robe, a gift from the Ryukyuan king, was donated to a temple. The Ryukyu Islands had a tributary relationship with China, entitling them to a profitable international trade, and occasioning their ruler's wearing of Chinese court robes for official interaction. The kingdom was ideally located between China and Japan, nations mutually prohibited to engage in direct commerce (deBary 1958). At the beginning of the 17th century the king was undergoing great military pressure from the daimyo of Satsuma in Kyushu, most southerly of the main Japanese islands, who coveted the lucrative sea trade of the Ryukyuans. The Ryukyuan king made several gestures of appeasement to the Japanese during these years including abundant gifts of Chinese textiles and other artworks (Kerr 1974). After a lapse of over two hundred years, a quite common gap in documentation, the regal robe brought back to Kyoto in 1606 turned up in 1817 recorded as a donation to Kuronushi Neighborhood Association, whose hoko proudly parades its converted form to this day (Kajitani and Yoshida 1992).

In 1609 the Japanese from Satsuma invaded the Ryukyuan capital, sacking and looting Shuri Castle and the nearby princely houses. This was likely yet another opportunity to round up Chinese court robes.
Confiscated Okinawan goods, as well as all future Okinawan imports from China, were thereafter channeled through Satsuma and labeled "local products" (Kerr 1974).

Later in the 17th century much of the balance of the Okinawan Chinese imperial wardrobe may have also been exported in bulk from Ryukyu to Satsuma. A colony of Chinese had been established in Okinawa for nearly three hundred years, having been sent there originally in 1392 to administer and acculturate the Okinawans. The Qing Manchu rulers, having delayed putting pressure on the Okinawan Chinese while preoccupied with consolidating their rule at home, finally insisted in 1682 that Okinawan Chinese follow the strict Qing Dress Regulations. However, since members of the Chinese colony identified with the subjugated Ming and detested the styles imposed by the hated Qing, they elected instead to switch to Okinawan costume, undoubtedly releasing chests-full of Chinese materials. Their Japanese oppressors in Satsuma were likely quite ready to channel these profitably to Kyoto and other Japanese cities (Kerr 1974). One cannot help but wonder if there is some connection between this fact and the appearance in the next decades of a veritable flood of nearly one hundred Chinese rank badges, which would eventually come to serve as border elements for the hangings. These badges, embroidered with the bird designations of civil officials of the Chinese Empire, were created sometime during the reign of the earliest Qing emperor, Shun Chih (1644-1661).

This second, better known port of entry, Nagasaki, was manned for the most part by foreign traders. This port, in Kyushu Island, served the Portuguese from 1571 to 1639, and thereafter the Dutch (Niwa 1980). Goods entered there with the costly cooperation of the local daimyo. Although there are no records of cho-nai members direct negotiations for court robes with foreigners, Kyoto merchants did visit Nagasaki to conduct business with the Portuguese and later, with the Dutch (Niwa 1980), both of whose cargo was mainly Chinese silks. On at least one occasion, in 1591, the Portuguese adventurers also visited Kyoto. Earlier, in 1559, their compatriots, the Jesuit priests, had already established a church in the capital (Matsuda 1965). The Jesuits may have also brought court robes, since they had commonly worn them during missions in China (Fairbank, Reischauer et al. 1973) (Blunden and Elvin 1983). Luxury textiles from China and elsewhere served importantly as presents given by Portuguese missionaries and traders to the daimyo and their retinues, various officials and politicians (Matsuda 1965).

Although little written documentation has been found of this early commerce, the Portuguese-Japan encounters have been recorded with amazing detail on painted screens believed by Japanese scholars to possess near photographic authenticity. The screens were labeled namban, a term referring to goods or persons from the southern seas, from whence it was believed the startling intruders came, since Southeast Asia was then for
most Japanese the furthermost reaches of the existing world. The Portuguese themselves were called "namban from India" (Okamoto 1972).

Approximately 60 namban screens exist in collections in Japan and elsewhere. Nanban screens were painted from around 1560 to 1640 with several attributed to renowned painters of the day whose life spans were documented. These paintings indicate that Portuguese traders had acquired fine silks in China, possibly including Court robes, which were retailed to contemporary European modes (Okamoto 1972; Yamane 1973). One may speculate that cutting up and recycling old Chinese court robes was among the earliest Japanese imitations of Western innovations.

In Kabuki dramas, much beloved entertainments of the Edo Period (1609-1868), the actor portraying a "foreigner" is commonly dressed and made-up as a Westerner in a Chinese dragon robe, a convention which continues to this day. It is possible that the concept of Westerners wearing Chinese court fabrics was simply a vagary of the artist on the screen paintings, copied by the actors, and later by wood-block portraits of the actors (Laforet Museum 1982). If this were the case, why would one element on the screens be a distortion when other details, provable by extant examples of Japanese costumes and architecture as well as drawings of Portuguese trading ships, were painted virtuously true to life (Okamoto 1972)?

In 1603, at the climax of the Portuguese era, the dancer Okuni founded Kabuki, which she first performed in the Kamo Riverbed (Shijogawara), a summertime stage for the nearby Gion district. Nanban paraphernalia were popular accessories of the day for both Japanese Christians and the entertainment district dandies who initiated fashion trends. Both Okuni and her lover/dance partner, Sanzaburo, have been portrayed wearing a Catholic rosary and cross (Shaver 1966; Gunji 1987). It seems to indicate that both dancers were at the very least aware and interested in the details of foreigner's wardrobes, and may have originated their ongoing Kabuki portrayals.

The persistent proselytizing of the daimyo and their subjects by the Portuguese missionaries eventually threatened the Tokugawa Shogun sufficiently that the Portuguese were totally expelled from Japan in 1639. The cross, commerce, and colonization were by then notorious traveling companions. Moreover, by this time the Japanese had learned sufficient skills of navigation and shipbuilding to pursue the profits of sea trade on their own. Dutch merchants, eager and willing to replace the Portuguese, were ready to acquiesce to all Japanese stipulations. The flexible Dutch were awarded the sole right to conduct foreign trade in Japan. The colony of Dutch traders had to accept not only supervision of all commerce by the

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1It is a possibility that at some time previous a Buddhist priest from the Asian Mainland brought a temple canopy made of a court robe into Japan since it was a practice to recycle gifts of Chinese robes and other textiles to religious purposes.
Shogun's government, but in addition accept being totally sequestered on the tiny island of Deshima in Nagasaki Harbor, where all other aspects of their lives could be controlled as well. From the middle of the 17th century onward numerous Chinese goods were brought to Nagasaki on an annual Dutch cargo ship (Niw 1980) (Port Authority 1708-1712). Smaller licensed Chinese and Japanese ships also participated in the continuing silk trade conducted through Nagasaki.

However, it is probable that a significant number of court robes were imported along a third path, a "Northern Silk Route" which went through the lands of the Ainu. The curious label of "Ezo Kazari" (Ainu Decorations) appearing in the records of the Associations (Kajitani and Yoshida 1992) had startled me. Ezo is the old name for the northernmost of the Japanese Islands, Hokaido, and also for the Ainu, its indigenous people. My curiosity propelled me northward on a trail from Northern Honshu to Hokaido.

Sai Mura, a quiet coastal village near the tip of Northern Honshu, prior to the development of the current Hokaido- Aomori route, served as a lively port for Japanese merchant boats sailing to and from Hokaido (Ohtsuka 1993). The Sai Mura Port Historical Museum displayed examples of Chinese court garments and fragments discovered in that area, there traditionally designated "Ezo Nishiki" or "Ainu brocade". Evidently the robes were not yet being perceived as "decorations", though one early Qing robe had previously been paraded dressing a mannequin in their local festival (Tanaka 1992). In any case the robes were perceived as costumes linked to the Ainu people and worn by them.

Going farther north across the sea to the island of Hokaido were the Ainu had been driven centuries ago, I found myself in the port of Hakodate. In its Museum of History of Northern Peoples I found a gallery arrayed with fine examples of Ainu Robes in which two impressive early Qing Dynasty robes greeted me with yet a new designation, "Santan Nishiki" (Santan Brocade).

Santan was the old name for the area of coastal Siberia surrounding the Amur River and for its people, the Urichi tribes. Plentiful evidence indicated that both traditional and local variations on court robes had been worn in that area. The Santan people had a tributary relationship with China. Just southwards in the port of Dairen, the Qing government maintained a provincial office (Fairbank, Reischauer et al. 1973). There official meetings were held with the Santan tribespeople who brought down furs such as marten and wolf, highly sought after by the Chinese, to pay the tribute levied and to trade for silk. These encounters occasioned the Santan leaders' acquisition and wearing of court robes. In Santan (Urichi) families Chinese court robes are still worn for special occasions (Hokaido Shinbun-sha 1991).
Japanese merchants had traded along the coast of Hokaido for at least three hundred years with the Ainu who lived inland and to the North. These Hokaido Ainu, were known to intermittently make the courageous sail northward to their tribal cousins, the Ainu who dwell on the southern part of the island of Sakhalin. This long narrow island rests its northernmost tip close to the mouth of the Amur River on the Siberian mainland. Sakhalin Island Ainu and Santan people on the Asian mainland maintained a lively trade in furs and kelp used for medicine. The chieftains of the Sakhalin Ainu, who also served as shamans to their people, enjoyed wearing court robes and either received them as gifts or traded for them with the Santan tribespeople (Hokaido Shinbun-sha 1991; Ohtsuka 1993).

It may be speculated that many illegal or outdated robes were sent by the agents of the Manchu via the Northern river routes and seas because this was the least costly way to ship them. Moreover, in the early years of the Qing, while their assumption of rule in China was still shaky, shipment of robes through their ancestral homelands might have meant greater control over permanent disposal abroad. Outdated robes might also have been sent directly from the provincial office of Dairen around the Korean Peninsula to the midway Japanese island of Tsushima, and then on to Nagasaki. Korean ships, which were licensed to trade with Japan, docked at Tsushima bringing goods from Korea and China (Yoshida October).

The trade in court robes via the Hokaido route diminished significantly at the beginning of the 19th century. The highly profitable enjoyed freely by the Ainu eventually came to the attention of the local Japanese ruler, the Matsumae daimyo, who took over its control in 1809 as an official of the shogunate (Ohtsuka 1993). The robes were labeled Ezo Nishiki by Matsumae government officials, possibly with the intention of making them indigenous relics of Hokaido.

Continuing study of the trade routes, names listed as donors in the records, as well as scholarly access to the hangings themselves, should provide further traces of the full tale of their transmission from the palaces of Beijing to the festival carts of Kyoto.

CONCLUSIONS
Chinese court robes provided textiles well suited to the spectacle of the Gion Matsuri. Festival hangings were meant to alter the environment, create a distinct atmosphere of color, elegance, and excitement, sufficient to capture the attention and cooperation of the Japanese deities and instill hope and pride in the townspeople. The Chinese court robes fulfilled the criteria of luxury, rarity, visibility, and appropriateness of motif. Court robes were available over the centuries because the members of the Gion Matsuri Yamaboko Rengokai were consistently willing to donate funds to acquire and alter them. Robes originally acquired as gifts from Portuguese merchants and missionaries to those in power eventually entered the collections. The envy of the powerful daimyo who coveted the trade profits
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YAMA AND HOKO
PROCESSION
of nearby weaker peoples, and who were able to take control of that trade, served to facilitate other court robes' importation during the Exclusionary Period.

The court robes and their main featured motif, the dragon, traveled both horizontally and vertically as seas were crossed. The robes gained legitimacy and a new identity when they immigrated to Japan, becoming designated "local products" in at least two instances. Vertically, the social status of the dragon declined. Descending from the elevated heights of the imperial throne of China, he came to serve as an icon for a downtown merchant's parade, however noble its origins and extravagant its decorations. The tenacity of his image as a powerfully beneficent symbol made his capture, conversion, and display over the centuries a worthwhile effort for members of the Gion Festival Associations of Kyoto.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The present research was conducted from 1990 to 1994. Four trips were made to Kyoto and one to Portugal. The 1994 study in Japan was supported by a Fellowship from the Japan Foundation. On two occasions, I was able to attend the festival and to photograph and videotape the procession and attendant rites. On other occasions I was privileged to gain entry to restricted research and storage facilities where I was able to examine several of the objects closely. This was done through the auspices of the Gion Matsuri Yamaboko Rengokai and with the constant collaboration and supervision of Professor Kojiro Yoshida, the member who serves as the Association's deputy in charge of the artwork collections.

The "Northern Silk Route" has been documented in recent years by Professor Ohtsuka of the Osaka Museum of Ethnology (Ohtsuka 1993) who was very generous with his guidance and time.

Most helpful of all in this textile study was a Japanese language survey of the collection published in 1992 co-authored by Professor Kojiro Yoshida and Nobuko Kajitani of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. My personal observation and research was inspired by and based on their pioneering work in describing, dating, organizing, and providing technical information about the objects (Kajitani and Yoshida 1992).

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MICRONESIAN TEXTILES IN TRANSITION:
THE WOVEN TOL OF KOSRAE

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INTRODUCTION

This paper presents findings on the major steps in the transition of the Kosraen tol from traditional clothing, to tourist souvenir, to the end of tol manufacture. An extensive study of the German, French, and English literature of the 19th and 20th centuries was done to piece together the history of the Kosraen tol.

The island of Kosrae, located in the Pacific (4-10° N latitude, 140-163° E longitude), is part of the Federated States of Micronesia. Since earliest European contact it has seen numerous changes in its traditional culture. One of its most beautiful and complex traditional crafts is the woven tol—the only clothing used on Kosrae prior to European contact (Figure 1). It is this tol that will be traced through various periods of European contact Kosrae.

An expanded presentation of tol construction can be found in Deegan and Cordy (1994). A short summary of tol technology, based on that research, is contained in this paragraph. Tol was woven by women. It was made of fiber split from banana leaves. Yarn was made by twisting 3 to 6 of these leaf fibers together and knotting them end-to-end. Traditional tol fabric ranged in size from 13-25 cm wide and 92-183 cm long. Tol was worn by women as a wrapping around their hips (Figure 2) while men wore tol as a loin cloth (Figure 2). In addition to natural tan these tol often contained black, red, and yellow dyed fibers. Tol were predominantly woven in warp-faced plain weave. The most complex were cross-banded by changing colored warps down their length (Figure 1). Each change in color required knotting-on of a different colored warp yarn; some complex tol may have contained as many as 4,000 knots (Riesenberg and Gayton 1952:359). A warping bench was used for measuring warp color changes. Warp yarns encircled the warping bench pegs in a ring warp until the desired tol width was reached. The finished ring warp was slid off the warping bench onto a backstrap loom. After weaving completion the ring warp was cut leaving fringe at both ends of the tol.

Four time periods of Kosraen history will be examined in this paper: 1) the European Contact Era, 1824-mid 1850s; 2) the Transition to the Christian Era,

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mid 1850s-1869; 3) the Christian Era, 1869-1914; and 4) the Post-Tol Era, 1914-
to present (Cordy 1993:11).

EUROPEAN CONTACT ERA: 1824-mid 1850s

The European Contact Era still represented traditional times for the
Kosraen peoples. The Kosraen stratified society and traditional use of tol as
clothing continued from the pre-European contact era. However, European
culture was being introduced through whalers and missionaries and the
Kosraen population was starting to drop due to disease.

A complex feudal system of land ownership existed in Kosrae with
stratification of society into four levels: 1) the King, 2) the High Chiefs, 3) the
Low Chiefs, and 4) the Commoners (Cordy 1993:12). The King and High
Chiefs owned the land. They lived in leisure in immense stone-walled residential
compounds in the ruling center located on the small island of Leluh, off the
coast of Kosrae (Cordy 1993:12). Many Low Chiefs were land managers for
their overlord chiefs and lived in the communities that they managed on Kosrae.
Commoners worked the land and supplied food and other items, including tol,
to those of higher social rank (Cordy 1993:12,45). The Kosraen population is
estimated to have been 3,000 to 5,000 ca. 1824, prior to European contact
(Cordy 1993:11).

Although used as clothing by all, colors of and designs on tol reflected
status differences. Tol in black and red were worn by chiefs (Lesson 1839,
II:502). Black tol apparently were worn by commoners (Lesson 1839, II:502).
This may be the Menkof tol (Figure 1) described by Sarfert (1919:196) as being
"...the everyday wear and work belt for both sexes."

Additionally, some tol had religious uses. Solid white tol were worn by
some men, apparently "exclusively for ritual purposes" (Jones 1861:131; Sarfert
1919:195). This white tol has been called Nosrunsrap after a deity associated
with thunder, lightning, and the turtle (Sarfert 1919:195).

First European contact with Kosrae occurred with French explorers in
1824. Kosrae soon became a favorite whaler leisure port from 1840 to 1860
(Cordy 1993:19). Cordy (1993:19) points out that "High chiefs supplied the
crews with commoner women, food, wood, and water and in return received
trade items (beads, cloth, tobacco, rum, and muskets)." European style
clothing and fabric were viewed as status symbols and were acquired in small
amounts in the 1840s and in increasing amounts in the 1850s by higher ranking
Kosraens as gifts and through trade. Mention is made of the Kosraen King and
High Chiefs wearing European shirts, such as red or checked shirts, with their
tol (Jones 1861:123; Macy 1877:239; Haley 1948:169). High ranking women
were variously described in "...a short small cotton cloth gown" (Gulick 1852)
and as wearing a striped blouse with tol (Graviere 1854:297). Commoners may
have received some European clothing, such as shirts, as payment for special work for the Higher Chiefs and the King (Cordy 1993:45,87).

Introduced diseases caused death and sterility among the Kosraens during this period. The 1824 pre-contact population of 3,000 to 5,000, rapidly dropped to about 1,100 by 1855 (Cordy 1993:31).

In 1852 the first missionaries arrived in Kosrae, American Protestant Congregationalists. As was mentioned by Cordy (1993:25) "The whalers, population declines, and the arrival of the mission are not entirely unrelated. Whalers inadvertently brought the diseases that decimated the population, and their sexual and drinking habits brought the mission to save the islanders from sin."

TRANSITION TO THE CHRISTIAN ERA: mid 1850s-1869

The Transition to the Christian Era saw the end of whaling ship visits to Kosrae, a continued drop in population from disease, and an increase in the spread of Christianity on Kosrae with a change to European style clothing.

When the whaling era ended, in the early 1860s, Kosrae had fewer outside European-American visitors (Cordy 1993:20-21). However, diseases continued to reduce the population, to about 600 Kosraens by 1862 (Cordy 1993:90). This drop in population led to the decline of the traditional political structure on Kosrae.

Traditional Kosraen culture began to be influenced more by missionaries and other European-Americans during this period. By the 1860s-1870s European style clothing was adopted. Some men still wore tol as an undergarment and for work (Finsch 1900:27; Lewis 1949). Women adopted the full-length European style overdress as outerwear (Figure 3). It is possible that Kosraen women still wore their tol as underclothing. The women of Truk (also in Micronesia) wore their traditional dress beneath their European style outerwear as described by Matsumura in 1915 (1918:39) "Many of the women of Truk... who take pride in European style, wear fabric of their own weaving... as loin-cloth..."

Full-length European style outerwear for women required more fabric than the traditional Kosraen tol. With the complex warp-knotting of older style tol it would have been difficult to weave fast enough and in large enough quantities to satisfy the new clothing style needs.

CHRISTIAN ERA: 1869-1914

During the Christian Era, a theocratic democracy took the place of the traditional hereditary chief system on Kosrae. Toward the end of this period
early colonial rule appeared. It is during the Christian Era that a new use for tol developed.

As the population continued to drop, to about 200 by 1880 (Cordy 1993:90), the traditional stratified society of Kosrae could not be maintained. As Cordy states (1993:80) "Many chiefly families died out and titles fell vacant; the number of titleholders decreasing to seven by 1869." By 1879 the traditional political system was abandoned.

Due to the rapid drop in population on Kosrae, there may also have been a loss of knowledge of tol weaving patterns. Kramer-Bannow (1919:177) found that the Kosraen women "...have the [tol] pattern in their heads, and occasionally also follow a little old tattered swatch which they keep in the small basket; less frequently they invent something new. Thus they seem to be traditional, heirloom patterns which have their own fixed names." Loss of these weavers, with possible unrecorded tol patterns, would decrease the pool of tol patterns available and the number of skilled weavers who could train the next generation.

Large-scale conversions to Christianity occurred in the 1870s. In 1879 an American mission school was established on Kosrae (Cordy 1993:21). This school encouraged weaving of tol not, however, for traditional clothing but for souvenir sales. Tol shrank in size to hat bands, sashes, and belts. This souvenir weaving was shipped to Honolulu for sale (Christian 1899:398), while some was traded to visiting ships (Kramer-Bannow 1919:187). As late as 1915 a visitor was commenting on sales of souvenir tol: "In recent years, quantities of these bands [souvenir tol] came to be exported... perhaps on account of their quaint originality...." (Matsumura 1918:42).

Several visitors to Kosrae remarked on the differences between traditional and souvenir tol (Christian 1899:398; Sarfert 1919:197). Souvenir tol revealed changes in: 1) width (to narrower size); 2) technique (to non-cross band patterning); 3) increased use of warp-faced striped fabric (that did not require intricate warp knotted patterning)(Figure 4); and 4) colors (to a white background and "...European colors...")(Sarfert 1919:197). Thus souvenir tol was narrower and less technically complex, making it faster to make for sale. It was also altered in color and end-use to satisfy a different consumer. There may also have been addition of wool to tol (Riesenber and Gayton 1952:351).

There was a decline in the weaving of traditional tol as clothing changed to European style, population decreased, and souvenir tol became popular. Kramer-Bannow, visiting in 1910 (1919:187), decried the decline in traditional tol weaving. In 1910 the German Sudsee Expedition, of which Kramer-Bannow was a part, could find no traditional tol for sale (Kramer-Bannow 1919:186-187). Kramer-Bannow (1919:187) encouraged the local women to weave traditional tol: "...I attempted to resuscitate this extinct branch of Kosraen weaving, which
among all the textile arts is indeed unique." With the aid of the "...female missionaries and the trader's wife..." she succeeded in purchasing 30 traditional tol after about one month (Kramer-Bannow 1919:187). These were made by more than one woman and ".in great variety and beautiful, precise work" (Kramer-Bannow 1919:187). Despite souvenir tol production, Kramer-Bannow (1919:187) felt that this was "...proof of how well this art [traditional tol] was still known among the people," even in 1910.

As whalers left, a few traders appeared on Kosrae, mainly Germans during the 1880s (Cordy 1993:90). Kosrae then passed into a colonial occupation period starting with the Spanish in the late 1880s. However, Spanish colonial influence on Kosrae was minimal (Cordy 1993:81). Germany colonized Kosrae next by buying it from Spain in 1898. Again outside influence was minor (Cordy 1993:81). Germany continued its ownership of Kosrae until 1914.

POST-TOL ERA: 1914 to Present

The Post-Tol Era witnessed the disappearance of any tol weaving, whether traditional or souvenir, and continued foreign domination until independence in the late 1980s.

Japan claimed Kosrae in 1914, during World War I (Cordy 1993:81). Unlike the Spanish and German colonial periods, the Japanese era brought changes to Kosrae. The Japanese "...started plantations and trading companies, ran the government, and opened a hospital and a school" (Cordy 1993:81). By the late 1930s Japan was using Micronesia, including Kosrae, for military purposes as preparation for World War II (Cordy 1993:81). By 1944 the United States occupied Kosrae and the island then became a United Nations Trust Territory (Cordy 1993:81). From 1914 to 1945 the Kosraen population stabilized. It has now grown to over 5,000 (Cordy 1993:81). In the late 1980s Kosrae became a state within the independent Federated States of Micronesia (which also includes Yap, Chuuk (Truk), and Pohnpei).

Although traditional tol weaving was remembered at least as late as 1910 and souvenir tol were still being woven about 1915, no tol of any kind were being produced by 1930. It is not known why tol weaving stopped. Perhaps the Japanese occupation led to changes in export markets (with Western markets like Honolulu no longer important) or perhaps the local economy became dominated by the Japanese. Today the Kosraen Historic Preservation Program wishes to record any remaining knowledge about tol weaving from the few elderly women who may remember this craft. The Kosraen Historic Preservation Program has also obtained a tol for their museum.

Future plans for research, by the authors of this paper, include identifying provenienced tol in museum collections to examine designs and colors associated with different ranks, genders, and uses. Additionally, these tol will
be studied for changes in technology and construction during the four historic eras described in this paper. It is hoped that this information will enhance the cultural heritage of Kosrae and allow tol weaving to be revived.

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Figure 1. **Menkofo tol** (Sarfert 1919:Plate 29).
Figure 2. Men and women wearing 1ol (Lutke 1835, Atlas: Plate 18).
Figure 3. European-American style dress (Sarfert 1919: Plate 16-2)
Figure 4. Souvenir tol (Matsumura 1918:41 Figure 14).
BOLONG-BOLONG AND TIRTANADI
AN UNKNOWN GROUP OF BALINESE TEXTILES

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INTRODUCTION
On late 19th and early 20th-century photographs, South and East Balinese people clad in traditional adat wardrobe for rituals, temple ceremonies and dances often wear transparent, net-like open-work textiles as breastcloth (anteng), shoulder cloth (cerik) girdle (selendang), or headcloth (destar, lelundakan). Information given by elderly Balinese concerning the situation before World War II confirm their use as part of their ceremonial wardrobe, but also as important items in offerings and rituals. Such textiles could be laid over several fabrics, covering the body of a toothfiling candidate, or serve as curtains (langse) for open pavilions or as an underlay (tatakan) for offerings, thus purifying the area, either in a family temple at the occasion of life and death rituals, or in one of the innumerable temples in the village.

So far, this category of fabrics has received little attention. Maybe, they are not as impressive and appreciated as the sumptuous courtly golden songket and perada textiles or the superb ikat fabrics, and particularly the famous geringsing double ikats. However, they turned out to be an extremely good example to follow up acculturation in its broadest anthropological sense, i.e. how a foreign idea or model (acquired through contact) may lead to forms adapted to indigenous technology, to forms assimilated into formal and informal use in rituals and ceremonies (cross-over), and how these forms may be integrated into existing and further evolving concepts of meaning and worldview (continuity).

NAMES AND DISTRIBUTION
Such fabrics have apparently been produced and used in, and traded to, many different places of Bali - and still are today, in various forms, for various purposes and, bearing various names. The bewildering number of variations is typical for Bali with its multifarious regional cultural expressions. What is valid for one district, for one village, or for one group or caste, might be considered completely inappropriate by another. In this article, we use the terms bolong-bolong, rang-rang and coba for plain-colored fabrics with open-work patterns and tirtanadi for multi-colored fabrics worked in tapestry technique on a spaced warp.

In the former principedom of Tabanan, in other regencies of South Bali and as well as in such of North Bali, production and use of bolong-bolong and tirtanadi (see figs 18-21) has been closely associated with aristocratic families. Wassing (n.d., p. 57) illustrates a Brahmin lady in the traditional costume for a temple feast around 1925, wearing a breast- and shoulder cloth (kamben cerik, which means 'small cloth'). By the 1930's, however, they were quite frequently manufactured and worn by common people outside the palaces (puri). During World War II under Japanese occupation, production of bolong-bolong, and also of other luxury textiles had completely stopped due to extremely difficult life conditions. From around 1950 on, however, bolong-bolong met again with great interest among people of the regencies of Tabanan and neighboring Badung. Pelras (1962, p. 228) noted from his informants the term You can see for bolong-bolong, referring to their gauze-like appearance. At that time they were still being manufactured, and multi-colored tirtanadi fabrics even experienced a considerable revival. Today, any shop specialized in textiles for ritual use in the Badung market of Denpasar offers them for sale to private customers or to dealers who trade them as far as Klungkung.
In East Bali, on the other hand, such textiles were known in the ancient Old Balinese or Bali Aga village societies of Karangasem. In Tenganan Pageringsan, these so-called rang-rang (Old Javanese 'adornment', but in Karangasem 'space', 'displaced', 'shifted') belong to the category of informal ritual dress. Certain ceremonies demand a uniform-like wardrobe of geringing or other "high" fabrics, but in others, the members of the socio-ritual associations have a certain degree of freedom to select rang-rang or other traditional textile forms. Tenganan also produced rang-rang fabrics for other villages in Karangasem like Bugbug, Timbrah, Asak, Ngs. In the regency of Klungkung, production of open-work fabrics such as kecopong, coba, etc., and their use as part of the official wardrobe, was very important among Brahmin and aristocratic families up to World War II. Such textiles were however not considered as sacred textiles (pawali, bebali or wangsul) to be used in offerings.

CONTACT
An interesting quest in this wealth of regional differences is to search for a possible common root. The hypothesis that the basic idea of manufacturing such open-work textiles has its roots in netlike fabrics or lace which were imported from the Netherlands or were used by Dutch residents in colonial times, still remains to be confirmed. In fact, the Dutch culture has been, and still is, particularly fond of many kinds of open-work fabrics, lace and others, especially for curtains.

Taking over these models might be understood against the background of a new etiquette introduced by the Dutch. Stamped by Christian concepts of what is suitable clothing and what is not, Dutch officials were shocked at seeing Balinese women bare-breasted in daily life and insisted on clothing which concealed their nakedness. None of our Balinese informants actually confirmed a Dutch origin for these textiles, but several local textile experts, weavers and members of Brahmin and aristocratic families, linked them to the category of foreign textiles, like rembang batiks from East Java, kain perancis (French fabric), kain sina (Chinese silk), imported around the turn of the century and considered very precious and exclusive.

The information given by a Balinese dealer, that prisoners in Mengwi had to weave such fabrics, turned out to be nothing but a story. True, such a model is known from India, where the British forced prisoners in Rajasthan to weave durries, cotton kelim rugs. But in Bali, there never was a prison in Mengwi in Dutch times, and it would have been unthinkable to have men forced to produce textiles. Weaving is considered an exclusively female occupation which a Balinese man would never agree to indulge in.

Another important point to be seen in connection with the phenomenon "contact" is the introduction of synthetic dyes at the beginning of our century. As early as 1908, Dutch administrators in Bulêlêng, North Bali, bemoaned the loss of quality in ikat fabrics dyed with gaudy aniline dyes. The new dyes or garishly dyed yarn quickly gained acceptance; by the thirties, they had reached many parts of Bali. They were infinitely easier and quicker to handle than the traditional vegetable dyes, and their vibrant colors and wider range of shades had an enormous impact on the style of colourful tirtanadi patterns (see figs 18-21) and the color range of plain bolong-bolong.

Fig. 1: Women with cerik bolong-bolong. Bali, probably Bangli. Photograph by Gregor Krause, 1912
Fig. 2: Noble couple in front of the palace Puri Panjenengan Badung (Depanur). Photograph by F.Weber, 1906
Figs. 3 and 4: Woman with bolong-bolong breast cloth in trance at Rangda drama. Photographs by Henri Cartier-Bresson, 1950's
Fig. 5: Girl with bolong-bolong breastcloth at dance rehearsal. South Bali, Saba. Photograph by Theo Meier, 1930's
Fig. 6: Woman clad in bolong-bolong going to a temple with offerings. South Bali. Photograph by Theo Meier, ca. 1930

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CROSSOVER
So, assuming that Balinese people encountered these foreign models and became enthusiastic about them, how did they integrate them into their own technology and into their traditional system of usage and meaning?

Technique
The transfer of a foreign type of fabric into indigenous traditional textile technology is known from other cases in Balinese textile history. The sacred *cepuk* cloth, cotton weft ikat fabrics, are undoubtedly local Balinese variations of double ikat silk *patola*, which had been imported from India for many centuries, and were treasured as precious heirlooms. In a similar way, expert weavers created net-like structures on their existing traditional backstrap looms by spacing the threads. There are different basic methods which also may be combined:

1. Vertical open lines are obtained by mounting the warp threads with spaces between the different groups.
2. Horizontal lines are left open by inserting thin palm stripes (*lidi*) between groups of wefts.
3. Both methods together result in open gauzy lines and stripes in warp and weft direction, producing grid-like structures (see fig. 9); they are sometimes enriched with small extra-weft designs such as tiny flowers or diamonds in contrasting colors.
4. To obtain completely open spaces, or holes (*bolong*), weaving is done in a tapestry technique on a spaced warp (see figs 7, 8), simultaneously using several individual weft threads wound on small flat bobbins (*coba*, or *cawang*) or on old playing cards (*ceki*). The tapestry technique allows an expert weaver much more room for creativity.
5. In Tabanan and Bulêlêng (North Bali), this tapestry technique has been developed for the production of intricate tirtanadi textiles with complicated multicolored designs (see fig. 11). Today, such fabrics are produced in large quantities, yet in minor quality, in Tabanan and Badung.

Raw Materials and Colors
Old specimens consist of fine handspun Balinese cotton yarn, while new ones (probably only since the 1980's) are made of much smoother and more resistant rayon yarn. There are some rare old examples woven from silk. The favorite colours for plain open-work fabrics are white and yellow. Somebody wearing white is engaged in some holy activity and is aiming at pureness. In Balinese religion and its very complicate concepts of cosmic levels, the color white is associated with the main direction East and with God Iswara, yellow with West and God Mahadewa. Both are considered ritually pure, yet white is "higher" than yellow; both together form a supplementary pair. Dark shades like purple and black which is associated with North and God Wisnu, are preferred by elderly women. But sometimes, such dark specimens are just originally light-colored ones which have been over-dyed at a later date.
occasion. Yellow *bolong-bolong*, dyed with the fugitive color of turmeric (*kunyit*) or some fugitive synthetic dyestuff, used to be washed and bleached in the sun and then dyed again before important festivals, as for instance Galungan. In Klungkung, black *coba* were mainly worn at death rituals.

**Pattern Names and Their Meaning**

The variety of patterns is overwhelming. In many cases, names for a specific pattern change not only from one regency to another, but even from village to village. In this paper, we have to limit ourselves to a few examples, which are interesting from the point of view of integration into an already established system of design motifs and meanings.

While designations for the fabric as a whole often refer to technical aspects, i.e. *coba*, *ca-wang* ('spool for inserting the weft') or *bolong-bolong*, *rangrang* ('holes', 'spaces'), specific pattern names are often descriptive or associative. Some are used for both *bolong-bolong* and *tirtanadi* designs.

Some names simply describe the geometric form of the design, i.e. *beka-beko* for zigzag lines (only in Karangasem), *garis-garis* for vertical lines (see fig. 14a), *ririsan* for diagonal lines (see figs 14b, 22a), *petak-petak* or *celondongan* ('compartments') for a pattern composed of several squares (see fig. 26a, 27a), *empat* (Indones.) in case of four squares (see figs 6 and 32).

Others describe designs in an associative way: zigzag lines (see fig. 16a) are called *tumbak, tumbakan* (Bal. 'spear, lance' referring to its point) or *meru-meru* ('mountains, holy mountains'). *Tulang lindung* ('bones', 'eel'), patterns with vertical bands of alternating squares or with teeth, refer to fishbones (see figs 10, 15a, 25a). *Enjekan dara*, a designation given to lozenge designs (see figs 15b, 22b, 25b, 27b) means 'footprint of a pigeon', *kurung* (see fig. 16b) is a cage, *roster* (see fig. 23a) a grid, and *megamendung* (see figs 23b, 24a) a rainy cloud. A more recent name is used for a group of four squares (see fig. 32, left person): *jendela* ('window').

The name of the gridlike *bungung jangkrik* pattern (see figs 9, 33) refers to the openings cut into a piece of bamboo (*bungung*) used as cages for fighting crickets (*jangkrik*). Openwork textiles are also used to cover such cages (see fig. 10). This pattern, however, may also be called *bias membah* ('flowing sand'), a name usually used for fine striped gauze textiles without openings. The regular check pattern of full and empty spaces (see figs 13, 32, right person) is referred to in most places in Tabanan as *bolong-bolong*, but there are other names such as *hujan ngerimis* ('drizzling rain').

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**Fig. 13:** *Bolong-bolong* cloth with simple check pattern. Tabanan, Belayu, woven 1990 (Museum of Ethnography Basel MEB IIe 20820)

**Figs 14 to 16:** Sampler with different *bolong-bolong* patterns. Tabanan Belayu, woven 1990 (MEB IIe 20819)


**Fig. 17:** *Bolong-bolong Bangli*. Tabanan, Belayu, woven 1990 (MEB IIe 20822)

**Fig. 18:** *Tirtanadi* cloth. Cotton, colors beige, orange, red, purple, violet, olive green. Tabanan, beginning 20th c. (MEB IIe 21171)

**Fig. 19:** *Tirtanadi* cloth. Cotton, colors white, beige, orange, purple, violet, blue, turquoise. Negara, beginning 20th c. (MEB IIe 21172)

**Fig. 20:** *Tirtanadi* cloth. Cotton, colors beige, orange, purple, violet, grey, pale green. Bulêleng, Singaraja, beginning 20th c. (MEB IIe 21173)

**Fig. 21:** *Tirtanadi* cloth. Cotton, colors white, yellow, orange, purple, violet, pale green. Bulêleng, Singaraja, beginning 20th c. (MEB IIe 21174)

**Figs 22 to 24:** Sampler with different *tirtanadi* patterns. Tabanan, Belayu, woven 1990 (MEB IIe 20825)


**Figs 25 to 27:** Sampler with different *tirtanadi* patterns. Tabanan, Belayu, woven 1990 (MEB IIe 20826)

A very special type from Tabanan with finely worked flower designs (see figs 17 and 28) is called *cawang Bangli* or *bolong-bolong Bangli.* So far, no proof has been found that this style was once woven in the regency of Bangli.

*Tirtanadi* is a typical example of how a name can designate completely dissimilar types of cloth in different parts of Bali. In Tabanan and Badung, as well as in North Bali and in Negara (West Bali), it stands for patterns woven in tapestry technique and with many different colors on the same piece, in opposition to the plain *bolong-bolong.* The variety of designs and their development since the beginning of this century, and especially in the last 15 years, are impressive (see fig. 12). In Karangasem and Klungkung, however, *tirtanadi* is a plain white or yellow fabric with open spaces arranged in triangles or in zigzag lines, in opposition to *coba,* *rang-rang* or *bumbung jangkrik* cloth which wíth openings throughout or display a grid-like structure.

**Meanings of Open-Work Textiles**

Experts from the Brahmin caste attach deep meaning to the name *tirtanadi,* a symbolism which is concealed to "ordinary" people. *Tirta,* holy water, expresses absolute pureness and contains divine luminous aspects; *nadi* means a conduit, a channel, comparable to a meridian, open to the flux of pure or divine energy. The open spaces create a connection towards *niskala,* the intangible and invisible world. Rare examples are completed with a set of parallel red, white and black lines which, together with the uprising triangle form, symbolise the trinity of Brahma (Fire), Iswara (Air) and Wisnu (Water) or *ulu candra,* the head of the moon, the primary source of all life. It is for this reason that such textiles can be used as *busana bhatara,* i.e. to wrap shrines or clad statues of gods.

In the case of *bolong-bolong,* and particularly of the relatively simple chessboard pattern composed of full and empty squares, we meet with the same spiritual dualistic background as with the black and white checked *poleng* cloth, which is so important in Balinese belief and worldview. The following examples and comments by priests, offering specialists, and Brahmin weavers illustrate how their inner potency and protective powers might act:

- The base of an old stone shrine in a holy and spiritually strong ("hot") place at Sanur coast, which was devoted to some netherworld deity, was decorated, or better "clad," with an old black-and-white *poleng* fabric and with a very brittle white *bolong-bolong* cloth wrapped over it (see fig. 34). It seems quite obvious that the two textiles expressed the same basic idea, however *poleng* is considered "higher" than *bolong-bolong.* When two pieces of cloth are wrapped around a statue, a shrine or an object, the "higher" one is wrapped first. Hierarchy on different levels (objects, humans, rituals, cosmos) is a very important characteristic in Balinese culture and religion.

- According to a priest from Canggu in Badung old people long ago used to cover their head with a cloth at night in order to keep off any evil forces while sleeping. In Sempidi (Badung), where women still wear *bolong-bolong* at temple processions (see fig. 31), an interesting comment was given: "Our women wear these textiles at temple festivals so that they are not disturbed by any ghosts or evil forces.

When discussing with priests and other spiritually strong persons the idea of full and empty spaces in checked *bolong-bolong* (see figs 13 and 32) representing two equal antitheses (*isi* and *kosong*) in balance and, thereby, symbolizing a harmonious whole, turned out to be generally accepted by them. But common users are not conscious of this meaning. Most of them consider *bolong-bolong* just a beautiful fabric, and a very typical traditional Balinese one (*Bali asli*). More than to its pattern of empty and full squares, they attach deep significance to the yellow or white color it frequently displays and which are related to West and East, to the deities Mahadewa and Iswara, or to Buddha and Siwa respectively, or whose combination symbolizes the divine and pure in general. However, they believe in the pro-
She protective and exorcistic power present in other objects with openings, which can be compared to fabrics with holes:

- When a child is born, the family suspends a *klangsah*, a small object loosely plaited from a (lontar?) palm leaf, above the house entrance in order to prevent evil spirits to come in and harm the baby. The evil, according to their belief, would be caught in the holes.
- A similar concept explains the common custom of hanging up a *pompong* at house corners. This is a hollow coconut shell with holes through which squirrels or other animals have eaten the contents. Bad spirits are believed to enter it and to get trapped inside. 15

CONTINUITY
Today, production in Karangasem and Klungkung has practically died out, and only a few textile experts are still weaving these fine fabrics. Elderly Brahmin weavers and priestesses express their regret that after independence and with the general tendency towards an all-Indonesian national style, both everyday and ceremonial dress have lost their fine differentiation of social identity. The rich language of textiles with its meanings, silent expressions, values and symbols is ultimately lost, they say.

Since around 1960 the people in the regencies of Tabanan and neighboring Badung, however, have shown great interest again in *bolong-bolong* and *tirtanadi*. Today, any shop specialized in textiles for ritual use and dance in the Badung market of Denpasar offers them for sale (see fig. 12). This wave of fashion for a younger generation is moving back to East Bali.

Several factors have caused this new development:

- the strong revival of Balinese textile production in various forms as a result of preference given to wearing indigenous fabrics as a symbol of self-identification with Balinese culture;
- the strictly followed *adat* rules concerning ritual wardrobe and cloths to be used in offerings and temple decorations;
- the efforts in revitalizing traditional, and creating new non-sacral, dance forms which require adequate costumes;
- the economic development in many parts of the island and the increased democratization of Balinese society, which allows many more of its members to acquire and wear expensive handmade Balinese textiles instead of gaudy industrially-manufactured fabrics from abroad;
- the creative and well-organized activities of an entrepreneur of the princely family in Belayu (Tabanan) which led to the extensive manufacture of *bolong-bolong* in that region and to a vivid trade to Denpasar and other parts of Bali.

At present, the use of *bolong-bolong* and related textiles can be observed at many ceremonial occasions:

- Women wear them as girdles (*selendang*) or breastcloths as part of their formal apparel (see fig. 28). Even ladies of the Muslim and Christian minorities like to use them as headcoverings and shawls.
- At ceremonies for new born children (either at the navel cutting ceremony, at *ngaluang* 42 days, *nelubulan* 105, or *otokin* 210 days after birth) in Denpasar. They are either part of the child's wardrobe, or else they are included in offerings (*rantasan*) presented to the ancestor thought to be reborn in the child. In fact, after birth, the family asks a *dujin* for help to know who is incarnated in the child, and what desires she or he is expressing for the ceremony (*metagetahan*). It happens, though not too often, that the ancestor asks for a *bolong-bolong* which he or she used to wear during lifetime. Quite often, this fabric is placed in a small shrine suspended above the baby's sleeping place together with daily offerings for the ancestor.
- At a toothfiling ceremony in the palace Puri Dalem Mengwi in 1994, the offspring of the princely family was clad in sumptuous gold-printed perada and fine silk cloths. However, some girls of common families yet closely related to the family who were filed at the same ceremony, were wearing yellow sumping waluh (a transparent cloth with tiny brocaded flowers) or bolong-bolong as shoulder cloths (see fig. 29). Here it became obvious, that today bolong-bolong is considered as being of much lower status than the gold-decorated fabrics.
- Dealers at Denpasar market reported bolong-bolong and tirtanadi being sold for wedding wardrobe purposes and dance apparels (see fig. 30);
- Yellow or white bolong-bolong breastcloths (see figs 31 and 32) are still part of the uniform-like wardrobe for women at the procession for the annual temple festivals of the three main temples (kayangan tiga) at Sempidi (Badung). In neighboring villages of the same region, where wearing bolong-bolong breastcloths was a rule till the 1980's, this tradition has been given up under the influence of the Parisada Hindu Dharma, the Council of the Hindu Religion. This Council was established in 1959, after the recognition of Hinduism as one of the acknowledged religions of Indonesia, and gave out the order to wear all-Indonesian style kebaya blouses.

Summary
The authors suggest, that open-work bolong-bolong, tirtanadi and related fabrics are probably based on a foreign model (contact).

Further they show, how they were adapted to indigenous Balinese textile technology and deeply integrated into existing culture patterns and concepts of meaning and worldviews (crossover).

They also present, how they were, and still are (continuity), used in different categories of life cycle and temple ceremonies, performed either for humans (manusa yadnya), for the dead (pitri yadnya), or for the gods (dewa yadnya), however not at the highest ceremonial level (utama), but rather at a medium level (madia), as performed by people who are not too well-off.

Fig. 28: Member of the princely family in ceremonial attire in the style of the 1930's with handwoven checked hipcloth and bolong-bolong Bangli breastcloth. Tabanan, Belayu. Photograph by M.L. Nabholz-Kartaschoff, 1994

Fig. 29: Young girl with yellow bolong-bolong shoulder cloth at toothfiling ritual. Badung, Mengwi. Photograph by M.L. Nabholz-Kartaschoff, 1994

Fig. 30: Students dressed up with yellow bolong-bolong shoulder cloth for an opening dance (tarian sambutan) at a student diploma celebration. Denpasar, Warmadewa University. Photograph by M.L. Nabholz-Kartaschoff, 1994

Fig. 31: Women in ritual wardrobe with bolong-bolong breastcloth at the opening procession of a temple festival. Badung, Sempidi. Photograph by M.L. Nabholz-Kartaschoff, 1994

Fig. 32: Young women with bolong-bolong breastcloth in front of a temple entrance, flanked by demonic guardian statues clad in black-and-white checked poleng cloth. Badung, Sempidi. Photograph by M.L. Nabholz-Kartaschoff, 1994

Fig. 33: Girls wearing geringsing breastcloths over long rangrang bumbung jangkrik over-hipcloths. Karangasem, Tenganan. Photograph by Monica Palm-Nadolny, 1994

Fig. 34: Shrine "clad" in black-and-white checked poleng fabric with a white bolong-bolong cloth wrapped over it. Badung, Sanur. Photograph by Brigitta Hauser-Schüblin, 1990

References

Notes
1 The material presented in this article was collected by M.L. Nabholz-Kartaschoff in Tabanan and Badung (Southwest and South Bali), and completed with information about Karangasem and Klungkung (East Bali) from M.Palm-Nadolny, a Swiss living there since many years. We are grateful to Rens Heringa for several inspiring comments on this subject.
2 Only a few examples have been mentioned so far, i.e. Pelras 1962, p. 228; Wassing-Visser (n.d.), pl. 84; Khan Majlis 1991, fig. 128. The Museum of Ethnography Basel owns about sixty old and new specimens; more examples are in the collections of the Fowler Museum, UCLA, Los Angeles and in the National Gallery of Australia, Canberra.
3 Other names for open-work textiles in Bali: bias membah, fine striped gauze fabric without any or with a few open weft bands only (Tabanan); cecawang, (cerik) macawang, from cawang, 'spool' (Tabanan, Badung); coba, (cerik macoba), from coba, 'spool' (Tabanan, Badung, Klungkung, Karangasem); gegalaran, striped gauze-like cloth with a few open weft bands, from galar, 'plaited bamboo mat for a bed (Karangasem); kakancan, striped ritual cloth with floating weft stripes and open weft bands at both ends (Karangasem); (cerik) langah (indones. 'spaced', 'wide open' (Badung); lontar: teng tepen duren, compared to an open durian fruit (Mengwi); (mapagan) papah, referring to a 'midrib of a palm leaf introduced as lidi (Tabanan); remes poparé, compared to an open paré, a kind of bitter melon, Momordica charantia Linn. (Tabanan), saudan, (cerik) saud, referring to plaitings or weavings with holes, 'not normal', 'with holes', saud also means 'a vow' (Badung).
4 The name rangrang is also used in Tabanan, however rarely.
5 Personal communication of Dr. R. Schulte-Northolt.
7 Pelras (1962, 228) explicitly mentions lontar palm stripes. The suggestion of Rens Heringa, that the use of lontar palm stripes might have a deep meaning will be followed up by the authors.
8 Hinzler 1993, p. 81.
9 Hinzler 1993, p. 77-78.
10 Ririsan is also used in Java for batik designs with a structure of diagonal pattern bands.
11 There are other textiles with gauze-like structures all-over or with spaced weft stripes, which are not included in this article, i.e. loosely woven weft ikat fabrics (endek), bebali textiles like kekancan (see Hauser-Schäublin, Nabholz-Kartaschoff and Ramseyer 1991, pp. 17, 66), or the red gegalaran used at ritual occasions wrapped over a long hipcloth in Karangasem.
13 Personal communication and photograph by B. Hauser-Schäublin.
14 Hinzler 1993, pp. 72-73, 76.
15 Rens Heringa mentioned this similarity. She also pointed to the fact, that the threads of anangenan are said to repel evil spirits. Angenan is a coconut shell with a roof-like structure made from threads mounted with intervals which represents the "memory" of a deceased at death rituals.
In the second half of the 19th century several Belgian cotton printing firms were involved in the production of imitations of African and Southeast Asian textiles for markets in West-Africa, the Dutch East-Indies and Malaysia. Extensive records of one firm, the Société Anonyme Texas, owned by the Voortman family in Ghent, have been preserved in the Ghent public records office and the Vrieselhof Textile Museum (Oelegem, near Antwerp). Frans de Vos and Abraham Voortman started a cotton printing establishment in Ghent in 1790. At that time cotton printing was a relatively new type of enterprise in Flanders. The first large scale factory, the 'Compagnie Beerenbroeck', had been set up by Antwerp business men 1753. They hired foreign specialists (mainly Dutch and German) and set up one of the first truly capitalist ventures in Flanders. At its heyday the firm employed over 600 people. Even before the end of a 25 year monopoly, granted by the government of the Austrian Netherlands, many smaller printing workshops tried to enter the new market. The successful ones emerged mainly in Brussels and Ghent. De Vos and Voortman were among the many who started printing on imported cotton fabrics from India (1790).

Unlike many other firms they remained in business for a long time. Even today the Voortman family is still involved in the Ghent textile industry. Towards the end of the 18th century they started a spinning mill, followed by a mechanical weaving mill in the 1820’s. The same development occurred in many other Ghent printing firms. In the second quarter of the 19th century Ghent became known as the Manchester of Belgium. The textile industry occupied a considerable part of the workforce in Ghent and the surrounding countryside. But whereas in the spinning and weaving mills new technological developments were often followed immediately after they had been introduced in England, cotton printing often lagged behind. By 1850 many firms had stopped printing altogether. The few remaining printing workshops had relatively little machinery and all still maintained hand block printing, by now obsolete in many English textile mills. Since most of the Ghent printed cottons catered for the lower end of the local market, competition with cheaper, imported, rollerprinted cottons, became almost impossible. If a firm wanted to keep its printing operations going it had to either mechanize or explore new markets. A few firms choose the latter option. One solution was to specialize into imitations of Javanese batiks and West African textiles, destined for markets in Africa and Southeast Asia.

Non western markets had been available for Belgian cotton printers as early as the 1820’s. As a part of the Dutch United Kingdom (1814-1830) Belgium enjoyed favorable conditions for the development of several industries. The Dutch king William I promoted commerce and industry. Belgium, the first country on the continent to become highly industrialized, reaped the benefits of the king’s policies. Trade with the Dutch East Indies and with West Africa was promoted through the actions of organisations like the ‘Nederlandse Handelsmaatschappij’ (Dutch trading company) founded in 1824. Although no documents, printing blocks or samples relating to prints for the Dutch East Indies have been found to date, there are indications that the Ghent firm of Abrahm Voortman, produced imitations of batiks for the Indonesian and West African markets in the later 1820’s. These activities ceased abruptly after the Belgian independence (1830). The cotton printers all of a sudden lost a significant part of their foreign trade.
markets, while at the same time the protection they had enjoyed locally terminated with the liberal trade policy of the new Belgian government. The cotton firms successfully competed internationally with their cotton yarns and fabrics, but printing establishments - often owned by the families who also controlled the spinning and weaving mills - irretrievably lost the local and European markets. By 1850 many printing workshops had disappeared; a few had moved to the Netherlands.

The Voortman firm tried to maintain the printing workshop, not through investments in new machinery, but by finding markets where they thought their production methods would still be adequate. They renewed their interest in East Africa and the Dutch East Indies. One of the earliest documents relating to this preoccupation is a manuscript with samples dated 1866². It is dedicated 'Aux Amis très respectables demeurant en Hollande de la maison Behn Meyer et Co à Singapour, dédié avec le plus grand respect par Arnold Otto Meyer, Hambourg, octobre 1866'. It is not known how the manuscript, a French translation from a German original ended up in the Voortman archives. Judging from dated samples, added behind the text, it is clear that the manuscript was in their hands in the 1870’s. From other sources we know that several members of the Voortman family where actively studying non-western markets, visiting firms in Holland involved in the production of batik imitations and corresponding widely³.

The Behn Meyer manuscript describes about 60 types of printed, and a few plain cottons destined for the Malaysian market. For each fabric Arnold Meyer gives a name, the local use, sometimes the specific destination, the desirable size, specifications in terms of colors and design, the way the fabrics had to folded and packed, instructions for labelling, and occasionally prices paid in Singapore. Arnold Meyer must have been posted in Singapore, and evidently knew the local market well. Although no further information is currently available on the Hamburg firm, most likely they were an import export firm. The French translation was probably made for the Voortman family. Although the translator was not familiar with the typical textile terminology, the translation was evidently carefully made, words he could not translate, are left in the original language. The Behn and Meyer firm probably compiled the manuscript with samples for their suppliers of printed cottons in the Netherlands, and probably Belgium. Gaining enough insight into another culture, to be able to compete with local traditional goods like textiles, on their own terms, must have been a hard task. Arnold Meyer’s study of local markets, and of the way the local population reacted to western copies of locally used textiles, must have been a valuable help for printing firms who wanted to enter this field. The manuscript’s value lies in its detailed description of so many different textiles.

In 1866 Singapore must have been a relatively new market. Sir Stamford Raffles marked the site of Singapore as a free port in 1819. It was ceded to the British East India Company by the sultan of Johore in 1824. It became a British crown colony in 1867, when it also became capital of the Straits Settlements on the Malayan peninsula. At that time the British controlled a number of areas on the coast of the

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² Textile Museum Vrieselhof, inv.T3789

³ To our respectable friends in Holland, from the firm Behn Meyer and Co in Singapore, dedicated with the utmost respect by Arnold Otto Meyer, Hamburg, october 1866

⁴ Parts of a correspondance are kept in the Dutch Textile Museum, Tilburg, with the papers of the Dutch textile printer and textile historian Louis Driessen, who corresponded with Jean Voortman in the 1930’s and 40’s.
Malacca Straits. The inland and the coastal areas on the China Sea remained independant. Visiting Singapore in 1879 the British traveller Isabella Bird described it as 'a gigantic distribution point'. She goes on to say: 'The city is ablaze with colour and motley with costume... Every Oriental costume from the Levant to China floats through the streets -robes of silk, satin, brocade, and white muslin, emphasised by the glitter of "barbaric gold"; and Parsees in spotless white, Jews and Arabs in dark rich silks; Klings in Turkey red and white; Bombay merchants in great white turbans, full trousers, and draperies, all white, with crimson silk girdles; Malays in red sarongs; Sikhs in pure white Madras muslin, their great height rendered nearly colossal by the classic arrangement of their draperies; and Chinamen of all classes, from the coolie in his blue or brown cotton, to the wealthy merchant in frothy silk crepe and rich brocade, make up an irresistibly fascinating medley.'

The textiles mentioned in Meyer's manuscript were destined mainly for the Malay population, some were traded and/or used by the Kling (inhabitants from South India, Tamil). Turkey red printed handkerchiefs and shawls with floral borders (p.11) are used by the Kling. A few, like the handkerchiefs just mentioned have western designs. The majority are imitations of batiks. A lot of those were imported in Malaysia from Java. A few copy ikat textiles from Cambodia.

From Voortman's production books giving details on chemicals and dyestuffs used for the orders, order books with the names of clients and samples of the fabrics ordered, and the printing blocks we learn what Voortman actually produced. The bulk of their cottons were destined for the West-African market. From the samples and printing blocks one gets the impression that they thought West-African textiles, with their less refined (at least for contemporary Europeans) designs, would be easy to copy. They assumed that an exact copy of the original reserve dyed textiles would not be necessary. Next in importance are the batik designs for sarongs and kains. Some of these are more or less exact copies of Javanese originals, both in design and in color scheme. Judging from the order books these went to the ports of Batavia, Soerabaya and Macassar, on Java and Sulawesi. Many are cruder than the originals. These were intended for the West-African markets. West Africans served in the Dutch army in the East-Indies at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries, and they returned home with a marked taste for the exotic batiks from Java. Batiks have remained popular there ever since. Small quantities of simple western designs were exported to a variety of other destinations as far apart as Hongkong and Peru. Voortman's orderbooks were filled by trading firms in Holland, Germany, England, France, and to a very small extent Belgium. The firm was reasonably successful in the late 1870's. By the late 1880's however orders became scarce. In the beginning of 1890 the printing workshop printed it's last orders. For the next few years Voortman still accepted orders, but had them executed by a Dutch firm. To the very last most of the textiles were hand printed with wooden blocks. Only a small amount was done either with a rollerprinting

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6 One label in the manuscript bears an inscription in English, Arabic and Tamil.
press or a perrotine'. The Voortman family kept spinning and weaving mills in Ghent, and through the UCO (Union Cotonnière Gantoise) retains an interest in the Ghent textile industry today. Many records concerning their printing activities (1790-1890) remained in the family for several generations, until they finally ended up in the Ghent city records office, the Vrieselhof textile museum, and a few other museums and archives in Flanders.

Samples from an order by the B.W.Co. Thr 3 samples top left are real batiks, the 3 on the right are copies.

7 a plate printing machine, invented by Perrot in Rouen in the 1830’s
Fabrics listed in the Meyer manuscript, Singapore 1866

The following is an overview of all the fabrics mentioned in the text, with the names listed as in the text. Comments on designs and other features are summarized. Fabric samples are mentioned if present. Unless otherwise noted the fabrics are printed cottons.

P.3 NAME: calicots rouge turcs, Turkey red cloths, Indiennes Merinos unie
MARKET: India, Singapore
TYPE OF FABRIC: plain red coton
SIZE: 31/32 inch, 99/8 width Manchester and 4/4 width Switzerland
length 24 yards, for les Indes also 24/25inch and 28 yards
ORDER QUANTITY: none
DESIGN: none
MISC: green label with gold print, preferably an Asian animal, text waaranted best turkey red. The absence of the right label diminishes the price.

