

Running head: TANGIBLE MEMORIES?

**UNIVERSIDAD AUTÓNOMA DE BAJA CALIFORNIA
INSTITUTO DE INVESTIGACIONES CULTURALES-MUSEO**



Tangible memories?: Shaping Pa'ipai ceramic traditions in Santa Catarina

TESIS

**QUE PARA OBTENER EL GRADO DE
DOCTORADO EN ESTUDIOS SOCIOCULTURALES**

PRESENTA:

Michelle Donna Graham

BAJO LA DIRECCIÓN DE

Dr. Everardo Agustín Garduño Ruiz

Mexicali, B.C., Septiembre de 2019.

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Dedication

To my maternal grandmother, Beatrice Mildred (Brown) Caddy,
who inspired and encouraged my love for ceramics,
and my first archaeology professor, Dr. Elizabeth Graham.

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Acknowledgements

Many people have contributed to this research over the past three years as it developed from a vague inquiry about temporal changes in the Yuman ceramic industry to an analysis of the meanings its products now hold for their makers and users. Theoretical discussions with Dr. Christian Fernández fed my intrigue for the role memory plays in shaping tradition and ethnic identity. The meticulous text review conducted by Dr. Mario Magaña immensely improved its structure and content.

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Abstract

This project explores the cultural significance of ceramic objects produced in the Pa'ipai community of Santa Catarina, Baja California. Individual (collected) and group (collective) memories were shared by three women who are currently producing ceramics on a full-time basis. Their information on the history of the industry and its products was compared with testimony by nonresidents and descriptions found in existing literature. Previous studies had focused on the paddle and anvil custom or temporal and stylistic analyses of archaeological vessels with little attention paid to the context for its continued practice or reasons for the creation of recent forms. An evolutionary model of tradition was adopted by previous anthropologists to account for observed continuity and change to the industry. The present interdisciplinary approach reveals social, economic, and political motives for reproducing, reinterpreting, and representing past and present, local and global culture elements with clay. These ever-changing forms reflect interethnic relationships that transcend boundaries typically constraining time and space in anthropological research.

Keywords: tradition, memory, ethnicity, Pa'ipai, Santa Catarina, Baja California, paddle and anvil ceramics

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Research Questions

Abstract Question:

What do the ceramic objects produced today in Santa Catarina mean to their makers and users?

Anchoring Question:

Are elements of continuity and change reflected in the forms and their histories?

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Introduction

All ceramic producing Yuman ethnolinguistic groups from present day northern Baja California and Sonora in Mexico, and southern California and Arizona in the United States (U.S.), practiced the Hohokam paddle and anvil custom except for the Yavapai people, who practiced coiling like their Pueblo, Athabascan, and Shoshonean neighbors. Rather than hand-modeling and scraping (although used to some extent), the paddle and anvil technique is characterized by coiling the clay and “striking the outside with a wooden paddle against a rounded stone or clay implement, the anvil, held inside the wall” (Cartwright & Douglas, 1935, p. 74). Santa Catarina, Baja California, is the only Yuman community where this skill was never entirely forgotten and continues into the present (Campbell, 1999, p. 119). The original place name, *Jactobjol*, means “place where water falls onto the rocks” in reference to a natural spring that flows through the village (Meigs, 1935, p. 219). It is unclear whether *Jactobjol* is a Pa’ipai or Ko’al word, information that would be helpful in determining the history of the place. Now officially recognized by the Mexican government as a Pa’ipai settlement, it lies within territory thought to have been primarily occupied by Kumiai and/or Ko’al people prior to the mission period (Owen as cited in Wilken, 1987, p. 19).¹ However, anthropologist William Hohenthal (2001) considered the separation between these groups more a gradient than an actual ethnolinguistic divide (p. 61). The current author believes this to be true of all cultural “boundaries.” These relationships will be addressed further in Chapter 2.

¹ Kumiai is the Spanish spelling of Kumeyaay. Since this study was carried out in Mexico, the Spanish spelling is favored except when referencing their Kumeyaay counterparts on the U.S. side of the border or directly quoting other authors who used the English spelling. The Kumiai are also commonly referred to in English literature as Southern Diegueño or Tipai. The ethnolinguistic identifiers Pa’ipai and Ko’al have several spellings. This dissertation favored those offered by linguistic anthropologist Mauricio Mixco (n.d.).

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The Ko'al dialect spoken today in Santa Catarina has been variously described as a Kumiai *shimul* (familial lineage), a larger clan comprised of Kumiai, Pa'ipai, and even Cucapá kin groups, or an entirely separate Yuman ethnolinguistic group as large as the Kumiai, Pa'ipai, and others (Panich, 2009, p. 79-80). Archaeologist Lee Panich (2009) deduced that "Ko'al was originally a large Kumeyaay clan that was incorporated through migration and intermarriage into other language groups" (p. 79). Since information on clan names was recorded well into the mission period, anthropologists cannot know whether ethnolinguistic diversity was comparable in the distant past or intensified through the establishment of the missions.² During the present research, interviewees reported familiarity with Pa'ipai and Ko'al, but said they were more fluent in one or the other language. Acknowledging Santa Catarina's interethnic character is key to interpreting the cultural significance of the current ceramic industry and its products.

The Kumiai and/or Ko'al people(s) habitually produced ceramics prior to the Spanish mission period while the Pa'ipai and/or Kiliwa people may have done so to a lesser extent. Anthropologist John Price (1971) claimed that precontact period ceramic production was confined to the Delta Yuman area (p. 28). That would include only the current Ipai, Tipai/Kumiai, Huerteño, Ko'al, Kamia/Campo, and Cucapá groups. However, there is much conflicting evidence in the literature. Dominican Fray Luis Sales recorded the words *escuín uchau* (to make ollas) at Mission Santo Domingo, the southernmost mission settled primarily by Pa'ipai people (Hohenthal, 2001, p. 21). Ceramics have been observed in Pa'ipai and Kiliwa territories by missionaries and anthropologists alike although diminishing in frequency and vessel form diversity from north to south. According to Hohenthal (2001),

² The earliest census record, or *padrón*, was recorded at Mission Santa Catalina in 1834 (Panich, 2009, p. 227). At the time of Panich's research, the manuscript was on file at St. Albert's Priory in Oakland, CA.

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Meigs (1939, p. 37) said that the style of Kiliwa pottery was the same as that which was found throughout northern Baja California and in shell mounds as far south as Rosario.

This would be expected if the Kiliwa borrowed pottery-making techniques from the California Yumans in northern Baja California. Rogers (1936, p. 17-18) noted that Kiliwa pottery was less diversified in form than Diegueño ware.³ (p. 21)

A more exhaustive literature review and future archaeological testing could more precisely characterize the history of ceramic production (as opposed to its mere presence) in these areas.

During the early to mid-20th century, Yuman ceramics were characterized by anthropologists as traditional or non-traditional based on how closely they resembled known precontact period, non-European forms. Objects displaying European-derived attributes such as flat bottoms, lids, and handles were considered “non-native” and dismissed as inauthentic, emphasizing rupture and change (Kroeber & Harner, 1955, p. 2; Rogers, 1936, p.18). This perspective employed an essentialist view of culture and assumed that local peoples lived in isolation prior to the arrival of Spanish and English settlers.⁴ More recently, a counterdiscourse has developed to emphasize the persistence or continuity of this local practice despite European influence (Panich & Wilken-Robertson, 2013a, p. 109, 112, 113; Porcayo, 2016, p. 26; Wade, 2004, p. 5). This view is problematic as well since it naturalizes the colonial project and its effects on local people and their customs by characterizing the current market as the “evolution” of an ancient tradition.

³ The verbs in this block quote were changed to the past tense to match the surrounding text.

⁴ Herein lies an assumption that all elements of these ceramics were “Yuman” prior to the arrival of Europeans which is not necessarily the case. There is ample evidence that Yuman peoples interacted with groups outside their culture areas – near and far – long before the arrival of the Spanish. See Garduño (2004, p. 43-44) for a synopsis of such observations.

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Since the 1980s, archaeologists have used this evolutionary discourse to account for what they characterize as a transformation of the ceramic objects produced in Santa Catarina from utilitarian ware into contemporary art for external consumption (Panich & Wilken-Robertson, 2013b, p. 75; Wade, 2004, p. 99). Despite their emphasis on continuity, such interpretations have sustained the notion that current forms are unrelated to their antecedents by suggesting that they have become something else. From this unsolved rupture/persistence dialectic arose an analytical problem. Archaeologist Don Laylander (2017) expressed concern that empirical studies attempting to compare earlier forms with more recent “anomalously tall vessels...created in northern Baja California for the tourist or collector trade” would produce flawed results (p. 4). His perspective denies interpretive value to objects deemed to be modern or postcolonial. Yet, earlier cultural elements are certainly not absent from current forms, nor has the colonial project necessarily ended in Santa Catarina.⁵ As noted by Panich (2009, p. 3) and further described in Chapter 3 of this dissertation, the Christian missionary and anthropological presence continues.

In the current political climate, rife with nationalist sentiment and animosity toward others, analyzing the turbulent history of the Mexico-U.S. border region has been a particularly isolating and alienating experience for a Canadian residing primarily on the Mexican side. This perpetual condition of otherness permitted the researcher a unique opportunity to challenge existing norms. The hegemonic discourses on Pa’ipai ceramics constructed primarily by white,

⁵ The terms pre and postcolonial and contemporary have been avoided in this project in favor of precontact and current since it can be argued that the colonial period continues into the present and contemporary is viewed as an epistemologically problematic euphemism for modern.

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Anglo-Saxon, middle class, American men – and one woman – could thus be challenged.⁶ Theirs were the only contributions to ceramic research in Santa Catarina until the 1980s when Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (INAH) established a state delegation in Mexicali and Dirección de Asuntos Culturales del Gobierno del Estado, delegation Ensenada, executed the program Rescate Cultural Chawiwa (Cultural Rescue Chawiwa) in several indigenous communities, including Santa Catarina.

Chawiwa is a Kumiai word meaning *el que enseña* in Spanish; in English, one who teaches. The purpose of the program, run by historian David Zárate, was to identify elderly individuals who still practiced or retained knowledge of indigenous technologies (including ceramic production) and provide them with the economic incentive to teach younger generations, starting within their own families (E. Cortés, personal communication, November 29, 2018). Since the 1980s, research on Yuman ceramics in Mexico has adopted the emerging American evolutionary discourse rather than contesting it due to its compatibility with key identity concepts such as cultural heritage and national patrimony, of interest to the Mexican government.

Project Description

Although the author of this dissertation is an archaeologist by profession, this is not a strictly anthropological analysis because the goal of sociocultural studies, as understood in this context, is to question established disciplinary norms and approach the object of investigation from a unique, interdisciplinary perspective. Existing studies have primarily focused on the

⁶ Sue Anne Wade, a retired archaeologist for California State Parks, is the only woman who had conducted previous ceramic research in Santa Catarina. A colleague informed the author that Wade was originally from Canada. Antonio Porcayo is the only archaeologist employed by INAH in Mexicali and the only Mexican researcher who had contributed to the theoretical discussion on Pa'ipai ceramics. Both he and Wade supported the existing persistence/continuity framework in their interpretations albeit from different perspectives.

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paddle and anvil technique itself with little attention paid to the cultural significance of the current industry and its products. Panich and Wilken-Robertson (2013a) signaled the important economic and social role ceramics have played in recent cultural revitalization efforts and called for future research to address associated changes to the industry (p. 113).⁷ This dissertation will demonstrate that the objects produced today cannot be neatly classified as traditional or non-traditional based on their shape alone. Value judgements on the traditionality of vessels have been contingent upon the paradigmatic theoretical objectives generated by an ever-changing political climate.

Since the late 20th century, through the evolutionary framework mentioned above, anthropological debate on the authenticity of objects has been replaced by a tendency to characterize all Yuman handcrafts as “living traditions” (Fig. 1). At the same time, Yuman ethnic groups have been negotiating for official recognition by the Mexican government and working to increase their visibility on the political landscape (Garduño, 2016a, p. 120). Paddle and anvil ceramic production has been integral to that process and these objects are now considered ethnic markers for the Pa’ipai people regardless of their shape or relationship to the cultural past. Generally, critical analysis of current forms, especially their provenance, has been hindered by competing theoretical tendencies: more conservative researchers discount the connection

⁷ For this project, cultural revitalization is understood as a sociopolitical movement by which abandoned or near-abandoned indigenous (non-European) customs are identified and deliberately reproduced. Economic incentive is often provided by governmental and non-governmental institutions or other interested parties who value these practices and fear they would otherwise be “lost.”



ANCIENT TECHNOLOGY LIVING TRADITIONS

*New Exhibit Inauguration and Program
Hands-on Native Arts Workshops*

Saturday, October 13, 2018
10:00 a. m. a 4:00 p. m.
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Inauguration of new exhibit

10 a. m. - 11 a. m.
Including talks on local prehistory
Open to the public

Hands-on workshops Limited number of spaces available

11 a. m. - 4 p. m.
Taught by Kumeyaay and Pa Ipai artists
Cost: \$25 per person (Including lunch)
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Workshops:

- Juncus basketry (Kumeyaay)
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- Pine needle basketry (Pa Ipai)
- Pottery (Pa Ipai)

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Figure 1. Event flyer for Ancient Technology Living Traditions, Hands-on Native Arts Workshops. (Source:

Corredor Histórico et al., 2018)

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of recent Pa'ipai ceramic forms to the cultural past, while conversely, a more liberal trend has created a dogmatic vision of them as intrinsically bounded to it.

Whether old or new, these forms reflect interaction among diverse populations across time and space. In response to that observation, this project explores whether they are, in fact, the continuance of an ancestral practice, a new and different one, or neither. The current market has developed through substantial initiatives by local people and others over the course of several decades. Much of this revitalization effort has been put forth by anthropologists. The only criticism to be made of their involvement is that they have been less-than-explicit of their role in expanding this seemingly non-lucrative sector of the local economy, which provides a sporadic and unreliable source of income for residents of the village. Michael Wilken-Robertson, one of the most influential anthropologists, has been organizing workshops in Santa Catarina and other communities from the 1980s into the present in collaboration with Instituto de Culturas Nativas (CUNA) of Ensenada and other organizations.

Since Santa Catarina is currently the only place where Yuman paddle and anvil ceramic production is regularly practiced, it has become a favored destination for ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological research.⁸ While most studies have focused solely on learning the technique rather than analyzing current forms, archaeologist Antonio Porcayo (2016) recently assessed the empirical research value of ethnographic vessels. He stated that while early forms such as trays, bowls, and semi-globular or semi-spherical ollas (pots) have been produced since ca.AD 700,

⁸ Anthropologists who have conducted ceramic research in Santa Catarina include but are not limited to William Hohenthal in the late 1930s and early 1940s (Hohenthal Jr., 2001), Randall Henderson in the 1950s (1951, 1952a, 1952b), Roger Owen (1962, 1963, 1969), Ralph Michelsen (1970a, 1970b, 1971, 1974), Helen Smith (1971, 1972), Michael Wilken (1987), Paul Campbell (1999), Sue Anne Wade (2004), Lee Panich (2009), and Antonio Porcayo (2016). Most of this list was taken from Suzanne Griset and Alan Ferg (2010) and only some were available for use in the present study.

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synchronic and diachronic changes to Yuman culture(s) provoked a demand for relatively taller vessels and the enhanced skill required to produce them (p. 26). He claimed that this trend is observable archaeologically and continues into the present. A subsequent study of ceramic vessels recovered from sites in northern Baja California dating from ca.AD 900 to 1800 tentatively confirmed an increase in relative vessel height and volume over time (Graham, 2018). Although the attribute of relative vessel height is not further addressed in the present qualitative research, archaeological and ethnographic specimens will be compared to determine which past and present elements are currently in use. This analysis will be drawn from vessel forms as well as their associated histories.

The section below describes the methodological approach to this project. Chapter 1 outlines the theoretical and conceptual background used to interpret the cultural phenomenon under study including the key concepts of custom, tradition, memory, and ethnic identity. Chapter 2 includes a synopsis of the Yuman ceramic industry from its inception to the present, and outlines the social, economic, and political context for its development. The researcher offers a contextual overview of the community in Chapter 3, describing the project location and logistics for arrival as well as first impressions of the place and its people. Chapter 4 contains archival research and field data subsequently gathered on the current industry, ceramists, and their wares. Chapter 5 describes the context for the development of current forms based on participant testimonies and review of the literature, proposing a typology derived from the author's interpretation of the data. The final section analyses the cultural significance of the industry, and offers conclusions and suggestions for future research on this topic.

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Methodological Approach

The purported shift in customary distribution of these goods from personal use to external sale will be assessed and characterized through participants' memories of the industry, field observations, and archival research. The ceramists' interpretations of their craft and products should reveal what they consider to be traditional or non-traditional, and shed light on the meaning making process that led to their creation. Three ceramists will be asked to share their knowledge of the forms they are currently producing and their functions (associated beliefs and practices); their recollections will then be compared. For this project, when the stories of at least two women correlate regarding an object, their information will be considered a group, or collective, memory; when the stories are unique to one woman, they will be considered individual, or collected, memories (Russell, 2006, p. 792-793). The role played by each type of memory in the meaning making process will be explored, and existing archaeological and ethnographic literature will then be found to either corroborate, contradict, or omit mention of the field data.

The desired outcome of this research includes identifying the temporal and geographic origins and beliefs and practices associated with current forms as described by all available sources. Existing literature on the ceramic industry in Santa Catarina will be summarized to identify different theoretical perspectives, or "types" of anthropologist. Over the past century or more, the goal of many anthropologists working in indigenous communities has been to learn about the past by observing living populations. A disciplinary fascination with what the ceramic industry was, rather than what it is, led interviewees to automatically offer information on how things used to be when the actual goal of this research is to explain why the industry is what it is today. The second obstacle encountered during preliminary fieldwork was that people in Santa

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Catarina tended to welcome the researcher as a consumer of handcrafts, or representative from a supporting institution. The bulk of early conversations thus pertained to past customs and traditions, craft sales, or needed infrastructure and utility services. When the information participants offered could potentially impact their relationship with sponsoring institutions or other community members, their names were intentionally withheld by the author and they were cited as “Anonymous.”

Elements of rupture and persistence will be sought in current forms and their associated histories. It became evident early on that although the polarizing interpretations that problematize colonial interference as “contamination” or naturalize it as “evolution” have informed ethnoarchaeological research on the paddle and anvil method and past traditions, they were inadequate for describing the cultural significance of current forms to the people who produce and use them. Anthropologist James Spradley (1980) suggested that “one way to synchronize the needs of people and the goals of ethnography is to consult with informants to determine urgent research topics...surely the needs of informants should have equal weight with ‘scientific interest’ in setting research priorities” (p. 18). Based on conversations during early field visits, the ceramists’ main priorities were improving their living and working conditions and making their work more profitable. These concerns led to an exploration of how indigeneity discourse has contributed to the impoverishment of communities like Santa Catarina and whether a change in theoretical focus could benefit the local craft economy.

To some extent, Santa Catarina fit literary critic Mary Louise Pratt’s (2010) definition of a contact zone: “a place of colonial encounters, where geographically and historically separate people enter into contact with one another and establish long term relationships, which generally involve coercive conditions, radical inequity, and intolerable conflict” (p. 33). Financial

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inequality and state dependency were dismayingly evident in Santa Catarina, as pervasive tension during interviews found the researcher tacitly obliged – and on one occasion explicitly instructed – to spend money in exchange for information. Due to continued government involvement in the social, economic, and political aspects of indigenous people’s lives, literary critic Masao Miyoshi (1993) insisted that the current era is not *postcolonial*, but an intensification of colonialism disguised as neoliberal economic hegemony (p. 734; emphasis in original). The time and energy invested in producing these ceramics has been inadequately compensated within the neoliberal system by consumers in a very limited niche market. This situation could potentially be rectified by decommodifying the distant past and permitting continuity and change to coexist in an abstract and tangible sense, destigmatizing innovation.⁹

One of the goals of this project is to contribute to a new paradigm for social science research that challenges modernist Christian liberal and Marxist discourse, generating non-Eurocentric thought (Escobar, 2003, p. 54). Sociologist Boaventura De Sousa (2009) suggested approaching social science research as a tool for mutual understanding to legitimize diverse social experiences and “transform hegemonic interests into true knowledge” (p. 101). He indicated that a reflexive approach to data collection and analysis favors comprehension rather than explanation of the social, economic, and political context under study. This requires challenging five logics of production disseminated by the west throughout the colonial period: knowledge versus ignorance, linear (progressive) versus static time, order versus chaos, universal or global versus particular or local, and productive versus non-productive (De Sousa, 2009, p.

⁹ When the author attempted to find a market for these goods in Canada, shop owners who sell Mexican pottery expressed disinterest due to their perceived lack of “practical” function. They insisted that their customers want glazed objects (tested for heavy metal content) that they can use, and one man suggested contacting an art gallery in Toronto instead.

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103). Europeans and their descendants have historically considered themselves knowledgeable, progressive, ordered, cosmopolitan, and productive, while colonized peoples were perceived as ignorant, static, chaotic, isolated, and non-productive. Innovation has been, and continues to be, discouraged in Santa Catarina by outsiders favoring an essentialist and Eurocentric notion of tradition as fixed and tied to the local ethnic past over other possible perspectives.

Sociologist Orlando Fals (2009) called for social scientists to fully invest themselves in today's social, economic, and political crises, merging their awareness of the problems they observe with the theory and concepts that can help solve them (p. 244). Researchers have an obligation to produce work that is of benefit to the people they study and reflects their point of view. According to Spradley (1980), "ethnography offers all of us the chance to step outside our narrow cultural backgrounds, to set aside our socially inherited ethnocentrism, if only for a brief period, and to apprehend the world from the viewpoint of other human beings who live by other meaning systems" (p. viii). The goal of ethnography is to discover what actions and events mean to others through the study of their behavior, knowledge, and material culture (Spradley, 1980, p. 5). Spradley (1979) also highlighted the importance of avoiding ethnocentric descriptions which he said "make almost no use of the native language; they certainly ignore what things mean" (p. 22). When possible, participants will be asked to provide local words for ceramic objects. As Kumiai botanist Teodora Cuero demonstrated with native plant names, the availability of an indigenous word for an object may provide some indication as to the antiquity of its use (E. Garduño, personal communication, May 7, 2019).

Mexican researcher Nina Martínez (2016) mentioned in her doctoral thesis that conducting ethnography is a solitary task (p. 13). In the early stage of this project, traveling accompanied into the field had unfavorable practical and ethical consequences. Some

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companions dominated the conversations with local participants – convenient but not terribly useful – while others were simply disengaged and impatient, rushing the visit to a premature conclusion. Since researchers must also be cautious of who they share their information with prior to publishing, conducting fieldwork with other anthropologists not directly involved in the project had undesirable consequences. There was, however, no official advice to be had from the government or educational institution on the issue of regional safety; the researcher was made to accept immeasurable risk by going alone.

It was difficult to identify a personal stake in this research since the author is not of indigenous descent or a ceramist. As a child growing up in rural Canada, she spent most of her leisure time in the field behind her home exploring the natural environment, catching critters and climbing trees. She later learned that the land she felt so connected to was not, in fact, her own cultural territory but that of indigenous peoples who had been dispossessed quite recently when her ancestors settled there. The potters in Santa Catarina also reported having grown up playing outside, yet Daria Mariscal's childhood games in Rancho Escondido were made possible by ancestral knowledge transmitted through her mother: she and her brother had fashioned their own toys out of the local clay (D. Mariscal, personal communication, May 6, 2017).^{10, 11} That connection and knowledge produced nostalgia and admiration in one who has never set foot in

¹⁰ An attempt was made for Daria to bring researchers to the house where she grew up to survey the yard. The author received a phone call from her prior to the excursion warning that there were people on site who "would not let us pass."

¹¹ Panich and Wilken-Robertson (2013a) wrote that Daria was taught by her grandmother, not her mother (p. 111). During interviews, other discrepancies emerged that were interpreted as claims to authenticity, attempts to delegitimize competitors. This phenomenon will be discussed further in chapters 4 and 5.

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her ancestral territory.¹² Something these women (and all people descending from ceramic producing societies) do share, however, is a ceramic legacy passed down by generations of women, or in some cases men, before them (Fig. 2). Yuman ceramic production has typically been considered the domain of women (Wade, 2004, p. v), yet at least two exceptions were identified in the present research that indicated this trend may be changing in Santa Catarina.¹³ Whether serving as quotidian objects, trade goods, or political symbols, these items may have a personal and emotional dimension. As such, ceramists could have their own affective motives for preserving this custom, sharing information about their cultural past, and incorporating it in their work.



Figure 2. Part of the author's personal ceramic collection, which includes objects (rather than knowledge) passed down by her mother, two grandmothers, and two great grandmothers. March 21, 2019.

¹² This is a debatable sentiment demonstrating the potential for disagreement between ethnicity and biology since the author is said to have indigenous ancestry somewhere along her maternal grandmother's line.

¹³ See Chapter 4.

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Although practices within the field of anthropology are changing, American anthropologists have written a plethora of information on regional indigenous groups through “imperial eyes” (Pratt, 2010). A subsidiary goal of this dissertation is to temper those biases. If the opportunity arises, it will also expose the reactionary biases of decolonial scholars who, using the same positivist epistemological framework, perceive “the west,” and “white people” as their adversaries. As communications specialist Sarah Corona and historian Olaf Kaltmeier (2012) stated, “with an essentialist approach – on the basis of pure cultures – it is impossible to understand the interweaving of cultures” (p. 30). They cautioned that in order to break the cycle, people fundamentally need to change the way they think about culture. These authors referenced Edward Said’s critique of Orientalism, stating that “in part, due to the existence of empires, all cultures are related to each other, none is unique and pure, they are all hybrid, heterogeneous, extraordinarily different and not monolithic” (Corona & Kaltmeier, 2012, p. 30). In the case of Santa Catarina, an interethnic and interlingual community, this study examines the extent to which notions of a monoethnic heritage and cultural patrimony have been impressed upon the community by outsiders.

The remainder of this chapter contains methodological contributions by sociologist and communications specialist Paula Saukko (2003) that were useful in the writing of this dissertation. She suggested that qualitative research should “unravel social tropes and discourses that, over time, have come to pass for a ‘truth’ about the world” (Saukko 2003, p. 20). California anthropology has been rife with debates over whose theories are more valid, whose ceramic typologies are more replicable, essentially, who is a legitimate researcher and who is an old

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quack.¹⁴ Using the famous controversy over who was “right” and who was “wrong” about Samoa (Margaret Mead or Derek Freeman), Saukko (2003) stated that: “these continuous debates illuminate the ways in which we continue to be infatuated with fighting whose research is ‘true’ and ‘valid,’ and whose is ‘false,’ or ‘biased’” (p. 17). She concluded:

One of the central criteria for validity in research is “reliability,” which refers to the idea that if a different scholar conducted the same research, (s)he would come up with the same or similar results. However, one can imagine that if one would send both Mead and Freeman to Samoa, they would never agree or come up with an “inter-rater” consensus. Their theoretical and political commitments [were] simply so different that they [were] practically looking at different Samoas. (Saukko, 2003, p. 18)

For that reason, Saukko (2003) encouraged researchers to begin acknowledging multiple validities. Conducting an interpretive analysis does not necessarily entail a rejection of positivist methods: the two approaches can complement each other (p. 19).

She described three types of methodological validity:

The first, hermeneutic methodological approach obeys what I would term a “dialogic” validity, which means that it evaluates research in terms of how well it manages to capture the lived realities of others. Thus, it would assess the value of research on Samoa in terms of how well it manages to be true to the lived reality of Samoans. The second, poststructuralist methodological approach subscribes to what I would term

¹⁴ One of the author’s colleagues in San Diego was frequently and vehemently referred to by others in the industry as a historian not an archaeologist, one whose interpretations should not be trusted. The same man reportedly attempted to discredit a colleague earlier in their careers. These are just two of numerous examples leading the author to perceive a professional climate replete with decades-old rivalries. Because the practice of archaeology is largely a private enterprise in California, discrediting others has served as a tactic for winning contracts.

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“deconstructive” validity, and it assesses the value of research in terms of how well it unravels problematic social discourses that mediate the way in which we perceive reality and other people. Thus, poststructuralist research would assess the value of research on Samoa in terms of how thoroughly it unmasks the colonialist tropes that describe Samoa in terms of “primitive” sensuality and danger. The third, realist or contextualist methodological approach inheres to a contextualist validity, which evaluates research in terms of how well it understands the social, economic and political context and connections of the phenomenon it is studying. Thus, it would assess the value of research on Samoa in terms of how thoroughly and critically it maps the internal and external structures of power and inequality, such as rank – hierarchies, forms of livelihood, colonialist politics, trade and culture, that shape the life of Samoan village elders and adolescent girls. (Saukko, 2003, p. 19)

All three forms of validity are employed in this project. The hermeneutic approach is used during ethnographic fieldwork when ceramists share their memories of the industry and the meanings they associate with the objects they produce, explaining what has motivated them to continue the craft. The deconstructive approach is used in summarizing and analyzing the theoretical perspectives reflected in existing anthropological literature. The historical context for the development of the current industry is explored to determine the most adequate explanations for changes to the paddle and anvil custom and its associated traditions through time.

