

Reconstructing a Miracle: New Perspectives on Mata Ortiz Pottery Making

JIM HILLS

Memory is life, borne by living societies founded in its name. . . .
History, on the other hand, is the reconstruction, always problematic and incomplete.

—Pierre Nora, *Realms of Memory (Les lieux des mémoires)*

This paper is an exploration into memory and history, and into how certain stories have evolved while a larger chorus of voices—those that permeated the kitchens, streets, and fields of Mata Ortiz, Chihuahua—have been lost over the past forty years. The project didn't start out this way. It began in 2001, when Mata Ortiz collector Dr. Richard O'Connor suggested that I write an article on the traders of Mata Ortiz. Since I was an early trader in the village, having arrived in May 1978, I thought it was a great idea. We immediately set down on paper the names of the traders we could think of to interview: we came up with a list of twenty individuals and believed we remembered most of the relevant people. Ten years later, I have identified more than 120 traders and other significant visitors to the village, and the list continues to grow (see appendix). As I began the interview process, first with traders, then with collectors and aficionados of Mata Ortiz pottery, my files quickly expanded. Today, I have collected research data and conducted interviews with more than one hundred individuals on both sides of the border, including collectors, buyers, traders, potters and their family members (including wives, ex-wives, daughters, and sons), and friends of important potters who have died. The stories I have been told—particularly when my interviews moved from Anglo-Americans to the potters themselves, members of their families, and early Mexican *fayunqueros*—led me to reexamine the Mata Ortiz pottery story.¹

The tale of how one man, Juan Quezada, sparked a pottery movement that in the span of three generations has fostered more than 480

JIM HILLS was an early trader buying Mata Ortiz pottery, Seri Indian and Tarahumara crafts between 1970-1984. He currently operates the gift shop concessions at the Arizona-Sonora Desert Museum.

potters working in Mata Ortiz today and has permanently changed the cultural identity of this small Mexican town has been told over and over. Some have gone so far as to call it a “miracle” (Parks 1993). The story has been widely embraced because it is, quite frankly, a very good story, akin to what Joseph Campbell called “a hero’s journey”: a journey framed within the context of the *individual* rather than the real-life complexity of a *community* of people with multiple actions and multiple agendas, outside influences, and the push-and-pull of socioeconomic realities. The underlying theme of the Mata Ortiz story, as first told by Spencer MacCallum and later reiterated by Walter Parks, is that Juan Quezada taught himself to make pottery after finding inspiration in ancient potsherds. On the first page of a 1977 article in *American Indian Art Magazine*, MacCallum wrote, “Juan began about 1971 to look seriously at the prehistoric pots and pottery sherds that occasionally turned up from the ground near his home . . . there was none in northern Chihuahua for him to copy” (MacCallum 1977: 35). Sixteen years later, Walter Parks echoed the same story in *The Miracle of Mata Ortiz* (1993), a book that relied on MacCallum as an important source and became almost immediately the bedrock of a particular discourse on the early history and evolution of pottery making in the village. “The inspiration of the shards combined with his [Juan Quezada’s] artistic genius produced the ceramic miracle in Mata Ortiz” (Parks 1993: 98). The back cover of Parks’s book states the story in more emphatic terms: “*The Miracle of Mata Ortiz* tells the story of this phenomenon and of the potter, Juan Quezada, who began it *inspired only by prehistoric shards*” (emphasis mine).

In contrast, the stories people have told me suggest a much larger context. Over the past two years in particular I have uncovered how a blend of well-meaning entrepreneurial strategies, reticence, forgetfulness, rumor, imagination, exaggeration, and romantic notions of reality have shaped the Mata Ortiz narrative from the original complex series of interacting voices into a single, simplistic tale of origins, one that for many years has been accepted as official and true. I am not questioning Juan Quezada’s artistic superiority or influence, and I do not believe that the early Mata Ortiz success story would have turned out as well without Juan and his achievements. My argument is that much ceramic activity was going on in the Casas Grandes Valley before Juan began to study those now-famous potsherds referred to by both Parks and MacCallum. There was certainly more than one man (or woman) involved in the Marta Ortiz phenomenon, and it was carried out in the context

of a widespread and well-known pothunting heritage. Money, or the lack thereof, was at the core of this revival.