P.5 NAME: rouge turc imprimes 2 couleurs
MARKET: limited, KLINGS
SIZE: 31/31 inch, 24 yards
DESIGN: small objects, a lot of variation
SAMPLES: p6 red with small black and yellow or green and yellow flowers
ORDER QUANTITY: only one color scheme per box, for example black and white, black and yellow

P7. NAME: Indiennes imprimees 4 couleurs
Indiennes imprimees illuminees à petits dessins
SIZE: 24/25 inch, 28 yards ; 31/32 inch, 24 yards
DESIGN: small flowers and geometrical designs
USE: The Malay use these for their jackets
ORDER QUANTITY: 50 pieces in a box for the 24 yards, 60 for the 28 yards
MISC: green label

P9. NAME: calicots rouge turc à 4 couleurs en grands dessins
Indiennes imprimees illuminees desins a ramage
SIZE: 31/32 inch 24 yards
DESIGN: large flowers of different sizes or bouquets with airy stems, small garlands
USE: by the BUGIS, in small quantities
ORDER QUANTITY: 50 pieces in wooden box
MISC: green label recommendable

P11. NAME: articles imprimees rouge turc
TYPE OF FABRIC: handkerchief, shawl
SIZE: handk. 32 inch square, shawl 48 inch square
DESIGN: 4 borders, flowers in 2 or 4 corners, 1 color (chrome yellow), or 4 colors
USE: by the KLINGS 'douteux', in small quantities
ORDER QUANTITY: 100 dozen or 200 dozen, each dozen tied together
MISC: green label well received, this article is not recommended because of a small unstable market

P.13 NAME: mouchoir rouge turc colorié
SIZE: from 27 inch square to 32 inch square, the larger are much more in
demand and better paid
DESIGN: borders with vigorous designs, tendrils in the middle, lively colors,
fiery red center
USE: Singapore
ORDER QUANTITY: 200 dozen per case, each dozen tied together, no paper
MISC: green label

P15. NAME: Sarongs imprimees rouge turc, sarongs pour enfants
SIZE: 23 x 46 inch, 24 x 48 inch, 27 x 54 inch, 28 x 56 inch, 32 x 64 inch,
33 x 66 inch ; length is twice the width

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8 The Bugis are a seafaring and trading population from South Sulawesi.
DESIGN: flowers and branches, kapala' and borders
USE: Singapore
ORDER QUANTITY: 1 case has 50 crepe⁹ each containing 5 pieces with bouquet designs, and 15 with branches
MISC: green label well received, a label attached to the original sample was Swiss with German text

P17. NAME: sarong rouge turc colorés
SIZE: 44 x 80 inch, 40 x 78 inch, 42 x 80 inch, and the children's sizes
DESIGN: florals with branches, bouquets are not appropriate anymore
ORDER QUANTITY: 25 crepe per case
MISC: green label

P21 NAME: salendangs rouge turc colorés
SIZE: length is 3 times the width
25 x 75 inch, 32 x 80 inch (the manufacturer has cheated a bit)
DESIGN: end borders 7 1/2 to 8 inch wide, not smaller, sideborders depend on the size of the slendang, floral branches as central design
SAMPLES: p22 red, green, blue, yellow, white designs
ORDER QUANTITY: 25 crepe per case
MISC: green label

P23. NAME: Kain Panjang rouge turc coloré
SIZE: 44 x 96 inch
DESIGN: not too many bouquets in the center, rather branches with flowers; kapala and border small floral designs
SAMPLE: p24, red, designs white, yellow, blue, green, black
USE: market is small
ORDER QUANTITY: 25 crepe per case

P25 NAME: shawl merinos illuminées
SIZE: 36, 40, 46, 54 or 60 square inch
DESIGN: small flowers, palmtrees, never bird designs
4 corner designs are recommendable. Clients like a crown design in the middle.
A case can contain a few pieces printed in chrome yellow only, but not too many.
SAMPLE: p26 red with European looking border and flowers, in yellow, white, black, blue, green

P27. NAME: Shal merinos illuminées, LANGIT-LANGIT
SIZE: 60 x 90 inch, 10 dozen, 52 x 80 inch 15 dozen, 48 x 76 inch, 15 dozen
DESIGN: borders, like shawl borders, no kashmir type borders, but vigorous designs
center: 4 corner designs and a large circular bouquet in the middle
USE: The Malay use the fabric as the upper part of their mosquito nets

P29 NAME: Damas rouge turc, brocades
TYPE OF FABRIC: damask
SIZE: 30/31 inch x 24 yards
DESIGN: floral
SAMPLE: weft floats on plain weave
ORDER QUANTITY: 50 pieces per case
PRICE: $3.50 to $4 per piece
MISC: green label

P31. NAME: damas rouge turc, brocades
TYPE OF FABRIC: damask
SIZE: 30/31 inch x 24 yards
DESIGN: small
SAMPLE: diamonds, weft floats on plain weave
ORDER QUANTITY: 50 pieces per case
PRICE: $3.55 to $3.70 per piece
MISC: green label

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⁹ Sarongs and kains usually have a separately decorated panel, the kapala, which often has designs with rows of elongated triangles, bordering a field with an overall design different from the one on the main field.

¹⁰ measure indicating twenty pieces of fabric
P33. NAME: Sarong battick bleu avec rouge garancienne
SIZE: 45 x 82 inch
DESIGN: The red of the capala border has to be very bright. Bird designs do not sell with the Malay. Their religion defends the use of clothing with animal designs. They are much more strict than Javanese in their religion. Large designs are not appropriate for kain badju.
SAMPLE: p.32, brick red and indigo blue, more samples on p.34-35

P37. NAME: sarong battick jaune avec noire et garancine rouge
SIZE: 45 x 82 inch
DESIGN: black capala, red border. A red capala would not do.
USE: limited, this style is not convenient for kain badju
SAMPLE: p.36, black, red, cream

P39. NAME: sarong battic, rouge avec jaune et noir
SIZE: 45 x 82 inch
DESIGN: black capala, red border
USE: This style is not convenient for kain badju. This article is only added to other orders in small quantities.

P41. NAME: sarong battick, bleu et rouge
SIZE: 45 x 82 inch, or 41 x 80 inch
DESIGN: red border and red or black capala, but preferably red
USE: The style can be used separate or added to mixed orders.
ORDER QUANTITY: 25 corge per case, 5 to 8 different designs
PRICE: $13.75 to $14 per corge

P43. NAME: sarong battick bleu avec noir et cachou
SIZE: 45 x 81 inch, 41 x 80 inch
DESIGN: capala always black
SAMPLE: p.42, black and cream
USE: limited

P45. NAME: sarong battick rouge, garancienne avec bleu et noir
SIZE: 45 x 81 inch, 42 x 80 inch
DESIGN: black capala, red border
SAMPLE: p.46, dark brown, red, cream
ORDER QUANTITY: 25 corge per case, 5 to 8 different designs
PRICE: $13.5

P49. NAME: sarong battick bleu avec rouge garancienne
SIZE: 42 x 80 inch
DESIGN: border and capala half red, half black
SAMPLE: p.46, brick red, cream, dark blue
USE: very much in demand
PRICE: $14 to $14.5 per corge

P51. NAME: sarong battick avec noir et cachou
SIZE: 42 x 80 inch
DESIGN: capala always black
SAMPLE: p.50, dark blue, brown, cream
USE: mostly sold in march in Trengano
ORDER QUANTITY: 25 corge per case
PRICE: $13.5 to $14 per corge

P53. NAME: sarong battick noirs et blancs
SIZE: 42 x 80 inch
DESIGN: capala always black
USE: good for Trengano
ORDER QUANTITY: 25 corge per case

P55. NAME: sarong battick pour enfants
SIZE: 27 x 54 inch
DESIGN: capala black, border red, sample
SAMPLE: p.55, black, red, cream
ORDER QUANTITY: 60 corge per case
PRICE: $6 per corge

P57. NAME: langit-langit, long shawl
SIZE: 90 x 65 inch, 82 x 58 inch, 76 x 52 inch
DESIGN: orange ground (ginga) 4 pieces, lemon yellow (cooning) 6 pieces, medium green 3 pieces, medium blue 2 pieces, red 2 pieces, white 3 pieces. 4 corner designs and a crown in the middle, the background filled with flowers, in lively colors
USE: The Malay use them as the top parts of mosquito nets. The nets are sewn on to the 4 sides.
ORDER QUANTITY: 15 corge per case

P59. NAME: Siam shawl
SIZE: 36 x 104 to 105 inch
DESIGN: an assortment has, 3 pieces with white ground, 3 with red, 3 with bright yellow, 5 with green, 6 with blue. Colors don't have to be fast.
ORDER QUANTITY: 25 corge per case
PRICE: $13.5 per corge

P61-63. NAME: Siam Shaws, or Kain Siam or Pati (?)legs
SIZE: 36 x 105 inch most currant, 42 x 125 inch, 28 x 64 inch children's size
DESIGN: assortment: 7 pieces blue ground and red capala, 6 pieces with green ground and red capala, 3 with red ground and green and yellow capala, 3 with blue ground and red capala. In the ground are several places were the printing is defective because the blocks don't match. This is not a mistake of the European printers but an exact imitation of the Bombay shawls they copy. Recently the customers don't want this feature to be too obvious.
SAMPLE: p.60, red with black, white, blue, green, yellow
Echantillon de scarf 34 x 116 inch sans bord sur les cotes, envoyé par Hannan Watson et co de Glasgow, le 1 Sept 83
p.62 different color ranges
PRICE: $13.5 to $13.75, $15.5 and $6.25 per corge

P65. NAME: kain badju, bleu indigo avec blanc
SIZE: 44 or 42 x 96 inch, 3 x 85 inch
DESIGN: dark blue ground with clear white designs
ORDER QUANTITY: 25 corge per case

P67. NAME: kain badju fond rouge avec blanc
DESIGN: small one color, white should be yellowish
SAMPLE: p.66 reddish brown, cream
SIZE: 42 x 96 inch, 37 x 85 inch

P69. NAME: mouchoir battick
SIZE: 32 x 32 inch
DESIGN: in an assortment of 100 corges 30 should be black, yellow and cachou, 70 should be red border with white and black. They should not be cut but left with 10 together.
SAMPLE: p.68, black, red brown, cream

P71. NAME: Mouchoirs Battick
SIZE: 32 or 36 inch square
DESIGN: border red, interior blue and soga. Red is more trendy than blue right now
SAMPLE: p.70, red, cream, brown borders, dark blue, cream, brown interior
PRICE: $3 5/8 per corge, 36 inch are not sold higher

P73. NAME: battick bleu avec blanc sarongs
SIZE: 43 x 80 inch
DESIGN: only small designs; 7 or 8 different ones in an assortment, no branches or large designs; interior blue and white; capala blue
ORDER QUANTITY: 25 corge per case
PRICE: $12 to $12.25

P73. NAME: battick bleu avec blanc, Kains badju
SIZE: 43 x94 inch
DESIGN: 6 designs are enough
rest sames as sarongs
SAMPLE: p72, blue and white
ORDER QUANTITY: 25 corges per case
PRICE: $13

P75. NAME: mouchoirs battick bang miniak
SIZE: 32 x 32 inch
DESIGN: interior divided by the diagonal, one side brown with white designs; other side other way round; borders white with narrow stripes
SAMPLE: p. 74 white ground, separate blue designs
ORDER QUANTITY: 60 corge per case
PRICE: $3.50 to $3.62

P77. NAME: Battick mouchoir
SIZE: 36 x 36 inch
DESIGN: red with white designs, not too much white; two borders have stripes
SAMPLE: p. 77. 2 red and yellowish cream, one blue and white
USE: in demand right now
ORDER QUANTITY: 50 corge per case
PRICE: $4/12 to $4.50

P79. NAME: toile Kain Cooly
TYPE OF FABRIC: plain cotton white or grey
SAMPLE: tissue paper and glazed black paper used to wrap the fabric
SIZE: white 34 inch x 26 yards
grey 36 inch x 30 yards
ORDER QUANTITY: 100 pieces per case
MISC: wrapped in tissue paper, bound with two silk ribbons, and in glazed paper the label should be in the middle

P81. NAME: Batticks Kains Badjus, soga, blue and black
SIZE: mouchoirs 32 x 32 inch
salendangs 33 x 90 inch
Sarongs 43 x 80 inch
Kain Badju 43 x 94 inch
DESIGN: small flower branches, borders narrow stripes
Designs should be clear, well made in bright colors
A sample in the original German manuscript was real batik imported in Singapore from Java.
SAMPLE: p. 80, blue, soga, cream
USE: much in demand
PRICE: mouchoirs $3.7/8 tot $4
salendangs $11
sarongs $12.75 to $13
kain badju $13.5 to $13.75
MISC: 10 pieces together tied with bast to imitate real batik

P85. NAME: Sarong battick
SIZE: 43 x 80 inch
DESIGN: red and blue in the interior are dyed, the cachou in the border printed

P91. NAME: batticks fond blanc avec brun et noir
SIZE: sarongs 43 x 80 inch
Kains badju 43 x 94 inch
DESIGN: capala always black. In kains badju the border should have irregular lines and so called breakages in the wax.
ORDER QUANTITY: 25 corge per case
PRICE: sarongs $12.75 to $13.25
kain badju $14 to $14.50

P107. NAME: Kain Badju
SIZE: 43 x 94 inch
DESIGN: dark blue ground with white, light blue and beige; the border should
have wax breakages in the design. An assortment has 3 pieces red with beige
design and 3 pieces red with yellow design.
4 pieces brown with yellow and red design
4 pieces blue with white design
6 pieces blue with white, light blue and beige design
ORDER QUANTITY: 1 case has 25 corge
PRICE: $14.5 per corge

P109. NAME: Assortiments Kains Badjoo
DESIGN: small repetitive; red-beige; red-dark yellow; brown-red-yellow; blue-white; blue-beige-white-light blue
SAMPLE: p.109, black, cream, blue

P127. NAME: battick mouchoirs
SIZE: 34 x 34 inch
DESIGN: dark blue, light blue and soga
SAMPLE: p.126-127, blue, soga and cream
PRICE: $3.5 to 3.75 per corge
MISC.: very much in demand
DATE: 7/6/1866

P129. NAME: Indiennes bleu avec dessin blanc
SIZE: 24 inch - 28 yards
32 inch - 24 yards
DESIGN: dark indigo blue ground, clear white designs, small
SAMPLE: p.129. dark blue and white
ORDER QUANTITY: 60 pieces per box
MISC.: must be sized but not too stiff

P131-133. NAME: Indiennes merinos imprimes deux couleurs
SAMPLE: p.131-133, red, black, white
SIZE: 24-25 inch x 28 yards
31-32 inch x 24 yards
DESIGN: red ground, black and white or black and yellow designs, small,
colors never mixed in one case
designs in one or three colors are not in demand
ORDER QUANTITY: 50 or 60 pieces in a case
MISC.: green label on each piece necessary warranted best turkey red, and
Asian animal

P135. NAME: Indiennes imprimes illuminees a petits dessins
SAMPLE: p.135, red, with green, blue, yellow, black, white
SIZE: 24/25 inch x 28 yards
31/32 inch x 24 yards
DESIGN: Designs with very small flowers used to be in demand. Because these
need a better quality for the ground, for which the buyers are not willing to
pay, we do not advise their production.

P139. NAME: Kain Badju rouge avec jaune
SIZE: 37 x 85 inch
DESIGN: small designs blue and white, yellow border on 4 sides, ground 3rd
quality
SAMPLE: p.139, rust brown, cream
ORDER QUANTITY: 25 corges per case
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Kain Serami (p.173), with a label from the Hannan, Watson Co, Glasgow, with Tamil and Arabic texts
Batik, red and blue (p.48), top left
Kain Serami dated 1879 (p.145), top right
Langit Langit (p.26), bottom
Continuity of Culture: A Reenactor's Goal

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This paper examines the maintenance of cultural continuity through historical reenactment. It is the reenactor's goal, in this case, to portray and maintain the culture of Ireland and Scotland. They are holding on to this culture and presenting it to others by maintaining the dress, crafts, and lifestyles of sixteenth century Scotland and Ireland.

The methods of data collection for this study were ethnographic in nature. Interviews with key informants were conducted. In addition, there was a questionnaire distributed to members of the group. This method of data collection provided the insight to see how a member of this group achieved a sense of belonging to this particular cultural group.

The historical reenactors used in this study are from the Southern California area. Most of the individuals live in the greater Los Angeles area. There are about 30 members of this group. The ages range from mid 20's to late 60's. The group does have individuals under the age of 18 working with them, but this is due to their parents being active in the group. The group appears to be fairly even in the distribution of men and women. The occupations of the individuals are varied, with everything from teachers, retail sales, data processing, and librarians, to musicians and artists.

Historical reenactors are attempting to recreate the lifestyles of a specific time. This particular group of reenactors set up camp areas at different events such as Renaissance fairs, Highland games, and even schools. The reenactor is presenting a living area that is as close as possible
to the living areas of the historical period. The desire of the reenactor is to give the public an idea of what it was like to live then.

This group differs from the other permanent historical reenactments found at places like Williamsburg, and Plymouth Plantation. The Southern California area has no permanent locations that operate year round. This results in weekend events, usually fairs of some sort. Therefore, the reenactors are usually presenting a setting of a temporary camp. It requires that everything be portable as well as authentic as possible.

This desire to present living history comes from an interest in historical events and a sense of connection with the culture being portrayed. As John Bowen suggests, "To a large extent, the urge to preserve and recreate the best of the past derives from a feeling that new generations ought to be able to understand and appreciate their heritage." (Bowen, 1990:7).

It is this heritage that is a common link among the reenactors. It is more than just heritage it is a pride in a particular culture or ethnic group. For this group it is the Scots or Irish of the sixteenth century that are the given culture group. My informants would often group the two together under the label of Celtic culture. When asked why the sixteenth century, one informant stated it was the time when there had been very little outside interference. This is a time when the culture was not Anglicized. That the people were still being Irish or Scots without the influence of England trying to change them into something else.

Barth has stated that ethnicity should be viewed as a subjective process of group identification that the individuals use ethnic labels to define themselves (Barth, 1969). The individuals in this group see themselves as Scots, Irish, or Celtic people. It is this identification with the culture that is the basis for the existence of their reenactment.
It is this labeling by the individual that is the most important element for being part of the group. If there is a feeling of being connected to Scottish, Irish, or Celtic culture, then that is enough to let the individual be part of the reenactment group. Several of my informants say they are of Irish or Scottish descent and were attracted to doing the reenactment because of it.

The sense of connection to the Celtic culture expressed by my informants was done with a great sense of pride. Some said it gave a sense of pride in the past and sparked a desire for a legitimacy and respect for their culture. Others felt that they had been drawn to the culture and that it was one of the ways an individual felt a connection with other Celtic peoples and their own individual heritages. That there was a sense that this reenactment was touching a racial memory.

The reenactment of this Celtic culture becomes a means for the individual to carry on the culture as well as a practical way for the individual feel an ethnic and cultural connection. The recreation of the past according to my informants gives the individual a sense of really knowing what it was like to be alive then and what it is to be Scottish or Irish. Through recreating the past, you learn about the past. It gives the individual an insight into how or why they did something. If you put yourself in the same circumstances it gives you a more “hands on”, particular experience of what life was like. The reenactment makes the history more real to the individual thereby, making the culture more alive to them.

One of the stated goals of this reenactment group is to educate the public about life during sixteenth century Ireland and Scotland. The use of living history makes the subject more interesting to the public in general. There is the feeling among the reenactors that while you are entertaining the public, without them realizing it, you are also educating them. The pride in
Scottish and Irish culture creates a desire to share this with others. The reenactors feel that they are able to explain in a more interesting manner what life was like for the people of Scotland and Ireland by doing daily activities. Individuals can ask questions and interact with people who are dressed in clothing of the period doing various tasks. As one informant suggests, it allows the people that she comes into contact with to hopefully think about how our past ties in with the present and the future. As well as another informant suggested how these type of activities show how much things have changed over time and how others have basically stayed the same.

Education is not for the public alone. It is also for the individual in the group. The reenactments help the individuals in the group learn about the culture as well. It provides an enjoyable way for them to know Scottish or Irish culture first hand. This is a more tangible way to learn history then just from reading the accounts of different events that happened in a specific time or place. According to one of my informants, demonstrating the crafts of this culture puts you in your ancestors place and in their hands, so to speak.

As Jane Schneider suggests, "not only is cloth catalytic in consolidating social relation; easily invested with meaning, it also communicates identities and values....Differentiated textiles can also indicate kinship, residence, and ethnic groups..."(Schneider, 1987:412-413). The clothing worn by the individuals in this reenactor's group also communicates various meanings to those that see it. Clothing is a visible marker to the world telling who you are and where you belong. It is a signaling device to let those individuals that share the same culture or ethnicity know that you are part of the group. The use of period ethnic clothing is one of the methods these reenactors used to tell you who they are. The type of cloth used, the color and cut of the garment are all accepted and known symbols within the group indicating a sense of
Margot Schevill states that “What we wear transforms our appearance. We speak silently, signaling layers of meaning through our clothing.” (Schevill, 1991:3). The clothing worn by the reenactors tell whether they are Scottish or Irish. As one of the informants suggests the clothing ties one to the culture. We tend to stand out and draw questions from the public. Invariably that means talking about the culture in order to explain why we are different looking. It is the clothing that is the first thing people see of the reenactor. It is the way they are dressed that draws attention to them. In addition, when other individuals are wearing the same sort of clothing there is also a feeling of a shared culture. One reenactor feels that each group develops recognizable earmarks and they share a common dream of recreating visual and behavioral aspects of the past. Several of the reenactors say they feel a strong sense of kinship with the individuals from other groups in the same sort of clothing. It gives a sense of camaraderie to the reenactors, it marks them as belonging to a particular ethnic group and drawing the boundary of us (the reenactors) versus them (the general public). As one informants suggests, we are all cousins. Our clothing styles do not separate us instead they bind us closer together.

This common thread of ethnic clothing gives a sense of belonging to the culture. The clothing worn is based on the limited documentation of the period. The individuals in the group are interested in presenting as accurate as possible copies of the clothing found in sixteenth century Scotland and Ireland. As one informant stated, there are enough misconceptions existing about the Irish and the Scottish and they don’t want to add to them by wearing clothing that is incorrect.

Even though there is a desire to be 100% accurate concerning the
clothing, my informants know there are limitations to what they can and cannot do. As one informant states, I know no period clothing can be 100% accurate short of growing one’s own fiber (what kind of sheep did they have and are those breeds still around) hand spinning, dyeing, weaving, sewing by hand with period needles, etc. One almost certainly has to use store bought fabric, thread, and needles. But they should look authentic in texture, color, cut and accessories. As well as concerns about the materials, several reenactors expressed the concerns how the differences in the climates of Ireland or Scotland and Southern California would effect the clothing that they wore. Some of my informants suggested that the fibers used would be different. The heat of the Spring and Summer tend to dictate these differences. The clothes might be made out of more textured looking or heavy cottons as opposed to wool cloth. The other concern was of a financial nature. The cost of wool and linen cloth can be very high and this also creates problems for the reenactor. This group has no outside funding or costume department, as say Williamsburg does. Each individual provides their own clothing so cost becomes a very real concern.

In an effort to try to achieve as much accuracy as is possible for the correct look of the clothing, the individuals in the group carry out research in a variety of ways. One of the methods used is to find references from literature and historic documents with descriptions or drawings concerning the dress of the period. There is unfortunately a very limited amount of drawings and descriptions from the time. Some of the most commonly used sources include the works by John Derrick and Albrecht Durer. However, the problem of the authenticity of accounts and illustrations from the sixteenth century is a frequent point of discussion among the reenactors. Even with questions concerning the correctness of the sources, they do provide a picture of what
the clothing should look like.

Another method that some of the reenactors used to get first hand information was to visit Ireland. Several of my informants went to the National Museum of Ireland in Dublin. They had been in correspondence with Mairead Dunlevy who has been responsible for the glass, textiles and ceramics section of the museum since 1975. She had been able to answer some of their questions concerning clothing of the sixteenth century. Dunlevy also made it possible for them to see up close some of the garments the museum had from the sixteenth century. This allowed the reenactors to literally count panels of cloth, see how bodices were attached to skirts and if the garments were hemmed or not.

Clothing isn't the only way the reenactor preserves and continues the culture of the past. The various crafts or camp activities they demonstrate for the public, is another vehicle used to maintain the culture of sixteenth century Scotland or Ireland. This group places a great deal of their focus on the manufacture of cloth. According to one informant the textile arts are the most important thing that these reenactors do. It gives the individuals in the group and the public a point of reference that they can identify with. As Margot Schevill states, “The creation of cloth for clothing and other purposes has always been a main concern and occupation of human beings.” (Schevill, 1991:3).

This group presents what they call a “sheep to coat” approach to textiles. They will demonstrate to the public the various steps of cloth production. The raw material that is most often used in these demonstrations is sheep's wool. The process of carding and spinning is demonstrated to those interested. My informants also give the public a more hands on education by teaching them the basics of carding and spinning. It is through
this instruction that the reenactor explains how important cloth production was
to individuals in sixteenth century Scotland and Ireland. One of my informants
suggests that demonstrating and teaching the methods of textile production is
a better way to explain the culture and lifestyle, than trying to use words.

The carding and spinning process are accompanied by weaving and if
there is a chance for a fire, dying as well. The reenactors use a couple of
different styles of looms at the events. These include inkle looms, lap looms,
and in some cases, card weaving. These are the looms favored because of
their ease of transportation. There are some individuals in the group who do
have and weave on floor looms, however, the end products are usually what is
brought out to events from these looms. The dye pot is often left out of
demonstrations to the public. Since these events are often held in public
parks, there are often rules against open fires. The reenactors get around this
by bringing items that have been pre-dyed to events. They will explain the
process of dying to the public from these items and explain that colors for
clothing were often determined by natural materials found in Ireland or
Scotland.

The process of textile production is important both to the physical
appearance of the group as well as providing a thread that ties them to their
culture. When asked why textile production was important to the group there
were several different explanations given. Some suggested that it was one
thing that would tie the different members of the group together. It was a
common endeavor of the people in sixteenth century and required enough
time that it would show up throughout the regular daily activities. Others feel
that because it fills such a basic survival need, that it is an excellent way to
demonstrate how this culture produced cloth. The culture being reenacted
produced their own clothing and by demonstrating this process you are able to
get a basic understanding of their way of life. Demonstrating textile production is one of the ways the public is shown that nothing should be taken for granted in the past, and that everything had to be made, not bought off the rack at a store. The demonstrating of cloth production is a way to expose the public, as on informant suggests, to things that used to be common but that now are rare. Another informant feels that textile production is a way they can show the public the steps from raw plant or animal product to something that a person can wear, use or eat and that this helps to de-mystify how the people from earlier times could survive without Sears or McDonald’s. This was a key part of the culture and by presenting textile production to the public, that culture is continued and awareness of it spread through out the Southern California region.

In conclusion, the reenactors have maintained a continuity of culture through portraying the past in the present. The reenactor maintains his or her ties to their culture by wearing the same sort of clothes their ancestors wore. The reenactors demonstrate their ties to their culture by learning and practicing the crafts, especially textile production, of sixteenth century Scotland and Ireland. It is the pride in their cultural history that provides the incentive to maintain this culture through reenactment, and share it with the general public at events.

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THE INFLUENCE OF COMPUTER TECHNOLOGIES ON CONTEMPORARY WOVEN FIBER ART

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It is generally agreed upon, by both the participants in the field and those few who have chronicled it, that the fiber art movement as we know it today began with Jean Lurcat in France in the late 1950's. He was among the first, if not the first, to make designs or cartoons specifically for the medium of tapestry. Previously, paintings were translated into the medium of tapestry. As well as creating the design or cartoon, he personally oversaw the actual weaving process. This direct connection between the process and the concept or image, the manual and the mind, laid the groundwork for the fiber arts of today. In 1962 Lurcat founded the Lausanne Tapestry Biennale, the international exhibition whose contents have profoundly influenced the course of this field.

In fiber art, textiles are separated from function and, instead, focus on the maker's expressive need. In this pursuit, historic techniques and constructions are used in new configurations. These processes offer the artist new methods of effecting visual and physical form, scale and content. In the sixties, the results of these manipulations and interpretations were massive, excessive, and often three dimensional. In the late seventies and eighties, this unrestrained exuberance was modified. Concern was expended on the quality of the cloth as well as on the subtlety and specificity of the expressive content. More recently, the visual expressions of the portion of fiber artists who are weavers have been influenced by the possibilities inherent within computer technologies.

The link between the computer and the loom is specific. They are both based on binary principles. It is said that the Jacquard loom was inspiration for the invention of the first computer. As Emily DuBois points out, "Thousands of weave structures are derived from two simple positions of the warp - up and down. In the same way, the computer performs thousands of tasks based on two positions called 0 and 1." In weaving, these positions are notated on graph paper by a
filled-in or black square when the warp is up and a white one when it is down. The 0's and 1's become the machine language of the computer.

The textile industry almost immediately exploited the computer's uses in the designing and manufacturing processes. Soon, many weave programs for the personal computer were developed as well. They allowed the individual weaver to rapidly create and notate a multitude of weave structures, to change the path of individual or groups of warp or weft threads, to change the scale of parts or the whole, to change the color, the threading, the tie-up and treadling or chain sequence, to see different magnifications of the resulting drawdowns and repeats. These variations could be stored in a library or file, and parts of or the whole of each design could be called up for use, reinvention, or review at any time. All parts could be cut, copied, pasted, and restored as with any software. By the mid-eighties, there were so many programs that Lois Larsen compiled a book called SOFTWARE FOR WEAVERS, which listed and described the over two-hundred programs available for the various machines. A specific feature of these programs is that they all make extensive use of the handweaver's vocabulary, thus making them user friendly for those weavers who are not conversant with computers.

At this time, Rick Hart of the Macomber company and Ahrens and Violette of AVL developed systems that became the standards for personal computerized hand looms. For the Macomber loom, a specially designed microcomputer controlling the harness tie-up and treadling sequence of the weaving pattern could be added to their basic multi-harness handloom, a loom which had been designed over forty years ago. The idea was to computerize equipment the hand weaver already owned - thus making this technological upgrade more feasible economically. The basis of the first computerized system was an electronic single pedal which contained a bank of solenoids connecting it to specific hooks attached to the lambs and, thus, to the shafts. Individual shafts or combinations of shafts could be raised by keying in the desired connections and then raising and lowering the master pedal. This programmable feature relieved the weaver from crawling under the loom to manually connect pedal hooks.

A more recent innovation still operates on the same principle, but instead of using a single pedal it has an individual air cylinder and solenoid for each treadle. This system is more efficient, not as
physically taxing, and more easily repaired. Both mechanical versions can be connected either to the specially designed microcomputer or to the Atari, Macintosh, or IBM computer unit.

The AVL loom was conceived in the late 1970's. The loom was originally designed to have a dobbi head controlling the shafts. As the dobbi head is basically a primitive computer using a binary language, its replacement with a computer black box was a logical next step. The system operates with solenoids like the Macomber. It has no specifically designed microcomputer system but utilizes a cable hook-up to the software program run on an IBM or a Macintosh.

These innovations have allowed the artist/designer/handweaver a freedom of imagining and action that they previously did not have. The number of treadles contained on a loom, thus the number of options, were expanded electronically. Previously, a hand loom would have two more treadles than it had shafts. This allowed for a direct tie-up for each shaft as well as two treadles for plain weave. A thirty-two shaft loom would have thirty-four shafts. Now, on the computerized Macomber loom of this size there are sixty-four shafts. This allows the designer to employ weaves that have longer and more complex repeats. It also makes it possible to combine several weave structures on a single set of treadles. Before, the time-consuming and tedious job of changing tie-ups or the connections between the treadles and the shafts discouraged the contemporary handweaver from designing pieces that had many weave changes. These new systems also remember specific structural weft sequences or, in weavers' terms, the treadling sequences. The ease of using this feature encourages the weaver to change and modify the sequences during the course of weaving the cloth as well as use longer repeats. The warp can readily become an active component of the whole expression rather than having the more passive role it held in traditional tapestry. Thus, the physicality of the surfaces of various weave structures and the combinations and juxtapositions of these structures can have as essential a role in creating the visual effects of the artistic intent as color and image. The design potentials within the unique qualities of woven cloth can more readily be explored. In a sense, the use of computerized hand looms has made woven fiber art more directly connected to its textile heritage.

The work of four weavers illustrates the use of this new technology within the artistic expression of the fiber artist. All four use the computerized loom and software as tools to design weaves.
and to create flexibility in generating, modifying, and combining them. Presently, they do not use any computer capabilities to draw or design the overall images or create compositions, although it is conceivable that that might evolve in the future.

EMILY DU BOIS lives and works in California. As she states, "For twenty years, my work in visual art has developed along with my practice of Tai Chi....In Taoism's naturalistic, relativist world view, we are constantly engaged in a complex process created by the continual modulations of Yin and Yang, representing the polar extremes of any given principle....In my work with computer generated textiles, Yin and Yang manifest themselves as the computer's 0 AND 1, the loom's warp up or down, the intersection between dyed surface and woven structure." She visually varies the structures obtainable on a sixteen-harness loom by using the effects of color and weave principles, by juxtaposing blocks of twill weaves in such a way that they form moiré effects, and by discharging parts of the warp before weaving as well as discharging the finished cloth and overdyeing. These actions build change and randomness into a constant known and thus advance her idea. She weaves fast, using production-weaving techniques, and does not depend on hand-manipulated weaves, such as pick-up or inlay. She feels that if a maneuver is too cumbersome, too difficult, then one tends to avoid it. Thus, the computer frees up her imagining and allows for more creativity.

BHAKTI ZIEK works and teaches in Philadelphia. Years ago she co-authored a book on backstrap weaving. In her travels throughout the world she has studied textiles. Her fiberwork reflects her particular interest in the fabrics and culture of the less industrialized societies. In creating it, she combines the technology of a sixteen-harness computerized AVL loom with hand techniques that were used to pattern the fabrics on backstrap looms. Generally she employs a compound triple warp for the hand pick-up. This is combined with weft brocade. She also uses lampas techniques. The complexity of the weave structures modulates the surface of the various forms and adds a dimension to the visualization of her ideas.

LIA COOK's unique work exists somewhere between painting and textiles. Her intent is to imbed images of textiles - such as the drapery depicted on the figures and within the settings of old masterpieces - into actual textiles that she has woven. This play of a textile about a textile makes a comment on the hierarchy of subjects,
processes, and materials in fine art. To do this she first makes a painting on canvas or on sheets of abaca. After cutting the painted image into narrow strips, she inserts each strip successively into a warp to act as weft. A large diameter rayon warp is painted with dyes before weaving. The painted forms and shapes are related to the weft image. The complex woven structure, with few exceptions, is continuous throughout the piece and is designed to interlock visually with the weft images to create an illusionary and shifting surface. This illusion is heightened by passing the entire piece through an etching press after it is woven. Cook uses the weave software program SWIFTWEAVE to design a weave that will specifically enhance the particular image she is using. The memory within the computerized Macomber thirty-two-harness loom facilitates her use of the complex treadling sequence.

My own weaving focuses on the integration of structure and image so as to render them physically and visually inseparable: the unique characteristics of the textile are intimately linked to formal aesthetic aspects such as line, form, color, and image. To achieve this I use three separate warps, each of a different size or material and each painted with different designs. Each warp has as well its specific weave structure, but instead of being woven with three different wefts to make three cloths, one on top of the other, the weaves are integrated and woven with one weft to form a single layer. The relationship between the three different weaves determines which of the layers comes more dominantly to the surface of the cloth. As all layers are weaving, there is always at least a trace of each layer of warp on the surface. To further complicate the process, I employ tapestry or sectional wefts, that is, wefts that transverse limited areas specified by the design and link together to weave the width of the cloth. The color, size, and texture of these various wefts combine visually with the warps.

What I am doing would be wholly impractical without the aid of the computer. It would take hours to continually change the tie-ups of the integrated triple weave structures I use on my thirty-two-harness Macomber loom. Generally I work with three or four structures simultaneously. Without the additional treadles afforded by the electronic solenoids, it would be extraordinarily difficult to accomplish this. I utilize long and complex treadling sequences or chain plans to mesh the successive weft shots specific to each design area. The whole width, woven weft shot by weft shot, often utilizes at least four sheds. The time-consuming effort of setting up such a sequence either for treadles or a dobby head would be
impractical, especially as I often change the sequence after one or two inches. The flexibility contained within the essence of a computerized hand loom and the accompanying software programs is what prompted me to conceive of my present cycle of work.

Another aspect of the effects of computer technology on fiber art is demonstrated by THE JACQUARD PROJECT, which took place at the Muller Zell mill in Zell, Germany. The project was conceived by Beatrijs Sterk, editor of Textilforum and Director of the new European Textile Network. It was sponsored by Werner and Regina Henschell, owners and directors of the mill, and by the Nurnberg Academy of Fine Arts. The intent was to make available to an international group of fiber artists the latest CAD/CAM (computer aided design/computer aided manufacturing) technology, technology used commercially in industry. The resulting documentation was to be widely disseminated. The interest was in exploring the potentials for new paths or directions in textile design for both industry and the individual artist. Lia Cook and I participated in the project. Continuing in that vein is the two-year project, involving twelve artists, directed by Bhakti Ziek at the Philadelphia College of Textiles and Science. All four artists discussed in this paper will participate in that project. In both cases the computerized Jacquard loom is the basis of the experimentation.

This loom differs dramatically from the standard hand loom. The principle is that of defining each and every intersection of warp and weft. In a standard loom, warp ends are controlled by groups, through the use of shafts, rather than singly. While much larger and more intricate patterns or images can be obtained through the loom-controlled processes of a Jacquard loom, the elaborate and time-consuming steps of making the point paper, cutting and lacing the cards, and preparing the loom restrict the practicality of change within the design. The tediousness of the process discourages design modifications. In opposition to this, the Grosse CAD/CAM system used at Muller Zell allows a design to be scanned in or even developed directly within the system and modified as with any paint/draw computer program. It can then be shifted to point paper to be flipped and magnified for accurate repeats and clean up. In addition, the system prepares the technical instructions and calculations. All this is put on a computer disc which is inserted into the computerized loom for weaving. The design is called up and woven as continuous yardage. Modifications can be made by returning to the design computer, making whatever changes are desired, and cutting a second disc so there are two versions. The loom would weave whichever one
was inserted into it. The looms (Dornier) can weave at the rate of about one meter, one hundred and forty centimeters wide, every six minutes. When I returned to Zell last spring, I spent three days at the computer making my designs and their variations and determining the structural information. On the fourth day I wove twenty-four meters of design variations. The ease, speed, and flexibility of the system promote artistic investigations. The potentials are extraordinary for the fiber artist who weaves. The drawback is that the system is extremely expensive, its acquisition far beyond the means of most individuals. The development of a research center for the experimental use of these CAD/CAM systems by artists and designers would be beneficial.

Computers are now an integral part of the technology of weaving in the western world and in many places in the east. They are used in teaching situations in the universities and art schools as well as by independent weavers and industry. Their effects are evident in the complexity of imagery and structure in textiles that are readily available at relatively low prices in the stores today. Textile mills have been using computers in many aspects of their production for quite some time. Fiber artists and independent weavers have utilized various basic aspects of computer technology for almost a decade. Its time-saving and flexible potentials can be a powerful creative tool rather than a poor mechanical substitution for artistic sensibility. I believe that the use of computer technology has had and will continue to have a fundamental effect on the structure and design of functional fabrics as well as on woven fiber art.
The keyboard and memory disc keys of a computerized thirty-two harness Macomber handloom.
An example of an integrated triple weave structure woven on a Macomber thirty-two harness handloom.
PINE BARK by Emily DuBois - 1990 - The size of the weaving is 31" in height and 64" in width. The material is mercerized cotton. It is woven on an AVL computerized sixteen harness loom. Ikat techniques are employed before and shibori techniques after the weaving process.
A print out of Cynthia Schira's double weave design on the Grosse Jac-Design computer program used at the Muller Zell Textile Co., in Zell, Germany. The print out shows the graphic tools available to the designer at the right of the image. These include pens and brushes and erasers, rotation devices, cut and paste as well as enlarging and reducing tools. Below the toolbox is a palette of available colors for use in the design. The number of weft shots employed for the design is on the left of the image, the number of warps across the bottom. The band across the top has the pull down menus for the more elaborate functions such as moving the design to electronic graph paper, adding the technical information and doing the final structural clean ups before the design is transferred to the disc that will be used for weaving the fabric on the Dornier Jacquard loom.
According to the present understanding of the term, lace is a soft pliable fabric, most often white, with a pattern composed of solid and open areas, made either with a needle and thread in a looped structure or with a variable number of threads wound on bobbins and interlaced in a form of braiding. Laces matching that description survive from the mid 17th century onwards, with some needle and bobbin-made examples that at first glance appear indistinguishable. Yet each of these totally unrelated techniques, has its own history. The purpose of our project is to trace how it happened that two such different techniques came to be used to make products that superficially seem identical.

What were the external circumstances that, during the 16th and early 17th centuries, stimulated this development, and why were only two of a wide variety of techniques – sprang, needle-looping, macrame, etc - able to make the technical and stylistic transition into a new form of fabric? We want to examine how these two particular and quite different techniques came into contact, how the exchange or crossover of stylistic ideas influenced them technically, and how they reached a point from which they were to progress together in continual response to the same outside demands.

Given the amount of information we are uncovering, this paper can only be a summary of work in progress but, to give some idea of the sort of detail that is emerging, we shall concentrate on bobbin lace – the older of our two techniques – and on the information contained in the mid 16th century pattern books devoted to it. Even here, we can only occasionally indicate how the contents of pattern books and the development of bobbin techniques reflect preoccupations of the day, how they relate to other techniques and forms of decorative art and, in particular, how they relate to cutwork, the forerunner of needle lace.

The earliest known pattern books specifically for bobbin lace are as follows. First: Le Pompe published by Giovanni-Battista and Marchio Sessa in Venice in 1557, followed by two reprintings. Second: Le Pompe, Libra Secundo published in Venice by the Sessa brothers in 1560 with one additional printing two years later. Third: Nuß Modelbuch by a woman known only by her initials, R.M., published by Christoph Froschauer in Zürich in about 1561.

These three books give us a total of 347 mid 16th century patterns (including several duplicates) for bobbin lace. All three are jam-packed with patterns that are in no particular order. R.M. has an introductory text with fascinating and valuable documentary and subjective information, but in Le Pompe there are only general comments and, typical of the period, a dedication to beautiful and virtuous ladies.

R.M. suggests that a few of her patterns can be worked in color (presumably dyed silk) and one in gold. There are no such specific suggestions in Le Pompe, but gold and silver are mentioned.
in the introductions to all editions. R.M.’s frontispiece has the earliest known illustration of bobbin lace making and all the features of a fully developed working method are shown. Bobbins are wound with a supply of thread, and because they are thick and weighty the threads are neatly lined up and the bobbins are easy to select, pick up, and move. The lace makers may or may not be working on top of a pattern, but, more importantly, the threads of the lace are held in place by pins stuck into a pillow or cushion that is obviously firmly stuffed so pins will stay in place. The woman in the foreground has two bobbins in her left hand that she is pulling so that two threads are at the correct angle so she can pin them into position.

It is worthwhile concentrating on R.M.’s patterns because, as you will see, they demonstrate that the basic principles of bobbin lace making are clearly established, and that some techniques are already becoming obsolete while others exist which will make development possible. All of her patterns are shown horizontally and they are all named. A cross indicates that a lace might be worked in color.

R.M. tells us in her introduction that she is a teacher and has been a lace maker for 12 years. Therefore, it is not surprising that she gives us the number of bobbins needed for each pattern. This information is not provided in Le Pompe. The only other lace patterns specifically identified for bobbin lace appeared around 1600 in books largely devoted to cutwork and lacis (embroidered net). The most important were a series of spidery edgings published by Elizabetta Parasole in 1598 and 1616 for which she too, gives the number of bobbins. There are no more published bobbin lace patterns until the 19th century when the technique was being relearned. Therefore, R.M.’s book is very important because, by giving the number of bobbins for 164 patterns, we have exact requirements for the making of each lace and precise data for analysis.

Patterns in Le Pompe look strikingly different to those of R.M. although in fact they cover much of the same ground. Le Pompe is a more stylish and confident publication and, as we shall see, many of its patterns, particularly in the 1560 edition, show a developed form of bobbin lace not found in R.M. Although published by the Sessa Brothers, the patterns are the work of the designer and printer Matio Pagano who was active in Venice from about 1515.

Pagano produced a series of embroidery pattern books and was the first designer to devote a book to cutwork - Giardinetto novo di punti tagliati of 1542. His work was instrumental in encouraging the crossover between embroidery, cutwork, bobbin lace and other techniques. These included the woven bands which were used to ornament furnishings and clothes that can be seen in late 15th century paintings. Such applied bands relate to early bobbin lace in both their use and their geometric designs, but not in their construction.

Bobbin lace depends on some method of diagonal interlacing. One set of elements can be set up for diagonal interlacing on a flat plane in two ways. First, with both ends fixed, to be worked in ways generally called sprang. Second, with one end fixed and the other end free-hanging, with one of the ways of working generally
called braiding, which is the one that applies to bobbin lace making. Sprang is our first drop-out.

All over-one, under-one diagonal interlacing consists of offset rows of diagonal crossings. In one row, two elements cross either on the S or Z-diagonal. In the next offset row, elements re-group for crossing on the opposite diagonal. Diagonal interlacing can be worked with any number of elements.

A diagonally interlaced structure will often collapse or settle into a configuration that is desirable for bags and caps, but not for a flat lace. A diagonally interlaced fabric can retain its shape if elements are stiff, if it is worked tight, or if the fabric is shrunk or starched. When worked it can be pinned out to almost any width thereby changing the angle of the diagonals along which elements interlace.

For the understanding of bobbin lace it is necessary to interpret over-one, under-one diagonal interlacing as offset rows of single units of the interlace. Two pairs of elements or threads converge on the diagonal, interlace together, and each pair continues on to interlace with another pair. The first organization of basic interlace units we are calling braid cloth because it is fabric-like and has many units of the interlace. The second organization of units of the basic interlace is a vertical alignment that we are calling linear braid.

When making a 4-element braid, two alternating crossings are repeated one after the other. The critical cross is the one with two pairs because of the force it exerts on the threads that change their diagonal direction. This is called twist - an accurate enough description. Repeats of twist are interrupted by the opposite crossing that simply causes the threads in their just reversed directions (now the two in the middle) to cross each other. This manipulation is called cross. The neutrality of cross allows the force of the two twist manipulations to exert themselves.

That the two manipulations, twist and cross, are taught as rigid rules is due no doubt to the fact that in Europe, from prehistoric times on into the 19th century, linen was plied in the S-direction - normally two Z-spun threads plied S.

Repeats of twist in the Z-direction will undo or relax the S-plied threads and allow the braid to lie flat. Repeats of twist in an S-direction using S-plied threads will gradually add twist to each thread with the result that the braid will not lie flat. Obviously, the former was preferred and taught as a rule.

All bobbin techniques - we emphasize ALL - depend on cross and twist - that is, on the number of times and in what sequence they are repeated.

That braid cloth was made by using groups of four bobbins is confirmed by R.M.'s patterns. Of her 164 patterns, the threads for all but four can be divided into groups of four threads. With the proper number of cross and twist, two pairs of thread will work together as a unit. Working in pairs is a primary principle of bobbin lace making. By adding extra twists between pairs in diagonal cloth, small areas of openwork can be created. This we will call "proto mesh" because it is very close to later finer structures that can better be described as net. It is the earliest method of contrasting two areas of density. Patterns based on this
principle are presented by R.M. Larger holes can be made using linear braids that cross through each other as also seen in patterns by R.M.

Another group of patterns is made by dividing and re-grouping pairs of threads in parallel 4-element braids. Where pairs divide, they re-group to form a row of single units of the interlace and then re-group for another offset row, etc. This is proto-mesh again. In some of the laces of this type, each of the four elements of the braid consists of two parallel threads, which, by R.M.'s numbering would require eight bobbins. By using eight bobbins it is easy to keep two threads parallel and not twist them - a method particularly successful with metallics because the braids, by being wider and flatter, reflect more light.

Proto mesh parallels effects in cutwork of the period. In cutwork, blocks of warps and wefts of a woven fabric are removed leaving a square grid the defining threads of which are over-sewn. The holes are filled in with suspended threads that support wrapping, buttonhole stitches, or looping.

Because the growth of a commercial market was essential for the development of bobbin lace, it is necessary to look at possible areas for its use. The very name, lace, was taken from the narrow ties, made by a variety of techniques, that were used to lace together the detached sections of clothing and furnishings in the late 15th and 16th centuries. Pillows such as that visible on the bed depicted in Ghirlandio's painting 'The Birth of the Virgin' in S.M. Novella in Florence has its open end fastened with a 'lace' secured through eyelets. Bobbin lace became yet another way of making such a narrow 'lace' and eventually, as it grew in importance, it stole the name.

The increasing display of linen both in dress and furnishings is important to our discussion because fine linen was a luxury item and its use and increasing ornamentation reflected the steady growth of disposable income during the 16th century. Much of the linen was elaborated with embroidery and openwork seams which were to be supplemented with or replaced by cutwork and bobbin lace. The relationship between needle-made insertions and bobbin lace are illustrated both by patterns in Le Pompe and in surviving laces.

The earliest known bobbin lace is, in fact, an insertion, made not with linen, but with silk and gold. It decorates a sudarium, or crozier cover, in Uppsala Cathedral in Sweden and is traditionally believed to have been made as a gift for Archbishop Jacob Ulfsson when he visited the Brigitine Convent of Vadstena in 1489, on the occasion of the canonization of the founder of the Order. The convent was renowned for its embroidery and that on the sudarium is worked with the same silk and metal used for the lace. There is no reason to doubt the story, but even if wrong, the early date of the Swedish Reformation and the closure of the convent indicates that the lace can be no later than the 1520s.

The Uppsala insertion is made with eight 3-element braids that cross through each other to make a diamond pattern. The disadvantage of 3-element braids is that there are not enough threads for the subdivisions needed to create the effects achievable with four elements. The fact that the Uppsala lace is made of 3-element braids allows us to confirm its early date,
particularly since the small number of patterns using three element braids that occur in R.M. and Le Pompe, indicate that their use is on their way out.

By the third quarter of the 16th century considerable quantities of gold and silver bobbin lace were being used in the more wealthy areas of Europe to trim both furnishings and dress. Among the New Year gifts made to Queen Mary of England in 1556, for example, was ‘a brode bone lace of gold and silver to edge an apron and a towel.’ The English used the term "bone lace" because bobbins were made of bone. Many of the references describe the metal thread and often the lace itself as being from Venice. In Italy where lead was used for the manipulation of metallic threads, the term ‘merletti a piombini’ was applied.

The use of metallic and colored silk bobbin lace as a form of decorative braid is shown in portraits from mid century onwards. The most striking feature of both male and female dress was usually the lavish neck and wrist ruffs, the most valuable of which were decorated with fine cutwork.

The eventual linking of bobbin lace and fine cutwork depended on the use of linen thread and the effects made possible by the versatility of a linear braid. It is easy and fast to make and it can be made to follow sharp angles and curves. Of course, it must be pinned in place as made to maintain such shapes. In order for a zig-zag to be stable it must be attached to something such as a straight line, as in the narrow edging to be made with eight bobbins that is among R.M.‘s patterns. It is the ease with which the bobbin lace technique could produce small, delicate edgings, combined with its speed, that lead to its growing use in conjunction with cutwork. Their patterns are sometimes closely related and sometimes in stark contrast to each other.

Decorative effects in bobbin lace, comparable to those in needlework, include small holes in the intersection of the passing through of two 4-element braids, the making of decorative loops or picots on edges, and the forming of raised loops. In addition, bobbin lace could be made in one or more colors (including gold and silver) for lively effects seldom seen in cutwork.

Simple patterns often require more study than those that are complex. Complex patterns are, after all, made up of simple techniques, that if properly mastered, are easy to combine. R.M. and Le Pompe provide copious examples of this truth! The two books illustrate, however, the difference between designs produced in Switzerland, a relatively isolated and conservative area of Europe, and those coming out of Venice which, with its long history of trade with the East, was ideally situated for the introduction and absorption of Eastern design.

Pattern books produced in Venice illustrate a rich mix of styles - scrolling Medieval foliage, Islamic moresques, westernized strapwork, and a revived foliate style combining Medieval art with the scrolling foliage of classical Rome. Patterns in Le Pompe include a representative selection of such designs together with imitations of the increasingly fashionable geometric cutwork.

By the late 1550’s the structural grid of cutwork was beginning to increase in size and the filling motifs were correspondingly enlarged and worked as areas of solid ‘cloth.’
Following a similar development, the more flowing, bolder tape-like patterns of *Le Pompe* show bobbin lace also seeking a more solid, cloth-like look for which a new technique had to be found.

In order to understand the principle of cloth tape, we must go back to the concept of a 4-element braid having two pairs of threads. By holding one pair in a vertical position, the other can be made to travel across it as it interlaces. With the elimination of the twists that would make proto mesh and the addition of vertical pairs, a cloth tape can be made that resembles weaving. This is not real weaving, but lace people sometimes refer to it as such. The traveling pair can make decorative loops or not at one side or both as needed.

Cloth tapes are as effective, but in a different way, to the parallel gold and silver threads in a 4-element braid, and they are more versatile. They can easily be made with linen, silk, and metallics whereas the braids with parallel threads cannot be made as effectively with linen or silk. The ultimate success of cloth tapes is due to the fact that they can be made to any desired width, can be made to follow a curved shape, and make a bold effect in linen when seen in sharp contrast against dark rich fabric or free standing in air.

Matio Pagano's flowing foliate patterns appeared first in his embroidery books, the complex shapes of which were easily translated into embroidery. But when Pagano transferred such patterns, even in a simplified form, to bobbin lace, he created further problems for lace-makers. The tape-like designs could be made in the clothwork technique, but to hold the component parts together it was necessary to devise a means of 'sewing' or linking them together.

Yet another challenge was posed by the inclusion of large, irregularly shaped motifs such as the mermaid seen in *Le Pompe*. This was achieved in bobbin lace by adding or taking away some of the threads as the motif was worked. We are not absolutely sure how every detail of these complex patterns was worked, but we think that the part-lace technique, by which some motifs are worked completely separately and then sewn or hooked into place, was probably not yet developed. That the part or pieced-lace technique had been developed by the last decade of the century is demonstrated, however, by a little edging in the Cleveland Museum of Art and also in the Cooper-Hewitt. Foreshadowing developments of the 17th century, it consists of separate S-shaped motifs worked almost entirely in cloth and joined together by a linear structure.

Between the late 1590s and the early 1620s fashion was to undergo a series of changes which would radically alter the relative importance of cutwork and linen bobbin lace. These developments, which would produce dramatic advances in both techniques, are suggested by a portrait at Hampton Court Palace of the Countess of Brunswick, painted in about 1612. She wears a standing collar of cutwork, which is over-sewn with red silk and bordered by an elaborate bobbin lace made with clothwork tapes and hooking. It shows the two techniques at a fleeting point of balance and, for the purposes of this paper, at a point convenient for us to end.
References:


SUPPLEMENTARY WEFT ON AN "IKAT" ISLE:
THE WEAVING COMMUNITIES OF NORTHWESTERN FLORES

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Among textile enthusiasts, the island of Flores is known primarily for its beautiful warp-ikat cloths. Most of the island's numerous ethno-linguistic groups, including the Ngadha, Nagé, Endenese, Lio, Palu'ê, Sikkanese, and Lamaholot, produce related yet distinctive textiles within this tradition. It is therefore surprising to find a series of weaving districts, stretching along the northwest coast of the island, where the ikat technique is not used. Instead, weavers in this region produce indigo-dyed textiles decorated with colorful supplementary-weft motifs.

In the ikat districts, sarongs for men and women differ in their patterning and in the names applied to them. In the northwest, on the other hand, sarongs are "unisex" and are known consistently by the single term lipa. The looms of the northwest also differ from those of the ikat districts. Ikat weavers use a body-tension loom with a simple warp beam and a continuous, or "circular," warp. No reed is used, as the desired fabric is tightly warp-faced. In the supplementary-weft communities, the warp beam consists of a flat plank set into upright posts. The warp forms a single flat layer, with its length wound onto the plank. A reed is used to produce a balanced weave. The weaver usually sits on the ground like an ikat weaver, but in one community I have seen a bench fixed to a rigid frame that also supports the warp beam.²

Many cloths produced in northwestern Flores include both continuous (i.e., running from selvage to selvage) and discontinuous supplementary weft. The simple patterns executed in narrow bands of continuous supplementary weft are controlled by a set of pattern sticks at the back of the loom. For the more complex patterns executed in discontinuous supplementary weft, weavers recognize two levels of skill. Less skilled women use pattern sticks, resulting in the repetition of identical motifs along the length of the cloth. Women who don't know the patterns pay to have the sticks inserted by women who specialize in this task. Highly skilled weavers work without pattern sticks. Instead, they use only a single pair of supplementary heddles, which provide the proper lifts for inserting the

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¹ I use "sarong" as a gloss for the Indonesian term sarung, the tubular garment that is the preeminent article of clothing on Flores.

²As the tension is still supplied by the weaver's body via a wooden yoke behind her back, this is not a true frame loom, but appears to be a transitional type.
colored yarn but do not program the motifs. These weavers can then create any motif they desire; successive rows need not be identical.

Today the supplementary-weft districts form a continuous band stretching across the boundary between two administrative divisions or "regencies" (kabupaten in Indonesian). Manggarai Regency, the westernmost in Flores, was in former times divided into a large number of subdivisions called dalu. During the period of Dutch colonial administration (1908-1942), the dalu were subject to the Raja of Manggarai at Ruteng. Although this system has now been supplanted, the people of Manggarai still use the names of the former dalu. Not all of Manggarai produces textiles. Indeed, the supplementary-weft districts are limited to a small number of dalu located in the north-central and northeastern parts of the regency. From west to east, the weaving dalu are Ruis, Cibal, Lambaleda, Congkar, Biting, and Rembong (see map).³

Across the border in Ngada Regency, to the east of Manggarai, are two additional supplementary-weft districts, Riung and Mbay. In the colonial period, Riung was administered under its own raja. Mbay fell under the jurisdiction of the Raja of Boawae, the leader of the Nagé people.

These political divisions have tended to obscure underlying cultural similarities among the various supplementary-weft districts. The languages spoken in Rembong and Riung are essentially identical, and in fact rather closely related to standard Manggarai. The language spoken in Mbay is also much closer to Riung and Manggarai than to Ngadha or Nagé. The linguistic picture therefore corroborates the evidence of the textiles. In cultural terms, Riung and Mbay can be seen as outliers of Manggarai, though they have in modern times been grouped in Ngada Regency with their culturally-distant Ngadha and Nagé neighbors.

REGIONAL VARIATION

On the basis of the types of cloth that predominate in the weaving villages today, the supplementary-weft districts can be divided into three stylistic regions:

1) North-central Manggarai (Ruis, Cibal, and Lambaleda)
2) Northeastern Manggarai (Congkar, Biting, and Rembong)
3) Mbay and Riung

North-central Manggarai. The sarongs produced in this region, called lipa songké,⁴ feature polychrome motifs arranged on a blue-black ground (see

³The dalu of Todo in south-central Manggarai is also a weaving area, but has a distinctly different tradition of mostly plaid cloths; see Hamilton (1994:86-89) for a consideration of Todo weaving.
⁴Songké is the Manggarai cognate of songket, the widespread Indonesian term for supplementary weft.
The sarong is divided into two sections, one more highly decorated than the other. This design format is common in western Indonesia, where the main section is known as the "body" (badan), and the specially decorated section as the "head" (kepala). In lipa songké the blue-black background fabric of the "body" section may be completely unadorned, or it may be decorated with a few widely spaced rows of simple motifs in discontinuous supplementary weft. The "head" section is densely covered with more elaborate discontinuous motifs, interspersed with bands of continuous supplementary weft. When wearing the sarong, the "head" is often positioned in back, where it will not be lost in folds.

A distinctive feature of high-quality lipa songké is a colorful border of small triangles called jok, which is worked along the selvage with a tapestry technique. The jok represents the Manggarai version of the triangular border design found on textiles from India and many parts of Southeast Asia.

The traditional colors for lipa songké motifs are red, yellow, and white. In the past red was dyed with sappan and yellow with turmeric, morinda (with no mordant), or the dye wood known in Manggarai as haju gulung. The pastel shades created when these fugitive dyes fade are one of the delights of Manggarai cloth. The background color has traditionally been dyed with indigo, sometimes over-dyed with various types of wood or bark to darken the color. Today indigo dyeing and handspun yarns can still be found in some villages, but pre-dyed commercial yarns are nearly always used for the motifs.

Lambaleda is recognized as the leading dalu in the production of lipa songké, but similar cloths are made in Cibal and Ruis as well. If there were once motifs or styles unique to each of these areas, it is difficult to distinguish them on the basis of today's cloths. Further research is needed to validate the claims some informants make regarding locally distinctive designs.

Northeastern Manggarai. The sarongs of this region are more diverse than those of north-central Manggarai, although they generally share the blue-black background color and the division of the sarong into "head" and "body" sections. Several different design formats are present, ranging from nearly plain sarongs to a variety of combinations of supplementary-weft motifs with warp and/or weft stripes. Each dalu is associated with its own styles, although the correspondence between regions and patterns is not absolute.
The style identified with Congkar, called *nae sudi*, is decorated with only a few narrow bands of continuous supplementary weft spaced across the "head" of the sarong (see Hamilton 1994: fig. 4-16). The "body" shows only the plain blue-black ground. The motifs in the supplementary-weft bands are very simple, created with a small number of pattern sticks (*teti*). The bands themselves are called *punca teti*. Traditionally only one color was used, a light indigo known as *ula*. This accounts for an alternative name applied to these cloths, *punca ula*. Commercial yarns in other colors, especially yellow and white, are now common as well.

