AWESOME AUSTRONESIANS

THE AUSTRONESIAN ORIGINS OF TIE-DYE (IKAT) WEAVING
v. 4.0

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Introduction

In constructing the history of Austronesians as a people sharing a common heritage and in the absence of written records, it would be instructive to piece together stories found among the various communities in the Austronesian realm to fill in the missing pieces of the story. The stories and traditions of various Austronesian communities can shed light on each other’s histories. Similar traditions would indicate not only a common heritage but also interaction between the various Austronesian communities.

Ikat, the tie-dye textile of world renown, is argued to be of Austronesian provenance. The paper highlights the role of Philippine Austronesians in the genesis and spread of this artform.

The development and spread of ikat can also be attributed to the pioneering maritime heritage of Austronesians. In the absence of the physical presence of Austronesians in certain areas in the world, the cultural transmission of this material manifestation of Austronesians to other areas, particularly in South America, could represent the extent of the expansion and exploration activities of Austronesians. The paper also seeks to provide arguments and evidence for this assertion.

Ikat is a unique tradition and heritage of Austronesians that continue to find resonance in the quest to establish the common identity of all Austronesian communities. Ikat is a source of pride for all Austronesian communities not only as a visible acknowledgment of their accomplishments but also as their enduring contribution to the world community.

More than just an artform, ikat has a deeper significance for Austronesians as it embodies a belief system that acknowledges the transmutability of life in the past, present and future and that which is around us. The persistence of this belief system is expressed in the continued existence of this tradition though modified from outside influences and through time.
Executive Summary

Salient Points:

- Ikat is based on the integration of 5 Austronesian cultural complexes:
  - Backstrap loom weaving,
  - Tie-dye (resist dye) techniques,
  - Bast production through fiber extraction from abaca (Musa textilis),
  - Dye and mordant extraction from plant and mineral sources, and
  - A spiritual cultural depiction of the transmutation of cosmic forces.

- There are typical Austronesian ikat dyes (colors), motifs, fibers, traditions, applications and uses.

- The presence of other resist dye methods among Austronesians such as “tritik”, “plangi”, “cerita” and “batik” argues for the origins of ikat weaving in Southeast Asia.

- The presence of the simplest to the most complex ikat techniques found among Austronesians argues for its antiquity and origins in Southeast Asia.

- The widespread practice of ikat weaving across Austronesian communities argues for its origins in Southeast Asia.

- The pioneering maritime lifeways of Austronesians allowed ikat’s spread throughout the world.
  - The trade routes established by Austronesians paved the way for the Spice Trade, Maritime Silk Route and the China-India-Mediterranean Trade Continuum.
  - Southeast Asia will become a pivotal nexus in this Trade Continuum.
  - A manifestation of this Trade Continuum is the spread and development of ikat. Ikat can be found in all coastal regions of this Trade Continuum, areas within the established expansion and exploration routes and reach of Austronesians.

- Intermediate forms of ikat weaves can be found in the tie-dyed grass skirts of Papua New Guinea.

- Ikat design motifs can be traced to earlier pottery, tattoo, mat, basket and bark cloth traditions. The motifs represent a belief system specific to Austronesians.

- There is no substitute in the use of the backstrap loom in the production of intricate and complex ikat weaves.

- The high level of craftsmanship of ikat evolved due to its strong association with ancient spiritual beliefs of Austronesians.

- Ikat weaves in South America arrived in two waves, during the pre-Columbian era, particularly in Peru/Chile from Austronesian Polynesians and during the colonial era in Guatemala and Mexico from the Philippines.

- Linguistic evidence supports the Austronesian origins of ikat weaving and backstrap looms in South America.
• In general, Austronesian Polynesians seem to have lost the tradition of loom weaving but must have passed it on to Quechua speakers in South America before it went to disuse among Polynesians.

• Ikat weaving is strongly associated with women among Austronesians in contrast with South America. The difference suggests that male Austronesian seafarers were the main transmitters of this practice during the Galleon Trade.

• Fragments of ikat found in Berenike (Egypt, Roman period) on the Red Sea dated to 1st – 3rd century CE are the earliest examples of the dyeing technique. Although this find has been attributed to Indian traders, the periodization and motifs and other associated artifacts and historical sources suggests Austronesian origins.

• The periodization of the appearance of ikat in India, historical references, location of ikat production sites along the eastern seaboard of India facing Southeast Asia and the possible Austronesian linguistic roots of ‘patola’ (double ikat silk cloth), the use of silk and the pioneering maritime trading activities of Austronesians in the Indian Ocean are indicative of its Austronesian roots.

• The presence of ikat in China, particularly among the Daic groups of Southern China and documented during the Yueh kingdoms, from the 9th century BCE to the Han period indicates the presence of Austronesian colonies in Mainland China and contacts with Southeast Asia. On the other hand its absence in Han China in general would indicate its late introduction and development. The Daic groups of Southern China are probably the transmitter of this technology to Central Asia through the Terrestrial Silk Route prior to the 5th century CE.

• There are five historical periods that can characterize the development of Ikat among Austronesians. The periodization indicates the growth of an expanding trade network, radiating westward from Southeast Asia.

  ➢ Proto Austronesian (Insular Southeast Asia)
  ➢ Dong son Period (Southeast Asia)
  ➢ Indic Period (India)
  ➢ Muslim Period (Middle East)
  ➢ Colonial Period (Europe)
ORIGINS OF IKAT

The term, “ikat”, was introduced to the Western world when Dutch scholars were studying Indonesian textile traditions in the early twentieth century. (www.angelasancartier.net)

http://angelasancartier.net/ikat

The term ikat originates from the Indonesian word called ‘meningkat’. There are various terms for ikat weaving though in Southeast Asia depending on the ethnic group. (www.cdn.worldheritage.org)

The antiquity of loom weaving can be inferred by the fact that some cultures possess legends about weaving. The Bagobo, Mandaya and Bilaan have origin myths. In West Java, the introduction of weaving is attributed to the rice goddess, Sang Hyang Dewi Sri. Among the Batak, a distinctive cloth used in rituals, the ulos was said to have been the first weaving given to humankind. (Wright-Parsons, no date)

Ikat cloth in Southeast Asia has a religious, ritual and ceremonial significance thus the conservatism in the design motifs. Ikat weaving is usually a woman’s occupation in Southeast Asia. (www.cdn.worldheritage.org) (www.angelasancartier.net) (ten Hoopen, P.)

http://angelasancartier.net/ikat

The distribution of the warp ikat technique in particular shows a striking association with speakers of Austronesian languages. Few non-Austronesian speakers weave ikat, and those that do tend to live in close proximity to Austronesian speakers. (www.angelasancartier.net)

A common thread about cloth that links insular Southeast Asian cultures (as well as mainland Asia) is that woven cloth is rarely cut to the shape of the body but rather draped or folded. In the warm, humid climate draping allowed air to circulate around the body.

In Austronesian cultures, the association of ikat weaving with women is likely linked to concepts of life cycles. The Batak of Borneo terms the soul force of cloth as “sahala”. “Sahala” describes the protective and beneficial effects of cloth. The process of making dyes is linked to the seasons, moon phases, menstrual cycles, especially the making of indigo and morina red. (Gittinger, 1979)

Mat weaving and basket making with natural materials such as reeds, vines and grasses are ancient crafts that provided the fundamental techniques in loom weaving.

Designs in baskets were easily transferred to designs in textiles such as those from the Iban of Borneo and Kalimantan.

Ethnic groups in the Philippines pioneered in weaving mats from fibers as thins as thread. The plaiting used can fold without breaking the fibers unlike coarser materials used in mat weaving.

Twining using bast fibers is an intermediary step between loom weaving and basketry.

The grass skirts of Papua New Guinea can be considered proto-ikat due to dyed fibers that were not woven. The dyed designs on the skirts show the characteristic jagged and playful decorative lines. It was just a matter of integrating this technique with the loom weaving of
A study of ikat ‘characters’ or ‘motifs’ corresponds to the proto Southeast Asian Warp ikat located on the Asian mainland. The last common ancestral tradition for Austronesian ikat weaving presumably is located in the Southern Philippines or Borneo. Both traditions share an ancestral origin due to the similar shared motifs.

It is estimated that proto Southeast Asian Warp ikat was developed soon after it came into contact with Papuans in New Guinea some 4000 BP.

The Li (Hainan Island) ikat tradition diverged from the Austronesian warp ikat tradition, at about the same time the Austronesian Warp Ikat tradition diverged from its proto Southeast Asian Warp ikat tradition. The exchanges between Daic (Austroasiatic) groups and Austronesians in mainland Southeast Asia can be attributed to the maritime traditions of Austronesians.

The Chams of Vietnam, an Austronesian speaking minority practice ikat weaving, further giving indication of the Austronesian roots of ikat. Ikat is not a traditional art form of the majority Vietnamese.

Austronesians of Madagascar practice ikat weaving, again, another indication of the Austronesian roots of ikat. Malagasy use indigenous silk, bark, raffia and hemp to weave their ikat cloth. Silk ikat shawls are called ‘lamba’ in Madagascar. The use of the back-strap loom to weave ikat in Madagascar is an indication of its Austronesian roots as it is found nowhere else in Africa. Blue, black and red, from indigo and madder were the preferred colours. Madagascar cloth was exported to Yemen up to the 13th century and was sought by Portuguese traders in the sixteenth century. Ikat cloth was used for burial practices in Madagascar which paralleled Southeast Asian practices. Sources of fiber include extracted yarn from tree bark, banana-stem, raffia palm leaves, cotton and indigenous forms of wild silk (Borocera). Dyes include turmeric, indigofera, nato trees (for brick-red color). A mandiavola (“covered in silver”) is a great shawl of wild silk with metal bead designs across its length. A totorano is handspun cotton with wild silk bands in blue and red. (www.rom.on.ca) (Barnes, R.)

