



ENLACED AND INTERWOVEN

CLOTHING FROM
SOUTHERN
ABYA YALA



Museum
Fünf Kontinente

Maximilianstraße 42
80538 München
Tue – Sun, 9.30 am – 5.30 pm
museum-fuenf-kontinente.de

VERNETZT VERSTRICKT VERWOBEN

ANZIEHENDES
AUS DEM
SÜDLICHEN
ABYA YALA

Enlaced and Interwoven. Clothing from Southern Abya Yala

Clothing and adornment from various times and regions are presented in this exhibition room, illustrating the aesthetics and artistic diversity of indigenous creativity in Latin America. At the same time they represent ways to master the challenges posed by the environment and by communal life. Clothing can protect from cold and heat, it has the ability to either conceal its wearer from view or to attract glances, it can be either exclusive or inclusive, and can indicate affiliation with a specific group. It has also the potential to mirror world views, power relations, and economic situations, or to make historical developments and processes of negotiation visible. It is subject to change while at the same time being a vehicle of continuity.

The origins of Latin American textile traditions predate the European invasion by millennia, and are closely related to Latin America's chequered history and vibrant present. A small selection of pre-Columbian weaving products gives an impression of their importance in long-ago times. The fusion of indigenous and colonial-European fashions, which at times has a tongue-in-cheek undertone, is represented by creations from the Andes of Bolivia and Peru. Colourful body adornments of the Kayapó in Brazil illustrate the diversity of standards applied to proper clothing. The projection of religious mindscapes onto wearable covers becomes visible in textiles of the Peruvian Shipibo as well as in mask costumes of the Karihona of Columbia. Garments of the Maya of

Guatemala and the Guna of Panama represent the visualisation of changing identities in woven and embroidered patterns. Clothing and jewellery of the Mapuche tell of lasting resistance from the time of Inca expansion to the colonial era and into the present.

Many indigenous philosophers and activists have come to oppose the term "America", which is criticized for being ethnocentric, with **Abya Yala**, "Land in its Full Maturity", a term borrowed from the language of the Guna in what is today Panama. The concept of Abya Yala is setting the direction in terms of self-determination, human rights, and the multifaceted responses of indigenous communities to the encroachment of global markets on their environments

and resources. However, advancements in human rights that were achieved in the past decades are at stake today, and the increasing pressure on indigenous communities has assumed a level that once again threatens their existence.

This exhibition is intended to present examples allowing an impression of the diversity of "getting dressed", and of topics associated with dressing. It was planned and realized by a team of student guest curators in the context of a seminar at the Department of Cultural Anthropology of the LMU, in cooperation with the Museum Fünf Kontinente.

Body Adornment of the Mebêngôkre (Kayapó)

The Mebêngôkre, commonly known by the name of Kayapó, live on the Rio Xingú in north-eastern Brazil. They are famous mainly for their public actions of political protest, in which they often appear with body painting and wearing splendid items of adornment. When colonisation began in the 19th century they earned the reputation of being extremely aggressive, as they were involved in many conflicts some of which were very bloody. Over the years, they made use of that reputation in their rallies for preservation of the rain forests. They gained international attention when leaders such as Raoni Metukire and Paulinho Payakan succeeded in uniting rival indigenous groups and launched a global campaign against the Altamira Dam and for protection of the rain forests in the early 1990s. Celebrities such as pop singer Sting supported them in their struggle. Not only the Mebêngôkre gained publicity in that process but also their body adornments, whose manufacture and use is subject to a strict set of rules. The right to make and wear specific adornments, or to use the raw materials needed to produce them, is bequeathed in a ritual way and to various persons. Hence, in order to gain permission to wear a specific adornment an individual

needs support, or permission, by others – and this means he or she needs to give something in return. In addition, the materials used are believed to be imbued with power and attributes that become transferred to the wearer of the adornments. The rights associated with the adornments are thus regarded as precious and as privileges. Not only perfect craftsmanship is needed in making the adornments but also individual artistic creativity.

Headdress, *àkkàti*

The headdress with long feathers is called “large bird skin” (*àkkàti*). It is made of wing and tail feathers, which are all cut to the same length, of various species of birds. For wearing, the feather adornment is mounted on a horseshoe-shaped support of palm-leaf ribs. It may only be worn by specific persons on clearly defined occasions. In former times people would wear the headdresses without being entitled to do so, which gave rise to many quarrels.

Mebêngôkre/Kayapó, Rio Xingú, north-eastern Brazil, 1960–1993
Feathers (hyacinth macaw and other birds)
Collector/collection: Ernst Josef and

Elise Fittkau, inv. no. 10-332 945

Beaded belt

Mebêngôkre/Kayapó, Rio Xingú, north-eastern Brazil, 1960–1993
Glass beads, cotton
Collector/collection: Ernst Josef and Elise Fittkau, inv. no. 10.333 045

a. Feather headdress

Xikrín, Mebêngôkre/Kayapó, Rio Xingú, north-eastern Brazil, before 1965
Feathers, cotton
Collector: Father Protásio Friel
Collection: Ernst Josef and Elise Fittkau, inv. no. 10-332 932

b. Ear ornament

Mebêngôkre/Kayapó, Rio Xingú, north-eastern Brazil, 1960–1993
Wood, feathers, mussel shells, cotton
Collector/collection: Ernst Josef and Elise Fittkau, inv. no. 10-332 981 a, b

c. “Necktie”

Mebêngôkre/Kayapó, Rio Xingú, north-eastern Brazil, 1960–1993
Feathers, cotton

Collector/collection: Ernst Josef and Elise Fittkau, inv. no. 10-332 987

d. Mussel-shell necklace

Mebêngôkre/Kayapó, Rio Xingú, north-eastern Brazil, 1960–1993
Mussel-shell fragments, palm-wood beads
Collector/collection: Ernst Josef and Elise Fittkau, inv. no. 10-332 991

e. Carrying sling

Mekranotí, Mebêngôkre/Kayapó, Rio Xingú, north-eastern Brazil, 1960–1993
Buruti palm material, feathers, feather-quill sticks
Collector/collection: Ernst Josef and Elise Fittkau, inv. no. 10-332 012

f. Necklace with feathers

Xikrín, Mebêngôkre/Kayapó, Rio Xingú, north-eastern Brazil, before 1965
Cotton, feathers, sticks, seeds, seed coats
Collector: Father Protásio Friel
Collection: Ernst Josef and Elise Fittkau, inv. no. 10-332 010

g. Ring-shaped bracelets

Xikrín, Mebêngôkre/Kayapó, Rio Xingú, north-eastern Brazil, before 1965
Cotton, parrot feathers, cotton thread
Collector: Father Protásio Friel
Collection: Ernst Josef and Elise Fittkau, inv. no. 10-333 031 a, b

The objects from the Xikrín were acquired by Günther Protásio Friel, a missionary and cultural anthropologist. In 1962 he witnessed a process of rapid cultural change in a Xikrín village that had recently come into contact with neo-Brazilians. While some Xikrín wanted to maintain their distance, others adapted culturally to Brazilian society. This caused discord and led to splits within many groups of the Mebêngôkre/Kayapó.

h. Bast-fibre bracelets

Kuben-Kran-Kêgn, Mebêngôkre/Kayapó, Ríó Xingú, north-eastern Brazil, 1960–1993

Tree bast fibre, collector/collection: Ernst Josef and Elise Fittkau, inv. no. 10-133 035 a, b

i. Rattling belt

Mekranotí, Mebêngôkre/Kayapó, Ríó Xingú, north-eastern Brazil, 1960–1993

Palm-fibre mesh, tapir hoofs

Collector/collection: Ernst Josef and Elise Fittkau, inv. no. 10-133 040

j. Cotton ribbon

Replica

k. Rattling anklets

Kuben-Kran-Kêgn, Mebêngôkre/Kaya-

pó, Ríó Xingú, north-eastern Brazil, 1960–1993

Cotton thread, feather quills, Brazil nut shells, collector/collection: Ernst Josef and Elise Fittkau, inv. no. 10-133 090 a, b

Lip ornament

The toucan beak is an ornamental object worn in the lower lip, and is additionally fastened to the teeth with reeds. Because of the absence of lip piercings it is nowadays mostly clasped between the teeth like a pipe stem. When men quarrelled at rituals in former days, they would break the beak and use it to scratch and injure the arms of their adversaries.