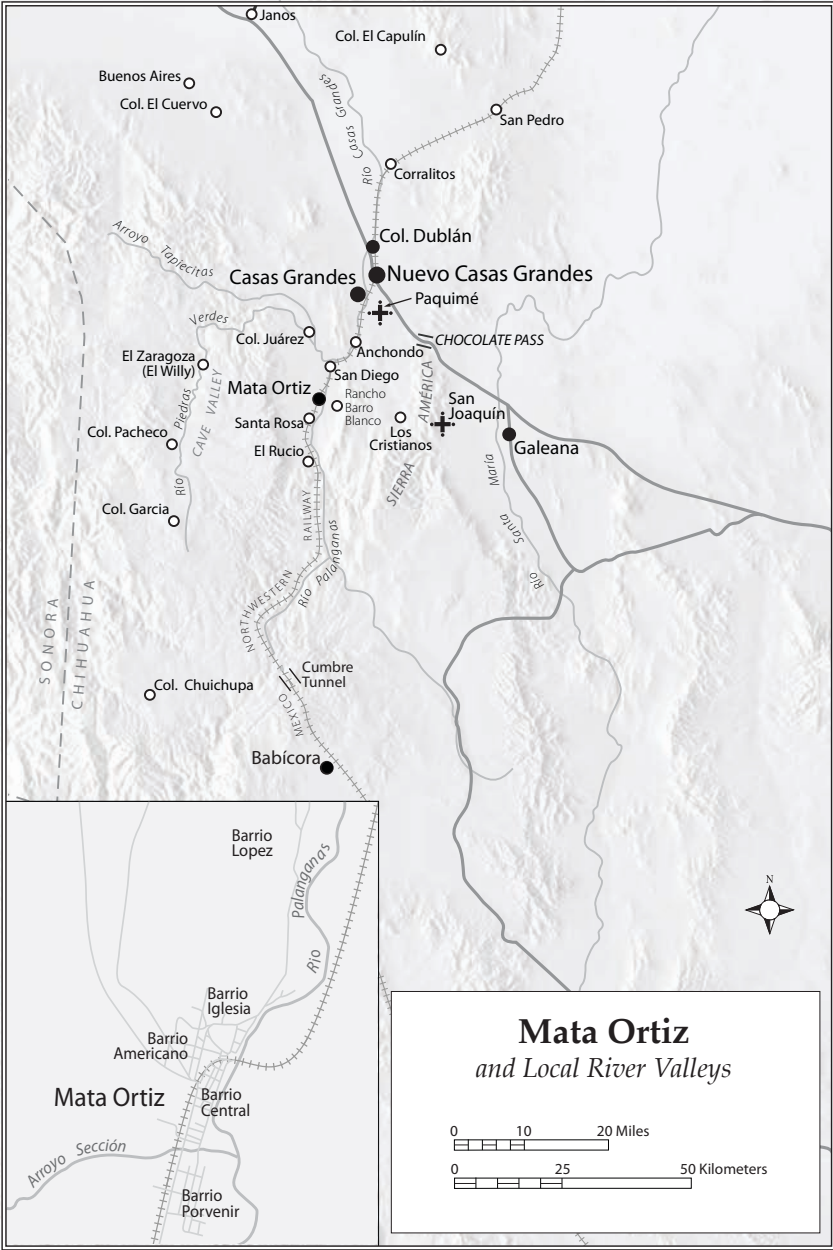
The second and third generations of potters working in Mata Ortiz today are now demanding that their family stories be heard. That is what this paper is about: how all of the original accounts in the village have been funneled into an oversimplified *single* narrative, which I call the “MacCallum Narrative,” and how collective memory has been clouded by the interjection of an origin story that was constructed at least in part to commodify the “exotic wares” of a small village for the status market, defined as North American buyers and sellers (Graburn 1977: 2). This is the story of how a community-scale endeavor was reduced to a tale of individual virtuosity, a narrative that served the purpose of transforming an artifact into a commodity; it is also the story of the sociological fallout that accompanied the transformation. This article shows how good intentions go awry when *telling* gets mixed up with *selling*, and how sales can corrupt local history, sow the seeds of discontent, and encourage complicity on the part of poverty-stricken villagers who have allowed the core elements of their stories to be hijacked and altered into a modern-day fairy tale.

Part I of this article shows that the inspiration for pottery making did not come about from Juan Quezada looking at potsherds, as MacCallum and Parks suggest, but rather occurred within a whole cultural milieu of pothunting and poverty. I explore first the geographical and historical context of modern pottery making in the Casas Grandes Valley, beginning in 1885 with the arrival of American Mormons to northern Mexico some twenty years before the outbreak of the Mexican Revolution. I also examine the plunder of regional archaeological sites in northern Chihuahua for more than one hundred years by middlemen who sold the extracted goods to educational institutions, museums, and private collectors throughout the United States and Europe. I look at this archaeological treasure and show how it gave rise to what Asif Efrat calls “subsistence diggers” (2009: 13) throughout the region, an occupation that many, perhaps most, families in Mata Ortiz and surrounding villages and ranches adopted to supplement their meager incomes. I show how the consequences of the excavation of Paquimé, which began in 1958 as a joint expedition of the Amerind Foundation in Dragoon, Arizona, and Mexico’s Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (INAH), led by Dr. Charles Di Peso, affected the local mindset regarding pothunting. From this widespread pothunting tradition

I trace the rise of “fake pottery” coming out of four local areas: Nuevo Casas Grandes, two neighborhoods in Mata Ortiz (Barrio Central and Barrio Porvenir), and Llano de los Cristianos, a village lying west and a little south of Mata Ortiz (see map). Next, I profile how Mexican, and later American, traders created a market for those fakes when prehistoric pottery was no longer available due to overexploitation and to the new laws the Mexican government enacted to stop widespread pothunting and transport of those goods. Finally, I set all of this in the context of a faltering Mexican economy that led to job losses in the town of Mata Ortiz during the late 1950s and early 1960s, compounded by rapid inflation and the devaluation of the peso in the mid-1970s, then the eventual collapse of the Mexican peso in the 1980s.

