



**INAH-Oaxaca Center**

Oaxaca, Oaxaca on July 1, 2019.

In response to official letter number 055 issued by the administrative section of the Municipal Presidency of San Pablo Tijaltepec in which it is stated: "...we request your intervention, so that by your through support us with the anthropological opinion of authenticity of the Tijaltepec blouse, all time it is an appropriate instrument for the knowledge of them as collective property of the community and that no person or brand can claim as its own...", it is determined the next:

**ANTHROPOLOGY OPINION OF THE BLOUSE OF SAN PABLO TIJALTEPEC**

San Pablo Tijaltepec is a Mixtec municipality that belongs to the District of Tlaxiaco in the Mixteca Registration of the state of Oaxaca. It has approximately 2,500 inhabitants and is politically governed by Indigenous Regulatory Systems that rotate every three years (municipal authorities and commissariat of communal property). It has a municipal seat (San Pablo or center) and eleven municipal agencies:

- |                             |                               |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Future                   | 7. Juquila Independence       |
| 2. Guadalupe Victoria       | 8. Saint Luke Redemption      |
| 3. Union Candlemas          | 9. San Isidro Allende         |
| 4. Beautiful view           | 10. Saint Dominic of Progress |
| 5. Buena Vista La Paz       | 11. Fortin Juarez             |
| 6. San Cristobal Lindavista |                               |

Its inhabitants, although they share a linguistic and cultural identity with the other municipalities that make up the great town of the *Ñuu Savi* or Mixtecs, have their own identity, determined due to its linguistic variant, its territorial configuration, its founding history, clothing traditional and, of course, for a way of being and being in the world that derives from their work daily. In terms of what concerns us in this opinion, below, it is shown that The clothing of their women is a fundamental part of said cultural identity that is ascribed to



a Mixtec identity (larger and heterogeneous) that adds to the great diversity in clothing throughout length and breadth of the state of Oaxaca.

The complete traditional feminine attire of the women of San Pablo Tijaltepec is composed in the news of:

embroidered blouse: *sa'ma ita*

soyate: *xani*

girdle: *santchi*

petticoat/petticoat: *xiyó' siki*

skirt: *xiyó'o*

rebozo: *sa'ma nixi*

necklace: *siki*

huarache: *ntixa'a*

brush or brush

According to oral tradition, what distinguishes a woman from San Pablo Tijaltepec from the neighboring municipalities is that she speaks the Mixtec language, has braids, knows how to combine her clothes and Above all, she knows how to do it. Therefore, although the blouse is the most visible part of her outfit due to the complexity and color of the embroidery that it holds, for its makers and wearers, makes sense in how much it is part of a larger clothing that defines them.

The blouse is constructed from the union of five embroidered canvases; two in front united with a braided to create the mirror effect, two on the sleeves and one on the neck. These canvases are made of blanket natural color embroidered with colored acrylic yarn with the gathered pepenado technique (less the neck). It is worth mentioning that, in order to meet commercial demands from abroad, in addition to the blanket, printed fabrics are used (always brought from outside), the use of which is exclusive to an external market to the municipality; That is to say, the women of Tijaltepec have not yet adopted the use of these fabrics as part of their clothing.

The gathered pepenado, for the exclusive case of Tijaltepec (in Ixtenco, Tlaxcala they also embroider with this technique, but with a different process and result) consists of taking a piece of blanket (to be embroidered) from which a thread of the weft is completely removed to free it and allow a second strand, manipulated to gather or pleat the fabric and later mark the folds on which the embroidery will be carried out. Once gathered and marked, the process begins. embroidery. For this, colored yarn is threaded onto a needle and from right to left the threads are started.





basting stitches until reaching the edge where the end is left loose and the length used is measured which will be used in the subsequent line basting again from right to left. This shows a gathered pepenado technique (embroidery of two in two lines) in such a way that, from one end From the embroidery the ends are cut and from the other “a continuous” U-shaped. This movement is repeated until the design is finished, which is marked on the front and back and preserving the pleated while embroidering. In the case of the blouse, four pieces are embroidered that make up the bib (two pieces) and sleeves. This technique is particular to San Pablo Tijaltepec.

Thus, among the laborious pepenado technique that allows the creation of different designs (animals, flowers, elements of its geography) the needles of this Mixtec town embroider reproducing perceptions and images of their worldview from stitches that also They update their cultural daily life. Well, as has been seen, the design of the blouse, without losing authenticity, has changed over time.