Dye testing of Madagascar’s akotifahana cloth reveals that most of its riotous colours come from natural sources from plants that are widely available in the island: indigofera, turmeric, tannins. The test also indicated the presence of lac, safflower, cochineal, logwood and Brazilwood dyes which originate from Asia and South America. The presence of these dyes indicates the widespread trade network of the island. (www.angelasancartier.net)

East Java, Madura, Bali and Sumbawa were centers of ikat production in the 16th century.

The Bahnar ethnic group of Vietnam is believed to have learned ikat weaving from the Austronesian Cham. The ikat tradition in northeastern Cambodia, southern Laos and the Brao of Vietnam are also attributed to the Chams.

Ikat was recorded in 939 CE in Java, and has been dated from the fourteenth century in an archaeological site in the Philippines (Banton Island).
PERIODIZATION OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF Ikat

1) Proto-Austronesian – period when loom weaving integrated the tie-dye methods of unwoven grass skirts of Papua New Guinea around 4000 years ago somewhere between Borneo and Mindanao. Warp ikat was the predominant technique. The designs were derived from mat weaving, bark cloth making, basket making and pottery. All these cultural complexes ultimately derived their inspiration from tattoo, bodily ornamentation that includes the use of dyes and scarring of the skin. Geometric designs dominated. Use of simple back strap looms in combination with the tie-dye techniques allowed the development of ikat. Abaca and ramie were probably some of the first fibers used for ikat weaving. Abaca cloth is known as sinamay, guinaras in the Philippines. (Quizon, C.A. 1998)


3) Indic period – influence from India spread throughout Southeast Asia. Cotton was introduced and replaced abaca in many communities. Indigo replaced other indigenous dyes. Double ikat weaving developed with impulse from India. Development of Songket use of metallic threads in ikat. Introduction of silk into ikat weaving sometime in 5th century CE. Lowland cultures (Bali, Java, Sunda, Mindanao) have silk ikat weaves that are associated with traders from India and China. Sumptuous supplementary weft patterns in gold thread were added to the silk cloth and were worn by high-status persons at weddings or other ritual occasions. Cotton was introduced in ikat weaving with regional trade. Silk from China was the next fiber introduced into ikat weaving. Although weft ikat is attributed to India, there are writers who attribute it to Bali and Java and its presence among the Tai speaking peoples of Vietnam and Laos. It is believed that weft ikat was introduced from India to Southeast Asia during the 14th to 15th centuries. This is particularly true with weft ikat cloth woven by the Khmer in Cambodia, Thailand and southern Vietnam. The Khmer in turn influenced weavers in Burma. However there is another theory that indicates that weft ikat was introduced to India from Mainland Southeast Asia as there are groups that practice weft ikat that do not show any indications of Indian influence.

4) Muslim era – zoomorphic and anthropomorphic designs give way to more geometric designs. Beginning of 1400s.

5) Colonial period – The introduction of Islam and Christianity undermine ikat weaving traditions in the Southeast Asia. Ikat was most likely introduced to Meso America through the Galleon Trade. The unravelling of the ikat traditions can be due to modernization and use of commercial fabrics and clothing. This era is also characterized by the loss of meanings in design motifs. Ikat is now recognized for its craftsmanship and has become an important item in the tourist trade and the forging of ethnic identity. This period also sees mass production and use of other types of looms in ikat weaving.

ORIGINS OF BACK STRAP LOOM WEAVING

Loom weaving is a technological cultural repertoire of Austronesians as indicated by linguistic and ethnographic evidence. (Wright-Parsons, A.)

Back-strap loom weaving is found among all Austronesian groups, particularly among Taiwanese Austronesians. Taiwan is claimed to be the springboard for the dispersal of Austronesians in Southeast Asia. Ikat however is not practiced in Taiwan, indicating that it was
developed when Austronesians settled in the Philippines, most likely in the Mindanao-Borneo area. The foot-braced back strap loom used in Taiwan is similar to that used by Li weavers on Hainan and by some weavers on the Asian mainland.

The vocabulary of proto Austronesian and proto Malayo Polynesian has similar words for the breast beam or a loom, the weaver's sword used for beating in the weft and a spindle used in making spun yarn. In addition they had words for long cloths used for carrying children on the back or the hip and for mat making and cordage. There is also a proto Malayo Polynesian word for tube skirt, ‘tapis’.

Archaeological remains in northern Philippines dating back 4000 years ago include spindle whorls which is an indication of weaving.

Dong-son bronze drums in Yunnan featured back strap looms during Han times. Back strap looms are often made of wood or bamboo.

Back strap looms were used in making sarongs or tubular skirts.

The simple backstrap loom has produced some of the most complex types of weaves in Southeast Asia. (Wright-Parsons, A.)

FROM BARK CLOTH TO ABACA CLOTH

Bark cloth predated woven cloth. The finest bark cloth clothing are found among the Toraja of Indonesia (highlands of central Sulawesi). Kayan of Borneo created vestlike jackets with painted motifs. In Bali bark cloth were painted with stories or calendar of the Balinese year. Decorative bark cloth was used to cover the deceased. In Palu, North Sulawesi women wore full-tiered skirts. The T’Boli cut and sewed skirts and trousers of bark cloth, shapes that were repeated later on in woven fabric. (Wright-Parsons, A.)

Bark cloth from the bark of the balete tree is still used by the Negritos of Zambales as do the Manobos, men of Polillo Island, Camarines and Cagayan.

The Avutug cloth of the Itbayat is an intermediate fiber that is derived from the bark of a tree and woven on a loom.

From fibers extracted from the bark of the tree, the extraction of fibers from the abaca, a non-edible banana tree became a widely used fiber for loom weaving among Austronesians in the Philippines. (Quizon, C.A. 1998)

Bark cloth is also strongly associated with Austronesians due to the existence of the most advanced forms, particularly among Polynesians.

The Kavalans of Taiwan are the only Austronesian tribe in the island that use banana fibers. http://library.taiwanschoolnet.org/gsh2011/gsh6618/webpage/02/02-2-1.html (Taiwanese Aboriginal Culture—Clothing, 2014).

TYPES OF IKAT WEAVES

The earliest ikat weaves are known as warp ikat and can be commonly found in Maritime Eastern Southeast Asia. Weft Ikat is associated more with Mainland Southeast Asia. Double
Ikat is found primarily in Bali and Java and lowland trading communities of Southeast Asia. Double ikat is the technique employed for Indian patola ikat weaves. (www.blog.jaypore.com)

AUSTRONESIAN ORIGINS OF IKAT

The widespread practice of various resist-dye techniques among various Austronesian communities in Southeast Asia, presence in communities with no Indian influence and the value and significance of ikat cloth among the various communities are indicative of its origins among Austronesians of Southeast Asia. For examples in Celebes, “sarita” is a resist dye process that resemble batik. (ten Hoopen, P.)(Gittinger, M. 1979)

The maritime heritage of Austronesians argues for the mechanism upon which ikat weaving spread to India and South America.

Commonalities in bast fiber production particularly for abaca (musa textilis), resist-dye techniques, cultural-spiritual-social significance of ikat cloth, dyes and motifs argue for a common origin and the existence of exchanges and a community among the Austronesians of Southeast Asia.

The exact location of the origins of ikat can be pinpointed to the Mindanao-Borneo-Celebes Area of Eastern Maritime Southeast Asia near Papua New Guinea.

The antiquity of Ikat can be traced to the period before the expansion of Austronesians to the Pacific as these areas have dyed loom weaving practices but no ikat weaving and after Austronesians made contact with Papuan communities in New Guinea. Based on the latest archaeological evidence in Berenike, Egypt, ikat developed sometime before 3rd century AD. The type of ikat in Berenike is warp ikat and probable use of the tumpal motif is indicative of its Austronesian origins.

AUSTRONESIAN TRADITIONAL IKAT APPLICATIONS

Ikat applications are commonly done for ceremonials clothing and hangings. The ceremonials are related to major life events and for everyday wear. The more intricate the design the more prestigious the event and the more valuable the ikat weaves become. Intricate weaves are usually reserved for high ranking members of the community. The ikat weaves are for personal use as well as for trading purposes. Ikat weaves are also associated with personal and community identity.