Two basic theoretical and methodological observations have built the foundation for this project: tradition is a western epistemological construction not a historical reality, and local knowledge is as relevant as documented history and anthropology. The influences of past and present (time) and local and global (space) on the development of the industry and its products

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are assigned equal interpretive value. Tradition, memory, and identity are not treated as instrumentalist or constructivist tools that manipulate the past within the present; rather, traditions are understood as tangible evidence of dynamic social, economic, and political processes that have shaped individual and collective memory and ethnic identity over time. This will be demonstrated by applying a processual approach to meaning making. Once all traditions are understood as current expressions of interpreted past cultural experiences, value judgements as to whether they are “real” become irrelevant and attention turns to how they came to be, and what they now mean to their makers and users.

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Chapter 1: Theoretical and Conceptual Background

Perhaps anthropologists have been guilty of focusing their research on things they valued while failing to address issues of concern to the community such as safety, infrastructure, and the wider economy. The potters in Santa Catarina consistently steered our conversations toward problems with their current living and working conditions. Anthropologist Johannes Fabian (1983) called for researchers to pay special attention to the relevance of their work to those they study. He observed that “when much or most of anthropology is considered tangential (beside the point, irrelevant) by those who have been its objects, this points to a severe breakdown of ‘collective reflexivity’” (p. 92). To some extent, the relationships between ceramists and their customers or sponsors have become mutually beneficial over the years. Participation in the current industry marginally meets the financial needs of ceramists, provides the ethnic group and nation with identitary symbols required to gain or maintain legitimacy, and promotes the continuation of an ancient local custom of research value to academics. The latter goal is of interest to all concerned, yet unlike other industries the producers are not on anyone’s payroll while the consumers typically are.

The meanings of custom and tradition are explored in this chapter to evaluate the theoretical implications of their use in existing academic literature on Yuman ceramics. Traditionality is posited here as a colonial construct devised to gauge the legitimacy of material culture elements and, by extension, the people who produced them. The situation in Baja California can be described as traditionalist, involving a “conscious effort to maintain certain cultural objects intact” (Boyer, 1988, p. 12). Philosopher Eric Weil (as cited in Boyer, 1988) called traditionalism “nothing more than a consequence of the death of tradition” (p. 12). Beyond the traditional/non-traditional binary, determining how ceramists are selecting the forms they

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produce and the social purposes these objects now serve, including their symbolic and/or unsymbolic functions, is central to understanding the cultural significance of the industry today. An attempt was made to contemplate these creations as invented traditions per historian Eric Hobsbawm's (1983) proposal, yet preliminary interviews with ceramists regarding their interpretations of the objects in their shops generated doubt as to the universal application of Hobsbawm's theory to this research for reasons discussed in the section below.

In response to the stories recounted by participants, the investigation turned to an exploration of the role memory plays in assigning meaning to these ceramic objects, as well as the possibility that clay is being used to manufacture tangible memories in the process of forging Pa'ipai ethnic identity. Collected (individual) and collective (group) memories are viewed here as coactive rather than mutually exclusive factors in these cultural processes. The sections below describe grounded theory established through observations made during preliminary field visits (Spradley, 1980, p. 15). Whenever possible, reviewed literature has been integrated with ethnographic field data to demonstrate its relevance to this study and the resulting interpretations.

Yuman Ceramic Production: Custom or Tradition?

In common usage, the terms custom and tradition are often employed interchangeably. Scholarly treatment of these concepts tends to be inconsistent as well, making it necessary to explore their definitions. Anthropologist Pascal Boyer (1988) suggested that anthropologists have failed to critically analyze the concept of tradition in their work because they took for granted that it meant cultural products, subject matter, production methods, or all elements that have been preserved over the course of generations (p. 11). According to the Cambridge dictionary, tradition is "a belief, principle, or way of acting that people in a particular society or group have continued to follow for a long time." Custom is described as "a way of behaving or a

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belief that has been established for a long time.” In other words, the lay definitions are practically identical, while tradition refers more closely to ideology, and custom to behavior. In the development of Hobsbawm’s (1983) theory on invented traditions, he distinguished similarly between tradition and custom. As an example of custom, he put forth “what judges do.” By his definition, tradition meant what judges wear or use and how: “the formal paraphernalia and ritualized practices surrounding their substantial action” (p. 2). Hobsbawm’s semantic approach has been adopted for this project so that custom refers to the act of making paddle and anvil ceramics and their distribution, while the specific forms and their functions (associated beliefs and practices) are understood as traditions.

Tradition incorporates the element of time, raising the question as to how much time constitutes “a long time,” or how long a tradition must be practiced in order to be considered such. According to sociologist Edward Shils’ (1981) criterion for distinguishing between traditions and idiosyncrasies, traditions must have been passed down over a period of at least three generations (p. 15). This requirement proved interesting since living memory of the ceramic industry in Santa Catarina runs approximately four biological generations – or roughly three professional generations – deep.¹⁵ For this community, biological generations were found to span approximately 30 years since the eldest potters in living memory, Juana and Petra

¹⁵ It became necessary to distinguish between biological and professional generations since individuals sometimes reported generations as people who worked together contemporaneously without regard for their biological age. Since it is not possible to empirically measure professional generations, biological generations were loosely defined and the individuals’ relative ages within professional generations were considered for interpretive purposes. In anthropological research, 20 or 25 years have typically been considered the length of a generation; however, recent findings suggest 30 years to be more accurate. Genealogist Donn Devine recommended contemplating three biological generations per century to facilitate empirical analysis, an average of 33 years per generation (Devine, 2005). Living memory literally means the memories of those who are alive today and were interviewed for this project.

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Higuera (sisters) and Perciliana Flores, were born at the turn of the 20th century and produced ceramics at least into the 1960s. In his 1971 publication, anthropologist Ralph Michelsen estimated that Petra was approximately 70 years old. He characterized her as “one of few” Pa’ipai women still making pottery for quotidian use; she was depicted producing a large olla, with another smaller one sitting on the ground beside her (p. 1).

Most of the elder members of the current professional generation, primary participants in this study, were born in or around the 1960s and producing ceramics in 2019 when this research was completed. These women include Tirsa Flores Castro, Daria Mariscal Aguiar, and Gloria Regino Arballo. The intermediate generation would have been born in or around the 1930s, producing ceramics at least into the 1990s (Teresa Castro Albañez’s biological generation, as her daughter Telma Cañedo Castro indicated she was 83 in 2017). Teresa, the only remaining ceramist of her biological generation, was reported to no longer be producing ceramics on a regular basis due to her failing eyesight (T. Cañedo, personal communication, April 30, 2017). Professional generations overlap substantially, incorporating members of two or three biological generations, as is the case in Teresa’s family since she, her daughter Telma, and her granddaughter Marisela are all capable of producing ceramics and at least occasionally do so. Telma indicated that Marisela is particularly skilled at making bean ollas, which she sells on Facebook (T. Cañedo, personal communication, April 30, 2017).

Another characteristic of tradition is its social element: traditions should be shared by members of a given society, such that the majority would agree as to the beliefs and practices associated with a cultural object. In the case of ceramics, idiosyncratic forms would be those produced by a minority of individuals over one or two generations with no deeper history accounted for through historical documents or collective memory. Using the conceptual

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framework introduced thus far, something would be considered traditional only when it has been shared by the local majority for at least 90 years, or since 1929. In Chapter 5, the reader will see that few of the objects produced today meet those criteria. Significant change was brought to local customs through colonial interference and the introduction of the capitalist market. The women interviewed indicated that while their grandmothers' generation had produced ceramics for personal use, their mothers' generation did not. By inference, the production of quotidian ceramics apparently slowed and eventually ceased around the 1960s, with Petra's biological generation. For that reason, current objects may or may not be associated with local beliefs and practices, past or present.

Even though few current forms would qualify as traditional by the guidelines explored above, their producers and consumers consider them to be. Tirsa indicated that the craft is important to her primarily because it is her livelihood and because it is *nuestra herencia* (our heritage) (T. Flores, personal communication, September 8, 2018). She rather vehemently expressed its economic significance first and mentioned the community's ceramic legacy only upon further reflection, suggesting that her finances were of greater immediate concern. Martínez (2016) also characterized craft production as an important source of income for the women she interviewed, who sold their work at regional or transnational events and gatherings for the promotion and diffusion of indigenous cultures, or to occasional visitors (p. 13).

However, at the time of this fieldwork the cost of ceramics was substantially lower than that of basketry and other woven goods. One ceramist lamented that sponsoring organizations allocate more funding to (Kumiai) basket weavers than (Pa'ipai) ceramic artists and complained that for reasons unknown, they were incapable of fairly gauging the value of their own work (Anonymous, personal communication, April 30, 2017). The average piece sells for between

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\$100 and \$250 pesos, roughly \$5 or \$10 USD at the current market rate.¹⁶ The larger or more intricate the vessel, the higher the price. Daria produced a large olla with fire clouds unexpectedly forming the shape of two standing birds; when asked the price of that object, she was unable or unwilling to decide (Fig. 3) (D. Mariscal, personal communication, April 29, 2017).



Figure 3. Olla produced by Daria Mariscal with the unexpected image of two birds facing each other formed by fire clouds during the firing process. April 29, 2017.

As seen in Figure 1, a craft workshop held at the Tecate Community Museum on October 13, 2018 was entitled *Ancient Technology Living Traditions* (Corredor Histórico et al., 2018). Wilken-Robertson organized the event in collaboration with Corridor Histórico CAREM. The advertisements for the event were published in English and Spanish and the ticket price was \$25 USD with full scholarships available to local Kumiai participants. No discount was offered for non-indigenous Mexicans or other residents of Mexico. The woman hired to teach the ceramic

¹⁶ These were approximate prices the researcher paid while conducting fieldwork in the community; the prices given at other venues, such as regional or international cultural events would likely be higher to

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lesson was reportedly Kumiai, not Pa'ipai, and from Ensenada rather than Santa Catarina (K. Collins, personal communication, October 13, 2018).¹⁷ The apparent dual purpose of this event was to introduce Americans to paddle and anvil ceramic technology and reintroduce the practice to local indigenous people. Approximately one third of the participants (10 out of roughly 30) had travelled from the San Diego area while the rest were locals, including Kumiai children and teens. This workshop demonstrated that the cultural revitalization effort initiated in the 1980s continues into the present. Safety and poverty issues were raised when a couple who had traveled to Tecate from San Diego was stopped for a fabricated traffic violation and made to either pay a fine of \$600 pesos in cash or “go to the police station and pay a ticket” (K. Collins, personal communication, October 14, 2018).

As suggested by the event title, current paddle and anvil ceramic objects and, arguably, their producers have come to be marketed as vestiges of the past. It is the author's opinion that they have also become an anthropological fetish, framed as an evolving tradition to downplay colonial transgressions and current inequalities, as though they have organically adapted to colonialism and the capitalist market. In her history master's thesis, archaeologist Sue Anne Wade (2004) considered Anglo American consumer preference solely responsible for the introduction of idiosyncratic or “non-traditional” forms. She failed to explore the influence of other customers, or the social and political significance of these objects to their makers. For her, the market transformation of Pa'ipai ceramics from traditional to contemporary represented one of the “disconnects with traditional culture brought about by government assimilationist policies

cover travel expenses.

¹⁷ Wilken-Robertson was asked to provide more information on the instructor and the pieces for sale but failed to respond to that inquiry. Kathy Collins was a participant in the workshop from San Diego.

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and the desire by Indian people to participate in the Anglo world” (p. vii, xi, 72, 99).¹⁸ Thus, change was characterized as a mere adaptation to Anglo society (even though the Pa’ipai people live in Mexico, not the U.S.). Developing grounded theory on this subject meant establishing an alternate view of tradition anchored neither in the past nor the present, incorporating both local and global contexts.

Contemplating Eric Hobsbawm’s theory on the invention of tradition. Although Hobsbawm’s (1983) theory on “the invention of tradition” was the first avenue explored upon investigation of the concept, it proved to reinforce rather than repair the traditional/non-traditional binary. He proposed that the speed with which a custom changes influences whether its associated traditions are real or invented: with rapid modernization comes the need for a society to introduce new traditions and reinforce its collective identity. He stated that invented traditions are more prevalent in societies where existing ones have been weakened or destroyed to the point of no longer being considered necessary or useful. He specified that real traditions have a practical function while invented ones have been “liberated for full symbolic or ritual use” (p. 4-5). Hobsbawm (1983) urged social scientists to search for “breaks in continuity” and suggested that “the very appearance of movements for the defense or revival of traditions...indicates such a break” (p. 8).

He defined invented tradition as:

a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by

¹⁸ English people, of course, do not live in a different world, but enjoy a relatively higher income than other demographics in this part of the world and have more money to spend on non-essential goods such as handcrafts. The author attempted to sell woven goods at Centro Estatal de las Artes in Mexicali and not a single piece sold. The saleswoman lamented that the prices were too high.

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repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past...insofar as there is a reference to a historic past, the peculiarity of “invented traditions” is that the continuity with it is largely factitious. (Hobsbawm, 1983, p. 1, 2)

Generally, Hobsbawm associated real traditions with the past and premodern societies, and invented traditions with contemporary or modern ones. According to this theory, rapid change in custom leads to the discontinuation of existing (fixed) traditions and the implementation of new (fixed) ones.

In the same vein, the American archaeological community has historically favored the naturalistic definition of tradition offered by anthropologist Alfred Kroeber (1948) as the passing down of culture traits unchanged through time (p. 411). A familiar example of an invented tradition would seem to be the ubiquitous turkey feast enjoyed at Thanksgiving by European settler populations across Canada and the U.S. (also much of northern Mexico). However, a glance at the literature reveals that the precedent for this harvest celebration lies in First Nations cultures (Mills & Neilson, 2011). Although the wild turkey has since been promoted and commercialized as a Euro American holiday symbol, its relationship with the past is certainly not factitious – this game bird is native to the American continent and has been hunted and feasted on for thousands of years. The development of this tradition and the controversy surrounding it reflect an extensive and arduous intercultural process rather than a political invention.

Historian Dipesh Chakrabarty (as cited in Restrepo, 2016) stated that to provincialize, or decentralize Europe on a global scale, it became necessary to re-signify “the nightmare of ‘tradition’ created by ‘modernity’” (p. 65). Destigmatizing the concept of tradition meant questioning the hegemonic position of modernity and the tendency to label as “traditional” anything foreign that did not fit within its social imaginary. Tradition had been defined as

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modernity's archaic "Other" (Restrepo, 2016, p. 65). Hobsbawm's critics have argued that since all traditions are modern reinterpretations of the past, some cannot be deemed more real than others.

Anthropologist Richard Handler (1984) called Hobsbawm's theory on the invention of tradition Eurocentric, conceived of western notions regarding "historical time, social order, and political boundedness" closely linked to nationalism and modern European imperialism (p. 1026).

In the same vein, historian David Díaz (2006) linked Hobsbawm's theory to

Benedict Anderson's concept of nations as culturally constructed "imagined communities" that minimize difference and promote a homogenous representation of the group... The origin of these arguments resides in the theoretical proposal known as "the invention of tradition," which was developed, chronologically speaking, simultaneously with Anderson's study and quickly – due to its theoretical similarities – became a compliment to it. (p. 180)

Díaz (2006) agreed with Handler that "...the very phrase invented tradition is loaded with particular meanings regarding time and space... (p. 182). Calling Hobsbawm's theory a defense of the professional practice of history that divides time and lends scholars absolute power to dictate what is true and untrue, he observed that

if, on the one hand, [Hobsbawm] demonstrated the value of creating an illusion, an artificial recuperation and representation of the past, on the other hand, he failed to address its appropriation by marginalized populations. This is important to note. In focusing his proposal on the construction of traditions for nationalistic and hegemonic ends, he neglected other possible interpretations that such a construction could provoke. (Díaz, 2006, p. 181, 186)

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Through comparative ethnography, Handler and Linnekin (1984) demonstrated that all traditions are symbolic constructs rather than fixed and constant traits. They defined tradition as “an interpretive process that embodies both continuity and discontinuity,” and argued that “since all cultures change ceaselessly, there can only be what is new, although what is new can take on symbolic value as ‘traditional’” (p. 273). This processual approach to meaning making is potentially the most adequate for describing how current Pa’ipai ceramic objects came to be.

Whether such traditions are old or new, local, glocal, or global, recounted by individuals or the collective, they are often associated with stories that reveal how Pa’ipai ethnic identity is being articulated in the present and represented through clay.¹⁹ Some of these objects, if “invented” in Hobsbawm’s sense, would be found to correlate with local beliefs or practices not historically verifiable. However, anthropologists and historians certainly have not documented all that has existed or happened, only that which they have witnessed. Calling relatively recent forms and beliefs or practices, derived locally or elsewhere, invented traditions would be akin to Rogers (1936) calling Yuman ceramic forms with attributes such as handles, lids, or flat bottoms “non-native” (p. 18). Although vessel forms and their functions are constantly changing, they seem to be characterized by a blending with the past rather than a departure from it. The only way to interpret their meanings was to explore the potters’ memories.

Making Cultural Meaning through Memory

A review of recent literature on the field of memory studies revealed a variety of different theoretical and methodological tendencies across the social science disciplines that were

¹⁹ This realization was made during a graduate seminar with Dr. Christian Fernández in which the author presented the potters’ interpretations of Pa’ipai ceramic objects to demonstrate why they probably should not be considered invented traditions.

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contemplated within the scope of this investigation to determine which is most appropriate for interpreting the cultural significance of the Pa'ipai ceramic industry. Sociologist Henri Lustiger (2011) identified three approaches to meaning making applied to memory studies:

instrumentalist (Hobsbawm, Ranger, and others), constructionist (Conway, Spillman, and others), and processualist (Levy, Olick, Robbins, Zelizer, and others). He indicated that sociologist Herbert Blumer considered Maurice Halbwachs' understanding of collective memory "an operational as well as sensitizing concept, for both instrumentalist and constructionist meaning-making approaches" (p. 4). Sociologists Jeffrey Olick and Joyce Robbins (1998) explained the difference between the two as follows:

[Instrumentalists] see memory entrepreneurship as a manipulation of the past for particular purposes, where [constructionists] see selective memory as an inevitable consequence in that we interpret the world – including the past – on the basis of our own experience and within cultural frameworks. (p. 128)

Instrumentalists and constructivists consider the past a "dependent variable...a product of presentist interests, as opposed to the more productive concern with degrees and variations of malleability. Scholars analyzing the malleability of the past have reframed the discussion of memory as a processual phenomenon" (Lustiger, 2011, p. 5). Unlike instrumentalists or constructivists, processualists treat continuity and change as inherently linked and complementary.

Such interpretations acknowledge that social memory erodes at the edges as individual members, especially older ones, become isolated or die, it is constantly transformed along with the group itself. Stating when a collective remembrance has disappeared and whether it has definitely left group

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consciousness is difficult, especially since its recovery only requires its preservation in some limited portion of the social body. (Olick et al., 2011, p. 144)

Olick and colleagues (2011) stated that social groups “change and segment continually. Even though we stay, the group itself actually becomes, by the slow or rapid replacement of its members, another group having only a few traditions in common with its original ones” (p. 146). Even Halbwachs (as cited in Marcel & Mucchielli, 2008) recognized that

as members change, die, or disappear, as the spatial frames change, and the concerns of the time replace past concerns, the collective memory is continually reinterpreted to fit those new conditions. It adjusts the image of old facts to the beliefs and spiritual needs of the moment. (p. 148)

According to the processual view then, old memories and traditions are not actively replaced by new ones in Hobsbawm’s sense of invention, but over time “...new memories develop and acquire another reality because they henceforth provide individuals with the markers needed to situate themselves in the social environment of the time” (Marcel & Mucchielli, 2008, p. 148).

While instrumentalist or constructivist research is focused on official discourse and collective action, the processual approach to memory research concedes the role of the individual in the development of collective memory and tradition. Anthropologist James Fentress and historian Chris Wickham (as cited in Green, 2004) indicated that

an important problem facing anyone who wants to follow Halbwachs in this field is how to elaborate a conception of memory which, while doing full justice to the collective side of one’s conscious life, does not render the individual a sort of automaton, passively obeying the interiorized collective will. (p. 38)

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Historian Anna Green (2004) stated that “oral historians need to re-assert the value of individual remembering, and the capacity of the conscious self to contest and critique cultural scripts or discourses” (p. 42). She suggested that oral historians could benefit from exploring “conflict and rupture” expressed in personal memories that contradict hegemonic authority, as competing ideas and beliefs run through and between the dominant conversations (Green, 2004, p. 43). Boyer (1988) noted that “in a culture that practices oral tradition, traditionalism works against tradition since a general preference for ancient forms leads tradition to declare ancient whatever it wishes” (p. 12). In this project, the processual interpretive approach was favored since, as will be seen in chapters 4 and 5, participant testimonies were quite varied and sometimes contradictory. Ceramists’ collected and collective memories of their craft and products needed to be assigned equal interpretive value to fully explore the cultural meanings associated with the forms they described.

Dynamics of collected and collective memories. Literary critic Nicolas Russell (2006) offered a broad working definition of collected memory based on the work of philosopher Paul Ricoeur as attributed to a single person while collective ones are shared by two or more people. He added, however, that individual memories can outlive individuals, being passed down through generations (p. 792-793). Although the concept of collective memory was not referred to as such in 18th century Europe, the “early modern period,” writers such as Jean-Baptiste d’Argen spoke of the “great actions or creative endeavors” that immortalized heroes and artists. Russell (2006) traced the connection between exceptional acts and collective remembrance back to ancient Greece. That type of social memory was perceived to exist in perpetuity, independent of individuals and their interactions (Russell, 2006, p. 793-794). Whether the majority remembers

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the creative acts of others or not, they become a personal legacy. Most writers would probably agree that they will live on through their published works.

Russell (2006) identified three types of personal memory: procedural, semantic, and episodic. He offered that procedural memory relates to accumulated knowledge of routine activities carried out in daily life, such as driving or using a computer. The early modern concept of collective memory described above was most like Russell's second type: semantic memory, involving the storage of abstract information and facts unrelated to individual or shared experience; for example, knowing that the Spanish mission Santa Catalina Virgen y Mártir was built in 1797.²⁰ Halbwachs simply referred to that as history while for him collective memory was episodic, subjective and specific to a group's past lived experience (p. 798). For him, "memory [was] represented by the notion of tradition...expressing social memory as a normative concept, transmitted through habitual collective action" (Namer, 2004, p. 348).

Since the late 20th century, theorists have challenged Halbwachs' and his followers' avoidance of personal memory but have not questioned their episodic approach to social memory (Russell, 2006, p. 793). Within the context of this project, procedural memory of ceramic production refers to technical information acquired and applied over a person's lifetime. Semantic memories are those based on accumulated knowledge of Yuman culture(s) that potters have seen or heard evidence of but not experienced firsthand. Some memories of current ceramic traditions—vessel forms and their functions—might be episodic in nature: subjective or specific to the women's past lived experiences. The interpretation in Chapter 5 will determine whether

²⁰ The original spelling for this mission, Santa Catalina rather than Catarina, was still in vernacular use in Mexicali in 2018.

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objects were produced from episodic or semantic memories, and if they were reported or observed to be in quotidian or ceremonial use, relevant to the present local culture.

Much like the debate surrounding tradition, a dichotomous treatment of memory has emerged in the social sciences that needs to be reconciled: the privileging of either individual or group memories. Olick (1999) stated that the individual or collective focus of memory research should be reconciled for conceptual and methodological clarity “because two radically different concepts of culture are involved here, one that sees culture as a subjective category of meaning contained in people’s minds versus one that sees culture as patterns of publicly available symbols objectified in society” (p. 336). The first camp of researchers, primarily psychologists, believes that combined individual memories constitute collective memory, while the second camp, principally sociologists, considers individual memories to be incomplete products of, rather than precursors to, social memory. According to the psychological perspective,

[t]he collective memory (CM), which comprises remembrances supported in a collectivity, is mostly the result of common individual memory (IM). CM has two degrees: collective memories that are consolidated and perpetuated far beyond the existence of the members of that group are called institutionalized collective memory (CMi) and collective memories which are not consolidated and perpetuated are called non-institutionalized collective memory (CMn). (Domingos, 2017, p. 1)

The sociological perspective, on the other hand, considers an individual’s interaction in social groups essential to the formation of collective memories. These authors contend that although individuals may have a unique perspective on the past, they do not have independent memories of it (Russell, 2006, p. 796). It follows that the social group, its collective memory, and its

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identity are considered inseparable by these researchers for “if a group loses its collective memory, it loses its identity” (Russell, 2006, p. 797).

Psychologist Alin Coman (2015) recommended a social interactionist approach to memory to reconcile the dichotomous theory and methodology produced by scholars who favor collected or collective perspectives. He defined collective memories as “shared individual memories that bear on people’s identities” (p. 189), and suggested that preference should not be given to either source of memory because

individual cognition and social dynamic interactively shape collective memories...It is the combination among memory’s flexibility, and the individuals’ tendencies to conform to and identify with groups that give force to an approach aimed at understanding the formation of collective memories. (Coman, 2015, p. 190)

The work of these authors illustrates that both collected and collective memories contribute to the elaboration of identity. Tradition and memory are continually reconstituted through individuals’ social interaction within and across generations, locally and among different regional populations. This dissertation project does not favor individual or group memories but considers both as elements of the same ethnic identity formation process, of which traditions become the tangible expressions. By merging the approaches to memory described in this section, the current research will deviate from existing norms, demonstrating that individual memories are sometimes informed by the distant cultural past, and conversely, group memories believed to be ancestral in nature can be of quite recent elaboration.

Pa’ipai Ethnicity as Tangible Memory

During the first half of the 20th century, the Mexican federal government was incognizant of the indigenous presence in Baja California. The state government actively ignored land claims

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made by Yuman groups in collusion with those actively infringing upon their rights (Franco, 2012, p. 69). Anthropologist Shaylih Muehlmann (as cited in Garduño, 2016a) suggested that at that time, the perceived invisibility of these communities was borne of an essentialist view of culture as bounded and unchanging. Indigenous peoples could not be officially recognized as such unless they spoke their ancestral language, dressed in traditional clothing, lived in mud huts, and hunted with bows and arrows. This brand of neoliberal multiculturalism forced minority groups to resist change to “prove” their heritage, reproducing the hegemonic stereotype of their culture to render themselves more visible on the political landscape (p. 120). Yuman people became engaged in redefining their collective identities in relation to the state through the 1970s, and by the turn of the 21st century had once again become visibly recognizable (Garduño, 2016a, p. 121).²¹ Folk art forms such as music, dance, basketry, and ceramics are now their most tangible cultural expressions.

This identity formation process, characterized in Baja California by negotiation between regional indigenous groups and the federal government, enabled the Pa’ipai people to achieve relative political autonomy, retain ownership of some of their land, and qualify for federal and state funding initiatives. Ethnic identity formation

occurs through group interaction, not isolation, and is defined as a “social relationship between agents who consider themselves as culturally distinctive from members of other groups with whom they have a minimum of regular interaction” (Eriksen, 1993, p. 12)...As groups compete for resources, it "provides members with a symbolically

²¹ Yuman groups received support in their fight for their lands from Instituto Nacional Indigenista (INI), now called Comisión Nacional para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas (CDI). At the request of local indigenous representatives, INI established Centro Coordinador Indigenista (CCI) in Mexicali in 1975 to

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ascriptive and exclusive subculture with which to identify, and...allows members to confine primary relationships to others within this subculture” (Staski, 1990, p. 122).

(Graham, 2015, p. 25)

Martínez (2016) described Santa Catarina as a place from which people forge their identity and sense of belonging, a place of nostalgia and memory, yet a constant source of dispute (p. 60). As mentioned in the introduction and will be demonstrated further in Chapter 4, Santa Catarina is really an interethnic and interlingual community, officially recognized as “Pa’ipai.” Every woman who was interviewed for this project emphasized her diverse heritage, claiming at least two ethnicities as opposed to only one, and reporting the ability to speak and/or partially understand at least two indigenous languages.

Archaeologist Stephan Silliman (as cited in Graham, 2015) pointed out that colonialism intensified interaction among ethnic groups to the extent that culture may, in fact, be a colonial invention. He stated that “colonialism is not about an event but, rather, about processes of cultural entanglement, whether voluntary or not, in a broader world economy” (p. 25). Like tradition and culture, indigeneity was also a colonial invention. Europeans needed a term to define and identify those who were being colonized. The word has since been applied in a global sense to all colonized peoples without regard for their differences or current identities (Bonfil, 1972, p. 110). Anthropologist Guillermo Bonfil (1972) indicated that “the Indian does not exist alone, but as part of a contradictory dichotomy through which his improvement – liberation from the colonizer – means his own disappearance” (p. 122). Competition for resources has fueled

first address the problem of encroachment upon Cucapá lands in El Valle de Mexicali (Franco, 2012, p. 74).

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ethnic politics, strengthening local identities and leading to the formation of a pan-ethnic Yuman identity discussed by Garduño (2004, p. 41).

The English or Spanish translation for the word many indigenous groups used to identify themselves for European invaders was some variation of “people.” Western epistemology belligerently sought to dehumanize those who auto-identified as people because they were considered both an obstacle and a resource in the territories Europeans aimed to exploit. They were strategically characterized as simply another element of nature. In Pratt’s (2010) words, “harmony [was] achieved, in this case, by comparing culture to nature in a way that guarantee[d] the inferiority of indigenous Americans: the more wild nature [was], the wilder [was] their culture” (p. 249). This tendency can be observed in anthropological literature that favors terms such as “Yuman stock” and “original habitat” (Hohenthal, 2001, p. 3, 5).