Kuben-Kran-Kêgn, Mebêngôkre/Kayapó, Ríó Xingú, north-eastern Brazil, 1960–1993

Plant material, feathers, toucan beak

Collector/collection: Ernst Josef and Elise Fittkau, inv. no. 10-132 982

Lip disc

Kuben-Kran-Kêgn, Mebêngôkre/Kayapó, Ríó Xingú, north-eastern Brazil, 1960–1993

Wood

Collector/collection: Ernst Josef and Elise Fittkau, inv. no. 10-132 971

Ear plugs

Among the Mebêngôkre/Kayapó, ear and lip ornaments have profound symbolic meaning that arises from their concept of listening and talking. Listening is equated with the absorption and acquisition of knowledge. This means that those who have heard something are people who have learned something or know something. To open children's ears for the oral transmission of knowledge, their earlobes are pierced after they are born. These openings are repeatedly widened throughout childhood; they are a symbolic second auditory canal supposed to foster learning and knowledge. Wooden plugs are usually worn in everyday life. Only in the context of special rituals are people allowed to wear plugs made of feathers and mussel shells.

The symbolic meaning of lip ornaments is similar. However, only boys get their lower lip pierced after birth, and the opening is repeatedly widened until they are old enough to marry. Lip ornaments accentuate speech or, more precisely, the art of speaking. This is the most important art of persuasion used by the leaders. As it is exclusively men who lead the village communities, women are not allowed to wear lip ornaments. Today, large lip ornaments

are no longer very popular among young men.

Mebêngôkre/Kayapó, Ríó Xingú, north-eastern Brazil, 1960–1993

Wood

Collector/collection: Ernst Josef and Elise Fittkau, inv. no. 10-132 978 a, b

1. Mussel-shell necklace

In a time-consuming process, the mussel-shell pieces are ground into shape on a stone and then threaded on cotton strings. It is important that the mussel-shell discs are as uniform as possible. Such necklaces exist in various versions. To wear them, people need to hold specific ritual privileges that differ for the various types of necklaces. Rights to this kind of adornment are particularly rare and precious, and are thus bequeathed on only few relatives. The owners of these privileges are allowed to wear such necklaces on almost every occasion. The necklaces enjoy particular popularity among bachelors who use these extraordinary ornaments to make an impression on women. Due to the strong odour of mussel shells and the power associated with it, wearing shells on the body is viewed as being fraught with danger. This is why people never

put on such necklaces when they are ill, and also refrain from wearing them when close relatives of theirs are ailing. According to Paulinho Payakan, the necklace on exhibit here was made by his father, the leader Kanyok. Paulinho Payakan played an important role in the protest against the Altamira Dam in Brazil in the 1980s and 1990s. In June 2020, he died at about sixty-five as a result of a Covid-19 infection.

Gototire, Mebêngôkre/Kayapó, Ríó Xingú, north-eastern Brazil, before 1974
Seeds, mussel shells
Collector/collection: Ernst Josef and Elise Fittkau, inv. no. 10-132 992

2. Necklace with feather quills

Mebêngôkre/Kayapó, Ríó Xingú, north-eastern Brazil, 1960–1993
Cotton thread, feather quills
Collector/collection: Ernst Josef and Elise Fittkau, inv. no. 10-133 000

3. Necklace of seeds and feather quills

Txukahamai, Mebêngôkre/Kayapó, Ríó Xingú, north-eastern Brazil, 1960–1993
Cotton thread, hormosia seeds, feather quills, Collector/collection: Ernst Josef and Elise Fittkau, inv. no. 10-333 001

Bracelets (plaited)

Txukahamai, Mebêngôkre/Kayapó, Ríó

Xingú, north-eastern Brazil, 1960–1993
Seeds, beads, seed capsules, macaw feathers
Collector/collection: Ernst Josef and Elise Fittkau, inv. no. 10-333 025 a, b

Feather headdresses

Mebêngôkre/Kayapó, Ríó Xingú, north-eastern Brazil, 1960–1993
Cotton, feathers
Collector/collection: Ernst Josef and Elise Fittkau, inv. nos. 10-332 954, 10-332 957, 10-332 958

“Neckties”

Mebêngôkre/Kayapó, Ríó Xingú, north-eastern Brazil, 1960–1993
Cotton, feathers
Collector/collection: Ernst Josef and Elise Fittkau, inv. nos. 10-332 984, 10-332 985, 10-132 986, 10-332 989

Back ornament

Kuben-Kran-Kêgn, Mebêngôkre/Kayapó, Ríó Xingú, north-eastern Brazil, 1960–1993
Cotton thread, stemmed macaw feathers
Collector/collection: Ernst Josef and

The Shipibo-Conibo: Contested Patterns

The reality of the Shipibo-Conibo on the Ríó Ucayali in Peru is interwoven with patterns that are largely invisible in everyday life. They only reveal themselves when psychoactive plant substances are consumed. The best known of these is a decoction from ayahuasca (Banisteriopsis caapi) and the leaves of Psychotria viridis. The patterns consist of broad lines (*kanoa*), which serve as the pillars supporting the structure of the world above, and thin lines (*kené*). The thin lines are associated with humans as well as with many spirit beings, such as ani ronin, the Great Boa. Kené is today used to refer to the patterns formed by both types of lines; they are a synaesthetic phenomenon that is also associated with curing songs (*icaros*) or fragrances.

Until a few decades ago, the subsistence of the Shipibo-Conibo was mainly based on their plantations and on fishing. Today their environment is endangered by deforestation and agroindustry, climate change, and concessions granted to oil companies. At the same time, tourism brings opportunities and changes.

The arts and crafts trade is thriving, and ayahuasca has become a fashion drug. Male and female ritual specialists, called *onanyas*, at times give treatment

to foreign clients while neglecting their role in Shipibo-Conibo society. The social gap is becoming wider, rituals and narratives are adapted to a new clientele. This results in a struggle both for authenticity and for representative power.

Ceremonial pottery, *ani chomo*

This type of vessel is used to prepare and store alcoholic beverages on festive occasions. The vessels are made without use of a potter’s wheel in a process that takes several weeks.

The painted decoration represents the tiers of the cosmos: The lower third of the vessel’s body remains unpainted. It symbolizes the Lower World or Water World whose inhabitants are hostile and not distinguished by any patterns. When the *chomo* is in use, that lower part is buried in the ground so as to keep the beverage cool. The border to the Upper World runs along the widest part of the *chomo*’s body; it is the territory of *ani ronin*, the Great Boa which lies coiled around the human world and the ocean. The Upper World on the shoulder of the vessel features the structure supporting the sky, as well

as dwellings of supernatural beings. The highest cosmic sphere can be seen on the neck of the vessel – the apex of awareness, or the home of the supreme beings. This part of the cosmos is always bright-coloured and has the most delicate patterns. It is visited by beings such as *pino ehua*, the Hummingbird Spirit.

The religious specialists (*onanyas*) travel to these Upper Worlds to learn new patterns or to enter into negotiations with the beings that dwell there.

Shipibo, Ucayali, Peru, 1963–1992

Clay, engobe

Collector/collection: Ernst Josef and Elise Fittkau, inv. no. 10-333 569

Man's tunic, *tari*

Tari are also commonly referred to by the Quechua word *cushma*. Today they are mainly worn on festive and representative occasions.

Shipibo, Puerto Firmeza, Lago Yarinacocha, Peru, before 2015

Cotton, painted

Maker: Comunidad Indígena Puerto Firmeza

Collector/collection: Anka Krämer de Huerta, inv. no. 2015-15-3

Head ornament, *maiti*

Such headdresses are worn by both men and women on festive occasions. The word *maiti* also refers to the halo surrounding the heads of healers who are particularly powerful or knowledgeable. Shipibo, Puerto Firmeza, Lago Yarinacocha, Peru, before 2015, Cotton, seed capsules, glass beads, cardboard
Maker: Comunidad Indígena Puerto Firmeza, collector/collection: Anka Krämer de Huerta, inv. no. 2015-14-5

Chest ornament, *resho teoti*

The *kené* patterns are also transferred to beadwork such as bracelets or chest ornaments like the one on display.

The collector, zoologist Prof. Dr. Ernst Josef Fittkau, conducted research in various regions of Amazonia. At times he was assisted by his wife, Elise Fittkau. His interest in the indigenous peoples and his close contact with them led him to compile a comprehensive collection of everyday items, which the Museum Fünf Kontinente was able to acquire in 2009/2010.