- Sarong (skirts)(Wright-Parsons, A.)
- Ceremonial Hangings (Tapestry)
- Burial Cloth
- Shawls / Shaman Canopy
- Jacket
- Kerchiefs

AUSTRONESIAN TRADITIONAL IKAT DYES (COLORS)

Traditional colors used for ikat weaves are usually earth colors of red, black, yellow, blue, brown and shades in between. The colors are usually limited to the dye material available in the immediate natural environment. However, there are also indications that dye materials were obtained through trading activities, particularly with indigo from India. The addition of minerals
usually produces more intense colors. Each color has a significant meaning and value and associated with persons of rank or position in the community as well as certain rituals and ceremonies. (ten Hoopen, P.)(Gittinger, M. 1979)

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<th>Color</th>
<th>Dye</th>
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<td>Indigo</td>
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<td>sikarig</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Nila</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Tarum (k’nalum)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Mangrove</td>
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<td>Red/ Rust/Scarlet/ Crimson</td>
<td>Kombu Tree</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Duhat</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Madder</td>
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<td>Nato Tree</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Lac</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Cohineal</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Brazilwood</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Bakunu (Morinda citrifolia) (Dawson, B. 1992)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yellow</td>
<td>Ginger</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Turmeric</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Safflower</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Hukil (curcuma longa)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Kayu Kuning (cudranin javenesis)</td>
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<td>White/ Beige</td>
<td>Abaca</td>
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<tr>
<td>Purple/Violet</td>
<td>Logwood</td>
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**AUSTRONESIAN TRADITIONAL IKAT MOTIFS**

More abstract design motifs are associated with more ancient traditions of Austronesians. Austronesian motifs are associated with certain time periods in the evolution of Austronesian ikat design. Earlier motifs can be compared to motifs used in the earlier bark cloth designs, tattoos, potteries and mat weaves. Traditional motifs often tell a story but the associated meanings have been lost as the traditions are passed on orally from generation to generation. Motifs are also associated with the values of the community and way of life of the community can be inferred from the motifs. Many of the motifs are inspired from nature. The concept of the transmutation of the life force is evident in many of the motifs in ancient ikat designs. Ancient ikat motifs are imbued with spiritual significance among Austronesians. More realistic representation of man and the environment can be considered as more recent. Dongson cultural motifs has been a theme in many ikat weaving traditions in Southeast Asia and indicates strong cultural and economic links with the Dongsonian cultural area in northern Vietnam and Daic speaking communities of southern non—Han regions of China. Influences from other communities have also been incorporated into Austronesian design motifs, particularly from India, China and Europe. (Gittinger, M. 1979)(Dawson, B. 1992)

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Proto Austronesian</th>
<th>Dongson</th>
<th>Indic</th>
<th>Muslim</th>
<th>Colonial</th>
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<tr>
<td>Celestial Doti Langi (Spots of Heaven)</td>
<td>Myth of two battling sisters</td>
<td>Elephant</td>
<td>Geometrics</td>
<td>European motifs</td>
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<td>Geometric Bands</td>
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<td>Birds</td>
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### AUSTRONESIAN TRADITIONAL IKAT FIBERS

The earliest fibers used by Austronesians are derived from tree bark. As the Austronesian migrated throughout Southeast Asia, banana stalk was discovered as a fiber for loom weaving (particularly in the Philippines). Trade with India and China will introduce cotton as a fiber material. Silk was obtained from China and other indigenous sources (particularly in

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<th>Pattern Type</th>
<th>Motifs</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Hook and Spiral</strong></td>
<td>The hook and spirals motifs come from the oldest known Southeast Asian textiles. They represent the beginning and end of life or the continuity of life. They are patterned from the pattern found in the underside of a tadpole or the unfurling of a fern leaf.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>People</strong></td>
<td>Parts of the body, Blood, Mamuli (omega shaped ornament, fertility and cycle of life), Stick Figures</td>
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<td><strong>Zoomorphic</strong></td>
<td>Lizard, Crocodile, Sarimanok, Frog, Crustacean, Spiders, Heads of Birds</td>
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<td><strong>Checkerboard /Gyronny</strong></td>
<td>Plaid, Zigzag, Botanical</td>
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<td><strong>Sekong /Rhomboïd (hooked diamond)</strong></td>
<td>Sinakusikos (whirlwind), Sinanbitwin (constellation star)</td>
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<td><strong>Tumpal (Triangles)</strong></td>
<td>Sinakusikos (whirlwind), Sinanbitwin (constellation star)</td>
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<td><strong>Aso (dragon like creature)</strong></td>
<td>Chinese motifs</td>
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<td><strong>Scrolls / S Scroll/ Circles</strong></td>
<td>Chinese motifs</td>
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Madagascar. Metal threads made ikat weaves more luxurious and sumptuous. (Wright-Parsons, A.)(Gittinger, M. 1979)

- Bark (Avutag Tree)
- Raffia (Palm tree)
- Abaca fibers (Musa textilis) also known as Manila Hemp and Koffo for Sangir and Talaud, Minhasa of Celebes (Asian Textiles, June 2009)
- Leaves of the lemba plant (Curculigo latifolia) / Bahau people
- Gewang/Leaf palm (Corphylla elata Roxb.)
- Rush (Finbristylis globus Kth.)
- Lontar palm (borassus flabelliforms)/ Tanimbar
- Cotton
- Bamboo
- Pineapple
- Silk
- Metal threads
IKAT IN THE PHILIPPINES

Ikat weaving most likely developed in Mindanao, arguments supporting this theory include the following:

- The Philippines was a gateway for the Austronesian expansion in Southeast Asia and the Pacific.
- The backstrap loom was a cultural complex that Austronesians brought with them in their expansion throughout Southeast Asia and the Pacific.
- Ikat weaving was initially developed in the Mindanao-Borneo Area with the integration of tie-dye methods for grass skirts in Papua New Guinea and the loom weaving of Austronesians. Arguments for this theory include:
  - Earliest design motifs for ikat weaves have been attributed to the ikat traditions in Mindanao and Borneo.
  - It was in the Philippines that ocean going vessels were developed that would allow early Austronesians to conduct exchanges with indigenous communities in Papua New Guinea. In the process of their explorations, early Austronesians founded colonies on the coast of Papua New Guinea. The early arrival of Austronesians in Papua New Guinea is documented with archaeological and linguistic evidence. The arrival of Austronesians in Papua New Guinea has been estimated to have occurred around 4000 years ago. The proximity of the two regions would indicate the likelihood of the development of ikat in the Southeast Asian region. The presence of the backstrap loom among Austronesians makes it likely that ikat weaving was developed in Southeast Asia. The various innovations by the Bagobo in textile production is indicative also of their artistic flair and inventiveness, and by extension with other Austronesian groups.
  - Ikat weaving is not found in Taiwan, the supposed springboard for Austronesian expansion in Southeast Asia and the Pacific, thus arguing that it was developed in the Mindanao-Borneo area.
  - Once developed in Mindanao-Borneo, ikat weaving spread to Mainland Southeast Asia among the Daic speaking communities. Earliest motifs for ikat weaving found in Mindanao-Borneo are similar to the Daic speaking communities of Mainland Southeast Asia. The Daic speaking communities developed the weft ikat tradition while Eastern Maritime Southeast Asia specialized in the warp ikat tradition.
  - Origin myths on ikat weaving in Mindanao argue for the antiquity of this tradition in the area.
  - Abaca, a fiber from a non-edible banana species is a transition material between bark cloth and fibers used for loom weaving. Abaca in endemic to the Philippines. The Caroline Islands (Micronesia) and nearby Talaud and Sanguile Islands in Indonesia produce abaca cloth without the ikat weave, thus arguing that the abaca ikat weave was first developed in Mindanao. (Quizon, C.A. 1998) The Itbayat Avutag cloth from which the fiber is derived from the bark of a tree is an intermediary technique for extracting fibers from tree bark in the Batanes. (www.hibla.ph 2012) Although the Itbayat practice loom weaving, they do not have an ikat-weaving tradition, thus arguing for its development further south. Sources indicate that the ikat-weaving tradition of the Ilocos was derived from Indonesia through trading activities and from Ilocos it spread through the highlands of northern Luzon sometime in the latter half of the second millennium of the Current Era. Although Micronesia has a loom weaving tradition using...
Abaca, ikat was not practiced arguing for the development of ikat weaving later after the settlement of Micronesia by Austronesians of Southeast Asia.

- Abaca ikat weaving is a specialization of the Philippines which has been exported to Okinawa arguing for its origins in the Philippines.
- Locally sourced natural dyes used in ikat weaving in Mindanao also argue for its development initially in Mindanao.
- The oldest ikat cloth in Southeast Asia has been found in Banton Island, Romblon dating to the 13th to the 14th century.
- Similar to other Austronesian communities in Southeast Asia, ikat cloth is associated with social and religious ceremonies among the ikat producing communities of Mindanao.
- The presence of other tie-dye textile making techniques in Mindanao such as “batik”, ‘tritik’ and “plangi” argues for the origins of ikat in Southeast Asia, specifically in the Mindanao-Borneo area.
- The transition from bark cloth to woven cloth can be found in the tumpal motif of ikat cloth.
- The relative ease in the production and superior strength of abaca threads became the favored bast material for loom weaving in Eastern Maritime Southeast Asia.

Ikat in Southern Mindanao

Tao-I-chih-lio by Wang Ta-Yuan of the Yuan Dynasty wrote in 1349 that the natives of Basilan earned a living by weaving. (Hayin, J.A., 2007)

The textiles of the Bagobo, Bilaan and Mandaya of Mindanao show a shared and common tradition with Austronesian communities in Southeast Asia. (Quizon, C.A. 1998)

Ikat weaving is associated with religious beliefs among the Bagobo, Bilaan and Mandaya. A prominent and notable figurative zoomorphic representation is crocodiles. Fear and awe of crocodiles has a deep spiritual significance for Austronesian communities. The anthropomorphic representation is suggested as depictions of victims of headhunting activities. However, the representation of female forms suggests otherwise as only males are the target of such activities. In other literature, the representation of people in ikat is associated with ancestor-worship. (Reyes, L.A.N., 1992)

A belief in the transmutation of the life-force seems to permeate ancient Austronesian belief-systems, that is slightly akin to animism but incorporates spirits, ancestors, slain enemies, animate and inanimate units of nature. The transmutation of the life-force is represented in the motifs of Austronesian art forms and other utilitarian objects such as textiles.