In Biting, the predominant sarong style is somewhat more complex. The warp is blue-black with widely spaced stripes of light blue. In the "body" section these intersect with plain-weave weft stripes, creating a grid of large open squares (see Hamilton 1994: fig. 4-17). In the "head," the plain-weave stripes are replaced with stripes of continuous supplementary weft, using the same simple patterns and limited colors of the Congkar sarongs.

In Rembong, a number of different design formats are produced. The plainest are blue-black sarongs entirely undecorated except perhaps for the *jok* border, locally called *kaet* (Erb 1994:203). Another simple style, called *lipa leleng lauk*, is plain in the "body" and has only a few light blue plain-weave weft stripes in the "head" (see Erb 1994: fig. 9-6). The style for which Rembong is now best known, however, is the most elaborately decorated sarong made in northeastern Manggarai. The background fabric has plain-weave stripes running in both warp and weft directions, creating a grid structure like that found in the sarongs of Biting. These stripes are composed of yarns of both light and medium shades of blue. This accounts for the name *lipa pungsa ula zua* ("sarong with stripes in two shades of blue"). In the "head" section, the spaces within the grid are filled with discontinuous supplementary-weft motifs (see Hamilton 1994: fig. 1-22). Rembong weavers call these motifs "stars" (*talaq*), which accounts for the alternative name *lipa talaq*. They are created with pattern sticks, known in Rembong as *ghun*, and weavers refer to the various motifs according to the number of pattern sticks required. Rembong women weave these motifs only after an advanced stage of their marriage rites has been performed, which may not take place until middle age (Erb 1994:203).

**Mbay and Riung.** Mbay is perhaps the most renowned weaving community in western Flores. The most important garments are supplementary weft sarongs, *lipa dhowik* (see Hamilton 1994: fig. 5-34), and shoulder cloths, *sapang dhowik* (see Hamilton 1994: fig. 5-6). Sarongs may be further categorized as *lipa dhowik punsan*, in which the supplementary-weft part this is due to the trading of sarongs beyond their area of manufacture. Also, many weavers have mastered the making of sarongs in a variety of styles, although they usually are careful to differentiate their "own" styles from those which are copied from neighboring areas.
motifs are entirely confined to the "head," and lipa dhowik sewekkin, in which the "body" also bears motifs. The techniques used in Mbay are the same as in Manggarai, but Mbay cloth is readily distinguished by its color scheme. The background is a true black, produced by over-dyeing indigo with wood from a tree called rengit (Acacia glauca). This does not readily fade to deep blue as is common with Manggarai cloth. The traditional colors for the motifs are orange and yellow. Today Mbay weavers have added new colors, including red and yellow-green, but they shun the white and pastel shades favored in Manggarai.

In Riung, the most common sarongs today are quite similar to those of Mbay. Riung's lipa kaet sewekkin and lipa kaet punsan are analogous to the two types of Mbay sarongs (see Hamilton 1994: fig. 5-36). Riung weavers also produce rather plain sarongs with light blue weft stripes called lipa punsa bulung, identical to the lipa leleng lauk of Rembong. Interestingly, it is these that are required for bridewealth exchange. That such plain cloths are more esteemed than supplementary-weft cloths is a clue that the supplementary-weft technique may be a relatively recent innovation, not yet sanctified by association with generations of ancestors.

THE ORIGINS OF THE SUPPLEMENTARY-WEFT COMMUNITIES

Although it is at first a surprise to find a thriving tradition of supplementary-weft weaving on an island known primarily for ikat, it is not necessary to dig very deeply into the history of Flores to discover an explanation. The western part of the island was dominated, from the 17th century to the early 20th century, by powerful Islamic states on neighboring islands. The principal players were the kingdom of Goa on the island of Sulawesi and the sultanate of Bima, located directly west of Manggarai on the island of Sumbawa.

Newly converted to Islam in the first decade of the 17th century, the state of Goa rose rapidly to prominence. Its expansion came most notably at the expense of the Bugis, Goa's main rivals in the southern arm of Sulawesi. As the leading sea power in eastern Indonesia, Goa was soon extracting tribute from overseas regions such as Manggarai. By 1633 it was strong enough to dominate Bima, which thereafter became a vassal, with the royal families of the two states intermarrying [Andaya 1981:280]. The spectacular growth of Goa put it on a collision course with the Dutch. The East India Company forged an alliance with the Bugis and together they crushed Goa in 1669. The result was a diaspora of the Goanese people, or, as their descendants are known today, the Makassarese.8

The groups migrating overseas were so vast that the fleets were likened to floating cities. [...] The sudden appearance of these

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8The city of Makassar (now Ujung Pandang) grew beside the ruined Goanese capital.
fleets of armed men aroused terror in the local populations, which were incapable of repelling the newcomers. [Andaya 1981:210]

Makassarese exiles, many of whom members of the Goanese nobility, founded new settlements in coastal areas throughout the archipelago, including Manggarai. Bima had to contend both with the new powers in Sulawesi and with the exiled Makassarese. A failed attempt at marriage diplomacy in the 1720s resulted in war between the Bimanese and Makassarese in Manggarai (Gordon 1975:50-55). The Sultan of Bima eventually prevailed and Manggarai remained a dependency of Bima into the 20th century, administered via the port towns of Reo and Pota.9

Once Islamic communities had been established, the coastal portions of northwestern Flores were drawn permanently into the larger network of contact and trade in the Flores Sea. New settlers continued to arrive from Sulawesi, Bima, and even the Moluccas. In Pota, a section of the community to this day speaks Bimanese rather than Manggarai. In other communities, elders can still tell stories about the founding of their communities. I have been particularly interested in Riung and Mbay, two important weaving communities with fascinating histories. As neither of them has yet been the subject of a thorough study, I have attempted during a number of short visits to record at least the basic outlines of their oral histories.10

Elders in Mbay credit the founding of their community to Keraéng Jogo, a Sulawesi noble who came as a settler to the coast of Flores. Jogo arranged a marriage between his daughter Supi and Tuju Bae, a man belonging to the indigenous Dhawe ethnic group. Tuju Bae converted to Islam and took the name Abdula Tuju. According to the legend, all Jogo requested for bridewealth was a piece of land "as big as a buffalo hide." The Dhawe quickly agreed to this bargain. When Jogo received the hide, he had it cut into the finest possible strand and stretched across the coastal plain, laying claim to all the land enclosed between the hide and the sea. This is the land of the descendants of Supi and Abdula Tuju, who became the Mbay people.

The original hamlet of Mbay was located inland at the base of the hills backing the coastal plain. The site is still marked today by the ngandung, a monument that symbolizes the community's origins and is the Mbay version of the various forked ceremonial poles that appear in village plazas in many parts of Flores. It consists of a living tree growing from the center of a pile of rocks. The tree is said to represent the penis of Tuju Bae and the circle of rocks

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9Bima was weakened by the catastrophic eruption of the volcano Tambora in 1815, but direct administration of Manggarai by the Dutch colonial government was established only in 1908.
10For the information that follows, I am indebted to Haji Hussein in Mbay and to Ahmad Hassan and Sa'idin Ali Sela in Riung.
the vulva of Supi, thus commemorating the sexual union that produced the Mbay community. Only in recent decades has the Mbay population fanned out across the coastal plain.

In Riung, elders divide their community into three groups based on their place of origin overseas. One group is said to be the descendants of settlers from Goa, the second from the Moluccas, and the third from Makassar. The first to arrive were six Goanese brothers.11 Their abandoned boat is said to have turned into a small islet in Riung harbor called Lain Jawa. Today's head of this section of the community claims to be the 14th-generation descendant of the founding brothers. Calculating 20 years per generation, plus 50 years for the age of this man, yields a date of 1664, or approximately the time of the fall of Goa. It is therefore quite possible that the founders of Riung were part of the wave of exiles spun out of Sulawesi at that time. Today's elders believe the six brothers were born in a place they call Wua Lio, in Luwu, a region of South Sulawesi that was a vassal state to Goa.

Like Mbay, Riung originally consisted of a single hamlet. For defensive purposes, it was located at the top of one of the hills that rise sharply out of Riung harbor. Today the site is marked by a few ruined ceremonial poles called ngadhu.12 With the coming of Dutch administration in the first decade of the 20th century, the hilltop location was abandoned for a more accessible site at the base of the hill. The new village, complete with its original mosque, is still the main settlement of the Riung people today.

The regions surrounding Riung and Mbay are now sparsely occupied by additional settlements, some of which produce supplementary-weft cloth, but these have never equaled in reputation the two historically prominent communities. The situation across the border in Manggarai Regency is somewhat different. The two main port towns, Reo and Pota, were Bimanese strongholds, obviously settled by Islamic outsiders and developed as centers of trade and administration. The main weaving areas, however, consist of numerous villages located further inland. The most thoroughly documented oral histories in this region are those of the Rembong people, who have two sets of origin myths (Erb 1987:17). One set recognizes overseas origin while the other claims autochthonous origin, suggesting that the Rembong population may be a mix of newcomers and indigenous inhabitants. Nevertheless, as we turn from oral history to the evidence of the textiles themselves, the link between supplementary-weft weaving on Flores and Islamic settlement from Sulawesi and Bima is unmistakable.

11 Named Teto, Redo, Sambung, Solok, Talu, and Panda.
12 In both their name and their forked shape, these poles are identical to those of the Ngadha people. Although the Riung legends do not mention any intermixing with a pre-existing local population, as those in Mbay do, the presence of the ngadhu suggests otherwise.
EVIDENCE OF THE TEXTILES

The most direct evidence linking the textiles of northwestern Flores with Islamic settlement is the Rembong sarong lipa talaq. This garment is a rather exact copy of a characteristic style of sarong made in Bima, where it is known as weri. Another Manggarai cloth, worn around the shoulders or wrapped over trousers in the Malay/Islamic fashion, is a version of the Bimanese cloth salampé. These cloths have a solid-colored central lozenge set off from the borders by a row of tapestry triangles. They have now become rare and the only example I have seen still at its place of manufacture was in Biting, but similar cloths were perhaps once made throughout the weaving regions of Manggarai. Indeed, they occur as far east as the Sikka region.

In more general terms, both the specific supplementary-weft motifs and the overall design formats used throughout northwestern Flores would not appear out of place anywhere in the coastal Islamic reaches of the archipelago. Quite similar cloths can be found as far away as peninsular Malaysia where, interestingly enough, they are known as kain bugis or "Bugis cloth." This suggests that such cloths were also popularized in the western parts of archipelago by traders or settlers from Sulawesi.

The terminology used in supplementary-weft weaving on Flores provides additional evidence of the link to Sulawesi. The term lipa occurs in South Sulawesi and Selayar (Maxwell 1990:263), while it is never applied to the ikat sarongs made in other parts of Flores. The terms punca in Congkar, pungsa in Rembong, and punsan in Riung and Mbay are variants of the term puncang, used in South Sulawesi (Kartiwa 1986:62). Sudi and su 'i are variants of the Sulawesi term subi. Finally, the distribution of the loom using a plank as a warp beam is another clue linking the northwest coast of Flores to other weaving areas to the west. This loom appears prominently in the supplementary-weft centers of Sulawesi and Bima.

The copied textiles, borrowed terminology, and foreign style of loom all undoubtedly entered Flores via settlers from Sulawesi and Bima. An historical photograph shows Bimanese weavers at work in the port town Pota early in the 1920s (see Hamilton 1994: fig. 4-15). Although the Bimanese-speaking women of Pota no longer weave today, similar women must certainly have been the link responsible for establishing the supplementary-weft technique on Flores. Unfortunately much remains to be learned about

14Compare Hamilton 1994: figs. 4-5 and 4-6 with Gittinger 1979: fig. 114.
15See Nawawi (1989: plate 5.7) and Selvanayagam (1990: fig. 166).
16Unfortunately, relatively little has been written about these textiles in their Sulawesi homeland. Further research there may eventually allow the tracing of more specific links from Sulawesi to Flores.
17Kartiwa (1986:63). I have also recorded su 'i among weavers of Bugis descent at Samarinda on the island of Borneo.
the process of diffusion and its timing. In order to explore some additional clues, and also interject some new puzzles, I now turn to a brief examination of the relationships among the various communities in the region.

BARTER, SLAVERY, AND CHANGE

I have up to this point referred to supplementary-weft weaving on Flores as a coastal tradition, in that it is closely linked to Islamic maritime settlement from neighboring islands. Yet if one charts the weaving communities on a map, an unexpected pattern emerges. Across the entire region from Cibal to Mbay, the leading weaving villages are found in the ranges of hills that reach inland from the coast. Deeper into the interior, in the high mountains and valleys that form the crest of Flores, women do not know how to weave. Immediately on the shoreline, although some weaving can be found today, the weavers invariable trace the origin of their craft to the recognized weaving centers in the hills. In many cases, only in this generation have they resettled on the coast.

Two factors, one of them environmental and the other historical, account for this peculiar distribution. The rugged topography and seasonal monsoons of Flores produce dramatic differences in climate between regions that are often separated by only a few kilometer's walk. The north coastal plain presents for many months on end a landscape parched and sear. The hills are close to the sea in most places, but at Pota and Mbay they recede, leaving flat plains sparsely dotted with scrub and lontar palms. The Mbay region in particular once provided grazing for goats and other livestock, but was worthless for growing rice. The people of Mbay thrived in this harsh environment by specializing. The men excelled as herders and the women as weavers. To obtain food, they bartered their products with inland agricultural populations, especially the Nagé and the people of the Soa valley. In a good year (i.e., with adequate rainfall during the short wet season), it was possible to grow cotton or corn on the coast, but even these commodities were often obtained by bartering with inland people.

Although the hilly regions provide somewhat better agricultural conditions, they are far from ideal for rice. This most important of food crops grows best in the higher mountain valleys, where temperatures are moderate and rainfall more plentiful. The contrasting environmental conditions are personified in the relationship between the people of Rembong, a weaving dalu, and their non-weaving neighbors in the mountain dalu of Rajong. According to the local mythology, these two groups are descended from a pair of brothers. When the younger brother raped and murdered the elder brother's wife, he was vanquished and his descendants forever cursed.\(^{18}\) Those descendants are the Rembong people and their curse is two-fold. First, they occupy land in the hills that is unreliable for producing rice. Second, the

\(^{18}\)See Erb (1994) for a more complete account.
women of Rembong must endure a life of labor at their looms, producing cloth that can be bartered to the Rajong for food (Erb 1994).

Such ecological relationships go a long way toward explaining the distribution of weaving communities, but if cotton can be bartered as well as food, why are there not more weaving communities of long standing directly on the coast? The answer is that the coastal plains, and in some cases the first ranges of hills, were empty of settlement of any kind. To explain why, I quote a description, which though written regarding distant Johore on the Malay Peninsula, best gives the flavor of the times:

...the kingdom has long been without energy to resist piratical attacks on parts of its shore much less exposed than this. If a hut were now made here, every inmate would be carried off by pirates within a year and sold into slavery (Sopher 1965:43).

On the northwest coast of Flores, Bimanese or Makassarese settlements such as Reo and Pota existed as armed strongholds on the littoral. These ports, inhabited by non-Florinese, were centers of administration and trade, or, in more blunt terms, of tribute collecting and slave raiding. The indigenous population, probably already predisposed to mountain settlements due to the more favorable agricultural conditions, abandoned the dangerous coastal plain and lower hills altogether. The mixed communities of Riung and Mbay seem to have occupied a middle ground. The hilltop site of the original Riung settlement, for example, commands a wide view over the coast, to provide advance notice of approaching strangers. In turn, the Riung people, who were well-connected in archipelagic trade, engaged in slave raiding against indigenous communities further inland.

The distribution of the weaving communities raises interesting questions about the diffusion of textile patterns and technologies that can only be answered with further research. In communities like Riung and Mbay, which are directly descended from Islamic settlers, were today's patterns brought by the original settlers or did they evolve more recently in conjunction with the textiles of other areas connected by Islamic trade? In more isolated regions like Rembong, where the people purposefully maintained their distance from the dangerous coast, how, and when, were the imported patterns and techniques adopted? Rembong weavers regard supplementary weft as a recent addition to their repertoire and, in fact, the production of this type of cloth in Rembong is only now overtaking the production of more plain styles of cloth. This suggests that in some areas the process of diffusion continues today or may possibly be a recent phenomenon altogether.

19 Even today, the Riung people talk about fleeing their village when strangers were spotted in the harbor, although these stories date primarily to the time of the Dutch incursion in the early 1900s.
Today the conditions that once determined the distribution of the weaving communities have altered. With the establishment of peace, it has been possible for the people of hill settlements, including many weavers, to take up residence in more accessible locations on the coast. The development of irrigation allows these new communities to grow their own rice. The Mbay plain, once shunned except by its hearty population of weavers and headers, has been transformed by the construction of a dam and irrigation canals. Women's labor has become more valuable in the fields and the looms of Mbay have nearly fallen silent. Only a few elderly women continue to produce the traditional high-quality cloth that was once the lifeblood of the community. Improvements in transportation provide isolated regions like Rembong with easier access to markets, allowing for increased sales of handwoven cloth and for easier access to commercial yarns and chemical dyes. Despite these changes, the weaving of the northwest coast maintains its distinctive character, based in its origin as a craft transplanted from a foreign shore.

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THE 'SEVERED SHROUD':
LOCAL AND IMPORTED TEXTILES IN THE MORTUARY RITES
OF AN INDONESIAN PEOPLE

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INTRODUCTION

This paper explores the significance of local and imported textiles as these interact forming complex categories in the mortuary rites of the Lamaholot-speaking people of the traditional district Léwoléma in eastern Flores, Indonesia. Within this regional framework, my account draws primarily on field work in the village of Léwotala. There a person's physical demise elicits diverse social and ritual practices, depending on the deceased's achievements during his or her lifetime and the circumstances surrounding the death. As regards the mortuary sequence that commonly occurs, I will argue that various uses of cloth for exchange purposes mark both the severance --consequent on death-- of a specific affinal link and the simultaneous concern for its encompassment in a continuing flow of life between reputedly agnatic local clans and/or subclans.

REAPING THE HARVEST OF THE DECEASED

Local ideas in this regard may be approached through a consideration of the kinds of death that are distinguished and the corresponding treatments of the corpse. Full mortuary rites are performed for most deceased persons, although those who have died untimely and unfortunate deaths are notable exceptions. The latter category of deceased occasions neither the mortuary ceremonies, nor the affinal exchanges that are the focus of this paper. Indeed, the complete sequence of rites and prestations only occur in respect of men who have led productive lives and women who have reproduced and raised offspring. Given, however, that these gender-specific prerequisites are in accordance with the culturally defined aspirations of men and women respectively, most villagers who complete a normal life span do then become a subject of affinal prestations during their mortuary rites.

As I have discussed elsewhere (Graham 1991), in determining whether a mortuary prestation of elephant tusks is required in respect of the deceased, differential criteria apply to the "productivity" expected of men's and women's lives. These criteria relate to the kinds of fertility privileged in local conventional accounts of gendered work, such as stress the salience of agricultural production for men and of reproductive success for women. In all cases, however, the prestation rests on recognition of the "harvest" reaped from a person's lifetime and involves consequent apportioning of a share to the progenitor line which made that life possible. In other words, this affinal aspect of death returns to the "life-giver/wife-giver" (belaké, the term I render as "progenitor") a part of that "harvest", which the flow of life emanating from his agnatic line has generated out of the resources of its natal women's fecundity (bestowed on other men) and their sons' labour (on other clans' land). Where a deceased person has led a "productive" life by these criteria, then the relevant progenitor has a right to elephant tusks, as represented by the one on which the head of the corpse is resting prior to burial. In exchange, blessings are provided at the main mortuary ceremony and textiles must be reciprocated in due course.

Contact, Crossover, Continuity 159
Colloquially referred to as the "pillow tusks", these mortuary prestations are also known as "the pillow of the one who falls down". In theory at least, the progenitor with rights to a tusk prestation will not give the required permission for a deceased "sister" or "sister's son" to be buried, until he sees an appropriate tusk under the head of the corpse. His sighting of this headdress satisfies him as to the availability of tusks in the household of the deceased, verifying that the prestation can be made a few days hence at the main mortuary ceremony.

The standard mortuary prestation for a deceased woman is two elephant tusks, each no more than half an arm span in length. The reciprocal cloth is a locally made woman's textile of first or second grade (kewaték m'é'an or kewaték pasan). For a set of deceased male siblings, the mortuary prestation consists of one to three tusks, depending on their size. The elders who suggested sample prestations to me would expect reciprocal textiles according to the nature of the tusks offered: for a single large tusk they might hope for an Indian patolu, as well as a man's cylindrical cloth and belt (nowin and mét), whereas for other tusk combinations the more usual mortuary reciprocation of a woman's highest grade cylindrical cloth (kewaték m'é'an), together with a nowin and a mét would suffice.

As these hypothetical examples of appropriate prestations indicate, there is considerable flexibility in practice and negotiations are the significant factor in determining acceptable tusks and textiles for particular mortuary exchanges. Nevertheless, the return prestation for mortuary tusks given on behalf of male dead stands out among instances of textile reciprocations for its inclusion of men's cloths – nowin and mét – among those offered to the clan of the deceased "sister's sons". In this way, the male subject and his garden labour, which occasions the mortuary exchange, is echoed not only in the "male" tusks which substitute for a share of the deceased's produce, but also in the men's cloths which in this instance form a subset of the categorically "female" counter-prestation of textiles.

GUARDING AND BURYING THE CORPSE

In the village of Léwotala all deceased persons are finally laid to rest with their head aligned towards the mountain, Ilé Bantala, behind the village. In the old days corpses were prepared and laid out in a position termed seradin dodun. This was akin to squatting, except the corpse was placed on its back with its hands on its chest and its heels brought up close to its buttocks, so that its knees were bent and raised. To keep the legs in that position, skeins of cotton thread were wound around the raised knees thereby holding the calves in close to the thighs.

The corpse was wrapped in a shroud of cloth – whatever was available or had been put aside in anticipation, which might mean anything from plain cotton to an Indian patolu textile. One Léwotala elder known to me indicated in no uncertain terms that he hoped to be shrouded in a patolu on his death. In his view, entry to the place of the dead in such attire would leave those already there in no doubt as to the importance the newly deceased had been accorded by his contemporaries during his lifetime.

After the shroud, corpses were usually wrapped in a mat which was then secured by means of cotton skeins in three places. Nowadays, corpses are generally laid out flat and buried, not in mats, but in wooden coffins made as required by householders with the help of village carpenters. In recent times, following encouragement from the Catholic Church and insistence by officials of the government of the Republic of Indonesia, all
corpses have been buried in the village cemetery. Earlier this century, some corpses were buried in the houseyard, while those of especially esteemed persons might be placed on an individual exposed platform constructed some distance from the quarters of the living.

Prior to burial of the deceased, the corpse is washed and dressed then laid out in the house. Just as a mother hen shelters (gurun) her chicks and a woman cloisters her new-born baby between its physical birth and its clan affiliation through a bathing rite some four days thereafter, so a deceased person must be "cloistered" until their soul principle moves on to the place of the dead. In this account of mortuary rites, I refer to someone who is designated to gurun a dead person as an "official mourner" in that particular case.

The full mortuary sequence in Léwotuna involves not only cloistering the deceased and perhaps gathering to say Christian prayers for the soul. It also entails "lighting the fire" (porit apei) by presenting an animal, which will provision the mortuary rites once it has been "speared" for the purpose (robak berobak); setting food out for the deceased (pokok durok) aspects of whose soul principle (tuber manger) linger before entering the place of the dead; conducting the main mortuary ceremony "nebo four" (nebo pat), when four days have elapsed (i.e. on the fifth day) after the death; holding the subsidiary mortuary ceremony "nebo eight" (nebo buto), when eight days have passed (i.e. on the ninth day) since the death; and ritually retrieving the vegetable matter consumed by the deceased during his or her lifetime (hodé wulun koli).

While the corpse is guarded in the house during the night immediately following the death and into the next day, people come and go constantly. Apart from the male official mourner, men usually sit and talk in groups outside in the yard, whereas women gather around the corpse inside the house. Especially if the deceased is female, women representing the historically precedent "first-born" wife-takers (opu weruin) and/or younger women who have married men of the same clan as the deceased's husband and are therefore regarded as her junior siblings (adé'), will grate a coconut and make as if to wash the hair of the corpse using water infused with these coconut gratings. The deceased is thus readied for an imminent transition. Later, at the time of burial, the husk and scraps from this coconut must be taken to the graveyard and left there to rot.

While watching over the corpse, some women take turns to wail and sing, improvising on couplets of parallel speech. These women are said to be opu biné' of the deceased--those who have married out of the bereaved household (i.e. the sisters of a deceased man or the husband's sisters of a deceased woman)-- but actually any women who know sufficient ritual language may perform a dirge regardless of their relationship to the dead person. In these dirges, which usually reiterate a few key phrases, the women express their grief and complain that the deceased has left them too soon. The singers may also allude to episodes in the life of the deceased or recount their own ties with the dead person. Others present may request the deceased, through the singer, to carry various messages to loved ones already in the place of the dead.

One common refrain bemoans the deceased's "sudden departure". This refrain actually carries an implicit apology, that the woman expressing her sorrow has not had time to weave a cloth in which to dress the corpse. Strictly speaking, at least the children of the deceased and the women who have married out of the bereaved household should lay by an unused, good quality men's or women's cloth (nowin or kewaté' respectively) to add to the shroud of the dead person. Using such textiles, sons of the deceased are said to dress the corpse from the head down, whereas the daughters of the deceased and other women who are of opu status are supposed to dress the corpse from the feet up.
Furthermore, most people who enter to see the deceased a last time are likely to bring a textile of some kind, nowadays often a modern manufactured cylindrical wrap (lipa) or a few metres of commercial cotton cloth, and place this over the corpse lying in state. All these textiles added to the shroud must be torn slightly first, so they will appear whole and intact to the eyes of the dead, when they receive the newly deceased among them.

SEVERING THE SHROUD OF DEATH

Before the corpse is "wrapped", the actual shroud must be torn (sia) right through into roughly two-thirds and one-third parts. The larger piece is used for covering the corpse. Although merely part of a textile, this two-thirds segment is said to appear whole to the eyes of the dead, when the deceased enters the place of the dead wearing it. Even Indian patola, reputed to have formed the shrouds of well-respected persons in the past, are said to have been severed in this way. In fact nowadays, an intact patolu is often touched against the corpse, as a token dressing of the deceased in this prestigious cloth, after which it is hung up above the bamboo couch for the duration of the mortuary rites.

The one-third section of the cloth is referred to as "that which is severed" (senia). It is set aside – tossed over a horizontal pole above the bamboo couch on which the corpse lies in state – until the subsidiary mortuary ceremony (nebo buto), when it is taken home by the "first-born" wife-takers who have serviced the sequence of rites. As numerous other textiles of various kinds are placed atop the shrouded corpse prior to burial, three or four of these are selected to be included in the category senia. These additional items of cloth are placed alongside the separated segment of the severed shroud to be collected with it eight days later.

Another aspect of the composition of the "severed shroud" testifies to the reckoning of generations in handling deceased persons in Lewotala. Beside the items of cloth taken from a particular corpse, there is always a high grade women's cloth displayed for the "first-born" wife-takers to see, hanging above the bamboo couch. In most cases, this cloth is stored away again on completion of the mortuary rites. When, however, the deceased person represents the last of a genealogical level of clansmen and their wives, the local textile forms part of the "severed shroud". It is taken home by the wife-taking line, who have by then serviced the mortuary rites of an entire generation of their belaké clan. As such this textile marks a point of completion, but, since cloth prestations usually token a vouchsafing of fecundity (Graham 1994), I suggest it simultaneously articulates the continuity of affinal ties flowing over the categorical distinction of genealogical levels.

As the corpse laid out in state is readied for burial and the "first-born" wife-takers select cloths to constitute the severed shroud, the official mourner and a clansman of his own genealogical level prepare to give a saliva blessing (nilu') to their "sisters" and "sisters' husbands" (opu) generally. At this stage, the children of the deceased pass the bowl of water, which was by the right side of the head of the corpse, around among themselves and each drink a little of it. Sliced betel-nut ready for chewing is given to the corpse a final time, then some candle-nut is similarly placed in the mouth of the deceased. Of the two clansmen performing the blessing, one holds the plaited tray of betel ingredients and candle-nut, while the other prepares to administer the blessing by chewing some candle-nut and spitting the resultant saliva into his own left hand. He then dips a finger of his right hand into the mouth of the corpse, so as to extract a little saliva from the deceased and add it to that for use in the blessing, giving this nilu' its particular
significance. The saliva of the dead person is thereby passed on to the "daughters". This, I was told, confers on them a cool benign atmosphere bequeathed by the person who has passed away.

The first and last recipients of this burial-day blessing must be women who are wives of men of the wife-taking line servicing the mortuary rites. Since the severed shroud is later divided between these two women, they should not be actual daughters of the deceased nor natal clanswomen of the daughters. Those "daughters" will take their places elsewhere in the queue for the blessing. This sequence is to prevent the severed shroud textiles going straight back into the hands of a woman whose natal clan is that of the official mourner from the household of the deceased. The women who receive the first and final blessings, which are considered the strongest, are usually the wives of the two wife-takers nominated by their clan leader to contribute a chicken (on behalf of the clan) to each of the coming mortuary ceremonies (nebo pat and nebo buto). During the rites, these women also hand over to their belaké, in the person of the official mourner, two pairs of earrings. At the conclusion of this burial-day blessing, one pair is put in the plaited tray as the usual reciprocation for nHu'. The other pair is placed in the same tray, again held by the official mourner, as the wife-takers servicing the rites take down the cloths forming the "severed shroud" during the subsidiary mortuary ceremony (nebo buto).

Once this burial day blessing is completed, the deceased's daughters (and any of their natal clanswomen of the same genealogical level who happen to be present) each have a piece of white cotton thread, taken from a skein placed on top of the corpse, tied around their left wrist. In Léwotala, this is said to be a sign of mutual remembrance and longing between these women and the deceased; in the neighbouring community Rian Kotek, I was told that it is to prevent the soul principle of these women following the deceased to the place of the dead, for if that happened, the women concerned would pass away too. The remainder of the skein of cotton is buried with the corpse: the cotton's whiteness is understood to illuminate the feet of the deceased, as the skein forms a bridge over the waterway to the place of the dead.

This cotton thread tied around the left wrist of each of the deceased's daughters is reminiscent of the cotton strands tied on the wrists and other joints of a new-born baby during the final phase of its birthing rite. In the latter instance, the ties were said to prevent the mother's breast milk flowing out of the baby and were related to the differentiation and securing of life within the infant. Their application to the left wrist in the mortuary instance echoes the children who hold a sprig of lupon in their left hand, so as to "forget" the deceased whose corpse is being prepared for burial. Use of the left hand in this and other mortuary contexts facilitates separation and "letting go". The cotton ties on the daughters' left wrists, then, may be interpreted as facilitating dissociation from the deceased and securing the separate life within each of those women who are most clearly indebted to the deceased for their own vitality and its transmission to another clan. More specifically, like the first of the mother's milk, so the last of the corpse's saliva is fixed in these "sisters" following the blessing just conferred on them by their "brother" using the saliva of the deceased.

Providing the representative of the deceased's belaké has inspected the corpse, sighted and approved the pillow tusk headrest, if any, then burial can proceed. At this stage, one of the three lay Catholics trained to officiate at funerals in Léwotala nowadays might be summoned to lead communal Christian prayers. If so, prayers are recited as the corpse is placed in the coffin and may be continued while the coffin is carried to the graveyard and lowered into the freshly dug grave. Once the grave is covered in, household utensils most likely comprising a cooking pot, a plate and a coconut-shell
spoon, all of which are broken or damaged, are usually laid on top of the grave as grave goods. These items, said to be for the deceased's use in the place of the dead, are damaged here so as to appear intact there. The wife of a "first-born" wife-taker should bring a mortar, pestle and winnowing tray to the graveyard, where ideally she husks and winnows a little rice using only her left hand. This uncooked rice is then strewn near the grave for the deceased to take in due course.

CONFIRMING THE FLOW OF LIFE

Saliva blessing occurs at least twice during mortuary rites. As I described above, just before the burial a son of the deceased and a clansman of his own genealogical level administer such a blessing. One of them takes a little saliva from the mouth of the corpse and adds it to his own spittal from masticated candle-nut. He then blesses his clan sisters and "sisters' husbands", as well as any other men present whom he calls opu and their wives. This blessing, featuring the saliva of the corpse, orients that life conferred by the deceased on the living, at the same time as it affirms continuity in the transmission of life from the clansmen of the deceased's household overall to their "sisters' children" generally. Furthermore, this blessing must be understood in the light of the obligations of opu and the services they perform in association with the death of a belaké. The blessing may, indeed, strengthen them to undertake these tasks without ill effects. In any case, it seems clear that the reproductive vigour of the "sister" is passed on in the mortuary saliva blessing conferred primarily on her female offspring and their spouses.

The other prominent instance of nilu' as part of mortuary rites is that which precedes the collection of the pillow tusks. Whenever the representatives of the progenitor line come to collect a tusk mortuary prestation, they must bestow a saliva blessing on their "sisters' children". Indeed, only after the performance of this blessing are these representatives free to pick up the pillow tusks owed to them and depart. During the ceremony (nebo pat), held when four days have elapsed after the death, representatives of those lines who are belaké to the clan of the deceased's sons are each served a rice-mountain meal with its characteristic whole chicken condiment. The elders, who perform ritual chants, then call on Divinity as well as the ancestors in the place of the dead to join their saliva to that of the primary male ritual officer from each of these belaké lines for the blessing of their opu and these opu's wives.

For the blessing, the anointer daubs the recipients on the forehead, the chest and the back of the neck, using saliva imbued with masticated candle-nut, some of which he and any others jointly bestowing the blessing have chewed and spat out into the palm of his hand. Such blessings are conferred in many different situations: in affinal contexts from belaké to opu and in community contexts from those who are "lord of the land" to their client clans. In general, such blessing is understood to have a cooling effect for the recipients and to signal benefaction from those involved in its conferal. Affinal bestowal of saliva blessing, which articulates and reinforces the flow of life between belaké and opu, is reciprocated with a pair of earrings. These earrings, otherwise referred to as the "stem and cord" of bridewealth tusks, foreshadow additional prestations of elephant tusks in the context of a relationship of affinal alliance. As I understand it, affinal saliva blessing invigorates the fecundity of women set as it is against these tusks in a balanced asymmetric exchange idealized as in perpetuity between two allied lines.

The blessing is actually performed by a representative of the belaké line having the right to collect the pillow tusks. In association with a clansman who stands beside him holding a tray of candle-nut and betel-nut ingredients, this man confers the blessing of the assembled belaké, together with Divinity and the ancestors, on all those who are
eligible and come forward to receive it. The first and last people to do so are usually the wives of the two men who administered the burial day nilu'. The woman who receives the final anointing is given the shell of the candle-nut used in the blessing and in return hands over two pairs of earrings. One of these is the usual "payment for the saliva", which always reciprocates nilu', but the other is specific to this mortuary context. The additional pair of earrings is referred to as "the eyeball, the fallen mouth" by means of which the "brother", who provided the "sister", symbolically regains those parts of the deceased. After the blessing is completed, the "brother" who performed it may depart with the earrings and the pillow tusk prestation. In so doing he recoups, in metaphorical terms, certain parts of the dead person and acquires in the form of social capital a share of the productivity of the deceased. He could not, however, appropriate either of these aspects of the deceased without having blessed the "sister's offspring", thereby presaging their continued reproductive vigour.

In abrogating parts of the deceased to himself, then, the "brother" withdraws something of the "sister" from this specific instantiation of the affinal alliance between his line and that of his sister's children. At the same time, the "brother" concludes a series of affinal exchanges, that series which marked the flow of life evinced in the fecundity of the "sister" and the person of her sons. As a prerequisite to receiving the mortuary prestation, however, the "brother" must bless the "sister's offspring", vouchsafing that despite his imminent disengagement from this particular set of exchanges, the flow of life between the two lines remains manifest in other series already underway and will continue with additional re-engagements in the future. Thus, although death generates closure in a specific instance, it does so within the overarching context of a reaffirmation of the flow of life between the affinal lines concerned.

CONCLUSION

The impact of imported cloths, particularly Indian double-ikat silks and mordant-painted cottons, on the textile traditions of outer-island Indonesia is often attested in their influence on the design format and technical features characterizing the repertoire of local craftswomen. By contrast, this paper focused on the interaction of imported and locally made cloths among the Lamaholot of eastern Flores, as these combine to form complex categories in exchange transactions.

In particular, I dealt with the concept of the 'severed shroud', ideally a patolu torn into one- and two-third sections before the corpse is wrapped in the larger segment for burial. At some deaths, defined as those marking the passing of a generation, a high-grade locally made textile is also classed as part of the remaining 'severed' section of the shroud.

This notion of a 'severed shroud' shows that imported sumptuous textiles were not only items marking individual status and/or clan wealth, but also found a place in indigenous categories of social organization and ritual process. In tracing the significance of this category, I argued that it articulates social relationships specifically severed by the death and yet encapsulated in encompassing links of marital alliance.

Finally, the introduction of manufactured cylindrical wraps and lengths of commercial cloth, as well as the reservation of patola to represent the ideal rather than the actual shroud, indicate that Lamaholot categories of exchange featuring textiles are no more sealed off from contemporary developments in regional commerce than they were impervious to earlier patterns of Asian and European trade.
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Severed shroud (seniat) and saliva blessing (nilu')

With his back against the cloths set aside as the severed shroud, a man of a progenitor line confers a saliva blessing on his deceased sister's children during the Lamaholot main mortuary ceremony in eastern Flores, Indonesia.
FROM THE ANCESTORS OR THE PORTUGUESE: EXOTIC TEXTILES IN FLORES AND THE SOLAR ARCHIPELAGO (abstract only)

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Throughout the eastern Indonesian island of Flores and the neighbouring Solor archipelago, village treasuries usually contain considerable numbers of highly valued textiles and some items of costume. These consist predominantly of important local products clearly made within the particular village or district.

Other heirloom textiles have been acquired from outside the local regions in the distant or not-so-distant past. These exotic heirlooms are often awarded a special place in the hierarchy of textiles found throughout Flores, Solor and Lembata and, where possible, examines local histories and myths associated with the origins of particular objects or types of cloth.

Further, an examination of the place and significance of exotic cloth in various local ceremonial contexts will focus on relationships between local and "foreign" textiles. Such an analysis may shed light on the history of textiles in the Flores region and the impact of exotic textiles on local textile design, meaning and usage.
CLOTH AS MARRIAGE GIFTS. CHANGE IN EXCHANGE AMONG THE LIO OF FLORES

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INTRODUCTION
The exchange of gifts at life cycle ceremonies is one of the most important institutions in Lio society (cf. Howell 1989), as in many other societies in Oceania (cf. Strathern 1987, Weiner 1989).1 The life cycle event of marriage and its exchange of gifts is often significant, because important sociopolitical alliances between kin groups are initiated or renewed. In these exchanges, cloth wealth may play a crucial role, especially in ranked societies. Weiner (1989:50) contends that in Samoa "each distribution [of fine mats] is an example of the negotiation and validation of rank and power". Gittinger (1979:19) has pointed out the economic and symbolic value of cloth gifts at marriage in Indonesia: "The most important use of textiles is as gifts. This importance comes both from their real value and from their symbolic value as the product of women.” I shall investigate the points made by these authors concerning cloth gifts as well as the participation of cloth producers in the exchange of gifts at marriage in Lio society.

In the course of this century, the exchange of gifts at marriage has undergone amazing changes in Lio weaving villages in Central Flores. At the beginning of the more intensive Dutch colonial administration in Flores in about 1910, the highest ranking families in the weaving village of Nggela exchanged up to twenty pairs of traditional golden ear-drops (wéa se kati) against three pieces of cloth at bridewealth ceremonies.2 About 1950, shortly after independence, a maximum of five pairs of ear-drops were bestowed against six pieces of cloth. Today a maximum of three pairs of golden ear-drops (ómé mbulu se tenga and ómé mbulu rúa se tenga) are bestowed as bridewealth prestation, but about fifty, in exceptional cases up to one hundred, pieces of cloth as counterprestation. Gold jewelry and cloth are the most outstanding prestige goods in this society. Whereas gold jewelry as a so-called male gift, given by the family of the bridegroom, has obviously forfeited its former importance, at least quantitatively, cloth as a female gift, given by the family of the bride, has become more prominent. At the end of the 1930s, new rituals were even being created for the public display of cloth wealth, one at the bridewealth ceremony (toló nata) and one at the wedding (toló towa). The questions I wish to tackle in this paper are: How does gift exchange at marriage work? Why has cloth wealth as marriage prestation increased, whereas gold jewelry has decreased? And what consequences does it have for women as cloth producers? Before embarking on these questions I shall outline the main characteristics of Lio society and the significance of cloth wealth.

THE ATA LIO AND CLOTH WEALTH
The Lio people of central Flores subsist mainly on swidden agriculture. Traditionally their society consists of politically autonomous village clusters, so-called adat communities, with slightly different local customary laws and headed by a council of adat leaders (mosa

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1 According to George P. Murdock's "Outline of World Cultures" (1983) Oceania also includes Indonesia.
2 To have a rateable measure I have calculated the larger pairs of golden ear-drops, which are twice or three times as heavy as the smallest ones, as two or three of the small ones (ómé mbulu se tenga). So I reckon one pair of ear-drops of medium size (ómé mbulu rúa se tenga) as two pairs of ear-drops of small size, and one pair of large size (ómé mbulu telu se tenga) as three pairs of small size.
laki), presided over by a chief (mosa laki pu'u). Dutch colonization and Catholic missionary efforts were intensified in Flores only at the beginning of this century and brought about certain economic and cultural changes (cf. van Suchtelen 1921, Dietrich 1989). Independence in 1945 led to a more thorough restructuring of Lio society, especially on the sociopolitical level. Yet many former societal characteristics survived, albeit somewhat transformed. This especially applies to the rank system, which divides the population, the Ata Lio, into three groups: high-ranking people (ata ria), who descend from the founding clans of the adat communities, middle-ranking people (ana fai walu), who descend from the clans that settled afterwards, and low-ranking people (ata ko'o), who descend from former slaves. Marriage practices are still heavily influenced by the rank system.

Lio society can be further divided into two sections according to the main productive task of the women: North Lio, where the women do agricultural work; and South Lio, where the women produce cloth.³ This regional division of labor is institutionalized by Lionese adat, probably to support trade between the rather dry southern part, where there is frequent shortage of food, and the more fertile north. The weaving population amounts to approximately 10'000 cloth producers, comprising about 4'000 households, i.e. about 10% of all Lio households. The weavers traditionally produce women's sarongs, men's sarongs and shoulder cloths for their own use, for ritual exchange at life cycle ceremonies (pulu) and for regional trade. This regional and gender division of labor enabled a parallel female and male culture to develop in South Lio: on the one hand, women's cloth production, with an elaborate 'cloth system' as I call it, i.e. a repertoire of named cloth types with socially and religiously meaningful motifs and designs; and on the other hand, men's production of food, today mainly for subsistence, with an elaborate system of agricultural rituals (nggua) of sociopolitical and religious significance. This gendered 'dual culture' is particularly prominent in the weaving village of Nggela, where I conducted about two years of field work and which is the starting point of my argument.

The village society of Nggela, one of the centers of Lio adat (cf. Prior 1988:62), reflects the main traits of Lio society and culture and at the same time shows some peculiar characteristics of its own. The people of Nggela, the Ata Nggela, also identify themselves as a local group, with a culture and a language of their own. Traditionally, Nggela is more stratified than many other Lio villages. Today it is still more determined by stratifying principles of rank than of class. Rivalry about status positions, which is typical of rank systems, dominates village life. It permeates social relations generally as they are often conceived of in terms of "winning" and "losing", and it is particularly evident in life cycle ceremonies and formerly also in agricultural ceremonies.⁴ In Nggela, the highest amounts of bridewealth are given and the most abundant counterprestation, particularly cloth. Descent is calculated not only patrilineally, but also matrilineally. Membership in certain matriclans (kunu) is decisive for rank as well as for titles and positions, and confers special qualities in the ikatting of cloth.⁵ Cloth is also inherited in the matrilineal line. Succession as well as the inheritance of land is organized through membership in patrilineages (suku) or named Houses (sa'o).⁶ In Nggela, residence is matrilocal, whereas in other Lio villages residence is patrilocal. The weavers have created the largest cloth system, with thirty-three named cloth types (cf. de Jong 1994). On average they invest about a third of the fifteen pieces of cloth they yearly produce in gift exchange.

³ Howell (1989), who did fieldwork in North Lio, also proposes this division.
⁴ The yearly cycle of agricultural rituals has not been performed in Nggela since 1980.
⁵ Sugishima (1994) is the first scholar who to emphasize the significance of Lio matrilineal descent. He focuses on its symbolic aspects, but does not investigate its sociopolitical dimensions.
⁶ The named Houses are physically represented in the ceremonial houses (sa'o nggua) of the patrilineages. A normal living house is normally called oné in Nggela. Cf. also nai oné, the term for betrothal which literally means "to enter the house [of the future wife]".
and the more they produce, the more they give. This strategy runs counter to Western ideas of development, because the weavers cannot directly obtain cash income if they bestow cloths, rather than sell them. The exchange of cloth wealth used to be performed most abundantly at death, but today it is at marriage. I shall now analyze the marriage process and its exchange of gifts.

THE MARRIAGE PROCESS

There are several publications which deal with Lionese marriage according to adat rules (cf. Balo 1983, Misa Wasa 1983, Prior 1988), but they hardly ever deal with actual marriage practices, on which I shall focus here. In the village society of Nggela, three kinds of marriage are performed: marriage by formal courtship (tana alê), marriage by informal courtship (po'u uta, wangga kaju) and marriage by elopement (paru nai). They differ in respect of the involvement of the parents and of the bride and bridegroom. With marriage by formal courtship, the parents have a decisive say from the start. This most prestigious kind of marriage implies a high brideprice from close kinsmen of the bridegroom (bride-takers) to the parents and to the mother's brothers of the bride (bride-givers), comprising traditional vulva-shaped golden ear-drops (wea) (Figure 1), if available, animals and money (eko kereta). The bride's kin reciprocate with cloths and rice (pata benga), as well as other raw and cooked food (are podo). Only high and middle ranking, wealthy and large families, approximately 50% of the village population, can afford this large expenditure. According to Lionese adat, every marriage should entail the giving of bridewealth. As this is not guaranteed before the wedding with the other two kinds of marriages, I shall concentrate here on marriage by formal courtship.

Formerly this kind of marriage began with the official request and a betrothal ceremony, with exchange of minor gifts, and was completed after the ceremonial delivery of the main part of the bridewealth. More elaborate exchange of gifts at betrothal only started in the 1960s. A real wedding feast did not exist until the 1930s. Today, influenced by the Catholic church, the marriage consists of three main ceremonies: betrothal, bridewealth delivery and wedding. The wedding feast normally takes place immediately after the church marriage and can be regarded as a kind of complement to adat marriage. At each ceremony, bridewealth goods and countergifts of cloth are exchanged. Actually the whole marriage process, which lasts about two years, centers around the exchange of gifts and one could regard the betrothal as the first step and the wedding as the last one in the presentation of bridewealth goods.

The betrothal (nai onê) takes place after the young woman and her parents have agreed to the marriage proposal of the young men, which is officially made by a go-between (gha'i jala), sent by the family of the young man. In a small family circle in the house of the young woman, the betrothal is officially announced. As a first visible sign of the new relationship, three pieces of cloth, a men's sarong and shoulder cloth and a women's sarong, are presented to the intended husband. As a countergift the go-between gives bridewealth goods on behalf of the parents of the groom: gold jewelry, if available, and money. Later on, animals, for instance. a horse and a pig, and betelnuts, are brought to the house of the wife. Gifts of betelnuts (mota kéu) symbolize, that the young man is now engaged and not sexually free any more. The young, high-ranking woman is generally expected to keep her virginity, otherwise the brideprice would be reduced. If gold jewelry has been given, the parents of the bride bestow further large gifts of food some days later (iu longgo wea). Through these initial acts of gift exchange, close relations are established not only between the engaged couple, but also between their families. These affinal relations, called wuru mana, oblige both families to reciprocal help and services (para laka) and to gift exchange (pati welî) at future life cycle cer-
Figure 1. A pair of traditional vulva-shaped golden ear-drops, \textit{wéa}, lying on a large men's sarong, \textit{luka ria}. Nggela, 1993.

Figure 2. The bride and her kinswomen offer bundles of cloth to the father of the groom and his kinsmen in the \textit{tolo nata} ritual. Nggela, 1987.
Moreover, the bride has now acquired certain rights and obligations in the family of the groom. She can distribute food and she has to perform a kind of groom service for their parents-in-law until the wedding.

The delivery of the main part of the bridewealth (tu ria) is much more elaborate and many more kin participate in it. It is a public event, because the delivery of bridewealth is only validated if the village community can witness the occasion. Before, at the house of the bridegroom and at the house of the bride, animals and money, and cloths and rice are collected from the respective relatives, sometimes accompanied by large meals. At the feast near the house of the bride (nggewa téê), the parents of the groom, their closest consanguinal kinsmen (aji kaê) and their bride-takers (weta anê), present animals and money (for instance two horses, five pigs, one goat and Rp. 400,000), and possibly another pair of golden earrings, to the parents of the bride. In return, the parents of the bride, their consanguinal kinsmen (aji-kaê) and their bride-givers (nara anê) offer betelnuts and bundles of cloths (for instance fifty-three pieces) to the groom's kin, who have given animals. This ritual is called tolo nata (Figure 2). After these acts of gift giving, the family of the bride serves an opulent meal. Some days afterwards, the parents of the bride again give large gifts of raw and cooked food in return for the gift of gold jewelry (tu longgo wea). If the brideprice does not come up to the expectations of the bride's parents, they are entitled as bride-givers to demand more animals or money. And if the counterprestation does not correspond to the wishes of the groom's parents, they have recently started to request more cloths. The elaborate gift giving often causes conflicts between the two families, because both sides are anxious not to be disadvantaged. This may also lead to frictions between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law and between mother and daughter. In certain cases, it even leads to the separation of the couple after marriage. With the delivery of the main part of the bridewealth the bride is officially incorporated into the patrilineage of the groom, with full rights and obligations.

With the wedding (tau nika), the adat marriage is confirmed by the Catholic church and therewith also recognized by the Indonesian state. The wedding can also be considered as the last stage in the delivery of bridewealth, because once again the family of the groom gives animals, mostly two pigs and one goat or one cow (tu éko nika), money and some time ago, in rare cases, gold jewelry, too. As a countergift, the parents of the bride bestow rice. These gifts are given at the announcement of the marriage in the church (pai naja) and shortly before the wedding feast. On the eve of the wedding, the mother's brothers of the bride offer the groom wedding clothing for the couple, in a similar way as at the betrothal. After the wedding mass, the couple first visits the house of the groom and afterwards goes to the house of the bride, where the actual feast takes place, with eating and traditional dancing with the swinging of shoulder cloths (toja). Several hundred guests are invited to this feast. All bring gifts, a small amount of money at least, or a household article, thread for weaving or a shoulder cloth. Relatives of the groom give money too, without a special ritual. Before the meal, the ritual of cloth giving (for instance twenty-five pieces) takes place, by close consanguinal and affinal kinsmen of the bride, called tolé towa. After the wedding feast, the couple will eat for four nights with close kinsmen of the bride (ka are dengê). This represents the wedding ceremony of former times, the joint meals symbolizing marital life. The couple was not allowed to change clothing and had a ritual bath only after this period of four days. Gift giving by the newly wed couple, betelnuts to the parents of the bride and cloths to those kin of the groom who gave animals for the wedding, complete the marriage in Nggela. The couple is now responsible for its own household, although for some time they will often live in the house of the parents of the woman. In patrilocal Lio villages, according to adat, the

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7 Marriage exchanges in other Eastern Indonesian societies create similar affinal relations, as Barnes (1980) has shown.
8 The Catholic church does not allow divorces.
Marriage is only validated after an additional ritual of leading the bride to the house of the groom (tu mera sa’o) with gifts of three or five pieces of cloth and rice by her parents.

MARRIAGE GIFTS AND THE ROLE OF WOMEN

With marriage by formal courtship, the presentation of bridewealth (ngawu) is of central concern. From an indigenous point of view, the giving of bridewealth goods is proof that the groom will provide for the bride and her offspring and that she is gradually being incorporated into the House of her husband. At the same time, rights are conferred on the bride, and especially on her offspring, by the family of the bridegroom. The bride herself also acquires rights in the family of the bridegroom, for instance to inherit wealth, especially land and animals, from her husband after his death. Moreover, she also maintains certain rights in her natal family, for instance to inherit cloth from her mother and to receive gifts and support from her brother.

Bridewealth with gold jewelry, called belis, and locally manufactured out of Portuguese gold coins, is most highly valued. A bride who marries with gold jewelry is held in much higher social esteem than a bride for whom no gold jewelry is given. Before independence, according to adat, bridewealth always had to include golden ear-drops. Almost all marriages were contracted with gold jewelry at that time, and bride-givers had the right to claim it, which was a hardship for poor bride-takers. Brides sometimes practised marriage by elopement to avoid exorbitant bridewealth demands by their parents, but these brides were not respected in Nggela. Around 1950, Ata Nggela still used to give at least two pairs of golden ear-drops (omé mbulu se liwu) for a bride with special skills in ikat weaving. Subsequently much of the gold jewelry was sold to provide for school fees, and as a bridewealth item it was partly substituted by money. Bridewealth without gold jewelry, which is less valued, is now called "mother milk" (air susu ibu).

According to the norms of adat, patrilineally related kin groups of men arrange marriages and gift giving in Lio society and in the village community of Nggela. Looked at in a more narrow context, gift exchange takes place between married sibling pairs, i.e. between sisters and brothers. The Ata Nggela say: "The brother gives cloth and the sister gives animals" (Nara pati luka lawo, weta pati éko). Accordingly, the bride-givers who give cloth are addressed as brothers (nara amé) and the bride-takers who give animals are addressed as sisters (weta amé). This corresponds also to the ideal marriage of the matrilateral cross-cousin. In this case, brother and sister also exchange their daughter and son respectively. Whether they exchange their children or "only" material items, the institution of gift exchange enables the sister to keep a close social, economic and ritual contact with her natal family and House. The participation of women in gift exchange in the role of sister is thus formally acknowledged in Nggela society.

Considered from a household perspective, women in their role of wife and mother can also participate in gift exchange at marriage. This seems to be based on three factors of control. Firstly, they have the right to control the production and distribution of their own wealth, cloth, which has become the most important multifunctional product in Nggela: a necessary daily and festive piece of clothing for women and men, a significant prestige item and an indispensable market product. Through the selling of cloth it is mainly women who earn money and buy additional food and provide for school fees now. Secondly, women

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9 Marriages of this kind may comprise 10 % in Nggela today, whereas in some Lio villages 90 % of the marriages are of this kind (cf. Prior 1988:250).
10 This fact shows that gold jewelry exchanged in alliance relations does not belong to the House, as Howell (1989:431) assumes, but to individual households.
11 Howell (1990) emphasises the importance of the relationship between brother and sister among the Lio.
have the right to control household resources, such as food and money, a kind of control which in practice is extended to gift exchange. Thirdly, after their husbands' death, women have the right to control their husbands' wealth, such as animals, which means that they can also have some say over it beforehand in their role of wife and household manager.

The mother of the bride can thus directly decide about the range of female gifts. This is the case with the numerous gifts of food such as rice which she distributes herself. But it concerns even more the cloths she produces and the ones collected from relatives. This can lead to conflicts with her daughter, for instance if the mother withholds certain pieces. Indirectly she can also influence male gifts. By "seducing" the parents of the groom with abundant gifts of food she may lead to them also making generous gifts of animals and money. As a member of the bride-givers she can have a say in rejecting animals or even gold jewelry of minor quality and demanding more animals and money.

The mother of the groom can usually participate in gift giving indirectly. She may have influence on the giving of male valuables: on gold jewelry which the household may have obtained through her marriage or through the marriage of her daughter which she may have brought about; on money, which she herself may have earned by the selling of cloth; and even on animals, after they have been collected from relatives and given to her husband for the delivery of bridewealth, for instance by replacing a pregnant pig by another one. Moreover today she can influence the giving of female gifts. She may demand more cloths as a counterprestation for the brideprice or she may request the bride to change a piece of cloth if its quality is inadequate. Here she may come into conflict with her daughter-in-law.

Traditionally the bride and the bridegroom do not contribute goods of their own in the exchange of gifts during the marriage process. But they provide their labour, particularly the bride. She can also indirectly influence the giving of cloth. If her relatives do not give enough cloth or if it is of poor quality, she may press them to give more pieces or some of better quality. Unlike the groom, she also presents herself publicly: she offers cloths to her father-in-law at the tolo nata ritual during the feast of the delivery of bridewealth as a sign that she is now a "child" (ana) of his family and House. At first glance it is mainly men who arrange marriages and bridewealth transactions. But if we have a closer look behind the scenes, women take an active part in marriage arrangements, in exchange of bridewealth and especially in the giving of counterprestations. Women's participation in marriage affairs, which is based largely on acknowledged domains of control, is also publicly expressed in the rituals of cloth giving.

THE RITUALS OF CLOTH GIVING

The tolo nata ritual consists in the public offering of betelnuts, together with bundles of one to four cloths by thekin of the bride to those kinsmen of the groom who have given animals as bridewealth to the parents and the mother's brothers of the bride. Only female kin of the bride and the bride herself, but not her mother, participate in this ceremonial act. In the presence of the bride the mother of the groom examines the cloth gifts afterwards and will eventually demand more or other cloths. She keeps one bundle for herself and her husband and distributes the others. The bride and her friends bring the packages of cloths to the relatives of the groom.

In the tolé towa ritual (Figure 3) it is mainly female kin of the bride who present cloth gifts, the wife of the eldest mother's brother (jai eda) of the bride first. This time the cloth gifts are for the wedding couple and represent the initial wealth of their household (pati pu'u). This ritual act symbolizes that direct economic cooperation of the bride with her parents is over now, which the bride usually expresses in an outburst of weeping. In her role as a wife she has to start to manage her own household resources and has to come to terms with the delicate task of gift giving.
Fig. 3. Female kin of the bride offer cloth to the wedding couple in the *tolë towa* ritual, while the bride is weeping. Nggela, 1991.

Figure 4. The shoulder cloth *luka sémba* with patola motifs is an important ritual cloth worn by *adat* leaders and it is given to male bride-takers at marriage. 211x 61 cm. Collection of author.

Figure 5. A naturally dyed women’s sarong with patola-derived motifs, *lawo redu*, is given as a bridewealth cloth to the mother of the groom. 182 x 75 cm. Collection of author.
The development of new rituals for cloth giving at marriage indicates that cloth gifts have become increasingly important. Furthermore there has gradually been an increase in the numbers of cloths given at these rituals, as surplus production of cloth grew. Particularly high-ranking families tended to bring about changes that were emulated by other families. For example, at the end of the 1970s one of the important high-ranking families started to give a third piece of cloth, a women's sarong, at the betrothal ceremony. This is now a common custom in wealthy families.

Bridewealth goods are still considered as marriage gifts of primary importance in Nggela society as they publicly confirm the incorporation of the bride in the family of the groom with its corresponding rights. Cloth gifts are said to honor the groom and his family only. But there is evidently more behind them, otherwise the mother of the groom would not try to request more cloth and the bride herself would not eventually seek to give more of it to her in-laws. And interestingly enough, gift giving at marriage starts and ends with the giving of cloth. In addition to the symbolical value as women's products connected with the flow of life, cloth gifts also have an economic value in Lio society, as Gittinger (1979) has noticed in other Indonesian societies. Poorer women in Nggela sometimes compare the system of gift exchange with a saving or insurance system, similar to the rotating credit associations (arisan). Moreover, gifts confer prestige and influence or power to the giver, especially to men and women of high rank, who are able to give abundantly. This also applies to cloth gifts, as Weiner (1989) has indicated for the ranking society of Samoa. Nggela women say that the giving of a highly valued large men's sarong represents "a large mouth" (wiwi ria). "To have a mouth" (wiwi) means to be able to speak and is often used as a metaphor for authority. Statements of adat leaders also indicate that adequate cloth gifts strengthen the voice of the bride-givers and particularly the decision-making power of the bride herself in the family of the groom. This aspect may also find its cultural expression in the rituals of cloth giving.

PREFERRED CLOTHS AS MARRIAGE GIFTS

If a large bridewealth with gold jewelry and many animals is given, the parents of the bride should respond with an adequately large amount of women's ikat sarongs and men's striped sarongs and ikat shoulder cloths. Women's sarongs with horizontal bands which show only simple ikat design (de Jong 1994: fig. 10-7) and which the women slightly contemptuously call "non-ikatted thread sarongs" (lawo lélé) should not be given as marriage gift.