Shipibo, Ucayali, Peru, 1963–1992

Glass beads, aluminium discs, plant seeds, bone tubules

Collector/collection: Ernst Josef and Elise Fittkau, inv. no. 10-133 663

Women's wraparound skirt, *chitonti*

The skirt is embroidered with *kené* patterns. The small serrated lines are inspired by piranha teeth, and called *make tetá kené*.

Shipibo, Ucayali, Peru, 1963–1992

Cotton fabric, embroidered

Collector/collection: Ernst Josef and Elise Fittkau, inv. no. 10-333 618

Dolls (pair)

The man is wearing the men's tunic *tari*, the headband *maiti*, a beaded neckband *teoti*, and a nose ornament. The woman is wearing the wraparound skirt *chitonti*, a necklace, as well as earrings and a nose ornament. The bare upper body of the woman, painted with *kené*, is unusual. Only married women will sometimes go without a blouse, particularly when they are breast-feeding a baby.

Shipibo, Ucayali, Peru, 1963–1992

Balsa wood (painted), cotton

Collector/collection: Ernst Josef and Elise Fittkau, inv. no. 10-333 696 a, b

Combs, *boexeti*

In former times, combs were often presented to women by men as gifts of love.

Shipibo, Ucayali, Peru, 1963–1992

Wood, plant fibres

Collector/collection: Ernst Josef and Elise Fittkau, inv. nos. 10-333 653, 10-333 656, 10-333 657

Bracelets, *jonxe*

To signal their love, women formerly used to present men with hand-made bracelets.

1–2 Shipibo, Ucayali, Peru, 1963–1992

Cotton, monkey teeth

Collector/collection: Ernst Josef and Elise Fittkau, inv. nos. 10-333 641, 10-333 648

3 Shipibo, Lago Yarinacocha, Peru, 2014

Seed capsules, glass beads, nylon thread
Maker: Elsa Renfio, Yarinacocha, Pucallpa, Peru

Collector/collection: Anka Krämer de Huerta, inv. no. 2015-14-6

Cylinder stamp

On festive occasions the Shipibo adorn their bodies – usually face, hands, and legs – with *kené* patterns. Cylinder stamps are sometimes used for that purpose.

Shipibo, Ucayali, Peru, 1963–1992
Wood

Collector/collection: Ernst Josef and Elise Fittkau, inv. no. 10-333 658

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Tablecloth

Tablecloths of various sizes are usually made for sale. The cloth on exhibit shows an armadillo surrounded by *kené* patterns. The mythical Armadillo Being is viewed as a helper, and sometimes invoked in curing songs.

Shipibo, Ucayali, Peru, 2nd half 20th century
Cotton

Collector/collection: Elisabeth Kalko, inv. no. 14-337 897

Purse

Women keep their money in such embroidered purses.

Shipibo, Puerto Firmeza, Lago Yarinacocha, Peru, before 2015

Cotton, synthetic yarn

Maker: Comunidad Indígena Puerto Firmeza

Collector/collection: Anka Krämer de Huerta, inv. no. 2015-14-11

The Maya in Guatemala – Identities in Transformation

Common features as well as differences are expressed by the styles and ornaments of the traditional costumes worn by the various Maya groups in Guatemala, Mexico, Belize, Honduras, and El Salvador. These costumes have repeatedly undergone pronounced change. While such cultural representation has the potential of strengthening and communicating a sense of community, it is also prone to create marginalisation. As a result, the manner of representation frequently transforms along with changes in people's sense of belonging, or with isolation and alienation within society. The Maya, who are made up of various language groups, are united by a shared culture of remembrance with regard to the horrors experienced since the beginning of the colonial era. Continuing discrimination gave rise to solidarity, and a Pan-Maya movement (*movimiento maya*) emerged from the mid-1990s onward in the wake of the peace process in Guatemala.

In the 1960s, armed conflict between the Guatemalan military and leftist insurgents resulted in a dirty war that was to last for more than 30 years.

The indigenous population, which was generally suspected of supporting the guerrilla, became targeted for repression by the military. In 1982, when

the goriest phase of the civil war was over, entire villages had become wiped out. 80 per cent of the victims of that genocide were Maya. Regional costume styles blended as a result of flight and displacement. In other cases people deliberately modified their costumes so as to obscure their places of origin. It was only when the peace agreements were signed in 1996 that protection of the indigenous peoples and their cultures became enshrined in the constitution. This was done to acknowledge the pluriculturality, multiethnicity, and multilinguality of the population of Guatemala

Is it possible to blur the lines between ethnic groups without causing cultural identities to disappear? What does a look into the mirror reveal?

Photo: Woman using a waist loom to weave a red-coloured women's costume. Zacualpa, 1980. Photo: Sigrid Schacht

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Women's costume

The tops, called *huipiles*, are the most important component of Maya costumes. In a time-consuming process, they are handmade by women using waist

looms. In addition to the huipil, women wear a long skirt secured with a belt. Their hair is tied up with long ribbons. In their patterns and colours, everyday huipiles differ from those worn on special occasions such as ceremonies, festivities, or mourning. The men's costume is no longer common today due to influences from the outside and its expensive manufacture.

Top, skirt, belt, ribbon

Mam, Huehuetenango, Colotenango, Guatemala, 1975–2001,

Cotton, polyacrylic

Collection/collector: Sigrid Schacht, inv. no. 11-335 363 a, c, d, e

Mourner's huipil

Women who are in mourning often wear huipiles in shades of dark blue.

The number of deaths increased dramatically in the course of the armed hostilities in Guatemala (1960–1990), which have come to be called a dirty war against the indigenous population. About half of the victims, who according to the U.N. numbered about 200.000, were killed by the military and paramilitary units under General Efraín Ríos Montt between March 1982 and

August 1983. Ríos Montt was the first former head of state to be convicted by a court in his own country for genocide and crimes against humanity. Only ten days after the sentence had been proclaimed in 2013, Guatemala's constitutional court annulled the judgment due to procedural errors.

Quiché, El Quiché, San Juan Cotzal, Guatemala, before 1994

Cotton, cotton yarn, Collector/collection: Sigrid Schacht, inv. no. 11-335 337

Two huipiles for girls (2 & 5 years old)

Cakchiquel, Sacatepéquez, San Antonio Aguascalientes, Guatemala, before 2007

Cotton, velvet,

Collector/collection: Gunhild Avitabile, inv. nos. 07-328 537, 07-328 638

Women's hair ribbons

1 Maya, Mexico, before 1910

Cotton, silk, metal lamella

Collector/collection: Walter Lehmann, inv. no. 10-1211

2 Maya, Guatemala, before 1935

Cotton, hair, wool

Collector/collection: Mrs Colonel von Pfistermeister, inv. no. 35-13-18

3 Maya, Huehuetenango, Jacaltenango, Guatemala, 1975–2003

Cotton

Collector/collection: Sigrid Schacht, inv. no. 11-35 356

4 Maya, Huehuetenango, Aguacatan, Guatemala, before 2013

Cotton, Lurex thread

Collector/collection: Helga Potthast, inv. nos. 13-336 874, 13-336 875

Travelling Masks and People

Hood masks and costumes made of bast fibre are used by many ethnic groups in northern Amazonia. These stunning cloaks of ritual transformation were brought to Europe by various explorers and travellers. They were usually utilized only once and then discarded and left to decay. To sell them instead of discarding offered the opportunity to obtain trade goods without investing much effort.

The oldest preserved mask(costumes) include those acquired by Johann Baptist von Spix and Carl Philipp von Martius when they travelled in Brazil (1817–1820). Their itinerary followed established trade routes, in whose contact zones many villages were inhabited by members of various indigenous groups as well as by descendants of Portuguese immigrants. The local population was thus familiar with the interests and cravings of foreign guests. Not every deal made by the two explorers on their journey was as unproblematic as the acquisition of the mask costumes. While Brazil was formally no longer a colony at the time, colonial structures had given rise to human trafficking. Some indigenous leaders profited from the continuing trade in humans by selling prisoners of war. That way, Martius became the “owner”

of several children. Only two of these, a girl and a boy, survived the trip back to Munich where both of them died within few months. Martius recorded several contradictory versions of the circumstances of that “purchase”. Regardless of which version is true, it is unlikely that the children were asked for their consent.