In 1991, the World Bank adopted a working definition of indigeneity that incorporates varying degrees of the following characteristics: close attachment to ancestral territories and to the natural resources in these areas, self-identification and identification by others as members of a distinct cultural group, an indigenous language often different from the national language, presence of customary social and political institutions, and primarily subsistence-oriented production (Sandberg, n.d.). The result has been restricting people’s movement, perpetuating subsistence-based production (which entails an enormous investment of time and energy for relatively small financial gain), and discouraging ethnic and linguistic diversity, all of which are detrimental to communities.

Although in the 1970s archaeologist Alfonso Caso (as cited in Bonfil, 1972) defined four criteria for weighing indigeneity in Mexico: cultural, linguistic, biological, and psychological (p. 107-108), biology is not included in the current internationally accepted guidelines. Other

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considerations: attachment to ancestral territory and subsistence-based production, are considered more pertinent. In 1972, Bonfil lamented that

the Indian has constantly evaded attempts to define himself... The exclusive use of biological indicators, loosely connected to the conception of the Indian in racial terms, becomes obsolete given the widespread miscegenation that has occurred across very diverse populations – among them and within each one – with the effect that all Latin Americans are mestizos. (p. 105-106)

In Latin America, biological “mixing,” or *mestizaje*, possibly occurred across remarkably porous sociopolitical boundaries as described by Bonfil, but it was also certainly a direct result of the Spanish colonial model of integration over segregation, which was the British practice.

In the 1950s, the criteria for being Indian in the U.S. involved the percentage of Indian blood a person could claim, while in Latin America, an individual’s ability to speak their ancestral language was the determining factor (Bonfil, 1972, p. 105-106). Garduño (2004) noted that in addition to the ability to speak an indigenous language, people in Mexico were required to inhabit their ancestral territory – auto-identification was not enough (p. 50). In fact, people still need to be physically present in officially recognized indigenous communities in order to be counted in the censuses, a requirement incompatible with the high mobility characterizing Yuman groups (Garduño, 2004, p. 51). Bonfil (1972) considered culture to be “the most favorable criteria for defining indigeneity. Indians, it is said, participate in different cultures from the European west, which is the dominant culture in the Americas” (p. 106-107). For Caso (as cited in Bonfil, 1972), cultural inclusion referred to the use of “precolonial ideas, beliefs, objects, and technologies, or European derived elements that had been adapted and were no longer used by white people” (p. 107-108). The poverty of colonized peoples was thus naturalized and

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guaranteed: cultural or linguistic change and geographic mobility became state-mandated justifications for revoking their rights.

Despite the biological diversity in indigenous communities and the now widely disputed concept of race as a biological category, indigenous peoples continue to be racialized by the dominant culture. Since the Mexican Revolution in 1910, “a discourse of official mestizaje has glorified the image of the heroic pre-Columbian Indian while demeaning and dehumanizing contemporary indigenous people” (Mallon, 1996, p. 172). Indigenous cultural elements and biology predating the arrival of Europeans were imagined as fixed and pure representations of nationhood. Historian Florencia Mallon (1996) wrote that “the indigenistas of the early 20th century saw Indians and the self-defined *gente decente* as the only proper ethnic/moral groups. Everyone else was potentially illegitimate, sexually suspect, and definitely mongrel: in short, mestizo...” (p. 176; emphasis in original). Mallon (1996) also defined mestizaje as:

a discourse of militant hybridity, it is a counter-hegemonic claiming of intermediate identities that, by its very indeterminacy and flexibility, escapes the use of ethnic and racial categorizations for the purposes of social control...On the other hand, mestizaje also emerges as an official discourse of nation formation, a new claim to authenticity that denies colonial forms of racial/ethnic hierarchy and oppression by creating an intermediate subject and interpellating him/her as “the citizen.” As a discourse of social control, official mestizaje is constructed implicitly against a peripheral, marginalized, dehumanized Indian “Other” who is often “disappeared” in the process. (p. 171-172)

In Mexico today, precolonial archaeology is still favored over the study of the mission period and beyond. Indigenous communities are systematically marginalized and their land rights and rights to self-government are regularly violated while their material culture is appropriated by the

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federal government. There exists an inherent contradiction in how the mestizaje concept was used by the majority as a claim to power in Latin America while also employed to stigmatize living indigenous peoples and delegitimize their present, diverse cultures.

Ethnicity in global context. The question of race is fundamental to studying the context within which indigenous artisans are operating today because as anthropologist Ramon Grosfoguel (2016) stated: “[w]ithout colonialism and colonial domination, there would be no global capitalist market. Colonialism is integral to capitalism. One is inherent to the other. We are living a historical capitalism that is inherently colonial and, as such, racial” (p. 128). Racism has propelled colonial interests, while the concept of ethnicity has arisen to counterbalance its effect on subjugated populations. Anthropologist Edward Staski (as cited in Graham, 2015) defined ethnic identity formation as “a defense mechanism established to mitigate the effects of colonial racism” (p. 25). Within the context of colonial America, the colonizers and the colonized were pitted against each other, and the dominant group in each established country created its respective social imaginary of “nationhood.” Living indigenous peoples were excluded from those imaginaries.

In a sense, because of the European colonial project, indigenous peoples came to be treated as foreigners in their own land. Sociologist Georg Simmel (2012) described the experience of being foreign as living in a state of constant exteriority and confrontation. He also introduced the concept of the foreigner as merchant. In order to be welcomed and permitted to stay in another country, foreigners must offer a product or service that the society considers necessary or useful (p. 21-22). Indigenous craft production, and the Pa’ipai ceramic industry specifically, play an integral role. Anthropologist Néstor García (2002) indicated that “an appreciation for indigenous art was initiated by 19th century folklorists, anthropologists, and

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writers, who saw in the stories, objects, and music of the lower classes, different than those known to the upper class, resources with which to configure the idea of a nation” (p. 24). Thus, the production of handcrafts from resources procured in their cultural territory became a way for Yuman peoples to strengthen their claims to the land as well as produce market goods of value to the regional and global economy.

According to Garduño (2004), knowledge and customs relating to aromatic and medicinal plant use, indigenous music, and steam baths have been reintroduced to Baja California by people who spent substantial time in the U.S. A Pericú man living among the Kumiai in Baja California has come to be recognized and accepted as an expert in local plant knowledge. Despite his ancestry, he auto-identifies as a person of Yuman descent (p. 53-54).²² Anthropologist Thomas Eriksen (1993) noted that “origin, customs, language, and law are not necessarily prime determinants [of ethnicity] because an individual must acknowledge membership to an ethnic group and there is a continuous flow of information, interaction, exchange, and individuals” in and out of social groups (p. 37-38). Therefore, although geographic origin and language were once the defining factors for inclusion in indigenous groups in Mexico, those criteria are changing.

Garduño (2004) attributed this change to “the questioning of traditional notions of community, ethnic groups, and ethnic identities as monolithic, permitting these groups the configuration of a multi-ethnic, highly mobile, and transnational community, currently immersed in the reinvention of a multi-variable ethnicity” (p. 56). People find ways to circumvent the

²² The Pericú people, like the Guaycura, Cochimí, and countless others, have been declared “extinct,” yet this individual made a counterhegemonic claim of Pericú ancestry. This points to the important difference between not existing and simply not being officially recognized as such by the government.

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physical boundaries imposed by the nation-state, and telecommunications networks have aided in the process by making long distance communication and access to information instantaneous. As a result of increased physical and virtual human mobility, traditions can now originate in the community that celebrates them or be incorporated through a process of glocalization.²³ Sociologist Gilberto Giménez (2002) defined glocalization as a process by which “local consumers absorb globally circulated cultural products, reinterpreting or resignifying them in accordance with their own local codes” (p. 35). Garduño (2016) indicated that glocalization occurs by means of cultural articulation whereby the practices of other ethnic groups are borrowed for strategic purposes (p. 120). Glocalized traditions will be sought in current ceramic forms.

Transborder articulation occurs when “symbols, sociocultural practices, and values cross geographic, cultural, and ethnic boundaries in negotiation with stereotyped identities,” a process that has been facilitated by access to the internet (Garduño, 2016, p. 120). Translocal memories can be shared across time and space by different ethnic groups (Conway, 2008, p. 3). For example, Lustiger (2011) noted that

[historian] Allan Megill has identified an interesting conduit linking memory to the increasingly insecure identities of the nation-state and the rise of individualism. Relying on Benedict Anderson’s notion of “imagined communities,” he argues the converse of Halbwachs’ dictum – which intimates that identities create collective memory. Megill’s point is that in a period of an increasing non-fixity of identity, memory emerges as a practice that constitutes identities, rather than being constituted by it. (p. 8)

²³ The concept of glocalization was developed by sociologist Roland Robertson (1995).

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For Megill then, memory constitutes identity and not the other way around. Globalization discourse is needed in memory research because as sociologist Brian Conway (2008) pointed out, "...almost all of the collective memory literature, as well as the subset of it examined using this 'processional' lens, is restricted to looking at memory in various local contexts or in global terms and it is very difficult to find any studies that engage with both" (p. 3). For that reason, research on tradition should treat time, space, memory, and identity as fluid, with equal consideration given to individuals and the group, past and present, and both local and global contexts.

Giménez (2002) described two theoretical positions on the globalization of culture: one discourse favoring diversity and the fragmentation of culture and another focusing on the global circulation of mass-produced culture. The latter phenomenon, commonly referred to as "McDonaldization," stems from a postmodernist hypothesis that global culture is becoming homogenous, which he indicated is not a proven theory. According to this author, "...everything seems to indicate that culture, no matter how 'globalized' it appears, continues to function as a machine that generates difference" (p. 23-24). Communications specialist Sandra Bramen (as cited in Giménez, 2002) identified the 1980s as a decade in which interest in local cultures began to rise as a reaction to globalization. Local cultures came to symbolize "resistance..., a source of particularities and differences, and repositories of meaning for individuals and communities" (p. 30). The increase in Yuman craft production in Baja California since the 1980s provided an alternative to mass-produced goods for consumers as cultural difference became a commodity on the global market.

Bramen (as cited in Giménez, 2002) described traditional societies as "primary localities" where residents are materially, socially, and spiritually connected to the land. She indicated that in "secondary localities," such as modern cities, residents develop an appreciation for the local.

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She referred to the interplay between global and local as “interpenetration,” stating that the global only exists through the local...no locality exists that has not been “contaminated” in some way by the global (p. 22, 31, 32-33). Giménez (2002) concluded that despite intercultural communication “sometimes globalization even contributes to strengthening and revitalizing local cultures indirectly and directly. For that reason, the assertion that increased globalization corresponds to a more globalized culture is false” (p. 34). He stressed that

[e]thnic groups can – and often do – change fundamental aspects of their culture while at the same time maintaining their boundaries, in other words, without losing their identity. For example, an ethnic group can adopt culture traits from other groups, such as language and religion, and continue perceiving themselves (and being perceived by others) as distinct from them. As a result, the preservation of boundaries between ethnic groups does not depend upon the immutability of their cultures. (Giménez, 2009, p. 17)

He explained that regional identities develop when a significant number of residents manage to incorporate the most profound regional “symbols, values, and aspirations” into their own cultural system. A “historical and patrimonial identity” is constructed in relation to past events of importance to the collective and/or existing sociocultural or socioeconomic ties to the natural environment (Giménez, 1999, p. 43). However, culture (much like tradition and memory) is heterogeneous, fluid, and malleable, containing “zones of persistence” and “zones of movement” (Giménez, 2009, p. 10). Identity construction requires “permanent creativity and continuous exploration...which involves a dialectic of continuity and change” (Giménez, 1999, p. 45).

Cultural products cannot be judged as more traditional, or more real, since “culture is continuously changing through innovation, extroversion, meaning transfer, the production of authenticity, or ‘modernization’...[and] that does not automatically imply that its members also

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change their identity” (Giménez, 2009, p. 19). Frustration expressed by 20th century researchers such as Bonfil (1972) regarding the reluctance or refusal of indigenous groups to define themselves was part of a hegemonic discourse aimed at consolidating the power of nation-states. The dominant society, or class within society, determined what knowledge, skills, or products others possessed that were necessary or useful. The nation concept ties its citizens to the earth; what better way to make that connection tangible than by encouraging the production of handcrafts reminiscent of the cultural past, produced directly from that earth.

However, much of the research summarized in this section seems inadequate due to its focus on internal and external political and economic triggers for ethnic identity formation and political and economic incentives for the continued reproduction of past cultural elements. Researchers have neglected to explore community members’ personal and affective motives for continuing the practice of their ancestral customs and the memory process by which the associated traditions take shape. They have also omitted mention of indigenous people’s right to define their own emerging local traditions, regardless of the temporal or spatial context for their development. The fact of calling Santa Catarina a Pa’ipai community when the social and linguistic reality is so varied demonstrates that ethnicity is an official discourse for the demographic majority in the present time rather than a historical reality. Using ethnic labels to uncomplicate local and global history has perpetuated an illusion of cultural purity and stasis that never existed in the first place and should not be expected to be observed in local material culture, past or present.

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Chapter 2: Regional History

Federally recognized Yuman ethnolinguistic groups in northern Baja California today include the Cucapá, Kiliwa, Pa'ipai, and Kumiai peoples, who reside primarily within 10 communities in the municipalities of Mexicali, Ensenada, Tecate, and Rosarito (Fig. 4). A group of individuals in San Gertrudis, Baja California, claim Cochimí ancestry and are currently lobbying for official recognition. However, Garduño (2004) indicated that this group is linguistically tied to the Kumiai, not the Cochimí, people (p. 56). Laylander (1993) mentioned another group, from La Huerta in the municipality of Ensenada, who auto-identify as Cochimí but were also said to be linguistically closer to the Kumiai. In his analysis, he referred to this group as Huerteño (p. 28). Jenaro Gaxiola, an archaeological field technician with INAH in Mexicali, is from Misión San Francisco de Borja in southern Baja California and claims true Cochimí ancestry. His grandmother, who passed away in 2017, was still able to speak Cochimí at the time of her death (J. Gaxiola, personal communication, October 7, 2017). These examples illustrate that ethnic identity politics continue into the present, and official discourse often does not reflect the social reality.

The Yuman-Cochimí linguistic branch belongs to the Hokan language family, suggesting a relationship with various groups along the California coast including the Chumash, and to some extent, the Seri peoples of Sonora, Mexico (Laylander, 1993, p. 17; Malhi et al., 2003, p. 101). The Guaycura, who once lived in central Baja California and whose descendants surely remain, may also have been members of the Hokan family, diverging some 3000 years ago (Laylander, 1993, p. 31; Price, 1971, p. 30). This is a debated claim, as anthropologist Homer Aschmann (1967) wrote: “The data are poorer for the Guaicura, Huchití, and Pericú languages to the south. The missionaries noted that they were distinct languages and not related to the Yuman”

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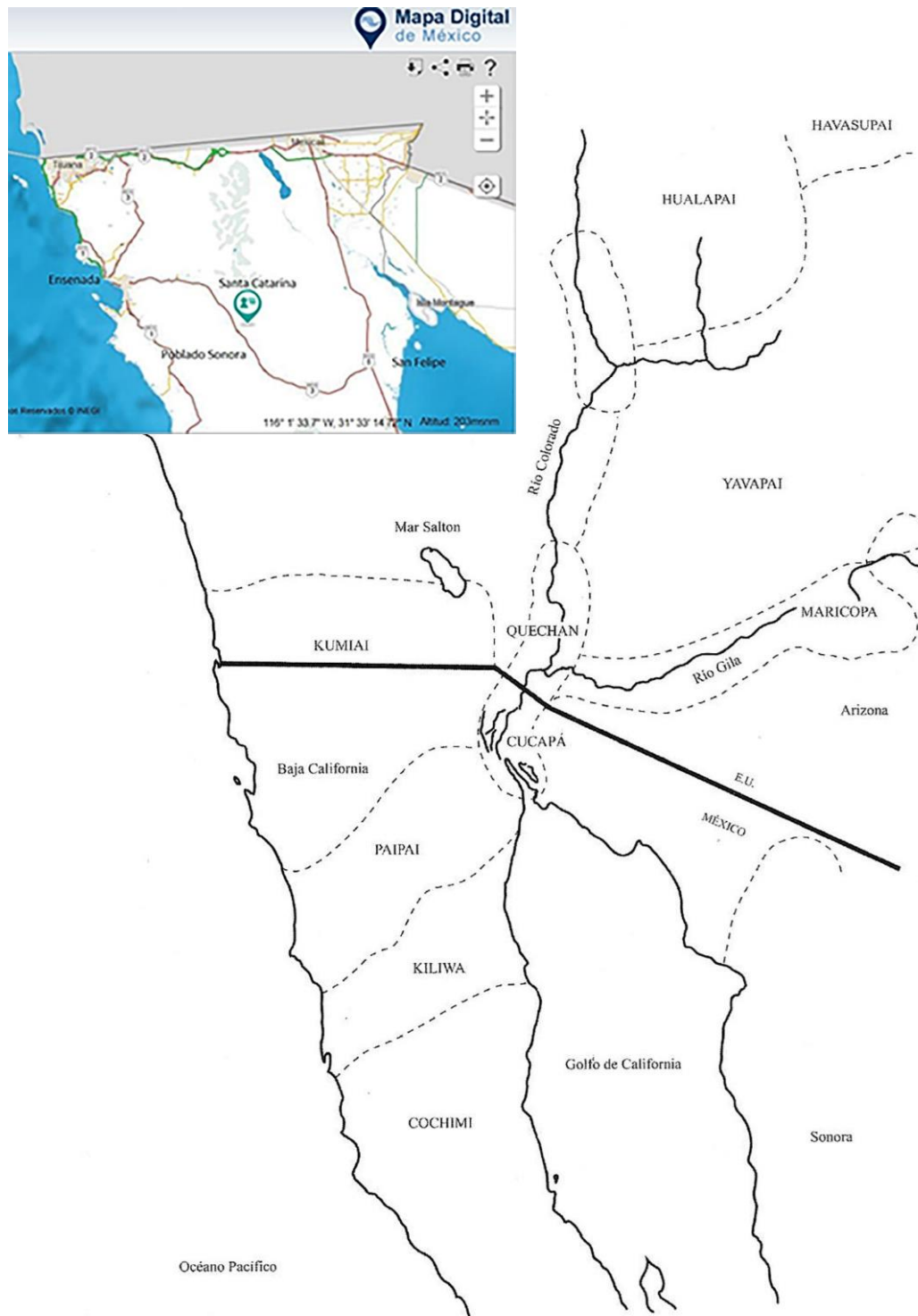


Figure 4. Yuman ethnolinguistic map (Source: Magaña, 1999, p. 109). The map inlay depicting the location of Santa Catarina was added by the author.

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(p. 115). Little is known of these southern groups because their cultures and languages did not survive European colonialism; the Jesuit diaries are the only remaining source of information. According to the analysis presented by Laylander (1993), the Yuman-Cochimí branch split in two – Yuman and Cochimí – and the Yuman branch further separated into Yuman proper and Kiliwa roughly 2500 years ago, ca.500 BC.²⁴ Then, 1700 to 2000 years ago, ca.AD 150, the Yuman proper group split into three mutually intelligible subgroups that included the River (now Mohave, Quechan, Maricopa), Delta (now Ipai, Tipai/Kumiai, Huerteño, Ko'al, Kamia/Campo, Cucapá), and Pai (now Havasupai, Walapai, Yavapai, Pa'ipai) branches.²⁵ The Delta Yuman dialects listed above are thought to have emerged at least 1200 years ago, or ca.AD 800 (p. 18, 31), around the same time ceramic production was introduced to the area.

When the Mexico-U.S. international boundary was redefined in 1848, Yuman groups were split such that all but the Kiliwa now have kin on the U.S. side of the border (Garduño, 2016b, p. 123). The Pa'ipai group holds approximately 450 members concentrated in the villages of Santa Catarina and San Isidoro (Delfin, 2010). Oral history and linguistic evidence indicate that the Pa'ipai share close ties with the Upper Yuman Havasupai, Walapai, and Yavapai peoples of the current U.S. state of Arizona (Laylander, 2010, p. 151; Varela, 2011). Laylander (2010) estimated that the Pa'ipai peoples diverged from their Upland Yuman kin sometime after AD 1000 and signaled three possible migratory patterns: north to south, south to north, or a combination of movement in both directions from a central point along the shoreline of Lake

²⁴ All Christian era dates used in this dissertation have been estimated by subtracting the “years ago” date provided by cited authors from their year of publication.

²⁵ This is by no means a complete list of the Yuman dialects once spoken. Laylander's study included only languages currently in use, or for which enough records could be found.

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Cahuilla following one of its desiccations (p. 151). According to archaeologist Russell Kaldenberg (2012),

the chronology of Lake Cahuilla's most recent phases continues to be refined with new archaeological investigations. Current data, including 85 radiocarbon dates, indicate a complete filling in the thirteenth century AD, a recession in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, another infilling in the fifteenth century, a recession in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, and a final filling in the seventeenth century followed by the last recession that ended soon after AD 1700. (p. 14)

Regarding their eventual arrival in Santa Catarina, archaeologist Roger Owen (as cited in Wilken, 1987) wrote:

It seems likely that Santa Catarina was originally a Kuat'l settlement to which Paipai were brought by the missionaries. All of the remembered Kuat'l rancherías were around and to the north of the location of the mission; all of the former settlements of the Paipai were to the south and east of the present reserve. The Paipai were desert peoples, the Kuat'l were highlanders.²⁶ (p. 19)

However, the inlay on the map in Figure 4 reveals that Santa Catarina is positioned roughly along the boundary arbitrarily dividing Kumiai and Pa'ipai territories, in a region where culture and language almost certainly overlapped. Anthropologists Thomas Hinton and Roger Owen (1957) wrote: "To the north the only conflict lies in the fact that both the Paipai and the Southern Diegueño laid claim to the same areas in some places, but since clans were shared by the two groups, it is likely that there was occasionally simultaneous occupation" (p. 54). Researchers will

²⁶ Kuat'l, like Kuahl or Ku'alh, is a variation on the spelling of Ko'al.

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never know for certain the extent to which these groups interacted prior to the establishment of the mission, yet inferences have been made through early missionary and ethnographic accounts that will be discussed in the final section of this chapter. Most evidence suggests that ceramic production was introduced in the area of Santa Catarina by the Kumiai and/or related Ko'al people, who preceded the arrival of the Pa'ipai and are still represented in the community today. Panich and Wilken-Robertson (2013b) wrote:

The question of whether the local pottery tradition was originally associated with Paipai or Ku'alh culture, or whether it arrived after their admixture, is unclear. It is worth noting, however, that most of the potters interviewed by ethnographers over the past 50 years spoke Ku'alh as their first language. On the other hand, the association of the Paipai with Colorado River peoples and the Upland Pai groups might suggest the arrival of ceramics [sic.] technology to the peninsula along with the Paipai migration. (p. 87)

One account of ceramic production was recorded in Paipai territory by a Spanish soldier in 1769:

“It is wonderful to see how these Indians manage to manufacture their well-finished earthen pots,” wrote José de Cañizares, a Spanish soldier with the 1769 Portolá expedition to Alta California. Cañizares was traveling through Paipai territory near what would later become the mission site of San Vicente. (Thickens & Mollins as cited in Panich & Wilken-Robertson, 2013b, p. 75)

The above quote represents the southernmost firsthand observation of ceramic production encountered to date.

Rogers (1945) indicated that "middens with a Western Yuman material pattern gradually diminish in number in a southerly direction until they disappear completely from the archaeological picture in the latitude of Ensenada, even though in the Peninsular Range and

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particularly on the Gulf of California side, Yuman sites with pottery extend at least 120 miles farther south" (p. 173). Regarding the Gulf of California side, Gena Van Camp (1979) reported that "sherds and whole vessels from northeastern Baja California mentioned by Rogers (1936) and found by myself in museum and private collections and in our own excavations reveal a distribution of buff ware that extends as far south as San Felipe on the Gulf Coast" (p. 69). If ceramic production were practiced beyond these presently accepted limits, it does not appear to have been the cultural norm and may have only occurred as a direct result of the establishment of the missions.²⁷ Hohenthal (2001) stated that Jesuit missionaries in the early 18th century recorded the southernmost limit for ceramic production at Rosario on the Pacific Coast and San Luis Gonzaga Bay on the Gulf Coast (with both limits bordering Kiliwa and Cochimí territories) (p. 79).

A leaflet produced by archaeologists at the Denver Art Museum in 1935 described the Pai tribes of Arizona as relatively unskilled pottery makers. The practice had been discontinued by the time of their research although some elderly community members were said to still hold knowledge of the paddle and anvil method. These authors indicated that the Havasupai group had made "only a globular cooking pot," while the Walapai had made "jars and pots, bowls, spoons, and pipes." The Yavapai group (who practiced coiling without the paddle and anvil) were said to have made "large shallow bowls, cook pots, and globular water jars with small necks" (Cartwright & Douglas, 1935, p. 78). Therefore, the ceramic assemblages found at Pai sites neighboring the Colorado and Gila Rivers in Walapai and Yavapai areas were of

²⁷ The website <https://www.sandiegoarchaeology.org/Laylander/Baja/ceramics.extent.htm> cited various examples for the sporadic occurrence of ceramic material beyond the latitudes of Ensenada in the west and San Felipe in the east although multiple factors suggested that it had been traveled or traded in, or produced as a direct consequence of the missions.

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comparable diversity to Delta Yuman assemblages even though the Yavapai practiced a different technique. The more northern Havasupai and more southern Pa'ipai regions are relatively limited in terms of the array of known vessel forms.²⁸ This comparative data suggests movement of Pai groups to the northeast and southwest from a central point associated with the rivers rather than Lake Cahuilla. Support for an easterly migration pattern is found in Rogers (1945) statement that “it is only the accelerated expansion of Yuman boundaries to the east during Yuman III times which seems to give expression to the changed river conditions, for by the sixteenth century the Walapai-Yavapai speech group in its easterly expansion had moved halfway across the state of Arizona” (p. 198). Similarly, oral history told by Pa'ipai individuals in Baja California signals that their ancestors arrived on the peninsula from the north (Goldbaum, 1984, p. 23). Further archaeological research is needed to support these interpretations.

Apart from the larger Colorado River tribes, who were the only Yuman peoples believed to have regularly practiced agriculture at the time of European contact, society was organized in seasonally mobile, patrilineal bands.²⁹ Each shimul typically held between 25 and 50 members (Michelsen, 1991, p. 153). As shown above in Figure 4, anthropologists have deduced that Baja California was occupied “in layers by single cultures across the peninsula” (Price, 1971, p. 27). Thus, Pa'ipai territory once stretched from the Pacific Coast to the Gulf of California (Delfin, 2010). Hunting and gathering activities permitted the exploitation of diverse resources on the Gulf or Pacific coasts, in the desert or the mountains, at different times of year. These

²⁸ The author conducted ceramic analyses for INAH in Mexicali over a six-year period and all material was recovered from Cucapá and Kumiai sites. Researchers based in Ensenada could provide more information on recent finds in that area of the peninsula.

²⁹ Incipient agriculture was practiced among neighboring groups such as the Cahuilla, Southern Diegueño, and Kamia. Consult anthropologist Henry Lewis (1973) for further information on this topic.

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ethnolinguistic groups and their boundaries, as documented by social scientists, represent general trends rather than discrete sociopolitical units.

If missionary accounts and ethnographic data can be used to reliably characterize social organization prior to the mission period, then women married into their spouse's paternal lineage and children typically learned the culture and language of both parents (Panich, 2010, p. 237). Michelsen (1991) stressed that the criteria for social organization were not based on ethnicity and language in the way European (and colonial) societies are organized. He described Santa Catarina as a microcosm of ancient Yuman territories with shimuls scattered throughout in no discernible ethnolinguistic pattern (p. 158), and stated:

If a Paipai individual were asked to draw a map of Paipai territory, they would probably draw a map of the region where the people they can converse with live. However, if they were asked to draw a map of "their" territory, they would likely draw a map of the places where they can go without danger. The map would not resemble the map of the region where their language is spoken, nor a map drawn by another Paipai person from a different lineage. The maps drawn by some of those individuals would include Kiliwa or Cucapá territory, or Diegueño [Kumiai]. With that said, in order to draw a realistic representation of Paipai territory one would need to draw a sociogram not an ethnic map. (p. 159)

These authors have inferred based on early missionary and ethnographic writings that Yuman clans have always been as they continue to be, interethnic and interlingual. Each ethnolinguistic

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group is thought to have been generally concentrated in the regions defined by anthropological research, with individuals scattered throughout neighboring territories.³⁰

Early Yuman Ceramic Industry

Ceramic production began in River Yuman territory roughly 1300 years ago, ca.AD 700 (Porcayo, 2016; Waters, 1982), spread through the Delta region, and is now regularly practiced only in Santa Catarina. The early industry was first described from an ethnoarchaeological perspective by Rogers (1936) in the 1930s. Previous historical accounts had been written by Spanish missionaries and American ethnographers whose work, according to him, could not inform research on the precontact period since it had not incorporated archaeological data (Rogers, 1945, p. 167). Rogers (1945) estimated Hokan language speakers to have occupied the Pacific coastal area of southern California from the north as early as 2000 years ago, ca.55 BC, migrating eastward across the desert into the Colorado River Valley ca.AD 745-845, where agriculture and ceramic technology were adopted through contact with Gila-Sonoran, and possibly, Great Basin peoples. He considered what he referred to as the Yuman culture complex (cremation, ceramic production, the use of stone projectile points and bone awls) to have developed gradually over “at least five” subsequent centuries and spread back across the desert to the west coast, “fix[ing] the mold...for all future time” by ca.AD 1245-1345, at which point he said Yuman geographic expansion was also curtailed (Rogers, 1945, p. 168-169, 173). Perhaps what Rogers meant by “for all future time” was that post-AD 1245 Yuman territorial boundaries and material culture traits resembled those encountered by the earliest European explorers of the mid-16th century.