Cloth gifts as counterprestation to bridewealth should include at least a large naturally dyed black ritual men's sarong with fine squares (luka ria) (Figure 1, de Jong 1994:

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12 I therefore cannot agree with Howell (1989:429) when she uses use the more general term 'alliance exchanges' rather than 'bridewealth'.

13 Comaroff (1980:20-21 also points to the political character of marriage gifts, but does not go into detail. I suggest that any act of gift giving conveys the giver a certain power, as it causes debts in a broad sense and consequently relations of dependence which are not as easily balanced as in transactions of buying and selling. Mauss (1923/24:33) already made the same statement, but with a somewhat different argumentation: "What obliges in the received or exchanged gift result from the fact that the received object is not lifeless. Even when the giver has transferred it, it still is a part of the giver. Through the gift the giver has power over the receiver (...)" (Translation WdJ). Bourdieu (1976:135) contends that the size of marriage gifts in a peasant society reinforces the position of the spouse who brings it into the marriage: "The position of the spouses in the domestic power structure or, to use Max Weber's vocabulary, their chances of success in the competition for authority over the family, that is, for the monopoly of legitimately exercising power in domestic affairs, are definitely related to the material and symbolic capital [i.e. the value of kin, life-style and social respect] they bring into the marriage."
fig. 10-14), the "large mouth" mentioned before, as well as a ritual shoulder cloth with patola motifs (luka sêmba) (Figure 4, Hamilton 1994: fig. 6-35) for the father of the groom and a naturally dyed women's sarong with certain traditional patola-like motifs (lawo redu) (Figure 5, de Jong 1994: fig. 10-9) for the mother of the groom. Both large men's sarongs and naturally dyed women's sarongs are cloths that are highly valued, but scarce, in Nggela today. Like gold jewelry for bridewealth, Nggela women store the large men's sarong that comes into the household with the marriage of a son in order to exchange it later at the marriage of a daughter. The other cloths they receive are also exchanged at future life cycle ceremonies and sometimes they are sold. The weavers seldom wear cloth that has been bestowed. However, there are no sarongs which are exclusively used as bridewealth sarongs in marriage exchange today (cf. Barnes 1989). Most cloths are now produced with synthetic dyes and until recently large men's sarongs had ceased to be manufactured. Single high-ranking weavers have started to make it again, in order to be able to adequately reciprocate the bridewealth for their daughters.

Formerly the bride also received the above-mentioned lawo redu from her mother's brothers as a wedding dress. Today she has any cloth with rich ikat designs or even a Western bride gown. The groom has a small men's sarong (luka mitê') with chemise and a shoulder cloth, or sometimes a suit.

WHY HAVE CLOTH GIFTS AT MARRIAGE INCREASED?

We have seen that striking changes in gift exchange have taken place in the village society of Nggela. Cloth gifts have become much more prominent. Why is it that cloths as marriage gifts have gained such importance? At the end of the colonial area, with the growing integration of Lio society into an Indonesian state, the village council of high-ranking lineage heads gradually lost its legitimacy to enforce adat rules that were too strict and too hard to fulfill for the poorer part of the village population. This included high bridewealth demands to which bride-givers were entitled, particularly gold jewelry, a wealth item that had become more and more scarce. High-ranking bride-givers probably tried to secure their threatened loss of prestige and power by creating rituals for the public display of their cloth gifts and by giving larger amounts of cloth, a wealth item that had become increasingly available. The abundant giving of cloth as a counterprestation to bridewealth among the neighboring Ende people (van Suchtelen 1921: 112) may have served as an example, possibly because of intermarriage with Ende people in high-ranking families.

In addition to these sociopolitical factors, which may have led to the increase of cloth gifts, economic factors created a necessary condition for the availability of cloth wealth. At the end of the 1930s, after the Depression, the monetary economy expanded on Flores, so wealthy and high-ranking families were able to purchase more machine-spun thread, which actually was available since the intensification of Dutch colonial administration. Thus cloth production grew. After independence, the manufacture of cloth became more egalitarian, because high-ranking women lost their monopoly on certain ikat motifs. Weavers of all ranks could now create all ikat motifs, at best limited by age. So high-ranking wealthy weavers could have poorer women work for them more easily and produce a larger surplus. During the 1970s, synthetic dyes were introduced on a large scale in the village society of Nggela. Through this technological innovation cloth production increased even more.

CONCLUSIONS

To get access to new resources of wealth, prestige and power, namely formal education and public offices, Ata Nggela have sold a great deal of gold jewelry since the

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14 Actually only weavers who have passed menopause are now allowed to ikat certain motifs that formerly were monopolized by high-ranking weavers.

1950s and also more and more cloths, particularly with the spread of tourism in the 1980s. As gold jewelry has grown scarcer, it has increased in value, so that twenty pairs of golden ear-drops in the past have roughly the value of three pairs today. 15 But whereas the economic and cultural importance of gifts of gold jewelry may be the same, its sociopolitical importance, which is also expressed in the number of wealth items, is not the same as in former times. The growing availability of cloth wealth has not effected its devaluation, as market demands have also risen. The value of large men's sarongs and of naturally dyed women's sarongs has even increased. So cloth gifts have become more important in economic, cultural and sociopolitical terms than before independence.

As a consequence, by giving cloth that women themselves produce and control, they participate more than ever before in the system of prestige and power, and they exercise influence that goes beyond their own households. Moreover, by manufacturing cloth they provide their family and themselves with essential clothing, and by selling cloth they provide their households with essential funds. But the more surplus cloth the weavers produce, the stronger is the social pressure to bestow them as gifts, and the more easily there arise conflicts among women about cloth gifts, especially between mothers and daughters and between mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law. For in their different roles these women have different interests and pursue different strategies in the exchange of cloth gifts, be it quantitatively or qualitatively, as managers of their own households and as active members of their marital and natal families.

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15 Converted into horses, the value of twenty pairs of golden ear-drops formerly and three pairs today approximately corresponds to seven horses. Formerly one women's sarong was worth one third of a horse, the same as today. Now a large men's sarong is worth one horse, and a naturally dyed women's sarong is worth one horse and a half.


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Introduction

Silks traded along the ancient Silk Route were precious, light and easily transportable commodities that served as ideal vehicles for cross-cultural exchange. The survival of several hundred Central Asian silks variously datable between the seventh and the eleventh centuries, presents an opportunity to trace patterns of trade, diplomacy and cross-cultural developments at the heart of the Silk Road. These silks perfectly mirror contact, cross over and change fostered under the auspices of Mediterranean/Near Eastern economic and diplomatic exchange.

This paper will ask three questions:
1. What lay behind Byzantine influence in Central Asia along the ancient Silk Route?
2. What was the precise nature of the transformations which the Byzantine contact engendered?
3. What do these changes reflect about Byzantine silks as a medium for cross-cultural exchange?

1. What lay behind Byzantine influence in Central Asia along the Old silk Route?

A Chinese source dated 606 A.D. entitled the, 'Report on the Western Lands', speaks of three main silk trade routes that linked China to the West:

a. A northern route that was accessed through the Caucasian mountain passes
b. A central route that passed through Sogdian territory and on to Persia and
c. A southern route, which branched off into India and linked up to the sea borne traffic of the Indian Ocean.

By 606 A.D. Byzantium laid great stress on encouraging trade via Central Asian intermediaries at Pei Kend in Bokhara on the central silk route. Here the Byzantines had access to Chinese goods including silks, which had been transported by Sogdian merchants from Sogdian trading posts at Lop Nor on the western Chinese border.

What was the background to this arrangement? First and foremost sixth century political and economic rivalry between Persia and Byzantium has to be mentioned. Secondly it should be noted that in the fifth to sixth centuries Byzantium was only just beginning to establish domestic sericulture within her Empire; initially in Syria and subsequently across Asia Minor. In part her industry still relied on imported raw silk supplies. The third relevant factor is that by the sixth century Persia came to hold a powerful position in regard to both the central and the northern silk trade routes. Access to the former was through Persia itself, whilst the latter was reached via Caucasian mountain passes heavily guarded by Persian troops. Matters came to a head when Byzantium refused any longer to pay tribute money to the Persians for protection of their garrisons stationed in the Caucasian passes. War between Persia and Byzantium was declared and this lasted from 572-591 A.D. Meanwhile, the southern silk trade route, which linked up to the sea borne traffic from China, was also under Persian domination.
Several attempts had been made to bypass Persian threats to Byzantium's foreign trade policy in the sixth century, not least a series of diplomatic alliances with Ethiopians (530s, 550s and later) Sogdians and Turks (568-581).\(^6\) Out of these negotiations Byzantium gained substantial trade agreements with the Sogdians along the central silk route to China, and for a time with the Turks along the northern silk route, although Persia continued to dominate Chinese sea-borne trade on the southern silk route.

A caftan excavated in the Caucasus by Jeroussalimskaja reflects well the theatres of trade and war that linked Byzantine, Sogdian and Chinese interests.\(^7\) This garment (figure 1) displays a magnificent Byzantine senmurv silk for the body of a garment that employs both Sogdian and Chinese silks as linings. The design is comparable to that of the senmurv silk in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.\(^8\) More than seven hundred silks have been excavated in the western Caucasus and await publication. These silks stand as testimony to hitherto unimagined trading links between Byzantium, Central Asia and China between the seventh and the tenth centuries. Some forty to fifty Chinese silks are included amongst the finds from the western Caucasus.\(^9\) Recent years have also witnessed the discovery of Chinese silks in Chinese tombs, which by the tenth century show signs of western influence.\(^10\) The idea that China and the west were totally remote from one another during the central middle ages, may require a total revision as more finds are uncovered.

2. What was the precise nature of the transformations which Byzantine contact engendered?

The geographical diversity and breadth of distribution of the Central Asian silks is truly astounding. There are examples uncovered by Aurel Stein in walled up Buddhist caves at Chien fo-tung in China; other silks as described above, were excavated in the Caucasus, whilst many further examples survived as reliquary covers in ecclesiastical treasuries across Europe (in France, Holland, Belgium, Germany and Italy).\(^11\)

Although the rich Caucasian material will not be published until next year, the overall characteristics of Central Asian silk weaving from the seventh to the tenth centuries can be gleaned from the known surviving material. Dorothy Shepherd in her articles 'Zandaniji identified' (1959) and 'Zandaniji revisited' (1980) provided a valuable guide to Central Asian silk weaving of the seventh to the tenth centuries.\(^12\) In conjunction with Henning, she derived the name Zandana, a district of Bokhara in Central Asia, from a merchant's mark on the rear of a ram silk at Huy. A similar ram silk was discovered in the Aurel Stein walled Buddhist caves in China and this is now at the British Museum.\(^13\)

The Central Asian silks described by Shepherd fall into two technical groups:

i. weft faced compound twills with three to four main warps twisted z and

ii. weft faced compound twills with paired, gummed, untwisted, main warps.\(^14\)

Silks of the first technical group include examples at Sens (figure 2), Aachen, Liege, Brussels, London, Rome and elsewhere. Silks of the second group encompass fabrics at Maastricht (figure 3), Lyon, Sens, Berlin and other centres.\(^15\)

Stylistically speaking, a characteristic of the silks is the use of toothed medallions to enclose animal and foliate motifs with markedly stepped outlines. The use of a specialised palette dominated by dark blue, pink interrupted by green, orange and browns, is also a noted feature of the silks. The general width of the pieces that retained selvedges is a little under 120cm. Distinctive weft fringes also appear on certain silks of the group.

Whilst emphasis quite rightly has been placed on identifying the unifying characteristics of the so-called 'Zandaniji' silks, perhaps insufficient attention has been given to the features on some silks of the two groups which clearly reflect penetration of foreign influences and transformations of local styles. For example, consider a series of little publicised Hunter silks at the British Museum in London (figure 4), at the Victoria and Albert museum in London, today lost but once at the Kunstgewerbe museum in

Düsseldorf, and at the Kunstgewerbe museum in Vienna. These all manifestly attempt to imitate Mediterranean Hunter silks such as the Byzantine Mozac Hunter silk or the Hunter silk lining the St. Ambrogio altar in Milan (figure 5). The distortion of proportions on the Central Asian horse and rider imitations illustrate the difficulties that the Central Asian weavers encountered in trying to interpret unfamiliar asymmetrical figurative motifs. The Central Asian colour palette similarly, begins to temper pink, orange and green, brown and dark blues with the bright reds, greens and blues of the Mediterranean. This liveliness of colour is true also of two Central Asian silks with horse motifs at Sens cathedral treasury (inv. 40 (figure 6), and inv.41) in red, green, mauve, yellow and white. On these silks, and on a Berlin Kunstgewerbe Museum, Horse silk, pearled medallions of a Byzantine kind have replaced the jagged toothed medallions characteristic of many Central Asian silks.

Some Sogdian silks from the Caucasus directly copy Byzantine Hunter themes, whilst other Sogdian silks elsewhere, display an odd mixture of Central Asian and Byzantine tastes. These include two silk fragments in Berlin with scenes of animal sacrifices. Here elements of Central Asian iconography are welded to Mediterranean foliate ornament and bright colour palette. Two further Central Asian silks, one in Cologne and the other in Berlin's Kunstgewerbe Museum, reveal rather an awkward adaptation of the human figure in the form of spandrel decoration accompanying medallions with paired horses.

The idea that Central Asian silk workshops did imitate specifically Byzantine motifs is substantially supported by the evidence of several silks. The eagle silks at Lyons (figure 7) and at Sens for example, hark across to Imperial Byzantine eagle motifs (figure 8). Here the Central Asian favoured russet and tan dyes have been retained in spite of the imported motifs.

A Central Asian Lion silk at St. Servatius, Maastricht (inv. 2) appears to be a direct copy of an Imperial Byzantine Lion silk of the type characteristically despatched abroad as part of Byzantine foreign diplomatic policy. This silk is a weft faced compound twill with main warps in three to fours twisted Z. Unlike the smooth Imperial paired main warp twills, its Lion has exaggerated outlines and unconvincing proportions. The delicate tree motif behind the Lions of the imperial pieces has become a vast angular structure on the Central Asian piece. The Byzantine lions measure around 70-80cms across, but the Maastricht lions measure only 24.5 cm. The Byzantine Lions are woven down rather than across the loom to accommodate their width in repeat form. The Maastricht lion proportions do not merit this treatment and so they are woven across the loom in the conventional manner. Perhaps it was a regular Central Asian feature to play safe with size when imitating a foreign model, for the Sens horse motif silks described above are only around 12cm. wide, whilst the medallions of characteristic Zandaniji lion silks such as the Ram silk from Huy reached proportions as wide as 35cm.

It is interesting to note that when Eastern Mediterranean motifs are imitated, the Central Asian weavers often tend to use the finer paired grège main warps. Perhaps the use of fine, paired untwisted grège silk warps, as opposed to the use of coarse twisted, triple and quadruple main warps (characteristic of Zandaniji group one silks) enabled the Central Asian weavers better to come to terms with the imitation of foreign motifs.

One may summarise Byzantine influence on Central Asian weaving as falling under three headings:

i. Direct imitation or overall amalgamation of Byzantine motifs
ii. Technical adaptation (to the main warps) to enable smoother contours characteristic of imported motifs to be imitated
iii. Modification of the traditional Central Asian colour palette largely based on ferrous dyes
3. What do these changes reflect about Byzantine silks as a medium for cross-cultural exchange?

These traces of Byzantine influence on Central Asian silk weaving of the seventh to the tenth centuries reflect more than mere technical and stylistic influences. Most vividly they suggest the power of the woven symbol as a transmitter of fashion across the mediaeval globe. For instance, Hunter themes became popular in Byzantium in the eighth to ninth centuries as part of the phenomenon of Iconoclasm. When figurative, religious subject matter was banned across the Byzantine Empire, Hunter and Charioteer iconography was extolled under the iconoclast Emperors. The adoption of Hunter motifs in Central Asia had nothing to do with Byzantine Iconoclasm but it did say much about the speed at which fashions travelled. However, not only fashion was at stake: the Imperial Eagle and Lion silks that inspired Central Asian imitation for example, embodied the power and the prestige of the Byzantine Empire. What did their adaptation in Central Asia represent? Was this an attempt to associate with the might of the Byzantine Empire?

On Byzantium's part, the use of silken diplomacy to secure Sogdian intermediaries for trade with China was part of a double edged sword. Not only did she ensure for herself a means whereby to supplement her domestic supplies of raw silk, but she also won an ally against her Persian enemy. The art of the use of Byzantine silks as powerful political weapons alongside their recognition as valuable economic assets, was perfected and exploited to great lengths by the Byzantines in the tenth to eleventh centuries. In this regard it can be said that the early Central Asian silken contacts described, clearly signalled greater things to come.

Finally, it is relevant to note that the Silk Road penetrated further East beyond China: its eventual destination of course, lay in Japan. As witness to this, the Shoso-in Buddhist temple repository in Nara, Japan, houses a wealth of silks dating back to the mid eighth century, a number of which bear the indelible mark of Byzantine influence. Even today, it would be difficult to cite a single fabric outside perhaps denim, that could be ranked equal to Byzantine silk in its ability to cross traditional geographical, religious and cultural boundaries and to influence taste on such a truly global scale.

Footnotes


9. Personal communication Dr. A. Jeroussalimskaja, Keeper of Textiles, Hermitage, St. Petersburg.


15. A. Muthesius, *History of the Byzantine Silk Industry*, chapter 10 sections 1 and 2 entitled respectively, Shepherd and Henning's group one Zandaniji silks, and, Shepherd's group 2 and group 3 Zandaniji silks, with references to articles in Russian by A. Jeroussalimskaja. The so far unpublished, excavated Sogdian material in the Hermitage, will be published under the auspices of the National museum Munich, by Dr. A. Jeroussalimskaja in 1995/6.


17. Ibid. chapter 7 entitled, Falke's so-called Alexandrian group of silks and some related pieces.


20. Dr. A. Jeroussalimskaja personal communication. The unpublished Sogdian silks include examples with Byzantine style Amazon motifs and with Byzantine like Hunter themes.


25. Ibid. 237ff.

27. The term grège refers to silk still in the gum. De-gummed silk used for warp threads was twisted to give it strength. Grège silk by way of contrast, could not be twisted in the same way because of its sericin gum coating.


30. This theme will be explored by the present author in a public lecture for the Early Medieval Textile Society, at a day of Byzantine papers in the British Museum, that will take pace on April 11, 1995.


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THE POMEGRANATE PATTERN IN ITALIAN RENAISSANCE TEXTILES: ORIGINS AND INFLUENCE

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THE NINETEENTH CENTURY TRADITION

The term "pomegranate motif" includes a series of vegetal patterns - the pine cone, the artichoke, the thistle, variants of the tree-of-life motif, and, in particular, the lotus and the palmette. These last two patterns were closely studied by Alois Riegl in his 1893 work, Stilfragen (Problems of Style). The term itself came into use during the period of historic revivalism in the latter half of the nineteenth century. At that time important design theorists and practitioners such as Owen Jones, William Morris, and Walter Crane dedicated space in their writings with accompanying plates to the reconstruction of Renaissance pomegranate patterns. The textile sources could be seen at first-hand in the collections of the then recently-created decorative arts museums beginning with the South Kensington Museum (1862) in London. These Italian Renaissance textiles originated in church vestments and ecclesiastical furnishings and were either donated to the museum or bought from antique dealers, among whom the ubiquitous Canon Bock. The study of historical pattern design played an important role in the didactic programs of the new design schools annexed to the decorative arts museums both in Europe and in the United States. To achieve good design through study of past styles was the philosophy of design education for industry. The pomegranate motif, in its various compositional structures, was analyzed in pattern-design textbooks prepared by authoritative instructors who were also practicing designers. The textbooks by Lewis F. Day, an "Arts and Crafts" designer and teacher who was contemporaneously involved in industry as artistic director of the Turnbull & Stockdale textile firm, became standard works in textile design education and went through numerous editions. Contemporaneously, a philological interest in the evolitional development of ornament was occurring in the Viennese school represented by Strzygowski, Dvorak and Riegl. Riegl left his mark both on museum studies as curator of textiles and carpets in the Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst in Vienna and on university research with such pioneering studies as Late Roman Industrial Arts (1901) while professor at the University of Vienna. His fundamental work on the "contact-cross over-continuity" of the lotus and palmette motifs was extremely influential in various fields.
THE CLASSIFICATION OF COMPOSITIONAL STRUCTURES

In more recent times, one aspect of pattern design - the reference to repetition of pattern as deduced from mathematics and crystallography and subsequent applications was studied by Dorothy Washburn and Donald Crowe in their 1988 book, Symmetries of Culture. Another aspect, pertinent to the technical elements in textile patterning, was covered by Milton Sondra in his 1987 essay on patterns and weaves in Safavid velvets and lampas; there he gave a precise explanation accompanied by clear drawings concerning the technical process underlying both the construction of the continuous pattern as well as the derivation from a minimum technical repeat.

My own particular interest lies in the stylistic development of taste and visual perception which occur in pattern design in a given society over a given period of time. As some of you may recall, I have been gathering information on the pomegranate pattern in Italian Renaissance textiles and the representation in European Renaissance paintings and sculpture for some twenty-five years now. I was, and still am, fascinated by the fact that this one motif could have held its own for over a century and a half as the most important textile design in production - naturally, though, with variations. This is an extraordinary record considering changing fashion, social taste and commercial exigencies. In fact, even today, this pattern is still being produced, especially for furnishing textiles.

After gathering examples of pomegranate-patterned textiles in museum and church collections and compiling art references I observed three fundamental compositional structures and formulated the following scheme. Just as then, I still find that the pomegranate pattern can be reduced to these three fundamental compositional structures (fig.1):

1) An ogival network.
2) Horizontal rows of lobate palmettes on bifurcated stems.
3) Vertical serpentine compositions.

In the first group, the pomegranates, small in size, are situated either at the four tangential points of the symmetrical ogival network or in the central area of each ogive in a larger-sized motif (fig.2).

In the second, the pomegranates dominate and are aligned in horizontal rows with connecting bifurcated stems which are a development of the first network structure (fig.3).

Lastly, in the third group, the primary motif consists of large pomegranates which are aligned diagonally or vertically and embellished with fruits, flowers, buds and foliage. This pattern is counterbalanced in the opposite direction by a secondary, less-accentuated, design which resembles the first, but in a smaller scale (fig.4). The desire for balance, order and symmetry in this pattern reflects the Italian Renaissance aesthetic prevalent in all the major and minor arts of the period. But also the technical necessity for balanced physical weight in the pattern over the material surface of the textile, especially for brocaded pile on pile velvets.

One of the few written indications concerning this pattern is the rather simplistic description of the two last-mentioned
structures in an anonymous fifteenth-century Florentine manual on silk weaving and dyeing, *Il trattato dell'Arte della Seta*: the pattern types are called "de' cammini" and "delle gricce".  

Stylistically the early Renaissance patterns had a clarity and symmetry of design while those at the end of the fifteenth century had sinuous naturalism and intricacy of detail. An important change occurs in the chromatic aesthetics of pattern designing, especially for velvets. Between the first and second halves of the fifteenth century. At first the patterned velvets are polychrome, with brilliant hues; then there is a preference for monochromatic tone-on-tone effects (crimson, blue, green, violet, yellow) and accent on plasticity of surface with effects of light and shade (pile-on-pile velvet or "ad inferriata" style). Gold became important for surface illumination using cloth-of-gold background and highlighting with gold brocading and bouclé.  

To determine a chronology or provenance for the extant examples of these textiles our chief source of comparison is the representation of similar ones in European Renaissance art. Documents, such as ecclesiastical inventories, royal household account books, commercial ledgers, notarized testaments, dowry contracts, and sumptuary laws give us, save for exceptional cases, only generic descriptions of the textiles. As a consequence it is very difficult to pinpoint the provenance or the date of individual textiles. One rare example of a "textile design", albeit very hastily sketched, is found in a job order sent by a Datini agent to the home office in Florence, dated 1408.  

Throughout Europe and Asia Minor, during the entire Renaissance period and even for some time beyond, the sumptuous Italian gold-brocaded red velvets with the pomegranate motif, the "zetani vellutati allucciolati" recorded in contemporary documents, were an indication of high social status: luxury, power, and sacredness. The excellence of the Italian weavers and the virtuosity of the Italian goldbeaters and jewelers made these fabrics emblems of artistic taste and wealth. Textiles woven with the costliest materials (silk, gold and crimson color) in the most intricate of weaving techniques (velvets in two or three heights of pile, cut and uncut 'ciselé' velvets further enhanced by gold brocading and bouclé) and dyed with the costliest of colorants (kermes, cochineal red, and its exorbitantly-expensive mordant, allum) were keenly sought after by popes and emperors, by cardinals and kings, by the ecclesiastical and the political élite alike.  

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE POMEGRANATE PATTERN  

What the pomegranate motif signified to these elite buyers of Italian silk velvets can be comprehended better if we first look briefly at the earlier symbolism of this fruit.  

The pomegranate, which signified fertility and immortality in Eastern religions, was absorbed into Christian symbolism. Jungian psychology, however, helps to provide an even more primordial significance. The round fruit with a fissure from which the seeds burst forth is a symbol of fertility just as the "fruit" issues from the female womb. Consciously or unconsciously this fruit motif has been used in ancient cultures as a fertility
symbol with the consequential signification of regeneration and immortality. The ovoid form alludes to the tantric mandala, but again also to the womb. The fruit within a palmette on a bifurcating stem is similar to the "Great Mother" symbol - that of the Greek Cybele or of the Roman "Magna Mater" - found, for instance, in Anatolian kilims.

The pomegranate fruit originated in the desert regions of the Middle East, Persia and Palestine; it is a "life-giving" fruit because it thrives in arid areas. Friedrich Muthmann in his study of the pomegranate motif in the ancient world proposes Elam, Sumeria, and Akkad as the original home of the pomegranate symbology (3000 B.C.). The fruit is represented, for instance, in the alabaster relief from the Northwest palace of Assurnasirpal II (883-859 B.C.), Nimrud, (London, British Museum).

The Bible gives early mention of the pomegranate, called in Hebrew "rimmon", in the "Songs of Solomon" and in the description of the priestly garment or "ephod" which the Lord commands Moses to have made. "colored blue and scarlet and purple and adorned about its hem with golden bells and pomegranates." Hence it is not by chance that in Piero della Francesca's portrayal of the biblical "Meeting between King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba" in Jerusalem (fresco cycle "The Legend of the True Cross", Arezzo, Church of St. Francis, 1452-58) both of the royal personages are dressed in gold brocaded garments having the pomegranate pattern (type III): regality and sacredness are alluded to in this important event through the symbolic use of the golden pomegranate.

The pomegranate motif is widespread in Middle Eastern Islamic architectural decoration. It also appears in garments as is seen in this eleventh-century Persian ivory plaque (type III) (Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello). In this culture where abstraction and stylization in pattern design is prevalent we find the segmented palmette motif.

The pattern is seen in the decoration of Moorish Spain, such as the stuccoes of the Alhambra. The city of Granada, in fact, takes its name and symbol from this fruit.

In ancient times the pomegranate fruit passed from the East into the Graeco-Roman world. Called "granata punicum" by the Romans because they considered the fruit to be of Carthaginian origin, it was probably brought to Carthage by the Phoenicians who used the flowered branches in their religious ceremonies. It became an important element in classical decoration.

The pomegranate implicates several overlapping symbolic meanings in the classical Graeco-Roman myth of Persephone: Persephone (Proserpina), the daughter of Demeter (Ceres) who was the goddess of abundance and often represented enthroned holding a pomegranate fruit, was abducted by Hades-Pluto into the underworld. Because she had eaten a pomegranate seed while there, even though she was liberated through the intervention of her mother, Persephone was forced to live part of the year in Hades and part on earth - the pomegranate here alludes to the vegetative cycle of nature and is symbolic of fertility and regeneration, resurrection and immortality. Also in terms of ornamental decoration the Graeco-Roman repertoire abounds in
vegetal motifs, including many variants on the palmette, acanthus and pomegranate.

THE POMEGRANATE MOTIF PORTRAYED IN ITALIAN RENAISSANCE ART WORKS

What more fitting symbol for Christian interpretation by the Renaissance humanists. The classical pagan significance was transformed into a Christian concept of spiritual regeneration, resurrection, and immortality. For this reason we then find these textiles evidenced in particular types of representations: 1) as bier cloths and drapery in tombal sculpture, 2) in baldacchins and throne hangings in religious representations, in particular, the Madonna and Child enthroned and 3) in the robes and throne hangings in representations of high prelates and kings - ecclesiastical and secular power.

ITALIAN RENAISSANCE TOMBAL SCULPTURE

Let us examine some examples of these representations. Pomegranate-patterned textiles in bier cloths or palls are represented in Italian Renaissance tombal sculpture from the early fourteenth century (fig.6): an allusion to hoped-for resurrection and immortality. The immediate derivation of this usage may be from Islamic countries where pall-cloths were traditionally draped over the tombs of important personages. The most important being the annual donation of the "kiswa" for Mohamet's tomb in Mecca.

This might give special significance to the fact that the first Italian Renaissance tombs portraying pomegranate-patterned biercloths which I have been able to trace are Venetian. The Mocenigo tomb by Pietro di Niccolò Lamberti (1423) in the church of San Giovanni e Paolo, Venice is one of the earliest. In Florence the Baptistery tomb of Baldessare Coscia, the anti-pope John XXIII, by Donatello and Michelozzo (1425) has a bier cloth (type II) and an overhead pavilion (type III) of pomegranate-patterned cloth. Traces of coloring are still present on the white marble on the central flowerlets, red and black. The majority of extant examples of similar figured velvets have a green background, the Islamic sacred color. Stylistically the serrated edges of palmettes and leaves in the type III pattern are distinctly Persian.

In the mid-century tombs of the Florentine humanists and statesmen, Leonardo Bruni by Bernardo Rossellino (1446-50) and Carlo Marsuppini by Desiderio da Settignano (1453-55) in Santa Croce Church, are visible traces of blue and gold color in the one and red and gold in the other on the incised marble of the type III pomegranate-patterned palls. The two patterns represented, however, differ stylistically from one another because of the change in taste towards greater naturalism just after the mid-century. The later motif is more naturalistically portrayed with entwining branches and classical Graeco-Roman decorative elements such as the anthemion and the acanthus are incorporated. A transition in style which parallels what was occurring in Florence at that same time in the major arts of painting, sculpture and architecture.
POMEGRANATE-PATTERNED TEXTILES AND THE MIDDLE EAST

During this same period - the first half of the fifteenth century there are written records of trade contacts between the major Italian and Middle Eastern mercantile cities. In 1422 is noted the first voyage of Florentine galleys to Alexandria, Egypt, bearing among other things textiles worth the huge sum of 4000 florins. The Florentine Republic sent two ambassadors on that voyage, Carlo di Francesco Federighi and Felice Brancacci, who were to negotiate trading-rights with the sultan. Brancacci was a prosperous cloth merchant who carefully noted in his diary the textile gifts offered to the ruler: two pieces of (pezze) gold brocaded pile on pile velvet and two other pieces of unspecified velvet as well as woolen cloth. The gifts would have been perceived and appreciated by the sultan as a "khila" donation according to Islamic custom, whereas the Florentine merchants were really looking out for future commercial venues.

The Brancacci were wealthy enough to commission the sought-after painter Masolino and his assistant, Masaccio, to fresco the family chapel in the Carmine Church, Florence. Tempting it is to think that the elegant Florentine gentleman in the fresco could be wearing a fabric with a type I pomegranate pattern made in the Brancacci family-controlled silk workshops or perhaps even imported from Egypt.

We have documentable exportation of Italian textiles to the North of Europe and extant examples, especially in church treasuries. But we do not have extant recognizable examples of fifteenth-century Italian textiles sent to the Middle East, despite the fact of mention of business transactions in contemporary commercial documents. Furthermore there are no distinguishable nor documentable examples of Middle Eastern textiles of the same period.

Constantinople, Adrianopolis and Bursa for more than a century, from the mid-fourteenth century onwards received Florentine silk textiles. And galleys from Beirut took on board in Venice 95 chests, "casse", of silks in 1404. According to Eliyahu Ashor, Venetian silks were exported in the fifteenth century to Alexandria, Aleppo, Acri, Constantinople, Damascus, Tripoli, Beirut, Ammon, and Trebizond: velvets, cloth of gold, brocades, samites, baldacchins. The big mystery is where are the traces of these textiles now?

The Venetian artists, Vittore Carpaccio in the "Story of St. Ursula" (1495) for the Scuola di Carità and Gentile Bellini in the "Corpus Christi procession in St. Mark's Square" (1496) or the "Miracle of the Holy Cross" (1500) (Venice, Accademia Gallery), give a detailed panorama of Venetian life. Both these artists pay special attention to clothing details and fabrics. The "Turks" are dressed in textile patterns which must indicate that nation: for, similar textiles do not exist in any other European sources.

THE MADONNA OF THE POMEGRANATE

But let us return now to the second example of representation of the pomegranate pattern: the iconography of the Madonna of the Pomegranate. The color of this fruit also had
symbolic import: the red juice of its seeds signified the blood and sacrifice of Christ. Mary, the Queen, is the symbol of life and fertility as indicated in the title "Virginitas fecunda" of the collect for the octave of Christmas. The "Madonna and Child with a pomegranate" appears in the paintings of important Florentine Renaissance artists such as Fra Angelico, Botticelli, or Filippo Lippi.

In this fifteenth-century Florentine woven border with the "Enthroned Madonna and Child with a pomegranate" (Prato, Museo del Tessuto) (fig.5), a unique extant piece of a rare theme for woven borders, the composition resembles that of the Donatellian bronze statue in the Basilica of St. Anthony in Padua. The position is similar to the hieratic pose of the ancient Cybele enthroned holding a pomegranate or pear. Furthermore, the shape of the pomegranate fruit resembles that of the royal orb, a sphere surmounted by a cross, symbol of royal power and justice. In the right hand of Christ enthroned the orb is the symbol of divine power and universal justice; in the right hand of an earthly monarch, by analogy, it endows him with these divinely-bestowed powers. Thus, in symbolic terms, to be clothed in robes decorated with the pomegranate motif confers both divine power and royal dignity upon the wearer.

THE POMEGRANATE PATTERN AS SYMBOL OF SACRED AND TEMPORAL POWER

And thus we arrive at the third category where the pomegranate pattern refers to temporal power. Divine sanction was conferred on earthly power by the symbolic use of crimson in royal ceremonial regalia. Descriptions of royal processions and celebrations in medieval and Renaissance chronicles stressed the use of red both in the clothing and in the decorations: a sacred aura was bestowed upon political power. Missier Marco Dandolo, as the head of the Venetian envoys sent to pay homage to the newly-elected pope Adrian VI, wore for the formal entry of the entourage into Rome a "vesta" with very wide sleeves made of cloth of gold "tirado". The gown, which reached the ground, was of a gold and crimson textile with a design of pomegranates and was lined with miniver.

Red in the Renaissance denoted sacredness, regality, and great luxury. The same gold-brocaded red silk velvets, used for sacred objects such as ecclesiastical vestments, altar frontals, and throne-hangings were also used for royal court robes and palatial interiors.

A comparison to Byzantine regalia can be found in the Benozzo Gozzoli fresco commissioned in 1459. The presence of Byzantine clergy and royalty in Florence in 1439 at the Great Council, an attempt to reconcile and unite the Eastern Orthodox and the Western Catholic Churches against the inroads of the Islamic Ottomans, may have had repercussions on fashion and taste, and even on textile design. Benozzo Gozzoli's fresco of the "Journey of the Magi" in the Medici Palace chapel fittingly commemorates this event with the portrayal of the Byzantine Emperor John VIII Paleologus, indicated by his foreign regal dress, and of the Patriarch Joseph of Constantinople in two personages of the Magi. The emperor wears a gold-brocaded and
bouclé green velvet with a type II pomegranate pattern. In fact, this pattern type appears in Italian textiles slightly before the mid-century. Could this be an indication of the importation of Byzantine textiles or of an influence on pattern tastes?

WHERE ARE THE VELVETS OF MIDDLE EASTERN PRODUCTION?

Not even the Turkish conquest of Constantinople (1453) seemed to stop trade relations between Italy and the Middle East. The Florentine merchant Giovanni di Marco Salviati recorded in the company ledgers for the period 1492-94 sales of woolen cloth and silk textiles in Constantinople, Adrianopolis and Bursa, where he procured, in return, enough Persian silk to cover one-third of the Florentine silk weaving production. 18

This late fifteenth-century royal Roumanian kaftan has a gold-brocaded and bouclé dark blue velvet textile with type I pomegranate pattern and is attributed to late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century Venetian manufacture. Previous to its entry into the Bucarest National Museum of Art the textile had been preserved in the Monastery of Bistritza (Vilcea) as a rectangular cover for the relics of St. Gregory the Decapitated. In 1965, the original kaftan was re-assembled from the cover by Corinna Nicolescu. Similar textile panels are in the Musées Royaux d’Art et d’Histoire, Brussels, and in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. The internal pomegranate motif, though, is totally un-Italian in its configuration. And yet other design elements are very similar. This is an example of the hybrid, "crossover" pomegranate patterns which are so enigmatic. They could have been woven in Venice for the Middle Eastern market, or woven in Venice by Middle-Eastern craftsmen; or they could have been woven in Turkey by Venetian weavers in a royal workshop or by Turkish weavers in a "Venetian" manner.

Not even the palatial collection of kaftans in the Topkapi Museum, Istanbul, have verifiable provenances for the garments with pomegranate patterns from this period.

It has been traditionally repeated that the Italians, in particular the Venetians, were the inventors of the velvet technique. 19 But it seems to me that the cultural continuity of pile fabrics and metalwork (bear in mind the high precision required in the fabrication of the minute velvet rods) is, rather, in the Middle East and Central Asia. Hence it seems to me that Byzantine weavers probably may have introduced the technique into Venice. Not only technically, but also for artistic reasons - because the palmette and the pomegranate pattern were indigenous ornament for the Byzantines, called "Rumi" or "Rom" by the Arabs. This culture was a meeting point of Persian and Greek heritages. In addition, Byzantine Jews were an important group both as weavers and as merchants. The diaspora of both Jews and Christians, including weavers, from Byzantium after the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453 could account in part for the advances in technique and style of Venetian, Genoese, and Florentine textiles, in particular cloth-of-gold and gold-brocaded velvets after that date. Significant as well is the politically-programmed introduction in Milan of gold-brocaded velvet weaving by the Sforza just about that time.

Perhaps the key could come from Turkish archives? Let's hope
that the combined efforts of Nurhan Atanasoy and Louise Mackie
and their equipe will be able to shed more light on these
problems and will be able to continue the next chapter in the
story of the development of the pomegranate pattern.

NOTES

1 Various aspects of this subject have been treated by the author in
several recent symposia: in the Convegno di Studi "Il mondo delle piane.
Cultura, rappresentazioni ed usi sociali dal XIII al XVII secolo", The
Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, Villa I Tatti,
Florence, May 1989 and in the "Symposium on Velvet", AEDTA (Association
See also. R. Bonito Fanelli, "The pomegranate motif in Italian Renaissance
silks: a semiological interpretation of pattern and color", in La Seta in
Europa sec. XIII-XX , Atti della 24° settimana di studi dell'Istituto
2 For one of the earliest catalogues of this collection see Rev. Daniel
Rock, Textile Fabrics in the South Kensington Museum: a Descriptive
Catalogue of the Collection of Church-vestments, Dresses, Silk Stuffs,
Needlework and Tapestries, London 1870.
3 See Giovanni and Rosalia Panelli, Il Tessuto Moderno, Firenze 1976 and
4 Among Lewis F. Day's textbooks are The Anatomy of Pattern (1887), The
Planning of Ornament (1887), and The Application of Ornament (1888).
5 The extensive work of 1988, Symmetries of Culture: Theory and Practice of
Plane Pattern Analysis, stemming from the collaboration between the
anthropologist, Dorothy K. Washburn, and the mathematician, Donald W. Crowe,
has contributed enormously to our knowledge of these matters. Then in 1992
the Textile Institute of Manchester issued a special number of its magazine
Textile Progress treating The Geometry of Regular Repeating Patterns,
authored by M.A. Hann and G.M. Thomson of the Department of Textile
Industries, University of Leeds. Therein was given a critical summary of the
developments and the literature pertinent to these studies. In their
conclusion, citing Washburn and Crowe, Hann and Thomson pointed out, in
terms of the application of these classifications to archeological and
anthropological studies in particular, that "a given cultural group will
consistently use only several specific symmetries in their design systems" (Washburne and Crowe 1988, p.24) and they then conclude: "It demonstrates
that design structure can be used as a useful indicator of cultural
adherence, continuity and change (italics mine). Why this is the case.
is not as yet fully understood. There is an obvious requirement for further
research if our understanding of design, and its wider cultural
significance, is to be enhanced." Hann and Thomson, 1992, p. 52.
6 Milton Sondag, "Pattern and Weaves: Safavid Lampas and Velvet", in Woven
from the Soul, Spun from the Heart: Textile Arts of Safavid and Qajar Iran
16th-19th Centuries, ed. by Carol Bier, The Textile Museum, Washington,D.C.
1987, pp.57-83.
7 R. Bonito Fanelli, "Il disegno della melagrana nei tessuti del
Rinascimento in Italia", in Rassegna della Istruzione Artistica, III. 3.
1968: R. Bonito Fanelli, Five Centuries of Italian Textiles: 1300-1800
Piero della Francesca, Sansepolcro 1992. All graphics and pattern
reconstructions were drawn by Giovanni Panelli.
When you have the cloth pressed flat in front of you, look hard for where the ('cammini') pattern begins, and you will find that in one course first there is a pinecone from which bursts out encircling foliage, and over this foliage is a large elongated leaf similar to the form of a pinecone: and it follows this same way all of the time: first the pinecone then the leaf and there is nothing else to it .... And if I should desire to know the 'griccia'. press flat the cloth and concentrate to find where the pattern begins, and you will find first a pinecone and under this comes a trunk which goes from one selvedge to the other. twisting for about one 'braccia' in the manner of a serpent: and after twisting then comes the usual pinecone and then the usual trunk and this comes from this selvedge to the other side, which is the opposite direction to the first: and it continues along like that for all the length of the cloth: and if it is in two 'gricce' it still goes the same way." (translation mine): Giuseppe Gargiolli. L'Arte della Seta in Firenze. Trattato del secolo XV, Firenze, 1668: ristampa anastatica Firenze 1981, pp. 90-91.

9 Friedrich Muthmann. Der Granatapfel: Symbol des Lebens in der Alten Welt, Schriften der Abegg-Stiftung VI. Bern 1982, investigates the origin and the development of this theme in Asia Minor and in classical antiquity.

10 "Exodus" XXXIX - Ernst Gombrich suggests that this biblical passage “may well be the earliest detailed description of a design”, A Sense of Order, a study in the psychology of decorative art, Oxford 1979, p. 225.

11 See for example Henri Focillon. L’Art des sculpteurs romans, Paris 1931.

12 Similar to the coeval descriptions of the textiles sold to the court of Burgundy by the Lucchese merchant Giovanni Arnolfini.


19 The historiographic bibliography seems to date from the end of the nineteenth century. Otto von Falke in his influential Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei (Berlin 1913) was an early proponent of this view.
ILLUSTRATIONS

fig. 1 - Diagram of the three basic compositional structures of the pomegranate pattern:
Structure I (ogival network)
Structure II (horizontal rows of lobate palmettes on bifurcated stems)
Structure III (vertical serpentine compositions)

Fig. 2 - Rectangular panel, reconstructed from three pieces. Crimson and yellow silk and gold metal thread. Cut voided velvet, brocaded. Florence, about 1480. Structure III. (Prato, Museo del Tessuto)

Fig. 3 - Border, School of Donatello. "Madonna of the pomegranate". Crimson and yellow silk and beige linen. Brocatelle. Florence, third quarter of 15th century. (Prato, Museo del Tessuto)

Fig. 4 - Desiderio da Settignano. Tomb of Gimignano Inghirami, 1460. Detail of the pomegranate pattern sculpted on the pall cloth. (Prato, Church of San Francesco)
During the late Middle Ages and the early Renaissance, luxury silks of Asia that had for centuries trickled into Europe began to enter in large numbers, fueling an appetite for the rich and exotic that was to have a lasting effect on Western textile design. In turn, expanded trade with the Levant carried Western designs and advances in weaving eastward. The Ottoman Empire, standing at the thresholds of Europe and Asia, was perfectly poised to transmit these East-West currents. Weavers in manufactories in the successive Ottoman capitals of Bursa and Istanbul, the western outposts of the Asiatic silk routes, absorbed the many influences that passed their way, stamped them with their own bold aesthetic and favored motifs, and spun them out again in all directions. This new, distinctly Ottoman style was to have a recurring influence on textile design.

This paper will examine some of the crosscurrents at work in Ottoman textile design and their transformation under the Ottoman aesthetic. It will trace influences that traveled outward from Turkey’s major weaving centers to affect not only the aristocratic textile arts of both Europe and Asia, but those of humbler folk, who adapted court styles to their own carpets, flat weaves, and embroideries. Time will also be given to the legacy of Ottoman textiles in the more recent past, when they have been reinterpreted by some of the great names in textile and fashion history, among them William Morris and Mario Fortuny.
THE ASSIMILATION OF EUROPEAN DESIGNS INTO TWENTIETH CENTURY INDIAN SARIS

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Introduction
Although so-called 'Indian' designs of seventeenth and eighteenth century chintzes influenced Western European [Western] textiles almost from their introduction, Western patterns did not impinge on indigenous Indian fabrics, such as saris, until the last half of the nineteenth century.

They were superimposed upon an already complex mix of textile ornamental styles, which can be briefly categorized as: (i) Mughal, (ii) Hindu and (iii) adivasi (aboriginal). The Mughal style consists of the elaborately patterned prints and brocades typical of western India. It shows strong Persian influences, such as the kalga (Paisley motif); intertwining floral vines (bel); and life-like depictions of entire plants, often with roots as well as leaves and flowers. [Fig. 12) The Hindu style, on the other hand, is commonly found throughout the Subcontinent and is a mix of geometric and stylized natural forms with an often refined use of space and line. Vines, flowers, animals, birds, insects, and humans are often depicted, but rarely have that sense of three-dimensionality as found in the Mughal tradition. [Fig. 13) Adivasi patterns go one step further, being purely geometric, although the motifs may be given names of objects seen in nature.

Western designs entered the sari ornamental repertoire in three ways: through (i) the printed patterns created in British, and later Indian, textile mills; (ii) non-textile Western design sources, such as wallpaper sample books; and (iii) depictions of what, from the Indian point of view, were the exotic technological products of the industrialized West.

The semiotics of wearing saris with Western designs evolved differently according to the section of Indian society using them, but I aim to show that for the majority of India's middle and working class women, not its elites or remote rural communities, man-made fiber saris with Western patterns are today actively used. For with the breakdown of traditional social roles in the face of changing social and economic environments, they impart messages that the wearer belongs to the modern world rather than the traditional, and they help disguise what may be perceived as low status personal backgrounds.

Cotton Mills and Textile Factories
The Industrial Revolution affected India from as early as the late eighteenth century, and by 1825 virtually all cotton yarn being woven (except remote rural areas) was imported mill-spun thread from England. Yet it is unclear how much English mill-woven cloth, as opposed to yarn, was being used for saris in the first half of the nineteenth century. The research of indigenous textiles conducted by John Forbes-Watson from 1855 to 1879 indicates that no successful, large scale effort at Subcontinent-wide British textile marketing had yet taken place. As Reporter of Economic Production at the India Office in London, Forbes-Watson researched Indian tastes in textiles for clothing in order to help British mills create marketable cloth, and his findings began to be published in 1866.
By the 1880s, contemporary descriptions and photographs reveal that poorer and rural women in northern India were often wearing what appear to be mill-made and factory-printed fabrics. Some had renditions of obviously Indian designs, such as fake bandhani (tie-dye) spots, but most had 'all-over' floral patterning, floral borders or were simply plain-colored cloth.

Cotton mills owned and run by Indians began appearing in Bombay and Ahmedabad in the 1850s, using machinery and dyes from Europe and America. The designers serving these factories were trained in British-run commercial art schools such as the Bombay School of Art, which opened in 1857. These schools almost exclusively taught European aesthetics, rarely Indian, which resulted in commercial Indian designers often having no serious knowledge of their own culture's artistic traditions.

The commonest patterns appearing on printed mill cottons in both the West and India were based on Victorian naturalistic designs, such as floral garlands and bouquets, reflecting the late nineteenth century revival of older (late eighteenth/early nineteenth century) wallpaper and textile patterns. Western cotton prints with similar designs to the Indian ones are found in various public collections such as the Cooper-Hewitt Museum of Design, and the Kamei Collection at the Kasumikaikan Institute. The predominant colors of the cotton prints for both markets included a great deal of red, and, to a lesser extent, brown. (In India, the color blue was not popular.)

The British and Indian factories also created print designs that attempted to reproduce Indian patterns, although they usually were distinctly Western interpretations of what is Indian. The printed cotton lining of a late nineteenth century brocade jacket in the collection at the Rhode Island School of Design is a typical example. It has very dense, small floral patterning based on the vegetal, net-like design found in many brocade saris known as jal, although truly Indian jal designs are much less crowded. That most of the flowers are non-Indian, such as the rose placed in the center of each lozenge, coupled with the dense 'packing in' of so many tiny naturalistic motifs, mark this as a Western interpretation of Indian patterning.

Today, similar naturalistic ornamentation, whether as visually crowded small floral prints or as trailing garlands, is still often used in saris made for the rural and urban poor. They may have additional kalgas and geometric structures, but the influence of late Victorian revivalist and naturalistic designs still shows. The greatest change is in their color. Such mixes of orange, olive green, magenta and royal blue reflect a distinctly Indian rather than Western aesthetic, and even subdued shades of pink, which are aesthetically more accessible to Western tastes are, in fact, traditional Indian hues.
Western Wallpapers and Silk Brocades

In the late nineteenth and much of the early twentieth centuries, the designs of low-cost mill prints did not impinge on silk brocades and the more expensive cotton saris (tanzeb) produced in the northern half of India. During the early 1900s, India's silk brocade handloom weavers and designers had virtually no contact with the textile mills. They maintained their own apprentice system with skills usually passed down from father to son. Their sources of design inspiration were based on both (i) the traditional Mughal-style palette, and (ii) from such Western sources as wallpaper sample books and photographs.²⁵

George Watt, in his catalogue of the 1902-3 exhibition of Indian arts and crafts, Indian Art at Delhi, describes how a master weaver from Banaras visited London and returned with such sample books. He told Watt that his book was "...of great value..." because "... all his most successful designs had, for some years past, been taken [from it]..."²⁶ We do not know what patterns these sample books held, but Watt constantly laments their use, calling the sari designs of the day a "monstrous degeneration."²⁷ He adds that "...it is deplorable to think of fabrics woven at a cost of perhaps ten pounds sterling a yard being produced on the model of a wall paper sold very possibly at four pence the piece."²⁸

In the Metropolitan Museum of Art, a brocaded sari dated to the 1930s but of possibly earlier origin, features bow-tied ribbons, English baskets and garlands of flowers woven in gold thread (zari) upon a red silk ground.²⁹ Such garlands and ribbons were popular wallpaper patterns in middle class English homes during and after World War I (c. 1910-20). [Fig. 6] The two-dimensional-looking Mughal-style ka/ga and bel vines also woven into this sari are a typical late nineteenth century style that died out during the 1930s. [Fig. 13]

One of the characteristics of many of these north Indian silk brocade saris containing Western patterns is the free-ranging mix of motifs and styles, suggesting that the designer or master weaver (often the same person) had no formal education in Western design traditions. For instance, a zari brocaded silk sari probably woven in Banaras during the 1950s,³⁰ has borders with a pattern reminiscent of damask wallpapers, a style popular in eighteenth century England³¹ that witnessed a major revival between 1880 and 1910.³² [Fig. 4]

(4) Border and (5) endpiece designs in a zari brocade sari; Banaras, 1950s. Collection: Linda Singh.
The endpiece decoration of this sari looks more like a sample of British Arts and Crafts work with its irises and wheat against a net-like background. [Fig. 5] Irises are an English, not Indian, flower and were a recurring motif throughout the Arts and Crafts period (c. 1880-1916). Similarly, wheat has never been depicted in indigenous Indian textiles, even though it has been grown in western India since neolithic times. The use of wheat, and all other types of grasses, is a Western patterning characteristic, where it has long had Christian and harvest associations. Depictions of wheat regularly appeared in wallpapers and textiles throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

By the 1940s, however, a more sophisticated use of Western designs appear in some Banaras brocades, suggesting that this city's designers were becoming more formally educated about Western styles. Art Deco patterns started appearing in saris woven in the 1940s and '50s, revealing that designers were creating their own versions and interpretations of a style, rather than slavishly copying someone else's work. [Fig. 7]

Since at least 1950, hand-woven cotton saris made for (and often in) local rural markets also featured simplified Western patterns. (They may have been woven earlier, but few people thought to save or collect such textiles). For instance, a recently woven eight-meter sari made for poor Tamil and tribal women features a repeat pattern of acanthus-like leaves similar to a 1900's cotton print border in the Cooper-Hewitt Museum. At the other end of the social scale, fine quality tanzeb saris with jacquard loom-woven borders show distinct Art and Crafts designs. They contain such un-Indian motifs as swans, peonies, garlands, trailing vines with tendrils and crescent moons. The swan is not native to India, although its cousin, the goose (hansa) has an ancient iconographic and literary history. The peacock, on the other hand, is a well known Indian bird, although Indian depictions have traditionally been stylized and somewhat static. This contrasts with the birds created in the Arts and Crafts model, which features peacocks with large lush flowing tails. 

Banaras Brocades: (6) c.1930, Metropolitan Museum of Art, CI43.13.27; (7) c.1940. Collection: P. Gould

The Indian Depiction of Western Artifacts

The third way in which Western designs entered India's sari in the late nineteenth century was through the direct copying of Western industrial artifacts. To again quote the ever-scandalized Watt, who this time talks about a locally-procured textile from Madras Presidency, "... a piece of cloth intended for female attire..." had "...rows of bicycles... depicted in alternation with trees". In another example, Edgar Thursdon, Superintendent of the Madras Government Museum, noted how an Indian subordinate wore a jacket with "no less than six individual and distinct [textile] trademarks" of different British manufacturers displayed.

This grass roots fascination with Western objects has continued to be expressed in ethnic textiles through to today. In the 1930s, telia rumals made in Andhra Pradesh, primarily for the Arabian market but also for local use by poor men (as lungis), featured gramophone records, clocks and aeroplanes. During the late 1970s, Orissan master weavers created the so-called landscape saris which featured panoramic views of local scenic spots containing such untraditional motifs as aeroplanes. [Fig. 8] The Orissan hills where the saris originate are not popular tourist havens among Indians or Westerners, and these saris appear to have been made almost solely for the local market.
Backlash Against the British and Industrialization: The Swadeshi Movement

In the 1940s and '50s, this 'naive' style, if we could call it that, was picked up by another, very different section of India's textile world, the politically charged arena of the Gandhian khadi gram udyog (village cooperative). In 1872, there arose the concept of swadeshi--Indian-made products.47 By the 1890s, the swadeshi movement became a strike against British textiles in favor of Indian mill cloth, and in 1921 Gandhi had allied it with non-industrial indigenous textile production: equating hand-spun, hand-woven cloth (khaddar, colloquially called khadi) with the independence movement. Yet khadi never became the fabric of the masses due to its high cost, and even today it is usually only worn by intellectuals, politicians and the upper middle classes. Khadi is essentially a twentieth century textile,48 and many of the designs worked on it are equally modern. Khadi silks are invariably printed with motifs depicted in the naive style discussed above, with such folksy elements as bullock carts and bird houses, or else they carry Western abstract patterns. [Fig. 9]

Rise of Ethnic Designs and Designer Saris

As if reflecting the nationalistic spirit of the swadeshi movement, there has been a backlash against Western designs in India's more expensive 'fashion' saris (including zari brocades) since the late 1970s.49 Traditional ethnic patterns are now more popular than Western styles. This change in aesthetic focus at the high end of the market probably reflects (i) the success of the Indian government's support of traditional handloom weaving industries and (ii) the increased self confidence of its college-trained designers (and consumers) to value indigenous designs. However, like khadi, these saris are expensive luxuries beyond the means of most Indian women.50 India's middle and working class women increasingly wear printed mill-made saris, whether of cotton, cotton blend,51 rayon, nylon52 or that newly discovered sari textile, polyester.53 These printed saris invariably have designs based upon Western mass market floral patterns derived from the naturalistic styles of a century ago. In addition, abstract and floral patterns on saris without borders or endpieces are now popular, especially on synthetic fabrics that have been roller printed rather than silkscreened. Roller printing is not commonly used on Indian saris because the technology cannot create the traditionally essential endpiece. The only type of sari that has consistently broken this sari design rule (of having a border and endpiece) is the one that is undoubtedly the most modern: the polyester sari.
Traditional Indian designs are also created on synthetic-fiber saris, but they are usually somewhat generic and Westernized. It is primarily in the lowliest segment of the cotton mill-print sari market that copies of traditional indigenous designs peculiar to specific regions are found. They are usually worn by poor women who cannot afford the traditional handwoven versions. It must be noted that on a daily level, traditional sari designs specific to a particular region still play a significant role in rural and small town India, which is why these 'low-end' printed saris with traditional regional patterns have a ready market.

Nevertheless, this still leaves the fact that the designs of most printed mill-made saris worn by middle and working class women today are recognizably Western. Why?

Why Have Most Western Designs Proved So Long-Lasting?

In India, ignorance of traditional ornamentation is not a valid argument as virtually every woman is aware of her locality's sari design heritage. Although commercial mill textile designers may arguably be more ignorant of such regional designs than the average woman on the street, the acceptance of Western patterns by most Indian women cannot be credited to a blind passivity. The force of consumer demand works just as thoroughly in Indian villages and towns as in the industrialized West.

The maid of a cousin living in Bombay expressed what are probably the main reasons for the continued success of Western styles. Born into a low caste, poor rural family in a village in central Maharashtra, she rejected the traditional way of life and moved to the city where she has worked as a servant in increasingly better homes, as well as moved 'up' in Bombay's hierarchy of so-called slums. She only wears man-made fiber saris with Western patterns because she feels the traditional Maharashtrian saris of her home are "old fashioned" and that "where I come from is nobody's business."

In India today there are genuine opportunities for upward financial and social mobility even for poor single women living alone. However, although the caste system is legally abolished, both it and India's powerful class structure are still very much alive. Traditional sari designs have always contained potent social messages, which, if one is from a low-status background, are probably not semiotically desirable when entering the theoretically merit-based, modern world of cities like Bombay. Synthetic saris with Western designs have no natural place in traditional Indian societies. Consequently, many Indian women probably wear such saris to show they are part of the modern, nontraditional world; and for the ambitious they have the added attraction of being socially anonymous: No one can tell where you come from.

* * *


Endnotes

1. Most seventeenth and eighteenth century chintz designs are based on those of Chinese export porcelain and European etchings. See Brett, 1957; Gittinger, 1982, pp. 179, 183, 187.

2. American, British and French textiles, wallpapers and designs are included. The Indian mill textile industry was involved with America from its inception -- exporting cotton yarn and cloth to the USA during the Civil War, as well as importing US factory equipment. Little is known about the French textiles, however. In 1900, "saris called Fraise or of French manufacture (of fine cloths, with stamps fine and beautiful) are now going out of fashion; 'only old women like it.'" (Crooke, 1989, no. 758)

3. In 1990, saris accounted for an estimated 25.5 percent of India's total textile production, according to C.V. Radhakrishna, secretary-general of the Indian Cotton Mills Federation.

4. The term 'mill' is used here to describe two types of automated textile production: (1) factories that create continuous lengths of cloth which are usually overdyed, either through roller printing or by silkscreening. (2) Factories which use powerlooms with dobby or jacquard attachments to create woven borders. Contrasting colored weft stripes are often woven at regular intervals, e.g. every five meters, in order to create the sari endpiece. Such endpieces are usually of this simpler type; the more complex designs being created on handlooms or powerlooms worked by independent weavers outside the factory setting.

5. According to Irwin and Hall (1971, p. 154) the East India Company started introducing machines for printing textiles in the late 18th century. This resulted in a petition made by the cotton importers and printers of London to the House of Commons on March 14, 1782, requesting suspension of the export to India of any such equipment. Apparently, it was impossible to distinguish between English and Indian mechanically printed textiles.


7. In 1849, British exports of cotton cloth to India were valued at about two million pounds, by 1889, they had reached 27 million pounds.