Mask: Storm Being

As the Juri vanished from the scene only a few decades after these crest masks were bought, there are few reports both on them and on the exact meaning of the masks. Martius described the Juri as peaceful people some of whom were working for the immigrants. There is now evidence that a small part of the Juri population retreated to the forests from the mid 1800s onward, and that their descendants are now found among those groups that have chosen to live in isolation. Due to the current developments, the survival of the isolated groups is again at risk.

Juri Taboca, Uarivarú village on the Río Yapurá, Brazil, before 1819
Tree bast of a ficus species, painted
Collector: Carl Ph. Von Martius
Collection: Spix and Martius, inv. no. 385

Mask costume: Serpent or Tree Being

Spix had attended a procession of masked dancers on the occasion of a hair-cutting ceremony held for a girl. He subsequently bought several mask costumes including the one on exhibit.

Tikuna, Tabatinga on the Río Yavary, Brazil, before 1819
Bast fibre of a ficus species, painted
Collector: Johann B. von Spix
Collection: Spix and Martius, inv. no. 380

Kubeo, Namokoliba on the Río Cuduiary, Brazil, before 1906

Bark fibre, paint, plant fibres, feathers
Collector: Theodor Koch-Grünberg
Collection: Therese, Princess of Bavaria, inv. no. 26-T-844

Miniature mask costume: Giant

The Giant, *hailäkö*, is one of many forest-dwelling beings believed to be dangerous. One of the reasons for holding mask feasts was to “tame” these sylvan beings, at least to a certain extent. Theodor Koch-Grünberg had brought back several of these very small mask costumes from his expeditions in north-western Amazonia, and gave five of them to Therese of Bavaria. They were probably made in miniature because it was easier for Koch-Grünberg to transport such diminutive versions. While children’s toys in the form of miniature mask costumes existed at the time, they were made of corn husks.

Mask Costumes of the Karihona

When anthropologist Helmut Schindler arrived in the village of Puerto Nare on the Río Vaupés in the early 1970s, the last mask feast had been held a long time ago. Nevertheless, knowledge about making and using ceremonial mask costumes was still very much alive.

The anthropologist and the villagers agreed that it was about time to make preparations for a mask-feast revival.

The results – the mask costumes, lyrics of songs, and photographs – were sent by the researcher to professor Otto

Zerries at the Museum Fünf Kontinente in Munich. The Carib-speaking Karihona live in the lowlands of southern Columbia. In their language, Karihona means “human beings” or “people”.

The main occasion for the mask feasts of the Karihona was the harvest of the tree fruits – which are used to make an alcoholic beverage – of the peach palm. The wearers of the masks, as well as visitors from other villages, were regaled with palm fruits and smoked food.

In the mythology and beliefs of the Karihona, making and wearing the plant-fibre mask costumes is not without danger, as the bark fibres used are imbued with the life power called *akürü*. The respect paid not only the *akürü* of the tree bast but also the *itutarü* (Forest Beings) becomes apparent

from the protective measures taken. For example, the red dye used for the mask costumes, which is extracted from chiote seeds, is blown on by a religious specialist so as to weaken the harmful power of the Iwo (spirit of the dead) and to protect the living.

Mask costume: female *itutarü* (Forest Being)

The *itutarü* (*itu*: forest, *ari*: leaf) are divine beings of the forest. According to oral traditions, the crop plants that are still the basis of Karihona subsistence (most importantly manioc) emerged from the dismembered body of the *itutarü* in mythical times.

There is evidence that industrial products and semi-finished products (bottoms of tubular batteries, fragments of mirrors) were used as early as in the mid-19th century. Their use is thus not a modern phenomenon but a tradition that is more than 150 years or even several centuries old. The triangular ear pendant is reminiscent of the metal ornaments of earlier times that used to be worn by men.

Karihona, Puerto Nare, Río Vaupés, Colombia, before 1972

Bast fibre, paint, mirror fragments, bottoms of batteries, metal ornaments
Collector/collection: Helmut Schindler, inv. no. 72-3-2

Mask costume: male *itutarü* (Forest Being)

The impetus for making *itutarü* mask costumes are encounters with the *itutarü* (also called “Lord, or Lady, of the Animals”), who reveals himself/herself to the religious specialists in dreams and visions. Such encounters also enable the shamans to induce the *itutarü* to send game animals to the humans. At the mask feast, the *itutarü* carries a club or bludgeon with which he threatens those participants who dare to deride him. In addition, he invariably has a cigar-like object in his mouth. *Itutarü* are considered dangerous and need to be pacified with gifts. The end and highlight of the mask feast is a banquet: the *itutarü* couple enters the community house accompanied by dancing and singing.

Karihona, Puerto Nare, Río Vaupés, Colombia, before 1972

Bast fibre, paint, feathers, seed capsules, achiote seeds, plant fibres
Collector/collection: Helmut Schindler, inv. no. 72-3-1

Mask costume: Ocelot

As in many other parts of Latin America, the ocelot is a key symbolic figure among the Karihona, representing knowledge and power. The eyes made of pieces of mirrors are a conspicuous feature of this mask. They imitate the light-reflecting surface that makes the eyes of predatory cats “glow” in the dark. The emphasis on the eyes also serves to evoke awe and respect.

The ocelot mask costume is but one of many ceremonial animal mask costumes that appear in pairs in the mask feasts of the Karihona. They include female and male sloths, dung beetles (*hümü*), and deer (*kadyakö*).

Karihona, Puerto Nare, Río Vaupés, Colombia, before 1971

Bast fibre, paint, pieces of mirror
Collector/collection: Helmut Schindler, inv. no. 71-7-1

Bark trumpet

The trumpet’s name *notihüimü* (“the great old woman”) probably alludes to the female creator deity and first owner

of such instruments found among neighbouring groups, from which the Karihona adopted the bark trumpets. The bark trumpet is blown when mask feasts are held.

Karihona, Puerto Nare, Río Vaupés, Colombia, 1971

Balsa wood tube (*Ochroma* sp. or *Inga* spp.), plant fibres, bark bast

Makers: Marco Tulio Valencia (* ca. 1940, † ca. 2011, Villavicencio; of the werewereru clan) and Delio Carijona (†, son of the shaman Baldomero Carijona, † 1982, and his wife Evelia of the kaikuciyama clan)

Collector/collection: Helmut Schindler, inv. no. 85-306 098

Guna Life Worlds

Guna Yala, the Land of the Guna, is a province of Panama. This is where most Guna (35.000 people) live today. Others inhabit the smaller districts of Wargandi and Madungandi as well as two small villages in Colombia. While the dense Darién rain forest on the mainland was their original home, most Guna now live scattered on islands off the coast of *Guna Yala* (San Blas Archipelago) as well as in Panama's big cities.

Many indigenous groups in Latin America view the Guna as a role model because they successfully resisted the reign of violence of the Panamanian police in 1925. Since the conclusion of the peace treaty of 1938, they have had a clearly defined territory and an autonomous administration. One of their most important accomplishments was to re-establish women's right to wear their traditional hand-made *mola* blouses. *Mola* – or, in the Guna language, *morak* – is the term used for both the rectangular pieces of needlework and the blouses on which they are appliquéd. Dressed in that colourful garb, the women represent Mother Earth. The origin of the patterns is told in a myth: A long time ago, a woman named Nebagiryai was able to travel to other spheres in her dreams. While doing so, she was the first to discover

the patterns underlying nature. Still today, inspiration for *mola* designs is found in nature but also in everyday utensils, myths, political events, and even characters appearing in television shows. By producing the *molos* which are now being sold all over the world, the women have become important economic supporters of their families. *Molas* are thus not only clothing but also markers of cultural identity and a means of economic success.

The Guna believe that the cosmos is in a state of balance that needs to be maintained. This principle is found in clothing as well as in the relations between the genders and between humans and Earth. However, their striving for a life in balance with nature is now thwarted by the challenges posed by climate change. Before long, the rising sea level will make the islands uninhabitable. Additional problems are posed by decreasing fish populations and plastic waste washed ashore.