The painstaking process in making ikat means that it has been imbued with a significant life force and thus acquires a spiritual dimension. Ikat weaving among women is the counterpart of brass-making and headhunting among the male members of a community.

The persistence of ikat weaving and other textiles of Southeast Asia is attributed to its association with the religious belief systems of Austronesians. Despite the availability of foreign alternatives, ikat weaving has persisted among various Austronesian communities. Conversion
of animist Austronesian communities into Islam and Christianity has weakened the tradition of ikat weaving in the Austronesian Realm.

The history of Austronesian clothing begins with bark cloth. The transition from bark cloth to textile weaving is indicated by the use of the tumpal motif in ikat weaving as well as batik cloth printing. Tumpal is the serrated edges associated with bark cloth and stylized as elongated triangles in ikat textiles and batik. The weaving of textiles seems to have been introduced later, starting with development of abaca (musa textilis) fabrics such as lupis, sinamay or guinaras. (Habi. The Philippine Textile Council. 2013) The introduction of textile weaving has been suggested to have started during 200 BC or the start of Philippine Iron Age Period. Abaca textiles are found most prominently in the Philippines with isolated occurrences in Taiwan, eastern maritime region of Indonesia and Micronesia. Cotton was later introduced with the rise of regional trade with India and China sometime immediately before or during the first millennium. Bark cloth did not reach the level of sophistication as tapa cloth of the Polynesians for the reason that textile weaving was introduced whereas Polynesians seem to have lost the cultural complex of loom weaving. It can be suggested that the loss of loom weaving led to the development of more sophisticated bark cloth production and tattoo traditions among Polynesians. Motifs associated with ikat weaving can be seen in the bark cloth as well as in tattoo traditions of Polynesians. Moreover, the spiritual significance of ikat weaving in Southeast Asia and tattoo ornamentation in Polynesia shares similar spiritual underpinnings. It is significant to note that in areas in Mindanao where ikat production is practiced, bodily tattoo markings are absent, suggesting the convertibility of both traditions.(Gittinger, M. 1979) In the Cordillera region of Northern Luzon, tattoo marking is practiced alongside ikat production. However, it might be noted that ikat production was only recently introduced to the region. In Austronesian communities of Taiwan, ikat production is wholly absent while tattoo marking is widely practiced. The difference in occurrence in both traditions would suggest that ikat production replaced tattoo markings among different Austronesian communities. It is also interesting to note that the Visayan Pintados as noted by Spanish chroniclers do not have an elaborate ikat tradition as in Southern Mindanao. The more cosmopolitan culture of Tagalog society at the advent of Spanish colonialisation did not exhibit a strong ikat production or a tattoo marking tradition. The same observation can be made with the various groups in Borneo wherein each group specialize in a particular artform such as tattoo marking, textile production, beadwork, wood carving, bark cloth painting.(Scott, W.H., 1994)

Associated spiritual and symbolic beliefs in the tattoo traditions of the Austronesians were later infused into ikat fabric traditions. Fabrics were more powerful than tattoos as they can be transferred from one generation to another, communally shared and adaptable to various rituals and ceremonies, reinforcing the beliefs in ancestral spirits of Austronesians. The transfer of life force of animate beings is the objective of tattoo traditions of Austronesians. There seems to be a divergence of communities that practiced tattoo and the production of ikat cloth. As a general rule, those who have the ikat tradition do not practice tattoo markings.

The myth of the origin of ikat weaving would indicate a transition from bark cloth (balete tree where bark cloth can be obtained) to the extraction of fibers from the abaca plant. It is noteworthy that the name of Bai Pandan, the mythical cultural hero of ikat weaving, is
associated with the material used for mat-weaving, which is an intermediary technology to loom weaving, particularly with the principles of the weaving of the warp and weft threads/leaves. The presence of black and white rice in the myth of Bai Pandan is indicative of the introduction of dyeing. The introduction of rice could also be indicative of the date or period when ikat weaving was developed among the Bagobo.

The myth can be taken to be indicative of the antiquity of ikat weaving as recorded history of Austronesians can only be discerned from oral accounts as told in myths and legends and deified cultural heroes. The myth may also indicate that ikat weaving was developed somewhere else and introduced to Austronesian communities in Mindanao or was passed on from an ancestral cultural hero in the person of Bai Pandan.

Ikat weaving represents the culmination and combination of various traditions – backstrap loom weaving, abaca fiber production, tie-dye ornamentation of fibers and textiles, mat weaving and basket making, dye extraction from roots and barks of trees and plants.

The Avutag fabric of the Itbayat is an intermediary textile between bark cloth and woven cloth. The fibers for the Avutag fabric is extracted from a tree. The Avutag fabric though is not tie dyed, suggesting that ikat developed further south, possibly in the Mindanao – Borneo area.

In Micronesia, abaca fabrics woven from backstrap looms are practiced without the ikat weaving techniques. The presence of the practice of abaca weaving in Micronesia is indicative of the contacts between Micronesia and Southeast Asia. The absence of ikat weaving in Micronesia would suggest that ikat weaving developed in the current era, most probably during the first millennium. (This period is also known for the diversion and rise of trade links between Southeast Asia and the Pacific to the China-India-Mediterranean Trade Zone. The rise in trade would push China to absorb non-Han populations of Southeast Mainland China, particularly the Daic-speaking Austroasiatic groups of the area (Yueh) and the Austronesian lands of Southeast Asia.)

The Bagobo myth on ikat may be indicative when this tradition was developed. The myth indicates a period when trading activities brought prosperity and the development of the ikat weaving techniques, particularly when gold and ivory became items of trade. The rise of regional trade occurred during the first millennium of the current era, particularly with the growth of the spice trade. Ikat fabrics became items of trade by the second millennium of the current era. The importance of textiles is indicative of its use as currency in Southeast Asia. Increased contacts spurred by trading activities between communities would indicate an increase in the exchange of ideas leading to the development of ikat weaving.

The rather late transmission of the ikat weaving techniques to other parts of the Austronesian realm, particularly in the northern parts of the Philippines would suggest that ikat weaving is a relatively new innovation.

The existence of the “tritik” as another resist-dye ornamentation process in Mindanao as well as the development of batik in Java is indicative of the Austronesian origins of ikat textiles.
Based on the textile traditions of the Mandaya, Bilaan and Bagobo, it would seem that ikat weaving was most developed among the Bagobo; thus, arguing for its origins among the Bagobo.

The term “ikut” as a reference to old materials and objects that have acquired a spiritual significance could be associated with the term “ikat” which in itself has spiritual significance. Ikat is derived from the Bahasa word “meningkat” meaning to tie. Ikut may be the Philippine variant of ikat. (Agad, 2012)

To the Bagobo, a period before the introduction of textiles is called “mona” which may be translated as the time before, a time when the people were still wearing bark cloth and living in relative isolation without the luxuries that trading activities bought. Mona is related to the Tagalog word “muna” which means the time before. Based on the rise of inter-regional trade and contacts in the Indian Ocean, this period can be dated to around 200 BC.

**Ikat in Cordillera**

The Ilocos acquired the practice of ikat making from trading activities with Java and transmitted it to Cordilleran communities during the Spanish period or sometime during the 18th century. (Andersen, E. 2012)(Lim, A. 2013)(Labrador, A.M.T. P., 2013)

The Gaddangs of Northern Philippines produce ikat weaves. (Ballares, L. 2013)

The Bontok use ikat cloth as funeral garments.

The color red is associated with a warrior, yellow is for royalty and black is the more honorable color among headhunters as it means that a warrior had taken 25 heads.

Dyes used in ikat weaving include duhat, lumboy, mangroves, ginger, abaca fiber for white, k’nalum tree for black and sikarig roots for red.

Banana blankets in the Cordilleras are woven with lizard motifs because of their belief that lizards are the messengers in the spirit world watching over them.

Other common designs are the sarimanok, plaid (for malongs), zigzags, frogs, crustaceans, geometrics, zoomorphics, botanicals, celestial forms, parts of the human body and a person inside the house.

Dominant in the Ilocos designs are the "sinankusikos" (whirlwind) and "sinanbitwin" (constellation star). Ilocos blankets and masts normally have the whirlwind motif as their way to soothe the powers of the wind god. (Punsalan, Y.L. 2012)

**Advent of Spanish Colonisation**

The export of Philippine textiles to Mexico during the Galleon trade would argue for the introduction of ikat weaving and backstrap loom weaving to Meso-America. (Scott, W.H., 1994)
Tagalog society during the 16th century indicates its cosmopolitan character driven by trading activities as many Austronesian cultural practices such as ikat weaving and tattooing were not widely found.

Visayan society in the 16th century indicates the presence and practice of ikat weaving but was not as elaborate as those found in Southern Mindanao thus the prominence of tattoo marking and suggests a late introduction. The spiritual-cultural significance of Visayan ikat practices is similar to those in Southern Mindanao. (Scott, W.H., 1994)

The similarity between the Tagalog and Cordillera backstrap loom indicates a continuing tradition whereas innovation in this tradition is evident in the Visayan practice. The presence of backstrap loom throughout the Philippines is indicative of the existence of an Austronesian cultural complex and heritage.