8. The book was The Textile Manufactures and the Costumes of the People of India. After this, he published 18 volumes containing 700 textile samples, as well as other works on the subject.

9. The work of such ethnographic and linguistic chroniclers as William Crooke (eastern Uttar Pradesh), George Grierson (Bihar), and Edgar Thursdon (Madras Presidency) have proved invaluable in researching Indian textiles and costume during the late 19th century.

10. See Table D.

11. Poorer women were the ones who usually wore imported mill textiles. Crooke's Indian correspondent, R.G. Chaube, in 1900 wrote a long description of the dress of rural women in eastern Uttar Pradesh. Describing inexpensive ek-ranga (one-color) saris, he said they consisted of "A red cloth... women make saris (six-yards) to go to bathing in sacred stream or mela... the women who use ek-ranga saris are low caste..." (Crooke, no. 739) Although of 'one color,' it is unclear whether these saris, which were called saalu (fine cloth) in neighboring Bihar (Grierson, no. 742), were completely plain; they may have had a small printed border. But their description, being cut from a bolt of cloth, suggests that the fabric was factory woven.


14. ibid. pp. 60-73. The poor level of teaching in these schools is indicated by a speech given by the Prince of Wales to the Birmingham Society of Arts in 1879, shortly after he returned from a visit to India: "While we are met here in Birmingham to further the spread of education in art, Englishmen in India are, in their shortsightedness, actively destroying the very sources of that education." (quoted in Tarapor, p. 71).


16. See Table A.


18. The color blue was regarded as an inauspicious color, being worn only by older women or low caste people. Those in power ignored the fact that many people of 'low' social origin (including major adivasi groups such as the Bhill) regarded blue cloth as good protection against the evil eye.

19. In the 1890s, the studio of Joseph Waterhouse in Altrincham, near Manchester, specialized in designing British export textiles, hiring freelancers who specialized in particular countries.


21. RISD accession no. 85.048.

22. The pattern of the RISD print is very similar to that shown on pl. 2, in Meller and Efferts (1991, p. 374).

23. Such mill-made, silkscreened cotton saris are the cheapest on the market, costing Rs 45-65 in 1991.

24. Low-cost mill saris of dull rose pink were a popular color among Santhali and other poor women in the Singhbhum District, Bihar, during spring 1994. The use of muted reds and white is traditional to the saris of this region.

25. Ali (1901, p. 57) reports that photographs of Queen Victoria were copied using gold thread upon silk.
26. Watt, 1903, p. 336, Krishna and Krishna (1966, p. 44) states that this master weaver was Subhan Miyan, who attended Queen Victoria’s Silver Jubilee in 1897. Also, Ali (p.57) states that brocade designers Tajammul and Muhammad Husain visited London in 1895-6, and returned with "new designs."

27. We must remember, however, that the Western intellectual and artistic elites of the time decried virtually all wallpaper designs. Oscar Wilde’s famous comment, made in 1900, "The wallpaper is killing me; one of us must go," is typical. Watt’s attitude may have been no different.


29. MMA accession no. CI 43.13.27.


31. See table B.


33. Linda Parry’s definition of the Arts and Crafts Movement is used here. It includes the major artistic styles developed from 1880 to 1916. The British Aesthetic and Continental Art Nouveau styles were, respectively, a precursor of and development from this movement. (Parry, 1988, p.7.)

34. Irises appear on a few Mughal court brocades, they are probably derived from Persian designs.

35. See Table A.


37. For instance, textiles created for Queen Victoria’s coronation (1838) used wheat in the pattern; and a pair of Bishop’s gloves embroidered by May Morris in 1899 also features this grain.

38. Collection of Dr. and Mrs. Philip Gould. Table C.

39. See Table C, Lynton Singh.

40. Wood, pl. 55.

41. The goose (Sk, hamsa) was an important symbol in early buddhist iconography that continued to be depicted through to the mid-second millennium AD. Because of the goose’s less than ideal image in the West, many Victorian scholars translated the Sanskrit hamsa to "swan" as they felt it was less derogatory. (Note: the Hindi term is hans).

42. See Tables A, B.

43. Watt, p. 252. It is interesting to note that five years after Watt’s comments, Edgar Thursdon (1908, p. 520) complains about exactly the same design.

44. Quoted in Cohn, 1987.

45. See Table C.

46. de Bone, 1984, p. 37.

47. The term swadeshi was first used during a public lecture given by Justice Ranadi, an early nationalist. For him, it meant "perferring the goods produced in one's own country even though they may prove to be dearer or less satisfactory than finer foreign products." See Bean, 1989, p. 363.

48. Many adivasi and remote rural saris have technically always been khadi, but they were never included in the equation created by Gandhi and his followers.

49. It is interesting to note that Western designs were popular in ‘high-end’ saris when the struggle for India’s independence from the British was at its strongest.

50. For example, prices of different types of cotton saris woven or printed in the jamdani style bought in Jamshedpur, Bihar, and Calcutta, West Bengal, in 1994 were as follows:

- Low-cost mill print: Rs 60
- ‘Tanti’ sari: 75
- ‘Middle class’ sari: 250-500
- ‘High end’ sari: 1,000 and up

51. One of the most popular yarns is polyacra, a cotton/polyester blend that is now even used by the khadi industry.

52. The use of cotton blends and synthetic fiber textiles in India has dramatically increased over the past ten years, as the following facts from the Indian Cotton Manufacturer’s Federation show:

- Textile Consumption by Household Income 1984-88:
  - Cotton: decreased in all sectors.
  - Non-cotton: increased consumption among upper income households (Rs 20,000 +), use stable in mid income range (Rs 10,000-19,999), declined among poorest.
  - Cotton/man-made blends: increased consumption among all groups.

- Production of man-made fiber fabrics
  - 1976-- 989 million meters
  - 1981-- 1.5 billion meters
  - 1987-- 2.2 billion meters

53. Although Indian mills began creating polyester over 25 years ago, the fabric only became a noticeable part of its sari repertoire in the 1980s. The rise in production has been marked:

- 1974-5 8.7 thousand tonnes
- 1979-0 28.6
- 1985-6 51.7
- 1989-0 100.8

54. Japanese polyester saris, which are sold in stores outside India also feature ethnic designs, but they are ‘high-end’ synthetic saris that are bought by wealthy women who can afford the luxury saris being created by India’s designers.

**Tables of Collections with Relevant Designs**

**Abbreviations:**
- FIT - The Museum at the Fashion Institute of Technology, New York, NY.
- HAG - Henry Art Gallery, Seattle, WA.
- MMA - Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY.
- RISD - Rhode Island School of Design, Museum of Art, Providence, RI.
- SM - National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.
- **RISD**

**Table A: Comparable Western Designs: Textiles (Late 19th/Early 20th Century)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Design</th>
<th>Collection/Accession No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Naturalistic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHM. 1948-59-4 (1850-99)</td>
<td>small floral pattern.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHM. 1938-51-3 (1850-99)</td>
<td>small floral pattern.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHM. 1941-84-1J (1850-99)</td>
<td>small floral pattern.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHM. 1935-5-1 (1850-99)</td>
<td>&quot;floral whimsy&quot; roller print.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHM. 1948-65-20A (1850-99)</td>
<td>&quot;floral whimsy&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHM. 1916-33-64D (1850-99)</td>
<td>floral print.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHM. 1931-4-76 (1850-99)</td>
<td>&quot;lush florals.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHM. 1973-51-127 (1790s)</td>
<td>&quot;printed border.&quot; floral.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHM. 1941-77-2 (1790s)</td>
<td>&quot;printed border.&quot; floral.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHM. 1916-33-44 (1900)</td>
<td>&quot;printed border.&quot; acanthus.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHM. 1978-167-2 (1897)</td>
<td>&quot;printed fabric.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIT. P-DC-1880-90 (1890s)</td>
<td>print. trailing floral pattern.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIT. P-DC-1890-1900 (1890s)</td>
<td>print. floral sprays.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIT. P-DC-1890-1900 (1890s)</td>
<td>print. flowers and grass.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIT. P-DC-1900 (1900)</td>
<td>print. floral garlands.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIT. P-DC-1900-10 (1900-1910)</td>
<td>print. floral.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIT. P-DC-1900-10 (1900-1910)</td>
<td>print. floral.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SH. 62.S.H.P. (no date)</td>
<td>print. floral border.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SH. 12693 (no date)</td>
<td>print. floral border.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SH. 20268 (no date)</td>
<td>print. floral border.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Damask' style</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SH. 121.S.W. patt. 395. (before 1905)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SH. 144.S.H.W. (no date).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SH. 404.S.W. (no date).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SH. 569.S.W. patt. 454. (c.1905).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naturalistic: Wheat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIT. C-WH.1850-60 (1850s)</td>
<td>print. ribbon.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIT. C-WH.1890-1900 (1890s)</td>
<td>print. ribbon.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIT. C-WH.1900-10 (1900-10)</td>
<td>print. floral.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SH. 72.S.H.P. (no date)</td>
<td>print with wheat.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arts &amp; Crafts: Floral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHM. 1916-33.70 (1890s)</td>
<td>roller print. grapes.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIT. P-DC-1900-10 (1900-10)</td>
<td>crescent moon.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIT. P-DC-1900-10 (1900-10)</td>
<td>print. Irises.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A&amp;C: Peacock</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHM. 1911.7.3 (1850-99)</td>
<td>roller print. with fruit.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIT. C-A-Bi (1900-1900)</td>
<td>print.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIT. C-A-Bi (1910-20)</td>
<td>woven design.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIT. C-A-Bi (1910-20)</td>
<td>woven design.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIT. C-A-Bi (1920-20)</td>
<td>seven other peacock swatches.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHM. 1953.55.2 (1870s)</td>
<td>roller print. swan and flowers.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHM. 1975.60.13 (1870s)</td>
<td>roller print. swans on lake.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIT. C-A-Bi 1900-10</td>
<td>silk damask. swan.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIT. C-A-Bi no date.</td>
<td>cotton print.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table B: Comparable Western Designs: Wallpapers (Late 19th/Early 20th Century)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Design</th>
<th>Collection/Accession No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Naturalistic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHM. 1968.111.69 (1905-25)</td>
<td>floral garlands</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHM. 1968.111.686 (1905-25)</td>
<td>floral garlands</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHM. 1968.111.168 (1900-25)</td>
<td>floral border</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHM. 1947.72.4 (1905-25)</td>
<td>floral garlands</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHM. 1942.84.1B (1830)</td>
<td>floral border</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHM. 1907.5.37 (1830)</td>
<td>floral border</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHM. 1935.12.7 (1853)</td>
<td>border, nasturtiums.</td>
<td>France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHM. 1972.42.129 (1835-60)</td>
<td>floral border</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SH. 11.W.P.</td>
<td>no date.</td>
<td>Waverly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SH. 39.W.P.</td>
<td>no date.</td>
<td>Waverly, hollyhocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SH. 64.W.P.</td>
<td>no date.</td>
<td>floral border</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHM. 1907.5.7 (1890)</td>
<td>floral border</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHM. 1907.5.6 (1890)</td>
<td>floral border</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Damask' style</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHM. 1946.53.1 (1880-90)</td>
<td>flock wallpaper.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHM. 1941.107.12 (1885)</td>
<td>flock wallpaper.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arts &amp; Crafts: Wheat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHM. 1933.11.7 (1894)</td>
<td>USA.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A&amp;C: Peacock</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHM. 1957.127.1 (1908)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHM. 1938.62.56 (1890)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table C: Saris with Western Designs in Public and Private Collections**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Collection - Accession No./Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HAG - 77.7-237 (telia rumal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMA - CI 43.13.27; CI 55.32.9 (brocades)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RISD - 85.048; 45.007; 59.1246 (various prints)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SM - E406129 (swadeshi); E399607-11,40-1 (mill prints)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neelu Chopra - Banaras brocades, mill prints</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virginia Davis - Oriissan pictorial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desire Koslin - Khadi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Philip Gould - Banaras brocades</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archan Sinha - Banaras brocades, khadi, mill prints</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shakuntala Singh - Banaras brocades, tanzeb, mill prints</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. Lynton Singh - Banaras brocades, khadi, mill prints</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table D: Archival Photographs from British Library/India Office Collection, London.**

(i) 447/1 (17a) Bhil Tribal woman with what looks like a mill printed odhani. Photo by W.W. Hooper, 1880s.
(ii) 412/70 (70) Paradi caste woman. Mill printed odhani with floral pattern throughout field.
(iii) 412/81 Sonar caste woman. Mill printed odhani with floral pattern in field and imitation bandhani spots.
(iv) 1901 Ghosi caste woman with mill printed odhani, floral field, Mughal-style border with kalga.
Unless otherwise mentioned, all words listed are Hindi. Adivasi "First inhabitants." Preferred name for India’s large aboriginal population; includes such tribes as the Bhil, Gond, Munda and Santhals. Bel "Creeping vine." Commonly occurring design in Mughal-style textiles, although it is of much older, possibly pre-Buddhist (c. 500 BCE) origins in India. Ethnie Communities that are usually Hindu, Muslim, Christian or Buddhist; but are minorities who maintain cultural differences from the 'mainstream' societies of their region. Unlike the adivasis, they are not completely culturally separate. Gram Udyog "Village cooperative." The Gandhian system developed to encourage village industries, primarily the production of khaddar. Jal "Net." Net-like pattern of lozenges in brocades. Jamdani Bengali muslin sari containing angular, stylized and abstract discontinuous supplementary weft patterning. KaIga "Paisley motif." Name derived from Urdu qalb (heart). Khaddar Home spun cloth developed by Gandhi that was used as a symbol in the swadeshi and independence movement. Colloquially called khadi. Lungi Sarong-like wrap worn by men. Mughal Persianized Muslim dynasty that ruled India from 1526-1765. Odhni Half-sari worn as veil in western India. SanthaI Austro-Asiatic-speaking tribe of southern West Bengal and Bihar. Sari Traditional South Asian female dress, made of uncut cloth, 3-8 meters (4-9 yards) long. Swadeshi "Products of the Land." Locally made goods. Tanti "Weaver." Bengali name for colorful, low-cost, low-count handwoven muslin sari of the jamdani type; usually worn by poorer women in Bengal region. Tanzeb Fine cotton cloth, described by Chaube (Crooke, no. 730) as "chief of the fine clothes that are used by the [Indian] gentry... It’s width is large and becoming; its threads very fine and smooth... durable." Telia RumaI Large square cloths patterned through ikat dyeing made in Andhra Pradesh, for Arabian market, where they were sold as male head coverings. Zari Silk or cotton thread that was traditionally wrapped with a gold-covered, flat silver wire. Today non-gold substitutes are most commonly used.

GLOSSARY

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Grierson, G. Bihar Peasant Life: Being a Discussion Catalogue of the Surrounding of the People of that Province, 1885; reprint Delhi, 1975.
Hamilton, J. Wallpaper (V&A Collection), London, no date.

(12) Hindu-style: angular patterning of jamdani sari, Bengal.
(13) Mughal-style: kaIga depicted in style popular in early twentieth century.
RAPHAEL'S ACTS of the APOSTLES TAPESTRIES -
THE BIRTH of the TAPESTRY REPRODUCTION SYSTEM

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College of Visual and Performing Arts, North Dartmouth, MA 02747

INTRODUCTION

As a younger fiber artist at the beginning of my teaching career, I rarely found European tapestries of the 16th through 18th c. to be more than copies of paintings in a woven mask. The weaver's hand and spirit were only apparent in finite details which were resplendent with meticulous hatching, shading, and delicate slit work, unchanged from the Medieval past. But it was against my art school training to separate art concept from process. I wasn't ready to accept that the weavers were not the artists, and that tapestry was in fact an industry.

More recently, my point of view has shifted. The curriculum I work with is centered around design for industry as well as fiber art, and with that dual focus comes an understanding of the current textile industry structure. Parallels to the tapestry industry of 400 years ago are interesting to note, for both are ultimately concerned with design and manufacture dependent on market demand.

As a result I have developed an appreciation for and a desire to know more about historical tapestry production. Factors which aided in the lengthy popularity of this manufactured art form point again and again to a unique union of the art market and industry. This unique union allowed duplicate versions of Raphael's tapestry cartoons from the Acts of the Apostles series to remain rich and important elements in the history of tapestry despite their being manufactured as much as a century apart.

In this presentation I will first briefly outline the rise of the European tapestry industry of the 16th and 17th c. as it entered into a period of highly profitable business. Secondly I will concentrate on the Raphael designed tapestries commissioned for the Sistine Chapel in 1515, a major commission which helped expand and sustain the tapestry industry, setting the precedent for cartoon editing, composition alteration, and reproduction of images.

RISE of the EUROPEAN TAPESTRY INDUSTRY

The art of European tapestry developed from almost humble roots. The earliest examples before the time of the Renaissance served as visual enlightenment and social commentary through narrative scenes of mural proportions and skillful weaving. Large scale tapestry was recognized as the medium of choice for visual commemoration and celebration, in noble domestic and religious settings.

The early industry centered in France and Flanders was built on a foundation of true collaboration between painter, workshop director, weaver and dyer, relationships which were supported by the established guild network of the 14th century. During this early period of production, tapestry weaving workshops were often assembled at the point of the commission with expert weavers and loom builders relocating to work with the patron-appointed painter who would design the cartoons.
The centers of Flemish tapestry production, the most successful of which was Brussels, had workshops that were more formally established. The tapestry workshop director was a weaver who had come up through the ranks from apprentice through master weaver and had also learned skills of business and trade. Tapestry had always been a very expensive visual art form and therefore the opportunities for profitable business were soon recognized by workshop director/entrepreneurs as public demand for tapestry increased.

By the late 15th-early 16th centuries tapestry was competing with the rising popularity of Renaissance painting. Patrons began to demand that tapestry resemble the painterly style of a cartoon more closely, and the weaver's "hand" in interpreting cartoons was lost. Weaving directors and cartoon painters openly competed with each other for authority within the workshop, which resulted in the establishment of strict laws and regulations as early as the 1450s, outlining their individual duties to regulate workshop quality and maintain reputation.

After 1525 tapestry production escalated. By this time in Brussels alone 15,000 people were employed in the making of tapestry. Workshops employed weavers according to their technical specialization for weaving faces, drapery, landscape, or architectural details. Concerns about tapestry representing one-of-a-kind images did not seem important to wealthy patrons and European heads of state wanting to keep their tapestry collections current, or for those who used tapestry to impress. In the 1660's Louis XIV was well known for sending 14 piece reproduction sets of his Gobelins woven Life of the King series as gifts to other European leaders.

The practice of reproducing and editing pre-existing cartoons increased in proportion to the demand for tapestry. Reproduction eliminated the considerable expense of the artist/designer in the production process and allowed a wealthy patron accessibility to a tapestry cartoon connected to a notable commission, and designs by a prominent artist.

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES TAPESTRY COMMISSION

The commission of Raphael's Acts of the Apostles tapestries in 1515 effected the growth and prosperity of the European tapestry industry. Their manufacture in Brussels came at the height of the Flemish tapestry industry's prosperity, a time of their most lavish and skillful production. Owing to the stature of this commission tapestry reproduction and cartoon reuse became highly acceptable business practices.

1. R. d'Hulst, Flemish Tapestries from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century. New York, 1967, xix ff. By 1472 regulations outlining the boundaries of the weaver/workshop directors and painters were introduced and strictly enforced with workshop directors allowed to make design alteration to portions of cartoons involving trees, animals, boats, grass, details of drapery, landscape or borders, changing or completing the cartoon with charcoal, chalk, or pen and ink only. If major figures, faces, or primary compositional adjustments in paint were required, a cartoon painter would have to be employed. Later the number of competitive workshops escalated and production shortcuts such as hand painting of faces and details on the woven surface or use of inferior quality threads and dyes also had to be legally outlawed.

2. d'Hulst, xxi. Tapestry reproduction was a rare occurrence before the 16th c. One recorded instance indicates that the wealthy Medici family ordered replications of tapestry from their collection from the Flemish workshop they patronized in 1462.
The ten Acts of the Apostles tapestries were commissioned by Pope Leo X to complete the decoration of the Sistine Chapel, specifically to balance the lower walls of the chapel with Michelangelo's newly completed ceiling frescoes. The commission provided Raphael a stylistic confrontation with his rival Michelangelo and exercised a tremendous influence on Renaissance art for the duration of the 16th century.

Raphael's ten tapestries which interpret events from the lives of Sts. Peter and Paul include: The Miraculous Draft of the Fishes (Luke v. 3-10); Christ's Charge to St. Peter (John xxi. 15-17); The Healing of the Lame Man (Acts iii. 1-11); The Death of Ananias (Acts v. 1-6); The Blinding of Elymas (Acts xiii. 6-12); The Sacrifice at Lystra (Acts xiv. 8-18); St. Paul Preaching at Athens (Acts xvii. 15-34); The Stoning of St. Stephen (Acts vii. 55-60); The Conversion of Saul (Acts ix. 1-7); St. Paul in Prison (Acts xvi. 23-6).

Pope Leo, formerly Giovanni de'Medici son of Lorenzo, was accustomed to high quality art, and understood decorative art tradition and convention and therefore the appropriateness of narrative tapestry in this setting. Textile representation in the form of illusionistic drapery frescoes are original decoration on the Sistine Chapel's lower walls. The gold and silver frescoes describing shadows and folds of hanging damask drapery are interlaced with the emblems of Pope Sixtus IV, Leo's predecessor. It is this lower course of the chapel, beneath the impressive frescoes of 15th c. masters such as Botticelli, Perugino, and Ghirlandaio, that would be fitted with tapestries on ceremonial occasions. The notable and highly successful Brussels tapestry workshop of Pieter van Aelst was chosen to weave the Raphael cartoons, using lavish amounts of gold and silver along with silk and wool threads. These materials, along with Raphael's renaissance vision and creative genius that guided him in designing each scene to interrelate within the context of the existing chapel interior, made the tapestries awe inspiring in 1519 when they first arrived in Rome.

1. C. Pietrangeli, et. al. The Sistine Chapel - The Art, the History, and the Restoration. New York, 1986, 88-91. Sixtus IV, Leo's papal predecessor who held office from 1471-84, had hung various tapestries from his collection in the Sistine Chapel on occasion, but Leo X (1455-1521) was the first to commission a set that would make a precise "fit" with the architectural and iconographic realities of the space.

2. E. Camesasca. The Paintings of Raphael, Part II. New York 1963, 34 and 121. The first seven tapestries were exhibited in the Sistine Chapel on December 26, 1519 (St. Stephen's Day). Raphael died on April 6, 1520 "...of a continuous and acute fever which he had for eight days." The total set was hung for only a short time before Leo's death in 1521. Shortly after the tapestries were mortgaged for about one-fifth of their original cost. In 1527, during the Sack of Rome the invaders sold them to merchants who burned half of Elymas to retrieve the gold, but gave up the idea of destroying the whole set when it was found more profitable to sell them in Lyon (1530). Two tapestries were not sold, ending up in Constantinople and recovered and returned to Julius III in 1553. Some of the others were hung in the Vatican again after 1545 where Titian copied the Miraculous Draft of Fishes. They were auctioned by Napoleonic invaders in 1798, withdrawn from sale and settled in Genoa, to be bought in 1808 and sold back to Pope Pius VII. Since then they have been kept in the Vatican Museum, rehung as a group in the Sistine Chapel only once, in 1983 commemorating the Year of Raphael. After 1550 however, a complete and accurate rehanging was impossible because of the completion of Michelangelo's Last Judgement on the altar wall which displaced two of the tapestries.
THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES CARTOONS

The Acts of the Apostles cartoons painted between 1515 and 1517 are said to be Raphael's only known tapestry designs and possibly his greatest works. They represent the last full scale project that he was personally responsible for carrying through before his death in 1520. The seven surviving cartoons from the commissioned set of ten compositions are on exhibition in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. They are the oldest tapestry cartoons known.

Each cartoon, ap. 12' x 15', is gouache on linen paper, designed and painted in full-scale mirror image to the intended tapestries to compensate for the design reversal which would occur in the weaving process (Figure 1).

Tapestry borders were designed as separate cartoons. Frequently workshop directors would add their personalized custom borders to the main scenes, but for this commission the borders were also designed by Raphael. They contain scenes of secular and religious events in the life of the Medici Pope, as well as scenes devoted to the arts, virtues, elements, and labors woven in a style simulating bronze relief.

It may be important to remember at this point that the tapestries were not seen side by side with the cartoons and this type of academic comparison was never intended.

THE BRUSSELS TAPESTRY INDUSTRY and CARTOON RE-USE

By the 1520s news of the Italian Renaissance style tapestries being woven in Brussels spread quickly from agents and art buyers who frequented the tapestry fairs in Antwerp to the Northern European aristocracy who would eventually want the same tapestries for their collections. By the 17th c. it was said that the collection of an art connoisseur was not complete without at least one set of Raphael tapestries.

As a result of this continuing demand for Raphael images, a total of fifty-five sets and partial sets of tapestry, deriving directly or indirectly from Raphael's cartoons, would be produced over the next two hundred years in weaving workshops across Europe. Acts of the Apostles tapestries would eventually be woven from the original cartoons, from copies made from the cartoons, and from copies made from the woven tapestries.

Five reproduction sets were woven in Brussels workshops between 1520 and 1560 from the original cartoons. The first set of nine was probably begun before the

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3. P. Ackerman. Tapestry - The Mirror of Civilization. New York 1933, 383-386. Among others, cartoon copies have been traced to the Brussels workshops of Jan Raes, for use after 1621 and Daniel Leynier, for use in the 1650s. At least 3 full sets of cartoon copies were made by the Mortlake manufactory in England.
4. J. Shearman. Raphael's Cartoons in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen and the Tapestries for the Sistine Chapel. London 1972. (Referring to Kumsch, Die Apostelgeschichte. Dresden 1914, 11-13). The most notable 16th c. Brussels reproductions sets are the closest to Raphael's cartoons and the Vatican set. They are in Mantua, Palazzo Ducale, woven by van Aelst for Federigo Gonzaga; Madrid, Patrimonio
Fig. 1.
completion of the last Vatican tapestry in 1520 and was possibly a gift from Leo X to Henry VIII. This second commission could explain why the cartoons remained in Brussels after the completion of the Vatican tapestries.

In 1623 the Raphael cartoons were purchased for exclusive use at the newly established Mortlake Tapestry Manufactory in England where full sets of ten pieces would be woven twelve times between 1625 and 1703. Because all early Mortlake versions were woven from working copies of the original Raphael cartoons, the central compositions and Raphael style are most similar to early Brussels reproductions of 100 years earlier.

The Mortlake manufactory supplied English patrons with English tapestry. For a time in the 17th c., English law prohibited the import of European tapestry to safeguard Mortlake production. Mortlake tapestry was in effect Flemish tapestry transported across the channel. Approximately fifty Flemish immigrant weavers, including the master weaver Philip de Maecht, were employed by Mortlake in 1623. Their technical skill contributed to the superb quality of Mortlake production. As Mortlake began producing sets of Raphael tapestry, Louis XIV tried unsuccessfully to purchase the cartoons from the English manufactory for production at his Gobelins tapestry works. Not being able to acquire the original cartoons he instructed French artists in the 1660s, to make copies of the Vatican tapestries for reproduction at the Gobelins in Paris and at the tapestry workshop in Beauvais. Tapestries produced from copies of woven tapestry rather than copies of the cartoon reverse the direction of action in each composition so that the resulting tapestries are no longer mirror images of the original cartoons as intended by the artist, but instead are duplicate compositions to the original cartoons.

Between 1600 and 1700 while Acts of the Apostles tapestries were being woven at Mortlake in England and at the Gobelins and Beauvais workshops in France, production of the Acts of the Apostles never ceased in Brussels. Over this extended period of time workshop directors willingly adapted each cartoon to suit the tastes or fit the site specifications of each client wanting versions of Raphael's Acts of the Apostles, cutting compositions in two parts to fit on either side of a fireplace or doorway. For example, they added or eliminated background space and adjusted the tapestry to the height of a wall. Editing of cartoons was also done to update or "modernize" a composition, or to cut production costs by eliminating secondary groups of figures or architectural detail. Also, Raphael's cartoons were used as more general models by other artists for compositional structure or individual figure, in new tapestry designs.

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for Henry VIII in van Aelst's workshop, later in the collection of the Duke of Alba, Madrid, and then the King of Prussia. This set was destroyed during World War II. A set formerly in Paris, in the collection of King Francis I. Location of this set is unknown.

1. J. Shearman. Raphael's Cartoons in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen and the Tapestries for the Sistine Chapel, London 1972. (Referring to Kumsch, Die Apostelgeschichte. Dresden 1914, 26). The finest Mortlake set and first woven, was given to Louis XIV as a tribute from James I and is now in the Garde Mobilier of the Louvre, Paris. Most other sets are in England: Forde Abbey, Dorset; Chatsworth, Derbyshire; Boughton House, Belvoir Castle, etc. Another set is in the collection of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, New York, and pieces of an Earl of Pembroke set are now part of an important mixed set of Mortlakes and Gobelins in the Palazzo Ducale, Urbino Italy.
Cartoon edits and alterations can be seen in nearly every Acts of the Apostles tapestry set, especially those of 17th c. production. The first cartoon alterations, however, occurred with the weaving of the very first Vatican tapestry in 1517. The woven version of the cartoon Christ's Charge to St. Peter from the van Aelst workshop in Brussels adds space-filling foliage wherever possible and a gold starburst pattern has been added to the pale red robe of Christ. This starburst pattern only occurs in the Vatican tapestry and in Gobelin copies made one hundred years later. (Fig. 2.) Space filling foliage occurs more frequently.

Brussels tapestry workshops were known for their love of a multiplicity of detail and at the time of the weaving of this first Raphael tapestry the weave director made the decision to decorate the robe and fill in open spaces with foliage. The acceptable early 16th c. initiative for weavers to interpret cartoons, adding their own personal nuances, was apparently declared unacceptable at this point and succeeding production thru the 16th c. turned to precise copy of the artist's cartoons.

Seventeenth century cartoon edits were numerous. The scene Christ's Charge to St. Peter was frequently woven in two pieces to fit a customer's interior setting. A 1625 Mortlake version now in the collection of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, New York, separates six standing apostles from the original group of ten, with kneeling St. Peter looking up to the border panel, disconnected from Christ. The second part of the composition known in Mortlake sets as Feed My Sheep becomes a narrow panel of the lone Christ figure surrounded by sheep. An elaborate Mortlake designed border surrounds both new compositions.

A similar edit is evident in the 1621 Brussels version in the collection of the Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid. This composition isolates another group of six standing apostle figures from the original Raphael cartoon, adds a massive tree to the right side of the composition, and uniquely elaborates on original land and seascape detail, losing the compositional focus of Christ giving the keys of heaven to kneeling St. Peter. The result is Madrid's 17th c. tapestry renamed Group of Apostles. (Fig. 3.)

Another Acts of the Apostles set attributed to Jean Paul Asselbergh woven in Brussels between 1600 and 1625, now in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, San Francisco has greatly compacted the composition, squeezing all of the standing apostles, some with only the tops of their heads visible, as well as the Christ figure, kneeling St. Peter and extra sheep. Background landscape foliage of a particularly unique style identifiable to this Brussels workshop has again replaced the original Raphael landscape. This altered compositional structure and very flat rendering style retains very little of Raphael's renaissance space, adding more aspects of a workshop's individual design style. (Fig. 2.)

Instances of minor cartoon edits can be seen in various versions of the Death of Ananias. Seventeenth century Mortlake versions eliminate a secondary figure at an opened window and figures walking up the stairs on the right side of the composition. This may have been done for iconographic reasons. The figures on the stairs and at the window may represent Ananias's wife Sapphira, also charged with the theft that ultimately struck her husband dead. Some Mortlake sets like the St. John the Divine set in New York add a Death of Sapphira companion tapestry to the set. This additional

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Fig. 2.

ABOVE: Christ's Charge to St. Peter, Raphael cartoon, c. 1515. V and A Museum, London. 11'3" x 17'5".


TOP RIGHT: Christ's Charge to St. Peter, Brussels tapestry, Jean-Paul Asselberghs workshop, Fine Arts Museums, San Francisco. 12'6" x 10'7".
composition might have eliminated the need for her reference in the Death of Ananais scene.

The same scene has been further edited in other versions of the Death of Ananias. A tapestry from a partial Acts of the Apostles set now flanking the main altar in the Turin Cathedral, Turin, Italy, represents a portion of the scene which has been reduced to the group of figures giving alms to the poor, a secondary scene from the original Raphael composition. The Turin tapestry even substitutes a ceremoniously tossed garment for an important Raphael figure, effectively creating a new compositional focus. As in the Mortlake versions, the Turin tapestry eliminates the figure at the opened window, while retaining the figure walking up the stairs perhaps just for compositional balance.

Mortlake sets of Acts of the Apostles often represent some of the original cartoon compositions in edited versions, frequently cutting the cartoons to make a composition smaller and in some instances combining portions of two different cartoons to make a composition larger. The 30 foot wide tapestry in the state drawing room at Chatsworth in Derbyshire is a combination of the Healing of the Lame and the Sacrifice at Lystra. In each case about one-third of the original cartoon has been skillfully eliminated. The resulting portions merge smoothly and flawlessly in design, but present two rather incongruous statements as one composition.

Two Brussels versions of the scene Sacrifice at Lystra, both in the Patrimonio Nacional collection, Madrid, Spain, illustrate other compositional edits and introduction of individual workshop style in detail areas. The 1560 tapestry from the set woven in the Brussels workshop of Jan van Tieghen is woven with complete accuracy to its Raphael cartoon model. A two part 17th century version woven in Brussels by Jan Raes, c.1621, makes an iconographic interpretation adding a sacrificial garland and drape to the bull and even tastefully clothes the statue of Mercury in the far background. More importantly, great amounts of landscape detail in a significantly individual style have been added to both sections of the 17th century divided composition and architectural elements have been altered on the left side of that composition. Other individualized marks of the workshop are evident in the rendering of the marble pattern on the columns.

The same 1560 and 1621 Madrid sets offer more comparisons of compositional editing. While the 1560 Jan van Tieghen version of the Blinding of Elymas is true in every detail to the original Raphael cartoon, the 1621 Jan Raes version has many modifications. Architectural detail in this two part version has become more elaborate, boldly patterned marble walls and a new figure wearing a flamboyant turban (a figure not seen in any of Raphael's cartoons) have been introduced to the right side of the composition. Two twisted columns, major architectural elements in the Raphael scene Healing of the Lame, have been borrowed from that composition and set on the right and left borders of this version of the Blinding of Elymas establishing a new harmonious visual link between these two tapestries. The 1620's Madrid version of the Healing of the Lame (Fig. 4.) is an abbreviated version of the original cartoon with just one central twisted column visible. (See Fig. 1. for comparison).
CONCLUSION

The edits noted in the 17th c. Madrid and San Francisco versions of the Acts of the Apostles, discussed earlier, may be demonstrating the changing nature of popular style of the period. It moves away from the need for a precise copy of Raphael's renaissance compositions towards a stronger individual workshop style. For a period of two hundred years edits and reproductions of the Acts of the Apostles provided patrons with a "certified" Raphael fitted to their own specific interior space and scale demands. Workshops accommodated the patrons requirements guided by their own philosophy, business judgement, and artistic sense.

It is evident that most edits were not undertaken arbitrarily or with disregard for the established iconography. If the market demanded copies true to Raphael's detailing, workshops would comply. Editing and adapting cartoons was done according to the skills and knowledge of the designer employed by the workshop, and a tapestry, while remarkable in technique and subtlety of its dyed color palette, was only as good as its cartoon. Cartoon reproduction proved to be a successful way for the tapestry industry to meet the demands of an ever increasing art patronage.

Fig. 3. Group of Apostles, Brussels tapestry, Jan Raes workshop, c. 1621. Patrimonio Nacional Collection, Madrid, Spain.

Fig. 4. The Healing of the Lame, Brussels tapestry, Jan Raes and Jacob Geubels II workshop, c. 1605-29. Patrimonio Nacional collection, Madrid, Spain.
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Beginning in 1964 my husband and I were involved in the development of a village carpet weaving cooperative in Southwestern Turkey. We lived with the weavers of Çömlükçi from 1964 to 1966, as part of the first Peace Corps rural community development program in Turkey. Between 1966 and 1969 we continued to work with the cooperative in its efforts to develop markets and quality control standards while working as Peace Corps staff. Since leaving Turkey in 1969, I have visited Çömlükçi periodically, most recently in 1992 and 1994.

The success of the Çömlükçi cooperative in turn generated carpet cooperatives throughout the province of Muğla. This paper describes my observations of changes in the design and construction of Çömlükçi carpets between 1964 and 1994.

ÇÖMLEKÇI CARPETS IN 1964
Carpets produced throughout the region surrounding Çömlükçi are known as Milas carpets, after the major market town forty miles north of Çömlükçi. In 1964, these carpets were woven primarily for dowries, and sold only during periods of financial hardship. In 1964 a two square meter carpet might sell for $30. Dealers believed that only the old village rugs had commercial value, and when they did purchase new rugs, they were doctored and passed off as older rugs. European and American export markets at the time favored Persian carpets.

As a result, villagers looked upon their carpets as old fashioned and inferior. For those who could afford them, dowries might include a store bought carpet or two, usually from Isparta. Devaluation of their own carpets also led to the appropriation of new designs such as the so-called "Isparta" design, with its central floral medallion, reminiscent of Persian designs. But whatever the design, carpets were considered an essential part of any dowry, no matter how poor the family might be. Since the local economy was still close to subsistence, the habit of producing the necessities of life from one’s own resources had continued. This motivated village families to continue their weaving.

Intensely saturated hues derived from chemical dyes were preferred, such as bright greens, blues, yellow, and pink, arranged to maximize contrast of hue and value. This was in contrast to the classic Milas palette of warm reds, browns, yellows, and perhaps olive green. The chemical dyes are often referred to in the literature as aniline dyes; however, it is probable that the dyes were of various types. Since these dyes, sold in bulk, came without instructions, they were not used correctly, and therefore tended to bleed. Villagers used the same methods to set the chemical dyes that they were accustomed to using for natural dyes; that is, the addition of a mordant, usually alum (sap), and possibly citric acid in small amounts (limon tozu).
The natural dyes were thought of as old fashioned, laborious, and undesirable, although every family had a substantial repertoire of natural dye recipes they continued to use. Certain popular colors such as bright pink, purple, chartreuse, royal blue and wine red were difficult or impossible to achieve with the known natural dye repertoire. Their use was a matter of conspicuous consumption, a mark of luxury. Also, natural dyeing was very time consuming. Because of the seasonal availability of some dye materials, it could take the whole year to dye the full repertoire of colors that might be wanted. Simply going to the market for the colors you had in mind was far easier, if you could afford it. On the other hand, since certain chemical colors such as warm reds and yellows were particularly unstable, more reliable natural dye equivalents were often used.

In spite of the popularity of commercial dyes, fifty-nine different natural dye recipes derived from twenty-one different plants were identified in Çömlükçi in 1964. The data on the dye recipes was published in 1982 (Miller).

Weaving was done from handspun yarns, utilizing wool from their own sheep. The spinning of the wool for a carpet took from three to six months; weaving could take another three months if the weaver worked alone. In reality, a family would be hard pressed to produce more than one rug a year, since this work was done in between the demands of the agricultural cycles. At the time, tobacco was the major cash crop, and it demanded constant attention from May to October.

Thus by 1964 Çömlükçi's weaving traditions were valued neither by their practitioners nor by the marketplace. The carpets were being adulterated by non-traditional designs and colors. Even the weavers themselves preferred the rugs of others. Under these circumstances, it was generally assumed that carpet weaving in Çömlükçi was dying out.

THE ÇÖMLEKȚİ CARPET COOPERATIVE AND ITS EFFECT ON CARPET DESIGN AND CONSTRUCTION

The successful development of the village's carpet marketing cooperative between 1964 and 1971 significantly altered carpet design and construction. It also altered the attitude of the weavers toward their product. The cooperative was formed in May 1966. Until we left in 1969 the major effort was to establish a quality control system. Factors such as density of the weave; evenness of surface, selvedges, and plain weave foundation; detail and accuracy of the design and color choices were considered. Because of the unreliability of available chemical dyes, natural dyes were required for Cooperative rugs.

The rugs were at first sold directly to resident foreigners, since dealers were unwilling to believe that the rugs were 100% naturally dyed carpets as we claimed them to be. However, this gradually changed as dealers saw more of the rugs, and began to visit Çömlükçi.

After we left Turkey in 1969, the villagers continued to look for markets on their own. In 1970 they obtained a contract from Sumerbank, the national textile monopoly, for what amounted to all the rugs they could produce. The cooperative produced for the Sumerbank contract for about three years, and expanded to include weavers from the surrounding...
region. The income generated from carpet sales in this period permitted the Çomlekçi to bring in electricity, and to make the transition from the laborious and unreliable tobacco culture to olives. This was significant evidence of the financial impact of the carpet cooperative, in that it meant taking fields out of production for the five years it took for the new trees to begin to produce.

However, by 1973-74 the dealers had discovered the carpets of the Milas region, and were coming in with better offers. The cooperative, bound to its less profitable Sumerbank contract, essentially collapsed by 1975, though it continued to exist on paper (and does to this day). When I visited in 1976, I was told that the marketing of rugs in Çomlekçi had virtually come to a halt.

MARKET DEVELOPMENTS IN THE 1980S AND AFTER
The early Sumerbank efforts to promote carpet production and export were strictly economic in motivation. However, by the early 1980's other Turkish government agencies had begun to realize the economic potential and cultural significance of carpet weaving. Of particular significance was a project undertaken in 1986 by the Ministry of Culture. This ambitious project was intended to document all examples of Turkish rugs found in weaving villages, private collections, and museums worldwide, in order to revitalize Turkish village weaving. Çomlekçi was a significant contributor to this project. The Turkish Ministry of Culture has cited the Çomlekçi Cooperative as a significant contributor to the effort to revive naturally dyed carpets throughout Turkey. (Turkish Handwoven Carpets, 1987)

Carpets were photographed, and scanned in to a computer where the design was converted into a point paper weaving diagram in color. The end product was a series of catalogues originally intended to be an order book for carpet commissions to be woven to strict standards specific to each region. The production aspect of this project has not been realized, beyond ministry-commissioned samples. In spite of this, the project continues. The Ministry of Culture archives now include over 6,000 images of Turkish carpets.

The first volume of this catalogue was printed in 1987, followed by three additional volumes published in 1988 and 1990 (Turkish Handwoven Carpets). Copies of the catalogues were distributed to village weaving cooperatives throughout the country. Weaving diagrams appropriate to particular regions have been distributed free of charge to village weaving cooperatives. Additional volumes are in press and planned. This ambitious project was initiated by Güran Erbek, who unfortunately died in 1989, shortly after the publication of the first two volumes. (Koca, 1994)

In Çomlekçi, meanwhile, the cooperative made a new effort to revive itself. In the 1980's, as the Turkish middle class grew, domestic as well as foreign tourism invaded the region in earnest. Probably inspired by the contacts with the Ministry of Culture carpet project, the Çomlekçi Carpet Cooperative decided to make a try at an idea we had proposed years before. We had suggested that tourists would enjoy a visit to a real village, and such a visit would also be an opportunity to sell them rugs. The Cooperative contacted tourism agencies in Bodrum in 1986, and the first tours were established. However, this
arrangement quickly fell apart over disagreements that followed the traditional clan lines, and since 1986 two individual families have hosted tours to the village, one from each of the major clans. The rugs they sell include Çömlekçi rugs, but also stock from neighboring villages, as well as rugs in designs from Kars, Kula, and Gordes. One of the two households also stocks oversized rugs in traditional Milas designs, but woven in the commercial weaving center of Isparta, where copies of rugs from many regions are being made. On any given summer day, there may be as many as six tour buses coming to Çömlekçi for the tour. Villagers not directly involved with these two tour opportunities do still weave rugs for sale, and also for their daughter's dowries. They may sell their rugs to one of the two tour families, or to dealers and directly to tourists in Milas or Bodrum at the weekly market.

**THE EFFECT OF THE ÇÖMLEKÇI CARPET COOPERATIVE ON CARPET DESIGN: EARLY DEVELOPMENTS**

Since by 1969 carpets that were naturally dyed in traditional Milas patterns had higher market value, these became the patterns and colors of choice in Çömlekçi for most people. Few of the Isparta style medallion carpets were woven even for dowries, as these designs were not accepted by the Cooperative. Initially, when the rugs were being marketed to foreign residents, the classic Milas prayer rug patterns were in demand, and frequently woven (Figure 1). However, after the Sumerbank contract was signed in 1970, the rugs were exported, mostly to Germany, where symmetrical designs were in demand. In 1976, no new prayer rugs could be found in Çömlekçi at all. By far the most common design seemed to be one known as Ada Milas, a classic Çömlekçi pattern. (Figure 2)

**RECENT DEVELOPMENTS: DESIGNS**

After the 1970s, there was an increase in the repertoire of designs in use. Old rugs found in Çömlekçi and neighboring villages have been copied to add to the variety of designs. This occurred as early as 1971, when a pattern was transcribed from a carpet book by a teenaged weaver. The Carpet Catalogue produced by the Ministry of Culture in the 1980's has provided a further source of old Milas designs, some of which have been reproduced in Çömlekçi. The asymmetrical prayer rug designs once out of vogue are now in again. Thus the repertoire of Milas patterns is increasing.

Today, classic Milas designs are almost universal in Çömlekçi for both dowry rugs and rugs woven for sale. Milas rugs have achieved a certain reputation, and there is a market for the local designs.

**Color and dyes: Early developments**

By the end of the 1960s in Çömlekçi and many other weaving villages where the cooperatives were established, natural dyes were now highly valued for both dowry rugs and rugs made for sale. However, a color palette emerged that differed significantly from the historical Milas palette. In addition to customer taste, the supply, cost and labor of certain colors were factors. The most troublesome colors were the madder reds, due to scarcity of madder near Çömlekçi. In the Milas region madder (kök boyası) is a wild plant, native to rocky mountainsides and forested areas. To reach such areas involved a hike uphill from the village, a direction normal activities did not take most people. Since the
roots take more than one season to mature, finding enough madder root for the increasing demand could be difficult. By the early 1970's colors were shifting away from bright clear reds, or deep brick reds, and toward red-browns, soft rose (a weak madder recipe) and other colors that do not require madder at all. Rugs began to look browner and darker.

One villager had made a trip to Balikesir in order to learn how to use indigo, not one of the village's traditional colors. The results were impressive, if not typical of Milas rugs. However, indigo was not widely adopted because it was hard to get, and the fermentation vat dyeing procedure was complex and unfamiliar to Çömelekçi weavers.

RECENT CHANGES IN DYES AND COLORS
Most rugs made for sale today are made with commercially dyed yams. However, because of the emphasis on naturally dyed yarns during the last three decades, the colors in a chemically dyed rug may be indistinguishable from those in a naturally dyed rug.

Many dowry rugs are woven with commercially dyed yams, but natural dyes may be still be used. The dowry is a matter of family prestige and honor which accompanies the daughter to her new family, and cements a new family alliance. Today the naturally dyed rug, woven in traditional Milas designs, is seen as the best, even though it is no longer deemed feasible to produce naturally dyed rugs for the marketplace. This is in marked contrast to the attitudes toward naturally dyed rugs and traditional designs seen in 1964.

Some Milas style carpets include fashion colors such as pink and light blue that are not part of regional color traditions. Carpets that differ radically from the traditional regional palette are more likely to be the product of commercial weaving operations.

WASHING RUGS AND THE CURRENT COLOR PALETTE
The washing of carpets is also affecting color choices. In the early days of the cooperative, Çömelekçi carpets were usually sold unwashed. When dealers washed rugs, it was usually done to "age" them. To many dealers, the initial advantage of Çömelekçi's naturally dyed rugs was that, once washed, they had the look of much older rugs, and could be sold to the unwary as such. Although harsh washing drastically changed some of the sensitive natural dyes, at that time, washed chemically home-dyed rugs tended to bleach out even more, to beige, grey, and tan.

These days virtually all rugs sold are commercially washed, ostensibly to insure color stability in the finished product, though the methods reflect some older deceptive practices. The procedure involves a variety of steps which may be combined or deleted depending on the preferences of the dealer. I observed a batch of rugs being washed in Milas for one of the Çömelekçi dealers. The procedure included singeing the backs, shaving the pile mechanically, and washing with chlorine bleach. Lye, and/or sodium hydrosulfite, or even sulfuric acid may also be used. Rinsing was not as thorough as it might have been. The black knots are hand-clipped shorter than the rest of the pile, clearly in imitation of the way in which the black wool is worn away in antique rugs. However, everyone insisted that these things are done for aesthetic reasons, and I did not observe any dealer claiming such washed rugs were old. This severe washing and finishing procedure appears to have
developed back when dyes were unreliable, and dealers were trying to antique rugs in order to fool their customers. The procedures continue even though dyes are now stable, and rugs are not usually passed off as antique any more- and in spite of the harm these procedures do to the rugs.

The result of the procedure I observed is a much softer, somewhat lighter colored rug in which the yellows predominate, as a result of the application of chlorine bleach. Needless to say, this process must weaken the carpet. The Çömlekçi dealer stated he did this because his customers preferred the lighter colors. As a result, rugs currently being woven for sale tend to be lighter in value even as they come from the loom, though still in the classic Milas hue palette of reds, browns, yellows, and green. Since the washing lightens the rugs anyway, whether the customer wants it or not, lighter colors are what is available. Meanwhile, villagers see the washed rugs being sold, and then try to weave rugs that duplicate these lighter tones. Their rugs are then washed, and the result is presumably even yet lighter values in the rugs. One must wonder where this will lead. Interestingly enough, rugs woven for dowries are never washed commercially, and everyone seems confident that the rugs will not bleed when they are eventually washed at home.

CHANGES IN CONSTRUCTION: YARNS
Concern with the cost of labor and materials also led to the introduction of commercially spun yarns and eventually in the 1980's to the widespread use of commercially dyed yarns. The better factory spun yarn such as that sold by Sumerbank was considered to be of good quality, although it differed in several ways from the handspun yarn.

The commercial yarns all tended to be somewhat larger in diameter than most handspun yarn. Warps made from hand-plied commercial yarn singles tended to be slightly over 2mm in diameter, whereas the handspun warp yarns were usually finer, with one example measured at 1mm in diameter. The commercial yarn rugs were all between twenty-six and twenty-eight knots/square dm, whereas the fully handspun rugs ran as high as thirty knots/square dm, with one example found at forty-four knots/square dm. An advantage of the commercial yarn was its consistent diameter and color. Today the enormous saving in time, and the availability of acceptable commercially spun yarn, has resulted in the complete abandonment of handspinning. Younger girls may not even know how to spin. Warp is still hand-plied, however. A soft two-ply warp that resembles knitting worsted is available but was not seen in any rug woven in Çömlekçi. It is used by commercial production centers, however, and is evidence of probable manufactory provenance.

CHANGES IN CONSTRUCTION: LOOMS
By the 1970s the financial incentives to produce more rugs led to some experiments in loom design. A village carpenter produced a free standing carpet loom with turnbuckle-controlled warp tensioning that was light enough to transport on a donkey with warp in place, for use during the summer migration to the valley to be near fields and livestock. Previously weaving had been largely abandoned during the agricultural season from May to October. A similar loom, but with string heddles (not typical of carpet looms) is used by commercial weavers trained in Isparta.
During the 1980s Milas carpets in general underwent some significant changes because of
the proliferation of commercial weaving centers. A few commercially manufactured metal
rug looms have been brought into the village by one of the two rug dealer/tour households.
In commercial weaving centers such looms are common, and their use results in some
differences in finishing.
Most Çömlekçi weavers still use traditional warping and weaving methods.

**CHANGES IN CONSTRUCTION: FINISHING**

Commercially woven carpets are usually produced on long warps, with several carpets
being produced on the same warp. The space between each carpet becomes fringe which
may or may not be braided. This results in a carpet with fringe at both ends.

Village carpets, on the other hand, are warped one at a time. The warp is wound as a
continuous loop between two stakes pounded into the ground at the desired interval. There
is no cross, but instead the warp threads are chained together at each end as the warp is
wound. The completed warp is attached to the warp and cloth beams of the loom by the
insertion of a dowel through the chained loop ends. This dowel fits into a slot in the beam,
and is held in place by metal pins. The weaving begins directly on top of the dowel, which
results in short loops being left at the starting end of the rug. Sometimes these loops are
left unfinished, possibly with the chaining thread still in place. This is very likely in rugs
woven for sale. If the chain is removed, a short, twisted fringe results in which the loops
can be discerned. The proper traditional method used to finish this end, however, is to
twine the loops around one another in clusters of three or two. This results in a neat flat
edge with the look of a braid, and much better warp end protection. (Figure 3) This is
almost always done on rugs made for personal use, especially dowry rugs. It is very
occasionally done on rugs made for sale. In any case, a traditional village woven rug can
therefore only have a fringe at one end, the end at which the warp is cut from the loom
after weaving is completed.

The traditional finish at the fringe end of the carpet is also different from commercial
carpets, and impossible to duplicate on the multi-carpet production warp. As the single
carpet is cut from the loom, the warps are cut in groups of three, and then woven between
clusters of three warps picked together, for a distance of six triple warp picks. The picks
are then reversed, and the cut ends are brought back through and packed down. Then the
next group of three is cut and passed through this same shed, but one triple pick further.
The shed is then reversed and the ends returned. The result is again a warp protector
edging which resembles a thick flat braid, but this time with a full fringe appending from
the back edge. The last clusters of threads cut are braided to finish off. (Figure 4) Thus
even in an unbraided fringe, there will be a single braid at one end of the fringe. The
total fringe may then be braided, though this is becoming less common even on dowry
rugs, and is almost never done on rugs woven for sale. Some rugs being woven for sale
in Çömlekçi are finished off with a final row chained weft following the plain weave weft
border and simply cut off.

Both traditional end finish techniques can be seen only when a single rug is woven on the
warp. Thus rugs with a single fringe and either loops or a flat twined edging at one end
are more likely to be the work of a family loom. They are therefore more likely to be indigenous to the area traditionally associated with the design. If the fringe is braided and the loop end twined, it is even more likely to be a traditional rug woven in the region associated with the design, since commercial producers rarely if ever go to this much trouble for the finishing. If the rug lacks the triple pick warp protector at its fringe end, but has loops at the other end, it was most likely woven for market in a village. On the other hand, rugs with two fringes (braided or not) are very likely to be produced by a hired weaver in a commercial rug weaving operation, and the design is least likely to have a relationship to the place in which it was woven. If the warp is commercially plied, this is a virtual certainty.

Sometime in the last fifteen years, the use of a device called the baski was abandoned in order to save time. The baski is a simple six ply wool cord which is kept wet, and placed in the shed after the insertion of the weft (argeç). It is beaten down on top of the weft and knots, and then removed. Because it is wet, the baski dampens the wool of the weft, which allows it to stretch, permitting the weave to pack down more tightly.

Mass production of handwoven "village" carpets is now being undertaken throughout Western Turkey. In these manufactories, the designs woven are from a variety of regions. Thus it is no longer possible to determine where a rug was woven by studying its design alone. However, changes in loom design and warping procedures have resulted in some significant technical differences in the construction and finishing of these generic "village" rugs. These finishing methods can provide some clues to the possible provenance of the rugs, though even these features can offer no certainty.

CONCLUSION
The marketplace has affected the way Milas carpets are made, the colors that are selected, and the designs used. This is not a new phenomenon; the marketplace has always affected the design of rugs, as it affects the design of any other object that is bought and sold. The fact that this tradition is evolving is evidence that the tradition is still alive. Even though copies of Milas carpets are being produced in other centers, the core of the tradition is still in place. However, the blurring of regional distinctions that has resulted from this commercial development does not bode well for the long term integrity of regional weaving traditions.

Every girl raised in Çömlekçi still learns to weave, and the number of carpets a family tries to provide for her dowry has increased from between three and seven in the 1960s to eight or more in the 1990s. However, weaving carpets is a village activity, and if a bride marries out of the village to a town, as many do, she may never weave again.

The commercial value placed on Çömlekçi's rugs by outsiders has fostered pride in the local weaving heritage. The Çömlekçi Cooperative, though now essentially defunct, did serve a significant purpose in that it brought the weaving and dyeing traditions of Çömlekçi to the attention of the outside world. In 1964 it seemed to be only a matter of time until carpet weaving would be abandoned. Today it appears that there will still be carpets woven in Çömlekçi in the next century.
REFERENCES


## SUMMARY: CHARACTERISTICS OF ÇÖMLEKÇİ CARPETS 1964-1994

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<tr>
<td><strong>Design</strong></td>
<td>Classic patterns devalued, being replaced by &quot;modern&quot; designs from other places, notably Isparta</td>
<td>Return to classic Milas patterns, but repertoire narrows to suit markets; after 1971 prayer rugs not favored</td>
<td>Expanding repertoire of classic Milas patterns, encouraged by government and dealers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Color</strong></td>
<td>Preference for bright colors, value contrast, wine reds, blue, pink and bright yellow/yellow green</td>
<td>Return to natural dye palette of reds, browns, yellows, reds diluted (dye hard to get) and browns dominate as market expands. Brighter colors still preferred for some dowry and home use.</td>
<td>Natural dye palette, but with warmer tones, preferred for all rugs. Rugs for dowries brighter, have more contrasts of hue and value; rugs for sale lighter (influence of washing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dyes</strong></td>
<td>Natural dyes known and used, but chemical dyes used increasingly; mixed dyes in rugs</td>
<td>All rugs made for sale through Cooperative naturally dyed; natural dyes gain in popularity; some chemical dyes used for personal rugs.</td>
<td>Natural dyes used by some for dowry rugs, or occasional colors in rugs for sale; most yarns are predyed commercially; virtually all rugs made for sale chemically dyed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Looms</strong></td>
<td>Traditional fixed vertical looms used exclusively</td>
<td>Experiments with lighter, portable vertical looms</td>
<td>A few metal production looms seen in village; these are common in rug manufactory centers, call for different warping methods</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Finishing</strong></td>
<td>Fringe at one end; warp protector finishes applied at both ends; fringe braided on most rugs</td>
<td>Fringe at one end. Traditional finishes not usually completed on rugs made for sale</td>
<td>Commercially woven rugs have fringe at both ends; most village rugs do not; full end finishing only for dowry rugs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yarns</strong></td>
<td>Almost all handspun from local sheep's wool.</td>
<td>Cooperative introduces commercially spun weft and knot yarn; warp is hand plied. Handspun yarn less common</td>
<td>Virtually no handspun yarns used; warp still hand plied from commercially spun singles.</td>
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Figure 1: Çömlekçi prayer rug; a classic Milas design.

Figure 2: Carpet in Ada Milas design, typical of Çömlekçi, and in demand for export in the early 1970's.
Figure 3: Finishing technique applied to the "loop" (non-fringe) end of the warp.

Figure 4: Fringe end of the warp, showing the warp protector edging created as warp is cut and woven off.
CHARMINGLY QUAIN'T AND STILL MODERN: THE PARADOX OF
COLONIAL REVIVAL NEEDLEWORK IN AMERICA, 1875-1940

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Despite the self-conscious modernism of the early 20th century, American needlework was filled with images of flower baskets, cozy cottages, spinning wheels, and women in hoopskirts. It was dominated by seemingly old-fashioned and "quaint" techniques, such as cross stitch, patchwork, crewel, and rug hooking. In an era with teeming cities, radio, and cars pouring off the assembly line, needlework came to stand for a romanticized, seemingly simpler and nobler American past. And in an era when women were winning the vote and re-entering the professional work force, needleworkers, in turn, became identified with the domestic homebody of the past. In reality, 20th century Colonial Revival needlework was fully a part of its own time, reflecting many of the developments seen in other forms of contemporary art and design. Techniques and imagery were stylized, streamlined, and abstracted, and patterns were transmitted through the mass media. Unlike actual colonial needlework, this was a populist, democratic form with national dimensions and a new class of professional, named designers. This paper looks at the theme of continuity and change in relation to a social movement or idea, examining how its attitudes and ideologies affected the development, appearance, and perception of needlework, and how textiles simultaneously reflected and helped shape the national cultural agenda.

The Colonial Revival was both a visual or aesthetic style, and a symbolic movement that spanned a period of more than 60 years. Beginning in the last quarter of the 19th century when America was becoming increasingly industrialized and urban, many individuals began to romanticize the pre-industrial, rural past. They thought of the colonial era--which by popular definition ended about 1830--as a purer time, filled with virtuous, moral, and hard-working pioneers. By extension, everything colonial took on new meanings. Historic artifacts--especially household items like spinning wheels, chairs, textiles and china--were seen as still-extant, almost living pieces of that earlier, untainted time. They seemed to hold or embody the qualities of the past, and thus exert a kind of moral power. In turn, modern craftspeople and manufacturers began to produce colonial-looking objects and create colonial-looking environments.