Photo:

Waste washed ashore on Mamitupu Island, Guna Yala (San Blas Archipelago), 2019. Photo: Jenevora Swann

Mola blouse

According to oral tradition, the patterns were originally painted on the human body, then on bast-fibre clothing, and eventually sewn using cotton fabric. *Molas* are almost exclusively handmade by the women, and making a *mola* takes several weeks. The blouses are combined with colourfully patterned wraparound skirts, beadwork bracelets and anklets, a scarf around the head, as well as jewellery and a nose ring made of gold. As modern blouses have usually a contoured fit, the loose fit of this blouse suggests that it is an older style.

Guna, Panama, before 1963
Cotton, collector/collection: Angermann, inv. no. 63-19-1

Mola

Guna, Panama
Cotton, collector/collection: Corinna Schlüter-Ellner, inv. no. 05-326 929

Mola with soldier and tank

Guna, Panama
Cotton, collector/collection: Corinna Schlüter-Ellner, inv. no. 05-326 928

Mola

Guna, Panama, ca. 1950

Cotton, collector/collection: Helmut Richter, inv. no. 09-329 407

Mola *gole igar*

Guna, Colombia, 1965
Cotton, collector/collection: Ernst Josef and Elise Fittkau, inv. no. 10-330 853

Mola

Guna of Uraba, Antioquia, Colombia
Cotton, collector/collection: Larry Schafer, inv. no. 13-336 697

Mola

Guna, Panama, ca. 1950
Cotton, collector/collection: Helmut Richter, inv. no. 09-329 406

Mola

Guna, Panama, 2nd half 20th century
Cotton, collector/collection: Elisabeth Kalko, inv. no. 14-337 902

Mola

Guna, Panama, 2nd half 20th century
Cotton, collector/collection: Elisabeth Kalko, inv. no. 14.337 909

Mola Botanica

Guna, Panama, 2nd half 20th century
Cotton, collector/collection: Elisabeth

Kalko, inv. no. 14-337 920

Mola

Guna, Panama, 2nd half 20th century
Cotton, collector/collection: Elisabeth Kalko, inv. no. 14-337 927

Mola

Guna, Panama, 2nd half 20th century
Cotton, collector/collection: Elisabeth Kalko, inv. no. 14-337 924

Mola

Guna, Panama, 2nd half 20th century
Cotton, collector/collection: Elisabeth Kalko, inv. no. 14-337 910

Soldier in a tank



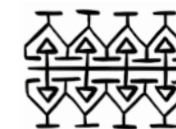
When the Panama Canal was built and later during World War II, the Guna were in close contact with U.S. soldiers. This was when the Guna first sold *molas* on request. They adapted the motifs on the *molas* to the buyers' taste for better saleability. With the increase of tourism in Panama from the 1960s onward, *molas* came to be marketed and are now an important source of income for many Guna women.

Gole igar – the tracks of the hermit crab



This geometric design is called *gole igar* by the Guna. It is supposed to imitate the tracks left in the sand by a hermit crab as it scuttles along the beach. *Gole igar*, of which there exist several versions, is an ancient and frequently used pattern. The reduction of colours and details in the mola on exhibit suggests that it is an older specimen.

Mola Botanica



This *mola* is inspired by a plant used by the Guna for medical purposes. Such officinal plants are processed by medical and religious specialists, the *ina duled*. The sap of roots may be extracted, or leaves may be soaked for several days. They are then administered in sessions that usually also include curing songs.

Woven Messages from the Past

Due to their state of preservation, which is often amazingly good, textiles from ancient Peru give us glimpses of past pictorial worlds. Some woven fabrics found in graves in the coastal region were made in the first millennium BC. The desert soil and sea air were conducive to the preservation of textiles. There are similarities in portrayals of supernatural beings over large distances in space and time, and depictions of animals from the rain-forest region on the other side of the Andes reveal a lively exchange between the culture areas. There is evidence from the Inca period (AD 1100–1533) that much value was attached to exquisite textiles. According to early colonial sources, weaving them was a time-consuming and sophisticated process. Making one garment would sometimes occupy several generations of specialized weavers. The sources also praise the clothing of the Inca nobility, and stress that its quality and delicateness surpassed those of European products of the time. However, not all inhabitants of ancient Peru dressed so lavishly. Besides very elaborate fabrics, archaeological excavations unearth many textiles that are much plainer. Most surviving pieces are from graves of

people who lived long before the era of the Inca. This is because a large part of the riches of Inca culture fell victim to the destructive frenzy of the conquistadors.

Textile fragment of a shroud

The textile fragment shows a being with anthropomorphic features, strikingly large eyes, and wearing a forehead mask or head covering. Serrated serpent bodies connect the figure with several smaller beings and animals. A spider can be identified in the upper right corner. The colour scheme, the weaving technique, and the serpents connected to the being's body are typical of the Paracas culture (700 BC–AD 200), as is the shape of headgear worn by the figure. The latter is probably either a mythical being or a human who is in contact with mythical beings, possibly with the help of hallucinogenic substances. An almost identical fragment is found in the Textile Museum in Washington. Both pieces may once have been part of the border of the same shroud. They were not excavated in an authorized archaeological dig but bought on the

arts market. It is thus not possible to tell whether the shroud was already fragmented when found, or whether it was cut apart later. In the 19th and 20th centuries, collectors and traders would sometimes cut larger textiles into pieces so as to sell the fragments to several buyers. Paracas, Peru, southern coast, 200 BC–AD 100, Camelid hair Collector/collection: Engelbert Hardt, inv. no. 35-9-1

Braid with blossoms and birds

The braid, which features alternating three-dimensional small flowers and birds, was probably the border of a larger, rectangular textile. The colourful and accurate rendition of the small figures is awesome. Border braids of this type are frequently found in the transitional period between the Paracas (700 BC–AD 200) and Nazca cultures (100 BC–AD 700). The piece was excavated by Heinrich Ubbelohde-Doering in the Nazca region. Nazca region, Peru, southern coast, 200 BC–AD 100, Dyed camelid hair Collector/collection: Heinrich Ubbelohde-Doering, inv. no. X-472

Border fragment of a textile

The collection of the Museum Fünf Kontinente includes several borders in identical style. All of them feature these serpent patterns, and it is likely that they were originally appliquéd on the same larger textile. Between the snakes frogs and other small animals appear. Inside the snakes themselves, the zigzag meanders typical of Paracas are recognizable. Paracas, Peru, southern coast, 600 BC–AD 100, Camelid wool, hair Collector/collection: Heinrich Hardt, inv. no. 34-41-11, b

Poncho or shroud

The arrangement of the borders with their anthropomorphic figures and serpents suggests that this is a shroud from the Paracas culture. However, its small size and the opening in the centre indicate that it may rather be a poncho. Paracas, Peru, southern coast, 600 BC–AD 100, Wool, hair Collector/collection: Volker Hartmann, inv. no. 78-300 449

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Stately garment, *uncu*

Splendid tunics such as this *uncu* were reserved to the elite in the Inca period, and often awarded as “orders of merit”. Their patterns – in this case the so-called “Inca key” – were indicative of the social rank and functions of their wearers. Compared to the textile art of the predecessor cultures, the clothing of the Inca era was characterized by simpler, clearly defined patterns.

Inca, Los Majuelos, Río Grande de Nazca, AD 1400–1540

Camelid hair

Collector/collection: Heinrich Ubbelohde-Doering, inv. no. X-447

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Four-pointed hat

This typical headgear of the Wari period is decorated with camelids on all four sides, which may allude to the profession of its former wearer. In size, the sphere of influence of Wari culture was similar to that of the Inca several centuries later. Like the Inca empire it extended over the three vegetation zones of the region: the coast, the Andean

highlands, and the tropical lowlands. The centre of Wari culture was situated near today’s provincial capital of Huamanga.

Wari, Peru, southern coast, AD 700–900

Camelid hair, cotton

Collector/collection: Heinrich Ubbelohde-Doering, inv. no. X-852

Mapuche: The Fabric of Resistance

The Mapuche – whose name translates as „People of the Earth” – put up long and successful resistance first against the expansion of the Inca and then against the Spaniards’ attempts of conquest. At the same time, they adopted elements of their adversaries’ cultures, such as horse-riding and animal husbandry. Inca and colonial Spanish influence is also evident in their clothing and jewellery.