³⁰ This interpretation supports the argument for persistence of indigenous customs but is impossible to test archaeologically. Most of the information used to construct this narrative was collected in the early 20th

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The Hokan arrival date proposed by Rogers does not reflect the earliest known human occupation of the study area. He mentioned earlier culture groups: San Dieguito and La Jolla I and II, noting that Yuman peoples may have either descended from or replaced the La Jolla II population. He went on to state that early Yumans did not necessarily speak a Hokan language. He surmised that, alternatively, Yuman culture may be derived of a Gila-Sonoran migration into the area that was later “absorbed” by a Hokan incursion (Rogers, 1945, p. 171, 173, 180, 196). He expressed uncertainty as to whether the archaeological evidence points to in-migration, cultural diffusion, or both. A recent study of human remains known as the University House Burials has signaled human occupation in present-day San Diego County as early as 9500 years ago, or ca.7500 BC (Mayes, 2010, p. 131). This dissertation is confined to developments since the introduction of ceramics, post-AD 700. At least three chronologies have been proposed for Yuman ceramics based on vessel form. Malcolm Rogers (1945) and Michael Waters (1982) adhered to three time periods of similar duration and content (Fig. 5).

In contrast to Rogers, Waters’ model “combined ollas, canteens, and jars into the global category ‘jars,’ moved trays into the bowls category, and eliminated pipes” (Graham, 2018, p. 5). He also thought ceramic production to have begun 200 years earlier than Rogers suggested; an observation later shared by Porcayo.

Rogers’ time periods were: Yuman I (AD 900-1050), Yuman II (AD 1050-1500), and Yuman III (AD 1500-?). Waters’ designations were Patayan I (AD 700-1000), Patayan II (AD 1000-1500), and Patayan III (AD 1500-?). Neither researcher defined an end date

century, three generations after the mission period had ended.

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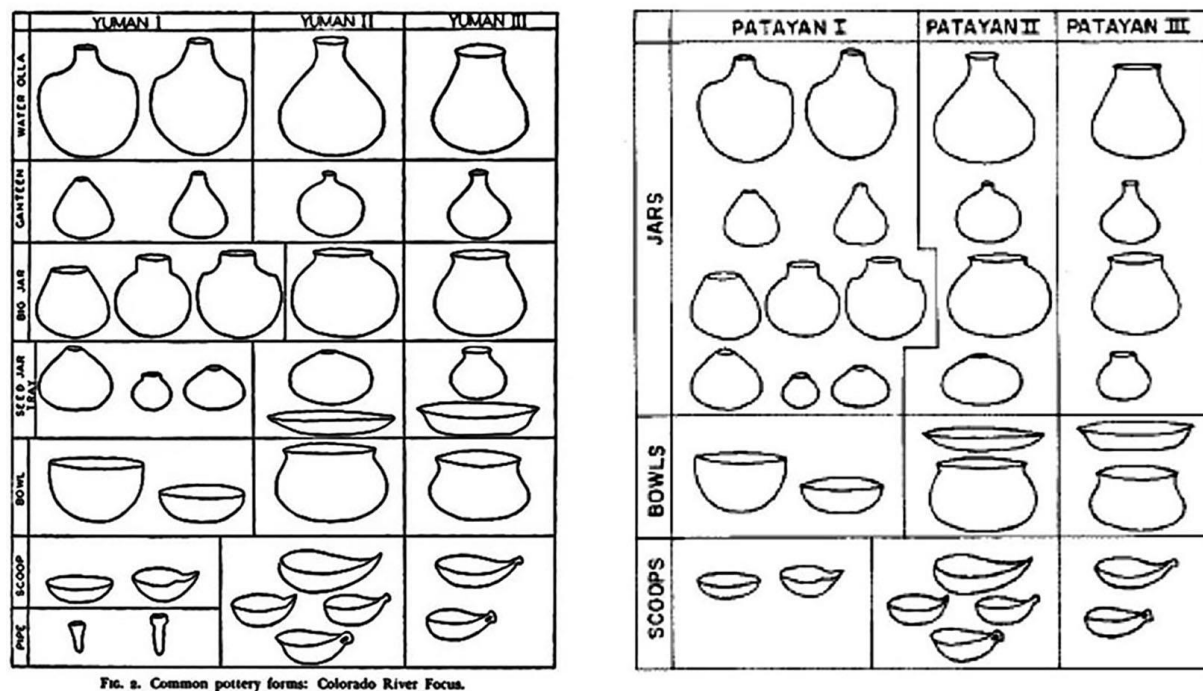


Figure 5. Chronologies for Yuman vessel forms proposed by Malcolm Rogers (left) and Michael Waters (right) (Sources: Rogers, 1945, p. 189; Waters, 1982, p. 283). Rogers' original figure caption reads "Common pottery forms: Colorado River Focus."

for the third production period nor did either incorporate "historical" or "contemporary" ceramic forms into their typologies. (Graham, 2018, p. 5)

Porcayo (2016) rearranged common forms identified by Rogers, added several new ones, and introduced a fourth period (Fig. 6). He set the end date for the third time period at AD 1850, adding a fourth that extends into the present to include the work currently being produced by ceramists in Santa Catarina. He agreed with Rogers and Waters that bowls pertained to the earliest period, but contemplated trays within that category as well and moved scoops into the post-AD 1000 period. For him, semi-globular ollas had appeared first with all other jar, olla, and canteen forms introduced later. His associated theory holds that the relative height and volume of Yuman vessels increased over time as groups became more sedentary and acquired greater skill

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	FORMATIVE	TRANSITIONAL I	TRANSITIONAL II	TRANSITIONAL III
PORCAYO 2015	AD 700-1050	AD 1000-1500	AD 1500-1850	AD 1850-present
ROGERS 1945	YUMAN I	YUMAN II	YUMAN III	
	AD 900-1050	AD 1050-1500	AD 1500-?	
WATERS 1982	PATAYAN I	PATAYAN II	PATAYAN III	
	AD 700-1000	AD 1000-1500	AD 1500-?	
VESSEL FORM				
LOWER PORTION GROUP				
Trays				
Scoops				
Bowls				
Transitional bowls				
MIDDLE PORTION GROUP (LOWER PLUS MIDDLE)				
Semi-globular or semi-spherical ollas				
Globular or spherical ollas				
Transitional ollas				
Globular ollas with spout				
Jars with Colorado shoulder and spout				
Oval horizontal canteens				
Semi-triangular canteens				
Globular or spherical canteens				
UPPER PORTION GROUP (LOWER PLUS MIDDLE PLUS UPPER)				
Globular or spherical jars with spout				
Globular jars with cylindrical spout				
Globular or spherical canteens				
Oval vertical canteens				
Semi-triangular canteens				
Semi-triangular canteens with spout				
Biconical canteens				

Source: Porcayo Michelini 2016b

Figure 6. Yuman vessel form chronology proposed by Antonio Porcayo (Source: Porcayo, 2016, p. 33).

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at producing ceramics (Porcayo, 2016, p. 26). Differences in Porcayo's and other researchers' interpretations could be owed to the fact that his primary study area, El Vallecito Archaeological Zone, lies substantially to the southwest, in the Peninsular Mountain Ranges, while previous studies had focused on sites in the Colorado River Valley.³¹ These typologies are by no means inclusive of all forms that existed; as indicated in Rogers' figure caption, only "common pottery forms" were selected. Figure 7 outlines the geographic expansion of ceramic production during Rogers' Yuman periods I, II, and III. In the early period, production was confined to the Colorado River region, extending into eastern Kumiai (and maybe peripheral Pa'ipai) territory during the second period. The southernmost boundary for the third time period was left undefined, labeled with a question mark.

Anthropologists have habitually favored linear temporal framing in their work (Fabian, 1983, p. 2); the past was classified with reference to major colonial events. Under that scheme, the typology for Santa Catarina and the surrounding area would look something like this: the precolonial period (prior to 1797, the date upon which the Dominican mission Santa Catalina Virgen y Mártir was founded), the colonial period (from 1797 to 1848, when much of northern Mexico was annexed by the U.S. army), and the current period (from 1849 to the present). However, pinpointing the exact date of introduction for the ceramic forms associated with these historical moments is not possible. Olick et al. (2011) cited Halbwachs as stating that history

³¹ Rogers (1945) suggested that successive desiccations of the Blake Sea (also known as Lake LeConte and Lake Cahuilla) provoked mass-migrations into other regions, including the mountain ranges of the Baja peninsula (p. 191-194). El Vallecito, visited to some extent throughout Yuman history, became a more heavily populated and permanent settlement after AD 1500 (Vázquez, 2014, p. 27), following the late 15th or early 16th century drying of the lake.

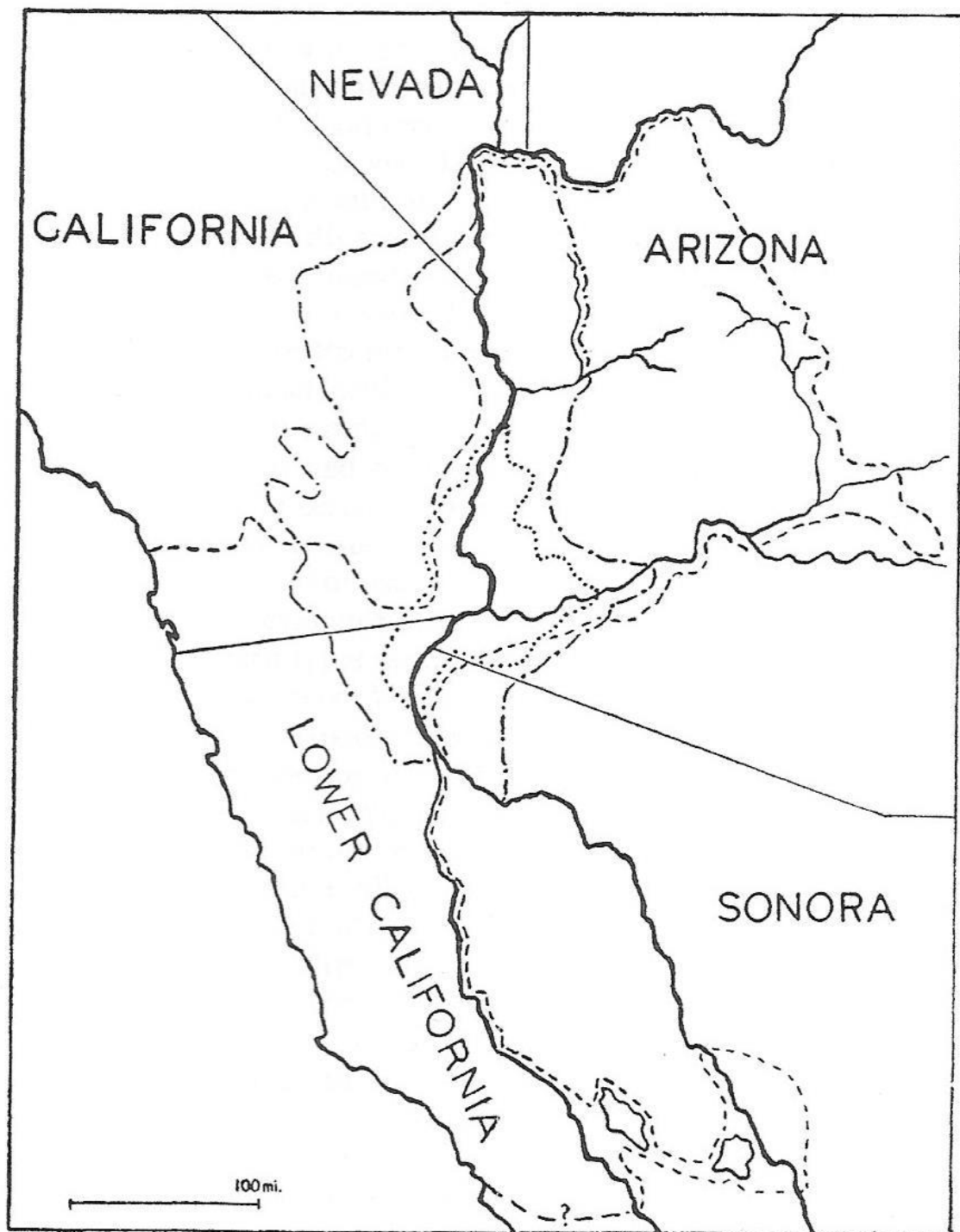


Figure 7. This map shows the extent of ceramic production during Yuman periods I (dotted line), II (dot and dash line), and III (dash line) (Source: Rogers, 1945, p. 184).

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attributes to an interval of a few years changes that in reality took much longer. Another period of society may conceivably begin on the day after an event had disrupted, partially destroyed, and transformed its structure. But only later, when the new society had already engendered new resources and pushed on to other goals, would this fact be noticed. (p. 144)

Existing chronologies should be referenced with caution, and only in conjunction with radiocarbon dating and other time markers to test their efficacy. Preliminary research suggested two problems with the way the Pa'ipai ceramic industry has been studied by archaeologists in the past: changes in the paddle and anvil custom and its associated traditions do not necessarily correspond with European colonial moments used to describe them; and, the voice of the ceramists has been virtually absent from the conversation. As stated by Silliman (2005), the academic distinction made between prehistoric and historical archaeology is artificial (p. 55). By comparing current forms and their associated oral histories with existing archaeological and ethnographic data, this dissertation will demonstrate that colonial biases in conceptions of time and space have generated an epistemological problem, perpetuating a limited understanding of these cultural objects.

Context for Colonial Changes

Since the late 18th century when Dominican missions were established in Baja and Alta California, European settlers and their descendants have become the first local, non-indigenous consumers of Yuman paddle and anvil ceramics. The products resulting from this “historical” cross-cultural market have generated a polarizing debate as to the “authenticity” of the craft. The Jesuit presence in southern Baja California spanned from 1683 to 1768; although they scouted out potential mission sites in the north, they did not settle here. The Franciscans were active

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primarily in Alta California from 1769 to ca.1837, establishing only one mission in Baja California near El Rosario in 1769, the same year they built San Diego Alcalá. These were the first two Spanish missions to incur upon Yuman territory.

Over the next 30 years, the Yuman lands of northern Baja California were slowly settled by Dominicans, from south to north. The Dominican order was charged with Baja California from 1774 to ca.1840. Mission Santa Catalina Virgen y Mártir was one of the last to be built in 1797 (Aviles & Hoover, 1997, p. 22). The adobe buildings, once positioned upon a hilltop overlooking the community cemetery, were burned by invaders in 1840 and little evidence of them remains aboveground (Fig. 8). Local recollection of this event, as recounted to anthropologists in the early 20th century, is contradictory with some individuals blaming all tribes for the attack and others blaming the Kiliwa in particular, who reportedly call Santa Catarina *Wa'íú-ichíu* (Burnt Abandoned House) (Mixco, 2013, p. 54, 74).



Figure 8. Partially excavated adobe ruins of Misión Santa Catalina Virgen y Mártir (1797 to 1840). (Source: Panich, 2009, p. 171)

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Most of the missions the Dominicans established were located along the Pacific Coast between San Fernando Velicatá and San Diego. Santa Catalina and San Pedro Mártir were strategically positioned in the Peninsular Mountain Ranges in defense against attack by tribes from the Colorado River Delta. Landscape architect Brian Aviles and archaeologist Robert Hoover (1997) wrote: “at certain missions, such as San Borja, San Diego, San Luis Rey, and several Dominican missions, Indian groups remained transient, coming to the mission at designated times, in part not to overtax the local resources available at the mission. In such cases, neophyte villages may not have been developed or were shared by different groups” (p. 19). These authors attributed the absence of stone structures and predominance of adobe at Dominican sites to a scarcity of labor; Dominican missions were characterized by declining populations, typically holding approximately 250 indigenous inhabitants each at any given time (Aviles & Hoover, 1997, p. 17, 19). Meigs (1935, p. 143-150) and Panich (2010, p. 225) agreed that Santa Catalina was sparsely populated with a rudimentary economy. However, it was home to more than 600 people in 1824, making it the largest of all Dominican missions (Meigs, 1935, p. 216).³²

The indigenous residents of the mission formed a diverse community, comprising members of at least three Yuman ethnolinguistic groups. The only known census record for Mission Santa Catalina, compiled in 1834, indicated that neophytes had arrived from throughout northern Baja California, including Kumiai, Pa’ipai, and Cucapá individuals, with speakers of the Ko’al dialect incorporated in all three groups. Only five of the twelve known clan names listed on the mission census were Pa’ipai (Panich, 2010, p. 249). The Kiliwa and Cucapá groups

³² Meigs (1935) also cited records for 223 residents in 1801 and 239 residents in 1834. In 1929, there were a total of seven shimuls living in Santa Catarina (p. 216, 222).

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were typically considered hostile and were not intentionally settled at the mission or even particularly welcome there, though some individuals married in (Meigs, 1935, p. 216). Panich (2010) suggested that the already established practice of exogamy and resulting interethnic and interlingual Yuman familial structure facilitated adaptation to intensified ethnolinguistic diversity at the mission,

[and] over time recognition of their shared practices and association with the land around the former mission reinforced group identity and allowed the mission neophytes and their descendants to reinterpret native identity in the face of a dramatically changing social world. While the “tribu de Santa Catarina” certainly maintained aspects of the shimul system—as do the Paipai today—the experience of living together at the mission shaped the transformation of native identity from shimul to a larger and more cohesive social group. (p. 250-251)

According to Panich (2010), due to the relative isolation of the mission and limited European presence, “native inhabitants likely retained many aspects of their precontact hunting and gathering practices and social relationships” (p. 225-226). His analysis of the mission assemblage emphasized continuity and persistence of the paddle and anvil custom and its associated traditions despite colonial interference. He identified exploited clay sources, vessel forms, and in many cases, their functions (Panich, 2009). The ceramics produced there, compared to other mission sites in the Californias where elaboration methods and specific vessel forms may have been mandated by colonists, or a variety of indigenous techniques from different regions were found reflected in the assemblages, closely resembled known precontact forms. Panich (2009) attributed two factors to this continuity of manufacture: ceramics had been produced in the area long before the arrival of the missionaries, and colonial control was less

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complete here than in other regions (p. 183). A Niton energy dispersive X-ray fluorescence (EDXRF) spectrometer study revealed 95% of selected sherds were derived of local clays (one source within the village proper and another roughly five miles away), while only 5% were of non-local provenance. This data suggested a higher degree of sedentism than typical of neighboring, precontact sites. Potters in Santa Catarina today still use the closer of the two sources that were used during the mission period, located within the confines of the community (Panich, 2009, p. 188-189).

Of the 12,972 total sherds recovered from the site, 239 were selected for the EDXRF study, and of those, 220 were rimsherds (Panich, 2009, p. 185- 187). The remaining 19 specimens were the only other diagnostic sherds that were large enough to be tested, reflecting an analytical problem characteristic of all Yuman archaeological sites: an overabundance of undiagnostic wall sherds. Within the sample set, most vessels derived of local clays were determined to be bowls (TN=108),³³ followed by jars or ollas (TN=60), and plates (TN=9).³⁴ In contrast, none of the non-local vessels were plates, and jars or ollas were more prevalent than bowls. These results were unsurprising as plates were introduced by Europeans, and people traveling to the mission likely would have carried jars or ollas holding water for the journey. Bowls, which are considered to have been the most versatile of vessels, were also most prevalent at neighboring, precontact sites studied by other researchers (Panich, 2009, p. 194-195). In terms of observed patterns, Panich (2009) noted a slight trend toward increasing vessel diversity in the upper stratigraphic levels as well as a slight temporal increase in vessels produced from the

³³ TN stands for total number.

³⁴ These numbers do not add up to the total 220 rimsherds tested because the remaining 43 were not of adequate size or shape to determine the original vessel form.

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secondary and non-local sources, which he said may reflect the weakened presence or absence of missionaries in later years (p. 191, 219).

In addition to rimsherds from bowls, jars or ollas, and plates, diagnostic sherds from the mission assemblage included one bead,³⁵ one rimsherd of non-local manufacture that had been drilled in order to mend the vessel,³⁶ two triangular pipe fragments,³⁷ three perforated disks,³⁸ three wall sherds with red paint on the exterior surface,³⁹ five sherds from the same plate with an intentional *maize* (corn) cob or basket impression,⁴⁰ seven possible handle fragments, and nine sherds with incising to produce notched rims or wall designs.⁴¹ All of the above-mentioned objects and their attributes except for the plates, five of the handle fragments, and a higher than expected incidence of direct rather than rounded or recurved rims, were found to correspond with previously documented precontact forms (Panich, 2010, p. 216-217).

Two handle fragments were identified as partial zoomorphic or anthropomorphic effigy scoop handles, one displaying coffee bean shaped eyes, and the other possibly a nose. These objects, derived of local clay, were previously recorded only in the Colorado River Delta and to

³⁵ The only other documented incidence of clay beads Panich encountered was in Ronald May's (2001, p. 51) analysis of ceramics recovered from sites along the shore of Lake Cahuilla.

³⁶ This was one of few vessels derived of sedimentary clay procured from the eastern desert region leading Panich (2009) to believe that it had been transported to the mission and possibly mended rather than discarded on account of holding some special value to its owner (p. 215).

³⁷ Panich cited Rogers (1936, p.19, 50) and Van Camp (1979, p. 60) for examples of similar pipes found at Kumeyaay archaeological sites, which Hohenthal (2001, p. 169) observed were also common in Pa'ipai territory.

³⁸ These ceramic discs have been variously identified as ornaments, jar lids, spindle whorls, or gaming pieces (Panich & Wilken-Robertson, 2013b, p. 81). Van Camp (1979) suggested buttons as well (p. 60).

³⁹ This type of paint was more common in the Colorado River region but is also sometimes found in the Peninsular Mountain Ranges (Panich, 2009, p. 212).

⁴⁰ Baskets were sometimes used as molds by Yuman potters and left unintentional impressions on the interior surface of the vessel. However, Panich (2009) interpreted this design as an intentional decorative element and indicated that if it were a corn cob rather than a basket that left the impression, it would be the first example of this technique observed in Yuman territory (p. 213-214).

⁴¹ Only 19 of these 31 diagnostic sherds were large enough to include in the EDXRF study.

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the north of the mission site, suggesting that this tradition may have been imported by individuals who settled at the mission from outlying areas. The other five handle fragments were interpreted as an attribute introduced by Europeans (Panich, 2009, p. 199-203).⁴²

Regarding the function of bowls, jars, and ollas, Panich and Wilken-Robertson (2013b) wrote:

Large and medium jars were used for the storage of dry foodstuffs as well as other perishable items. Small jars may have been used to store water or food during hunting or gathering trips, and water ollas typically have a small orifice. Ollas were also used for cooking, with the cooking pot resembling a smaller version of storage vessel. Most jars and ollas have recurved rims, a globular body, and a rounded base (Rogers, 1936, p. 18-19; Drucker, 1941, p. 108, 177; Van Camp, 1979, p. 54-55). Bowls served a number of purposes, with large deep vessels used for cooking and shallower ones used for serving. (p. 79)

Charring on the outer surfaces of bowls and jars or ollas indicated that all three types were used for cooking, while “the percentage of fire blackened bowls was much lower at 26% versus 47% for jars or ollas,” and few vessels displayed the narrow openings typical of storage vessels, perhaps indicating centralized storage of food and water at a different location (Panich, 2009, p. 197-198). It would be interesting to compare this food preparation and storage data with vessels from other Yuman sites. Another possible avenue for comparative analysis would be to infer the relative skill level and experience that ceramists living at the mission may have possessed by studying vessel wall thickness and other technical and stylistic attributes. Three of the bowl

⁴² See archaeologist Ken Hedges’ (1973) proposed typology for Yuman effigy scoops, and Adan Treganza (1942) for his discussion on the European origin of other handles.

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rimsherds were of such small diameter as to have represented miniature vessels that may have been used either in ceremonies or as toys (Panich, 2009, p. 198; Van Camp, 1979, p. 56).

People first arrived at the mission to provide farm labor and received part of the harvest as payment. Once it became an established village and the Spanish mission period had ended, people exchanged goods rather than purchasing them, and things that were no longer needed were given away. The Pa'ipai people continued to fish on the coast near San Ramón, building houses on the creek bed with branches. They sold large quantities of bees' wax, honey, and dried meats to an American by the name of Harry Cannon, who owned a hotel in San Quintín. In exchange, Cannon would sell them clothing. The Chinese community purchased the leather hides of animals the Pa'ipai slaughtered (Gómez & Magaña, 1999, p. 20-23). During the early 20th century, people began leaving Santa Catarina in search of paid labor, marriage partners, or access to healthcare (Martínez, 2016, p. 98). According to Muehlmann (as cited in Garduño, 2016a, p. 120), this out-migration resulted in part from stress placed on Yuman groups by the American annexation of California in 1848. Garduño (2016a) added that 97% of the *ejido* (communal) land allotted to peasants through Mexican Agrarian Reform in the early 20th century was unsuitable for agriculture (p. 121).

During the 1950s, many people traveled to the Mexicali Valley to pick cotton. Those who worked the cotton fields would leave home in November and return in January or February each year. Around that same time, people began to purchase their food rather than hunt and collect it (Ramona Castro in Varela, 2011). Ceramics were rarely produced for quotidian use shortly thereafter. Back then, the two nearest stores were in El Alamo (Don Gertrudis Uchurte as cited in Gómez & Magaña, 1999, p. 46), approximately 20 miles southwest of Santa Catarina. As people departed for other parts of Mexico and the U.S., non-indigenous cattle ranchers encroached upon

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the land. Those who stayed behind in the villages blended into the non-indigenous ranching community. They entered the cash economy, spoke primarily Spanish, wore cowboy hats and boots, and lived in adobe, stone, or wooden houses (Garduño, 2016a, p. 121). According to census information collected by linguistic anthropologist Ana Daniela Leyva, four Cochimí-Yuman languages were still spoken in Baja California in 2011: one person spoke Kiliwa, 30 spoke Cucapá, 40 Kumiai, and 50 Pa'ipai (Varela, 2011).⁴³ She indicated that all four languages were in danger of disappearing and the loss of language would provoke a loss of knowledge since some information cannot be adequately transmitted in a second language. Leyva stressed, however, that even those who do not speak their ancestral language continue to identify as indigenous people.

Economic activities in Santa Catarina today include trail maintenance, reforestation, palmilla (soaptree yucca, *Yucca elata*) cutting, pine nut collection, handcraft production, fruit sales, cheese production, ranch work, roping horses, agriculture, greenhouse cultivation, food sales, employment at fairs or expositions, meetings with government institutions, teaching, and preparing meals in the school cafeteria (Martínez, 2016, p. 96). At the time the documentary *Sukuin Shkuin* was filmed in 2010, approximately 120 indigenous artists were living in Baja California (Delfín, 2010). According to Garduño (2016a), the selection and production of certain elements is determined by the political climate, competition for resources, marketing, immigration, and religious interactions, among other factors (p. 120). Ceramic production in Santa Catarina currently serves three main purposes: making the Pa'ipai ethnic group more visible, thus establishing its political legitimacy and contributing to Mexico's cultural patrimony,

⁴³ Several residents of Santa Catarina speak Ko'al or other dialects. Leyva's research, as with many government sources, only recorded federally recognized ethnolinguistic groups.

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providing economic support to the artists and their families through sponsored incentive programs and product sales, and perpetuating the paddle and anvil custom or herencia, a goal now valued by the ceramists as well as their customers and sponsors although that may not have always been the case.

Chapter 3: Overview of Santa Catarina

This chapter provides contextual information on the logistics for arrival in Santa Catarina, and the researcher's preliminary observations on the community and its people. This type of general overview is uncommon in ethnoarchaeological publications on ceramics, which are generally approached as microanalyses of the production technique, with only cursory mention of the greater social, political, and economic context for the analysis. The current author believes that this contextual information, however subjective, may be useful to future students as they contemplate what to expect upon arrival in the village. In the case of this project, there was a notable contrast between the researcher's expectations and the reality encountered during preliminary fieldwork. These early visits aided in establishing the theoretical and methodological approach to this project and led to the development of grounded theory on the concepts of custom, tradition, memory, and ethnic identity.