In its earliest phases, the Colonial Revival was largely a reactionary response on the part of a white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant elite that was losing its sense of dominance and control. The rising tide of immigration was changing the nature and character of the country, and many who were alarmed by depressions, labor unrest, and the apparent end of the frontier sought to set themselves apart by tracing their lineage to ancestors of "solid" pioneer stock. Those who most venerated the colonial, in other words, usually looked to it for a confirmation and reification of their own heritage and values. Although they were themselves predominantly well-off and urban, they "claimed" the virtues of the modest, hardworking, rural farmers of the past--as de-
scendants, they felt they inherited these same qualities.1

COLONIAL TEXTILES AS SYMBOLS: THE PRELIMINARY PHASE

The primary emphasis or focus of the Colonial Revival was the domestic past. It was not the battlefield or the workplace these descendants were interested in; it was the home and its activities and accoutrements. Sewing and needlework were an integral part of the domestic scene, and even from the earliest manifestations of the Colonial Revival idea, needlework played a symbolic role. During the Civil War, when women of the north organized large fairs to raise money for the Union Army, they included theme-room restaurants based on their image of the colonial kitchen. Costumed characters appeared in front of huge fireplaces with swinging pots, carrying out re-creations of household activities. These Kitchens always included a prominently-displayed spinning wheel, and often included a "dame," knitting by the fire, or a reenactment of a quilting bee. Tableaux-like reenactments were popular throughout the 19th century. It is generally agreed that they were the root or prototype of the colonial "period rooms" that proliferated in museums soon after.

The 19th century stage sets were at once serious and playful. On one hand, they alluded to a world of deeper meaning; they were statements about goodness, or moral virtue. But while they were instructive, they were amusements; the Kitchen at the Columbian Exposition, in fact, was located on the Midway, the acknowledged amusement area of the fair. The Victorians also took on the colonial ancestor role in other settings identified as entertainments. They dressed up for "Martha Washington tea parties," colonial balls or dances, "calico parties," and tableaux. Women's magazines offered suggestions for colonial theme luncheons and get-togethers. In May 1902, one reported on an entertainment called a "quilt make," where guests were invited to come in "anciente dress" to work on an old quilt top.2

Actual historic textiles were also on view at this time. For the Centennial, women's committees in the northeast set up "temporary museums" of colonial items. Embroidered household items like bedcovers were sometimes featured, although the most significant textile presence was in the form of clothing and accessories, usually associated with particular individuals. The Boston display, for example, included a baby cap worn by John Adams and a collar worn by George Washington.3 These garments were of interest not so much for their own sake, but because of the people whose character was seemingly infused within them. In sum, the dominant late 19th century interest in colonial textiles was associational, or symbolic. Textile activity was of greater concern than textile product. This was a preliminary stage in Colonial Revival needlework.

COLONIAL NEEDLEWORK AS "INDUSTRY": THE ARTS AND CRAFTS PHASE

There was a significant shift about the turn of the century, when the foreign influx was at its height. Colonial dress-up and stage sets did not disappear, but they were usually relegated to more "serious" settings, such as organized pagaents, and
they were typically reverent and sentimental. "Professionals" often arranged the imagery. In a kind of two-dimensional echo of the tableau-like room, entrepreneurs like Wallace Nutting and Mary Northend began to market images of the colonial interior, usually featuring a costumed woman on a braided rug in front of a fireplace, and communicating a sense of peace, repose and an almost spiritual calm. The needleworker began to be associated with that feeling.

I characterize the period from approximately 1900 to World War I as the Arts and Crafts phase of Colonial Revival needlework. Nutting and Northend were among the tastemakers--individuals of the dominant white Yankee culture who offered advice about what was and was not attractive and appropriate. Aligned with both the Arts and Crafts and Progressive movements, these "missionaries of the beautiful" often initiated handwork projects to help poor, rural women make a living and improve themselves by reviving old crafts. Needlework, which was associated with positive values and required little equipment or outlay, worked well for the reformers.

The Deerfield Blue and White Society epitomizes the phenomenon I am discussing. Well-educated women from the Connecticut River Valley studied examples of local 18th century crewelwork and designed modern adaptions. They trained local women to produce pieces for sale to summer tourists and well-connected individuals in Boston and other cultural centers. When we compare their pieces to colonial-era originals, we see a greater formality, perfectionism and control. Founders Margaret Whiting and Ellen Miller admitted they didn't trust the needlework skills of contemporary women. They insisted on selling only completed work rather than patterns, because they were afraid their fine designs would be compromised by poor workmanship.

The Blue and White Society was formed in 1896. At approximately this same time, Frances Louisa Goodrich, a midwesterner with a Yankee heritage and art school training, started Allanstand Industries in the hill country of North Carolina. Following the settlement house model that was the hallmark of the Progressive movement, she instituted a number of craft programs, hoping to impart values like "industry" and "thrift." She began with rag rug weaving, using scraps of silk sent by northern churchwomen, because this type of activity was standard at settlements like Hull House. (Note that the Blue and White Society also produced rag rugs and other colonial-looking items.) Allanstand Industries eventually became particularly known for overshot coverlets. Like Whiting and Miller, Goodrich also imposed her aesthetic on Allanstand products, and thus transformed the look of native products. For example, Appalachian women saw a woven coverlet as a set of separate pieces that could be easily dismantled for washing, and put it together accordingly. Goodrich saw a coverlet as a single visual unit, and stressed perfect, matching seams, achieved with even beating. She introduced a different type of loom to effect this. She too stressed restraint, balance and symmetry, and a feeling of spaciousness. Tellingly, these were the very terms Mary Northend used to characterize the colonial style in a 1921 article in Good Housekeeping. Other Colonial Revival values--simplicity, honesty, organic unity--were also congruent with those of the Arts and Crafts movement and were
evident in many other similar self help-type projects.

Arts and Crafts reformers were among those who contributed to the sweet, homebody image of women that pervaded the Colonial Revival. Even Gustav Stickley called the colonial style an example of "old-time quiet...in a breathless age." Women were seen to embody this sense of quiet. A popular subject in both literature and art at this time was Priscilla Mullins, a character from Longfellow's Courtship of Miles Standish. She was a romantic figure, always shown with a spinning wheel, awaiting her beau. She epitomized repose. Men liked her docile, unassuming quality, but women liked her too. She was industrious rather than idle, and because spinning was necessary for the very survival of the colonial people, her work was valuable. Turn-of-the-century women embraced the image of the toiling colonial foremother because she represented a time when women's work was acknowledged and respected. Some of them wrote books and articles detailing the labors of their grandmothers and thus presenting a unique kind of domestic history. These writings preserved significant historical detail, but they were completely colored by a sentimental image of the domestic. Alice Morse Earle's 1895 Colonial Dames and Good Wives, for example, includes a poem that describes the spinning wheel as the colonial woman's "piano," on which she spun her children to sleep:

Then labor was pleasure, and industry smiled
And the wheel and the loom every trouble beguiled.

The story of Betsey Ross, a woman whose patriotism was embodied in--and limited to--the stitching a flag, was also both fabricated and elevated to the status of a myth in this era.

A self-professed "mania" for collecting colonial objects took hold at the turn of the century, but for the most part, the early collectors were drawn to china, furniture and silver, not needlework. Except for antique garments and accessories, American textiles were little studied or sought after before World War I.

**COLONIAL NEEDLEWORK FOR ALL: THE INTERWAR PHASE**

The full-blown flowering of Colonial Revival needlework was in the interwar period. Textile collecting "took off" after about 1920, as did research. Books on samplers and American embroidery came out in 1921, and the new Antiques magazine featured articles on related topics. Books on collecting also began to include more about needlework. In fact, collecting, scholarship, and a kind of female bonding grew together. In Collector's Luck, Alice Van Leer Carrick gushed about a recent book on coverlets. "Nobody can really 'see' coverlets until they have read this...wonderful, radiant...book. The woman who wrote it believe[s and rejoices] in other women and...their work." Articles on colonial needlework also began to proliferate in women's magazines like Ladies' Home Journal and Good Housekeeping, and needlework "experts" began to tour the country, lecturing to eager women's groups. In a sense, textile scholarship was being claimed as women's territory.

Even more than this type of sisterhood, the fundamental shift in the interwar period
was a new attitude toward doing colonial-style needlework. It was no longer conceived of as something only for set-apart, rural or disadvantaged women. Settlement-based self-help projects generally faded out after the war, and it became a fad, even for urban women, to make their own quilts, rugs, samplers, and household furnishings. By 1923, Ladies’ Home Journal ran an article called, "Why Not Make Your Own Rugs? Everybody is Doing It." The modern woman could identify with her colonial predecessor, in other words, by doing what she did. In effect, she could step into the Nutting photograph and become its calm, soothing woman. As Marie Webster told her readers, "piecing and quilting make for feminine contentment and domestic happiness." A book on hooked rugs exclaimed, "Our own troubles and worries fade, and with our rugs...we find ourselves in a fairy world...a dream, a fantasy...a bright and happy experience."

This new sense that everyone could do it was in part due to a general sense of democratization and popularization that evolved in the 1920s. The colonial past was no longer seen as the sole provenance of the wealthy Mayflower descendant; everyone could in some sense appropriate it. Elitist hierarchies and assumptions were both challenged with broader-based visions and thrown off center stage by the burgeoning popular mass media. But the new approach was also a response to the changing position of women in the home. Because the home's economically productive functions had largely disappeared, the woman who was based there was largely reduced to a new, more symbolic role. She was less of a manager, more of a worker, tied to domestic tasks--she was being transformed into a housewife, and was encouraged to find her personal satisfaction through that identity. Even short stories in women's magazines emphasized women's happiness through homey tasks. The image was locked in by a strong revival of sentimentality about mother and home; in the depression years, in particular, this was tied to a much sought-after sense of comfort.

The increasing numbers of women who began to produce colonial-looking needlework were given a great deal of guidance; they found ample advice, instruction, and designs in the mass media. The concern with improved artistry that had been directed at the disadvantaged during the Arts and Crafts period was now extended to every housewife. A new kind of needlework professional emerged. She no longer worked with a settlement house type project; instead, she wrote books and articles, and designed and marketed patterns, and she saw herself taking needlework to a new artistic level. Carrie Hall explained that needlecraft had first been a necessary part of pioneer homemaking, later became part of an awakened desire for beauty in the home, and was now becoming an art form in its own right. Anne Champe Orr, similarly, said her goal in designing quilts was to raise them from utilitarian coverings to art pieces.

Orr was one of the most influential tastemakers of this new needlework age--she served as needlework editor of Good Housekeeping from 1918-1939 and employed over 160 women in her needlework business. Like many of her contemporaries, she perpetuated Arts and Crafts aesthetic preferences, including symmetrical design and large amounts of open space. In quilts, she favored applique and central medal-
lion designs. At the same time, her images were typically abstracted and stylized, as befit the post-war aesthetic. Interwar designers claimed colonial needlework, in other words, but they made it "new" and up-to-date. As Kate Franklin argued in 1926, "Why should we slavishly copy our grandmother's...patterns?" Ladies' Home Journal declared categorically that there was no more "fussiness" in handwork; everything was to be simplified and modern. 

Needlework suppliers had begun publishing instruction books in the late 19th century, but it wasn't until the 1920s when patterns were published in daily newspapers that mass marketing really skyrocketed. Designers wrote newspaper and magazine columns (often using pseudonyms like "Aunt Martha"), offering instructions for a small fee. They also found jobs with quilt batting companies that included patterns on their packages. Syndicated design and needlework services reached millions of customers; Anne Orr received 500,000 pattern requests on a single day. Magazines also sponsored quilt contests that drew huge numbers of visitors to department stores and fairs, and further stimulated the excitement about colonial-type needlework. Contest winners sometimes became instant celebrities who were broadcast on the radio and hounded for patterns by admirers all over the country.

By the 1930s a needleworker could get by with relatively little skill; she could choose pre-cut pattern pieces, pre-stamped designs, complete kits, or even partially finished work. At the same time, designers assumed that many customers would make changes or adaptations in the patterns, and individuals typically progressed from simple to more complex projects. The vast number of patterns on the market stimulated innovation, so while there was much derivative work, there were also highly accomplished designs.

Flowerbaskets, swags, wreaths, and bowknots were perhaps the most popular embroidery motifs of the interwar era; they appeared on everything from rugs, bed and table covers to personal accessories. The iconic basket was stylized, reduced to a smooth, streamlined shape. Simplicity and reduction of form--even the kind of disintegration of form associated with cubists and other modern painters--was reflected in technique as well as imagery. Straight lines were often worked in a broken fashion, creating the suggestion of a line as much as a line itself, and shapes might even be reduced to mere points, created by French knots. Solid blocks of color, similarly, were frequently worked in cross stitch, meaning that borders were alluded to rather than filled in. This very simplicity has been looked upon in later eras as evidence of lack of skill or design sophistication, but in the 1920s it was up-to-the-minute stylishness. As a 1928 Needlecraft article stated, "The old fashioned sampler of our great grandmother's day, with its fine, careful stitches, seems incongruous now." 

Samplers were important in Colonial Revival needlework. They were easily worked, and were prominently hung in the home, functioning as a symbol of domesticity and harmony by alluding to an imagined happy past. In reality, interwar samplers were entirely different from their colonial prototypes. Colonial samplers were
typically made by schoolgirls, who followed their teachers' designs. They symbolized prosperity and achievement, since they indicated that the girl's family had produced a refined young lady. Stitching was detailed, filling most of the background space. The stitched messages were dictated by adults, but they were written from the child's point of view. They expressed filial loyalty and a kind of gloomy piety--there were countless verses about the importance of virtue and the difficulties of life on earth, and about death and eventual rewards in a heavenly sphere. Interwar samplers were not about refinement; they typically came from stamped patterns, used only one or two stitches, and required little training. They featured a narrative central image that functioned as a single composition. Made by adult women, they romanticized the earthly plane: most referred to family life, motherhood, the comforts of the home, friendship, and sweet love. Despite dreamy colonial imagery, in other words, they expressed contemporary sentiments, and were used to keep painful things at bay. In referring to a sampler called "Home Keeping Hearts," Woman's World tellingly remarked, "Longfellow's friendly verse offers solace to the "stay-at-home;" ... she need no longer envy her sister's place in the 'work-a-day' world."17

Images of home were also seen in other media. For example, the same sentimental imagery prevailed in hooked rugs. Though techniques were altered for a more modernistic look (narrow strips created flatter textures, pictorial elements were outlined), pictures of cozy houses, complete with blazing hearths and cheerful flower gardens, were typical. Revival style embroidery also often included images of teacups, cooking pots and other visual references to the cheer of the colonial kitchen. While these hearkened back to the New England Kitchen-type stage settings, they had another purpose--they romanticized and ennobled the tedious labor of the contemporary housewife. Needlework was also applied to new types of textiles during the 20's and 30's: to bags that held vegetables, clothespins, and other laundry items; to pot-holders; dishtowels, and tray covers. The modern American woman was now directly involved with the backstage labor of cooking, cleaning, washing, and hostessing. Colonial references of this type helped overlay her activities with a deeper meaning and a kind of charm.

Colonial Revival needlework was often worked in sets; the same pattern might be worked in different scales and even different media on a variety of household textiles (sampler designs might for example be adapted for rugs and aprons). The textile was not seen so much as a finished work in itself, but as part of an overall interior design scheme--the finished work was the room as a whole. The housewife was responsible for creating this kind of focus and visual coherence. "Modern women make a study of [a] particular room," explained a 1935 book on quilts. "They strive for overall harmony, and choose items to go with their dominant color scheme. In the colonial era women had to make quilts with what was available, but today we can be more selective and artistic."18 The dominant palette was light: white was favored in many Revival contexts, although it had not been popular in the 18th century, and the bright and primary colors of earlier times were toned down and mixed with pastels. Anne Orr described her quilt colors as "delicate," and elsewhere "flesh" and "peach" tones were particularly heralded for embroidery.19
Men were strongly involved in most aspects of the Colonial Revival, but Colonial Revival needlework was so completely a woman's world that it rarely even alluded to men. The only images considered suitable for men's spaces were sailing ships, which were relatively gender-neutral. The only way that males were actually pictured were as fantasized gentlemen—not farmers—of the past, and even then, they were usually seen only in shadowy, stylized silhouette. Interestingly, reproduction colonial furniture—which men were involved with—was typically quite true to the original. Revival needlework, as we have seen, was heavily transformed.

Paradox was perhaps the hallmark of Colonial Revival needlework. It was evident in everything from the title of a popular woman's magazine, *Modern Priscilla*, to a 1915 sampler juxtaposing fighter planes of the Great War with women in hoop-skirts. It was very apparent in telephone screens worked in the shape of colonial women, or in descriptions of new designs that were simultaneously meant to be "modernistic" and to "bring to mind the quaint box-bordered flower-beds of an old-time garden." Occasionally truly forward-looking designs were worked in old-fashioned techniques, but these were far overshadowed by those with saccharine references to the past.

**EFFECTS OF THE COLONIAL REVIVAL PHENOMENON**

In the end, the abstracted quality of Colonial Revival imagery and the countless references to homey charm and quaintness contributed to a general devaluation of needlework of all kinds. On one hand the designs were so simplified that they appeared childlike, and could be dismissed as something that mature people would outgrow. At the same time, the constant pairing of textiles with characters like Aunt Martha and references to "grandmother's day" led to an association with hopelessly out-of-date old ladies—the complete antithesis of the modern woman. Despite the professionals' insistence on "improved," "modern" design, the "old-fashioned" rubric eventually made the work seem dated, stuffy and unimportant. The emphasis on quickly worked pieces and the plethora of pre-stamped patterns also meant that needlework was no longer perceived as demanding or difficult; again, it was easily dismissed. Even the legacy from earlier phases of the Revival contributed to the general devaluation. Nineteenth century associations, connecting colonial textiles with amusements, dress-up and play, and Arts and Crafts-era associations, connecting them with charity projects done by the disadvantaged "other," still reverberated in the popular consciousness. They made the work seem frivolous, distant, and slightly demeaning.

Colonial style needlework was supplanted to some extent in the later 1930s by so-called "peasant" embroidery, but it only really went out of style with the non-saccharine realities of World War II. However, its legacies, and particularly the attitudes that it helped create, are with us still. Even today, in order to assess, understand, and fully appreciate Colonial Revival needlework, we must bring to light the prejudices we carry, and try to see how these pieces were seen and experienced in their own time.
Endnotes


8. Gustav Stickley, "From Ugliness to Beauty," The Craftsman 7 (December, 1904), 315.

9. Marling, 42.


18. Hall and Kretsinger, 28. The quotation is paraphrased.


20. Lydia Le Baron Walker, Homecraft Rugs (New York: Frederick Stokes, 1929), 47.

These sampler designs--"Home Keeping Hearts" and "Mother and Child"--were offered by Woman's World magazine in the late 1920s. The patterns came with the requisite embroidery floss, and frames could be purchased separately. Note the grand colonial-looking house on the "Home Keeping Hearts" sampler, and the old-fashioned clothes that mother and child wear on the other.
Corner details on two textiles from the Helen Allen Collection at the University of Wisconsin illustrate the kind of modernistic dissolution of form evident in Colonial Revival needlework. Top: corner of bridge table cover (EAE 1627) with cross stitch and pulled-thread design. The stylized flower basket is reduced to a suggested outline shape. Right: luncheon cloth (EAUS 539) with some lines worked in broken stitch and French knots.
FROM BOHEMIAN TO BOURGEOIS: AMERICAN BATIK IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

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In 1919 Pieter Mijer wrote in his influential book Batiks and How to Make Them: "Batik is still a comparatively recent importation; brought here some ten years ago, it was met with absolute incomprehension and lack of interest, but its real merit as a means of decorating fabrics has earned it a place in the industrial art of the nation and year by year it is gaining wider recognition."1

This paper briefly considers the rise and fall in popularity of batik in America in the period Mijer indicated: how it changed from being a foreign import chiefly seen in museums with ethnographic collections to being a high fashion fabric with a rather brief span of popularity. It also investigates the role of certain American artists, designers, educators, and department stores in the appropriation and transformation of this unfamiliar technique and its associated motifs by the textile industry as a commercial venture.

Although the technique of decorating textiles by applying a wax resist between successive dyeings was practised in different parts of the world, including Japan, Javanese batiks were the type most Europeans and Americans identified with the process. A few enlightened Europeans, such as Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, recognized the richness of the Javanese textile tradition early. Raffles brought a large collection of batik textiles back to England in the early nineteenth century.2 In turn, English printed textiles and machine-produced cloth for use in the printing process soon arrived in Java, where they had an impact on the production of native textiles. Throughout its history, batik has evolved through the meeting of different cultures and technologies.

The first European artists to experiment with the medium in the 1880s and 1890s were the Dutch, inspired by the collection of Javanese batiks amassed in Holland through trade and colonization in the East Indies. Displays of Javanese batiks in Dutch museums and at the 1883 International Colonial Exposition in Amsterdam were a particular inspiration for Dutch artists to work in batik. Javanese batiks, especially the brilliant costumes of puppets, caused a sensation among a wider European audience when exhibited by the Dutch at the Paris International Exposition in 1900.3 Dutch artists, among them G. W. Dijsselhof, J. Thorn Prikker, and S. Jessurun de Mesquita exhibited their own batiks at the 1902 Turin International Exposition.4 The most influential Dutch batik artist was
Chris Lebeau (1878-1945), who established an atelier in Haarlem in 1902, and taught the batik technique to other European artists at the School of Fine Arts in Haarlem. Lebeau's works clearly show colors deriving from authentic Indonesian examples, whose sinuous forms appealed to the Art Nouveau sensibility. One of the most celebrated European female batik artists was Madame Marguerite Pangon, who studied the technique in Haarlem before setting up her atelier in Paris, where she produced luxurious shawls, dresses, cushions, curtains, and lampshades. Her batiks were also displayed in the Salon des Artistes Décorateurs in Paris. Pangon's financial success indicated the commercial potential of this artistic fabric.

In America, authentic Javanese batiks began to enter American museum collections in the late nineteenth century as ethnographical textiles. The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, was one of the first to acquire such textiles, thanks to the forward-looking collecting policy of Charles G. Loring, first director of the Museum, and Denman W. Ross, Harvard Professor, Museum trustee, and an avid collector. On a trip to the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893, they purchased five batiks from the Javanese Village for the Museum's collection. Ross added sixty-six more batiks after his 1911 trip to Indonesia. The Museum's policy of allowing designers from the local textile industries to study from the collection gradually brought batik to the attention of industrial manufacturers, and this contact between museums and industry proved fruitful later in New York, as this paper will investigate.

A number of young American artists soon became interested in the new technique. One legacy of the Arts and Crafts movement of the late nineteenth century was the willingness of more so-called "fine" artists to explore techniques and media with "craft" connotations, such as embroidery, a very familiar technique that underwent a revival in the last quarter of the century. Batik was a much more alien phenomenon for Americans. But, like embroidery, batik appealed to those who still discriminated between craft and "fine" art, partly because it produced unique images rather than multiples and required similar handskills to drawing. Thus it gained a following in the wider artistic community.

One of the first American artists to work in batik was Marguerite Thompson Zorach (1887-1968). Like others of her generation, Marguerite Thompson made the obligatory artistic pilgrimage to Europe between 1908 and 1911, studying first at a traditional academic school in Paris before finding her niche among the avant-garde at La Palette school, where she was a pupil of John Duncan Fergusson and Jacques-Emile Blanche. Marguerite was especially attracted to the color of the Fauve painters whom she admired in Paris, and it was this love of color that informed her later embroidered pictures as well as her paintings.
While it is possible that Zorach's interest in batik was piqued by work she saw in Paris, such as that produced by Mme Pangon and Lucienne Cajot, it is more likely that Zorach's return trip to the United States may have provided her with more authentic inspiration. Between 1911-1912, with her aunt and a companion, she spent seven months voyaging through Egypt, Palestine, India, Burma, Malaysia, Indonesia, China, Korea, and Japan, countries with outstanding textile traditions, on her way home to California. Again, as a colorist, she appreciated the exotic scenes she witnessed, sketching and keeping a travel diary in which she made illustrated notes on local dress and textiles. Marguerite returned from Indonesia with implements for making batik and it is probable that she taught herself the technique from a manual and from watching others.9

On her arrival in New York, she married the sculptor William Zorach, and the young couple figured prominently in the artistic life of Greenwich Village in the 'teens. Both artists exhibited in the New York Armory Show, and both received the accolade of being vilified by the conventional press for their "shocking" paintings.10

Being frighteningly poor, yet desperately artistic, Marguerite used her skills to decorate the Zorachs' clothing and home. From William's autobiography, we learn that she made most of the family's clothes (except for shoes and William's suits), and several of her batik patterned clothes still exist.11 A brown and cream jacket with stylized figures and floral and animal motifs, now in the National Museum of American Art, reveals Zorach's study of authentic Javanese designs. "Bohemian" artistic dress was, in fact, a practical necessity for impoverished artists like the Zorachs.

A scarf with horses and nude figures (Figure 1) by Zorach (now at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; 68.592), and a set of three batik wall hangings (now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art; 1976.252.1-3) date from the period 1918-1920. The hangings may have been theatrical backdrops for the Provincetown Players, Eugene O'NEll's avant-garde theater group in both Provincetown and Manhattan, for whom the Zorachs made sets, costumes, and programs, and with whom William even acted, occasionally.

By now batik was something of a craze among young New York artists. Just as the Fauves and Cubists in Europe were turning to African sculpture and other non-western art for their inspiration rather than to the Old Masters, so too were young American artists seeking to free themselves from the academic tradition. In the field of American textile design, young designers were likewise being encouraged to study more unusual sources of design in American museum collections, such as historic textiles, especially non-European examples, of which Javanese batik was but one type. A small group of progressive educators and writers, led by M.D.C. Crawford, debated the future of American textile
Marguerite Zorach (American, 1887-1968). **Scarf**, about 1918; silk, batik; 64.7 x 139 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Gift of Miss Alice B. Hornby 68.592

Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
design and manufacture. They wanted to direct the talent of American artists toward industrial design, in order to encourage greater originality. Practically, they hoped to free American commercial production of textiles from its heavy dependence on European (and predominantly French) examples. The disruption of European trade and production by the First World War added to the urgency of Crawford's mission. These educators also sought to improve the status and morale of American designers, who were seldom accorded much credit by or received adequate rewards from their employers. Crawford, a Research Associate in Textiles at the American Museum of Natural History, and Stewart Culin of the Brooklyn Museum, welcomed artists and designers to their institutions to study their collections, organized special exhibitions of so-called primitive art, and wrote and lectured tirelessly about their beliefs. Their campaign had immediate results: as early as 1915, H.R. Mallinson & Co. produced printed silks inspired by Aztec and Inca art, and in 1917 the firm of Wanamakers showed fashionable dress embroidered with Maya motifs by artists who had turned to these new sources of design inspiration.

Between 1916 and the early 1920s a number of important competitions were organized to stimulate innovation in American textile design. One series was sponsored by Women's Wear and the other was known as the Alfred Blum Hand-Decorated Textiles Competition. These competitions were intended to attract the attention of commercial textile manufacturers, who could improve the aesthetic merit of their products by employing some of the successful competitors. Judges of the competitions included representatives from the manufacturing sector, including E. Irving Hanson of H.R. Mallinson & Co., and Albert Blum of the United Dye Works.

Batiks were shown by many artists in the competition exhibitions, and prize-winning pieces were reported and illustrated in both textile trade publications and the art press, including the American Silk Journal, Women's Wear, Good Furniture, and the American Magazine of Art. The designs were then displayed in New York museums, such as the Metropolitan Museum, which exhibited the 1916 Women's Wear designs. Batiks took the first 3 prizes in the May 1917 Albert Blum Hand-Decorated Textiles Competition. Awards were made to Hazel Burnham Slaughter, Helen C. Reed, and Martha Ryther. Of the Second Annual Albert Blum contest in January 1918, Crawford wrote: "Batik, as usual, held the center of attraction. The freedom of this technique in the hands of the artist permits of the most unusual and beautiful effects." A more prosaic observer and representative of industry, Edward L. Mayer, complained rather stodgily about the batik artists' "temptation to run riot in this technique regardless of utilitarian considerations."

The display of authentic Javanese batiks in New York in this period also helped to familiarize a wider audience with
these foreign designs. About one such exhibition, a critic wrote: "Batik is not, as many persons think, akin to ultra-modern art, but has an intensely practical application, and its products are used in the decoration of the clothes worn in Java, as well as in screens, hangings, and other decorative uses." 17

As early as 1913, a brief article by Amy Mali Hicks instructed readers of House & Garden who were not professional artists on how to try their hand at the technique, since, she wrote, "A great many fabrics may be used, and a great many interesting designs worked out without especial talent or technical training." 18 The technique was especially in vogue for "dress fabrics, furniture covers, table covers." Others learned the technique by taking classes in art schools.

The most widely used "how-to" batik book in America was Pieter Mijer's 1919 work, which provided clear and detailed instructions for amateurs and artists who wished to learn the skill. One writer credited much of the success of batik in America to Mijer himself, "a Dutch artist, who learned the art in Java and brought it back with him to America. It is wholly to Mr. Myer's [sic] insistence upon its true worth in the face of cool incomprehension and his willingness to explain his craft and teach his technique to others that today we owe this important addition to American art." 19 Mijer's book also provided the reader with a history of batik in Indonesia and its rise to popularity in Europe in the early twentieth century. Mijer himself warned that batik had already become something of a fad: "It has been in danger of getting into the class of transient 'cults' and becoming a fashionable pastime with a rise and fall similar to the craze for doing peasant wood-carving, burnt-wood work or sweater knitting. But...its real merit has saved it from becoming just modish amusement." 20

Batik garments, originally worn only by the "bohemian" artists who made them, were also popular among actresses and dancers who wore them as stage costumes for shows with exotic themes. Batik clothing was sold by small enterprises, such as the Flambeau Weavers and other fashionable little shops in New York that offered "artistic" dress. Among their creations were two indoor outfits for 1918, one described as "an idyllic harem costume of Javanese batik" and the other as "a gold-and-green changeable satin worn with an iridescent batik chiffon tea coat." 21 The Flambeau Weavers were praised for their successful use of domestic dyes to reproduce the rich earth colors admired in authentic Javanese batiks.

Almost immediately, the more progressive textile manufacturers such as H.R. Mallinson & Co. and Cheney Brothers recognized the commercial possibilities of batik textiles, especially for clothing. The taste for exoticism in textiles and dress had developed in fashionable America in the early 'teens, encouraged by events such as the display of the Ballets Russes costumes in New York, news
from Paris about Paul Poiret’s fashions inspired by the Orient, and frequent articles (mainly by Crawford) in Women’s Wear about exotic design sources. Both Cheney Brothers and H.R. Mallinson experimented with commercially-produced versions of hand-made batiks. The November 1917 issue of the American Silk Journal showed Cheney Brothers’s new printed silks with batik effects, which were hailed as "an original interpretation of the batik prints, the inspiration for which was found in the original Javanese hand-dyed batiks. There are eight color combinations...each pattern admirably adapted to costume use and also for furnishing...."22

And in Feb 1918, Crawford waxed enthusiastic in Women’s Wear that Cheney Brothers were about to place on the market "a mechanical imitation of the ancient Batik work. The process is the result of a series of careful experiments in the mills at South Manchester."23 Crawford quoted Horace Cheney as saying "nothing like it has ever been placed on the market...we feel we have produced mechanically the same feeling of softness that makes the hand processed fabrics so beautiful ... not only in foulards but in multi-colored prints as well." Crawford pronounced that "if the batik designs made by artists can be perfectly reproduced by machines it will be a splendid thing for the artists and industry as well. It is a hopeful sign that the technical genius of the country is concerning itself rather with the production of quality than in an effort to meet the problems of price and quantity." For once, Crawford’s dreams of the perfect marriage of art and industry were almost realized in these batik textiles.

But not everyone raved about some of the work that Cheney was producing. Frances Gifford commented on the "crackle" effect: "The native Javanese workman very properly considers ‘crackle’ an evidence of bad craftsmanship. In America, ‘crackle’ work is bought by credulous people at prices far above its true value on the assurance that they are getting the only genuine batik."24

While firms such as the United Piece Dyeworks produced printed batik silks by a resist method, we know that Cheney Brothers produced such imitations of batiks on a roller-printing machine, with artificially produced "craquille" effects.25

The manufacturers recognized that it might help their sales if they familiarized the public with the new fabrics and designs by giving them appealing names. In February 1917, H.R. Mallinson advertised: "With the batik idea developed to the utmost, there has just been introduced...a rich crepe fabric with brilliant iridescent colorings under the catchy name of ‘Hero Crepe Batik.’" The motifs of "stripes, circles, spirals, blocks, etc." (which were not particularly Javanese-looking) were declared to be "especially suitable for suits, skirts, hats, bags, parasols, and trimmings."26
As Crawford had hoped, Mallinson hired a prize-winning artist from the Art Alliance competitions for their design studio. Martha Ryther, who specialized in batiks, joined their design team in March 1917. This firm was particularly committed to the new technique. Large-scale pictorial batiks designed by Arthur Crisp and executed by the Mijer studio decorated the walls of Mallinson's showrooms in 1918 and 1919. A group of these batiks depicting the silk industry was praised as "the highest development in the art of batik dyeing."27

The best department stores also played a substantial role in promoting batiks. Crawford had hailed the retail store as the "laboratory of good taste," and in 1919, Marshall Field & Company in Chicago organized a travelling exhibition and sale of over 120 batik textiles and costumes designed by young American artists.28 Bonwit Teller purchased a prize-winning batik from the December 1916 competition for their 1917 line of block-printed underwear.29 One of Wanamaker's lavish batik displays in March 1918 was reported thus in Women's Wear: "The silk rotunda at Wanamakers takes one to Japan, or perhaps some other Oriental country, today. Batik motives and tie-dyed silks are the features and are scattered about in profusion but with a blending of color which emphasizes their beauties."30 Clearly, in this context batik was no longer linked to one specific country, being rather more vaguely identified as "Oriental." Wanamaker's display included "Georgettes with Batik designs, with 18 different choices for $3 a yard; Batik satin crackle, plain colors only, $2.85; Batik pongee crackle, hand made, 12 color combinations, $3;" as well as "Batik originals, hand made, $5 to $100 each." Several samples of these textiles were donated by Wanamaker's to the Smithsonian Institution in 1918 and are now among the collections of the National Museum of American History in Washington, DC.

A February 1918 headline in Women's Wear signalled the triumph of "fake" batik in a seasonal bastion of the bourgeoisie: "Plain or Batik Smocks Worn at Palm Beach."31 The writer explained: "Since Batik art is better understood and accepted, there is a noticeable growing admiration evinced for real Batik or otherwise. As the real Batik entails much labor, the results must necessarily be costly and at times even the best work shows traces of defects." Commenting that the year before the prices for real batik smocks sent to Palm Beach "were exorbitant," the author noted that "this season so many novelties are offered that the real Batik has found a strong rival in the manufactured fabrics selling for more reasonable prices." Thus cheaper prices, and the suggestion that manufactured versions avoided the "traces of defects" that were likely to occur in hand-batiked fabrics appear to have won many consumers over to the commercially-manufactured versions. By now, batik was seen as just generically "Oriental," the report concluding that "Much can be gleaned from Oriental

inspiration and done in design." Again, the National Museum of American History is fortunate to have in its collections several examples of the type of sheer silk imitation batik that might have been used for the type of smock seen in Palm Beach. One sample (63914, cat. no. 4144), manufactured by H.R. Mallinson and marked "Mallinsons Indestructible Voile," is block-printed en forme to provide the bodice and sleeves of a dress. The piece was donated by Mallinson, through M.D.C. Crawford, in 1919.

But, opinion differed as to the desirability of commercially-produced batik patterns. Some critics were vehement that machine-made versions could not replace hand-made batiks. In September 1919, one writer commented: "Apropos of prints -- the current exhibition of batiks at the Bush building has pretty well demonstrated to the print goods producer that there is no rivalry there as the true batik can never be commercialized, but the fine old patterns, notably those from the Metropolitan and Natural History Museums may prove a stimulus in design."32 Clearly, the author had not been frequenting the design competitions.

A sign that the commercial popularity of batik was on the wane came as early as July 1919, when the American Silk Journal reported that: "Prints, for which the demand has greatly exceeded the supply this year, will carry over to the Spring. Batik designs have been a failure from the buyer’s viewpoint and sharply defined conventional patterns and Chinese motifs in high colors will be most salable."33 Batik dresses had already peaked in popularity. The bottom line in the fashion industry was still profit.

Although batik fashions revived in the 1920s in Europe and America, their novelty had been eclipsed, and batik designs took their place in the repertoire of miscellaneous styles that were vaguely labelled "Oriental." Designers continued to plunder this multicultural resource. While the fashion industry moved on to other innovations, American artists, notably Lydia Bush-Brown, continued to explore the use of batik well into the 1920s.34

3. One writer commented that the costumes of the Javanese puppets "se bariolaient de dessins aux couleurs vives, d’une délicieuse fantaisie ornement décorative... c’était du batik." (Unpaginated, undated, Le Batik Français -- Madame Pannon -- 64 rue la Boetie -- Exposition Permânette.) For information on the batiks at the Paris International Exposition of 1900, see G.P. Rouffaer, ed. Exposition Universelle à Paris. Guide à travers la section des Indes-Néerlandaise (Groupe XVII colonisation). (La Haye: 1900); Roger Marx, La Décoration et les industries d’art à
6. Batiks by Marguerite P Pangon, Marguerite Blotnitzki, and Lucienne Cajot were shown in the 8th Salon des Artistes Décorateurs, February 22-March 31, 1913.
10. Roberta K. Tarbell, Marquerite Zorach: The Early Years, p. 36.
36, no. 5 (May 1917), p. 49.
27. According to the American Silk Journal 37 (April 1918), p. 57, "The Sorceress" designed by Arthur Crisp and executed by the "Myer [sic] studio" was in the Mallinson salesroom, while batik panels depicting "The Silk Industry" in Mallinson’s showrooms were illustrated in American Silk Journal 37 (September 1918), p. 60.
30. Ibid, March 6, 1918, p. 9.
33. American Silk Journal 38 (July 1919), p. 44.
NEW TWIST ON SHIBORI: HOW AN OLD TRADITION SURVIVES IN THE NEW WORLD WHEN JAPANESE WOODEN POLES ARE REPLACED BY AMERICAN PVC PIPES

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The subject of my talk is arashi shibori or pole wrap resist. Although at times it is hard to recognize some arashi effects as such, technically arashi shibori is one of many forms of tie-dye. After thirty years of its exploration through art-to-wear, dyed and painted tapestries, three dimensional sculptures, and mixed media in the United States, various forms of tie-dye have now become part of the lexicon of American fabric design and fiberarts vocabulary.

On the one hand, there has been much effort by textile specialists to circumvent the term "tie-dye," due to its association with the Grateful Dead, the rock band cult figures with their "dead heads" dressed in tie-dyed T-shirts. Or conversely, some textile scholars apply the term tie-dyed fabric to both ikat and shibori fabrics of various ethnic origins. However, tie-dyeing yarns to weave cloth and tie-dyeing cloth itself present two very different circumstances which require different processes, and therefore result in two dissimilar effects. Plangi and tritik have also been used to refer to some of the "tie-dyed" textiles, although I have often found an inconsistent use of the term plangi. As far as I can tell, the term tritik is always used to indicate stitch-resist technique, but plangi seems to refer to gathered and bound resist, or stitched and bound--sometimes capped resist, as well as to many other tie-dye processes. On the other hand, a majority of Japanese shibori terms are quite particular as to the process required to create a specific pattern. For those unfamiliar with Japanese terms, I choose to use English terms, such as clamp-resist, stitch and bound resist, and pole wrap resist, etc. Nonetheless, this confusion in the technical terms used in one area of surface design vocabulary is a good example of just how the "contact and crossover" of these culturally specific fiber arts practices may need further articulation to continue in a new context.

Arashi shibori is one of many processes in Japanese shibori, shaped resist dyeing technique, which has been explored in the US since 1975 when I first introduced shibori at the Fiberworks Center for the Textile Arts in Berkeley. Now it has blossomed into an innovative genre in the U.S. because of artists like Ana Lisa Hedstrom, D'Arcie Beytebiere, Chad Alice Hagan, Joan Morris, Terri Fletcher, Gundersen-Davis, and Mira Alden, to name only a few.
The shibori technique involves manipulating fabrics from a two dimensional plane into three dimensional shapes by, for example, crumpling, folding, stitching or twisting. Then pressure is exerted on the cloth by binding, clamping, or knotting in order to keep the three dimensional form intact throughout the dyeing process. This results in a soft- or blurry-edged pattern or a crisp, small, all-over pattern. The cloth sensitively records both the shape of and the pressure exerted on the three dimensional form; thus the "memory" of the shape remains imprinted in the cloth.

American artists have been especially inspired by the idea of the "memory" of dyed cloth and have explored it in original ways since the 70's. Their preference has been to record their personal experiences as they manipulate and dye cloth, instead of simply producing particular patterns. This approach has created a diverse collection of two- and three dimensional art works as well as clothing forms. These works demonstrate American artists' ability to learn and interpret and ingeniously adapt traditional craft methods in a contemporary setting. Among several shibori techniques practiced by American artists, arashi shibori has perhaps been the most popular, and most frequently used to create American shibori work.

Traditional arashi shibori is one form of bomaki (pole wrap) shibori, a term for the dyeing process in which fabric is wrapped over a pole and compressed; in other words, where a pole is used as a core to protect one side of the cloth from the dye. And, by the way, there are a few other bomaki shibori such as shirokage, white shadow shibori, and murakumo, or scattered cloud shibori, showing my point about the specificity in shibori techniques and the resulting effects. In the case of traditional arashi, which means "storm" in Japanese, a single layer of cloth is always wrapped diagonally on a pole. However, many American artists tend to work with a pole using a diagonal orientation interchangeably with a parallel orientation. Therefore, in my discussion of American work I include arashi variations as well as bomaki variations. Arashi was invented by Kanezo Suzuki in 1880 and is a relatively new technique of the folk-type shibori which began in the 1600's in Arimatsu. Arimatsu, along with its neighboring towns Narumi and Otaka, are all situated along the old Tokaido highway which connected the Eastern capital of Edo, present day Tokyo, and Kyoto and Osaka to the West. The shibori industry there prospered, patronized by the travelers of all classes, especially by the commoners because of the accessible prices and high spirited designs. The artisans of folk-type shibori worked with the designs which were inspired by patterns seen in everyday life and with the technique each artisan was master of. This creative process definitely parallels the way American artists work. Soon after its invention, arashi shibori became very popular, especially for men's yukata (summer cotton kimonos) and juban (underkimonos) during the Meiji and Taisho periods, from the late 19th through the early 20th century. During the peak period of production, there were 14 workshops in the area, each using 30 to 150 poles. Since, each pole held 4 tan, and a tan is a
unit of approximately 12 1/2 yards of 14 inch wide kimono cloth, roughly 50 yards of cloth was shaped on a pole. The production of arashi shibori must have reached thousands of yards in a busy month. During its short history, more than 100 different arashi patterns which resulted from that many variations in the process were recorded, many of which now are obsolete and forgotten. Reiichi Suzuki, the last arashi craftsman passed away in 1990. There are still a couple of people in Arimatuka who occasionally work on some of the simpler arashi patterns, but the line of arashi craftspeople has virtually come to an end. Now it seems that the heirs to the lineage of arashi artisans who have an in depth understanding of the process may be found primarily in America among fiber artists, like Ana Lisa Hedstrom, and maybe a few others.

In the traditional arashi process, a solid wooden pole about 13' long and 6" to 8" in diameter, slightly tapered from one end to the other, is used. The craftsman, (always male) works with an assistant, who can be a woman, as he wraps a long, narrow kimono cloth diagonally around a pole, then winds a thread around it at measured intervals. The assistant cranks the handle attached to the end of the pole to turn it so that the arashi craftsman can wind a thread by standing in front of the pole. The rapport between the assistant and the craftsman is crucial in winding the thread at regular intervals with consistent tension. The assistant also helps the arashi craftsman to compress the cloth into tiny, tight folds. Using four hands over this size pole works well to push the cloth evenly. This process is repeated until a whole bolt of kimono cloth is gathered on the pole. Sometimes, up to 4 tan of kimono cloth is shaped on a pole and the whole pole, until the 1960's, used to be immersed in a big trough of indigo dye as many times as it was necessary to obtain the shade of blue required. This enabled the dyer to pattern a large quantity of cloth at a time. During the time Kanezo Suzuki invented the technique Japan was undergoing industrialization and an influx of Western designs. He and his fellow artisans responded to the early Meiji social and economic changes by using his version of industrial equipment, a huge wooden pole with a marginally mechanized crank to produce the design in quantity. He devised the use of a guide thread to space the winding of a resist thread on a pole regularly. The pattern he and his fellow artisans created looked quite different from traditional shibori effects and appeared to embrace the changing taste of the people who were making a transition from feudal society to a Western style open society. However, eventually Westernization of the country affected the clothing worn by the Japanese, especially the men, who were quick to adopt Western style garments, causing a drastic decline of the market for arashi shibori cloths.

Furthermore, a couple of major typhoons hit the Nagoya area in the 1950's and early 60's, and crippled many shibori dyers by destroying the indigo vats. This was an added blow to most of the arashi shibori studios. Only Ginatro Yamaguchi and
Reiichi Suzuki continued to work in this process. Yamaguchi passed away in 1972, and Reiichi Suzuki had to make a major change in the way he dyed the arashi cloth. The traditional indigo dye vat became uneconomical to maintain due to the rapid decline in demand in traditional kimono items, especially for everyday wear. The kimono market shifted to more expensive, special wear. Suzuki's expertise was then applied to silk materials for kimonos and men's neck ties, besides the traditional yukata, summer cotton kimonos. The Aichi prefecture gave him a subsidy to train an arashi artisan, and his son, who was an office worker, began learning this craft from Suzuki on weekends. After the older man's death in 1990, Suzuki junior and Kaei Hayakawa, another younger shibori artist or craftsman, are the only ones left who practice this art in Japan.

Despite the declining practice of arashi in Japan, it is noteworthy that the number of American arashi artisans in the U.S. has grown and many of them can subsist on this craft. Some of the reasons why arashi shibori became so much more popular outside of Japan than other shibori processes like stitching, minute binding, and hand pleating, is that the process is easier to learn and faster to produce a relatively large quantity of patterned fabric. Because of the use of a pole which gives a kind of structure to work fabric with or against, the process becomes more physical and fun than traditional meticulous skilled work, such as the technique of using tiny kanoko dots to pattern fabric, like hon-hitta shibori, which takes 10 years to master. Japanese arashi shibori requires a long narrow cloth which works well with a 13 foot long solid wooden pole of about 20 inches in circumference, slightly tapered from one end to the other. Americans, on the other hand, use wider clothes of various widths of up to 60 inches, but shorter in length, on a hollow short PVC pipe. Judith Content, inventing her own variation, uses a wine bottle, while another American artist, D'Arcie Beytebiere, uses cardboard drum cans for the original Japanese pole. These American poles or pipes are much lighter and easier to handle than the original 13 foot long wooden pole. For example, if the fabric being wrapped around the traditional pole was wider than 14 inches, then cloth would be wound on the pole so that it overlapped, making some areas 2 layers thick which results in the bottom layer having either no pattern or an obscure one. This very specific relationship between the width of the cloth wound on the pole and the circumference of the pole presents a limitation to the Americans who wish to work with wider width fabrics. Yet these non-traditional artists turned the limitation into possibilities for more variations in design by narrowing the wide cloth in a number of ways. The most common way is to pleat the fabric across the width by hand or by machine. Other means include pinch and bound resist units arranged across the cloth, or stitch resist applied horizontally. Both cases cause the extra fabric to be taken up from the width, thus making it narrower to fit around the pole in a single layer, and at the same time they add a new dimension to the process and design. The pole wrap allows the process of
shaping a cloth to move quickly, which of course appeals to fast-paced Americans.

Unlike the traditional *arashi* men who set the pole horizontally on a stand, many Americans hold the pipe and wrap the cloth on it, winding the thread by themselves without an assistant and without using a guide thread. This results in a less precise and more inconsistent pattern. Again conversely, the new *arashi* practitioners see the limitations they face as positive. By producing different images every time, their design is not repetitive or they can use a small amount of each pattern to construct a larger piece. In the case of Hedstrom, although she has the competency to produce a consistent pattern, she chooses to create a smaller quantity of patterned fabric with special effects and fresh images each time she works with the *shibori* process. Then she assembles these dyed or discharged fabrics into the composition of a garment which carries an exceptional visual statement with color, shape, and pattern.

And, last but not least of the reasons why Americans have chosen to work with *arashi shibori* is the fascination Americans have towards the fine pleating the *arashi* dyed fabric retains, that is, the memory of the shape imprinted in the cloth, especially when silk is dyed with hot dye or steamed to set the pleats. This process provides results which go beyond two dimensional surface design, thus providing expanded possibilities for creative expression, allowing for a kind of textile sculpture. Joan McGee, for example, uses a huge tube which necessitates a stand to hold it horizontally over a bath tub which is heated by a gas burner underneath. This creates a texture which is similar to the Fortuny pleats and it has been emphasized as a surface design element or as a sculptural element in a number of artists’ works.

Another notable phenomenon in fiberarts and related fields is that mixing of media which is also seen in the work of Terri Fletcher. Fletcher uses *arashi shibori* to dye sheets of velum in modules; then on a patterned surface she paints, draws, and sometimes stitches. Recently she started exploring the clamp resist technique as well. Lynn Kline, who is known as a printmaker, uses thin silk fabric *shibori* dyed with various simple techniques including *arashi* in her *chine colle*. Chad Alice Hagan who creates huge felt collages, dyes small pieces of felt with *bomaki* or sometimes *arashi* processes, and makes compositions with these modules.

*Arashi shibori*, while facing extinction in its original, traditional setting, continues its legacy on American soil. After American artists made an initial contact with this traditional technique, they responded to the uniqueness of the *arashi* patterns and its processes. Americans adapted the *arashi* process by turning its limitations into a positive force by expanding its applications to a contemporary setting. The fact that this process began as a response to the Westernization of Japan by an *arashi* artisan provides an interesting parallel to the way American fiber artists in the late 60's and 70's responded to non-Western textiles, their techniques and
symbolism. By adapting arashi shibori, many American fiber artists gained a facility to create unique images, in a relatively short time, and in large quantity. Therefore, not only are they perpetuating an art form that was in danger of disappearing, but in its translated American form it is demonstrating expanded artistic possibilities and is redefining surface design vocabulary and processes, perhaps most notably in its manifestation in art-to-wear.

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PAJ NTAUB: TEXTILE TECHNIQUES OF THE HMONG (A 40 minute video)

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NARRATION OF THE VIDEO

Who Are the Hmong?

Until the 1970’s few in the United States had heard of the Hmong or seen their textile arts. In 1975, as political refugees from Southeast Asia, 300 Hmong arrived in America. Today that number has grown to nearly 100,000.

While the origins of the Hmong are not clear, it is possible that they existed as early as 10,000 BC in China. The Hmong are bob-Chinese who for centuries have settled in the mountains of southern China. From the 18th to the 20th century some groups of Hmong migrated south out of China into the highlands of Vietnam, Thailand, Laos and the Union of Myanmar.

The basis of the existence for these mountain people was and is freedom and independence. The word "Hmong" means freedom in their language and indicates that the Hmong identity is bound up with this concept of freedom, especially from outside domination.

The Hmong who now live in America came from the highlands of Laos. There they practiced slash-and-burn farming, spoke their own language rather then Lao and followed ancient traditions of agriculture, crafts and religion. Their religion, called Animism, recognizes animate forces in nature.

The Hmong, although widely dispersed geographically, have kept their own language alive in spite of centuries of change and migration. Until the 1950’s they had no known writing system. Legends claim that in ancient times the Hmong had a written language which has been lost. Some believe that the batik patterns used in Hmong textiles are the remains of the lost alphabet.

The Hmong are divided into two major groups, the white Hmong and the Blue Hmong. The white Hmong wear a very finely pleated white skirt as part of their dress. The Blue Hmong also wear a very finely pleated skirt which is partly decorated with batik using indigo dye. These Blue Hmong skirts also include decoration made with cross-stitch and reverse applique. Members of both groups live in Providence, Rhode Island.

In the guerilla warfare against the communists in Northern Laos during the 1960’s and 1970’s a large number of Hmong men were used as foot soldiers by the United States Central Intelligence Agency. Their help was extremely valuable because they knew so well the densely forested highlands.
However once victorious the communist government took revenge on the Hmong - gassing the people and burning their villages. To avoid genocide they fled their mountain homes. Hmong casualties were 100 times greater than the United States casualties. Many Hmong did escape over the Mekong River into Thailand where they lived in refugee camps.

**What is Paj Ntaub?**

Paj Ntaub is the Hmong word to describe all of the techniques used by Hmong women to decorate cloth for clothing. "Paj" means flower and "Ntaub" means cloth. The techniques Hmong women practise are: embroidery, batik, reverse applique, and "story cloth stitchery", a type of embroidery which has developed in the refugee camps after the war in Southeast Asia.

In Laos all young Hmong women learned these techniques of "Paj Ntaub". At the age of 5 or 6 a Hmong girl learned from her Mother or other relatives. It took many years of practise to create clothing which used the "Paj Ntaub" techniques of embroidery, batik and reverse applique.

Hmong women in Laos used to produce their own cloth as well as decorate it. First the women grew hemp which was called "Maj". The hemp was picked and spun into fibers which were first bleached and then woven into cloth on a special loom. The Blue Hmong dyed the cloth with indigo and the white Hmong left the cloth natural.

In Laos Hmong women wore every day what we now call the traditional clothing. The women made special clothing for the New Year’s celebration. These special clothes were also worn at weddings, funerals, naming ceremonies and healing rituals.

During the 30 years that the Hmong have lived away from their homes in Laos they have gone through many abrupt changes. "Paj Ntaub" has undergone changes too. The women use the same designs and patterns which have been passed down from generation to generation. However in America the Hmong must take classes in English and work in factories so they no longer have time to make the cloth itself. Here it is quicker to buy cloth. Some Hmong women prefer to buy synthetic cloth because of its shiny surface. This cloth reminds them of earlier times in their homeland when they spent many hours polishing and waxing the hemp cloth to create clothing which sparkled.

War and life in the refugee camps did not prevent Hmong women from making "Paj Ntaub". At this time a new Hmong textile form which is called "Story Cloth" developed. These are squares of cloth decorated by hand stitchery which depict Hmong legends and history as well as war memories. The "Story Clothes" record the lost traditional past as well as recent history. The "Story Clothes" change the Hmong oral traditions into visual narratives.

Even though many Hmong women now dress like Americans the unmarried women still wear the traditional clothing at the New Years celebration.

Using traditional Hmong patterns many women have made things of use in the American home - wall hangings, table clothes and bed spreads. The Hmong needlework has also been adapted to American fashions, embellishing coats, shirts, jackets, scarves, vests and aprons. The embroidery designs which once symbolized traditional Hmong beliefs even appear today as decoration on Christian liturgical vestments.

The Hmong make "Paj Ntaub" for New Years but they also make things to sell to Americans and to give as gifts to American friends and to family members.

**Why Providence?**

In 1976 the first Hmong family to arrive in Providence, Rhode Island was the Vangs. In the next few years eight clan leaders settled in Providence and sent word to family members in the refugee camps in Thailand to come to Providence. Some of the clan names of Hmong who have settled in Providence are: Chang, Kue, Khang, Lor, Moua, Thao, Vang, Vue Yang and Xiong.

In spite of the many abrupt and extreme changes in their lives the Hmong are maintaining many of their traditional ways while integrating with life in America. In Providence the Hmong-Lao Unity Association helps this happen. Every two years the Hmong community elects a president who takes charge of organizing the yearly events, such as the New Year's celebration. The president also makes decisions on problems within the Hmong community and assists new arrivals from the refugee camps in Thailand. The President works with 11 board members and 6 members of the legal advisory council.

**Zoua V. Lor**

Zoua V. Lor, a white Hmong, arrived in Providence with her husband, Cher Pao Lor and son, Xa Thao, in 1987. She was born in Zos Quar Tshis, a village in the mountains of Laos. This village where the Lors lived was destroyed by the Viet Cong in 1975 and Zoua and her family fled. For five years they survived in the jungle. Some times they constructed temporary shelters of banana leaves and ate tree bark. Finally they crossed the Mekong River into Thailand and remained for seven years in the lowland refugee camp, Ban Vinai. Some of Zoua Lor's relatives were already living in Ban Vinai. Her sister-in-law, Bang Yang, was the first one that she remembers making story cloths.

Bang Yang asked a Hmong man in the camp, Geu Yang, if he could make drawings on cloth of animals, plants and flowers from their mountain homeland in Laos. She wanted to remember these images and she filled in the drawn forms with colored stitchery.
The Hmong had no written language to document their past. These "Story Clothes" took the place of photographs and books. In Hmong, this new stitchery was called "Paj Ntaub Chia" when animals and plants were drawn and "Paj Ntaub Daning" when stories and legends were depicted.

Most Hmong villages of the Laotian mountains had no schools. Occasionally a family could afford to send a child to boarding school in the city of Xieng Khouand or the capitol city of Vientiane. Girls were not sent to the school; only the boys. Zoua thinks that this might be where Geu Yang learned to draw.

Before she left Ban Vinai for America, Zoua asked Geu Yang to make drawings on many cloths so she could continue her "Story Cloth" stitchery here. Zoua also brought to the United States many colored threads.

Zoua works quickly using a running stitch to outline and a satin stitch to fill in the drawn images. When the thread runs short she pulls the needle to the back and stitches over several stitches and cuts the thread. Using her imagination, Zoua picks the next colored thread and continues making stitches very neatly and close together.

Both Zoua and her husband, Cher Pao Lor, need to work to survive in America. She does not have time to go to school to learn English. Zoua has worked in a factory and also as a house cleaner.

As often as she can Zoua works on her stitchery but does not have the time for it that she had in Laos or in the refugee camp. She continues to do stitchery on the original drawings made for her by Geu Yang at Camp Ban Vinai. She feels that it is very important to use her spare time to work on different types of "Paj Ntaub".

Zoua Lor is working on a piece of cross-stitch embroidery. These decorated strips will be used as cuffs and decorations on the edge of the jacket of the female dress for New Year's. Cross-stitch is the first type of embroidery a Hmong girl learns. Zoua remembers learning cross-stitch from her older sister when she was eight years old. Now she teaches other young women in America. Her eight-year-old niece, Kia, has just arrived from camp Ban Vinai. She has already learned cross stitch and is now working on a "Story Cloth".

Hmong women do cross-stitch in two different ways. Both methods look the same on the front but different on the back. The first method, "Lang Pluas" is being demonstrated by Zoua with a blue thread. In this method the first arm of the cross is completed for several inches and then the second arm is added in a return direction.
The second method of doing cross-stitch is called, "Lang Keej", and is being done here with red thread. In this method the first and second arms of the cross-stitch are made consecutively. In both methods the direction of the top arm of the cross is always the same direction throughout the piece of stitchery.

Zoua begins the cross-stitch project by cutting a piece of white, balanced weave cloth the size of the dress pocket. She then picks a green color to use for the beginning. She ends by stitching over other stitches in the back. Here Zoua makes the same design in pink cross-stitch and then repeats the green shape again. As Zoua continues sewing the pink and green patterned cross-stitch project, she uses the "Lang Keej" method.

After filling in all of the green and pink shapes with cross-stitch Zoua completes the piece by adding decorative triangles, using a satin stitch. The final step is to finish the edges with applique and tiny beads. The piece will then be added to the woman’s jacket.

Zoua also decorates cloth using a very fine chain stitch. The chain stitch is particularly well done by the White Hmong women. She begins by cutting a square of pink cloth which will be decorated. On the back of this she bastes a piece of white cloth to strengthen the surface. Using a running stitch around a core thread Zoua outlines a divided square. This sectioned square will be embellished by adding tiny chain stitch outlines of curved and straight shapes.

Zoua Lor is doing much in her new life in Rhode Island: working three days a week, teaching stitchery classes at the church, and exhibiting in local museums. She also takes care of her family and spends as much time as she can keeping alive the tradition of "Paj Ntaub" which she learned in such a different time and place.

Seng Yang Vang

Seng Yang Vang, her husband, Koua, and their five children arrived in Providence in 1987. They are White Hmong. She and her husband were forced to leave their Laotian village of Tomuka in 1976 and spent 10 years in the Thailand refugee camp, Ban Vinai. Five of her children were born in Ban Vinai and two more were born in Providence.