There is no substitute in the use of the backstrap loom in the production of intricate and complex ikat weaves.

The high level of craftsmanship involved in ikat-weaving is appreciated as an art form and augurs well for its continued practice and demand in the local and global market. The development of ikat weaving is an ancient heritage and source of pride and identity for Austronesian Filipinos and finds resonance in the modern aesthetics of the global market today.

**Philippine Traditional Ikat Fabric Dyes and Colors**

Traditional dyes were extracted from plant materials and minerals. Main colors extracted are various shades of red, yellow, brown and black. Indigo was introduced with regional trade. Commercial dyes that produced vibrant hues were introduced in the 20th century. Red has a significant importance for all Philippine Austronesian groups as it was reserved for warriors and prominent members of the community. Red is the color of blood and represented the flow of life. White comes from undyed abaca fibers. The Ibans of Borneo share the same color sensitivities as their Philippine counterpart. (Charle, S. 2005) Dyes were fixed to the abaca fiber by boiling. The intensity of color depended on the soaking and boiling time. The tensile strength of abaca fiber was maintained even with the dyeing treatment and thus became a choice bast fiber material for loom weaving. The glossy sheen of abaca cloth was achieved through rubbing with a shell. Non-Islamic communities in Mindanao retained the use of traditional dyes, particularly with the preference of local dye materials for the color black over the use of indigo, even during the advent of regional trade most likely due to spiritual association with ikat weaving.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dye – Color</th>
<th>Ethnic group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>narra - red</td>
<td>Cordillera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indigo - black</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>green (gray)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amber</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yellow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sikarig tree and root - deep red, maroon</td>
<td>Bagobo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the leaves and buds of the kinarum - black</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ebony Diospyros (kamagong)- black</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morinda - red</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>engkudu roots - maroon</td>
<td>Iban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Group</td>
<td>Motifs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilocos</td>
<td>Stripes (Binandera) Binakul – whirlpool kusikos pattern. (One of the original weaves of Ilocos. Represents the waves of the sea. Protection from spirits) Pinilian-a – with repeating pattern of stylized geometric figures, leaves, flowers, crabs, horses and even male and female form favored by the Tingguian for their ritual blankets. Kinurkurus - plaid pattern Dinapat – running pattern that fills the entire field of the textile” uses repeating figures of two headed frogs, rivers, mountains Insukit or inkaot which means “inserted” has patterns of stylized stars, diamonds and oblong shapes, fish, crabs, pineapples, grapes, turkeys, horses even the two-headed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Visayas      | Suga (saffron or pomegranate) – yellow tayom (indigo) - black agusip - red talab roots nila bangkuro bark cotton husk- bright red | |

**Ikat motifs among Austronesian Filipinos**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Motifs</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kalinga / Gaddang</td>
<td>Geometrics, Stripes, Rivers, Mountains</td>
<td>Mata-mata design of the Kalinga and Visayas indicate a common source. The persistence of ancient forms indicates a continuity in the belief systems of Austronesian Filipinos from the past to the present.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visayas</td>
<td>Mata-mata- eyelet design, Pinayusan (for warriors, hair thin and white, used on kerchiefs) – Flowered pattern on a field of red, Stripes, Squares, Salukap - checkered design, Potak - little rosettes, Luray - separately woven strips that looked like a banister of many colors. (Datus and their ladies were distinguished by exquisite luray on all four sides called libot, a circuit.)</td>
<td>Differences in motifs indicates a representation of a class system and personal distinction. The more complex the motifs, the more life force is imbued in its creation, the more spiritual significance it acquires.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Mangyan         | Pakudos                                    | To ward off evil or bad omen. From the Spanish word “cruz”. The impact of Spanish colonialism can be seen in the art forms and language of Austronesian Filipinos. However, the Spanish intercession is modified with existing cultural and spiritual beliefs and the foreign forms were simply incorporated into the social fabric of the people. (www.hibla.ph 2012) (www.cmcrafts.org 2014) http://angelasancartier.net/asia-southeastern-islands-and-the-
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Motifs/Themes</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subanen</td>
<td>Trees, Snakes, River</td>
<td>(<a href="http://www.hibla.ph">www.hibla.ph</a> 2012)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bagobo</td>
<td>Human Figures, Plaids, Stripes, Crocodile, Hook and Spiral, Diamonds, Asho-asho, Tumpal</td>
<td>It is worth noting the Hook and Spiral motifs which can be seen also in pottery, particularly with the Manunggul Jar of Palawan. The hook and spiral motif is represented as a tattoo motif among the Dayak of Borneo and is patterned after the underbelly of tadpoles. Tadpoles represent the beginning of life. The hook and spiral motif indicates the belief in the linkages between generations and ancestors. It also represents the transmutation of the life force that permeates the beliefs of Austronesians. The hook and spiral motif also appears in the allied arts of basketry as it does in mats. The tumpal motif indicates a continuity between bark cloth and woven textiles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yakan</td>
<td>Seputangan, Pinalantupan, Pis or Pishabet, Sinuluan, Inalaman, Bunga Sama</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maguindanao</td>
<td>Raon na kayo – leaves of a tree, Tarupuk – floating diamonds, Sambit – lightning, Puripis di pimbalayan – spiraling windmills inside a square design, Kinunitan – beautified, improved upon, Makainggit – worthy of envy, Tipas – shaped like a diamond cookie, Pepedaw – paper windmills, Benulodto – rainbow</td>
<td>Animal motifs in Maguindanao ikat are rare, probably due to the influence of Islam. As in the Christian north, Islam has modified but not supplanted the cultural practices of Austronesian Filipinos. This is only to be expected due to the ritual significance of human and animal motifs in ikat weaving among Austronesian Filipinos. However, a reverence for nature is apparent in the motifs of Southern Mindanao.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Sama and Jamal Mapun | Seko karwang – right elbow  
Nanas – pineapple  
Mastura malong (clan malong worn only by Masturas)  
Sinaupak sa langit - split in the sky (purple background divided into square lines consisting of white or gold or golden thread. Plaid textiles have social and ritual significance as they are the oldest. | as it does in Northern Luzon and indicates a persistence of cultural beliefs and practices. |
| Sama and Jamal Mapun | Jali – stripes pattern in mats  
Tabanas – multi-coloured squares  
Kusa – chequered pattern  
Seko – Zig -zag pattern | Designs in mats found among the Sama and Jamal Mapun can be discerned in ikat designs, not only in the concepts of warp and weft weaving but also in the motifs used. |
IKAT WEAVING IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD

INDIA

There is no conclusive or definitive evidence for the Indian origins of Ikat. However, Ikat in India has developed on its own and has been recognized as an Indian artform in its own right. Indian ikat textiles have been traded in Southeast Asia, Africa and the Mediterranean. (Ghosh, G.K. and Ghosh, S. 2000)

Ikat production sites in India are located along the eastern coast facing Southeast Asia with which India has had long trading relations. Indian influence in Southeast Asia began around 200 BCE or 2200 BP.

If Ikat has been documented to have existed, introduced or developed in India in the 6th century, this would indicate that ikat in Southeast Asia is relatively a new innovation/development, given that India and Southeast Asia has had trade relations dating back to 2200 BP. (Assuming that ikat's origins was in Southeast Asia)(Desai, C. 1988)

The patola cloth of India is a variation of the ikat cloth or better known as double-ikat (designs on both the weft and the warp for more clarity in design). (www.angelasancartier.net) Most ikat traditions in Southeast Asia are the type known as warp ikat. Patola is a more intricate ikat technique. The geringsing of Bali, Indonesia is the Austronesian version of double-ikat.(Steinmayer, O., 1997)Patola uses motifs unique to India. Patola is a relatively new development that is dated no earlier to 10th century in India. The term, patola, is only dated to a reference in a Sanskrit text to the 10th century. (Sheares, 2014)Ikat patterning is believe to be represented in garments shown in the Ajanta cave paintings of India (from the fifth to the seventh century). “Patola” is thought to come from the Sanskrit word “Pattakula” which means silk cloth. (www.cdn.worldheritage.org)(ten Hoopen, P.)(WWW.ARCHIVE.ORG/STREAM/PATOLA.) (Sheares, C.) http://archive.org/stream/Patola/patola_djvu.txt (Internet Archive, 2014)

Despite its high demand, patola cloth imports did not supplant ikat production in Southeast Asia, although it did acquire a high status as a luxury good and was exchanged as a form of currency. Patola supplemented textile consumption in Southeast Asia.

The tumpal motif used in Patola designs is also indicative of its Austronesian roots.

Unlike other Indian textiles (i.e. muslins and block-printed cotton cloth) Roman and Indian chronicles do not mention patola as a trade good, indicating its late development.

There is, however, another possible origin of “patola” as it can be associated with the Austronesian root word “atu” which means mat weaving. Patola could be related to the proto-Austronesian word “atu”.

The Quechua word for ikat is “watado”. Although “watado” is believed to have originated from the Spanish word “atar” which means to tie, its link to the Polynesian Maori word for mat weaving “whatu” indicates a possible different explanation. The earliest evidence of ikat weaving in Peru, Latin America is 11th century. This period is well within the Austronesian-Polynesian expansion in the Pacific and well after the documented evidence of ikat weaving in Southeast Asia. The existence of an ancient Austronesian cultural zone stretching from India to Latin America that predated European domination of the Americas and Asia is a compelling possibility.
Another argument for the Southeast Asian roots of patola is that silk textile is associated with China. The use of silk in ikat can be attributed to trade links with China, particularly in Southeast China.