Getting There

From the City of Mexicali, there are two possible routes to Santa Catarina: west to La Rumorosa and Tecate, then southwest through wine country to Ensenada and back inland up the western slope of the Peninsular Ranges; or south toward San Felipe, then east through the desert and up the eastern slope toward Ensenada (Fig. 9). Having tried both, the latter was the preferred route with considerably fewer curves and less traffic. The trip covers 251 km (156 mi) and takes roughly two hours and forty minutes. During the first year of fieldwork, the highway was riddled with potholes; conditions had substantially improved by year two. There were, however, scraps of old rubber tire littering the pavement and scattered along the roadside and shrines decorating the natural landscape, often associated with skid marks trailing off the outer shoulder around

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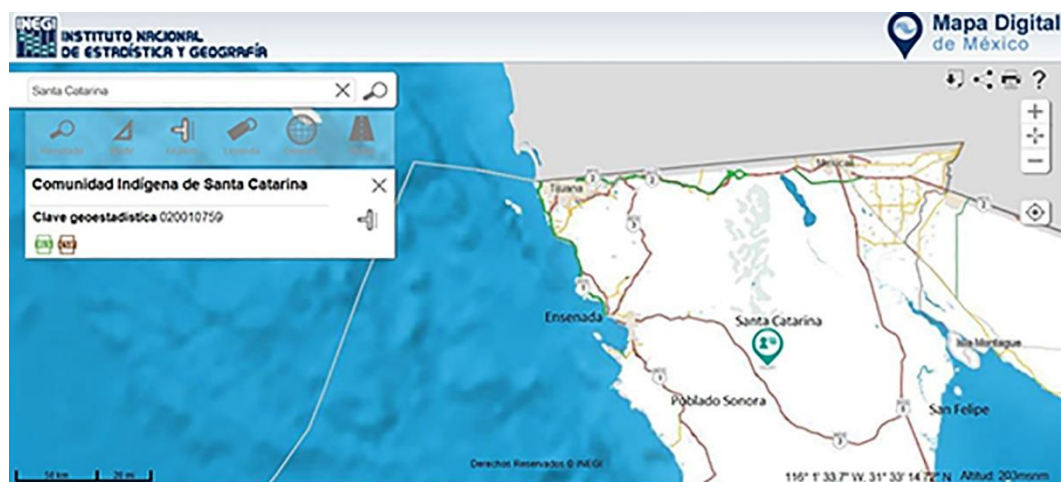


Figure 9. Location of Santa Catarina, Baja California (Source: <http://gaia.inegi.org.mx>).

sharp bends. Traveling alone and somewhat apprehensive from the outset, such observations were more disconcerting than usual.

The most dangerous stretch of road was the climb from Valle de la Trinidad to Héroes de la Independencia. At one spot, a sign read: *peligro* (danger) without indicating which kind (potholes, treacherous curves, oncoming traffic, slow moving trailers or farm equipment, crossing animals, random debris, a flat tire, overheated engine, corrupt soldiers and/or *narcos*...). Years ago, the author had an unpleasant experience at a military checkpoint in San Luis Rio Colorado involving a soldier who tried to plant a bullet casing in the trunk of her family's vehicle. Enough other stories circulate to foment a profound dislike of being interrogated at the junction of highways 5 and 3, and especially reporting one's destination.

During preliminary field visits, people in Santa Catarina expressed concern over increased criminal activity in their village, particularly break-ins by *foraneos* (outsiders). The doors and windows of many homes were fixed with metal security bars and we were advised to lock our vehicles. One couple indicated that they remembered a time when locking doors was unnecessary; now they even insert sticks along the base of window frames when they go out to

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prevent them from being slid open from the outside. Some Pa'ipai community members have become involved in the drug trafficking problem faced by this region and all of Mexico, as evidenced by the assassination of 18 members of three different families in Ensenada in 1998 (Dillon, 1998; Rancho El Rodeo, 2013). The row of gravesites in the local cemetery, of different sizes representing men, women, children, and infants, is a horrific reminder of that day. In December 2017, the owner of the hotel in Valle de la Trinidad, where the author had been planning to stay while conducting fieldwork, was kidnapped along with an unspecified number of his guests (Heras, 2018). The risk of physical danger and violence traveling to and from Santa Catarina as well as living there seemed to be a constant reality.

Community Services and Infrastructure

Upon arrival in Héroes de la Independencia, nestled at an altitude of approximately 1183 m above sea level, a paved road led north the remaining eight miles to Santa Catarina (Figs. 10, 11). The economic vulnerability of the community was immediately apparent. Rather than a bustling ceramic producing center like Santa María Atzompa in Oaxaca, this was sparsely populated village without a single store or business in sight. Rugged, unpaved roads wound through the irregular landscape with homes randomly spaced at different elevations throughout. The houses were small and built of cement block, adobe, and sometimes a conglomerate of scrap metal, wood, or other repurposed materials. Plants belonging to the California Coastal Sage and Chaparral ecosystem dotted the natural landscape; intentional gardens surrounded the front patios of the potters' homes and two women indicated that their families had planted some of the trees as well.

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Figure 10. Paved access road leading off Highway 3 to Santa Catarina from Héroes de la Independencia, NW view. C.A.R.II.R.M. stands for Centro de Adiestramiento Regional Segunda Región Militar, indicating a military proving ground located alongside Santa Catarina. September 8, 2018.



Figure 11. Héroes de la Independencia, SE view. September 8, 2018.

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Of all the ceramists' houses, the easiest to reach was Daria's. Unlike the others, her driveway led west off the paved access road (Fig. 12). Her family compound held three homes: one for each of her sons and another for herself, where she lived with her partner, Ubaldo. A fourth building at the front of the property held a museum built by INAH that displayed artifacts Daria had found over the years during hikes through the mountains (Fig. 13). These included a few large, nearly intact ollas, *metates* (grinding stones), *manos* (cobblestone pestles), projectile points, and stone arrow shaft straighteners, among other items. Her ceramic workshop sat approximately 40 m northwest of her residence (Fig. 14), and immediately behind her house lay the outkitchen, where she indicated she still preferred to cook even though her new home had a woodstove as well (D. Mariscal, personal communication, May 6, 2017) (Figs. 15, 16, 17).



Figure 12. Museo Kuahl sign at the entrance to Daria Mariscal Aguiar's property. September 8, 2018.

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Figure 13. Museo Kuahl on Daria Mariscal Aguiar's property. May 7, 2017.



Figure 14. Daria Mariscal Aguiar's workshop (by Everardo Garduño). April 29, 2017.

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Figure 15. Granitic boulder supporting Daria Mariscal Aguiar's kitchen as seen from the outside (by Everardo Garduño). April 29, 2017.



Figure 16. Granitic boulder countertop inside Daria Mariscal Aguiar's kitchen. May 6, 2017.

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Figure 17. Granitic boulder supporting Daria Mariscal Aguiar's kitchen as seen from the inside. May 6, 2017.

The use of massive, stationary granitic boulders to form walls and support the roof of this structure, even provide the countertop, turned out to be a local architectural practice observed again at Gloria's home (Fig. 18). An archaeology student visiting that day rightly noted that many people also use granite countertops in cities. Generally, people's living spaces and their uses of it were characterized by an interweaving of old and new structural and cultural elements.

Daria explained that she is of both Ko'al and Pa'ipai descent and for that reason, she named the museum she cares for Museo Kuahl. Although Santa Catarina is widely understood to be a Pa'ipai community and most members identify as such, some other ceramists also reported Ko'al ancestry (T. Castro & T. Cañedo, personal communication, April 30, 2017). The term "Patayan" has sometimes been applied to the Yuman paddle and anvil ceramic custom, particularly by archaeologists studying early cultural material in the southwestern U.S. (Waters,

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Figure 18. Granitic boulder supporting the roof of Gloria Regino Arballo's garage (by Everardo Garduño). April 29, 2017.

1982). Patayan is an English derivative of the word “Pataya,” which means “old people” in the Pai linguistic branch (Archaeology Southwest, n.d., para. 1). The Pataya were not necessarily as closely related to descendants of the Ko’al branch, who are more closely linked to the Kumiai people (Garduño, 2016b, p. 12-14). Since using the term Yuman to describe this diverse community would overgeneralize the situation, the officially recognized majority term, Pa’ipai, is frequently used in this research with mention of individual histories.

The adobe ruins of Mission Santa Catalina Virgen y Mártir, the oldest evidence of the Spanish colonial presence, were hidden below the ground surface upon a hilltop in the northwestern portion of the village as described in Chapter 2. Although the mission site was not immediately apparent, the more recent Catholic church Iglesia Católica Indígena de Santa Catarina was the tallest structure in the community and sat slightly downhill from where the

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paved access road ended, on the unpaved portion of the main road through the village (Fig. 19).

The building had fallen into disuse and disrepair. Another abandoned church, Casa de Oración la Luz del Mundo (House of Prayer the Light of the World), situated beside Tirsa's property, was repurposed as her ceramic workshop and store in 2016 (Fig. 20). She explained that although the church had been active while her mother was alive, it was used very little because the congregation preferred to meet at her home. Once she passed away, the missionaries simply left (T. Flores, personal communication, April 30, 2017). The fourth church, Templo Luz Verdadera (True Light Temple), was an evangelical variety and the only one operational in the village (Fig. 21). The sheer quantity of churches in this small community suggested that the Christian presence there has been continuous.



Figure 19. Iglesia Católica Indígena de Santa Catarina. February 11, 2017.

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Figure 20. Abandoned church Casa de Oración La Luz del Mundo, converted into Tirsia Flores Castro's workshop and store in 2016. May 7, 2017.



Figure 21. Evangelical temple Luz Verdadera, the only church currently operating in the village. May 7, 2017.

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Many of the houses, including Daria's, were painted white on top and reddish-orange on the bottom, constructed through the sponsorship of various government agencies (Figs. 22, 23).⁴⁴ They all contained a *tinaco* (water tank) on the roof, suggesting that there was no central water supply to the village, or its source was unreliable (subsequent interviews revealed the latter to be the case). While visiting Daria in May 2017, her husband took the pick-up truck into town to fill a large water tank and then used an electric pump to transfer it from the truck to the roof. Tirsa's family, on the other hand, had the community's only fresh well in their yard and used that local source for everything from bathing to cooking. On a hot summer day, children filled a large, blue plastic barrel and took turns bathing and cooling off while we sat in the shade of the earthen front porch. Neighbors, later revealed to be Tirsa's children and grandchildren, periodically stopped by with buckets to fill and take back to their own homes free of charge.⁴⁵ The author had brought two liters of bottled water to last the entire weekend and due to the hot weather and having to cook lunch with part of it, had nearly run out by morning.

The house visible to the right in Figure 22 had a television antenna on the roof, indicating the availability of cable and possibly internet services. Electrical wires lined the street, confirming the presence of electricity as well. Further investigation showed that residents in

⁴⁴ Sponsoring institutions for the government housing project include Secretaria de Desarrollo Agrario Territorial y Urbano, Fideicomiso Fondo Nacional de Habitaciones Populares, Comisión Nacional para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas, and SinHambre Cruzada Nacional.

⁴⁵ Tirsa also described how members of the village collected *tunas* (prickly pears) from her nopal cactus free of charge since it tended to produce more than they could eat. At the time of our interviews, workers from other towns, including Mexicali, were collecting *palmilla* (soaptree yucca, *Yucca elata*) with villagers for commercial sale and stayed in a vacant house on Tirsa's property rent-free.

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Figure 22. Two of the houses donated to selected community members by various government agencies. February 11, 2017.



Figure 23. Federal agencies sponsoring the public housing initiative in Santa Catarina. May 6, 2017.

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Santa Catarina had gained access to radio in the late 1970s, television in 2008, and internet service more recently, in 2014 (Martínez, 2016, p. 101). The government housing project had originally been based on an urban design: small plots in a controlled area with houses all lined up in rows. The community rejected that proposal, insisting that the homes be spaced out at random elevations in the habitual way, with hilltops and boulders providing desired privacy. The government complied despite the higher construction and utility costs involved (E. Garduño, personal communication, April 29, 2017). Another culturally sensitive element of the design was the inclusion of woodstoves – the locally preferred cooking and heating source – rather than gas or electric appliances. Those who were questioned as to how the government decided who to deliver the homes to replied that they were unaware of the selection criteria. The process was evidently slow – some had been delivered but were not yet hooked up to the power grid.

Santa Catarina was granted federal recognition as a Pa'ipai community on May 9, 1972. By the 2010 census, Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (INEGI) recorded only 113 people living in the community, some of whom had migrated in from surrounding cities. The collection of census data has been hindered by human mobility and difficulty in obtaining personal information about family members for fear it may later be used against them by the state. Roughly 56 individuals, mainly over the age of 35, reported knowing the Pa'ipai or Ko'al languages though only a fraction of those spoke them daily, injecting Spanish words where none existed in the other language (Martínez, 2016, p. 49-50, 56, 60, 98-99). Daria's partner Ubaldo, who was 48 years old at the time of this research, indicated that when he was in grade school, there were 67 families living in Santa Catarina, approximately 268 individuals. Since then, many people have either died or moved away. Ubaldo lamented that when he was a child, the community held annual Kuri Kuri festivals, but the tradition recently came to an end because the

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talented singers have passed away, and the drinking and fighting got out of control. He reported that he is saddened, “*hasta me agüito*,” over this loss (personal communication, May 6, 2017).

When the first elementary school opened three kilometers away in the village of San Miguel in 1930, children were forced to use and learn Spanish instead of their maternal language and they have been taught the same federally mandated curriculum as other students across Mexico ever since. Attendance was so low in the beginning that a school was opened in the village proper in the 1970s. Families were provided a monthly scholarship for each child who regularly attended classes and two meals per day (Martínez, 2016, p. 100, 134-136).⁴⁶ Additional reasons Martínez (2016) mentioned for increased Spanish usage and the adoption of hegemonic Mexican culture at home were the incorporation of non-indigenous members into families and use of electronic entertainment (p. 57, 101). Spanish has slowly become the primary language spoken. Figure 24 shows an aerial map of the community and its structures.



Figure 24. Aerial map of Santa Catarina, Baja California (Source: Google Maps, 2018).

⁴⁶ The website Martínez cited for the scholarship program was <http://www.oportunidades.gob.mx/TRANS/fracción7.htm>. However, at the time of the current research, the link was broken.

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The only cellphone company serving Santa Catarina in 2018 was Movistar. One woman expressed frustration at constantly receiving telemarketing calls from Telcel representatives despite having explained to them repeatedly that their company did not service her neighborhood. Other community features of note were the bilingual elementary school (Fig. 25),⁴⁷ cemetery (Fig. 26), health clinic, and meeting center, which sat beside the abandoned Catholic church. The small wooden sign read: Salon de asambleas [sic.] Wamuch Ram Nuach. On April 30, 2017, a meeting was held there to conclude a visit from a busload of other Universidad Autónoma de Baja California (UABC) students who had been providing health workshops to locals over the weekend. The financial needs of some residents were clearly being met through participation in the handcraft market, as some people had set up tables to display and sell their wares. Martínez (2016) noted in her ethnographic research that Santa Catarina's warm season was associated with abundance, paid labor, and outdoor socialization, while during the cold months there was less work (resulting in less income) and people tended to stay inside by the warm stove, watch television, and visit church (p. 109). Tirsa later corroborated that information in an interview, reporting that winter was the time when she suffered the most economic hardship and needed the most help (T. Flores, personal communication, September 8, 2018).

People

It quickly became evident that the artisans in Santa Catarina were accustomed to receiving visitors interested in purchasing their goods. At each home, guests were directed

⁴⁷ Officially, this is a bilingual school; however, the teacher at the time of this research reportedly did not speak or teach Pa'ipai or any other indigenous language (Interviews in Santa Catarina on May 6, 2017). Upon graduation from 6th grade, middle school is/was only available by distance education through television broadcast, or in a different town.

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Figure 25. “Bilingual” elementary school. April 29, 2017.



Figure 26. Village cemetery indicating current funerary use for ceramics vessels. April 29, 2017.

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toward the display of items for sale including ceramics, basketry, cordage, and jewelry, some of which was woven, and some made with seeds or plastic beads. Although the objects varied, the same general materials were used. Figures 27 through 30 show the ceramic collections for sale on preliminary visits. Of the four women, Teresa was substantially older and produced ceramics only occasionally while the other three were dedicated to the practice on a full-time basis.

Martínez (2016) made the same observation that perhaps a maximum of three or four women were dedicated to the task of producing ceramics from six to ten hours per day (p. 13). These women were actively commercializing their work and became the primary participants in this study due to the variety of forms available on a year-round basis.



Figure 27. Daria Mariscal Aguiar's ceramic shop located at the rear of Museo Kuahl. May 7, 2017.

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Figure 28. Gloria Regino Arballo's ceramic shop located at the rear of her home. May 7, 2017.



Figure 29. Tirsia Flores Castro's shop in the abandoned church beside her home. May 6, 2017.

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Figure 30. Teresa Castro Albañez's craft collection set up on a table outside her daughter Telma's home on April 30, 2017, when a busload of students was visiting the village from Mexicali (by Everardo Garduño). April 30, 2017.

On initially stopping at Rogelia Cañedo Albañez's house to ask a young woman where Gloria lived, the author was invited in to see basketry for sale. There was a makeshift shop with wooden tables set up in the front room. Although this may have been a permanent feature, it seemed to have been arranged temporarily for the busload of students visiting that weekend. The author purchased one small basket with a lid and quickly realized that everyone was eager to sell crafts in exchange for information. The following day, that observation was reinforced when one potter's daughter insisted on a purchase to compensate for the information they had provided. That same ceramist mentioned during our interview that American anthropologist Roger Owen, "Rogelio," used to visit regularly because "he was her friend." She gave him artifacts she had found in the mountains and he never paid for any of them (Anonymous, personal communication, April 30, 2018).

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The role of researcher in the community had been predetermined by interaction with the visitors who had come before. The author was either treated as a customer or a representative from an institution that could provide some other kind of economic support. During a later visit with archaeologists from INAH, we heard grievances about damaged or leaking structures, a broken door, and other pressing maintenance concerns. One family indicated that the roof of their government issued house was leaking despite its recent construction – rainwater had permeated the unsealed cement roof leaving notable water stains on the ceiling. They also reported needing a water heater because the house had come with kitchen and bathroom sinks, a toilet, and a woodstove for the kitchen, but no boiler. That visit in early May was during an unexpected cold spell and the water coming out of the taps was ice cold. They were using an electric bucket heater to prepare water for each use.

Anthropologists have been rightly criticized for the longstanding practice of removing information and goods from indigenous communities without offering monetary compensation or contributing somehow to improving the lives of those they studied. Grosfoguel (2016) referred to this practice as cultural extraction, the mining of ideas to be appropriated by western academics and converted into symbolic capital; visitors have benefitted from the extraction of ideas, technologies, and objects while leaving the communities in misery (p. 133). In recent decades, some anthropologists have responded to that problem by paying participants for their time, organizing workshops to stimulate the production of local goods, becoming customers themselves, and helping to develop or expand the market for external sale.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ During this fieldwork, participants were compensated \$500 pesos (roughly \$27 USD) for overnight visits, ceramics were regularly purchased, and requested food items were occasionally exchanged for ceramics. Tirsa noted that food items from the city were of more value to her than money.

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The potters' financial dependence on occasional sales and support from governmental and non-governmental organizations became central to this research since ceramic production in Santa Catarina is inherently linked to the poverty of its producers and the intermittent external demand for their underpriced work. The relative geographic isolation and physical and economic vulnerability of the people have made the current ceramic industry both possible and necessary. Paradoxically, participation in the industry perpetuates their situation of poverty. It is hoped that this work will contribute to changing the anthropological discourse about indigenous handcrafts in this and other regions where community members and their products have historically been treated as vestiges of the past – objects of study and subjects of the state – rather than disadvantaged collaborators within the present system who, it saddened the author to realize, refer to visitors that profit more from their work than they do as *amigos* (friends).

In the village, elements of continuity and change were visible in everything from the landscape to the infrastructure, architecture, and quotidian practices such as cooking and bathing. This interplay of past and present was also found to characterize the ceramic production process (clay procurement, preparation, and firing) and be reflected in the histories of resulting forms. The emerging goal of this study was to dismantle Eurocentric constructs of time and space perpetuating notions of “evolution” and “contemporary art” in the study of Pa’ipai ceramics, focusing on what these objects mean to their producers and consumers within their regional and global contexts. The ceramists know which forms are traditional and every piece has a story to tell – it is not requisite for historians and archaeologists to agree. Future research should always improve the local economy and develop strategies to increase the profitability of this work in a more consistent and sustainable manner.

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Chapter 4: Ceramic Industry in Santa Catarina Today

As demonstrated in previous chapters, the quotidian use of paddle and anvil ceramics for food storage, preparation, and consumption endured several decades longer in Santa Catarina than in other ceramic producing Yuman communities, at least into the 1970s (Michelsen, 1971). In comparison, few women were still producing ceramics for personal use by the 1930s on the U.S. side of the border. The rather precarious external market that had been developing for these objects as indigenous handcrafts was adversely affected by the economic downturn of the Great Depression. During what appears to have been a pivotal decade for turning them into a commodity on the neoliberal capitalist market, funding for incentive programs dried up and potential consumers found themselves without the resources to purchase nonessential goods. From that point on, increasing access to store-bought, mass-produced household ceramics, combined with external pressure to adapt to Anglo American culture, led to the discontinuation of this practice sometime around the mid-20th century (Wade, 2004, p. 91). American anthropologists then turned their attention to Baja California, where the poverty (more limited access to the cash economy) and isolation (peripheral situation relative to central Mexico) of indigenous peoples permitted, at least to some extent, the abiding use of local customs and language.

The biggest problem with the linear framework historically applied to anthropological research is that it implied zero change in production technology and forms during the longest period, prior to the missions, then sudden, irrevocable contamination by the Spanish and the nascence of contemporary art through Anglo influence. This habitual discourse, which focused on the effects of Europeans and their descendants rather than recognizing continuous change and the agency of local and non-local indigenous peoples, could not possibly be more ethnocentric.

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Local ceramic production has always been innovative to adjust to changing societal needs (Graham, 2018; Porcayo, 2016). The specific interests of each population – the Yuman peoples themselves, other indigenous groups, Spaniards, mestizo Mexicans, and Anglo Americans – have determined the nature of those changes. All these ethnic groups continue to influence the development of the industry today. Change during the mission period was minimal and reflected not only European influence (plates, loop handles), but also heightened interaction with individuals from other indigenous groups (effigy scoops, beads). Locals do not necessarily consider these forms and their attributes less traditional the way anthropologists have. To quote Pratt (2010), “even though subjugated groups cannot control what the dominant culture introduces, they can determine (through a variety of means) what they absorb for themselves and what meaning they give it” (p. 32). Existing studies tend to omit non-indigenous Mexicans from the discussion and fail to mention that the descendants of Yuman peoples in Baja California are now also Mexicans.

Upon the gradual introduction of imported commercial, mass-produced domestic goods, the local industry grew steadily less subject to quotidian use and more dependent upon novelty sale. In 1948, Hohenthal (2001) identified only three remaining ceramists in Kumiai communities: Loreta Mata (Juntas de Nejí), María Osuna (Manteca), and Martinita Kwiñi:l (San Pablo). He said: “Only three potters survive to my knowledge, and they are all older women; when they die, there will be no more since the younger generation takes no interest in such arts; the same is true as regards the present and future status of basket weavers” (p. 166). Therefore, these practices have likely only “persisted” due to the revitalization movement begun in the 1980s, propelled by local and national political aims and the diverse niche market formed by other indigenous peoples, state officials, entrepreneurs, collectors, and travelers who continue to

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purchase the products. As the market for external sale has grown, many of the early beliefs and practices surrounding ceramic production and associated traditions have lost their relevance and become anecdotal in nature while others have continued (or emerged in their place).

Context for the Development of the Current Industry

In Baja California, the abandonment of paddle and anvil ceramic production seems to have occurred in Cucapá, Kiliwa, and Kumiai communities sometime before the 1950s when, as mentioned in Chapter 2, wage labor and the purchase of food items and domestic goods became the norm. Cucapá and Kiliwa women were photographed by vocational anthropologist Edward Davis making ceramics in the early 20th century (Álvarez, 1975, p. 19, 23). By the 1950s, Hinton and Owen (1957) noted that people in Arroyo León and La Huerta were no longer making pottery (p. 95, 98).⁴⁹ By the 1980s when Zárate sought out potential artists in each village to intentionally revitalize the production of “surviving” customs fueled by local knowledge, Santa Catarina was the only place where a few elderly women were still able to teach this skill (E. Cortés, personal communication, November 29, 2018).⁵⁰ José Armando Estrada of Instituto de Cultura de Baja California (ICBC) confirmed in a telephone interview that in the early 1980s, no one was producing ceramics in Santa Catarina and the custom was reinitiated (as opposed to reintroduced) from knowledge held by a maximum of four women who still knew the method. Teresa Castro and Josefina Ochurte were the two women whose names he could remember (J.A.

⁴⁹ They noted that the people in La Huerta were no longer producing basketry either.

⁵⁰ Garduño contacted Zárate’s widow, but although she committed to pulling his documents out of storage and making them available, she failed to respond to further inquiries.

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Estrada, personal communication, November 22, 2018). Regarding Zárate's workshops, his student, Edna Cortés, recalled the following:

Edna: And, well, basically they were few, let's say Gloria Castañeda in San José de la Zorra, and...Josefina Ochurte in Santa Catarina, and umm...María...uhh...Rosa Mata in...I'm sorry...in Juntas de Nejí, they were all elderly. Mmm...Gloria Castañeda was not so old, her mother also knew, and...well...he began to support their work, he brought them...yes, I think there was compensation, but I'm not sure how much.

Michelle: Ah, I was planning to ask you that.

Edna: I don't know how much, but yes, there was economic incentive. He received...I imagine a portion of the funding the delegation received was destined for that and he would have been required to report that expense. How much, I'm not sure, I never asked, but I did see him bring them support, you know, to promote the tradition, I took advantage of those trips to investigate my own topic.

Michelle: From what you remember, were ceramic workshops only conducted in Santa Catarina, or in other communities as well?

Edna: No, the objective was to focus on the skills still existing in each community...and...and...so, it was basketry among...the Kamiais [sic.] and Pa'ipai ceramics. I think there was another person...umm...yes there was another person, in fact, yes there was and I...I worked with her as well...Manuela, Manuela who has also passed away. She was another elderly woman that lived on the outskirts of the village in what was called *el rincón de Santa Catarina*. I had the opportunity to visit her and she also...umm...was supported by the workshop, was another artisan who participated in the project...and...knew the traditional method. In the case of Josefina, her daughter Toña, Antonia Arce, she didn't...yes, I knew she could produce

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ollas but she never...was never much interested perhaps in doing so, but her cousins and other relatives were. You worked with Tirsá, didn't you?

Michelle: Yes.

Edna: Tirsá is sister in law of...she was married to Antonia's brother...Ahh, there was also Margarita, Margarita was another woman...Margarita...

Michelle: Castro.

Edna: Margarita Castro, uh huh...and so, they, through this incentive program, taught...strengthened the teaching of ceramics first within their...to their immediate family, and from there the number of people who were learning, or relearning, began to grow.

Michelle: So, how would you characterize the quantity of people involved? How many teachers were there, how many students, more or less?

Edna: Well look, that I had the opportunity to meet...I'm speaking of three women in Santa Catarina, who we could say were like the teachers, right?

Michelle: Who were they?

Edna: They were Margarita, Josefina, and Manuela.

Michelle: Ok...

During the interview, the author mentioned to Cortés that people are now producing basketry in Santa Catarina as well to which she said: "Hmm, well I don't know if that's good or bad," suggesting that basket weaving is a practice that had been entirely forgotten in Santa Catarina by the 1980s and was recently reintroduced. That was not surprising since, as mentioned in Chapter 1, basketry is sold at substantially higher prices than ceramics and more funding has been allocated to it, making it an attractive choice. Cortés' apparent disapproval of reintroduced customs and preference for reinitiated ones demonstrated how Mexican traditionalist politics

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stressed direct transmission through living memory, which she continues to perceive as superior, or “more authentic.”

The ceramists interviewed for this project reported that Wilken-Robertson and others also held workshops in Santa Catarina and other communities during the 1980s.⁵¹ Tirsa recalled that Wilken-Robertson brought her and Teresa to San Antonio Necua, La Huerta, and Arroyo León to teach ceramic workshops, but the practice was never reestablished in any of them (T. Flores, personal communication, September 9, 2018). As evidenced by the workshop he organized recently at the Tecate museum, he continues to be influential in spreading indigenous knowledge and promoting this custom. According to Daria, it was Wilken-Robertson who suggested that the ceramists begin signing their work, roughly 10 or 20 years ago. Now most carve their initials into the bottom of their vessels (D. Mariscal, personal communication, July 1, 2017). Unfortunately, details were never published on the nature of these workshops or their impact on the industry, perhaps because this interference would contradict the notion of evolution expressed in his and others’ research.

The museum operated by Instituto de Investigaciones Culturales (IIC-Museo), an affiliate of UABC in Mexicali, is storing a sizable collection of Cucapá and Pa’ipai ceramics that was accessioned in the 1980s. The context within which these objects were produced has been lost. It is uncertain whether they were the result of a workshop, or whether they were even produced in the 1980s or simply acquired and accessioned at that time. If ceramic production did take place in Cucapá territory in the 1980s, it was discontinued shortly thereafter. A workshop was conducted in El Mayor Cucapá by a non-indigenous ceramic artist, Juan José Cardoza, in 2013

⁵¹ Adalberto was another name mentioned although it remains unclear who he was.

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with the purpose of reintroducing the practice among local youth. Various objects were produced, some of which went on display in the Nomadas de Barro exhibit at Campo Alaska in La Rumorosa, Baja California, while others were sold. Cardoza indicated that when the eight ceramic lessons had concluded, sponsoring institutions and participants expressed disinterest in continuing these efforts and nothing more was done (J.J. Cardoza, personal communication, October 7, 2016).