Seng does a very fine detailed kind of "Paj Ntaub" called "Da Chua". This minute reverse applique and stitchery decorates the collar which is attached to the jacket of the New Year’s outfit worn by Hmong women. This collar is a special part of the dress dating from ancient times when the Hmong lived in China. The Hmong proudly wore the collar to differentiate themselves from the Chinese who had no such collar showing in the back of their clothing.

Seng is left handed and works only in the daytime. She sits on a small low
stool near a window to take advantage of the natural light. Seng remembers learning "Paj Ntaub" from her Mother when she was nine years old. She started by making a belt which was decorated with cross-stitch patterns. She did not go to school. She remembers that it was her job to feed the chickens, cows and horses. Occasionally a man would come through her village selling yarns for "Paj Ntaub". If he did not come she would go to the town of Nahia, a day's walk away, to buy yarns and threads.

The most important annual "Paj Ntaub" project is a new dress for New Year's for all of the unmarried females in the family. In December, as time for the celebration draws near Seng's husband, Koua, helps with the housework and taking care of the children so that she has more time for "Paj Ntaub". She remembers that this was also true in Laos.

The entire process of making the delicate reverse applique on the collar of the woman's jacket is accomplished without using patterns or drawing on the cloth. The repeat pattern is laid out by using a series of careful folds of the cloth.

To begin, a piece of white cotton the size of the collar, is measured and cut into an exact rectangle. Fold marks are a guide to cutting. Next, a series of folds mark the divisions of the patterning to be used in the reverse applique. After creasing the cloth, the point of a fine needle is used to mark the fold lines more clearly. With the folds completed, cuts are made in the corners of the design. These will later allow Seng to begin stitching the reverse applique.

The cloth which will be the top surface of the collar is now ready to have colored cloths layered underneath. Pink and orange rectangles are cut. These will be basted to the back of the white cloth with the pink rectangle next to the white. The orange rectangle will not show as a color in the reverse applique. It is added for stability. Seng cuts a rectangle from a green cloth and one from a white cloth. These will be basted underneath the other cloth layers. The green cloth will show in the reverse applique but again the white is used for stability and will not show.

In Laos Seng used silk thread but here she uses nylon. Before beginning the reverse applique stitching, she splits the fine nylon threads to make them even finer. She begins tucking under the edges of the white top layer and sewing them down with very tiny neat stitches. This reveals the green color underneath the top layer. A zig zag shape is cut near the green corner. Seng stitches back these edges again showing the green cloth beneath.

Seng works very carefully and meticulously. She is happy to be able to work at home and be near her family. Having finished the reverse applique parts of the collar, Seng begins adding decorative blue triangles using a satin stitch. She measures the size and placement of these triangles by holding her
thread tight and lining it up with the pattern. Again she uses no marking tool to place the design on the cloth.

Seng is changing the color of the nylon thread to pink. She must thin out the strand to make it fine enough for sewing. She knots the new strand of pink thread and starts sewing the pink triangles.

Seng’s husband and father-in-law look after her children while she works on the collar. Next, Seng stitches tiny metallic star shapes into some of the pink and green areas. The final step is to finish the edges of the reverse applique design. This is done by sewing narrow strips on three sides. The fourth side is sewn to a patterned fabric which will be attached to the back of the jacket.

Seng takes time out from stitching to attend to her son. She goes back to sewing with her son nearby. Using very fine thread and a fine needle Seng stitches the strip around the edge. To complete the collar a hem is made around three sides. Now this fine example of “Da Chua” made by Seng Yang Vang is finished.

**Lee Khang**

Because of the war in Laos, Lee Khang, a Blue Hmong, left her village of Kong Young with her husband and two small sons. They fled to the small city of Long Hay. There she had another son and two daughters. Her husband was killed in the fighting. After spending one year in Ban Vinai refugee camp she came to Providence with two sons.

Lee Khang is decorating cloth using batik patterning which is a specialty done by Blue Hmong women. In Providence Lee is using cotton cloth purchased from a store. However in Laos she remembers weaving flax cloth on a loom, something learned from her Mother. Lee brought from Laos a piece of flax cloth she wove 30 years ago. She considers it a special treasure from the past.

With a spoon edge Lee makes indented lines on the cloth as guides for drawing with wax. The drawing tool she uses is called “Toe Kia” which translates “wax spoon”. These tools are hand made by Hmong men. Lee uses bee’s wax which is heated in a pan over a charcoal fire. This long narrow piece of batik will be incorporated into a “tda” or pleated skirt. Lee says the designs are very old going back generations. These patterns she learned from her Mother. Lee considers them to be not so much pictures of things but as looking more like writing.

Using a hard edge Lee Khang makes indented marks on the cloth to guide her in making the line drawings with her “Toe Kia” or wax spoon. She works on a one foot square section at a time. Rolling up the portion which is already waxed she goes on to the next section.
When the waxed drawings are finished, Lee is ready for the dyeing. Along with the cloth for the skirt, Lee has also waxed patterns on three rectangles which will be the centers for baby carrying cloths.

In Laos, Lee made dye from the indigo plant. In Rhode Island the climate is not warm enough to grow the indigo plant. Here Lee is using a synthetic indigo which has been used by American dyers for some time. Since there are five grandchildren in Lee Khang's home she has decided to do the dyeing in the studio of a local Providence fiber artist.

The synthetic indigo vat contains zinc dust which in 1991 was reclassified as a toxic substance by the EPA. Thus when the dyeing is finished the spent vat must be taken to an approved disposal sight. Lee much prefers the plant for dyeing and has written to her sister in Thailand asking her to send the natural indigo.

In her Laotian village, Lee used the green part of the flax plant and mixed it with water and the powder from a burned stone. This mixture fermented for from 3 to 5 days and could be used when the bubbles stopped. The waxed cloth was wetted with a wine spray before immersion into the dye vat.

After repeated dippings into the dye bath to achieve the color she wanted Lee now must remove the wax from the cloth. In her basement, away from the grandchildren, Lee is heating a large container of water to boil away the wax. She immerses the waxed pieces and stirs frequently. Lee skims wax from the surface of the boiling water. She transfers the cloth to clean hot rinse water and repeats the boiling bath and clean rinse water two more times. The last rinse water is made by immersing the cloth in the water which remains in the manufacture of tofu. Lee says this last rinse will give a final special cleaning for the batiked cloth.

Upstairs Lee is inspecting the dewaxed wet cloth. She also shows a skirt she has made. She finishes the day by playing with her grandson who is fond of being close to her in a baby carrying cloth she made for him when he was born.

Chia Vue Moua

Chia Vue Moua, a white Hmong, arrived in Providence in 1987 with her husband, Lue Moua, and three small children. She brought with her pieces of reverse applique that she had made as a young woman in Laos. These pieces were to become belts but when the war came she could not find the silk to complete them.

The type of reverse applique that Chia does is called "Neng Tzu" which means elephant foot in Hmong. She learned this technique from her mother.
the age of 8 she started doing cross-stitch and by the time she was 18 she had become very accomplished at reverse applique. She made "Neng Tzu" panels for herself and her two sisters for their New Year's dresses.

To begin the "Neng Tzu" process Chia cuts a square of cloth. Like other Hmong women she measures by folding and pulling threads and not by making marks on the cloth. This square of light blue cloth will be the top layer in the reverse applique. Chia makes to diagonal folds in the square. She bastes the folded edges.

Chia's life is not easy. She now has 6 children and works 4 nights a week in a factory. Her aunt and other family members help with the care of the children.

Chia cuts, freehand, a circle out of stiff paper. Using the paper as a pattern Chia cuts a spiral shape which is the main form in the "Neng Tzu" or elephant foot pattern. Most of the cloth and thread that she uses is from a large supply that she brought with her from Thailand.

On the basted sides Chia cuts 7 slits which will be important later in the reverse applique process. Chia pulls out the basting and opens up the square of light blue cloth. It has 4 cut spirals and 4 diagonal rows of "v" shaped cuts. She places the light blue square with the cut outs on top of a darker blue piece of cloth. She cuts this new square larger then the light blue square. With careful basting she attaches the light blue square to the dark blue square.

Chia's 16 year old Niece helps take care of the baby. She was orphaned during the war and now lives with Chia. She carries the child in the traditional baby carrier which leaves her hands free to work on cross-stitch.

Chia starts the reverse applique process by pushing back the edges of the cut spiral and sewing them with tiny invisible stitches. This reveals the darker cloth underneath.

Chia's husband, Lue, is a member of the Hmong-Lao Unity Association. Among other family photographs on the mantle is a picture of General Vang Pao visiting a meeting of the Hmong-Lao Unity Association. Gen. Vang Pao is the leader of the Hmong in the United States and lives in Montana.

One week later Chia has finished the four swirls in the center. She is now stitching the rows of radiating shapes going out from the center. The v shaped slits mark where to cut the radiating lines. She cuts a line, stitches down one side only, and then cuts the next radiating line.

While Chia is sewing down the second side of the radiating lines her
Mother, Blia Yang Vue, helps with the baby. Chia and Blia talk about their life in Laos and the ten years spent in the refugee camp. Chia made many "Neng Tzu" there. She remembers buying cloth at a market near the camp.

Blia brings out "Paj Ntaub" that she made in Laos; aprons with very long sashes. The ends are decorated with fine reverse applique and chain stitch. Blia and Chia are full of memories and Blia decides to try on the long apron and sash over her American skirt and sweater. The oldest treasures from Laos that these women have are 2 white Hmong skirts. Blia's mother grew the flax and wove the skirts. Blia does not try them on because they are so fragile.

Blia recalls how she and her four children wandered from place to place in the jungle for two years as they tried to escape the fighting. Finally they reached the Mekong river. Chia remembers how she and her mother, brothers and sisters had to cross the Mekong river in rubber tires. Because she was the strongest swimmer, Chia went first with the others tied to her by a rope. Blia could not swim and was holding her baby son. It took 3 hours to cross the river.

Chia Vue Moua, another fine Hmong artist to settle in Providence, tries to continue the traditions of her people through her handwork. Her life in America is not easy but she and her family are safe and there is the promise of an education for all of her children.

What Next?

Zoua, Seng, Lee and Chia all are worried about the future of "Paj Ntaub". Most of their daughters are doing cross-stitch and chain stitch. However, because they are busy with school or work, few are learning the fine cutting and stitching involved in reverse applique.

These women cannot imagine the continuation of their culture without the presence of "Paj Ntaub". New Years, courtship, birth ceremonies and gift giving would not be the same thing if "Paj Ntaub" no longer existed.
 Beginnings are usually more interesting than elaborations and endings. Beginning means exploration, limited, not circumscribed by the tried and traditional. For those of us concerned in our work with the adventure of search, going back to beginnings is seeing ourselves mirrored in other's work, not in the result but in the process.

 Therefore, I find it intriguing to look at early attempts in history, not for the sake of historical interest, that is, of looking back, but for the sake of looking forward from a point way back in time in order to experience vicariously the exhilaration of accomplishment reached step by step.

 This is learning.

 Anni Albers 1965 p.52

 Introduction

 Anni Albers is known primarily for her contribution to the Bauhaus Weaving Workshop and her woven prototypes for industrial production; she has rarely been acknowledged for her role in reviving and redefining the Pre-Columbian fiber art tradition. She researched, analyzed, collected, and extensively wrote about Pre-Columbian textiles. Her seminal text, On Weaving, 1965, is not only dedicated to Andean weavers, "my great teachers, the weavers of ancient Peru", but is essentially a textbook of Andean weaving techniques, revived and meticulously analyzed by Albers. Furthermore, she and her husband, Josef Albers, amassed an important collection of ancient Mesoamerican sculpture, acquired during and after their many trips to that region. Her "pictorial weavings", (a term she preferred over tapestry, even though they are not pictorial in a figurative or narrative way), and her industrial designs (often one and the same) owe a great deal to the monuments of ancient Mesoamerica as well as to Andean textiles.

 The technical and philosophical approaches that Albers developed at the Bauhaus from 1922-33 are surprisingly similar to those of her Pre-Columbian counterparts; both succeeded in maintaining the inherent truth to their chosen materials, and in creating a visual grammar based on abstraction. Although Albers doubtless had knowledge of the extensive non-Western collections in Munich and Berlin, it was only after her emigration to the United States in 1933 and her subsequent direct contact with Pre-Columbian art and source material that her theories were fully refined. This paper will illuminate and analyze some of the essential issues shared by Albers and her Pre-Columbian counterparts.
Anni Albers was born near Berlin in 1899. She attended the Hamburg School of Applied Arts (1919-20), and transferred to the Bauhaus, Weimar, in 1922. She was attracted to the "purpose and direction" of the new school (Albers 1947b:36) which sought to resolve the growing conflicts and divisions between art and industry, artist and craftsperson. As founding Director Walter Gropius wrote in 1919:

"...Let us then create a new guild of craftsmen without the class distinctions that raise an arrogant barrier between craftsman and artist! Together let us desire, conceive, and create the new structure of the future, which will embrace architecture and sculpture and painting in one unity and which will one day rise toward heaven from the hands of a million workers like the crystal symbol of a new faith." (Wingler:31)

Students received both theoretical and practical training in order to prepare them for careers as artists and designers. After taking the compulsory six-month Basic Course, Albers joined the Weaving Workshop, one of six workshops offered.

Gropius certainly was not the first to propose a workable marriage between art and industry (the German Werkbund is an earlier example), or to concern himself with the industrial revolution which threatened to alienate the laborer from his or her product (William Morris dealt with this issue much earlier).Nor was he the first to propose activity-based learning in order to develop and reinforce sensory and intuitive skills (Maria Montessori's methods are earlier examples of education reform). However, Gropius' idealist and utopian vision, fueled by earlier innovations, had time and place on its side. By 1919, the Weimar Republic, facing outright economic ruin, was willing to reopen and reform its art institutions; students, many fresh from the trenches, were seeking a new kind of training which would provide both a practical and spiritual foundation (Fransisco:36, 173-190).

The evolution of the Bauhaus Weaving Workshop mirrored the changing orientation of the Bauhaus from an ideological and visual testing ground to a more fully operational production institution with nearly self-supporting workshops tied to industry through the sale and licensing of individual pieces and designs. Anni Albers took part in the Bauhaus' development almost in its entirety (she was a student from 1922-30, and taught intermittently in Dessau and Berlin until the Nazi's forced the Bauhaus to close in 1933), thus she serves as an ideal representative of the period.

In the Weaving Workshop two essential principles were maintained in order to progress beyond the by then obsolete practice and function of narrative tapestry, which was thought to be spiritually remote, economically impractical, and not integral to daily life. First, it became increasingly important to explore and exploit the inherent properties of materials.
themselves, rather than impose unnatural designs on them, so that the overall form reflected the structure. Secondly, it became increasingly important to investigate the fundamental elements of design - color, value, line, unity, balance - and to use those abstract elements as a metaphorical and multi-applicable universal language. As Albers stated:

At the Bauhaus, those beginning to work in textiles at that time, for example, were fortunate not to have had the traditional training in the craft: it is no easy task to throw useless conventions overboard. Coming from Art Academies, they had felt a sterility there from too great a detachment from life. They believed that only working directly with the material could help them get back to a sound basis and relate them with the problems of their own time. (Albers 1938:38)

The emphasis on structure, materials and purity of form over imitation and illusionism was tied to the ongoing early twentieth century Primitivist discourse, one manifestation of which was fueled by the assumption that the further one goes back (technically, psychologically, formally) the simpler things become and ultimately the more profound, direct and universal one's expression (Goldwater:250-271). This attitude was also partly responsible for the elevation of handicrafts to a higher level of expressive and formal significance. Albers suggested this when she wrote:

Civilization seems in general to estrange men from materials, that is, from materials in their original form. . .. But if we want to get from materials the sense of directness, the adventure of being close to the stuff the world is made of, we have to go back to the material itself. . . . We use materials to satisfy our practical needs and our spiritual ones as well. We have useful things and beautiful things - equipment and works of art. In earlier civilizations there was no clear separation of this sort. . .. [making art involves] listening for the dictation of the material and a taking in of the laws of harmony. It is for this reason that we can find certitude in the belief that we are taking part in an eternal order (Albers 1937:50-53)

International Constructivism and De Stijl also played a major role at the Bauhaus after 1921; all sought to increase their participation with industry while simultaneously striving to find new non-objective forms to meet the needs and spirit of a new society. These were significant issues in the Weaving Workshop because textile production and use is so integrally involved with daily life. Weaving, the most industrialized of fiber techniques, became the primary technique explored (Droste 1990:72). In order to understand materials, the weavers investigated the natural hues, textures, strengths, light absorbing and reflecting qualities, and other inherent properties of a variety of materials, from cotton to cellophane (Poling:37). Because the Weaving Workshop occasionally had limited access to dyes, the same dye lot would often have to suffice for all fibers (Weltge:94); for this reason the weavers innovatively exploited
the color absorbing qualities of each fiber. Double-weave and triple-weave technologies were chosen to increase color intensity or to achieve additional colors through color-crossing. In addition to an emphasis on material properties, geometric forms were strongly emphasized in the Weaving Workshop. Geometric forms were recognized early at the Bauhaus as being pure, primary, objective forms, useful because they could be multiplied, used in infinite variety, and were fundamental to most materials. They also served as metaphors for natural polarities and multiplicities, controlled and harmonized within a regular system.

Albers' silk triple-weave pieces, Untitled, 1926, (fig. 1) and Black White and Red, 1927, (fig. 2) contributed to the international investigation of form and meaning. Figure and ground relationships are dissolved in favor of floating planes of pure and crossed color which create levels of pattern sequences and can be read metaphorically as the stabilization of opposing forces. She understood that certain forms and colors produce emotional and sensory responses, like "living things" as Kandinsky stated (quoted in Poling:27). For example, red will appear larger, more expansive and projecting next to white while appearing smaller, compressed and recessive next to black;
dynamic equilibrium can be created when red, black and white are 
counterbalanced (Poling:27-37). Her arrangements were guided 
both systematically (usually in multiples of three) and 
intuitively (no overall regular repeat appears) and are dynamic 
because of the perceptual oscillation which occurs between the 
flat surface pattern and the simultaneous illusion of depth.

Because Albers valued primary structures and abstract forms 
it is not surprising to learn that she admired non-Western 
textiles for those very reasons; what she saw, read and studied 
during this period is the subject of another paper. Albers was 
not alone in seeking non-Western models as evidence for the 
universal and enduring nature of certain forms and structures. 
However, while a direct comparison of Bauhaus with Andean 
textiles will reveal certain formal similarities such as 
rotational symmetry, contour rivalry, multi-directional 
organization, modularity and stacking, it is more important here 
to suggest that the principles Anni Albers developed at the 
Bauhaus involving material essence and abstraction as a carrier 
of ideas, predisposed her toward a rich rather than superficial 
understanding and appreciation of ancient American art.

Relevance of Pre-Columbian Art After 1933

In 1933, Anni and Josef Albers emigrated to the United 
States to begin new teaching careers at Black Mountain College, a 
new, multidisciplinary arts college in North Carolina. Anni 
Albers developed the weaving program, "by far the most advanced 
of the [BMC] workshops and the only one with a theoretical 
 foundation" (Harris:8-9, 20).

In 1934, the Albers' took their first of 14 trips to Mexico and South America. In Mexico, they visited the Pre-Columbian 
sites of Chichen Itza, El Tajin, Mitla, Monte Alban, Palenque, 
Tenayuca, Teopanzolco, Teotihuacan, Tikal, Xochicalco and Uxmal; 
in Peru, they visited the Pre-Columbian sites of Machu Picchu, 
Ollantaytambo, Chan Chan and Huaca del Sol (Weber:79). They 
eventually assembled an important collection of over 1,000 
pieces of Mesoamerican sculpture, mainly miniatures. Among some of the 
important pieces in their sculpture collection which relate 
formally to weaving are ceramics with incised and painted 
geometric patterns; stamps for pattern printing; repeated forms 
and variations of similar forms; and symmetrical and "twin" forms 
(animal and human forms which share body parts) (Taube:11).

Anni Albers also assembled a collection of modern and 
ancient textiles for the Black Mountain College collection, 
transferred in 1956 to Yale University (Harris:86, 132, 240) 
including an Andean weaving sampler, Chimú and Tiwanaco 
tapestries, Andean and Mexican lace, a Nazca braid, and a Chancay 
painted textile (Albers 1965:199-204). This was intended to be a 
teaching collection and allowed Albers and her students to 
directly analyze the structure and pattern of Pre-Columbian 
textiles. In addition, she had her students work on back-strap 
looms which she brought back from Mexico (Harris:103).
Albers was influenced and inspired by Andean textiles as seen in some of the direct and indirect references she made in her art, writing and research. For example, she wrote "A Structural Process in Weaving", 1952, in which she developed the thesis that the long lengths of cloths wrapped around Paracas necropolis mummy bundles were produced from double, triple and quadruple cloth technology woven in fan format to be ultimately unfolded into an unbroken rectangle. In addition to admiring Andean technical virtuosity, Albers particularly admired the variety of Andean textiles with interlocked abstract forms:

Works of art, to my mind, are the ancient Peruvian pieces, preserved by an arid climate and excavated after hundreds and even thousands of years. There are those, large or small, of the Tiwanacu period, for instance - tapestries in the pictorial as well as the technical sense - showing the deities of their Pantheon; or works from other periods, full of the life of their world. There are also the highly intelligent and often intricate inventions of lines or interlocking forms. Their personages, animals, plants, stepforms, zigzags, whatever it is they show, are all conceived within the weaver's idiom. Where clear outlines are wanted, the threads are maneuvered into position to do this, sometimes in surprising and ingenious ways varying in inventiveness from piece to piece. A unique method, for instance, is that of interlocking not only the warp itself. Where relief effects are believed to strengthen the presentation, they are added and worked out imaginatively and skillfully, as are other desirable supports. Of infinite fantasy within the world of threads, conveying strength or playfulness, mystery or the reality of their surroundings, endlessly varied in presentation and construction, even though bound to a code of basic concepts, these textiles set a standard of achievement that is unsurpassed (Albers 1965:69).

This admiration was shared by her husband, Josef, who stated in the late 1930's the "Abstracting is the essential function of the human spirit"; he, too, believed that Pre-Columbian artists were "THE representatives of abstract art" because of their "truthfulness to conception and material, truthfulness to art as spiritual creation" (quoted in Harris:13).

Albers, as always, continued to infuse her weaving with an underlying geometric system based on grids and units which provided infinite formal and metaphoric possibilities. She most likely understood and admired the role geometry played in Andean textiles beyond formal inventiveness. In Andean textiles geometry was used as a significant carrier of meaning: as a metaphor of control over chaos (Stone-Miller 1992b), as a method of standardization and a symbol of economic organization (Niles 1992), to subvert complex iconographical programs (Stone-Miller 1992a), and to act as a metaphor for cosmological viewpoints (Conklin 1986). Certainly Albers' understanding of Andean textiles helped strengthen her conviction that "again and again, straight lines, right angles and geometric forms are the signatures of man" (Brooklyn:9).
After 1933, Albers began to elaborately explore techniques of openwork in her weaving, in part because of her contact with Andean openwork textiles (Jacob:71-72); and perhaps by this time she would have been familiar with numerous scholarly publications dealing with Andean textiles, including Raoul d'Harcourt's 1924 Les Tissus Indiens du Vieux Perou (Leland). In addition, she often combined techniques within a single piece, as in Andean weaving (Stone-Miller 1992a:20). Albers particularly liked to use double weaves in combination with openwork techniques; by twisting alternating sections and layers of warps, she could create a three-dimensional structure of floating fields while anchoring the all-over pattern within a grid system. In her best work, such as *Thickly Settled*, 1957, (fig. 3) she used a combination of double cloth, openwork, and supplementary floating weft to create a visual dictionary of pattern sequences and layers which can be read simultaneously as an elaborate overall grid pattern and a composition of small motifs. Not only does *Thickly Settled* share formal similarities with the Bliss Inca tocapu tunic at Dumbarton Oaks (fig. 4), but they are very close in size and proportion. Albers may have seen the tunic in Washington during the 1940's and 50's (Benson:22).

*Thickly Settled*, 1957, 31 x 24-3/8"  
Cotton and Jute, Yale Univ. Art  
Gallery, New Haven, CT

*Inca Tunic*, 35-7/8 x 30"; Cotton and camelid; Dumbarton Oaks Research  
Library and Collections, Wash. DC.

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In addition to technical explorations, Albers began to experiment with the overall size and format of her compositions. For example, South of the Border, 1958, (cotton and wool, Baltimore Museum of Art), is a very small, horizontal piece, only 4-1/8 x 15-1/4". She realized that the relative smallness of a work of art had no bearing on its quality. "It becomes obvious," she said, "that greatness is not a matter of volume, that the monumental can be embedded in the minute" (Albers 1970:1). This attitude may have originated at the Bauhaus from one of her teachers, Paul Klee, who preferred a hand-size scale in order to quickly and economically execute the essence of his ideas. Equally important to Albers would be her understanding of Pre-Columbian miniatures which represent condensed expressions of time, materials and ideas (Bruce, McEwan and van de Guchte).

Many of Albers' weavings evoke a sense of place, rather than present a literal "picture" of a particular landscape. It is not surprising that she was inspired by Pre-Columbian architecture. As her palette enlarged, and she used more colors within each piece, color also seemed to take on a symbolic meaning as it referred to, often with an accompanying title, the Mexican and South American landscape and climate. Monte Albán, 1936, (fig. 5) and Tikal, 1958, have muted and neutral hues, the colors of stone, grass and sand. She was particularly inspired by the ancient site of Monte Albán: "We were aware of layer upon layer of former civilization under the ground", she stated (Albers 1970:2). Her weaving, Monte Albán, evokes the steep steps, huge blocks of stone, angles and plateaus, even the natural hues of this ancient site. Floating wefts ascend and descend the stone-like support; horizontal and vertical stripes interlock and transpose one another. Her mastery of the fiber medium allowed her to produce a complex web of textures and layers which infuse the work with literal, optical and conceptual depth.

A persistent and significant theme in Albers' art is the semiological nature of signs; many of her weavings deal with aspects of text, prayer, pictographic writing and calligraphy. Albers created Ancient Writing, 1936, as a possible companion piece to Monte Albán (Jacob:90), and it is significant that she began to investigate this theme as she was discovering Pre-Columbian art. Again, Paul Klee emerges as an additional source of influence in this context, for he, too, valued cryptic, symbolic and ideographic communication (Goldwater:193-203). In Intersecting, 1962, (fig. 6) Albers used floating wefts to transcribe the color-crossed support; an eloquent yet cryptic visual text emerges from the shifting color planes (Jacob:98). Depending on the orientation of the viewer, one's reading of Albers' text weavings constantly varies. They can be "read" in any direction, from right to left, top to bottom, or any variation thereof; the "texts" can be read as overall scripts, scrolls or maps. Like many Andean textiles, these "prayers" are encoded messages, understood according to one's ideological orientation.
In conclusion, Albers at once echoed and redefined the voice of her ancient Andean counterpart, not through imitation but by adapting a weaving tradition begun over 5,000 years ago to her modern environment and sensibilities. She shared many ideological principles with her Pre-Columbian counterparts, particularly those concerning material essence and abstraction as a carrier of meaning.

Monte Alban, c. 1936; 57-1/2 x 44-1/2"
Busch-Reisinger Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge

Intersecting, 1962 15-3/4 x 16-1/2"
Katherine and Nicholas Fox Weber
Orange, CT
I would like to thank Professor Clark Poling and Professor Rebecca Stone-Miller for their assistance and direction in this endeavor.

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ANCIENT ANDEAN HEADGEAR;
MEDIUM AND MEASURE OF CULTURAL IDENTITY

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Introduction

From the earliest recorded periods of southern Andean history, distinctive clothing styles have served to identity specific socio-cultural groups and provide clues about cultural origins. Unique environmental conditions, especially present along the arid Pacific coast of South America, have allowed the preservation of a vast archive of usually perishable material. From the far south coast of Peru to the northern desert regions of Chile, textiles, and especially headgear forms were worn to distinguish between the diverse populations who established permanent settlements along the narrow river valleys linking highland regions and the coast.

The south central Andes region has always known a considerable amount of cultual contact, and a similar widespread textile tradition developed within the area. In most archaeological collections, warp-faced woven camelid-fiber cloth predominates, created with 2-ply yarns first spun in the Z direction and plied S. It is generally assumed that during many periods highland cultures based around Lake Titicaca exerted considerable influence upon the coast, and this basic woven tradition may have originated there. However, the criteria used to identify highland and coastal traits remains elusive. Textiles, the artifacts most useful in discussing cultural and ethnic identity, are preserved only along the coast. Perishable materials are rarely found in highland contexts, where seasonal rains destroy organic artifacts. The most easily recognized highland traits are those found in designs which imitate images carved on highland stone sculptures or painted on ceramics. However, most textile remains are simple, unpatterned fabrics. Within archaeological collections, we must identify traits, other than design, which might be site- or region-specific, and which might suggest borrowing between regions, or blending of cultural groups; traits such as form, fiber, and structure.

In an attempt to read the message of cultural identity with the medium of archaeological textiles, we present data from collections excavated in two separate river valleys, representing two distinct periods in Andean cultural history. Evidence of an early coastal-related culture (dated 800 BC-AD 100) has been found at the Caserones site in the Tarapaca Valley of northern Chile, while the late prehistoric Estuquina site in the Moquegua Valley of far southern Peru (dated AD 1100-1450) is a small, locally-adapted mid-valley village with basic highland attributes. To illuminate the specific ways in which pre-conquest Andeans presented themselves to others, we have chosen to examine headgear or gorros, a traditional male Andean accessory and an object especially sensitive to ethnic identity.
Ethnohistory of Andean Headgear

The elaboration of headgear probably is, and always has been, the most universal means of visually communicating individual and group identity. While headgear may function basically as head protection, style, tradition, and social context determine the forms of headgear that evolve. Modern indigenous Andeans exhibit a great variety of headgear styles, which are typical of specific communities and larger ethnic groups. Ethnohistoric and archaeological evidence indicates that this pattern also prevailed in the past.

At the time of the conquest, Spanish chroniclers repeatedly commented upon the diversity of headdresses, worn by different groups subsumed under the Inca Empire, that made it easy to distinguish one group from another. Most groups wore some form of headband, but the Aymara-speaking men of the south central Andes highland were known for their camellid-fiber caps. And within this area, each group wore a distinctive style of cap. For example, Cieza de Leon in 1553 stated that “if they are Collas, they have wool bonnets made like mortars, and if they are Canas, they have larger bonnets which are much wider... very round and tall” (1986 Bk. II, Ch. 23:68; Bk. I, Ch. 48:269). The Paria “used on their head as an ornament a hat like a small bonnet made of wool” (Ibid. Bk. I, Ch. 56:286), the Pacajes wore “a chuco, which was made in yellow to differentiate it from inhabitants of other provinces which used the same chuco” (Ibid. Bk. I, Ch. 50:274). Elsewhere, Collaguas Aymara headgear is described as “something called in their language chucos, like tall hats without a rim of any kind” (Relaciones Geograficas de Indias 1965 [1586] II., Vol. 183:327). In 1571, Pedro Pizarro described the gorros of the Colla from one part of the lake as “big bonnets more than one palm high, as wide at the top as at the bottom” [cylindrical], and from the other side of the lake as “big bonnets narrow at the top and wide at the bottom [conical] like little mortars of black wool”, and the gorros of the neighboring Carangas, Aullagas, and Quillacas as “little mortars worked in colored wools” (1986 [1571] Ch. 16:111).

One of the most valuable early historic sources, which details garment styles and cultural practices within the Inca Empire before, during, and just after the Spanish conquest, is found in the illustrations and accompanying text of Guaman Poma de Ayala, written in 1615. In Guaman Poma’s drawings, representatives of the four quarters of the Inca Empire are most clearly distinguished through headdress types than by any other garment form (Fig. 1a, b). The Colla of the Lake Titicaca district are generally depicted wearing conical hats. These descriptions, chronicalling early Andean history, parallel actual archaeological evidence. A wide variety of prehistoric headdress forms has been reported in archaeological collections from the southern Andes, including types like those described by Cieza, Pizarro, Guaman Poma, and others. Because many Andean textile collections contain no context information, the Caserones and Estuquina collections are especially important inventories of garment styles used in the Andes before the Spanish conquest.
Caserones Gorros

Excavations in the early agricultural village of Caserones (Fig. 2) have produced a sample of Andean textiles from very early periods, dating between 800 BC and AD 600. Importantly, Caserones textiles have been recovered from domestic contexts within houses, as well as more commonly-documented burial contexts. Yarns, cords, ropes, baskets, feathers, well-preserved food remains, and textile fragments, including a distinct gorro style, were recovered inside the Caserones village. Across the valley, the Caserones cemetery revealed the burials of two groups, separated culturally and temporally.

One group at Caserones was apparently allied with remnants of one of the earliest, clearly coastal manifestations in southern Peru and northern Chile, known as Faldas del Morro. Clothing often consisted of a string skirt and a thick turban created of fine camelid fiber cords wrapped around the head in skeins. Interestingly, items directly related to this early coastal manifestation defined in the Caserones cemetery are rarely present in the village refuse. No string skirts or intact turbans were recovered from excavations within the Caserones houses. Instead, the habitation area appears to be mostly connected to the later burial complex at Caserones (dated to AD 400-600). It is difficult to determine if this second set of inhabitants was somehow related to the first, but they apparently knew where the ancient cemetery was located, and buried their dead directly next to the earlier site. The second group is most clearly identified in a specific headdress form: a knotted, striped hat which covers a thick string turban (Fig. 3). This hat type was recovered in excavations both in Caserones houses and in the later part of the Caserones cemetery.

Among the ten fragments of striped and knotted headdresses collected in five Caserones houses, three almost complete examples were discovered. The wide, polychrome headdress cap (approx. 32 by 13 cm.) was formed with symmetrical square knots with asymmetrical faces in a knotted looping structure. Initially, a large rectangle was formed as knots were worked in colored, vertical rows, producing a wide center stripe (always bright yellow or gold) framed with six narrow stripes in colors mirrored from the center: brown or maroon, blue-green, red, blue, brown, and ending on the outside with blue-green. The hat also contains a relief pattern of concentric diamonds, which repeat across the stripes and throughout the headdress surface. The diamonds were formed by leaving spaces between knots. When the entire polychrome, knotted textile was complete, it was folded at the center and dark brown mound-shaped panels were knotted on each side. The same dark brown yarns were used in an edge finish around the hat bottom. These three hats are dated AD 445 to 580. Identical striped and knotted hats were included in the Caserones burials, where they were also constructed as miniature versions, placed as offerings with other miniature garment forms.

The distinct form and design of this knotted hat was almost certainly a Caserones emblem signifying the ethnic identity of the later inhabitants.
The knotting structure is identical to that of Tiwanaku four-pointed hats, and to hat centers (also Tiwanaku-related) from San Pedro de Atacama. But Caserones hats were worn with a thick string turban. This combination headdress, a hat of knotted, apparently highland structure worn with the coastal string turban, symbolically united the two geographic zones at Caserones, where marine and terrestrial items were regularly mixed. Another common item of mixed origin is made of brown pelican pelts sewn with camelid fiber yarns (Southon et al. n.d.). These were distributed throughout the Caserones site. The unusual striped and knotted hat of Caserones is readily identified as an intrusive article in other archaeological sites as distinct from local garments, and may have been buried with traders who were connected to both the altiplano and the coast.

It is clear that, although Caserones developed a very specific headdress form, the general trends in hat styles recognized in the two periods of Caserones occupation reflect regional traditions within the south central Andes. The use of turbans alone diminished at coastal sites following the introduction of altiplano-related hats. Caserones turbaned headdresses may represent a continued coastal tradition combined with specifically highland knotted forms. A popular reconstruction of the Andean past is included in the catalog Arica: Diez Mil Anos (1985), which illustrates coastal material culture found in northern Chile. The drawings by Perez are based on Ulloa's textile analyses. Textiles worn by almost all of the individuals illustrated for the Formative Period (1000 BC-AD 300), and the following Tiwanaku Period (AD 100-1100) were present at Caserones (Figs. 4a, b).

In the south central Andes, hats of the Tiwanaku and later groups continued to be culturally distinct and especially reflective of cultural and social group affiliation. From the Middle Horizon until the Spanish Conquest, hats of the zone followed a general trend toward smaller, fitted forms, constructed of camelid fiber, and probably altiplano-derived. The best known headdress style of the Middle Horizon is the elaborate square-shaped, four-pointed hat, constructed with a fine knotted looping structure and decorated with geometric motifs (Fig. 5 left). This headdress form coincides with a strong altiplano or highland presence and is probably related to classic Tiwanaku elite males.

During the early part of the Late Intermediate Period, following the dissolution of the Tiwanaku Empire and the emergence of regional kingdoms (c. AD 1000-1200) local gorro styles continued to be constructed in squarish shapes, using the knotted looping structure in squarish shapes using the knotted looping structure, but a new form of tall, cylindrical shape was added (Fig. 5 right). The four-corner projections continued, but in abbreviated form. The Middle Horizon polychrome designs were replaced with bichrome designs, or a monochrome relief decoration (zigzags, diamonds, and diagonal ridges) in dark brown, or blue with a red top. This tall gorro form has been recovered from early LIP sites in far southern Peru and northern Chile. A hemispherically-shaped gorro type
known from the Rio Loa area of northern Chile may have developed during this period as well (Ryden 1944:171, fig. 100). By the latter part of the LIP (c. AD 1200), the hemispherical, fitted gorro was the most prevalent form (Fig. 6). Some specimens have feather clusters attached to the top centers, some have simple bichrome designs, some only horizontal stripes, and many are undecorated, of dark brown to black camelid fiber. While Estuquina gorros are related to these general LIP regional styles, they include specific characteristics which stylistically identified the Estuquina villagers as a composite group with different, but merging traditions.

**Estuquina Gorros**

The unique combination at the Estuquina site (Fig. 7), of excellent preservation conditions, systematic excavation, and the consistent analysis and documentation of textile artifacts with associated human remains, permits the reconstruction of gender- and age-specific apparel. To an exceptional extent, we may deduce the appearance of individuals that lived in this small village more than 500 years ago. Two styles of cap-like gorros adorned the heads of some men, accentuating their elaborate, heavy coiffures of long, multiple, and interlaced braids. The gorros are associate exclusively with adult males or with adolescents and children, almost certainly also male. Estuquina gorros were used mainly as personal accessory items, and several were found in situ on the crania of interred individuals. Sometimes they also served to hold objects. One individual's gorro contained several copper fragments and lithic flakes, as well as his head. In another case, a gorro was inverted in the base of a tomb and filled with a variety of offerings, including maiz, coca leaves, and cuy remains.

Considering the diversity of documented gorros, it was surprising to find a single headdress shape at Estuquina: the hemispherical cap. Three different structures were used to produce this basic shape: simple looping and knotted looping (using a single element), and looping-over-foundation (like coiled basketry, a complex structure using two elements) (Figs. 8, 9). Because of the structural contrast, each gorro form presented very different design options. Some of these were employed to create distinct sub-styles that may well have identified separate groups among the males of the Estuquina population. The two forms may have appeared superficially, but they developed from very different stylistic traditions.

The Estuquina textile collection includes three gorro specimens of simple structure, nineteen gorro specimens of complex structure, and one composite gorro that combines both the simple and complex structures that constitute the other gorros. All of the hats are constructed of naturally colored camelid fiber in dark brown and black. The gorros of simple knotted looping structure are all monochrome, and decorative embellishment was achieved texturally. Either the natural diagonal of the structure was emphasized, or the knot face direction was modified to create zigzags, or diamonds in relief (Fig. 10). The gorro specimens of looping, or of the looping-over-foundation complex structure, are mostly monochrome, but three have bichrome plied yarns, and four have designs in a contrasting...
light brown or golden brown color. The designs are simple: horizontal lines and rows of triangles which ring the caps (Fig. 11). Four of the most complete gorros were associated with the individual burials of adult males.

The simple knotted looping structure of gorro #10072 is made of a dark brown to black yarn, which creates a zigzag design. Originally a topknot may have been formed to display feathers, which were associated with the cranial area. The structure and zigzag design of this gorro are similar to those of specimens from northern Chile, but the hemispherical shape is distinct (Fig. 12a). Gorro #5697 is comprised of two distinct structures (Fig. 12b). The top disc was constructed similar to the bottom of a “coiled” basket, with a looping-over-foundation structure. The foundation element is of dark brown yarn and the looping element is of reddish-brown yarn. The same dark brown yarn continues into the lower portion of this gorro, which was constructed with knotted looping, with the knot faces emphasizing diagonal relief lines. The two parts probably were made separately and sewed together.

Gorro #3623 was also constructed with the upper disk separate from the lower portion, but this one is entirely of a looping-over-foundation structure, with both elements of a bichrome brown and black plied yarn (Fig. 12c). The two parts are sewn together with a heavy yarn in widely-spaced, simple overcast stitches, which may be a repair rather than original to the gorro structure. Other repairs are apparent. This is the hat that was placed in the tomb as a container of offerings. Gorro #7322 is similarly constructed, but of a continuous structure of looping-over-paired foundation elements (Fig. 12d). The foundation and looping elements are of dark brown to black yarn. The gorro was found on the head of an adult male, with a sling wrapped around its base.

**Summary and Conclusions**

Variation in headgear is used to differentiate social groups in many cultures, and the gorros worn by Estuquinans probably served this purpose as well. It is almost certain that they were worn only by males, but not by all males, and that the two different gorro types (as defined by structure) were worn by men of separate social groups. Possession of the complex gorro was not constrained by age, for it was found with children and adolescents, as well as with adult males. In fact, the decorated sub-style of this form may have been fabricated especially for children. The Estuquina gorro sample includes the same three structures that are documented for the LIP elsewhere in the region. While the complex looping-over-foundation structure is a common one for late hats throughout the area, the simple knotted looping structure seems to be an archaism, carried over and adapted to the construction of forms popular in the later periods. It may be a local, transitional combination used by people with roots in the earlier Tiwanaku Empire. The composite gorro, which combines knotted looping with looping-over-foundation, may be a structural metaphor for merging cultural traditions, comparable to the composite headgear at the earlier Caserones site.
The Estuquina gorros, similar to those described and illustrated for the highlands at the time of the conquest, suggest that the site was occupied by a late, locally-adapted valley population of mixed highland affiliation. In contrast, the headgear worn by inhabitants of the Caserones village indicate both highland and coastal affiliations for this valley during early periods of Andean prehistory. Apparently, cultural groups, even from small, seemingly isolated villages within the south-central Andes, created textiles, and especially headdress forms, which indicate a knowledge of broader regional styles, while at the same time communicating specific community-based identities. The archaeological perspective in textile analysis permits a unique understanding of cultural contact, cross-over, and continuity as we explore the changing forms and structures of headgear styles that span more than 2000 years of prehistory within a single region.

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Fig. 1  a. The Inka and his leaders, b. Fiesta of Colla people (after Guaman Poma de Ayala 1980(1615), pp. 336, 299).

Fig. 2 Plan of the Caserones village (after Oakland Rodman and True 1993, Fig. 4).

Fig. 3 Caserones style knotted headdress (after Oakland Rodman and True 1993, Fig. 13).
Fig. 4 Typical attire of the early phases: a. El Laucho, Faldas del Morro and Alto Ramirez, b. Cabuza and Maitas-Chiribaya (after Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino 1985, p. 36).

Fig. 5 Four-pointed hats; left: Early LIP tall, conical form, b. MH squarish form (after Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino 1985, p. 36).

Fig. 6 Typical attire of the LIP phases San Miguel and Gentilar (after Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino 1985, p. 36).
Fig. 7 Plan of the Estuquina site (after Clark 1993, Fig. 1.7).

Fig. 8 Structure: Looping  a. Simple looping (after Emery 1966, Fig. 9), b. Knotted looping, alternate knots, diagonal pattern (after Bravo 1987, Fig. 18).

Fig. 9 Structure: Looping-over-foundation  a. Simple looping-over-foundation (after Emery 1966, Fig. 59), b. Looping-over-paired-foundations (after Clark 1993, Fig. 3.6b).
Fig. 10 Design types: Knotted looping (after Clark 1993, Figs. 3.19, 3.20).

Fig. 11 Design types: Looping-over-foundation (after Clark 1993, Fig. 3.21).
Paracas Cavernas, Paracas Necropolis and Ocucaje: Looking at appropriation and identity with only material remains

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A history of the cemeteries:

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

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

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

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

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

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

A theoretical approach:

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

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

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

1 This essay outlines my approach to an analysis in progress: I have been working on study of materials from the Paracas Necropolis over the past 15 years and have more recently embarked on comparative work on the relationship with the Paracas Cavernas and Ocucaje burials.
assemblage may come from many different sources and reflect different aspects of that individual’s social identity and/or the identity of the social group that mourned him or her.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Community or "Ethnic" identity:

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

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

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

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

Only the "Tabula erecta" head form is frequently associated with the surgical procedure of trepanation, opening the cranium through finely scraping the bone with a sharp instrument. This specialized medical procedure is further evidence for a difference in social identity between these individuals and those who underwent different forms of head alteration binding in early childhood.
But what is the style of the textiles in the funerary bundles, and other artifacts in the tomb? Keep in mind that in terms of ceramic styles, the Paracas tradition is characteristic of Cavernas burials, the Topará tradition is characteristic of Necropolis burials, and there is a mixture of the two, with innovations, in Ocucaje. Soft, reed twined baskets are found in some Cavernas and Ocucaje burials and hard, "willow" twined baskets in all three complexes. Looped net scoops are characteristic of Cavernas burials, found in some Ocucaje burials, and very rare in Necropolis burials.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Status and identity:

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

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

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

2 This statement is largely based on Tello's physical study of the bodies the time they were unwrapped. Toribio Mejia, Dr. Pedro Weiss, and others studied Necropolis cadavers. Sex determination was largely based on characteristics of the skull, and on preserved genitalia where possible. Age was based on characteristics of the teeth and hair, and on cranial sutures where they were exposed.
garment type with some level of equivalence in their "function" or context of use. Feathered wrist and ankle bands are present in some burials.

2) A sinew-bound staff, made of huarango (Acacia sp. or Prosopis sp.) wood with bands of animal tissue, sometimes combined with feathers (may be adjacent to the bundle as a "signal staff").

3) A spear thrower, with an huarango wood staff and bone or ivory hand rest, often carved, and a bone or stone pin at the end, bound with sinews, cotton cord and/or resin (cane spear shafts with wood inserts fitted for an obsidian blade are often among the adjacent "signal staffs").

4) One or more feather fans with twined reed handles, usually of macaw feathers, though examples with condor feathers or other feathers are known.

5) Feather headdress ornament(s) made of feathers attached to a wood pin, often paired (feather tassles on headdress elements are also found).

6) A foxskin, usually with applied featherwork, draped as if part of a headdress (in Ocucaje, these may be made of an animal muzzle applied to a feathered cotton "pelt").

7) Plaited sling(s) made of maguey (Furcraea sp.) bast fiber, sometimes combined with cotton or wool cord, often used as a headdress element.

8) A stone-headed wooden club, made of an algarrobo wood shaft and spherical ground stone head, bound with sinew and resin.

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

9) Gourd containers or particularly a gourd rattle plugged with a wooden handle, sometimes pyro-engraved.

10) Gold face and head ornaments, including a bird-shaped "diadem" worn on the forehead, a whiskered "mouthmask" worn below the nose, gold disks suspended near the ears, and sometimes gold wrist and/or ankle bands or a gold headdress ornament.

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

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

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

What may be a third kind of social identity is marked by the existence of multiple "styles" in a single burial, and throughout the same burial complex. These styles imply different production traditions producing different sets of images on the same garment types.
They may rely on different fabric structures, or may use the same techniques in different ways. There are two major kinds of variability within burials.

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

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

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

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

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

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

2 The Linear style associated with embroidered headcloths is distinct in its use of color and in its body of characteristic imagery, showing a stronger relationship to the Block color style. I have elsewhere categorized these two Early Intermediate Period Linear styles as Linear 1 (dominated by saturated, primary colors, on mantles and other garments) and Linear 2 (dominated by pastel colors, on headcloths).
There must be a specific social institution associated with the production - and reproduction or renovation - of each artifact tradition and its associated imagery. There is a wide range of theoretical possibilities, including 1) gender divisions in ritual life and craft production, 2) kinship structures such as parallel exogamous moieties occurring in communities across the region, 3) different religions developing and competing throughout this historical period, 4) local communities of diverse cultural/ethnic identity grouped in larger political entities, producing specialized goods for exchange or tribute, etc. and in combination. We are far from understanding the specific social institutions that structured life in this region during this period of history.

A conclusion, and a point of departure:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Figure C wears a condor or a condor skin on his head, with a net headdress visible above it. Long fringe at the shoulders of his tunic echoes wing-like feathers behind, and a triangular form like a bird tail is to the left of his loincloth. In this figure, the feathered "wings" look particularly like the feathered capes of the Ocucaje complex (related to feathered capes and ponchos of the Necropolis). He holds only a "trophy head."
Figure 2: Paracas Necropolis funerary bundle No. 157, object No. 21. Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología, Lima.
This figure (half actual size) is embroidered on the borders and central ground of a large mantle, of which only fragments are preserved. The style is transitional between the Early Horizon Phase 10 and the Early Intermediate Period Phase 1. The figure wears a uku tunic and matching shoulder poncho, possibly combined with fringed leather panels like those associated with feathered capes or ponchos in the Necropolis complex. The headdress includes a llautu turban band, a gold “diadem” forehead ornament and a headcloth. Figures on the central ground have the headcloth bordered by narrow stripes, which would appear to designate the embroidered borders of the headdresses of the Necropolis complex rather than the overall patterning of the sprang or doublecloth hoods of the Cavernas and Ocucaje complexes.
Facial patterning varies in other examples of this figure.

Figure 3: Paracas Necropolis funerary bundle No. 262, object No. 14. Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología, Lima.
These figures (half actual size) are embroidered on two fragmented borders from a large mantle. This winged figure corresponds in style to Early Intermediate Period Phase 1, represented only in the Paracas Necropolis and Ocucaje cemeteries. While clearly in the same genre or figure type as the winged figures of No. 243, here the (falcon) face patterning, the dress and the objects carried are not variable. The headdress alternates between figure A, which appears to represent a hood and an obsidian knife (characteristic of the Cavernas and Ocucaje complexes) and figure B, which includes ends of a llautu turban band, a gold diadem, and a lateral two-plumed ornament (characteristic of the Necropolis complex).
DRESSING THE PART: INDIGENOUS COSTUME AS POLITICAL AND CULTURAL DISCOURSE IN PERU

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INTRODUCTION
In Latin America, indigenous clothing has often been equated with indigenous cultural identity (Schevill 1986). When we speak of indigenous fashion as being a marker of cultural identity, we must also examine the more fluid roles of the indigenous individual and community within the state. How is individual, community and state identity represented? What form does the discourse between the individual, the community and the state take? Many anthropologists have written of the flexible and strategic use of ethnicity, and costume as a primary tool in the manipulation of ethnic identity (Seibold 1990, Rappaport 1992, Femenias 1987, Royce 1982 to name a few). Indigenous, handwoven dress legitimates community as well as ethnic group membership while western dress indicates membership in the larger global market economy and state culture. I would like to proceed from this foundation in a different direction, that of indigenous costume as metacommunication and indigenous discourse (see Urban 1993 and Feierman 1990).

Indigenous peoples, such as those I worked with in Choquecancha, Peru, hold a fundamental concept of peoplehood, such that their self-reference, "runakuna" simply translates as "people". Almost all indigenous groups throughout the world refer to themselves as "people" in their own languages. It is not an ethnic concept; this self-reference is not as an ethnic people in some oppositional relationship to an Ethnic Other, although this is what their identity is slowly turning into. As their interaction with the state and global political and market systems increases, and as their self-definition is increasingly co-opted by state agendas, other terms of self-reference, more ethnic and more oppositional in nature are used. Choquecanchenans have no doubts about their identity and where they fit into the social and political order. It is only us who get confused and need to place people into "native", "indigenous", "ethnic" or "mestizo" categories. But when we use these colonial terms we overlook the unique strategies of cultural affirmation, recuperation, revitalization, and maintenance of individual, community or group identity. At the same time, community members in Choquecancha themselves identify levels of involvement by different terms: reserving "runakuna" for fully participating members of the community; "campesinos" for those community members who interact with the state political system and market economy; and "cholos", "mestizos" and "mistis" for non-Indians and non-community members. There are then different types of relationships.
Fashion adds a visual dimension to the discourse, costume offering an instant understanding of the wearer’s identity and relationship and form of interaction with the community and the state. Handwoven textiles produce a self-reference of Choquecancha (a wider reference than runa); the woman’s lliklla, or shawl, and the man’s poncho identify the wearer as being from Choquecancha and not Ccachin, a neighboring and rival community. As the weavings are sold to middlemen who market them for the tourist trade, the community then becomes "indigenous", as the frame of reference changes to the state and even international perspective. Community members are aware of the multiple layers of identity available to them, and just as they speak in different voices, so too do the textiles they weave and the fashions they choose to wear. The Quechua speakers of Choquecancha, Peru (a subsistence agricultural community which lies to the north of Cuzco) use their handwoven costume and textile designs to construct an identity which places them in specific types of relationships within both their community and the Peruvian state. Handwoven dress functions as discourse with the state, at times in opposition and at times adopted and coopted by the state as an instrument and a symbol of national identity.

CHOQUECANCHA, A CASE STUDY
As an example of the limits to our ability to categorize by costume, let me give an example from my field notes:

Lara, Paulina’s cousin, has been visiting her relatives in Choquecancha... Her parents moved to Lima when she was eight years old. Now at 17, she’s completed high school and considers herself a modern Limenan. She was dressed today in a comfortable but fashionable jumper with blouse, socks and loafers... Paulina... asked me to photograph the two of them. They posed, Paulina in her most traditional Runa finery, and Lara in Lima’s best. Then Paulina convinced Lara to pose in Runa dress. They giggled and whispered together and retreated inside, still giggling to prepare. I could hear the rustling, the crash of something on the floor, and an argument about a montera (Runa hat) while I sat outside in the sun talking with their grandmother. Finally they came outside, still laughing and arguing about the hat that Lara refused to wear. Paulina posed for her photograph in typical Runa stance against the wall of the house, feet together, arms straight down at her sides, round-shouldered, and staring without expression into the camera. Lara, on the other hand, still refusing to wear the montera (Paulina rushed in at the last minute and jammed it on Lara’s head, angering Lara because it mussed her hair), chose to stand at the edge of the compound
using the town and the Lares Valley as her backdrop, posed like a fashion plate teen-age model, hands on her hips, legs apart with one foot turned outward, shoulders back, and her head tilted almost coyly to the side, smiling at the camera. By her stance and her air of self-confidence, Lara could never be confused for a runa, irregardless of costume or language. Costume then, while perhaps the most noticeable symbol of indigenous identity, is only a cue, and possibly a not very accurate one, since it may be adopted or discarded, or otherwise manipulated by the wearer.

-- Choquecancha journal, July 27, 1988

Keeping in mind that runa discourse requires self-identification and a range of socialized behaviors that is more than costume, within the runa wardrobe each person owns a textile that by design stripe or combination of colors, marks the identity of the textile and person as belonging to one runa community or another. These runa marker textiles, the woman's likilka, or shawl, and the man's poncho, have a cultural identity, signifying to outsiders the community of Choquecancha. As metacommunication, the textile both identifies the person by reflecting personal taste and fashion, and at the same time dissolves a person's identity by imposing on the individual the larger community identity. Within the community, to those who "speak" the language, the colors and designs of these textiles identify gender, age, and to some extent modernity, marital status and the woman's ayllu of birth. Commercial western dress on the other hand - dacron or polyester knit slacks or skirts and sweaters indicates membership in no particular community or nation. It indicates membership in an international market economy. Runapacha, or "human's clothing" has meaning for Choquecanchenans because it is rooted in their cosmology.

Choquecanchenan women's hats are a good example, crystallizing in one item of costume, indigenous cosmology. The montera is a saucer-shaped hat made of straw and covered with black cloth above and red below. White rickrack is sewn onto the outer rim and across the top of the hat, separating it into four quarters, in the form of Tawantinsuyu, the Inca Empire of the Four Quarters. Near the rim, each of the white lines splits into two, the one line bifurcating into two equal halves, reflecting the dual cosmology as seen in Incan sites - in the bifurcated streams of water at Tambo Machay, the Coricancha, Macchu Pichu, and Ollantaytambo. The hat is a visual Tawantinsuyu, with runa cosmology being founded in political conceptualization.

Hats also demonstrate the Choquecanchenan belief system in another way. Hats distinguish the runa from the mestizo, the member of the state's society. All runa men, women and children wear hats. They wear them all day long, both in the house and outside. They wear them as protection from
the sun, but they also wear them while they work or eat or visit inside, in the nearly dark house. At one school program in Choquecancha, the school director asked the parents to take off their hats for the National Anthem, and it was fully five minutes before the embarrassed and giggling mothers and fathers complied. Runakuna wear the hat to guard themselves from the entry of illness-carrying malevolent spirits that travel on the winds and enter their bodies through the tops of their heads, which they regard as being open. Like clothing and handwoven cloth, hats provide a protective boundary between runakuna and the supernatural agents of illness. Mestizos, on the other hand, explain illness through germ theory and do not wear hats.

In their zeal to acculturate schoolchildren, the mestizo schoolteachers in Choquecancha will not allow handwoven costume, such as ponchos or girl’s shawls, in the school nor will they allow the children to wear hats. Mothers complained to me that their children’s colds were the result of the teachers forbidding the children to wear their hats to school. Whether it was the exposed heads open to malevolent spirits, or the children running to school in the chilly early morning hours with freshly washed and wet hair, is not the issue. The issue is two sets of belief systems that are talking past one another. Hats demarcate ethnic, state and belief boundaries.

Choquecanchenan textiles then, have become symbols of discursive identity and designs within those textiles serve as the specific link to that identity (Seibold 1992). By designs and by costume, handwoven textiles identify Choquecanchenans as runakuna, an ethnic group. It further subdefines them as Choquecanchenans, as distinct from the runa of Ccachin. It further defines women according to ayllu and family, my friend Maria and her female relatives using different colors in one supplementary warp stripe than Simeona and her female relatives. And it defines individual women in terms of their weaving: a skilled weaver is industrious and innovative and everyone recognizes her work.

Contemporary runa costume combines elements of pre-Columbian, Colonial Spanish and modern western dress. By the late 16th century, Spanish Colonial law forbade the wearing of pre-Conquest costume in order to sever runa ties to Inca government, religion and history, and to prevent rebellion. What is today considered by many runa and Peruvians to be “traditional” costume, is 16th century Spanish peasant dress (Femenias 1984). And many of the materials used to make that “traditional” costume are commercially manufactured, such as synthetic yarns and aniline dyes, not to mention the sweaters and trousers that most runa women and men have adopted as part of their ethnic dress. But many runakuna prefer to wear western dress for everyday use. There is a great deal of movement and maneuverability for runakuna. Costume is a powerful tool
and runakuna have learned through laws, economic opportunities, and social experiences the roles to play to accomplish their ends. My landlord Valentin, for example, as president of Choquecancha wore his red patterned poncho to Rimanacuy, the July 1986 Cuzco meeting of all the presidents of peasant communities. Whenever he made court appearances in 1987 concerning his part in embezzling community funds however, he wore shoes and left his hat and poncho at home. Valentin, like all runakuna, walks the cultural tightrope very well.

Women have greater maneuverability. Choquecanchenan women, who wore the black runa dress every day at home, changed to western mestiza dress in order to travel on the trucks to Cuzco, and I sometimes failed to recognize them. Some Choquecanchenan women wear western dress and a few weeks later change back to runapacha. And although permanent western dress is usually worn only by bilingual women, some women who can speak no more than market Spanish occasionally adopt western dress for everyday use. The rules for costume use are clearly flexible.

From the discussion so far we might infer that race or home community has no bearing on ethnicity, that these are cultural or social categories of dress, rather than racial or geographic categories. But this is not true. One afternoon when Sra. Saturnina and her daughters were pressuring me yet again to wear runa dress, I asked them whether I would then be a runa, if I were to master Quechua, dress in runapacha, and buy a house in Choquecancha to live. When they finally stopped laughing, they told me that I would always be a misti, a white, regardless of what I wore and spoke and where I lived. Sra. Saturnina gently explained to me that I could never be a runa because my ancestors were gringos, born and buried far from Choquecancha. This is perhaps the crux of runa identity, the ties runakuna hold with their land, the source and repository for their ancestors, and the overriding criteria for group inclusion. Costume and handwoven textiles can only project an identity, an identity whose source lies buried within their political structure, their cosmology, and ultimately, one’s own personal sense of identity. Lara, the dutiful daughter of Choquecanchenan parents and grandparents that she may be, will never again be a Choquecanchenan because she no longer perceives herself as anything other than an urban Limenan. It is a complex issue that cannot be reduced to one level of analysis.