Although India has an ancient textile tradition. Indian textile traditions are based on cotton with ikat techniques of dyeing only appearing later. It must be noted that cotton and the dye indigo was introduced to Southeast Asia from India. Most ikat traditions in Southeast Asia use cotton. Various studies will show that the cultural and economic exchanges and influences between the two regions flowed in both directions.

In India, a manual process of winding yarn is called “asu.” The term “asu” has analogies in Quechua and Polynesian. (www.cdn.worldheritage.org) http://www.worldheritage.org/articles/Ikat (World Heritage Encyclopedia, 2014)

JAPAN

An ikat sample found in Horyuji temple at Nara but now in the Tokyo National Museum was apparently brought from China during the Tang period (618 – 907 CE) but was most probably produced in Central Asia. (www.angelasancartier.net)

Southeast Asian traders introduced ikat to Okinawa in the 14th or the 15th century. Dyes in Okinawa are still brought from Indonesia. Ikat is called kasuri in Japan.

Double ikat is called tate-yoko gasuri in Okinawa.

Basho is the ikat-woven abaca textile found in Okinawa. They are often used in kimonos. (www.dharmatradng.com) (Ota, 1998)(Quizon, C.A. 1998)

THAILAND

Ikat is known as Matmi (mudmee, mudmi) in Thailand. Warp ikat is also produced by the Karen and Lawa tribal peoples in northern Thailand. (www.blog.jaypore.com)

CAMBODIA/ VIETNAM

The ikat of Cambodia and Vietnam can be traced to the Austronesian Chams. The Chams early in their history produced elaborate woven cloth. Chams established a kingdom in central Vietnam from the second century CE. The Chams also exported timber and wood products. The Chams were fully incorporated into Vietnam in the 15th century. They are now scattered in Cambodia and Vietnam. (Lockard, 2009)

Cambodian ikat is called sampot hol – skirts worn by the women. Pidans are wall hangings used to decorate the pagoda or the home for special ceremonies. Ikat is known as “hol” in Vietnam. (www.blog.jaypore.com) (www.fibre2fashion.com)

FRANCE

SWITZERLAND

The presence of an ikat cloth in Switzerland dated to 7th century could be indicative of its Southeast Asian origins due to the use of hemp instead of cotton as the bast material. (Ghosh, G.K. and Ghosh, S. 2000)

MEDITERRANEAN ZONE

The presence of ikat cloth in Berenike in Egypt (A Roman trading port along the Red Sea in Egypt – 1st to 3rd century AD) could indicate the presence and participation of Austronesian seafaring traders in the Mediterranean cultural-economic zone. Indications of Austronesian seafarers/presence in the Mediterranean zone have been dated to 1st century AD or earlier. Trade in spices, particularly cinnamon, is an indication of Austronesian presence in the Mediterranean zone. India’s shipping traditions can also be attributed to Austronesian’s maritime heritage. The presence of Indian trade goods in Berenike may have been transported by Austronesian traders. The use of teak wood in ship lumber in Berenike is also indicative of its Southeast Asian origins. (Wild, J & Wild, F. 2005)

The ikat found in Berenike pushes back the archaeological evidence for ikat to 1st - 3rd century AD. This is earlier than any ikat artifact found in Southeast Asia (13th century Banton Island, Philippines) and India (6th century). (Palasi, K. www.indiegogo.com)

Although the artifacts found in Berenike has been attributed to Indian traders, the presence of ikat cloth, beads, teak timber from ships, spices and other artifacts could indicate the actual presence of Austronesians in the Mediterranean zone or at the very least Southeast Asian goods were reaching the area through Indian intermediaries. Examination of the artifacts by Austronesian scholars can provide clarification of the issue.

The triangular motif found in an ikat cloth in Berenike can be indicative of the tumpal motif of Austronesian ikat/bark cloth.

In another nearby archaeological site, Myos Hormos (Quseir al-Qadim), along the Red Sea, food fragments of onion skin, citrus rind, garlic cloves, aubergine seeds, banana skins, wooden bowls, spoons and combs, as well as many of the Eastern spices traded through the port, such as black pepper, ginger, cardamom and betelnut indicate an active trade between the Mediterranean Zone and Southeast Asia as early as 1st century AD. This trade remained active until the Islamic period (11th to 16th centuries). (2003)

MIDDLE EAST

Simple warp ikat stripes were made in Yemen by the eighth or ninth century where it was traded in Egypt where they have survived. (www.angelasancartier.net) A textile fragment called “Tiraz” ikat dated to around the 9th century in Yemen with Islamic inscriptions shows affinities with Austronesian ikat traditions not only in motifs but also in its religious significance and associations. Yemen has long been known as a crossroad of the Spice Trade linking the Mediterranean zone with Southeast Asia. Tiraz means embroidery in Persian. (www.metmuseum.org) Ikat is known as “asb” in Yemen. Yemeni ikat is made of cotton. (Power)

It is claimed that Yemeni ikat was introduced to West Africa sometime in the 10th century. (Balfour-Paull, 1997)(Power, T.)
Warp ikat is called mashru in Syria and Turkey and is a warp-faced satin weave with silk warp and cotton weft. European ikat production arose in response to Islamic textiles. (www.angelasancartier.net)

CENTRAL ASIA

Central Asia also has an ikat weave tradition. Uyghurs call it “atlas” and is used only for women’s clothing. Qara-atlas (Darayi, black color ikat used for older women clothing). Khoja-e-atlas (includes yellow, blue, purple colors) is used by married women. Qizil-atlas (red) is use for girls. Yarkant-atlas (Khan atlas). During the Yarkant Khanate (16th century) there were 10 different styles for this kind of ikat. (www.cdn.worldheritage.org)


Uzbekistan, Afghanistan and Xinjiang China have ikat-weaving traditions. These areas are along the Silk route linking China with the Mediterranean zone and India.

CHINA

Chinese historical sources indicate the presence of ikat (“spotted cloth”) among the ancient Yueh communities and states in central and southern China. The presence of ikat is attributed to the Austronesian colonies among the Daic-speaking communities in the region. Ikat can only be found in non-Han southern regions of China today. The general absence of ikat weaving in China today can be due to the following factors:

- Disdain for the culture of “barbarian” peoples.
- Ikat fabrics were traded rather than produced in Han-dominated Yueh lands. The source of ikat fabrics being in insular Southeast Asia.
- Austronesians were a minority among the Daic dominated Yueh lands.
- Ikat fell to disuse as it was supplanted by Han Chinese cultural complexes. Although silk production of the Daics was adopted probably due to the greater numbers of Daics in the region and the attractive attributes of silk fabrics as it became a sought after item of trade.
- Ikat production was not yet widespread as it was a new innovation developed in Insular Southeast Asia.
- The Yueh states were conquered by Han China in 334 and 222 BCE. This is approximately the same period when ikat was estimated as being developed in Insular Southeast Asia. Ikat is not an original Austronesian cultural complex as it is absent among the Austronesians of Taiwan, the supposed springboard of the expansion of Austronesians to Southeast Asia and the Pacific. Micronesia which was settled by Austronesians from the Philippines and Indonesia between 3,500 to 2,000 years ago does not have ikat weaving, although they practice abaca fiber loom weaving which indicate that ikat is a more recent innovation. In contrast, Madagascar which was settled during the first millennium of the current era has ikat.
- The prevalence of tattoo traditions among the Yueh communities is a possible indication of the absence of ikat.

The presence of ikat in the non-Han areas of Southern China supports the contention that ikat was adopted well after the conquest of Yueh states in Southern China. This fact indicates the continuous contacts between the Daic populations of Southern China and Southeast Asian Austronesians even after it fell under Han Chinese administrative control. The old motifs among
the Daics of Southern China correspond with the incipient Southeast Asian ikat motifs indicating transmission was made at an early date. The static state of motifs in Daic regions of Southern China indicates that contacts with Southeast Asia were eventually disrupted as it was incorporated into the Chinese state.

In terms of chronology it is not surprising that the appearance of ikat in Southern China is dated to around 1,400 years ago, well after ikat became widespread in Southeast Asia. The region is close to Southeast Asia and contacts between Daics and Austronesians are well documented in Chinese records (Yueh states) as well as archaeological artifacts (Dongson) and ethnographic studies (linguistic and cultural links).

What is noteworthy about the spread of ikat among Daic communities is the transmission role of Austronesians of this cultural complex through the agency of their maritime orientation. The presence of Austronesians in the Yueh kingdoms of central and southern China is a testament to this heritage.

**IKAT EAST OF SOUTHEAST ASIA**

**POLYNESIA**

Ikat weaving is not practiced among Polynesians and may be due to the following:

- Greater complexity of technology
- More exacting raw-material requirements

An indication that Polynesians once practiced loom weaving are archaeological remains found on the Polynesian island of Taumako. (Taumako. www.ask.com 2014)

It is highly likely though that Polynesians brought ikat loom weaving to South America based on the time depth of their arrival presence in Easter Island (the easternmost known outpost of Polynesians in the Pacific) and archaeological remains of ikat cloth in Peru sometime in 1000 AD. Recent archaeological investigations have also found physical remains of Polynesians in Chile. Linguistic evidence also indicates the links between Polynesia and Quechua of Peru.(Mytinger,C. 2006)

**SOUTH AMERICA**

**Peru**

**Archaeological Evidence**

The ancient Peruvians knew ikat. It seems that before the arrival of the Spanish the process of ikat was not very widespread in America. At the present time, only five or six specimens of ikat have been described in the literature relating to ancient Peruvian textiles. These belong to a pre-Incaic period and have their provenience in the coastal coast of Peru (Pachacamac, Viru, Pacasmayo). Ikat methods were employed only in the warp and only in localized areas were dyes of one or two colors used. The weft was of a uniform color. The specimens show simple geometric motifs as well as forms of birds and humans. (d'Harcourt, 1962)

**Precursors of Incan Ikat**
Although much credit is given to the Inka for the beautiful textiles produced within their empire, it is in fact the craftsmanship of Chimu (50-800 CE) and Chancay artisans that should be praised.