The difference between the workshops held in Santa Catarina and those conducted in other places at different times, such as in El Mayor Cucapá and Tecate, is that ceramic production, or at least local knowledge of it, never entirely disappeared in Santa Catarina. The ten-step process employed by these women, as described by Campbell (1999), is difficult or perhaps impossible for a novice to replicate with any success. These steps include gathering the clay, crushing the clods, grinding and sifting, adding water and kneading, forming the vessel base, coiling and paddling the walls, drying, and decoration (p. 120-128). The author took ceramic lessons with Cardoza in Mexicali in the fall of 2016 in order to compare his method with ethnographic descriptions and found his technique to be quite different from that of indigenous potters. Cardoza taught himself the paddle and anvil method by consulting ethnographic and archaeological literature and working with artifacts in collaboration with Porcayo. He conducted most of his experiments in the Fine Arts studio at UABC, Mexicali. Although he said he had not studied under any of the ceramists in Santa Catarina, one woman claimed to have given him lessons; perhaps he meant that he had not taken formal, paid classes (Anonymous, personal communication, July 1, 2017; J.J. Cardoza, personal communication, October 7, 2016).

Cardoza procured the same reddish-brown residual clay from the source in Santa Catarina that has been used by locals at least since the mission period and possibly longer. However, he

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did not crush, grind, and sift it as described in ethnographic sources: he submerged it in a bucket of water and left it soaking for one week until the next lesson.⁵² He then ran the clayey mixture through a metal kitchen strainer to remove the large mineral inclusions and organic matter and discard them. He filtered out the remaining water through cheese cloth and was left with only the finest clay, to which he added a sand temper that had been purchased at a wholesale distributor in Mexicali. He kneaded the mixture into a large, squarish block, which he stored in a plastic trash bag until the next session. He indicated that sawdust, crushed potsherds, or even crushed brick had also worked in the past. Sawdust was most effective for rapidly absorbing water to dry the clay, yet it produced weak, porous, non-utilitarian or decorative vessels (J.J. Cardoza, personal communication, October 7, 2016).

Typically, the act of crushing, grinding, and sifting the naturally occurring quartz, feldspar, and mica inclusions and organic matter found in mountainous residual clays would lend it the plasticity required to prevent cracking during the firing process, unlike sedimentary desert types that always required added temper (Campbell, 1999, p. 123). Cardoza was unable to achieve that level of necessary skill and experimented with other techniques to arrive at a similar result (A. Porcayo, personal communication, October 7, 2017; J.J. Cardoza, personal communication, October 7, 2016). Since his method differed substantially from that described by ethnographers, his work should be understood as experimental archaeology rather than indigenous ceramic technology as it has sometimes been promoted.

Nonetheless, indigenous potters also use experimental or innovative methods and as Van Camp (1979) indicated, production techniques vary somewhat from person to person. The only temper materials she identified as added to residual clays in the distant past were the extracts of

⁵² He indicated that this should be done for a minimum of 48 hours.

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yerba santa (*Eriodictyon californicum*) or prickly pear cactus (nopal, *Opuntia occidentalis*) (p. 52). Campbell (1999) recently noted that potters in Santa Catarina occasionally added crushed potsherds, wood ash, or cow dung to their mixture although this step was not always necessary (p. 124). Kumiai potters interviewed by Hohenthal (2001) identified specific clay sources that did or did not require added temper, suggesting that different residual clays were subject to different preparation methods (p. 167). Although further investigation is needed, this information suggests that the addition of most forms of temper to residual clays may be a recent development compensating for the discontinued use of plant extracts.

Ceramic procurement, once accomplished using jagged rocks and pointed sticks, is now done using tools such as a steel digging bar, shovel, and plastic buckets (Campbell, 1999, p. 123) (Fig. 31). Similarly, clods that were once crushed and ground directly upon the bedrock with a rough stone, or by using a metate and mano, are now sometimes prepared using metal, even electric tools (Campbell, 1999, p. 124; Panich & Wilken-Robertson, 2013b, p. 89). Panich and Wilken-Robertson (2013a) observed that Daria ground her clay on a metate while teaching but used a mechanical grinder her late husband had built with an old washing machine motor when working alone (p. 89). Lithic and organic tools once used during the coiling and decorating steps are also now sometimes replaced with metal or plastic implements (Campbell, 1999, p. 127).

The wooden paddle, once oblong and fashioned using lithic tools, is now square and shaped using metal (Van Camp, 1979, p. 51). Different types of anvil have been observed in different regions including a large cobblestone (common in the north), a mushroom-shaped concave ceramic disk with either a cup-shaped or nipple-shaped handle (common in the south), a shell, or a basket. The latter was common among the desert Kumeyaay (Van Camp, 1979, p. 51-52). In Santa Catarina, the author observed the ceramic disk variety with a nipple-shaped handle.

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Figure 31. Daria (left), her partner Ubaldo (center) holding a steel digging bar, and Juan José Cardoza (right) procuring clay from the village source Matuachau, which translates to *Barro Colorado*, or in English, Red Clay (D. Mariscal, personal communication, May 6, 2017). May 6, 2017.

Despite the use of some non-local or innovated tools, Panich and Wilken-Robertson (2013a) observed that “the basic technique now in use is...in alignment with the outline of Kumeyaay pottery production observed by Malcolm Rogers” in the early 20th century (p. 112). Porcayo forbade Cardoza from introducing new techniques of any kind to the potters in Santa Catarina in order not to influence their work (J.J. Cardoza, personal communication, October 14, 2016). The author found this ironic when a ceramist recounted a visit from Porcayo and a colleague from Mexico City some years ago during which they showed her pictures of unusual ceramic vessels in a book and asked her to reproduce difficult forms. She said: “I was able to make them, yes, but I don’t want to do it again...I told him no more” (Anonymous, personal communication, September 8, 2018).

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Porcayo once commented to the author that Pa'ipai ceramics would continue to be considered such as long as the paddle and anvil were still used to produce them (A. Porcayo, personal communication, May 6, 2017). Therefore, perhaps he places greater significance on the method than the resulting form. However, one of the commissioned vessels, as described by the potter, was later included in the Nomadas de Barro exhibit and INAH organizers made no mention of the context through which it had been created (Fig. 32). This was puzzling since Porcayo had frequently and dogmatically insisted to the author that the ceramists in Santa Catarina come up with their ideas entirely on their own, denying any external influence.

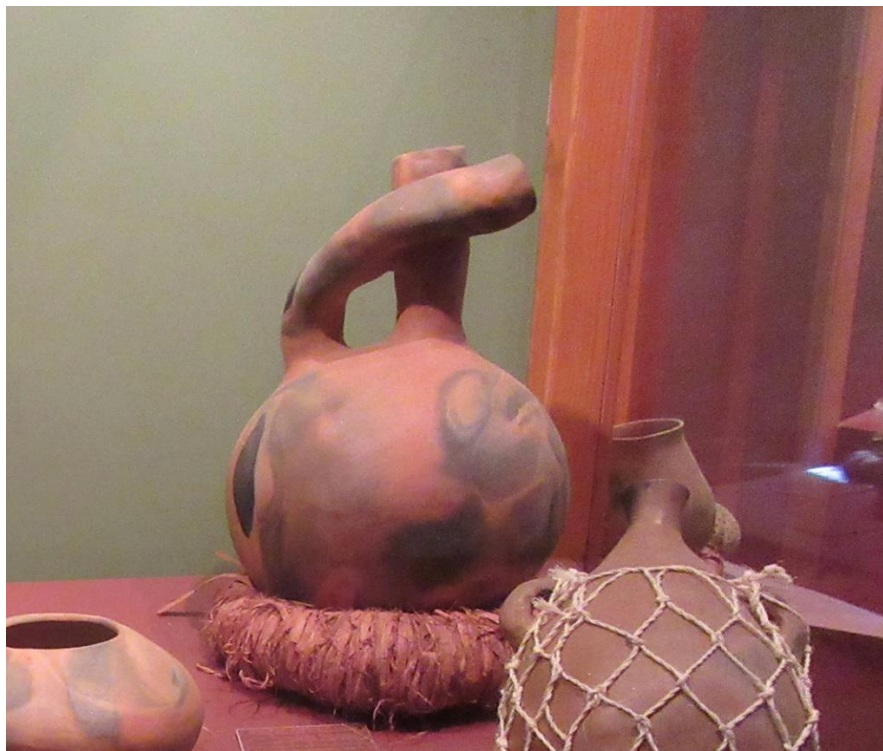


Figure 32. Vessel form (rear center) commissioned by INAH researchers with a long, twisted double neck, as described by the potter. Museo Campo Alaska, La Rumorosa, Baja California. December 15, 2016.

In general, much like life in the village and the architecture described in Chapter 3, the ceramic production process also combines past and present cultural elements. The firing process

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observed during this research was like that described by Van Camp (1979, p. 53) except that certain improvisations were made using non-local materials. It proved to be a somewhat spontaneous process that required quick decisions to mitigate detrimental weather conditions such as cold wind and precipitation. Daria said that in calm weather, it takes approximately three hours to fire a batch of ceramics using yucca stalks as fuel. In the absence of yucca, she would use cow dung patties (D. Mariscal, personal communication, May 6, 2017). During an unrelated interview, Tirsa lamented that she was unable to fire her next batch of ceramics because she needed to hire a truck to take her a great distance to gather yucca and she did not have the \$75 pesos (\$4 USD) she needed to pay the driver. She reported having to go along on the trips because the stalks were specially selected: they must be completely dry, or they will not burn properly. When asked why people do not cultivate yucca nearby, her response was that it takes too many years for it to grow and die (T. Flores, personal communication, April 30, 2017).

This visit with Daria was during an unseasonably cold weekend in May and she was almost unable to fire the ceramics as planned because just as we were finishing dinner, it began to spit rain. She contemplated the situation for about 10 minutes and concluded that she would have to cover the yucca to keep it dry and make the fire another day. However, she came back with a change of heart and rapidly began preparations. She chose a spot behind a large granitic boulder, sheltered from the cold wind. Her son Felipe leaned old tires and plywood against the boulder to form a protruding barrier wall and Porcayo parked the INAH truck at a strategic angle to further block the wind. In the past, ceramics were produced only during the warm, dry months of summer because cold weather would provoke the ollas to explode and cause rheumatism in the hands and arms (D. Mariscal, personal communication, May 6, 2017). Gloria noted that the best months were still June and July because in August it rains and the clay does not dry (G.

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Regino, personal communication, April 29, 2017). Teresa said that the earliest ceramic artists she remembered had produced their wares sitting directly in the sunlight, but people no longer do that (T. Castro, personal communication, April 30, 2017). Production now occurs year-round, a change probably made possible through continuous experimentation motivated by financial need.

The first step in the firing process was to build a *cama* (bed) with one layer of yucca stalks. Then the ceramic objects were placed across the surface and buried in layers of yucca until they could no longer be seen, and no obvious gaps were visible. Daria rejected a small stalk because it was not dry enough. She indicated that when the stalks are not completely dry, they contain juices that stain the ceramics during firing. About one third of the way through the firing process, the author said: “So far, so good...if they were going to explode, around when would that happen?” and Felipe joked “Well, it’s just about time now, hahaha.” Fortunately, they did not. The fire was reduced to ash and embers within one hour (because of the wind according to Daria), and all the objects emerged in one piece. Daria informed us once the ceramics were fired that they would stay out all night and be collected in the morning; it no longer mattered if they were exposed to the elements, they would not break. She did, however, worry that the chickens might disturb them. The entire firing process is depicted in Figures 33 through 38.

Throughout the interviews, potters spent a great deal of time describing past customs associated with ceramic production that may or may not be observed any longer. For example, people used to consider it bad luck for others to see their work before it was fired, but not anymore (D. Mariscal, personal communication, May 6, 2017; T. Flores, personal communication, April 30, 2017). This change in custom, like the innovations permitting year-round production, apparently privileges financial need and anthropological interest over past

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Figure 33. Daria laid a bed of yucca stalks and carefully placed the unfired ceramic objects on top before thoroughly covering them with two or three more layers of fuel. May 6, 2017.



Figure 34. Before starting the fire, various non-local items were propped against the boulder to create a makeshift barrier against the cold wind. May 6, 2017.

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Figure 35. During the first 30 minutes, the fire burned so intensely that the ceramic objects could barely be seen and were glowing nearly as intensely red as the flames. May 6, 2017.



Figure 36. Forty-five minutes after the fire had begun, the fuel was nearly reduced to ash and embers. May 6, 2017.

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Figure 37. After one hour, the fire had nearly burned out and the ceramics were left until morning. May 6, 2017.



Figure 38. The next day, the objects were gathered and brought to Daria's shop to be displayed and sold. May 7, 2017.

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cultural beliefs and practices. Daria said that in the past, pregnant women were not allowed to look at unfired ceramics, or even touch the clay. They were also unable to be present during the firing process or the ollas would explode. Archaeologist Miriam Stark (2003) cited other cultural contexts in which pregnant women were/are not able to make pottery or be present during its manufacture (p. 204).⁵³ It was also considered bad luck to remove an anthropomorphic figurine from the location in which it was found, as one would run the risk of losing their entire family and it had happened to someone they know (D. Mariscal, personal communication, May 6, 2017).

Gloria insisted that a potter must have *ánimo* (spirit) for their work to come out right (G. Regino, personal communication, April 29, 2017). Similarly, Tirsá said that ceramics need to be made with *buen corazón* (good heart) and if they fail to come out right it, the person did not think, or is envious of another potter. Ceramics cannot be made just for the sake of doing it, it must be done from the heart. She also said that when people go out to procure clay, they should not smoke anything or else “*el barro no da*,” the clay does not give. According to her, women have a better chance of finding clay, so they usually go instead of men, but sometimes even then the clay “*nos castiga*” (punishes them). Some people resort to burning dried chamiso blanco (willow ragwort, *Barkleyanthus salicifolius*) at the source as a blessing so the clay will give (T. Flores, personal communication, April 30, 2017). Daria was unable to corroborate Tirsá’s stories about not smoking and the burning of chamiso blanco, indicating that if these practices were ever universal, they are no longer (D. Mariscal, personal communication, May 6, 2017). Daria brings her partner, Ubaldo, and other men to help her collect clay without issue.

Despite changing associated beliefs and practices, the continuance of the paddle and anvil custom in Santa Catarina is attributed to social, economic, and political conditions that led to the

⁵³ Stark referenced Kanimba Misago (1996, p. 122) and Ronald Duncan (1998, p. 63).

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more enduring production and use of quotidian ceramics, then favored the development of a cash market for these goods once their personal use was no longer considered as necessary. In the 1950s, people were still using low-fired earthenware in their kitchens for lack of commercial dishes, but there was almost no market for external sale (T. Castro, personal communication, April 30, 2017). Tirsa's mother was still using homemade ceramic dishes until she was a teenager, switching to store-bought brands around the 1970s. This change happened at different times for different families and there is still at least one woman in the village, Iliana Molina Castro, who prefers to cook in earthenware ollas (T. Flores, personal communication, September 8, 2018).

All four of the primary participants in this study reported that their grandmothers and/or mothers had produced ceramics and taught them to do so as children, yet they spent several years without practicing the craft and took it up again later in life. Since three out of four women were approximately 60 years old at the time of the interviews, it can be inferred that the period of relative non-production occurred from the 1980s into the early 2000s, by which time one participant said that ceramic production had again ceased altogether (D. Mariscal, personal communication, April 29, 2017). Regarding the ceramic industry in Santa Catarina during the 1980s, Wilken-Robertson responded the following in an email to the author:

From the time I first met the potters in 1980 there were always a few ladies who were occasionally turning out pots. They would usually have a small number made (10-20) in case a tourist or rancher wanted to buy them. Throughout the 1980s I would visit them a few times a year and sometimes buy pottery, since at the time I was also buying handcrafts in southern Mexico and other parts of Latin America, so I would include their traditional arts in what I was importing to the US. I think what the current artisans mean

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about "abandoning" the practice is that it was a period between the time when they made pottery for their own use but before year-round production for a growing market began in the 1990s. I found four ladies were consistently making pottery throughout the 1980s. (M. Wilken-Robertson, personal communication, September 25, 2018)

He also provided information on workshops for American anthropology students held in Santa Catarina during the late 1990s and early 2000s, which were co-organized with Professor Steve Bouscaren from San Diego City College, and various other factors stimulating increased ceramic production. He said:

[The workshops] were late 90s and early 2000s. Archaeo-ethnography workshops I think he called them. We also did bows and arrows, agave fiber, ethnobotany, basketry, adobe, etc. Many of the students were from SDCC where Steve taught for many years. Besides the workshops in the communities, I have been taking the native artists to do workshops in US reservations, museums, state parks, universities, etc. for many years...I think some other factors: events such as Nativia in Ensenada and other occasional events that they are invited to have increased the market for wares. Mexican government contests, national museum exhibits (also I have put together several museum exhibits featuring pottery) have all helped increase awareness and appreciation for pottery. (M. Wilken-Robertson, personal communication, September 25, 2018).

When asked about the purpose of the workshops in Santa Catarina, he answered:

The ethnoarchaeology workshops had as their main purpose to give students of archaeology the opportunity to learn directly from indigenous specialists. For example, the ceramics workshops helped students who would be finding potsherds or other types of evidence of prehistoric ceramic production to better understand the processes that go

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into making the pots. However, there were more purposes such as helping the potters economically by paying them to give the workshops as well as through sales of their pottery while students were visiting them. (M. Wilken-Robertson, personal communication, September 25, 2018).

Therefore, the workshops held during the 1980s by Zárate and others with the goal of stimulating ceramic production among residents of Santa Catarina eventually became workshops for students who visited from outside the community. Wilken-Robertson was the only person interviewed who insisted that ceramic production was never discontinued. Other participants, locals and non-locals alike, signaled that production stopped and was reinitiated in the early 1980s and again in the early 2000s.

Ceramic technology was not always passed from mother to daughter. Many women learned from their grandmothers or other community members outside their own families (Panich & Wilken-Robertson, 2013a, p. 111). A measure of inconsistency was noted in comparing stories as, for example, one woman would claim to have learned the trade from her mother while another would insist that her counterpart's mother had never produced ceramics at all and that she, in fact, had taught her as well as all the other current potters.⁵⁴ The only women of Daria's grandmother's generation who she could remember making ceramics were Juana and Petra Higuera (sisters), and Perciliana Flores, relative of Tirsá (D. Mariscal, personal communication, April 29, 2017). Gloria also remembered the Higuera sisters from her grandmother's generation, recalling that they had made ceramics both to use and to sell. They passed away approximately 35 to 40 years ago (around the late 1970s) (G. Regino, personal

⁵⁴ This contradictory discourse was reminiscent of the quarreling among archaeologists the author had witnessed in San Diego, driven by economic competition.

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communication, April 29, 2017). In 1970, Michelsen described cordage as a necessary item in Santa Catarina yet predicted that it would “probably die along with Petra and a few of her old friends and relatives. The younger generation feels no need to labor so long and hard for something so trivial as a piece of string” (Michelsen, 1970a, p. 1). Ceramics were apparently headed in that direction as well.

However, by 2010 when the video *Sukuin Shkuin* was produced, community members estimated that 20 individuals could produce ceramics in Santa Catarina, principally making ollas, plates, pipes, and rattles (Delfín, 2010). Most of these artists or their kin also wove basketry and made jewelry, among other items. Teresa reported in 2017 that ceramics were being produced more than she could ever remember because the market had grown. Telma agreed that sales are now at an all-time high, saying that “they even receive orders.” She said Americans did not start coming to the community regularly until sometime during her lifetime (she was 50 years old in 2017), perhaps steadily increasing over the past 40 years (T. Castro & T. Cañedo, personal communication, April 30, 2017). Based on these testimonies, it seems that if the Mexican government and other interested parties had not promoted the continued practice of ceramic production in Santa Catarina from the 1980s, and if, at the same time, Yuman groups had not needed to make their culture more visible for political reasons, the industry would not be what it is today.

During preliminary fieldwork, semi-structured interviews were conducted with six women (Teresa Castro Albañez, Telma Cañedo Castro, Rogelia Cañedo Albañez, Tirsa Flores Castro, Daria Mariscal Aguiar, and Gloria Regino Arballo), only three of whom – Tirsa, Daria, and Gloria – regularly produced ceramics. Rogelia and Telma reported knowing how but said they rarely do so. Teresa was the eldest person interviewed, 83 years old at the time, and no

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longer produced ceramics on a regular basis due to her failing eyesight (T. Cañedo, personal communication, April 30, 2017). One of these women approached the author during a meeting at Wamuch Ram Nuach on April 30, 2017 and introduced herself as Rogelia, Anacleto's daughter. She extended an invitation to her home to take a photograph of the last ceramic vessel Anacleto had produced before she passed away (Fig. 39). She had taught Rogelia approximately three years prior to her death in order that the practice not be lost. As it turned out, Petra Higuera was Rogelia's grandmother. She appeared to share this information on her family's ceramic legacy with great pride.

Ceramists were asked to add to the author's notes on past and present potters. The small number of ceramists identified from the earliest generations might be owed more to the limits of current memory than the actual number of women who produced ceramics at that time.⁵⁵ Teresa was particularly helpful in this exercise and the results were as follows:

*Oldest generation of ceramists in living memory.*⁵⁶ The oldest generation included Juana and Petra (González?) Higuera (sisters), Priciliana Flores (?), and Erminia Albañez Tambo (Teresa's mother).

⁵⁵ Conducting genealogical research in Santa Catarina is a highly challenging task. Martínez (2016) noted that in 21 interviews, she was only able to collect information on approximately 8% of the members comprising one family. This was owed to factors such as migration, unavailability of informants, or unwillingness on the part of some to provide personal information for fear that it could be used against them by the government (p. 48-50).

⁵⁶ All these ceramists are now deceased.

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Figure 39. Rogelia standing with the last vessel produced by her mother Anacleto and a vessel she produced with her mother's help. April 30, 2017.

*Intermediate generation.*⁵⁷ Teresa and Margarita Castro Albañez (sisters), Manuela Aguiar Carillo, Josefina Ochurte González, Anacleto (?) (Rogelia's mother).

*Current generation.*⁵⁸ Tirsa Flores Castro, Daria Mariscal Aguiar,⁵⁹ Gloria Regino Arballo, Celia Flores Castro (Tirsa's sister), Teresa Aguiar, Adelaida Albañez, Telma Cañedo Castro (Teresa's daughter), Victoria Cañedo Castro (Teresa's daughter), María Antoñia Cañedo

⁵⁷ Of this generation, Teresa is the only one still living.

⁵⁸ This is the generation in which participants noted that ceramic production dramatically increased.

⁵⁹ Telma Cañedo used to live with Daria, and according to her, Daria began producing ceramics in 1998.

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Castro (aka Inés; Teresa's daughter?), Marisela (?) Cañedo (Teresa's granddaughter), Rogelia Cañedo Albañez, Elia Cañedo Albañez, Julia Ochurte Espinoza, Oralia (?) Flores (Tirsa's daughter), Dionisia (?) Flores (Tirsa's daughter), Dalila Mariscal Regino (Gloria's daughter).

In contrast to earlier generations, participants identified a minimum of 16 people who were able to produce ceramics, spanning three biological generations to include children, mothers, and grandmothers. All interviewees agreed that more ceramics were being produced then than at any time they could remember. Although this custom was historically associated with women, some men are beginning to practice the craft as well. When the author asked Daria why she had not signed her initials on an arrow shaft straightener purchased in her shop, her response was that her son, Felipe, had made it and she was teaching her partner, Ubaldo, to produce ceramics as well (D. Mariscal, personal communication, May 6, 2017). This change may be occurring as men witness the profitability of the endeavor, however unpredictable the income. Stark (2003) observed that "cross-cultural research on the sexual division of labor among potters (Byrne, 1994) suggests that the locus of production moves from women to men as access to traditional resources decreases and ceramic production becomes a more lucrative economic livelihood" (p. 205). Another possible explanation could be that Daria has no female relatives at home to teach.

Telma commented that the ceramics made in the past used to be more rustic but are now more polished and prettier because they are made to sell. She said that she knows how to make them but does so only as a hobby. Her pieces are crude, and she likes them that way (T. Cañedo, personal communication, April 30, 2017). According to Daria, the earliest ollas had thinner walls and then they became thicker/cruder for a time. Now they are more delicate and prettier again because they are made for sale (D. Mariscal, personal communication, July 1, 2017). It seems

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plausible that ceramics became cruder during the mission period when some individuals who had not previously made ceramics settled at the mission and learned how. As noted in Chapter 2, this theory should be tested on archaeological specimens.

Gloria said that the difference between the ceramics made in the past and those made now is that they used to be polished with stones and had incised or perforated decorations (G. Regino, personal communication, April 29, 2017). Objects in her shop displayed both types of decoration, and she had a small, smooth cobblestone that looked like it was used for polishing. She was intentionally reproducing, or reappropriating, attributes she and others associated with the distant cultural past (Van Camp, 1979, p. 63, 65). When asked to identify different ceramists' styles, one woman said that although Daria had been making ceramics longer, Tirsa's work was finer. She also mentioned that a woman by the name of Camila Albañez (now deceased) had produced vessels with walls so thin that they made a musical sound when tapped with the finger. One of those vessels was reportedly still in Camila's sister's house (Anonymous, personal communication, April 30, 2017). The next section of this chapter introduces in greater detail the four women who were selling ceramics at the time of this research and provided most of the information for this project: Teresa Castro, Tirsa Flores, Daria Mariscal, and Gloria Regino.

Participants and their Wares

Teresa Castro Albañez. Teresa was 83 years old in 2017 at the time of this research, the eldest living ceramic artist. She began producing ceramics in the mid-1960s when she got married and her husband's grandmother taught her how, but she was no longer working on a full-time basis at the time of our interview due to her failing eyesight (T. Cañedo, personal communication, April 30, 2017; Varela, 2011). She had also taught herself to make baskets based on specimens she viewed at the San Diego Museum of Man and once gave workshops at

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La Huerta, teaching Kumiai students. She reported that her granddaughters also knew how to make handcrafts and worked on them daily lest they forget (Delfín, 2010). Her granddaughter, Marisela, was producing bean ollas of such good quality that a client ordered them from the U.S. The client's name was Rosy, and she was of Mexican descent, but married to an indigenous man from a group up north. They lived in La Pechanga and purchased Marisela's ollas via Facebook (T. Cañedo, personal communication, April 30, 2017). Of the four artists introduced in this section, Teresa was the only one who did not routinely sign her work. The other three carved their initials into the bottom of their vessels.

Teresa's mother, Erminia Albañez Tambo, was Ko'al and had produced ceramics as well. Her father, Pedro Castro Machado, was Pa'ipai. Teresa's daughter Telma and one of her nieces were also present for the interview and spoke Ko'al and Spanish. Teresa reported the ability to speak some Pa'ipai, but more Ko'al (T. Castro, personal communication, April 30, 2017). On the day of our interview, she had set up a table outside her daughter's front door laden with handcrafts in anticipation of visits by students from UABC, Mexicali, who were in the village conducting health workshops that weekend. Her work included cordage, basketry, and 11 discernible ceramic items: one shallow bowl with a fluted rim, one bowl for burning sage with three rows of holes perforated around the wall and suspension holes on either side of the shoulder sustaining a palmilla fiber carrying cord, two vessels with a double neck, and seven jars/ollas of varying shapes and sizes (see Figure 30 in Chapter 3). In general, Teresa's jars/ollas resembled common archaeological forms from this area albeit with uncharacteristically long necks and flared rims. One vessel had suspension holes on either side of the shoulder like those on the sage burner. Photos and comparative data for these objects will be provided in the next chapter once all four ceramists have been introduced.

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Tirsa Flores Castro. Tirsa, Teresa's niece, was 64 years old in 2018. She showed the author photos taken by anthropologists of her mother, Margarita Castro (Teresa's sister), and her grandmother, Erminia Albañez, demonstrating that the ceramic custom has been continuous in her family. Her diverse heritage was demonstrated through the following testimony:

Michelle: This one came out pretty with the black design (signals a fire cloud). In English it's called a fire cloud, is there a word for that in Pa'ipai or Spanish? Do you speak Pa'ipai, or Ko'al?

Tirsa: Both.

Michelle: Both? Wow. Yes, I've noticed that there are some people here who speak Pa'ipai and others who speak Ko'al. Are there Kumiai people here, too?

Tirsa: Here no, the Kumiai are in La Huerta.

Michelle: Ok. So, which language is more common, Pa'ipai or Ko'al?

Tirsa: Well, here we know a little *Kuiak* because of my grandma, because she, according to her, was from, of Cucapá.

Michelle: Cucapá, oh ok...

Tirsa: Yes, because she didn't know how to speak...yes she could speak Spanish, but she...no no...she spoke Kuiak, but she didn't learn Spanish...yes yes...she could understand it, yes, but she didn't speak it, or Pa'ipai either.

Michelle: I asked that question because everyone calls Santa Catarina a Pa'ipai village.

Tirsa: Yes, there are more Pa'ipai.

Michelle: And for example, I saw that Daria called her museum Museo Kuahl. So, does that mean that some people identify as Ko'al?

Tirsa: Yes, and Kuiak, yes.

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Michelle: And do Ko'al people understand Pa'ipai?

Tirsa: Some do, and some don't.

Michelle: Only some words?

Tirsa: Yes, only some words.

Josefina Ochurte, Tirsa's mother in law, had learned to produce ceramics from her mother, Juana Higuera. Tirsa's recollection matched Cortés' testimony that only two other women were producing ceramics in Josefina's time: Margarita Castro and Manuela Aguiar. Josefina signed her work with a double "XX" instead of her initials. Tirsa's sister Celia had learned to make ceramics from these women along with Tirsa and did so until she passed away (T. Flores, personal communication, September 8, 2018).