After Chile had become independent in 1810, large parts of the Mapuche’s territory were annexed. Their land holdings were further reduced by land-grab by Chilean and German settlers, seizure of land due to over-indebtedness, and “voluntary” land sales. This economic pressure caused many families to break apart. To counteract that situation, the Mapuche founded political parties, modelled on the Chilean party system, in the early 20th century. While the “*Ley Indígena*” legislation, which was passed in 1993, granted indigenous groups some rights such as bilingual school education and radio programmes of their own, the Chilean constitution does not acknowledge any special status of indigenous peoples. Even when the ILO convention no. 169 – the first international set of regulations pertaining to the rights of

indigenous peoples – became ratified in 2008, the government did not transpose the concomitant obligations into applicable law. Still today, the anti-terrorism law No. 18.314, passed during the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet (1974–1990), is applied when Mapuche go protesting; the resulting court proceedings are usually non-transparent and characterized by arbitrariness. Numbering about 1.5 million people (census of 2012), the Mapuche make up 9.9% of the Chilean population and are one of the largest indigenous groups of South America. Today they live between the Bio-Bio River and Chiloé Island. They still cherish and maintain many of their distinctive cultural features: their own language, family and religious bonds, and their craftwork products of wool, silver, leather, and wood.

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Saddle blanket, *chanu*

The adoption of horse riding from the Spaniards played an important role in the Mapuche’s struggle against colonial usurpation.

Mapuche, Chile, before 1926, Wool
Collection: Therese, Princess of Bavaria, inv. no. 26-T-1631

Saddle girth

Mapuche, Chile, 19th century
Wool, Collection: Missionsmuseum Alt-ötting, inv. no. 91-315 951

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Doll in men's costume

In men's costume, the poncho is the indicator of prestige: the more sophisticated the weaving, the higher the standing both of the female weavers and the wearers.

Mapuche, Chile, before 1940
Ceramic, textile
Collector/collection: Margarita Göpfert de Delius, inv. no. 86-307 933

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Doll in women's costume with child

The figure is dressed in a rectangular, smooth and patternless textile, the *chamal*. In addition, it wears a chest ornament and earrings made of silver, a headband, and a cradleboard (*kupülwe*). The latter is very versatile: It may be carried on the woman's back, but she may also carry it in front when breastfeeding her baby. When the baby is asleep, the *kupülwe* may be put on the ground or suspended between trees

like a cradle.

Today, many women advocate equal rights, calling for recognition of their work. However, they do not strive for an abolishment of the gender-specific division of labour.

Mapuche, Chile, before 1940
Ceramic, textile, wood, tin
Collector/collection: Margarita Göpfert de Delius, inv. no. 86-307 932 a, b

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Drum, *kultrun(g)*

The *kultrun*, a rattle drum, is used in religious and curing ceremonies and serves as the voice of the *machi* – the shaman/ess who leads the ceremony. The cross-shaped lines symbolize references to the earth and the cosmos, as well as to the four cardinal directions and the sun. Also represented are the four seasons with their agricultural activities, and inquiries directed to deities. As in jewellery, there are allusions to the moon. The items inside the drum on exhibit (parts of silver jewellery, grains, as well as additional objects made of metal and glass) reveal its former ritual use. Drums made for sale are usually filled with worthless items.
Mapuche, Chile, before 1938

Wooden corpus, fur, horse-hair braids, leather handle, collector/collection: unknown, inv. no. 87-308 588

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Jewellery

Besides reflecting concepts of beauty and expressing wealth, jewellery serves to symbolize femininity. In addition, it is a link connecting people with the world of beliefs and mythology. It also emphasizes the connection to nature which is reflected by various symbols in the jewellery. One example is the moon; it is associated with silver and symbolizes femininity and fertility. This is why jewellery is important for rituals, too, as it does not only provide protection and blessing but also guidance for sowing, growth, and harvest.

Women's head ornament

Mapuche, Chile, before 1983
Silver, textile
Collector/collection: Helmut Schindler, inv. no. 83-302 482

Ear ornaments (pair)

Mapuche, Chile, 1st half 20th century
Silver, collector/collection: Erika Kunze-Götte, inv. no. 11-335 314 a, b

Neck ornament with chest pendant

Mapuche, Chile, before 1988
Silver alloy, leather, glass beads
Collector/collection: Margarita Göpfert de Delius, inv. no. 88-311 197

Chest ornament

Mapuche, Chile, before 1950
Silver, collector/collection: Dora Pröwig, inv. no. 50-6.22

Chest ornament for women

Mapuche, Chile, before 1950
Silver, collector/collection: Dora Pröwig, inv. no. 50-6-24

Chain ribbon

Mapuche, Chile, before 1986
Silver alloy, collector/collection: W. Lugert, inv. no. 86-307 889

Cloak pin, *tupu*

Mapuche, Chile, before 1926
Silver, collection: Therese, Princess of Bavaria, inv. no. 26-T-1647

Cloak pin, *tupu*

Silver, collection: Therese Princess of Bavaria, inv. no. 26-T-1650
Tupu are used to fasten the women's shawls. Unmarried women wear them on both shoulders, married women only on the right shoulder.

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Belts, *trarituwe/trarüwe*

Trarituwe are worn by women under the *chemal*. Wrapped around the body several times, they serve as belts. They indicate the social status of their wearer, and are decorated with symbols inspired by mythology.

Mapuche, Chile, 19th/20th century

Wool, leather

Collectors/collections: Helmut Schindler, Américo Gordon, Volker Hartmann, Margarita Göpfert de Delius, Missionsmuseum Altötting

1. Inv. nos. 78-300 699, 83-302 430, 86-307 935, 88-311 532, 88-311 538, 88-311 545, 91-315 944

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Poncho

Mapuche textiles are distinguished by clear, symmetrical patterns, repetition of figural motifs, stylisation, and originality. The colour range is broad due to the use of many different plants. Knowledge in the sphere of textile production is closely associated with belief and religious practices. This is why women sing when weaving, or pray for

a successful outcome of their work.

Mapuche, Chile, before 1925

Wool, collector/collection: Therese, Princess of Bavaria, inv. no. 26-T-1627

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Mural featuring a *machi*

The mural shows a *machi*, a priest or healer who is in charge of maintaining contact with the supernatural. In the painting a female *machi* appears with her drum (*kultrun*) and with the stake used in the *ngillatun* ritual. The *machi* is often called to her/his vocation by a dream or extraordinary event, such as surviving severe illness. During the *machitun* (ceremony of healing and prayer) she/he is in a state of trance. It is customary to consult a *machi* before undertaking anything important.

Artist: unknown, Photo: Katharina Neumaier, 2019, Valparaiso, Chile

The Collecting Mania of a Princess

The career chosen by Therese, Princess of Bavaria (1850–1925) was unusual for a lady of high nobility: She travelled the world as an ethnologist, zoologist, and botanist. Over the decades she compiled a comprehensive collection of ethnographic objects, photographs, as well as animal and plant specimens. In 1898 she visited the western part of South America. The main objective of her journey was to enlarge the royal collections. Therese was particularly eager to acquire a Peruvian mummy. In Lima she was able to purchase even two, but she did not want to miss the chance to gain prestige by excavating a grave herself. While she explicitly criticized the destruction and plundering in the necropolis of Ancón, this did not keep her from hiring two professional treasure hunters on spot, with whose help she excavated a mummy bundle along with grave goods. As soon as Therese had left the coastal region of Peru and set foot on Andean soil, her focus of research and collecting changed completely. Turning her back on pre-Columbian relics, she became enthralled by the contemporary inhabitants of the border region between Peru and Bolivia. While Therese knew that Bolivia, too, has ruin sites such as Tiwanaku near La Paz, she completely

ignored these in her itinerary. Instead she watched with interest the religious practices of the highland population, whose oppression by the big landowners did not escape her. In her travel notes, reflections influenced by the study of race are complemented by her personal impressions distinguished by compassion. Therese was particularly fascinated by the colourful dance feasts of the Aymara. She bought many items of clothing as well as dance accessories on the market of La Paz before embarking – pressed for time – on her homeward journey via Chile.

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Textile head of a mummy bundle

Therese usually bought contemporary objects from their makers; as a rule, these transactions were of an unobjectionable nature. In contrast, the pre-Columbian objects in Therese’s collection were acquired in a way that, at least from a modern perspective, is ethically questionable. On the one hand she criticized grave-looting for being an act of impiety. On the other, she collected skulls lying on the ground and thus became a grave robber herself. In

Ancón near Lima she discovered the body of a young man, wrapped in thick layers of fabric and in the crouched position typical of Peruvian mummies. After having returned to Munich she gave her macabre find to the Royal Ethnographical Collections (Königlich Ethnographische Sammlungen) which are today part of the Museum Fünf Kontinente. Nothing is known about the whereabouts of two more mummies she bought in Lima.