The first woven textiles constructed by the twining method eventually evolved into the plain weave construction of cloth and led to the development of the loom.

The craft production of metal objects and textiles was emphasized because these art forms were used as, "commodities of wealth to confirm the status of the elite and to exchange through the long-distance trade system of the Chimu." There is evidence in Peru of the cultivation of cotton on the coast as early as c. 2,500 BC, long before the cultivation of food plants such as maize and beans.

The first known cotton textiles of the Andean people were twined and looped which progressed to cotton plain weave fabrics.

Woven fabrics were used in burials, religious rituals, and as ceremonial gifts.

Even more importantly, much elaborate textile production was for the garments of the Chimu dignitaries and head of the state. These matched sets may include a tunic, loincloth, mantle and a turban or a hat. Of the Peruvian textiles that still remain today, those found on the coast are the finest preserved due to the climate. The hot desert conditions have allowed these ancient fabrics to remain intact structurally and maintain their colors.

The three main dyes identified with Peruvian textiles in general include:

Indigo, an unknown yellow-brown plant dye, and red, possibly from a species of relbunium, achiote (Bixa orellana), or from cochineal. Cochineal has been found in south-cast Nazca textiles (c. 200 BC – AD 200) and later eleventh-century textiles of the north east. It was widely used during the Inca period.

Ancient in origin, the back strap loom is still important in South and Central America and in many parts of Southeast Asia.

Peruvian, “use of the backstrap loom dates back at least to the Moche,” which could be as early as the year 50.

All sources and archaeological findings support that pre-Hispanic Peru developed and made use of every weaving technique known to date and that, “by 400 BC all the processes were fully developed.” The Chimu culture, however, did not make any advancement in the development of textile production but merely employed the weave structures already formulated by earlier peoples.

Around 650, “tapestry began to replace embroidery as the dominant technique.” Tapestry is defined as "a weft-face plain-weave fabric in which the weft yarns are discontinuous; usually decorative or expressive."

Three distinct images that occur in Chimu weaving are variations of, “an anthropomorphic figure with an elaborate headdress standing on a small platform holding a staff or other implement in
each hand,” a breaking wave pattern used as an ornamental border that may be a personification of ocean waves, and small stylized animal figures. Animals often represent the powerful, desirable, superhuman qualities of the strength, size, ferocity, keen vision, flight or fertility. Composite human-animals are common.

Although there are a variety of headdress designs, “frequently it is semicircular or crescent-shaped and has rayed elements.” The incorporation of the ocean in Chimú textiles is explained by the coastal location of this culture. The sea was an important deity in Chimú religion. Other ocean-related images include boats, fish, and seabirds such as the pelican. The maritime motifs of the Chimú evoke Austronesian maritime heritage.

The motifs used by Chimú artists are the main links with the earlier Mochica mythological concepts. (Schevil, Berlo, Dwyer. 1996) (d’Harcourt, 1962)

**Linguistic Evidence**

The linguistic imprint of Austronesian in South America would indicate contacts between the two cultures. Studies on Quechua, the language of the Incas, indicate that as much as 30% of the language has affinities with Maori or the Polynesian language. (Panther, P.)

The patola (weft ikat) of India is related to the ‘whatu” weaving of the Maori Polynesians in New Zealand and ultimately to ‘watado’ ikat of Quechuas in Peru. ([www.tribaltextiles.info](http://www.tribaltextiles.info))

Quechua clothing “ajsu” is derived from Polynesian “ahu”. “Ajsu” is the clothing for royalty/nobility and has the same significance for Polynesians. (Asu is hand-spun yarn in India)

The color red has the same significance for Quechua and Polynesian and is reserved for royalty. Quechua headdress with the colour red “kahua” is similar to Polynesian “kahu-wai-a-rangi”. The red headdress is also reminiscent of the red ikat kerchiefs of magani/bagani warriors of Austronesian Filipinos.

Colours in Quechua:

- Yana (black)
- Q’omir (green)
- Puka (red)
- Q’ellu (yellow)
- Yora (white)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QUECHUA</th>
<th>MAORI</th>
<th>MEANING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ajsu</td>
<td>ahu</td>
<td>Clothing Vestido de hombres y mujeres, especie de camisa sin mangas ni cuello, de lana o tejido fino. (Quechua)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kahua</td>
<td>Kahu-wai-a-rangi</td>
<td>El fleco Colorado en el Illauatu del Inca, señal distintiva del monarca. Cierto adorno rojo para la</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE FOR THE AUSTRONESIAN ROOTS OF THE BACKSTRAP LOOM IN SOUTH AMERICA

Backstrap looms are found in Central and South America. The similarities with Southeast Asian versions suggest a transmission of this tradition from Austronesians. Lack of evidence of a direct transfer of this cultural complex has led to the belief of an independent development of backstrap looms all over the world. However, linguistic investigation into the terms used in backstrap looms in both regions suggests a link. The term for the shuttle/lease rod among Austronesians has a parallel among Quechua speakers in Peru. The likely transmitters of this cultural complex would be Polynesian Austronesians. However, Polynesians seem to have lost loom weaving as it does not generally exist as a tradition in the areas inhabited by Polynesians, except, for the Solomon Islands which interestingly call the backstrap loom as the Sikaiana Loom. The linguistic evidence would indicate that Polynesians were most likely the source of the back strap loom tradition in South America.

Further indirect arguments made for the Austronesian source of South American back strap loom is the time depth period for archaeological evidence for ikat weaves in South America which dates to 1000 CE in Peru and well within the dispersal period of Polynesians in the Eastern Pacific. (Panther, P.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Backstrap Loom Part</th>
<th>Shuttle/ Lease Rod/ Weaver's Sword/ Weaving Harpoon</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Visayas</td>
<td>Sikwan</td>
<td>The term is similar among all Austronesian communities in the Philippines. The root word is &quot;siku&quot; or elbow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandaya</td>
<td>Sikuan</td>
<td>Bobbin is &quot;sinkwan&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tagalog</td>
<td>Sikwan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bagobo</td>
<td>Sikwan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solomon Islands, Polynesia</td>
<td>Sikaiana</td>
<td>Term used in Solomon Islands for the back strap loom. The term is a transitory term between the Southeast Asian term for the shuttle in back strap looms and the Quechua term “Wichuna” which has the same use in back strap looms found in Peru.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quechua (Peru)</td>
<td>Wichuna (<a href="http://www.tribaltextiles.info">www.tribaltextiles.info</a>)</td>
<td>A bone or wooden tool used as a pick and beater. A short pointed tool that they use to push in the weft. What is</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
notable is that term refers to the same tool used in back strap looms among Austronesian Filipinos.


AUSTRONESIAN ORIGINS OF IKAT WEAVING IN SOUTH AMERICA

The Quechua term for ikat weaving, ‘watado’ is analogous to ‘whatu’ the term for weaving among Maori Polynesians. The similarity in both groups for terms referring to weaving cloths suggests a common reference point. It is significant to note that atu actually means plaiting or weaving of mats in Proto Austronesian. The term whatu is indicative of the loss of the loom weaving tradition among the Polynesian Austronesians. To weave cloth is “habul/habel” in proto Austronesian. Although it is also noted that the term ‘watado’ has been linked to the Spanish word, “atar”, which means “to tie”, there might be another origin. The foreign appellation for a local tradition would cast doubt on this explanation as this would indicate a recent introduction as can be seen in the various terms used for ikat weaving in Meso America. If this is the case, the other explanation is that ikat weaving was introduced in South America when the Spaniards had already incorporated the Philippines in their Empire, still signifying the probable source as still in Southeast Asia. This however does not explain the archaeological findings of ikat weaves in Pre-Columbian South America. (www.tribaltextiles.info.) (Maori traditional textiles. Wikepedia. 2013)

What is notable about ikat weaving in South America is that it is practiced by men as well as women. In Guatemala, ikat weaving is practiced by Ladinos (mestizos) rather than the Mayan natives, thus, suggesting its foreign origins. The practitioners of ikat weaving could be deserters from Galleon ships. Conditions during these voyages were so devastating for Austronesian Filipino seamen that many deserted rather than make the return trip. The absence of females in the voyages undertaken in the Galleon trade would explain the existence of male ikat weavers in Latin America. Dyes used by ikat weavers in South America, particularly for indigo and madder are the same in South America and Southeast Asia. (www.tribaltextiles.info.)

Galleon Trade

It is believed that ikat shawls were inspired by imported goods from the Philippines, particularly the Manila shawl for women and wool cape for men. It is believed that the designs brought from the Philippines were copied using an existing ikat tradition. It is documented that a tribute good demanded from natives of the Philippines were woven abaca cloth. The Spaniards called this fabric as “medriñaque”. These fabrics were sent to Mexico via the Galleon Trade. (Barnes, R.)