After closing the book that contained photos of her relatives, Tirsa held it gently upon her chest for a few moments and uttered softly under her breath before bringing it back into the house. She indicated that her mother and grandmother had primarily produced large ollas, the vessel forms she most enjoyed making. She said large ollas are the most difficult type of vessel to produce and need to be made in hot weather or the walls will collapse. Those with narrow openings were used to store water or other liquids while the wider rimmed ollas were used for cooking. Seeds were stored in a specialized olla with no neck and a very narrow opening through which they could be poured.⁶⁰ The hole was plugged with a pine cork to keep the seeds safe from pests when not in use. Her grandmother Erminia had made those jars and vessels with double necks as well (T. Flores, personal communication, September 8, 2018). She showed the interviewer in *El Pueblo Pa ipai* an olla meant for storing water, and another for cooking beans.

⁶⁰ Daria had an olla of this form in her collection and a photo is provided in Chapter 5.

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She confirmed Telma's testimony that people still frequently purchase the bean ollas (Varela, 2011).

Tirsa reported obtaining some of her ideas for ceramic forms from books, magazines, and television. She indicated that she had come across one such book in the local elementary school. She mentioned an oblong vessel she used to produce with an opening at the top to one side that had been described in the book as a "*vasija para miar*," pot to piss in, and we laughed (T. Flores, personal communication, September 8, 2018). She said that customers always want to know what things are supposed to be for or they will not buy them (T. Flores, personal communication, April 30, 2017). On one visit to the community, Tirsa's workshop was the third place visited and the author had no money left to make a purchase. As we said our goodbyes, Tirsa remained sitting in the workshop rather than accompanying her guest out to the road, as was observed to be her custom. The feeling of guilt provoked by leaving empty handed could not be reconciled at that time and the experience served as a reminder that visitors were primarily viewed as customers, sources of income. It had not been the author's intention to shop consistently or provide participants with other compensation since institutional funding was not provided for that purpose, but it was impossible not to adapt to their expectations to some extent given their financial need.

Daria Mariscal Aguiar. Daria was 61 years old in 2017 and began producing ceramics full-time around the year 2000, in her mid-40s. She claimed to have retaught herself based on childhood memories, as she had first learned to make paddle and anvil ceramics from her mother around the age of ten. She and her brother fashioned small vessels and zoomorphic figurines as children to play with in a small toy house they had built out of stones on their property in Rancho Escondido. She said the toy house and ceramics may still be there and she should go find out, but

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when we made an appointment to travel there together, she rather cryptically warned that there were people on site who “would not let us pass.” She stopped making ceramics after childhood, and for years worked as a day laborer at neighboring ranches. When she grew tired of the physical strain, she decided to stay home and produce handcrafts instead. First she wove basketry with pine needles and palmilla fiber, then she began producing ceramics as well (D. Mariscal, personal communication, May 6, 2017).

There is a clay source in Rancho Escondido containing a lot of mica. There used to be a Yuman community there, but many people have since moved or passed away and not even the houses remain. Vessels produced with that clay made a musical sound when tapped with the finger (as described in the previous section of this chapter), but they were very fragile because of the mica and the objects broke easily. Daria mentioned a woman named Rita of the Cañedo Castro family who had made ceramics from that source and said she was related to Rogelia, but Rogelia might not remember her; the person who would remember was Teresa (D. Mariscal, personal communication, July 1, 2017). Daria’s work, as compared to Teresa’s and Tirsa’s, was more innovative regarding the array of forms present. She was making a series of zoomorphic figurines that will be presented in the final section of the next chapter. These figurines corresponded with the story about her childhood games and represented the animals she encountered in her daily life.

Gloria Regino Arballo. Gloria was roughly the same age as Tirsa and Daria. She did not reveal the exact age at which she began to produce ceramics but said her mother had taught her how. She was unsure if her grandmother had been a potter because she never had the chance to meet her (G. Regino, personal communication, April 29, 2017). Another ceramist contradicted Gloria’s story, claiming that her mother had not produced ceramics at all and she herself had

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taught her (Anonymous, personal communication, April 29, 2017). Like Rogelia, Gloria owned an olla produced by one of her ancestors, her aunt Camila, and permitted it to be photographed (Fig. 40). This was probably the same Camila whose delicate work was described earlier in this chapter although the vessel depicted here did not have particularly thin walls.



Figure 40. Olla produced by Gloria's aunt Camila. July 1, 2017.

Gloria presented two ceramic objects of her own that the author had never seen or heard of before. They were replicas she had made of vessels she said were produced in the past. One large olla had two small holes in the wall below the rim that she said were meant to allow bees in and out. People would trap bees inside, cover the top, and they would begin to produce honey, coming and going freely through the holes (G. Regino, personal communication, April 29, 2017). When other ceramists were questioned on the history of this form, they were unable to corroborate Gloria's story. On this topic, Hohenthal (2001) wrote:

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Honey is called *miu:l*, and since it seems to be a Spanish loan word (*miel*), I would say that honey was not used aboriginally as a food, and that the present bees in the area are descendants of escaped bees introduced into Baja California by the Spanish. Also, bees are known only by their Spanish name (*abejas*). (p. 140)

Therefore, if this custom was practiced as Gloria described, it must have occurred at some time after the arrival of the Spanish.

The other item Gloria presented was a *cuna* (cradle), an oblong vessel approximately two feet long, one foot wide, and six inches deep. There were holes perforated below the rim all the way around, with cordage threaded through them for decoration like one of Tirsa's ollas. She recounted that these vessels were made in the past and functioned as incubators for premature infants. The baby was placed inside, and the vessel partially buried in earth that had been warmed with hot coals (G. Regino, personal communication, April 29, 2017). None of the other artists corroborated that story either. Porcayo indicated that an archaeological vessel like the cradle was on exhibit in Nomadas de Barro (A. Porcayo, personal communication, May 6, 2017). Interestingly, a different potter claimed that the cradle had, in fact, been commissioned by INAH archaeologists (Anonymous, personal communication, September 8, 2018). That testimony will be provided in the next chapter when the history of these forms is discussed in greater detail.

When asked how she decided what forms to produce, Gloria said: "*Pues, así nomás*" (Just like that), meaning that if there were outside forces affecting her decisions, she was unaware of them or unwilling to reveal them. In general, Gloria's style was as innovative as Daria's, but in a different way. Compared to the other three artists, her work seemed guided more by semantic (secondhand) than episodic (firsthand) memories, more by external than internal influences. She mentioned two other clients who had recently ordered utilitarian forms

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of non-indigenous origin. That sort of commercial, experimental work was apparently her specialty, at least during this research.

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Chapter 5: Current Ceramic Forms and their Meanings

Some of the recounted histories for current ceramic forms were based on collected memories while others were found to be shared by the collective. Personal memories recounted by the potters were either episodic in nature (acquired through firsthand experience) or had been articulated from semantic memories by diverse means. Six categories were identified for current ceramic forms as follows: common precontact forms such as bowls, canteens, jars, and ollas (there were no trays present in the ceramists' collections); reinterpretations of precontact forms like pipes, effigy scoops, anthropomorphic figurines, and ollas with slits for transporting hot coals; representations of cultural objects not originally made from clay such as the *bule* (rattle), arrow shaft straightener,⁶¹ cradle, and honey container; forms associated with non-local indigenous cultures like the double-necked and bilobed vessels, turtle sage burners, and beads; objects derived of European forms such as mugs, cups, and plates; and forms representing elements of the local environment such as coyotes, *gallinas* (hens), *correccaminos* (roadrunners), and *hongos montés* (wild mushrooms).

This typology is meant to be inclusive rather than selecting for only the most common forms. All observed forms and/or their elements will be discussed as fully as possible. Each section below is dedicated to one of the six categories. These interpretations are limited in scope due to the time and financial constraints of this project and local unavailability of some printed reference material. Relevant bibliographical information was recorded in the footnotes to facilitate a more exhaustive future investigation. The temporal and spatial context for the

⁶¹ Van Camp (1979, p. 57, 59) claimed that clay rattles and arrow shaft straighteners were contemporaneous with the gourd rattle and lithic arrow shaft straightener, yet she provided no reference information and the present author found no supporting archaeological evidence for those ceramic forms.

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development of each category of objects is identified to the greatest extent possible and their cultural significance is determined as it pertains to tradition, memory, and ethnicity.

Common Yuman Precontact Forms

All four potters were producing bowls, canteens, jars, and ollas of the same or similar forms to those produced from the precontact period. None were making trays. Tirsa was making pipes and anthropomorphic figurines, and Daria effigy scoops and ollas to transport hot coals, but they were of different forms than those reported archaeologically and are mentioned in another category below. Figure 41 depicts common Yuman ceramic forms typically studied by archaeologists. Teresa's canteens/jars/ollas resembled small versions of archaeological specimens albeit with dramatically longer necks and/or flared rims, one of which had suspension holes on either side of the shoulder (see Figure 30 in Chapter 3). Van Camp (1979) observed these holes on miniature vessels, which she said were perhaps filled with food offerings and hung during *keruk* (funeral) or mourning ceremonies (p. 56). The central weakness of Van Camp's (1979) study as it pertains to the current research was that she did not always cite the temporal and/or spatial context for the development of the forms and attributes she described. Many of the objects depicted in her figures seem to lack provenience, yet she was inexplicit on that point. She did not specify, in this case, whether the suspension holes she observed were from dated artifacts or found in ethnographic collections. The author has not yet seen any evidence for suspension holes in archaeological assemblages from Baja California.

The small bowl in Teresa's collection had a fluted rim (Fig. 42). Her niece Tirsa applied a similar technique on some of her small vessels yet the other two women did not. This stylistic attribute has not been reported archaeologically but Van Camp (1979) indicated that two other types of rim fluting did occasionally occur (p. 65-66). Generally, she described typical

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Figure 41. Common Yuman ceramic forms typically studied by archaeologists. Clockwise from top left: bowl with direct rim, bowl with recurved rim, bow pipe, scoop, large jar, cooking olla, canteen (Source: Panich, 2009, p. 196; adapted from Rogers, 1936, 1945 & Van Camp, 1979). Not to scale.



Figure 42. Small bowl produced by Teresa with a fluted rim, a decorative finish not recorded archaeologically. She and Tirsia (aunt and niece) were using this technique while the other two women were not. April 30, 2017.

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Kumeyaay vessels as undecorated and ovoid, spherical, or ellipsoidal in shape, with round, or less frequently, conical bottoms. Each form was produced in large, medium, small, or miniature size and although they had different general purposes, vessel use was pragmatic and the same vessel may have had multiple functions (p. 54, 57, 61). Flat bottoms, now the most common type, were introduced during the mission period (Panich, 2009, p. 182). While the round bottoms on earlier vessels had permitted them to sit in the sand, upon a base formed with rocks, or hang in a cordage net (Van Camp, 1979, p. 54), more recent vessels are designed to sit flat upon a stove, table, or shelf.

Tirsa specialized in producing large water and bean ollas although she made small and medium sized ones as well, saying that she felt happy when she had a lot of ollas (T. Flores, personal communication, September 9, 2018). Large vessels represented approximately half of her collection, more than the other potters, most of which closely resembled known archaeological forms while others had dramatically flared, fluted, or otherwise decorated rims. Like Teresa, some of her small canteens/jars/ollas had suspension holes on either side of the shoulder sustaining a carrying cord. She also perforated one vessel below the rim as Gloria had done with her cradle and threaded cordage through the holes (Fig. 43). This decorative attribute has not been reported archaeologically, although as indicated in Chapter 2, vessels were sometimes mended in a similar fashion when they were broken (Van Camp, 1979, p. 55). Teresa and Daria were not using this technique.

Daria was producing the widest variety of objects, including canteens/jars/ollas, large, medium, and small, several of which displayed long, slender suspension holes or loop handles that were unique to her shop (Fig. 44). The length of the neck and shape of the rim on the vessel in Figure 44 was also unusual since Van Camp (1979) indicated that “the direct rim is seldom

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Figure 43. Miniature olla produced by Tirsa with perforations below the rim threaded with palmilla cordage. This decorative attribute has not been reported archaeologically. May 6, 2017.



Figure 44. Vessel produced by Daria resembling a precontact jar with a somewhat extended neck, direct rim, and long slender suspension holes or loop handles. April 29, 2017.

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found on jars; the rim is always turned outward even if only slightly” (p. 58). As seen in Chapter 2, direct rims were observed more frequently than expected in the Mission Santa Catalina assemblage as well (Panich, 2009, p. 217). Most of Daria’s vessels were of relatively small size like Teresa’s. However, she was not dramatically flaring or fluting her rims like Teresa and Tirsa and was not using perforations and palmilla cordage to decorate them like Tirsa and Gloria. She was the only ceramist with a seed jar in her collection like the one described by Tirsa in Chapter 4 (Fig. 45). Overall, Daria’s work was more innovative than the previous two women, who generally preferred making reproductions or reinterpretations of existing cultural forms.



Figure 45. Seed jar produced by Daria. May 29, 2017.

All women except Teresa were making the turtle sage burner. Daria’s series of other animal forms (coyotes and roadrunners) were unique to her shop. The only other zoomorphic objects encountered during this research were the hen and pig-shaped piggy banks produced by Tirsa, and a jar with a snake wrapped around its neck, produced by Gloria. There is no known archaeological precedent for these zoomorphic forms. Daria was making jugs and mugs with

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spouts and loop handles that have not been reported from the precontact or mission period archaeology of this region but are generally considered to be European-derived attributes (Panich, 2009, p. 182). She and Gloria were making European forms like mugs, cups, and plates that the other two apparently more conservative potters were not (except one jug produced by Tirsa). Daria and Gloria were also more involved in producing representations of cultural objects not originally made from clay.

Gloria was producing small and medium sized jars/ollas, but none as large as Tirsa's or Daria's except the cradle and honey container, which have not been reported archaeologically and fall under a different category below. She was the only potter who had applied incising to the rim of one of her vessels, a technique mentioned in Chapter 2 that Van Camp (1979) suggested was used by the Kumiai in the distant past, but not the Pa'ipai or Kiliwa (p. 63-64) (Fig. 46). Like Daria though, she did not otherwise modify or decorate her rims. Gloria had made one vessel with suspension holes and a palmilla carrying cord as Teresa and Tirsa had done, making Daria the only one who was not using that technique. Gloria's jar/olla collection was characterized as containing many vessels with lids, which may have been used in the precontact period but are rarely mentioned in archaeological literature. Van Camp (1979) identified a variety of lid types including flat ones made from fired clay, small bowls, stoppers fashioned from unfired clay, or even wads of grass (p. 54). In general, Gloria's collection displayed many early Yuman elements, but also the highest quantity of European-derived forms.

The objects described in this first group, despite frequently occurring recent attributes such as spouts, loop handles, longer necks, and direct or dramatically flared rims, fit loosely into the category canteens/jars/ollas and if not exact replicas of archaeological specimens, were reminiscent of the vessels typically produced in this region. As indicated by Tirsa's testimony

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Figure 46. Vessel described by Gloria as a *linterna* (lantern). This type of perforation has not been reported archaeologically yet similar incising around the rim has. May 7, 2017.

that large ollas were the only form her mother produced, these vessels endured the longest. Tirsa was decidedly the most conservative potter due to her more faithful reproduction of these large objects that seemed to trigger nostalgic memories of her childhood.

These vessels are not merely decorative or symbolic, as Tirsa identified at least one woman in the village, Iliana Molina, still using them to cook. They were also being placed on gravesites, perhaps as a reminder of the funerary urns used when cremation was still practiced (Van Camp, 1979, p. 57), or containing offerings for the deceased (see Figure 26 in Chapter 3). Stark (2003) cited other cultural contexts in which earthenware ceramics were needed for ritual

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purposes (p. 210).⁶² Cremation was still the norm in Santa Catarina into the 20th century. Daria remembered her grandmother's story of the last cremation held, during which the body visibly sat up and flailed around after the fire had been lit, terrifying those in attendance to the extent that the practice was discontinued indefinitely (D. Mariscal, personal communication, May 6, 2017). Garduño later surmised that rather than indicating that the person was still alive, this phenomenon could likely be explained by physics (E. Garduño, personal communication, May 10, 2017).

In general, this first category of forms was interpreted as tied to the collective memory in Santa Catarina and associated with ceramists' past lived experiences, episodic memories of their childhood. Some of the elements that potters were incorporating into their work such as lids, incising, burnishing, and drilled perforations were described by Van Camp (1979) as occurring in the distant past. Related elements reported by Panich (2009) from the Mission Santa Catalina assemblage were possible perforated lids, incising, burnishing, and mending. Other attributes like unperforated lids and suspension holes may have been adopted more recently. Hohenthal (2001) reported that the Kumiai potters he met used potsherds as olla covers (p. 170). The current reproduction of these stylistic and decorative attributes is being informed by a combination of both episodic and semantic memories. Based on the ceramists' testimonies, their technical knowledge is either firsthand or derived of conversations with older community members and anthropologists, and exposure to past cultural objects in books, exhibits, online, and on television.

⁶² She cited Brenda Bowser (2000), Kris Hardin (1996), Neil Norman (2000), and Judy Sterner (1992).

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Reinterpretations of Common Precontact Forms

As opposed to the reproductions of known precontact forms described above, this section deals with other archaeologically reported forms such as pipes, effigy scoops, anthropomorphic figurines, and ollas with slits for transporting hot coals that have been reinterpreted by the ceramists to the extent that they do not resemble archaeological specimens of the same kind from this region, but their essence – the abstract idea for the original cultural form – remains, and they have somewhat retained their intended function. Kumiai and Pa'ipai smoking pipes were bow-shaped like the ones depicted in Figures 41 and 47, while Tirsa's had a tobacco chamber (bowl) more characteristic of the European style (Van Camp, 1979, p. 60) (Fig. 48). It is uncertain



Figure 47. Yuman anthropomorphic figurines and other objects on display in the Nomadas de Barro exhibit at Museo Campo Alaska. December 15, 2016.

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Figure 48. A pipe made by Tirsa of a different shape than those produced in the past like the bow pipes shown in Figures 41 and 47. Tirsa was the only potter making pipes. April 30, 2017.

whether this form was ever used locally. Two triangular bow pipe handle fragments were among the ceramic material recovered from Mission Santa Catalina. Anthropologists consider these pipes to have been non-ceremonial in function, produced by men for their personal use (Panich, 2009, p. 207; Van Camp, 1979, p. 60). Tirsa elaborated that they were used to smoke *tobacco de coyote* (coyote tobacco) and said that the ones produced today could be used as well (T. Flores, personal communication, September 8, 2018). The author purchased a pipe from Tirsa as a gift for her brother and upon experimental use, in the absence of a filter, tobacco accidentally fell directly into his mouth. With an added filter, these pipes could potentially be used for their intended purpose.

The possible effigy scoop fragments recovered from Mission Santa Catalina resembled the two-dimensional figurines with “coffee bean eyes” depicted in the center of Figure 47 (Panich, 2009, p. 201). Van Camp (1979) described these as the only type of anthropomorphic figurine produced by Western Yumans in the precontact period (p. 54, Fig. 7b). She wrote:

Kumeyaay figurines are usually flat like gingerbread cookies, but some rare forms are modeled in the round. Both types have some representatives with features merely gouged

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into the wet clay with a sharp instrument, but there are a certain number of specimens of the flat type which have applied and modeled features. These features include a curved, protuberant nose, coffee-bean eyes, and occasionally male genitals... The latter rounded figurines were perhaps a response to the tourist trade which encouraged the production of a more doll-like form. (p. 59)

Tirsa's figurine, shown in Figure 49, somewhat resembled the one with arms depicted left of center in Figure 47, which may have been produced for inclusion in the exhibit and the history of its style needs further investigation. Van Camp (1979) indicated that although Western Yuman figurines did not have arms, those produced in River Yuman territory did (p. 54). It may be of significance here that Tirsa's grandmother was of Cucapá descent. Anthropomorphic figurines are now merely decorative or symbolic, and like the effigy scoop, their original purpose is unknown. Van Camp (1979) surmised that they, like miniature jars and scoops, may have been used in ceremonies or as toys (p. 59). In the 1940s, Hohenthal (2001) observed that potters and their children made clay dolls or puppets, and potsherds were used as toys or lids (p. 167, 170).

The zoomorphic scoop/bowl that Daria produced was similar in shape to the Kumeyaay scoop depicted by Van Camp (1979, p. 54, Fig. 2c) yet the coyote head was of her own design (Fig. 50). According to Van Camp (1979), scoops were made by the Cahuilla, Kumiai, and River Yumans, not the Luiseño, Northern Diegueño, Pa'ipai, or Kiliwa. She described them as often having

a tab-like extension at one end which serves as a handle. The handles are variable in form, quite often being decorated with a modeled effigy head with curved, parrot-like nose and coffee-bean eyes. The Mohave called them "quail heads" (Kroeber & Harner, 1955, p. 9). There may have been some variation in native interpretation even among the Kumeyaay.

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Figure 49. An anthropomorphic figurine produced by Tirsa that does not resemble known precontact forms from this region. Tirsa was the only one producing anthropomorphic figurines. April 30, 2017.



Figure 50. Daria's reinterpretation of an effigy scoop or bowl with the head of a coyote, one of her preferred animal forms. Daria was the only one producing zoomorphic scoops/bowls. April 29, 2017.

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Most effigy heads do not show definitely humanoid features, but it is a possibility that painted decoration might have supplied these, or that perhaps most were merely meant to suggest rather than truly represent a human face. (p. 56)

The original purpose of effigy scoops is unknown, and Daria's could be used to hold just about anything.⁶³

Daria and Gloria were producing small jars/ollas with slits or circles cut into the wall that could potentially be used as sage burners or candle holders. The vessel shown in Figure 51 appeared to be a lantern (like Gloria's in Figure 46) but was explained by Daria as a vessel used in the past for transporting hot coals from one campsite to the next. She said the vertical slits down the sides allowed oxygen to enter and prevented the fire from going out (D. Mariscal, personal communication, April 29, 2017). This cultural practice has been reported although the associated vessels were almost certainly different from the one depicted here; the author was unable to find an archaeological example. Daria's vessel lacks the typical Yuman recurved rim, and its lug handles have been associated with European influence (Panich, 2009, p. 182). Hinton and Owen (1957) observed lug and loop handles on some vessels in Santa Catarina in the 1950s (p. 91). Tirsa mentioned that a vessel with a double neck but of a different shape from the "wedding vase" discussed later in this chapter was used for the purpose of transporting hot coals (T. Flores, personal communication, September 8, 2018). Regardless of its shape, this object has retained something akin to its original purpose since it is still meant to contain and preserve fire.

⁶³ Ken Hedges' (1973) proposed typology for effigy scoops was not available for consultation but could shed more light on this topic.

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Figure 51. Vessel Daria described as an olla for transporting hot coals from one campsite to the next. This cultural practice has been reported although the associated vessels were almost certainly different from the one depicted here. April 29, 2017.

The memories associated with the objects described in this second category were interpreted as collected rather than collective because the portrayed traditions and associated histories were unique to each shop. Since potters had not experienced the customary use of these objects firsthand, they were derived of semantic rather than episodic memories. Perhaps for that reason, their appearance is farther removed from what anthropologists understand these forms to have looked like. They occupy an interpretive grey area somewhere between functional and symbolic since they can still technically be used for something close to their original purpose even though their stylistic and decorative attributes and/or meanings have changed. Like the semantic memories guiding some of the attributes discussed in the first category, the ideas for these forms have accumulated over the ceramists' lifetimes through their conversations with

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others about Yuman material culture, trips to museums and cultural events, and exposure to print and electronic media from around the world. These forms incorporate old and new, local and non-local elements, putting a creative spin on memory.

Representations of Local Objects not Originally Made from Clay

In an even further departure from the items described above, which were reinterpretations of past Yuman cultural forms originally produced from clay, the objects introduced in this section were originally made in the past using other materials. For example, the *bule*, a Yuman musical instrument, was made from a hollowed-out gourd in the past and is now sometimes made with clay, but only as a decorative or symbolic item. Functional rattles used by current musicians are still made from gourds (D. Albañez, personal communication, October 14, 2017) (Figs. 52, 53).



Figure 52. A clay rattle produced by Daria. She was the only artist producing these at the time of this research. April 29, 2017.

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Figure 53. A functional bule produced from a gourd, hanging in Daria's shop. April 29, 2017.

Van Camp (1979) noted that Yuman forms often appear to replicate gourds, whether bottle-shaped, asymmetrical, or bilobed. She described the scoop as a small gourd cut in half and said clay rattles were produced alongside gourd rattles (p. 57). She did not provide reference information, nor did she say from what point in history this contemporaneous production began. The author believes this to be a recent development since no archaeological evidence has been encountered to suggest that Yuman peoples produced rattles from clay during the precontact period. Anthropologist Anita Álvarez (1975, p. 121) published a photo of a bule commissioned by Norton Allen in 1950, leading the present author to wonder if the trend for producing these objects from clay began as a result of anthropological inquiry. The same may be true of the other objects described in this category.

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Arrow shaft straighteners, which Daria's son Felipe was producing from clay, were made using lithic material in the past (Fig. 54). Van Camp (1979) observed ceramic arrow shaft straighteners in museum collections but did not comment on their provenance or antiquity (p. 59). Cortés noted that during the workshops Zárate organized in the 1980s, men were encouraged to reproduce cultural objects typically associated with their gender (E. Cortés, personal communication, November 29, 2018). Whether or not men were working with clay back then, as it turned out, Felipe was also making bow and arrow sets to sell in his mother's shop at the time of this research.



Figure 54. An arrow shaft straightener produced by Daria's son Felipe. April 30, 2017.

Cradles were made of plant and animal-based materials in the past (T. Flores, personal communication, April 30, 2017) (Fig. 55). In an interview, Tirsa was asked to share Pa'ipai terms for the objects in her shop and describe beliefs and practices she remembered surrounding their use. The conversation regarding cradles went as follows:

Michelle: And how do you say cradle?

Tirsa: *Jumain yaku*, *jumain yaku*. Jumain is baby, yaku is cradle.

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Figure 55. The cradle produced by Gloria. There is no known record to date of ceramic cradles being used in the past. Tirsa and Teresa negated the existence of that tradition (T. Flores, personal communication, September 8, 2018; T. Castro, personal communication, April 30, 2017).

Michelle: Gloria makes them, and she told us that in the past, a hole was dug in the earth, filled with hot ashes that were covered up with earth and the cradle was set inside. Is that true?

Tirsa: No, a long time ago, no. A long time ago when we had babies, well we had them, but where...we didn't lie down in bed, on the earth yes. They threw hot ashes in there, like this (pretends to throw it in the hole), where the baby was going to lie down, they threw dirt on top of us and there you had to stay, it lasted 40 days, imagine, there in the...

Michelle: Only the baby?

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Tirsa: Yes, the woman too, like us, they did that to me. And at night all the ash burnt out and they threw it away and tossed in more, onto the baby, too, also the baby, but not in the earth, in the cradle.

Michelle: You slept together, to keep each other warm?

Tirsa: Yes, the baby had to be where the mother was, and they put the baby here (signals her chest).

Michelle: Well, that makes sense because it's cold here in the winter.

Tirsa: And they didn't give us anything to eat, only *atole* (hot corn and masa-based drink).

Michelle: For 40 days??

Tirsa: Uh huh, without salt, without anything. Yes, because if you ate spices or salt it would affect the baby.

Michelle: You know, that's interesting because the government still gives women 42 days of maternity leave after their baby is born.

Tirsa: Yes, uh huh, and not go out, have...here, stay inside. And then, when...and they did make cradles, but not out of this (signals clay), they were made of *palma* (palm) and *sauce* (willow), like that. I used to make them too, but right now I don't have any.

Michelle: So, the crib is something new that you're making (out of clay)?

Tirsa: Yes, it's new, yes.

Michelle: And does the design come from a book?

Tirsa: Yes, from a book.

Michelle: Which book?

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Tirsa: It was from the elementary school I think, very old. I've made ollas from those elementary school books, too.

The large cradle Gloria had made was another object reportedly commissioned by INAH visitors (Anonymous, personal communication, September 8, 2018). By the time of our last interview, a second woman had also begun making smaller cradles of a different style. The author wondered if her own inquiry into this form had led to their creation.

Teresa refuted Gloria's claim that cradles and honey containers were made from clay. She said that bees produced honey in the crevices between rocks and people did not cultivate it, they simply knew where to find it (T. Castro, personal communication, April 30, 2017). However, a Cucapá man known as El Muñeco (The Doll) who lives in El Mayor has reportedly found numerous ollas in rock crevices frequented by bees and believes that bees would make honey in the ollas and people would return to collect it (A. Porcayo, personal communication, May 6, 2017). Because honeybees did not exist on the continent prior to the arrival of Europeans, this would have been a postcontact tradition if it did occur. According to Daria, honey containers were made from hollowed-out yucca stalks in the past (personal communication, April 29, 2017) (Figs. 56, 57).

Generally, the forms in this third category were interpreted as wholly symbolic representations of past cultural objects since they were being made from a material different from the original and there was no indication that they were still serving their reported purpose. The only thing remaining of these traditions was the collective knowledge that something like them once existed and their associated stories based on collected, semantic memories made tangible through clay (except the gourd bule which was still in use). There were some indications

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Figure 56. Gloria's "honey container." There is no definitive archaeological or ethnographic evidence for this practice, only speculation. April 29, 2017.