The textile head on exhibit was originally attached to a mummy bundle as a “false face”. It is very likely that Therese bought it in Lima. It is exhibited as an example of objects of obscure provenance that were acquired under problematic circumstances.

Ancón, Peru, AD 1000–1500

Cotton, wood, mussel shell, feathers, plant fibres

Collector/collection: Therese, Princess of Bavaria, inv. no. 26-T-499

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Dance hat

Therese’s interest in the dances of the Aymara persisted after she had returned to Bavaria. While she had seen dance costumes that included decora-

ted hats, jaguar-fur vests, trousers, and skirts, she had not succeeded in buying a complete set on location. With the help of the German diplomat August Freiherr von Brück, who was active in Bolivia from 1904 until 1906, she was later able to acquire a jaguar vest which, unfortunately, cannot be exhibited for conservational reasons.

Aymara, La Paz, before 1898

Wool, metal, metal foil, paper, mirrors, tinsel, leather, plant fibres

Collector/collection: Therese, Princess of Bavaria, inv. no. 26-T-1125

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Sash with feather mosaic

Not all objects purchased by Therese from the Aymara in La Paz were originally from the highlands. Via the lowland dwellers – who were derogatorily called “Chunchos” by the Quechua and Aymara – weapons and macaw feathers found their way to the Andes, where the colourful plumage was made into splendid dance ornaments such as this sash made of feathers and wooden sticks.

Aymara, La Paz, before 1898

Feathers, wood, cotton

Collector/collection: Therese, Princess of Bavaria, inv. no. 26-T-1119

Shawl

Aymara, La Paz, before 1898

Wool, tinsel

Collector/collection: Therese, Princess of Bavaria, inv. no. 26-T-1118

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Purse in the shape of a costume doll with child

Peru, before 1909

Wool

Collector: Max Uhle, Collection: Therese, Princess of Bavaria, inv. no. 26-T-496

Two purses in the shape of costume dolls

Peru or Bolivia, before 1909

Wool

Collector/collection: Therese, Princess of Bavaria, inv. no. I-1854

The Peoples of the Southern Andean Highlands and their Clothing

At an elevation of ca. 3.800 metres, the Altiplano extends from south-eastern Peru to western Bolivia and to the north of Chile and Argentina. This chilly and arid plateau between the mountain ridges of the Andes does not only offer stunning panoramas. Despite its inhospitable conditions it is also home to people: the Aymara who live in the Lake Titicaca region, and several Quechua-speaking ethnic groups to their west and south-west. Prior to the European invasion the region was part of the Inca empire. In the early colonial period (16th/17th centuries), many inhabitants of the highlands were forced to work in the mines. Loss of land led to further impoverishment of the indigenous farmers in the centuries that followed. However, recent history has witnessed much discrimination and exploitation as well. In many places the economic situation continues to be precarious. In the last decades, however, the highland population was able to gain at least a voice in political matters.

In addition, the many-faceted dance culture is still a living tradition. Some dance feasts have their roots in rituals of the Inca era while others show European influence. All carnivals and fiestas have in common that they are

enthusiastically celebrated by people of all ages. The elaborate dance costumes and vivid choreographies have also cast their spell on many tourists. Dances, music, and costumes increasingly find their way into the societies of the national states, and have come to be viewed as being “typically” Bolivian and Peruvian.

While handmade textile products – both for people’s own use and for sale – are in the tradition of pre-Columbian techniques of manufacture, they often lack the latter’s superb quality. Still, some patterns and symbols, such as the so-called Andean Cross (*chakana*), have survived until the present.

Pageants for all generations

The *pujllay* celebrated in Tarabuco in southern Bolivia is one of the best-known dance feasts of the Andes. When the rainy season sets in, the inhabitants of the small village parade the streets playing flutes and clarinets made of horn. This is done to ask the *tata pujllay* for support. The *tata pujllay* is a supernatural being full of energy and in charge of abundance, and the rainy season is the time when every-

hing awakens to new life. The feast also serves to commemorate the victory of the Yampara over the Spanish soldiers in a battle fought on 12 March 1816 during the Bolivian war of independence. This is why all dance hats have the shape of Spanish helmets, and oversized spurs are fastened to the shoes. In 2014, the *pujllay* and its dry-season counterpart, the *ayarichi*, were declared World Immaterial Cultural Heritage. And on top of all, they are pageants cherished by tourists.

Dance costumes of man and child

Yampara, Tarabuco, before 1974
Wool, cotton, synthetic fabric, leather, metal, sequins, glass beads
Collector/collection: Anja Hehenberger, inv. nos. 2017-68-1 – 2017-68-21

In dizzy height

Even before the importance of cultivated field crops increased in the highlands, people kept domesticated camelids – llamas and alpacas. The wool of the undemanding animals is perfect for making warm and at the same time lightweight clothing to be worn in the cold mountain region. Today, sheep wool

and synthetic fibres are used as well. Particularly the *chullos*, the colourful caps with ear flaps, are typical of the costumes of the Andes.

Cap, *chullo*

Bolivia, before 1974
Camelid wool, synthetic lining, buttons
Collector/collection: Anja Hehenberger, inv. co. 2017-68-23

Cap with neck protection

Bolivia, before 1974
Wool, leather, collector/collection: Anja Hehenberger, inv. no. 2017-68-23

Cap, *chullo/chullu*

Bolivia/Peru, before 1973
Wool, collector/collection: Anja Hehenberger, inv. no. 2017-68-69

Cap, *chullo*

Peru, before 1974
Camelid wool, collector/collection: Anja Hehenberger, inv. no. 2017-68-25

Storm cap

Aymara, La Paz, Bolivia, before 1898
Camelid wool, collector/collection: Therese, Princess of Bavaria, inv. no. 26-T-1123

Cap, *chullo/chullu*

Bolivia, before 1973

Wool, collector/collection: Anja Hehenberger, inv. no. 2017-68-66

Belt (fragment)

Peru, before 1973

Wool, collector/collection: Anja Hehenberger, inv. no. 2017-68-74

Children's cap, chullo/chullu

Bolivia/Peru, before 1973

Wool, collector/collection: Anja Hehenberger, inv. no. 2017-68-67

Cap

Aymara, La Paz, Bolivia, before 1898

Wool, collector/collection: Therese, Princess of Bavaria, inv. no. 26-T-1121

Cap, chullo/chullu

Bolivia/Peru, before 1973

Wool, collector/collection: Anja Hehenberger, inv. no. 2017-68-70

Bag

Aymara, Bolivia, before 1858

Wool, collector/collection: Günter Markert, inv. no. 58-3-4

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Well vested: Ponchos and carrying cloths

Ponchos and carrying cloths (*aguayo, lliqlla*) are found all over the Andean region. Their colours and patterns follow local traditions that combine ancient symbols rich in history with innovative new creations. Both types of clothing are deliberately plain in style. This makes them all the more versatile in terms of use: They may be worn as items of clothing, as coverings, or for carrying burdens; in addition, mothers can use the cloths to carry their babies on their back.

Shawl/carrying cloth

Aymara, La Paz, before 2003

Wool, collector/collection: Rudolf Haller, inv. no. 03-325 230

Shawl/carrying cloth

Bolivia, before 1927

Wool, collector/collection: Heinrich Hardt, inv. no. 27-27-1

Shawl/carrying cloth

Aymara, La Paz, before 2003

Wool, collector/collection: Rudolf Haller, inv. no. 03-325 232

The Use of Coca in the Andes

Coca (*Erythroxylum coca*) is viewed as a sacred plant in the Andean region. It is said to grow at the threshold between the worlds of the living and the dead. This is why coca is used, among other things, to establish contact with supernatural beings. Coca leaves are employed as a means of mediation particularly in the treatment of illnesses that may result from conflict with these beings. The leaves play an important role both in diagnosing and curing. Offerings of coca leaves, tobacco, sweets, cereals, or leguminous plants are prepared in rituals and subsequently burned. This is done to establish peace between humans and supernaturals, and thus to maintain a state of balance with Pachamama, Mother Earth. In addition, coca leaves are still chewed or made into tea in everyday life. Coca improves the absorption of oxygen – a very helpful property at high altitudes. It has the potency to relieve not only mountain sickness but also digestive problems. Coca also numbs the feeling of hunger, at least for some time. That property was used in colonial times to extract more work from the farmers and mine workers. The coca plant thus became an ever-present companion and, at a later time, a marker of identity of

many people in the Andes. The leaves are kept in small woven bags (see above).