Below is an informative table of traditional clothing that shows these changes:

Before	PART	Now
Made with cotton brought from the coast. They did not put on long sleeves, the length ended with the wavy resulting from the gathered pepenado. Formed by the union of embroidered canvases and various additions to achieve the shape of a blouse.	<b>blouse</b>	It is made with a commercial blanket brought from Tlaxiaco or Chalcatongo. The sleeve has a finish that adds to the wavy three-quarter sleeve with cuff. It is the union of the embroidered canvases and various additions to achieve the shape of a blouse.
Small with a row of animals embroidered with or without mirror effect. They say it was mostly animals of the mountain The arch design that refers to the mountains was mostly embroidered on the sleeves.	<b>blouse embroidery (gathered pepenado)</b>	It mainly covers the front part (chest) with two embroidered animals about twenty centimeters long and placed in mirror effect. They represent all types of animals. It includes a very elaborate embroidery finish on the sleeves and collar that was not done before. Flowers, hearts, arches, elements of geography and sometimes a name or word are embroidered on the sleeves.





Soyate was made from palm, woven by men and was covered with a girdle woven on a backstrap loom.	<b>soyate and girdle</b>	Currently, both plastic and palm woven soyates are used. The girdle that covers it is made from a backstrap loom or is replaced with a commercial shawl that is tied around the waist.
Woven on a backstrap loom, with a small stripe of one color, black or red.	<b>petticoat or petticoat</b>	Woven on a backstrap loom with commercial threads and in stripes of many colors (rainbow) with a finish of one or two stripes of braided yarn in several of the colors used.
It was not used.	<b>skirt</b>	Made using fabric combinations commercial, with sewing machine details. There are three types: daily, half silk and full silk.
A bule gourd was used to cover the head from the sun. The gourd It was also used to collect water from the river.	<b>gourd and rebozo</b>	Both as a coat and to cover the head, a shawl is used that is bought in the market, which is made of commercial yarn and industrial manufacture. It's used when there is a lot of sun, putting it on like a hat. They also wrap the shawl over the skirt to protect themselves from the cold or as an apron.
They were barefoot.	<b>footwear</b>	Plastic huaraches or commercial flat shoes that they buy at the market.
The braids were tied with grass or a strip of thread.	<b>necklaces, lencos and brushes</b>	They use necklaces with several strands of beads of one color in combination with the blouse and skirt. The hair is braided with colored ribbons or lencos (made of yarn) that end in pompoms or brushes.

The animal that predominates in the embroidery of the blouses is the deer (*isu*). This animal is part of the ecosystem of its territory, it is also hunted and usually eaten in broth. It is known that deer

They are born between May and June, likewise, when the drizzle falls and the rainbow comes out it is an indication that the little deer are being born. Other animals that are embroidered on the chest are the vulture (*choko'o*), the hawk (*xina'a*), the rabbit (*iso*), the squirrel (*kuañi*) the rooster (*li'i*), the turkey (*kolo*), the badger



(*ma'a*), the opossum (*xanko*), the fox (*kuili*), coyote (*tibau*) or a coyote eating chicken (*tibau xati chujn*). However, animals that are not part of the local fauna are also embroidered.

Without going into each of the recreated designs, it is worth mentioning that, in addition to the animals, we find the presence of other motifs such as: simple arches or accompanied with flowers, a dog's paw, a wave that usually goes at the top of the embroidery indicating the beginning of it, but that in the past, made reference to the rivers as natural borders of its territory. Other motifs are meshes or rhombuses, accompanied by flowers and of course, stitches. of her own inspiration that each embroiderer adds to personalize her creations (words, signatures).

Although a few years ago the making of this blouse responded to local use, today, there is a market outside the municipality that seeks the purchase and/or sale of these creations. The women of Tijaltepec, individually or in groups (does not refer to a special or community organization exclusive) have chosen different options to respond to these artisanal demands which are part of your current income. This, as part of current community dynamics, has caused some disagreements, conflicts and rethinks regarding the disposal of its cultural heritage.

This document, without leaving aside these dynamics, limits itself to saying that the Tijaltepec blouse It is part of the cultural expressions shared by the inhabitants of this municipality and is, on them, on whom the decision falls on how to trade it based on an assembly or any figure of its system of government that rests on community consensus.

From the identification of these specific relationships, we cannot separate the blouse from the total of female clothing, which, along with the complete outfit, is a cultural element of San Pablo Tijaltepec, is part of its collective heritage and must be recognized as property collective intellectual of said municipality; because it embodies the biocultural identity and the ingenuity of each of its makers and bearers. In such a way that its creation, recreation, use, commerce and significance, respond to their own context and obey knowledge and practices



individuals of this municipality that have survived by changing, without being alien to the contributions and influences from other places that are part of what we can see in each blouse in the present.

Oaxaca, Oaxaca; July 1, 2019.  
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\*This opinion is part of the INAH Textile Memory Project and its preparation included the participation of Amapola Rangel Flores, Social Service provider and student of the degrees in Cultural Anthropology and Multicultural Relations at UDLAP.

\*\* The words used in the Mixtec language correspond to the variant spoken in the municipality of San Pablo Tijaltepec.