Figure 57. Hollowed out yucca stalks like the one depicted here were used in the past for collecting honey. This vessel was on display in Daria's museum, Museo Kuahl. May 7, 2017.

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that these were produced as a result of anthropological inquiry and more research is needed in that direction. Unlike the other categories of objects discussed thus far that had retained some of their original function, these were strictly collector's pieces or decorations.

Forms Associated with Non-local Indigenous Cultures

This category comprises objects currently produced in Santa Catarina that were determined to be of non-local indigenous origin adopted locally at some time during or after the Spanish mission period. These include double-necked and bilobed vessels, turtle sage burners, and beads. The double-necked vessel is an object now widely considered a Yuman tradition by outsiders and community members alike (Fig. 58). It was being made by all four potters who participated in this project and they unanimously recounted the story of its current use in Yuman marriage ceremonies. Archaeologists have determined the form to be of Anasazi (Pueblo) origin (Van Camp, 1979, p. 57). Teresa claimed to be the first person asked to produce one by a woman named Rosa Pinta who visited Santa Catarina from California, which contradicted Tirsa's claim that her grandmother Erminia (Teresa's mother) had made this form (T. Castro, personal communication, April 30, 2017). It was being produced in California around the turn of the 20th century. Wade (2004) wrote:

Maria Alto, Carmen Lucas's grandmother, recognized that connections with the Anglo world were essential to the survival of her family. She was committed to having her son, Tom, educated in a white school and become comfortable in the white world. She gifted her decorative pottery to Anglo friends and neighbors and, as was true traditionally, these gifts helped to develop cultural relationships. She presented a double-mouthed olla to Jesse and Calla Morris at their wedding and a basket at the birth of Calla's first child. People she had established relationships with provided support when she petitioned to

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Figure 58. Vessel produced by Teresa with a double neck attached by a stirrup. She claimed to have been the first person in Santa Catarina to make this form. Its origin lies in Anasazi (Pueblo) culture. April 30, 2017.

enroll her son, Tom, in the Descanso school...presenting special pottery as gifts also represents a strong link with traditional exchange activities. (p. 67)

Telma explained that couples drink from this vessel at their wedding as a symbol of their union: the bride from one opening and the groom from the other. The couple must then safeguard it for the remainder of their life together. Telma joked that if for some reason it gets broken, the couple had better buy a new one, and fast (T. Cañedo, personal communication, April 30, 2017). When Daria was asked how long it had been in use, she said: “*Oiii, hace mucho usaban esa*” (Ayyy, they used that one a long time ago), which did not help to establish a date (D. Mariscal, personal communication, May 6, 2017). Her response illustrated a general observation made while conducting interviews that ceramists did not report time in years or decades as was anticipated, which may result from Yuman epistemology regarding time. Martínez (2016) indicated that in the Pa’ipai language, the words time, year, clock, hour, minute, and second do not exist (p. 102).

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Since living memory tended to run three generations deep, her inability to remember exactly when suggested that it may have been introduced at least 100 years ago. Its use as a wedding vase may be even more recent than the introduction of the form itself since Van Camp (1979) reported that multi-spouted jars with anywhere from two to five necks were used as canteens by River Yumans and their Pima, Papago, and Maricopa neighbors during the “historic period,” beginning sometime after European contact (p. 57). It has since become part of the collective memory in Santa Catarina and the tradition has been incorporated in the local culture through glocalization, a concept introduced in Chapter 1.

In the documentary *Sukuin Shkuin*, Daria recounted the same story for the wedding vase. She added that although the vessel was once filled with chamomile nectar or prickly pear juice, now wine is preferred (Delfín, 2010). According to Tirsa, this vessel was most recently used by Norma Carvajal and her groom when they were married. She said the earliest vessels of this type had no handle (T. Flores, personal communication, September 8, 2018). Now the stirrup handle typically spans from neck to neck as seen in Figure 58 above. However, Tirsa had produced some without a handle, and Gloria positioned the handles on hers perpendicular to the neck openings, fixed onto either side of the vessel’s shoulder. Tirsa was asked to provide the Pa’ipai names for a variety of objects in her shop and her responses were as follows:

Michelle: And these ollas, for example, the marriage one, does it have a name in Pa’ipai?

Tirsa: Yes, it’s called *che yo yahuac*. Che is olla, yahuac is with two mouths.

Michelle: And the large ones? How do you say water olla?

Tirsa: Che also. *Ja kiau*. Ja is water, kiau, for water.

Michelle: And the ones for cooking?

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Tirsa: The same again, che for cooking, che *ichmach umiaucho*. Ichmach is food, umiaucho is for making food.

Michelle: And...do the piggy banks have a name in Pa'ipai?

Tirsa: Uh huh...*kor och kuau*. Kor och kuau, because money is stored there, kor och kuau. This inquiry illustrated the cultural significance of the olla form in general. All were ollas and their identifications were descriptive based on the number of necks in one case, or in other cases, the function of the vessel. Even the piggy bank, probably one of the most recent forms, had a function-based name in Pa'ipai, for storing money. The fact that the name for the double-necked vessel did not relate to the function of uniting through marriage supported the idea that those associated beliefs and practices are relatively new to the community.

Another form introduced to Santa Catarina quite recently from neighboring indigenous groups was the bilobed or bottle gourd-shaped vessel in Figure 59. Tirsa indicated that the bilobed form must be produced on a hot, sunny day or the clay will not set, and the walls will collapse (T. Flores, personal communication, September 8, 2018). She used to make a larger version of the same vessel. At the time of this research, she was the only potter making them. Daria had an actual gourd of a similar shape sitting on the granite countertop in her outkitchen (Fig. 60). Rogers (as cited in Van Camp, 1979) indicated that during his research, these River Yuman vessels held two different types of seeds (p. 57). It may not be surprising that these traditions made their way westward after the mission settlement was established in Santa Catarina because some people, like Tirsa, are still aware of their Cucapá ancestry. In fact, it was Tirsa who produced the anthropomorphic figurine modeled in the round and the ceramic beads as well.

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Figure 59. Bilobed vessel produced by Tirsa. May 6, 2017.



Figure 60. Bottle gourd in Daria's outkitchen. May 6, 2017.

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Daria showed the interviewer in *Sukuin Shkuin* an incense holder in the shape of a turtle used for burning sage, an object produced in some form by all four women (Fig. 61). She indicated that many were being sold across the border in the U.S. (Delfín, 2010). At the time of this research, she was making perforated bowls and small ollas that could serve the same purpose. The only potter who had not made the turtle-shaped variety was Teresa, who made the bowl-shaped sage burner with suspension holes and a carrying cord described in Chapter 4. Tirsa was making turtles, cradles, and wild mushrooms (essentially turtles without the head, tail, and legs), Gloria small ollas, perforated mugs and bowls, and solid bowls with perforated lids for this purpose. Vessels for burning sage were apparently popular among regional indigenous groups on both sides of the international border, and associated with ceremonial practices, past and present. Tirsa explained that when sage is burned in these vessels, it has the effect of a *bendición* (blessing), “*para que todo salga bien,*” so that everything comes out well (T. Flores, personal communication, September 8, 2018).



Figure 61. Turtle sage burner produced by Tirsa. May 6, 2017.

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It is unclear what these sage burners would have looked like in the past, or when the turtle form was first introduced. Its sale principally on the U.S. side of the border suggested Kumeyaay influence on its production although more research is needed. According to Panich (2009), ceramic discs with one or multiple perforations may have served as jar or olla lids in the precontact period, yet the artifacts he described were potsherds from broken vessels, ground and drilled post-firing (p. 205). The author has found no archaeological evidence for the pre-fire perforations now so commonly applied in Santa Catarina. They may be a local innovation, or a non-local technique adopted by the community.

Tirsa was the only ceramist producing clay beads (Fig. 62). Perhaps these were introduced in the mission period since they have not been observed in precontact assemblages from this region. Panich (2009) recovered numerous shell and glass beads from the Mission Santa Catalina excavations and just one partial ceramic bead made from local clay (p. 195). He stated that “no information about ceramic beads could be found in the ethnographic literature. May (2001, p. 51) mention[ed] finding spherical ceramic beads at archaeological sites along the former shorelines of Lake Cahuilla, but little other information [was] noted” (p. 203). Van Camp (1979) did not mention beads at all. This was the third example of an apparently non-local indigenous object being produced only by Tirsa (like the anthropomorphic figurine and bilobed vessel), leading the author to wonder again if these forms indicated cultural diffusion from the east.

The local adoption of forms and techniques mentioned in this fourth category may have resulted, to some extent, from intensified interaction among ethnolinguistic groups during and beyond the mission period. Yet, any interpretation alleging colonial influence with the dynamic between indigenous culture groups must be tempered with the knowledge that interaction among

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Figure 62. Round, oblong, and jar-shaped clay beads produced by Tirsá. May 6, 2017.

these groups was also constant prior to the arrival of Europeans. After all, ceramic technology itself arrived in Yuman territory from other culture areas, either from the south or east, depending on the source consulted. Generally, these objects have been present long enough to form part of the collective memory in Santa Catarina and resulted from episodic memories acquired through interaction with non-local indigenous people. These ideas may have come from people who visited or settled in the community from other areas or locals who traveled to other areas and later returned. Alternatively, some forms in this category may be derived of exposure to non-local material goods at regional and international events celebrating indigenous cultures. The wedding vase with a double neck and perforated sage burner had ritual functions that were practiced both locally and by neighboring indigenous groups, making them examples of cultural articulation, evidence for the creation of a pan-ethnic Yuman identity that supersedes current geopolitical boundaries.

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European Forms

As mentioned previously, all ceramists except Teresa were producing European-derived forms such as mugs, cups, jugs, plates, and piggy banks. Tirsa had made a jug with a slight spout and loop handle and was regularly making piggy banks in the shapes of hens and pigs (Fig. 63). The piggy bank, or *alcancía*, is currently and historically a prolific aspect of Mexican culture. These are produced in countless shapes, often representing cartoon characters, and used as table centerpieces for children's birthday parties that guests can take home when they leave. Since chickens are a common fixture of the local landscape in Santa Catarina, the inspiration for its shape may have come from Tirsa's immediate surroundings, a phenomenon discussed further in the final section of this chapter.



Figure 63. Tirsa's hen piggy bank. These were unique to her shop and she appeared to be making them with some frequency. May 6, 2017.

Daria had made a mug or small pitcher/creamers, and various jugs with loop handles and spouts or direct rims (Fig. 64). Gloria had produced more European forms than the other three women because she prepared a set of dishes for a customer who ordered them and never returned to purchase them (G. Regino, personal communication, May 7, 2017) (Fig. 65). For another customer, she attempted to reproduce a commercial object called a plant nanny (Fig. 66). She

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Figure 64. Mug or small pitcher/creamer produced by Daria. April 29, 2017.



Figure 65. This set of tequila cups and plates was ordered for a restaurant by one of Gloria's clients. The unfired items visible in the forefront were produced by her grandchildren. May 7, 2017.

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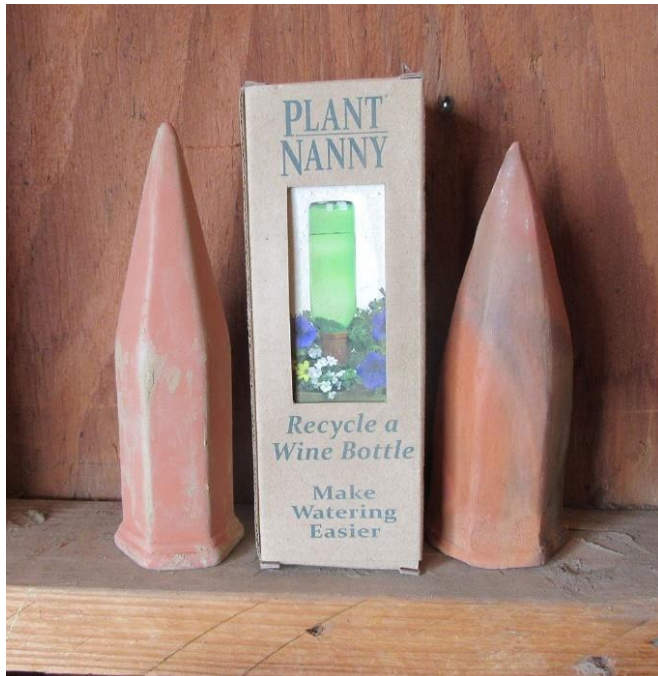


Figure 66. The original plant nanny (left) and the replica produced by Gloria (right). May 7, 2017.

explained that it was designed to be inserted in the earth of a potted plant, with a recycled wine bottle full of water resting on top. The water slowly leaches through the clay, hydrating the plant for several days. The author determined this a brilliant way to hydrate plants during hot desert summers and wanted some of her own, yet Gloria reported that her experiments thus far had been unsuccessful (G. Regino, personal communication, May 7, 2017). Considering these objects along with the cradle and honey container (which the author suspects were commissioned, or at least suggested, by an archaeologist), Gloria was apparently allowing her work to be guided more by current non-indigenous external forces than the other potters.

The forms in this fifth category, utilitarian ware introduced by Europeans, seem to have been made primarily with the Mexican or American non-indigenous consumer in mind. There was no indication that they were being used locally or sold to non-local indigenous buyers. In the pre-1980 period when some women were still regularly making ceramics for use in the kitchen,

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these forms may have been produced, but the anthropological tendency to overlook items deemed “non-traditional” would have left a gap in the ethnographic record. Mugs, plates, and cups are now so integral to quotidian life that this was the only category where the creative process was not necessarily linked to collected or collective memory at all. In some cases, these typical European forms displayed recent local or non-local indigenous attributes. This was the case with the perforated mug-shaped vessel produced by Gloria, or Tirsá’s small cradles with perforations around their walls. It remains unclear whether those pre-fire perforations were a local innovation or non-local technique incorporated through interaction with other groups, but whatever the case, these otherwise European forms were intended for use as sage burners.

Forms Representing Elements of the Local Environment

The sixth and final category of forms perceived during this interpretative process included those inspired by the ceramists’ natural surroundings. When asked where Tirsá came up with her ideas, she said: “What we do, well...one has to...how can I say it...one has to think ‘I’m going to make a little hen, or I’m going to make a little turtle...’” (T. Flores, personal communication, September 8, 2018). The turtle sage burner and Tirsá’s hen piggy bank were not the only objects drawn from local environment. Other forms represented elements of the ceramists’ daily lives such as coyotes, roadrunners, and wild mushrooms. Animal forms were particularly common in Daria’s work, and to a lesser extent in Tirsá’s. Teresa and Gloria were not making these, except for the jar Gloria made that had a snake wrapped around its neck, shown in Figure 67.

Tirsá indicated that the hen piggy bank shown previously in Figure 63 was unique to her shop and she was producing them regularly. She had also produced several pigs and about those, she said:

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Figure 67. Jar with a snake wrapped around its neck produced by Gloria. May 7, 2017.

Tirsa: People love the little pig because they find it curious.

Michelle: Yes, they look...it's really long.

Tirso: Yes, they come out weird because they're not the same...the same as real pigs, you know, they come out different.

Michelle: And which is the most difficult?

Tirsa: Most difficult? This one (signals to the pig) because of its little eyes, nose, and everything it...

Michelle: And these...why do you make them without a head (signals to the mushroom sage burner that looks like a turtle but without head, tail, legs).

Tirsa: Oh, those are wild mushrooms, mushrooms. They're for burning sage.

Michelle: Oh, ok...

Tirsa: We make turtles like that, turtles, but those are mushrooms.

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Daria was making a series of coyotes and roadrunners (Figs. 68, 69). During a dinner at her house, the author noted that she had several chickens running around her yard, but others were locked in a cage on the floor of her outkitchen. She explained that the small chickens needed to be locked up because otherwise, the coyotes would hunt them. This story, the author suspected, was Daria's inspiration for the fat coyote. She was observed to be producing several of those and had used the same coyote head on the effigy scoop described in the second category. When the author described Daria's coyotes to Tirsá (and the fact that real coyotes tended to eat her chickens), she nodded and said that the coyotes do not come around where she and her family live, but where Daria lives they do (T. Flores, personal communication, September 8, 2018).

The forms described in this final category, representative of the local environment, are unique to the village and reflect the daily lives of their creators. They were interpreted as symbolic representations of the women's collected, episodic memories.

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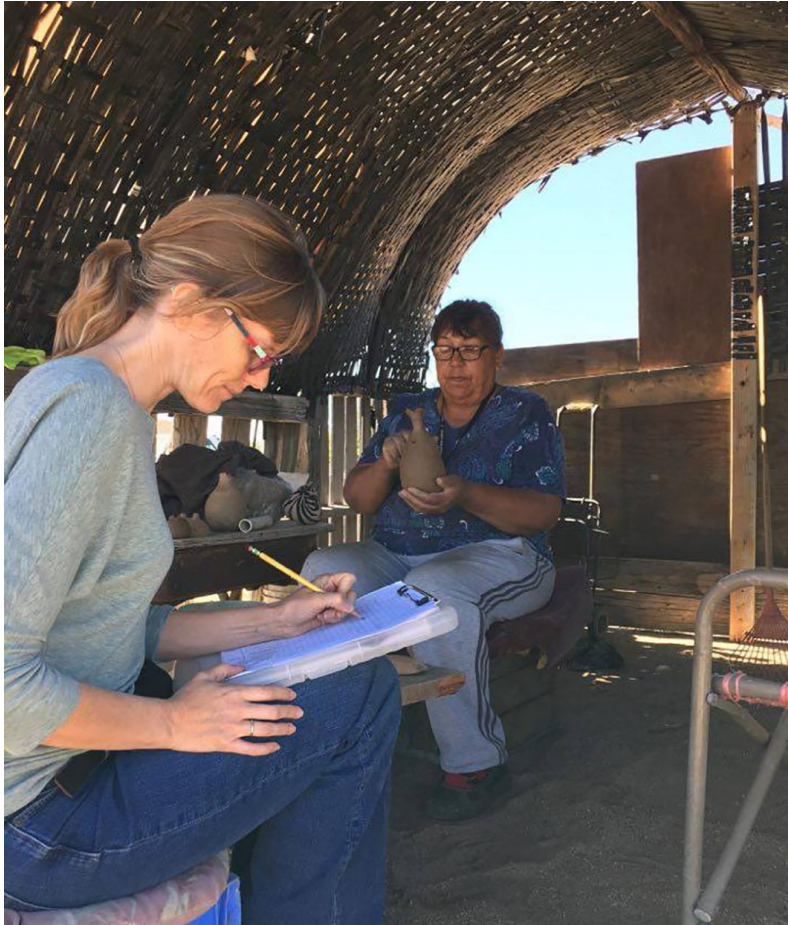


Figure 68. Daria modeling a fat coyote figurine. The author purchased this coyote on a future visit. April 29, 2017.



Figure. 69. Roadrunner produced by Daria. April 29, 2017.

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Conclusions

This analysis of the Yuman ceramic industry and previous ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological research conducted in Santa Catarina has presented a new theoretical perspective on the paddle and anvil custom and its current products. The raw material and basic technique employed have remained constant while other aspects of the procurement, preparation, production, and firing processes have changed. Past beliefs regarding the presence or participation of pregnant women and other observers have become anecdotal in nature, while the importance of *ánimo* or *buen corazón* has remained. Metal, plastic, even electric implements are now used to increase efficiency. The addition of some temper material, and particularly the use of cow dung as temper or fuel, is associated with post-contact period innovation. Some stylistic and decorative elements like incising, burnishing, and perforated lids have been reappropriated from the distant past, while others such as unperforated lids, suspension holes, and direct rims on jars have appeared more recently. Many forms and their functions (beliefs and practices) have also changed. This does not necessarily imply that the paddle and anvil method itself is “more traditional” than the observed technological, aesthetic, and social changes.

Regarding ceramic production, Stark (2003) noted that motor habits used while shaping objects generally resist change while decorative techniques are more sensitive to it (p. 212). Therefore, the relative constancy of the custom should not be conflated with its associated traditions, which are more sensitive to change. Whether old or new, Pa’ipai ceramic objects reflect aspects of Yuman material culture that continue to be reproduced despite colonial efforts to destroy it. Over the past 500 years, indigenous groups in Baja California have suffered government initiatives aimed at delegitimizing their claim to land and resources and declaring their lineages “extinct.” Memory is the conduit through which tradition and ethnic identity are

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being constituted to counterbalance those forces. Continuity manifests considerable tension between preservation and innovation as potters elaborate objects through their interpretations of the cultural past. Traditions are prone to constant change while the traditionalist movement has attempted to maintain them intact. Upon elaboration of the theoretical background in Chapter 1, the processual approach to meaning making seemed most adequate for describing the development of ceramic traditions in Santa Catarina. It was, in fact, apt for explaining the creation of forms in categories 1, 4, 5, and 6. Upon later reflection, it became evident that some forms were constructivist reinterpretations by the potters (category 2), and others qualified as instrumentalist or invented traditions in Hobsbawm's (1983) sense as a direct result of state intervention (category 3).

Past anthropologists over-generalized by characterizing current forms as nonfunctional, contemporary art. Though they may be perceived as decorations by some, these objects have practical and symbolic functions for Yuman peoples on both sides of the border, and the Mexican government. The supposed shift from internal use to external sale is by no means complete since some utilitarian or ritual objects are still in use. In fact, practical and symbolic are not binary opposites at all: symbolic objects can have practical social, political, and economic functions. Their external, subsidiary role as decorative objects serves only to make non-indigenous urban consumers feel better about their disconnected, cosmopolitan lives and assuage their guilt over the hand their ancestors may have played, and their dominant culture continues to play, in trying to destroy indigenous cultures.

Memories that were corroborated by others in the group were usually associated with forms the women were familiar with from childhood, or forms currently being used for ceremonial purposes in Santa Catarina and other Yuman communities. All four potters were

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making forms dating to the precontact period that were still being produced during their childhood. They all reported having been exposed to the paddle and anvil method and having seen the jars or ollas that a few women were regularly producing in the village back then: Juana and Petra Higuera and Priciliana Flores when Teresa was a child, and Margarita Albañez, Manuela Aguiar, and Josefina Ochurte when Tirsa, Daria, and Gloria were children. These forms produced nostalgia in the potters. Categories 1 and 4 were generally associated with those collective, episodic memories. The jars and ollas in category 1 were the most enduring and prolific forms being used for cooking by at least one individual and in funeral rites. Some of the stylistic or decorative techniques that were being applied, of either local or non-local origin, were derived of semantic memories in cases where the potters had not learned of them firsthand but through conversations, travel, and print or electronic media.

The forms in category 4 were also derived of collective, episodic memories including the double-necked olla and turtle sage burner, incorporated into the local culture more recently than jars or ollas. These “non-local” indigenous objects adopted in Santa Catarina at some time after the mission period ended were attributed to continuous interaction with non-local peoples and exposure to their material culture. These memories were collective in nature since the recounted histories were consistent, and either episodic or semantic depending on whether the potters had acquired their ideas firsthand in childhood, or by other means. It might be significant that Tirsa, whose grandmother had moved to Santa Catarina from River Yuman territory, was producing most of these non-local forms. The objects in this category were linked to cultural articulation, which has facilitated the elaboration of a pan-ethnic Yuman identity. This category was perceived as equally traditional by the potters, but developed through glocalization, reflecting the interethnic, interlingual, and transnational character of present-day Yuman society.

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Categories 5 and 6 also contained forms of a decidedly processual nature. The European-derived forms were not necessarily linked to memory at all since similar store-bought objects were in quotidian use by the potters and their customers. Gloria's tequila cups, plates, and plant nanny had been produced for specific non-local, non-indigenous clients and there was no indication that they were being used locally. However, perforated mugs, and jugs or creamers with only a very slight spout, or piggy banks in shapes representing the local environment fused indigenous and non-indigenous elements and sometimes, as with Gloria's perforated mug/sage burner, were intended for a purpose predating the arrival of Europeans. These utilitarian objects blended past and present stylistic and decorative elements that had been resignified by the potters through episodic or semantic memory. The sixth category of objects – animals and plants representing elements of the natural environment in Santa Catarina – were created from collected, episodic memories that were specific to the ceramists' personal experiences in the areas of the village where they lived.

The categories described above reflected dynamic social interactions across time and space that produced episodic, and to a lesser extent, semantic memories either shared by the collective or unique to individual potters. In contrast, categories 2 and 3 contained forms likely not produced during the potters' lifetimes that had been constructed or invented through semantic memories acquired during conversations, travel, and exposure to print or electronic media. Memories of reinterpreted precontact forms like pipes, effigy scoops, anthropomorphic figurines, and ollas for transporting hot coals were not generally shared by the other women and each would reconstruct them or recount their meanings in different ways were asked to do so. These reinterpretations of past local traditions illustrated the existing tension between individuals

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and the collective regarding memory. Some of these collected memories may eventually be absorbed by the majority.

Memories associated with representations of local objects not originally made from clay in category 3 such as the bule, arrow shaft straightener, cradle, and honey container were also interpreted as collected rather than collective. Their associated stories were both episodic and semantic because some of these objects were familiar to the women, having been used in their original form during their lifetime. Although they shared knowledge that these objects were used in the past, some potters led the observer to believe that they were used in ceramic form while others, and the archaeological evidence, would directly contradict their stories. The production of these tangible memories and their questionable histories was frequently shown to be the result of anthropological inquiry. Through state intervention, these forms became invented traditions disguised by official dogma proclaiming their antiquity that was later absorbed and reiterated by individual potters. This category of reified past traditions was interpreted as traditionalist rather than traditional.

In four out of six categories (1, 2, 4, and 5), at least half of the objects were found to be potentially functional rather than wholly symbolic since they were being used by people either inside or outside the community. Some precontact Yuman forms were being used for cooking or funerary rites. Reinterpretations of precontact forms were being used for smoking or burning sage. Non-local indigenous forms acquired through cultural articulation were being used in wedding ceremonies and for burning sage. European forms were being used for food consumption or storing money. In contrast, the objects in categories 3 and 6 were nonfunctional representations of local objects not originally made from clay (invented traditions), and

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representations of the local environment. These categories were symbolic of past local traditions and the places where these potters live, now strictly collector's items or decorative pieces.

Generally, these artists' work reflected a complex interplay between past and present, local, regional, and global influences. Collected and collective memories obtained either through firsthand experience or by other means were being combined with artistic license to create a diverse array of forms. Local people expressed nostalgia and pride when they shared their memories of the paddle and anvil custom and the vessels their relatives had produced before them. They considered the industry and its products part of their cultural heritage. Similarly, recent anthropologists have stressed continuity with the past, considering Yuman ceramic production the continuance of an ancestral practice. Since archaeological data often contradicts the reality of present forms, researchers have been inclined to ignore changes perceived to weaken their theoretical position. Their official discourse acquired a dogmatic quality emphasizing persistence rather than change because adequate theory for reconciling differences without illegitimizing present cultural expressions had not been articulated. Contemplating tradition and identity as cultural processes informed by memory helps to mend that cognitive dissonance.

The degree to which current objects matched recorded history depended upon whether they were produced from collected or collective memories. Collective memories tended to be tied to more enduring traditions or "zones of persistence" while collected memories represented relatively recent "zones of movement."⁶⁴ Cultural heritage and national patrimony discourse avoids discussion of forms introduced as a result of revitalization efforts, of which this research

⁶⁴ Concepts by Giménez (2009, p. 10) introduced in Chapter 1.

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has identified many examples like the cradle, honey container, “pot to piss in,” and other objects produced from photographs provided by the state. These influences are intentionally omitted from academic publications on the topic because these collaborative efforts undermine the romantic notion that the local industry has organically adapted to colonial changes and the neoliberal capitalist market.

Revitalization has led to the intentional reinterpretation or representation of past traditions and resulted in an anthropological tendency to reify symbolic forms. In the future, anthropologists should avoid perpetuating ethnofiction that denies coevalness to current indigenous peoples. The participants in this study were most interested in improving their living and working conditions and making their work more profitable. For that to happen, a conscious effort needs to be made to destigmatize innovation in indigenous craft production. Tirsa herself noted that customers are most interested in purchasing objects that have a purpose. Shopkeepers in Canada agreed, insisting that their merchandise needed to have a quotidian function or customers would not buy it. There will always be a niche market for wholly symbolic items as well, yet these have not proven terribly profitable to date.

The reappropriation of past cultural elements by today’s potters and their creative application of memory to the development of new forms is happening in tandem with the elaboration of new associated beliefs and practices. Although Bonfil (1972, p. 122) claimed that change to indigenous cultures would provoke their disappearance, the current situation demonstrates this to be untrue when changes are adopted on people’s own terms and they define their own traditions. These cultural products cannot be legitimized or discounted by social scientists and social theory, only described. Studies of tradition should treat time, space, memory, and identity as fluid, with equal consideration given to individuals and the group, past and

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present, and local, regional, and global contexts. Cultural change provides as much information about social processes as the aspects that stay the same. The meanings these objects now hold for their makers and users reflect a complex local, national, and global history. More than just contemporary art, they serve as tangible expressions of past and present Yuman culture(s), and in many cases, evidence for a lost way of life. They are the result of interethnic negotiation across more than two centuries of inequitable coexistence. Intercultural exchange and memory were found to be the most influential factors in determining current forms. These objects, whether interpreted as processualist, constructivist, or instrumentalist, have resulted from historical social processes manifested by elements of continuity and change in present material culture.

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