Because identity is ultimately internal and costume merely the means of discourse, indigenous dress is, like western dress, also susceptible to the pressures of fashion. The women of Choquecancha and their neighbor Ccachin compete in weaving, this competition accounting for a great deal of the creativity and innovation in likilla designs. The competition inflates the weaving economy, demanding new and
better designs and llikllas each year. When we look at contemporary Andean textiles we sometimes bemoan the new reliance on synthetic fibers and aniline dyes, the gaudy neon colors like lime green, and the apparent loss of quality. From my research in Choquecancha, including time and motion studies of the production process, I learned that weavers are actually able to devote more time to weaving llikllas and ponchos because they have replaced handwoven utility clothes with some commercial clothing and cloths and because they use commercial dyes and yarns. The production of handspun yarn for a lliklla or poncho dominates total production time, reaching up to 75% of total manufacture time for a poncho and up to 50% of total manufacture time for a lliklla. Synthetic yarns allow more time for weaving more complex design areas. Weavers have also switched from the four stake loom to the backstrap loom, the backstrap loom being faster and more flexible, and so increasing the speed of weaving and cutting production time. In the last 25 to 30 years they have also switched from supplementary warp weave to complementary warp weave, the latter giving them greater flexibility in the new figurative designs.

In weaving more intricately patterned designs, weavers have created a number of new and different designs. Weavers first work new designs out in their sashes. The sash is the weaver’s sketchbook; once the kinks are worked out successful new designs are then worked into llikllas and ponchos for public view. For example, in my study of the town’s trend setters, I watched the creation and re-creation of motifs between two sisters who lived on opposite sides of the mountain. Lucila, older and quieter, first wove a design of a dead horse out in the pastures being picked apart by condors, while Maria, my landlady and vivacious friend, improved it, tearing the horse apart, allowing the condors and foxes to make a meal of the dismembered head and legs. Maria and Lucila have begun weaving designs with action in them. Horses run and rear up in defiance. Deer race from predator felines. Hares leap and run free in the campo. They have also begun to look around them and take their designs from nature. Maria now sketches flowers in her sashes. Sometimes she succeeds, weaving delicate flowers bending in the wind, and sometimes she does not, and she has to tell us what the design is.

Perhaps the most striking example of fashion reflecting social changes linking Choquecancha to the Peruvian state, lies in the green/blue poncho and lliklla design stripe. Men and women of marriage age wear llikllas and ponchos with woven motifs in red, white and green, and green edge stripes. Women, after menopause, and men, after the age of sixty, wear red, white and blue motifs and blue edge stripes. When I asked about the colors, weavers told me the green was the color of buds, that is, agriculture and growing life, while the blue was the color of chuno, the small mummified freeze-dried potatoes that are blue-black in
color. The green is the growing plant which symbolizes reproductive fertility, both the wearer’s and agricultural fertility, while the blue refers to infertility. Color symbolism is based on fertility: young not-yet-fertile girls wearing brown shawls which I was told represented unplowed fields, fertile adults wearing the green, and post-fertile men and women wearing the blue.

I first learned the categories when Valentin offered to sell me the never-used poncho belonging to his cousin. An older professional weaver was hired to weave the poncho for an unmarried 27-year-old son of a neighbor. Too old to enjoy weaving, she provided the yarn and paid the professional weaver for her labor. But the weaver, thinking the poncho was for the husband and not the son, wove the blue stripe. The young man could not wear the brand new poncho without being ridiculed by his friends as an impotent old man.

In 1987, young married women began wearing the blue. I was devastated. I had just discovered the remains of an age grade system still at work in 1986, and a year later it had collapsed. I asked several women why they wore the blue. "Por gusto", one said ("I like it"). "Blue is prettier", another said. Finally, Maria explained it to me, and it was then easy to verify. Young women who wear Intra-Uterine Devices to prevent pregnancy weave and wear the blue she said, instead of the green. They are no longer fertile and despite their youth should wear the blue. What looks on the surface like a traditional system breaking down is really a closer adherence to the underlying structure of the system. The system identifies fertility rather than age after all. The women already have two or three children, and aware of the hardships of raising children in poverty, they are trying to limit the size of their families. IUD’s are the preferred method of contraception and women are wearing their fertility, or the lack thereof, like badges on their sleeves.

What I want to watch however, is whether the unmarried 17-19 year old weavers without children, who look to the young married women for design innovation and fashion trends begin weaving the blue. This will indicate whether this is fashion or reinterpreted tradition.

That costume and textiles woven in Choquecancha change is nothing new; present forms and options of dress are merely the latest in a long line of fashion trends and responses to geo-political concerns. Ultimately the issue of costume indicates that ethnic clothing, like western clothing, is inherently a social process.

My final example, the man’s poncho, illustrates many of the points I have raised about costume, ethnicity and identity in Choquecancha. In Choquecancha, there are at
current time, two categories of men’s ponchos: the red patterned or "pallay" poncho and the plain brown poncho.

Runa men wear the red pallay poncho for formal community events such as community assemblies and festivals. The red poncho identifies a man and his community, his age and status. It identifies the discourse between the man and his community.

The brown poncho is the generic garment of the contemporary Andean campesino. It no longer identifies the ethnic community, but instead identifies the wearer as a peasant farmer and a member of the state’s market economy. Men wear it while working in the fields and when they go to market, to the city, or otherwise deal with the Spanish speaking culture. The brown poncho marks the upwardly mobile peasant farmer and reflects his class, economic status and world view. The brown poncho demonstrates the discourse between the man and the state. Increased contact with the Peruvian government and culture, schooling and ability in Spanish, and the poor treatment meted out to runakuna by mestizos encourage runa men to adopt the campesino’s brown poncho.

The brown poncho increasingly represents discourse between the genders as well. Many Choquecanchenan women weave a narrow band of complementary warp weave animal designs in red and white, or pink and purple over the protests of their husbands, who truly prefer plain brown ponchos. The women's insistence on weaving these thin design bands on their husband’s brown ponchos may reflect the woman's role as caretaker of cultural values and her reluctance to let her husband abandon his ethnic heritage or community identity, but it also reflects the woman's very real power over her husband. The band of community designs is a form of control, the woman's personal signature, labeling her husband in a way that the plain brown poncho cannot. Choquecanchenan men are in effect wearing and displaying statements made by women.

And then again, some men travelling to Cuzco forgo the poncho entirely, adopting full western discursive style.

Mestizos or whites occasionally don a poncho to show either solidarity with the Indians, or their common glorious Inca heritage. University professors and students and Cuzco municipal administrators for example, wear these ponchos for municipal parades, where they demonstrate to the community their common Incan descent or that they can relate to the common people of Cuzco. Under the ponchos they wear full western dress (pants and shoes for both women and men, and no hats). But they do not wear either the red patterned ponchos or the plain brown ponchos. Instead they wear very large and very long machine made ponchos, or special order synthetic ponchos woven by prisoners in the Cuzco jail, or
rarely, a specially woven and fantastically patterned runa poncho. By the different ponchos that they wear and by their western dress underneath, these "Ethnic Indians" show only their upper class status. They have appropriated an indigenous symbol, interpreted it as an ethnic symbol and altered it, transforming it into a symbol of the imagined state and national identity. An element of a "people's" costume has been appropriated from personal identity to national as well as ethnic identity.

Peru appropriates other aspects of runa costume and identity as well: the post office issues commemorative stamps of artistically rather than authentically drawn indigenous costume; the government sponsors an annual competition of indigenous weaving; and the travelling buyers from the international tourist market. To a person of Choquecancha the lliklla is a marker of personal cosmology and identity; to the people of Choquecancha, it is a means of discourse between the community and other Runa communities; to the state it is both a symbol of its agenda of assimilation and an idealization of the Inca past; and to the international tourist it is a souvenir of a vacation. The designs, full of power and symbolism in Choquecanacha, communicate different messages to each viewer. When the state appropriates runa costume as a national symbol however, it usually selects a costume from the past, the rationale being that the weaving was better and the dyes natural back then. In actuality, the state uses time as a boundary to separate themselves from contemporary Runa, to separate the noble savage from the disappointing Indian, to distance themselves from their own policies of acculturation. Just as the mestizo teachers do when they will not let Choquecanchenan children wear hats or ponchos to school.

SUMMARY

The form and designs of Choquecanchenan textiles, while subject to intense innovation and fashion pressures, are firmly embedded within a culturally established aesthetic and cosmological system. Textiles as community fashion and art reflect complex political, economic and social conditions. It is more than a matter of contact, crossover and continuity; it is also a matter of communication and cultural context.

Textiles communicate messages of runa world view, identity and culture. The textile becomes metacommunication or meta-weaving, as in the sash sketchbooks where weavers are weaving about weaving. The textiles speak different messages to runa weavers, to Choquecanchenan men and children, to non-Choquecanchenan runa, to peruvians, and to the international tourist market. Runa weavers across the Andes have created their own form of discourse and counter-discourse in textiles and costume.
NOTES
This paper has been reworked and adapted for the Textile Society from a paper entitled "Fashion as Identity in Choquecancha, Peru, presented by the author at the March 1991 meeting of the American Ethnological Society. The research for this paper was funded by the Inter-American Foundation.

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When I'm in Arequipa and I see a lady in embroidered clothes, I always greet her; she's from my land, she's my compatriot. 

[When I teach embroidery] no matter how much one teaches, the motifs don't come out the same. If there are twenty embroiderers, twenty different motifs come out although they have the same name. It's like, even if you're my brother, we're not the same.

These comments by embroidery artist Leonardo Mejia neatly express the character of Colca Valley ethnic clothes: simultaneously shared and individual. Similar appearance is important in recognizing a compatriot, but an artist's style of executing the complex embroidered designs distinguishes his/her work.

Contemporary textile production in the Colca Valley, a highland region of southern Peru, occurs mostly in small workshops, where I center my study (Figures 1, 2). There, men and women embroider and tailor ornate clothes on treadle sewing machines. About 150 artisans provide garments for about 8,000 female consumers (total valley population is about 20,000). This article draws on surveys that I conducted with 110 artisans and vendors, during two years of fieldwork.

Textiles are important emblems of ethnic identity, as is commonly observed. However, I want to move beyond seeing "emblems" as superficial symbols, and to analyze ethnicity as a concept, as a relation of power among social groups with profoundly different resources. The rural, Quechua-speaking Colca Valley peoples are often considered "Indians" by outsiders, but they do not identify themselves as such. Indio in Peru is a powerful epithet that accentuates class difference and disguises it in racial terms. The social and economic roles that Colca Valley men and women play in Peruvian society have changed considerably in this century, and increasingly so in this generation. Ethnic artists have been crucial in mediating change, by producing ethnic clothes.

Through observing everyday and festival garments, discussing aesthetics with women who wear those garments, and analyzing the artisan surveys, I realized how important color and materials had become. In these domains, ethnic artists appropriate national and international tastes according to local cultural preferences, which in turn help to develop and maintain discrete ethnic identities.

Synthetic materials and bright colors are relatively new fashionable elements in embroidered clothes. The focus of this article reflects the fact that in the Colca Valley, lime green yarn is more of a fashion concern than changing hemlines. By focusing on "foreign" elements, I aim to release them from their conceptual closet, and address how and why they became firmly established in the Colca clothing repertoire. The very brightness that is exalted as "lively" by those who use it, is all too often derided as
"gaudy" by outsiders, even by textile scholars. This attitude inheres in our concepts of authenticity and identity. As scholars, we need to ask, how we are also caught up in appropriation, when we choose which textiles to analyze.

My approach challenges an older tendency in Andean textile studies, which for many decades privileged an "authentic" indigenous textile: woven, of natural fibers, in a domestic setting, using techniques traced to pre-Columbian antecedents. Numerous embroidered garments are worn in the valley—skirt, blouse, jacket, shawl, belt, hat (see Figure 1; Figures 3 and 4 show details of skirts). All have some technical and design elements in common, but few resemble pre-Columbian models. In this paper, I provide little technical detail about the embroidery and construction process, nor do I focus on the evolution of a single garment or on design motifs (despite my interest in those topics, which are developed further in Femenías 1995). Here, I focus on the garments as embodiments of artisans’s ideas about design and aesthetics. An artist’s style emerges as he or she incorporates specific colors, materials and techniques into these handmade objects, combining his/her understanding of contemporary fashions as well as established conventional patterns.

When I tell non-Peruvians that I work in the Andes, they usually ask, "Are the people there Indians?" The answer is Yes. And No. There is no easy, straightforward way to answer this question. In fact, I am convinced that "Are they Indians?" is ultimately the wrong question. We need to ask, "When are they Indians? Why are they Indians?" and, essentially, "What is an Indian?" The valley’s residents claim for themselves a unique identity that is not simply Indian, white, or mestizo; rather, this localized identity is based in specific cultural and material reality. In fact, understanding what kind of identity is Peruvian Indian identity today involves unraveling a whole series of complex, sensitive racial and political issues, which combine race, class, and gender. This paper is one small effort in that direction.

The Colca Valley: A Place within a Region

The Colca Valley is a rural area near Arequipa, the second largest city in Peru. Wedged between massive snowcapped peaks, terraced fields support the agricultural and pastoral lifeways in fourteen small villages. In one larger town, Chivay (pop. about 5,000), the capital of Cailloma province, most of the embroidery workshops are located. In and around the other villages, people live primarily by growing maize and other crops and by herding alpacas and selling their wool. The thick and lustrous alpaca fiber has been a major source of commercial wealth for the past century.

The ethnic heritage of the peoples is Inka and pre-Inka, including Collaguas and Cabanas groups, and Spanish. Almost everyone is bilingual in Quechua and Spanish. Archaeological and historical documentation show that outside intervention, rather than isolation, has characterized the valley’s political economy for about two thousand years.

In the 1990s, low prices for crops and alpaca, severe droughts which almost paralyzed agriculture, an earthquake, and numerous political and economic factors have eroded the resource base of the mountain communities. This has accelerated migration to the cities. Since the 1950s, for example, the city of Arequipa has quintupled in population, from 200,000 to 1 million inhabitants.
In Arequipa, and in Lima, the national capital, young men and women work mostly in the informal sector: as street vendors, domestic servants, taxi drivers, and/or petty smugglers. Migrants living in Arequipa return to the valley quickly, in a four-hour bus trip. Young people in particular bring back their tastes and their money, and women spend some of their hard-earned money on the fabulous embroidered clothes.

**Power and Appropriation**

One phrase in this article’s title, "the appropriation of fashion," may mislead the reader. Perhaps "appropriation in fashion," "as fashion" or even "fashion as appropriation" would convey my meaning better. The appropriation of fashion sounds as if fashion is an alien concept that ethnic artists must appropriate, having no fashion of their own. Nothing could be further from my intention. Changes in appearance and representation occur constantly among indigenous peoples as much as in so-called modern societies. These changes occur in ways that are structured in part by the power imbalances among groups. Colca Valley ethnic clothes are not survivals from ancient groups in isolated enclaves. They derive their ethnic meaning in part from the act of appropriation.

This appropriation has occurred in part through incorporating materials produced outside the valley. Lightweight polyester blouse fabric, acrylic yarn, crushed velvet, and silvery lace are now elements of traditional, embroidered Colca Valley clothes. While some of these materials are used exclusively for Colca clothes, most are appropriated from the non-indigenous domain of white, national Peruvian society, where they are featured in an office-worker’s blouse, housewife’s sweater, or wedding gown. On the other hand, traditional materials are no longer as readily available as in the past--alpaca wool, in particular, is almost all sold on the international market.

"To appropriate" literally means "to set apart for... a particular use in exclusion of all other uses" or "to take to oneself," that is, "to claim or use as by an exclusive right," according to Websters Seventh Unabridged Dictionary. The Latin root, *proprius*, means "one’s own."

Whatever the new owner takes to herself and makes her own originates outside the person or group, so we must ask by what right she claims it. In this paper, I argue that such a right must inhere in a shared understanding of what is acceptable and what is not, based in concepts of power and its limits. Closeness, not distance, is the crucial factor: The closer two groups are, the more important a small detail of distinction becomes. In this case, as the importance of racial basis of Indian identity decreases, that of clothes as markers increases. Clothes mark the border between dominant and subordinate groups.

For a border to be meaningful, it must be shared. Borders are challenged when subordinate groups will not agree to the same meanings, appropriate items from the dominant group, and so refuse to acknowledge that item as the dominator’s "own." I believe this has occurred in the Colca Valley through a two-way process of appropriation of materials.

Discussions of appropriation usually focus on the dominant taking from the subordinate groups: by actively appropriating their material and symbolic resources, the...
dominant enforce the subordination of those below them. Resistance then becomes the defiances of such appropriation. James Scott, for example, prominent among scholars of everyday resistance, defines resistance as the subordinate enacting strategies to minimize appropriation or to reverse it (Scott 1990: 197, emphasis added). Thus, small, daily "rituals of subordination," which include wearing items of clothes, gestures of deference, etc., become "rituals of reversal" (ibid.: 187-88).

Appropriation in reverse, or from below, is as important as that from above, and it is not adequately treated as resistance alone. Emulation and appropriation are important strategies to establish different claims to power, not only to resist the existing power structure, as has been noted recently by Abu-Lughod (1990) and Radner and Lanser (1993). Relationships between domination and subordination are intimate antagonisms, which are never completely separate, but always contain elements of each other.

Pretty Clothes, Local Custom, and Changing Materials: Results from the Artisan Surveys

To dance in fiestas, and to understand the production and exchange process, I obtained my own set of embroidered clothes. I commissioned my friend Susana to embroider two skirts (polleras) for me (Figure 3). When I showed the finished skirts to other people, many of them praised their quality and beauty. However, one older female artisan, Rosalía Valera, heaped scorn on Susana’s choice of designs and materials. "That’s already old-fashioned. Why did she use that outmoded design?” she complained, pointing to a row of lime green yarn (detail of Figure 3). I was stunned. I had looked forward so to dressing in the valley style, wearing the latest in pollera fashion, flawlessly executed by my talented friend. Yet Rosalia put them down; my skirts weren’t fashionable enough!

Many North Americans have a phobia about bright colors. For a long time, I was among them. I had come to like the bright colors after a long period of rejection. I didn’t always like lime green. In other conversations with artisans about tourist sales, I never hesitated to point out to them that gringos abhor this color. An internal struggle preceded my decision to let Susana embroider my skirt exactly as she saw fit; I chose only the background fabric from the options she offered. After all, she was the expert. I couldn’t bring myself to tell her, I don’t want any lime green, it reminds me of neon, acid, Gatorade. Indeed, lime green ended up in my skirt. I got used to it, I got to like it, I began to understand that it is an established element of authentic Colca clothes.

Here I want to consider seriously why such colors claim an important place in Colca textiles--and have done so for so long that, just as I begin to warm to them, they’re already beginning to be considered passe! In addition, Rosalía’s comments showed me that artists’s opinions about embroidery aesthetics and fashions vary widely, and their critical assessments of each other’s work are often sharp indeed. In this section, I also present some of those artists’s opinions.

Leonardo Mejía, who I quoted at the beginning, says that embroidery is not just a business; it "is an art that should be highly esteemed. I think this way but others think only about their business. It is an artistic question and not an economic one."

Leonardo is the most adamant among those who claim embroidery as an art form, but he is not alone in recognizing the artist’s role in shaping the ethnic and aesthetic
consciousness of valley residents. My analysis of color and materials is based on artists’s answers to qualitative questions about preferences, tastes, reasons women wear embroidered clothes, and changes.⁶

According to Fermín Huaypuna, embroidered clothing "is part of the imagination and it’s tradition, custom, and it reproduces the ancestors’s creation." In fact, "custom" (costumbre) was the term most commonly used in explaining why women wear embroidered clothes (used by 41% of respondents). References to ancestors and relatives (antepasados, abuelos, mamá) were also frequent (34%), as was the word tradition (tradición; 17%).

Artists often state that women wear the garments "because they are pretty" (porque son bonitos). "Pretty" (bonito) was cited by 39% of respondents, making it the next most common term after custom. A related usage, porque es bonito, connotes "suitable, nice." By why, I would inquire, in what way are they pretty?

When artists discussed prettiness, they did so in terms of aesthetic or technical features. These features include questions of ethnic differentiation, amount and quality of materials, and innovation. To summarize brief, the first distinction is overall quality. Polleras come in different grades: the one that I commissioned (Figure 3) was second quality, gauged by the type of materials used for ground fabric and trim, number of rows of embroidery, amount of color in that embroidery, amount of other trim, kind of yarn applied. Compare this to a first quality pollera from Cabanaconde (Figure 4), which has more expensive ground fabric, polychrome vs. monochrome embroidered bands, and more detailed yarn designs. The ethnic differences are manifested in materials as well as designs: only in Cabanaconde is rick-rack used, and the monkey motif is more common there. The designs and materials are continually changing, leading to a situation in which traditional clothes are equated with the modern.

Livia Sullca, for example, maintains that "the embroidery is more modern, we apply more materials, we put on plenty of decorations." Leandrina Ramos says admiringly, more is better: "before it was simpler, now they’re more adorned. The skirts are more embroidered every year." Not only are fabrics and trims more numerous to those available in the past, artisans maintain, but superior. They mention specific yarns and trims: merino yarn, brillas (metallic lace), grecas (braids, often metallic), as well as fabrics--including velvet, chiffon, poliseda ("polysilk")--a daunting array too lengthy to dwell on here. I collected about 100 samples from four artisan workshops (including multiple colorways of the same fabric); this by no means exhausts all the materials. In addition to knowing techniques and designs, artists must command a huge vocabulary of materials.

When I compared the actual decorations on the garments to samples I collected and terms used for them, I could not find any sheep wool, so I was puzzled about "merino"; later I realized that here it is not wool, but a synthetic equivalent also used for weaving. It is available in many vivid colors, as well as white. The "typical" bright colors (colores vivos)--pink, orange, and lime green--are used in background fabrics as well as trims. More recently pastel shades (colores aguas) of the same colors are making inroads, but the lively colors still dominate.

One day I asked an artisan friend about the lime green, calling it light green in Spanish, "verde claro." He corrected me, "No, it’s called q’achu verde." I learned that q’achu in Quechua, means light only in certain contexts. One cannot say for light blue,
q’achu azul. Q’achu also means new crops, forage, and by extension, freshness. A Quechua-Spanish dictionary, defines q’achu as follows: "forraje, pasto verde; q’achu q’omer, verde claro; ... q’achu ch’uñu, chuñó fresco, recién helado" (forage, green pasture; light green; fresh freeze-dried potatoes, recently frozen; Cusihuaman 1976: 117; on q’achu as forage, see also Treacy 1994a: 191).

The emergence of young crops in the naturally dry environment of the Colca Valley is precious, and precarious. Contrasting with the gray and brown landscape, new plants vibrate very greenly indeed. The use of q’achu verde accents affirms the importance of these green growing things, which feed people and animals (see also Seibold, this volume, for a related discussion).

However, this cannot explain the apparent preference for synthetic materials. I believe this aspect of appropriation inheres more in the valley’s position in the world economy. Cash crops, such as barley, the sale of alpaca fiber, and urban migration have increasingly enmeshed the Colca Valley peoples in a capitalist system. Local alpaca fiber is rarely available; it is almost always sold to the Arequipa textile factories. Likewise, the scarcity of fine-breeds sheep wool, like merino, reflects long-standing extractive economic policies and lack of incentives for herd improvement.

Many artisans, both male and female, as well as their customers, are returned migrants. Their urban work experience changed both their taste and their buying power. Their understanding of fashion trends undergirds their roles as "ethnicity brokers" in their own communities. Once they return, they continue to travel. To obtain materials, artisans often venture as far as the Bolivian or Chilean border, or even to the U.S.

Conclusion

Colca Valley embroidered clothes represent both the revitalization and contestation of traditional values by all those who seek to legitimize their claims to community resources, either by participating in the production process, or by wearing the clothes in their home communities or even in distant cities. In the narrowly proscribed, racist national society, opportunities to display pride in their local, ethnic identity are rare. Clothes provide one such opportunity.

To the national society, "Indian" (and even the Quechua term runa) means a rural dweller, poor and powerless, living off subsistence agriculture, practicing a "natural" ecology of kin-based exchange. Anyone with money or power, therefore, cannot be an Indian. Thus the kind of ethnic identity that Colca peoples claim is not Indianness. Yet, they appropriate what they can from a capitalist system, and parlay it into ethnic symbols. Increasingly, Colca peoples use their own dress to contest their subordinate position. For example, when women participate in local, and even national, politics, wearing elaborate embroidered clothes is de rigueur.

To move beyond stereotypical views of indigenous ethnic identity, we must attend to the artists's opinions and values. We cannot afford to dismiss new traditions by relegating them to the category of novelties, or denying them "authentic" status. Textile studies grounded in the analysis of power relations can explain the continued viability of clothes as ethnic symbols. Ethnicity itself cannot be understood by cataloguing distinct cultural traits of different groups. We must also examine how, and why, some groups
choose objects or processes from others, usually considered dominant over them, in order to create distinct objects that embody cultural and ethnic identities.

In doing so, it becomes clear how closely bound up fashion is with people's right to self-representation. Issues of taste, color, and materials are far from trivial; they all figure into the politics of authenticity. For this reason I have singled out lime green, and raised my defense of the gaudy.

The artists I interviewed eloquently expressed their pride in their work, and their hope that it would continue to grow and change. In the words of Fermín Huaypuna, "since it now has regional, national, and—why not say so—worldwide prestige, I believe that [our] embroidery will endure forever."

NOTES

1. Elsewhere, I have written about the regional dress (Femenías 1991), its historical development (Femenías n.d.), and articulation of symbol and economy (Femenías 1995). Fieldwork was funded by grants from the Fulbright Commission-Institute for International Education and the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research.

2. For one important analysis that centers on woven textiles, see Rowe 1977; for an overview of related scholarship, see Femenías 1987.

3. Many recent publications discuss the Colca Valley; on history, see Benavides (1988), Flores Galindo (1977), Manrique (1985), and Pease's edited volume (1977); on agriculture, irrigation, and social organization, Gelles (1994), Guillet (1992), Paerregaard (1994), and Treacy (1994a, 1994b); on pastoralism, Markowitz (1985); on rituals and festivals, Valderrama and Escalante (1988).

4. My use of appropriation is broader than Scott's; he follows more closely Marxist traditions, in which appropriation relates to labor, and is connected to the process of alienation. That is, the appropriation of a person's labor into the workforce is a crucial step in establishing capitalist relations of production, and in alienating the worker from his or her own product.

5. Other authors who discuss related topics for the Andes are Rasnake (1988) and Smith (1989). Rasnake's exploration of culture as a domain of resistance veers toward a more traditional Andeanism, but he provides evidence of the resilience of cultural institutions in Bolivia. Writing about landlord-peasant relations in central Peru, Smith notes that cultural expressions and class conflicts are not completely different sorts of resistance, but that both are political.

6. Of the 110 surveys I completed in three communities, to date I have analyzed 41 from Chivay. Among these, half the artisans are men and half are women (male 20/41 or 49%, female 21/41 or 51%). The entire survey is 5 pages single space. At the end, I asked for comments, using qualitative questions.
REFERENCES


Photographs by the author.

Figure 1. Margarita Sullca selling embroidered garments similar to those she wears, Chivay market.

Figure 3. Detail of skirt embroidered by Susana Bernal, Chivay. Collection of the author. Ground fabric is royal blue acrylic knit. Rows of trim feature, from top to bottom, lace, yarn, lace, yarn, monochrome white embroidery on red nylon ground, yarn, lace, with a wide band of hot pink yarn at center; these repeat in reverse order to the hem. The swirl pattern of the fourth row from top (repeats five times) is the design that Rosalía criticized.
Figure 2. Felipe Condori embroidering a woman’s skirt (*pollera*) in his workshop, Chivay.

Figure 4. Detail of skirt embroidered by Hugo Vilcape, Cabanaconde. Ground fabric is garnet crushed velvet. Rows of trim, from top to bottom, are rickrack, braid (two rows), lace, with polychrome embroidery on blue satin band at center; these repeat in reverse order to the hem.
INTRODUCTION
The members of most of Bolivia’s large indigenous ethnic groups, such as the nearly 22,000 people of ayllu Sakaka of northern Potosi, continue to wear a distinctive daily dress (Figs. 1, 2). Such dress nationally and internationally is emblematic of the Sakaka’s separate, and to many inferior, identity as Indians. To the wearers also, or perhaps fundamentally, such dress marks a division between clothed indigenous humans (runa) and naked foreign outsiders (q’ara). This interpretation coincides with hegemonic non-Indian evaluations of Indian separateness, but reverses the hierarchy.

Yet most members of these large indigenous ethnic groups, who I refer to by the name of their group or as Andeans, also wear (or strategically deploy) other styles of clothing. Each style has its own gender, class, ethnic, and/or “racial” denotations and connotations. Dress also varies by generation and by region. These styles of dress code and symbolize the Sakaka’s varied experiences, and mark and help “construct” their positions of social status, achieved or aspired, in late twentieth-century Bolivian society.

Dress remains a major creative focus for many Andeans, in which people invest substantial resources of time, materials, money, and labor, with the secondary effect that as people create and wear cloth they also make statements about themselves. This paper concentrates on Sakaka dress in relation to issues of identity, since cloth remains a principal medium through which identity is expressed and symbolized, in the Andes as elsewhere. Other indications of identity, which I do not go into here, include residence, language(s), religious practices, music, and so forth Anthropologists and other social scientists recently have paid increasing attention to questions of identity, in part because issues of identity and ethnic difference stubbornly re-surface in the post-Cold War era, often with tragic results.

In Bolivia, a pluri-cultural, multi-lingual nation, a woman who wears non-European dress, i.e., urban Indian clothes, cannot teach in that country’s schools—point made by Víctor Hugo Cárdenas, Bolivia’s first Aymara Indian Vice-President, about his wife who still dresses “de pollera” (wears Indian-style dress). The pollera, a full-pleated skirt derived from Spanish colonial dress, is worn by urban Indian women, some rural Indian women, and some townswomen. The pollera has a number of variable stylistic features, which include length, material, number of pleats, color, and so forth. While in practice the pollera’s use crosses class lines, that full-pleated skirt symbolizes the Indian woman to Bolivian society. As such its prohibition from national classrooms symbolizes the exclusion of Indians from national power, and illustrates the importance of dress in the politics of identity.

My paper for the 1990 TSA Symposium, which was based on my two-year residence and Ph.D. research with the Sakaka (Zorn 1990), examined the creation of a new style of Sakaka dress, co-incident with the massive sales of heirloom textiles in the ethnic textile market. (Use of old textiles may be one of many factors, as I explained in my 1990 paper.) That “new” “traditional” style, made and worn primarily by young people, was considered by the Sakaka as the most fashionable and interesting of other potential styles, but it was not the only Sakaka style (see Baizerman 1990 on “tradition”). In this paper I complicate the picture I painted in 1990 by examining the other types of dress worn by Sakaka people in various
contexts, in which dress styles indicate different status positions. I also contextualize these styles of dress in relation to the Sakaka's Indian and non-Indian "neighbors" in Bolivia.

In the Andes today fashion and distinctions in dress remain important in marking and symbolizing both individual and group identity. Andeans such as the Sakaka selectively choose and use (that is, appropriate) technologies, materials, and images to represent themselves, with fine distinctions, as belonging or aspiring to the statuses of runa (Andean), cholita/cholo (urban Indian), or mestiza/o (person of mixed-blood)/Boliviana/o (Bolivian). The Sakaka also use dress to define themselves in relation to other neighboring runa.

WHO ARE THE SAKAKA?
In the longer version of this paper, I situate the Sakaka historically and geographically, but here I discuss textiles and provide only some background (see Zorn 1994). The Sakaka call themselves runa, a Quechua word for people, which term I also use. Most indigenous people do not call themselves indio, the Spanish word for Indian (see also Femenias and Seibold in this volume); in Bolivia the term indio is used self-consciously by a few small but significant political parties with an indianist agenda.

Ayllu Sakaka is one of the larger Bolivian ayllus. Sakaka territory nearly equals Alonso de Ibañez province in northern Potosi, one of the most "traditional"-and poorest-areas of Bolivia. The region's people may be monolingual, bilingual or trilingual in Quechua, Aymara, and/or Spanish (Quechua is the Peruvian Spanish spelling of the Inka language; Aymara is Bolivia's other principal highland indigenous language). Most Aymara-speakers also speak Quechua, which is the lingua franca of the zone and the language spoken in the region's towns. Primarily peasant farmers, the Sakaka live in approximately five hundred hamlets scattered at three to four thousand meters (9,900-13,220 feet) above sea level, in the north of northern Potosi; Cochabamba department lies to the northwest, Oruro department to the west, and the valley provinces of Charcas and Bilbao Rioja, Potosi, to the east. Sakaka territory ranges from the upper puna (high grasslands), through lower puna, down to intermontane valleys. Hamlets contain as few as four or five or as many as sixty households; average hamlet size is fifteen. Former Aymara speakers, approximately half the Sakaka now speak Quechua as their first language. Many Sakaka (especially men) also speak Spanish, which they learned in school, in the army, or in the Chapare (below). Very few are literate. The contemporary Sakaka roughly correspond to the "first" nation of the pre-Columbian Charka federation, a pre-Inka Aymara confederation. The Sakaka, descendents of a warrior nation, are proud of their fighting abilities in contemporary ritual battles (tinkus).

Sakaka ayllu is composed of minor ayllus which "function" through the practices of their members (as does K'ula ayllu in Oruro, Bolivia; Abercrombie 1986). Despite the ongoing destructuring of the great ayllu the Sakaka still constitute an ethnic group and function as a single ayllu in the following ways. The Sakaka: 1) control a common territory, though this no longer includes the valley fraction; 2) are overwhelmingly endogamous, that is, they marry among themselves at a level higher than ninety percent; 3) share a particular festival-ritual cycle; and 4) wear a distinctive, identifiable (sub-)style of clothing, which proclaims their identity to the textile-literate.

The Sakaka make up nearly the entire population of Alonso de Ibañez province; a few hundred people in the province identify themselves as non-runa townspeople (vecinos), who consider themselves of higher social status than runa. A very small number of runa who still identify themselves as Sakaka ayllu members live in the neighboring eastern valleys. Alonso de Ibañez province has four tiny towns, including the capital, also called Sacaca. Like many small Andean towns, Sacaca is a site where classes intermingle, and where petty exploitation of runa by townspeople still occurs. This petty exploitation functions today primarily through mechanisms such as fictive kin ties; the worst excesses of the pre-1952 Revolutionary period
have abated. Prior to the late 1950s the Sakaka suffered debt peonage, the presence of the hacienda (landed estate) system, continual demands on their labor, thefts of livestock, and physical abuse by the area’s townspeople.

The Sakaka are subsistence farmers, whose primary crops are potatoes, broad beans, and wheat; they also plant other Andean tubers and some green vegetables and flowers. Many raise small herds of sheep; some have cattle, and a few small livestock. Some Sakaka herd llamas. Fields in rural areas are not irrigated, and farming is subject to frequent frosts and periodic hailstorms. The Sakaka, like other northern Potosí ruina, are among the poorest in a poverty-striken nation. Hamlets lack potable running water, sewer systems, electricity, irrigation, roads, and transportation. None of their homes, hand-built with stones and adobe bricks, have lights, sinks, bathrooms, heat, or other modern conveniences. Infant mortality is extremely high, and in 1976 it was estimated that one of four Sakaka children die by age five (UNICEF 1989). Opportunities to work for money are limited and local wages in the town of Sacaca in 1989 were only a dollar a day. The principal way that young Sakaka obtain cash is by migrating seasonally to work in the Chapare—Bolivia’s principal coca-growing region in eastern Cochabamba—despite the dangers inherent in the illegal coca/cocaine business. (In the Chapare young men work as bearers or stompers (pisadores), who smash coca leaves into coca paste; young women work as cooks.)

In contrast to runa in other south-central Andean highland regions, indigenous ethnic groups in northern Potosí and southern Cochabamba hold title to sizeable territories, and their social organizations (the ayllu) are much larger than those of other ayllus or communities. To the northwest of the Sakaka live the Kirkawi (known as the Bolivar after the town of that name, or formerly as the Quiquiravi), an ayllu of Quechua-speakers in Arque province, Cochabamba. The Sakaka and the Kirkawi share a general northern Potosí culture, but do not intermarry. They have fought over boundaries for centuries, and their border remains a site for intermittent conflict.

While Kirkawi and Sakaka dress appears similar, a variety of stylistic features differentiate their textiles and mark the groups’ separate ethnic identities. These features include use (or not) of an embroidered headshawl, woven and knitted images, width of hat brim, embroidery style, and so forth. The “Bolivar” have been described as having a unique textile style called kurti (Gisbert, Arze, and Cajías 1987, especially Figs. 229, 231). While members of these ayllus do not intermarry, I found that in the late 1980s both the Kirkawi and the Sakaka used that term for warp-faced double cloth (Zorn 1994), which I suspect the Sakaka learned from the Kirkawi.

Southwest and due east of the Sakaka live the various Aymara ethnic groups centered around Chayanta, the former twin capital (with Sacaca) of the ancient Chara federation, referred to above. These Aymara-speaking ayllus include the Chayantaka, the Sikuya, the Aymaya and so forth. The Chayanta half of the Chara kingdom also includes the Laymi, Jukumani, and Macha ethnic groups, with whom ethnographic research has been conducted (see bibliography in Zorn 1994). Around the turn of the twentieth century the Sakaka fought battles with several Chayanta ayllus over boundaries. The Sakaka also dress similarly to members of the Chayanta ayllu, but ethnicity is differentiated by stylistic features, which include number of belts, embroidery style, knitted and woven images and so forth.

Finally, while this study focuses on identity, not gender, it is worth emphasizing that ethnicity in the (south-central) Andes, as marked by the percentage of Western-style factory-made vs. non-Western-style hand- or factory-made textiles, continues to be gendered, in terms of both production and wear. For example, Aymara men who dress as cholos wear Western-style clothing (such as pinstripe suits) while their wives wear expensive hand- or factory-made polyester peasant-style polleras. Sakaka women weave most of the textiles that mark Sakaka
ethnicity. However, nothing is ever this simple. Sakaka men, like other runa in northern Potosi, were developing in the 1980s an increasingly elaborate style of embroidery, which also "produces" ethnicity, since embroidery on pants, vests, and jackets marks ethnic differences, and serves to distinguish ayllus.

THE POLITICS OF IDENTITY IN BOLIVIAN SOCIETY
I noted that daily wear of a distinctive, ideally handmade style of dress marks the wearer's identity as runa. Is runa identity fixed? I believe that people at any specific moment are completely clear about their identity, as compared to others around them and to any other potential identity they could assume/represent/display. Over time, however, any such identity may change, a point that was perfectly clear to local users of cloth and observers.

By identity I mean one's status in society, as determined by the intersection of the well-known parameters of gender, race, and class, as well as of age. The definition of status depends in great part on situation and on social class. For example, a member of a small town's middle class may be seen as poor by the urban elite, but as wealthy by rural Andeans. In Bolivia and Peru the terms and concepts of class, race, and ethnicity are used in many ways. I use ethnicity to define a localized group identity, and ethnic group (a social category) as a shorthand for ayllu in the case of the Sakaka. In the contemporary south-central Andes the categories of class, race, and ethnicity often are conflated, or used interchangeably and certainly inconsistently. The categories tend to slide into one another—highland Indians (an ethnic group), often considered a race, usually are members of the peasant class. Non-Indians, though peasants or workers, often are believed to belong to a separate race and a higher class.

If dress codes Sakaka identity, what is it coding? The primary social opposition in much of Andean society is between runa (Indian) and q'ara (non-Indian, from the runa point of view), mediated by the intermediate groups of cholos/cholitas and mestizos/mestizas. At the top of Bolivia's social hierarchy are people who define themselves as creoles (criollos, originally a colonial term for the children of Spaniards born in the New World), or as Spanish, white, or Bolivian. Members of the elite wear a national variant or imported Western-style dress, but men or women may use ponchos (worn by male runa) to symbolize Bolivianness. Next in status, and sometimes overlapping with the elite, are mestizos/mestizas. To de-politicize class identity, many or most non-Indians refer to themselves as mestizos, a Spanish word meaning "mixed blood" (referring to a mix of Spanish and Indian), though they identify themselves as Bolivians. Saying one is "mestizo" implies or imagines a middle-class which in reality exists in ever-dwindling numbers. Mestizos wear less expensive version of elite dress.

Bolivia has the highest percentage in Latin America of runa. In Bolivia to be Indian is usually to be poor and discriminated against by both mestizos and criollos. The category of runa—even highland runa—is not, however, homogeneous or necessarily life-long. There are, obviously, rich runa and poor runa, urban runa and rural runa. Though social mobility is extremely limited and I am not aware of reliable statistics, my impression is that in rural areas such as northern Potosi a percentage of ayllu members regularly change status and cease being runa. The first step is to become cholitas/cholos (urban Indians). This transformation occurs in a (limited) number of ways. The usual route for ayllu Sakaka members is to marry a townsperson, move to the town (of Sacaca), change one's dress, stop weaving, and learn to speak Spanish (along with other changes in behavior). A Sakaka runa woman changes her woven overskirt (aqsu) and woven full black dress (aymilla) (Fig. 2, two women on the left) for a full pleated skirt (pollera) and sweater set (Fig. 2, two girls right of center). The children of former runa, if born and raised in the town of Sacaca, would for the most part be considered townpeople (vecinos). In northern Potosi, and probably throughout much of the south-central Andes, most such marriages take place between peasant women and townsmen.
Other routes for changing status from runa to urban Indian (cholita) or person of mixed-blood (mestiza) also involve a change of residence, such as a move to the mines, where one learns Spanish, wears factory-made dress, and becomes “civilizado” (civilized, the term universally used for this transformation). Peasants in the Lake Titicaca area typically move to El Alto, the capital’s satellite city, where they, or more likely their children, become cholos/cholitas. The social category, or class, of cholo/cholita overlaps mestizos and Indians. Like other social scientists such as Xavier Albo, I translate cholita/cholo as urban Andean (urban “Indian”), as do, I think, most people who would consider themselves members of that group.

Cholos (men) usually wear a variant of Western-style dress, perhaps with a distinctive hat, and may use a scarf, knit cap, and/or poncho. Cholitas (women) wear a particular style of dress, including a shaped felt hat, such as the bowler, several full-pleated skirts, sweater sets, an apron, a mantle, and jewelry. Distinctive dress is important in defining this group; mestiza townswomen also wear polleras and bowler hats, but often of less costly materials (Fig. 2, woman at right). Even relatively well-off cholitas and cholos, some of whom through their commercial activities manage a relatively large amount of money, remain discriminated against by members of Bolivia’s elite and middle classes.

SAKAKA DRESS
I now turn to examples of the different dress styles commonly worn (deployed) by members of ayllu Sakaka. Sakaka “choice” of dress depends on many factors. These include geography, cultural habit, fashion, economic constraints—including access to materials and money—and social status, achieved or desired (“dress for success” in Andean terms). If Sakaka dress codes the experiences of Sakaka, and indexes and symbolizes identity, what are these experiences? Sakaka “distinctive” daily dress, which differs from Western-style dress worn daily by the elite and identifies the Sakaka as runa, includes several sub-styles. These sub-styles throw into question the neat hierarchy of identity I just outlined. The following list of sub-styles is my classification, but the styles correspond to Sakaka distinctions.

1. Handwoven “classic traditional” Indian dress. This sub-style, called runa p’acha (dress of the people, Indian dress), is worn primarily by middle-aged and elderly Sakaka, teenagers from poorer families, and small children whose parents, especially mothers, are particularly interested in weaving. Ayllu members on the eastern edge of Sakaka territory rarely wear this style, because of their warmer climate and because they dress more like their valley neighbors. Thus “classic” Sakaka dress is typically worn by ayllu members in the highland central, western, and southern parts of Sakaka territory.

Sakaka women’s “classic traditional” dress is characterized and symbolized by the handwoven aqsu (overskirt), aymilla (full long dress), and awayu (mantle, or llilqlla in Quechua) (Fig. 2, two women at left). Men’s dress is characterized by handwoven pants, vest and jacket (Fig. 1, standing man at right), and symbolized by the handwoven poncho. In this style embroidery is simple and restricted to narrow bands. An important aesthetic feature is that images (woven and knitted) are enclosed in separate “boxes” (Fig. 2, woman at left), which some authors have likened to Inka tukapu (Gisbert, Arze, and Cajías 1987: 200ff., Figs. 211, 213, 217). This feature is shared by many Llallagua-San Pedro textiles, and contrasts with the “kurti” style described for the Kirkawi (above). I analyze certain aesthetic features of Sakaka dress elsewhere (Zorn 1990).

The makers of this classic traditional dress are, like all Sakaka, indigenous peasant farmers and herders. They live and work in a primarily subsistence and barter domestic economy, with limited market transactions and restricted access to cash. Because of relative poverty, generation, or fashion preference, they handspin and handweave their clothing from sheep wool or llama or alpaca fiber obtained from their own animals or from barter with
travelling herders, who bring camelid fiber as they cross Sakaka territory on the herders’ annual trips from the Oruro or La Paz highlands to the eastern valleys for corn.

The Sakaka do not, however, make all items of their “traditional” dress; components made outside the ayllu that must be purchased include sandals made from recycled rubber-tires and white felt hats (Figs. 1, 2). Made by regional artisans, both items are crafted with subtle differences that vary systematically by ethnic group. For example, while all northern Potosi white peasant hats may appear the same, the Kirkawi (neighbors to the Sakaka) prefer a slightly narrower hat brim. Single workshops seem to produce variants for ayllu-specific consumption. Use of this “classic” or “traditional” Sakaka dress is diminishing, due to the loss of Sakaka heirloom textiles as models, and to the breakdown of the agro-pastoral economy.

2. Handwoven “modern traditional” Indian dress. This sub-style, also called runa p’acha, or moda (fashionable, from the Spanish word moda), is worn primarily by Sakaka teenagers, and by middle-aged people who are more fashion-conscious and/or better off financially than wearers of the previous sub-style (Fig. 1; Fig. 2, young woman second to left). This is the “new” Sakaka style that I analyzed previously (Zorn 1990). The women’s dress still is characterized and symbolized by the handwoven overskirt, full long dress, and mantle. Men wear handwoven pants, vests, and jackets, combined with second-hand factory-made Western-style shirts. Women’s dresses, heavily embroidered at the hem and cuffs, and men’s clothing (Fig. 2, standing men in center), are embroidered by men on sewing machines. Sakaka who dress in this sub-style buy white hats and rubber-tire sandals made outside the ayllu, as do the wearers of the previous sub-style. Unlike “classic” traditional dress, this sub-style is produced using factory-made materials, and incorporates significant aesthetic changes, including color, image, and aesthetic devices

“Modern traditional” textiles are plyed (re-spun) and handwoven from factory-spun synthetic polyester yarns (“lanas”), which the Sakaka purchase in small increments from vendors in the town of Sacaca, or in larger quantities bought retail or sometimes wholesale in the larger cities of Oruro and Cochabamba. The most fashionable dominant colors in 1987-1989 were lime green, called verde lechuga (lettuce green), or limonara (lemonade); lime green replaced white, which was fashionable in the mid-1980s. (Like Femenias (in this volume), I learned to weave with, wear, and love lime green.) There are many reasons for using factory-spun yarns; in general, time saved spinning is invested in weaving and in embroidery (see Seibold in this volume). Aesthetic changes in this sub-style, which I analyze elsewhere in detail (Zorn 1990, 1994), include new images (motorcycles, helicopters), aesthetic devices (gradated rather than sold-block color divisions between warp-pattern-weave stripes), and new weave structures (warp-faced double cloth and supplementary weft warp patterned weave) (Fig. 2, woman second from left; Zorn 1990: Figs. 1, 3). Garments in this sub-style often imitate the sub-style I describe next (see below 3.).

The Sakaka who buy factory-spun yarns generally have greater relative access to cash, which they obtain outside the ayllu and mostly outside the province. Agricultural labor in the town of Sacaca provides some cash; few Sakaka work in the region’s mines. Cash formerly was obtained through seasonal migration to Bolivia’s agricultural regions, but today the major source for cash is the illegal coca/cocaine business in the Chapare, where young peasants such as the Sakaka work as porters and laborers, or coca-leaf “stompers” (men) and cooks (women). A very few Sakaka obtained land titles in the Chapare and grow coca leaf and other crops. Since young Sakaka use money obtained from the illegal coca/cocaine business to buy clothing and weaving and embroidery materials, money from the crack epidemic on U.S. streets (as my co-chair Blenda Femenias succinctly put it) makes this type of “traditional” Sakaka dress possible. The Sakaka also obtain cash by seasonal work in Bolivian cities as porters (men) and low-end resellers of produce such as limes (women); women sometimes beg on city streets. These strategies, almost without exception, do not allow the Sakaka to accumulate cash in any
significant amounts, though the relatively higher wages obtained in the Chapare formerly did make some accumulation possible.

3. Cottage-industry-woven “modern traditional” Indian dress. This sub-style, also called muda and runa p’acha, may be worn by the Sakaka teenagers and older people I just referred to. Nearly all the items of dress in this sub-style are made outside the ayllu, by a cottage industry which appears to have developed in the early 1980s. Cottage-produced garments for women include the full long dress, a skirt (which is a non-traditional item, since runa women usually wear dresses, not skirts and blouses), and for men, jackets, vests, and scarves. These cottage-woven ready-to-wear garments are woven and embroidered in a regional northern Potosí peasant style. This small industry is centered around Llallagua, an abandoned mining city near Bolivia’s great mines, though my preliminary impression is that most producers work in their rural hamlets.

Although this sub-style appears quite different from Sakaka handwoven dress, this visual impression is based on only a few garments—the woman’s skirt and the man’s jacket, which are the best-sellers of the industry (or at least the most frequently purchased by the Sakaka) (Fig. 1, plaid jacket of standing shirtless man at left). The fashionable ready-to-wear synthetic-fiber “traditional” garments of this sub-style are woven from factory-spun polyester yarns (the same as those used for the previous sub-style). Individual garments are elaborately embroidered on treadle sewing machines by male members of a regional cottage industry, run by members of the Laymi ethnic group, who sell to the Sakaka and members of other northern Potosí ayllus. Urban users who wish to (re-)present themselves as Indians typically wear these clothes for masked dances, performed as far away as Peru. The style of this industry’s elaborate embroidery changes regularly, which is why I characterize its production as an indigenous fashion industry; garment cost depends in part on the complexity and size of embroidered motifs.

In this part of the Andes, men make certain textiles and women others. Each sex requires textiles made by the other sex to be completely clothed. The shift in this sub-style takes place in the male realm of textile production; garments formerly made by men in the household are purchased from men who produce in a cottage industry. On the other hand, while certain male-made textiles are available from the Llallagua cottage industry, however, others—the overskirt, mantle, cinta (hatband), poncho, and ch’ulu (knit cap)—continue to be handmade. All of these handmade textiles are produced by women. (Factory-made mantles also can be purchased; see below.)

The Sakaka who wear this sub-style of “modern” “traditional” dress from Llallagua therefore mix hand- and cottage-made garments, with most handmade garments made by women and most cottage-manufactured garments made by men. The handmade garments—especially the mantle, hatband, and knitted cap—mark the wearers as Sakaka. In fact, these textiles continue to be handmade and worn and to mark the users’ ayllu-specific identity when combined with factory-woven cloth in pan-Bolivian-peasant or working-class styles (see below). Like textiles produced by females, styles of embroidery by males also can mark ayllu-specific identity (Fig. 1; contrast the embroidery styles of the reclining man in front with the standing men). A Sakaka woman’s shift from full dress and overskirt to a skirt and blouse or sweater and a man’s shift from handmade to cottage-made jacket and vest symbolize modernity, fashion, and greater relative wealth.

4. Hand- and cottage-industry woven “modern traditional” dress. In a household variant of sub-styles 2. and 3., Sakaka men purchase handwoven yardage from Laymi producers, then sew and embroider the garments in their Sakaka homes, either copying Laymi dress styles, or working in a Sakaka embroidery style (Fig. 2, standing men). This also is called runa p’acha or muda. As an example of the dynamicity of this fashion system market, in 1989
the Laymi, possibly in an effort to reclaim the component of the market which buys only yardage (because of lower price or to customize the (ayllu-specific) embroidery style), began to produce an intermediate product—an unembroidered jacket—which they sold at a price between that of yardage and of embroidered jackets.

The Laymi cottage industry offers, then, four market alternatives with varying mixes of household and cottage production, and with varying implications for the mode of textile production and the identity being marked. The Sakaka can: 1) buy yarns and weave garments (in the household); 2) buy some garments ready-made, with Laymi/generic northern Potosí embroidery styles; 3) buy yardage and sew and embroider the garments in the household, or; 4) buy an unembroidered jacket and embroider the garment in the household. Clearly more cash is required to buy “pret-a-porter” clothing than just yarns. Purchasing only yardage reduces the cost, and increases the opportunity for individual creativity—and community or ayllu differentiation. Purchasing an unembroidered jacket maximizes time-saving and individual/ayllu input and meaning.

5. Synthetic-fiber factory-made urban Indian/regional peasant dress. This sub-style, called cholita or cholo p’acha, is worn primarily by Sakaka schoolchildren, an increasing number of teenagers, and some older people who are better off financially, and more upwardly-mobile, perhaps seeking entry into the cholo/cholita class (Fig. 2, two girls right of center). Young Sakaka, especially, consider this peasant style to be the most “modern” and therefore fashionable. While good quality factory-made peasant-style clothing is expensive, cheap versions cost the same or sometimes less than cottage-woven garments. As an example of the gendering of ethnicity, men’s cholo dress is essentially Western, but women’s cholita dress remains distinctive.

Sakaka who wear factory-made clothing combine these industrially-manufactured garments with at least some “Sakaka” style handmade textiles—and artisan-produced items of dress—for a complete “fashion,” and ethnic, statement. Such mixing allows individuals to symbolize themselves either as Sakaka, or as generic peasants, who are not necessarily Indians. For example, a Sakaka runa woman stops “being,” or representing herself, as Sakaka by replacing her handwoven Sakaka mantle and northern-Potosí-style white hat with a factory-woven mantle and a dark-colored hat such as a bowler (Fig. 2, woman at right). This process of mixing factory- and handwoven items also works in reverse, however. While handwoven mantles typically mark factory-woven dress, factory-woven mantle are considered a fashionable complement to handwoven dress (Zorn 1990).

6. Synthetic-fiber factory-made national working class dress. This sub-style, called q’ara p’acha (non-runa dress) or civil p’acha (civilian or civilized dress), consists of Western-style dress rarely is worn by Sakaka adults in its complete form, which includes shoes and dark-colored hats. The exception is the wedding outfit rented by the town’s vecino godparents for a new Sakaka couple. Some older male Sakaka authorities (often veterans of Bolivia’s Chaco war) may wear an old worn Western-style suit at festivals (without a tie), but in the late 1980s the primary wearers of this essentially Western-style dress were children. What will they wear when they grow up?

SOURCES FOR SAKAKA STYLES
Another way to appreciate the complexity of Sakaka identity is to examine some of the sources for “modern” Sakaka styles. These include technology and aesthetic features from diverse historical periods. I believe that such transformations are part of a long-term process, which began not just with the Spanish invasion, but probably even earlier, at least when the Inkas invaded the Aymara federations of which the Sakaka were part.

Pre-Columbian-type sources that modern Sakaka draw on include:
a) garment forms (the mantle, coca-leaf purse, belt and so forth); b) fibers (camelid, cotton), yarn preparation tools and techniques (drop spindle), and dyes; c) looms and weaving tools; d) images, and; e) weave structures (principally warp-patterned weaves).

Colonial Spanish-type sources that modern Sakaka draw on include: a) Spanish peasant costume items (today worn daily or for fighting in ritual battles) and New World garment forms (the poncho); b) fibers (sheep), yarn preparation tools and techniques (spinning wheel), and dyes; d) images, and; e) textile structures (knitting).

Nineteenth and twentieth century-type sources that modern Sakaka draw on include: a) fibers (synthetic polyester yarns), yarn preparation tools and techniques (industrial spinning), and dyes (aniline): b) garment construction (sewing machines); c) industrially-spun/cottage industry woven yardage in various colors; and manufactured (cottage- and factory-made) clothing, that is, blouses and polleras, white felt hats, and rubber-tire sandals.

The Sakaka appropriate woven and embroidered images from multiple sources, including international, national and regional, and ayllu symbols: National symbols include the national seal, lions from bank notes, owls from school primers, and insignia from army regiments (the latter also representing a more localized identity). Regional symbols include images drawn from mythologies of the devil (Bolivia’s well-known diablada), modernity (helicopter, motorcycle), and self-representation (tinku fighter).

CONCLUSIONS
Within the parameters of gender, class, and race/ethnicity, fashion enters in a variety of ways. The descriptions of different styles are a start towards illustrating the complexity of identity in the south-central Andes. Yet whereas identity is clear at any given moment, dress does not always neatly line up with the identity being demonstrated or claimed. Textiles from one sub-style may be worn with another. A Sakaka woman wearing a dress of sub-style 2. (made from synthetic yarns) may combine with an overskirt made from sheep wool (sub-style 1.) and/or a mantle woven in a factory (sub-style 5.). A Sakaka man may handweave a jacket from synthetic yarn (sub-style 2.) that imitates a jacket purchased from the Laymi cottage industry (sub-style 3.)

Dress in Sakaka, as in much of the Andes and many other parts of the world, remains important for the formation of both individual and group identity. I think that what we see today has been going on for a very long time. Precise use of combinations of elements such as the ones I illustrated makes it possible for the Sakaka to differentiate themselves—or not—from their non-Indian neighbors (vecinos), other peasants, and ayllu (runa) neighbors such as the Kirkawi and the Chayanta, in clear ways, with conscious re-presentation (even if my presentation lacks this clarity). I argue that dress codes the experiences of the Sakaka. Their dress, using diverse materials from varied sources, helps them construct not one “essential” but rather multiple Sakaka identities.

REFERENCES
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CAPTIONS (for Figures on the following two pages)

Fig. 1. Male members of a Sakka hamlet pose for a portrait with their Carnival flutes after participating in the Ayllu Samkha music festival at Mallkuch'api, Potosí, Bolivia, April 1989. The men in the back row (standing) wear runa dress, with age-specific variations (it is unusual that the man on the left is shirtless under his vest and jacket). The men in the middle row (kneeling) wear Western-style, runa, and peasant-style dress. Judging by his sweater and socks/shoes, the man on the left probably is the community’s school teacher. The man in the front (Abel Scinchez) is a promotor who organized the music festival; he wears a complete set of runa clothes, with a jacket custom-embroidered for him. Music festival participants from another community, who are visible in the upper left corner, wait for Zorn to take their picture.

Fig. 2. Women and girls at the outdoor market in the Sacaca town plaza, August 1989 (on the occasion of the August 6th festival of Niño San Salvador. The two women at left wear runa dress; the two girls to the right of center wear peasant-style dress, made ayllu-specific by handwoven Sakaka mantles. All look at the display of factory-woven mantles and factory-woven yarns. The woman on the right is a mestiza townswoman or possibly an itinerant vendor.

1 This paper, and the panel of which it formed a part, is dedicated to Joanne Siegal Brandford.
2 Ayllu can be glossed as ethnic group, polity, community, or kin group, in part depending upon the level of social organization discussed; see Zorn (1994) for the literature on this topic.
3 I am indebted to Cassandra Torrieo and to Ann Peters for insights from our ongoing conversations about visual semiotics and the semiotics of dress.
4 Much of the following discussion about identity in Bolivia can be applied to highland Peru.
5 My thanks to Blenda Femenías for our conversations about ethnicity and identity in Peru.
6 I hope to conduct more research on the topic of this fashion system and cottage industry.
7 My thanks to Gary Urton for his comments on a draft of the TSA paper concerning this point.
Fig. 1. Ayllus Samkha music festival. See previous page for caption.
Fig. 2. Sacaca town market. See end of text for caption.
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Proceedings of the Fourth
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Contact, Crossover, Continuity

*Contact, Crossover, Continuity* highlights the causes and effects of change on textiles around the world from the fourth century B.C. into the future. The types of textiles discussed vary in their artistic style, technical structure, and cultural significance. Many reveal the role of cloth as communicator.

The Proceedings contains the thirty papers presented at the Fourth Biennial Symposium of the Textile Society of America, hosted by the Fowler Museum of Cultural History, University of California, Los Angeles, California, in September, 1994.