Chile

Evidence of contacts between the Mapuche of Chile and Polynesian can be inferred from the warp ikat is found among the Mapuche. (Edmond, M. www.the-otholith.blogspot.com)

Bolivia

In Quechua-speaking South central Boliva, two groups the Jalq’a and Tarabuco practice ikat weaving. (www.tribaltextiles.info) (www.asur.org.bo)
The technique of weaving with design is called pallay.

**Mexico**

Ikat weaves are used to make rebozos or shawls in Mexico. Rebozos are made with back strap looms. They are used to carry babies and toddlers as well as produce. They are worn in holy places, during mourning. It is part of the national costume – ‘la china poblana’. Rebozos are made with silk or wool. They are used as shrouds for the dead. In Spanish, rebozo means to cover or protect oneself. In Nahuatl, it is called ciua nequealtlapacholoni. In Otomi it is called mini-mahua. It is sometimes called cenzotl, meaning a multi-colored cloth. ([www.tribaltextiles.info.](http://www.tribaltextiles.info))

The rebozo is a blend of the traditional tilma, lienzo on native Indians, carrying cloth, the Spanish mantilla, ikat and fabrics from Asia and the beautifully fringed shawl from the Philippines. Rebozo comes from the verb arreborzarse, to cover oneself. Ikat in Central America was most probably introduced during the 16th and 17th centuries from the Philippines via the Manila galleons. The Rebozo seems to be an imitation of the Southeast Asian shawl called selendang. The way a manton de Manila is displayed in Spain is similar to how a selendang is draped in Southeast Asia and is uncommon in European dress. (Schevil, Berlo and Dwyer, 2006) (Howe, R.J. 2013) (Simon, H.) (Dawson, B. 1992)

The image of the Virgin of Guadalupe in 1531 shows the tilmatl, a traditional cloak worn by the native Juan Diego has an ikat pattern. (Davis, 1988)

In contrast to Southeast Asia, in Mexico as in many parts of South America, ikat weaving is done by men. The ikat of Totonicapan, Mexico in general lay-out and intention has parallels with the Mandaya skirt pieces of the Philippines- with styled men, crocodiles, etc which has ritual significance. The colors are generally red-black-brown rather than indigo and white. There is no trace of ikat weaving in pre-Columbian Mexico and its current presence is believed to be an introduction from the Philippines.

**Guatemala**

The Guatemalan name of ikat is jaspe from jaspear which means to marble or speckle. (Davis, 1988)

Silk was used for ikat weaving, and was imported from China through the Philippines. In Central America, writers have indicated that ikat weaving was introduced during the Galleon Trade from the Philippines. ([www.angelasancartier.net](http://www.angelasancartier.net)) ([www.tribaltextiles.info](http://www.tribaltextiles.info))

Dyes include burned walnuts, cochiniilla insects.

Corte is the typical wrap skirt worn by Guatemalan women. The corte is similar to the sarong of Southeast Asia which is a tubular skirt.

Ikat weaving is also found on perrajes.

An innovation South America is the employment of a round stick around which groups of warp thread are wrapped allowing precise control of the design.
Colors used are plants such as indigo, avocado, pepper, pericon, hilamo and coconut bark and cochineal. It will be noted that the origins of coconut in Latin America has been traced to Southeast Asia, particularly the Philippines.


Animals in Jalq’a textiles are called khurus, or invincible and savage beasts. The animals represented (horses, bulls, birds, lions) are based in reality but are uniquely represented in anatomically impossible ways. The imaginary animals depicted (birds with four feet, winged mammals, and humpbacked beasts with disfigured heads) are evoked with exquisite forms and frequently with great detail, like teeth, for example, something impossible to find in other Andean textiles. The underworld deity of Jalq’a is known as the saxra. It can be conjectured that the depiction of these imaginary animals may be echoes of beasts that Austronesian forebears sought to recall but have become blurred through time or may have become disfigured as they were transported and translated by the recipient community.
CONCLUSION

The first part of the paper sought to establish the Austronesian provenance of ikat. The paper argues that loom weaving is a cultural complex that had long been a technology practiced among Austronesians and the combination with the tie-dyeing techniques in the Southeast Asian region allowed the development of ikat.

Austronesians are unique in the world for their maritime traditions. It is this maritime heritage that has allowed Austronesians to leave their cultural and material imprints in areas in the world such as India and South America. The maritime feats of Austronesians have already been well established. Recent studies have made it certain that Austronesians did reach South America. The investigation into the ikat weaving tradition in South America points to this direction.

The paper also sought to shed light on the history of Austronesians that is of yet still being pieced together. The narrow national perspectives on the histories of Austronesian communities do not fully provide an explanation or appreciation to the accomplishments of Austronesians. The search for the history of Austronesians as a singular historical people is also hampered by the fact that Austronesians have left no written records of their own and thus has to rely on other material evidence to indicate their presence in certain areas of the world. It must be noted that not until the advent of European domination were national identities forged. The Austronesian realm before this period was one where continuous exchanges and contacts were the norm.

The appearance of ikat in disparate parts of the world is believed to be due to independent development of this cultural technology. However, careful granular investigation by deconstructing the various elements of ikat would indicate a common origin that can be traced to the Austronesians of Southeast Asia. Austronesians were able to accomplish this awesome feat of cultural diffusion of its lifeways to distant corners of the world due to their maritime heritage. This paper also sought to illustrate the significant role played by Philippine Austronesians in the development of the Austronesian expansion throughout the world.

For much of its history, the Austronesian realm was a community in itself. The divisions will come when Southeast Asian Austronesians were increasingly drawn to the China-India-Mediterranean Trading Zone which incidentally was pioneered by Austronesians with their maritime heritage.

This study of ikat as a cultural marker of the Austronesian expansion is significant as it is as much an accomplishment with universal appeal as it is an incredible evidence of their circumlocution of extreme points of the world that were connected by the seas.

It is hoped that this paper will be a contribution to the writing of a comprehensive history of Austronesians and their larger role they played in the history of mankind.
### TIMELINE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2000 BCE</td>
<td>Austronesians come into contact with Papuans on New Guinea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000 BCE</td>
<td>Austronesians come into contact with Dong Son Culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200 BCE</td>
<td>Estimated appearance of ikat in Eastern Maritime Southeast Asia – most probably in the Mindanao-Borneo-Celebes area.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Start of the iron age in the Philippines.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Start of an intensification of trade in the China-India-Mediterranean Trade Continuum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Han chronicles mention of “spotted cloth” among the Yueh kingdoms of Southeast China. Incorporation of the Yueh kingdoms into the Han Empire.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CURRENT ERA (CE)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 - 3rd Century</td>
<td>Ikat fragments found in Berenike, Red Sea, Egypt was then under Roman Rule.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Austronesians are believed to have been active in the spice trade off East Africa (Somalia) as recorded in <em>Periplus Maris Erythrea</em> (Greek navigational guide) as early as 1 CE. Sewn boats of Austronesians are called “<em>rhapton ploanirion</em>”. Austronesian ships were called “<em>kolandrophonta</em>” or Kolan ships in said text. In Chinese chronicles by 5th century CE, <em>Kunlun po</em> are acknowledged to be Southeast Asian ships.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indigo and cotton introduced to Southeast Asia from India. Cotton replaces indigenous bast materials such as abaca in Southeast Asia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Century</td>
<td>Cham Kingdom in central and south Vietnam established. Elaborate colored cloth will be a known export of the Chams and will introduce ikat to Vietnam and Cambodia. Chams traded with China and India.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th Century</td>
<td>Estimated transmission of ikat from Daic groups in southern China to Central Asia along the Terrestrial Silk Route</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Silk used as bast material for ikat weaving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th Century</td>
<td>Historical references of ikat in India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>618-907 (Tang Period)</td>
<td>Ikat cloth found in Horyuji Temple, Nara, Japan. (Attributed to Central Asia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Century</td>
<td>Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th Century</td>
<td>Ikat cloth made of hemp located in a church in Switzerland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th - 7th Century</td>
<td>Ajanta Cave paintings indicative of ikat in India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>939</td>
<td>Ikat recorded in Java</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10th Century</td>
<td>Tiraz Ikat Fragment of Yemen found</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Development of patola (double silk ikat) in India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yemeni ikat introduced to West Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11th Century</td>
<td>Ikat cloth found in Peru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13th Century</td>
<td>Madagascar exports Ikat cloth to Yemen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14th Century</td>
<td>Earliest Ikat cloth in Southeast Asia found in Banton Island, Central Philippines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1349</td>
<td>Yuan Dynasty records ikat weaving in Basilan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 – 15th Century</td>
<td>Weft ikat introduced to Insular Southeast Asia from Mainland Southeast Asia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ikat from Southeast Asia introduced to Okinawa, Japan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15th Century</td>
<td>Start of Islamic influence on ikat weaving in Southeast Asia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16th Century</td>
<td>Madagascar Ikat sought after by the Portuguese.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>East Java, Madura, Bali and Sumbawa become centers of ikat production.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ikat introduced to Meso America through the Galleon Trade.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Islam and Christianity undermine the spiritual foundation of ikat weaving in Southeast Asia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yarkant Khanate of Central Asia recognizes 10 different styles of ikat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18th Century</td>
<td>Ikat introduced into the Cordillera communities of Luzon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>France produces silk ikat called “chine a la branche taffeta”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20th Century</td>
<td>Introduction of commercial dyes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SOURCES


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