Coca is not Cocaine

Cocaine was discovered, or rather extracted from the coca plant, in Europe around 1860. Illegal cocaine production today is a multi-step process involving addition of arsenic, gasoline, battery acid, and other substances. The main coca growing region is in the rain forest zone on the eastern side of the Andes, where coca cultivation causes land grab, forced labour, and destruction of the environment. Both there and along the trade routes through the Caribbean and Mexico, illegal cocaine trade gives rise to massive human rights violations, corruption, violence, blackmail, and many cases of homicide.

Coca leaves are internationally subject to the same drug legislation as cocaine. Consumption of the leaves has no impact on the human central nervous system, that is, it does not cause states of intoxication. This is why its use is thus legal in the countries where coca is grown. Particularly the U.S.A. has repeatedly pressured the governments

of Bolivia, Peru, and Columbia to put a complete ban on coca cultivation. Coca plantations were at times destroyed by means of toxic defoliants, with the result that the soil became useless for other crops as well. This led to increasing resistance on the part of the population in the late 1980s. Particularly in Bolivia it was the coca growers' unions that led the struggle. In the wake of these protests one of their leaders, Evo Morales, became very well known and was elected president of Bolivia in 2006. During his term in office (2006–2019) the restrictions imposed on coca cultivation were eased, and officers of the American Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) were expelled from the country. It was hoped that including the farmers in policy-making would help fight illegal cocaine trade.

Coca tea

United under the slogan "La oja de coca no es droga" ("the coca leaf is no drug"), a broad movement launched by coca farmers emerged against the stigmatisation of coca cultivation. The creation of legal opportunities for the export of products such as coca tea,

coca sweets, and coca toothpaste was supposed to liberate coca cultivation from the grip of the drug cartels.

Lime container

When coca leaves are consumed, lime is added from small containers, usually gourds. Leaves and lime are then moulded into a ball inside the mouth, and the extruding juice is sucked from the ball.

Asháninka, Peru, 1979

Gourd, wooden plug, lime
Collector/collection: Ernst Josef and Elise Fittkau, inv. no. 10-330 241

Coca leaves (*Erythroxylum coca*), dried

In 2019, the following people died violent deaths due to their commitment to their indigenous communities, human rights, or conservation of the environment:

Luis Díaz López – COLOMBIA, Miller Díaz López – COLOMBIA, Wilbelder Vegas Torres – PERU, Gustavo Cruz Mendoza – MEXICO, Bernardino García Hernández – MEXICO, María Nelly Bernal Andrade – COLOMBIA, José Víctor Ceballos Epinayu – COLOMBIA, Óscar Cazorla (Zapotec) – MEXICO, Samir Flores Soberanes – MEXICO, Francisco de Souza Pereira – BRAZIL, Saturnino Ramírez Interiano (Maya Ch'orti') – GUATEMALA, Solomon Matute – HONDURAS, Samuel Matute – HONDURAS, Alexánder Cunda – COLOMBIA, Eulodia Lilia Diaz Ortiz – MEXICO, Sergio Rojas (Bribri) – COSTA RICA, Ebel Yonda Ramos – PUERTO RICO, Cristian Java Ríos – Loreto, PERU, Aquileo Mecheche Baragon – COLOMBIA, Miguel Ángel Alpala – COLOMBIA, Camilo Pérez Álvarez – MEXICO, Héctor Mauricio Rosas Hernández – MEXICO, Cristian Javá Ríos (Urarina) – PERU, Daniel Rojas (Nasa) – COLOMBIA, Joel Villamizar – COLOMBIA, Otilia Martínez Cruz – MEXICO, Gregorio Chaparro Cruz – MEXICO, José Lucio Bartolo Faustino – MEXICO, Modesto Verales Sebastián (Nahua) – MEXICO, José Alfredo Hernandez (Nahuat Pipil) – EL SALVADOR, Carlos Biscué – COLOMBIA, Jorge Juc Cucul (Q'eqchi' Maya) – GUATEMALA, Emyra Wajāpi (Wajāpi) – BRAZIL, Enrique Guejía Meza, - COLOMBIA, Kevin Mestizo Coicué - COLOMBIA, Eugenio Tenorio (Nasa) – COLOMBIA, Juan Francisco Luna Álvarez (Zenú) – COLOMBIA, Abraham Domicó (Embera) – COLOMBIA, Mario Alberto Achicué – COLOMBIA, Henry Cayuy – COLOMBIA, José Manuel Pana Epiyú – COLOMBIA, Víctor Manuel Chanit Aguilar (Murui Muina) – COLOMBIA, Marlon Ferney Pacho (Nasa) – COLOMBIA, Maxciel Pereira dos Santos – BRAZIL, Mirna Suazo (Garifuna) – HONDURAS, Milgen Idán Soto Ávila (Tolupán) – HONDURAS, Paulina Cruz Ruíz (Maya Achi) – GUATEMALA, Dumar Mestizo (Nasa) – COLOMBIA, Kiwe Thegna Toribio Canas Velasco – COLOMBIA, Lilia Patricia García – COLOMBIA, Oneida Epiayú (Wayúu) – COLOMBIA, Constantino Ramírez Bedoya – COLOMBIA, Cristina Bautista (Nasa) – COLOMBIA, Asdrúbal Cayapu Kiwe Thegna – COLOMBIA, Eliodoro Finscue – COLOMBIA, José Gerardo Soto – COLOMBIA, James Wilfredo Soto – COLOMBIA, Isaías Cantú Carrasco (Mè'phàà) – MEXICO, Arnulfo Cerón Soriano (Nahua) – MEXICO, Genaro Quiguanas – COLOMBIA, Jesús Eduardo Mestizo (Nasa) – COLOMBIA, Arnulfo Cerón Soriano – MEXICO, Paulo Paulino Guajajara (Guajajara) – BRAZIL, Catalino Barradas Santiago (Chatino) – MEXICO, Ángel Leonel Guzmán Morales – GUATEMALA, Erisvan Guajajara – BRAZIL, Humberto Peixoto – BRAZIL, Firmino Silvino Guajajara – BRAZIL, Raimundo Bernicio Guajajara – BRAZIL, Josué Bernardo Marcial Santos (Mixe-Popoluca) – MEXICO

Despite being based on thorough research, this list of activists murdered in 2019 makes no claims of being complete. Information on politically motivated crimes of violence in remote regions is rarely made public. Besides the abovementioned indigenous activists, non-indigenous human rights and environmental activists lost their lives in 2019 as well.

An exhibition of the Museum Fünf Kontinente, curated by students of the Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology of the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität Munich in the context of the seminar “Textile Informationsträger und lateinamerikanische Lebenswelten” under the direction of Anka Krämer de Huerta.

Coordinating curator:

Anka Krämer de Huerta

Guest curators:

Markus Dolinsky, Ira Eue, Katharina Kröner, Pia Mayer-Gampe, Katharina Neumaier, Linda Nowottny, Anna-Maria Palmberger, Marie-Theres Wandinger

Curatorial advisors:

Gladis Arosemena Caicedo de Crespo (Guna Yala, Panama), Ignacio Crespo Evans (Guna Yala, Panama), Laida Mori Silvano de Brabec (Österreich, Peru)

Our thanks go to:

Alberto César Araújo, Bernd Brabec de Mori, Conselho Geral da Tribo Sateré-Mawé (CGTSM), Fergus Dunipace & Jenevora Swann, Paul Hempel, Gabriele Herzog-Schröder, Wolfgang Kapfhammer, Vera Nowottny, Sigrid Schacht, Helmut Schindler

Graphic art and layout:

polygrafica, Munich

Print and production:

Typosatz Namisla, Munich

Translation:

Sabine Lang

Museum Fünf Kontinente

Maximilianstraße 42 . 80538 München

T +49 (089) 210 136 100 . F +49 (089) 210 136 247

kontakt@mfk-weltoffen.de

Opening hours

Tue – Sun, 9.30 am – 5.30 pm

holidays see: www.museum-fuenf-kontinente.de

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In cooperation with the Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology,
Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München



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