In part 2 I describe how the rise of modern pottery in Mata Ortiz began as a collective of friends working together, and talk about the various locations for pottery innovation and the important contributions made by Manuel Olivas in Nuevo Casas Grandes, by Emeterio and Félix Ortiz in the Barrio Porvenir of Mata Ortiz, by Rojelio Silveira in Llano de los Cristianos and Mata Ortiz, and by Juan Quezada and his siblings in the Barrio Central of Mata Ortiz. Through personal interviews I establish that they all knew one another from the very beginning and helped each other along the way. They initially experimented together as friends to solve the many problems they encountered in attempting to make replica pots, but eventually pulled away from one another as their individual competence grew along with the recognition they received—first among Mexican buyers and *fayúqueros* in the mid-1960s, and later with North American buyers beginning in the mid-1970s.

This article closely examines the early years, suggesting, as Steven Johnson (2010) does in his book *Where Good Ideas Come From*, that innovation seldom comes about as a “eureka” moment by a person working alone, but more often emerges from a group of individuals, working together as friends and sharing ideas for solving a particular problem. He calls this dynamic “the adjacent possible” and writes that “ideas are works of bricolage; they’re built out of [the] detritus” (28) that surrounds a circle of friends working together, talking shop. This concept is reinforced in an article by Gisela Welz, “The Cultural Swirl: Anthropological Perspectives on Innovation,” based on in-depth ethnographic studies and suggesting that innovation depends less on the creative individual than on the interaction among heterogeneous actors who are exposed to ideas, encounters, and exchanges among other individuals in the same milieu



Map of Mata Ortiz, including inset with barrios. (Cartography by Paul Mirocha)

(2003: 255). Finally, I look at the “sociological fallout” that patronage can cause to a community and at how the reductionist myth most likely led to social turmoil, initiated (though often with good intentions) by naïve or manipulative traders and patrons.

Part 3 outlines and critiques the MacCallum Narrative that has been accepted as the truth about Mata Ortiz pottery making for more than thirty years. I discuss how that narrative arose in the context of marketing pottery and why it has been successful in engaging a buying public for so many years. I then offer some new perspectives on the relationship between two major figures in that narrative, Juan Quezada and Spencer MacCallum, and suggest that it is time for the narrative to be expanded to include the voices and stories that have long been ignored and unrecognized.

I hope to show that the “miracle” of Mata Ortiz wasn’t miraculous but a slow outgrowth of the talent of multiple hands, a lot of luck, the desperation of poverty, an intimate knowledge of pottery through a long history of pothunting, the dogged tenacity of one very talented individual by the name of Juan Quezada, and a fortuitous mistake MacCallum made shortly after his arrival in the village, when he began paying for pottery in U.S. currency rather than in Mexican pesos. This seemingly innocent shift created a fertile environment for the fledgling artists between 1976 and 1982, a period of rapid inflation and massive devaluation of the peso. Those potters paid in dollars received an unintentional hedge against inflation and a devaluing peso, which made American buyers a high-demand target for any potter attempting to jump on the pottery bandwagon.

PART 1: POTHUNTERS AND PLUNDER

The Casas Grandes watershed is rich in natural resources that have fostered the making of ceramics throughout history. Clayey soil with natural volcanic ash temper is found throughout, along with thousands of prehistoric sites of both the Casas Grandes and Mimbres cultures. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the abundance of prehistoric pottery provided the basis for personal collections amassed by Mormon settlers who moved into Chihuahua starting in 1885. They believed that a sacred lineage connected them to the makers of those pots.

At the end of August 1958, when Charles Di Peso and his archaeological team from the Amerind Foundation and INAH began to

excavate the ruins at Paquimé, the region already had a long history of digging for both treasure and antiquities (Di Peso, “Daily Record,” October 17, 1958, p. 23). Di Peso found that most Mormon families held personal collections of pottery from the ancient Casas Grandes culture that had flowered (then suddenly disappeared) in the region in AD 1200–1450. These collections made sense in the context of the Mormon faith: the first Mormon settlers to move into the area embraced the teachings of Nephi in the Book of Mormon, who was believed to be the leader of a people that lived in the Americas before Christ. It is no surprise that Mormons were among the first modern-day pothunters in the Casas Grandes Valley, seeking to assemble their own sacred history from the remains of these Lamanites who, according to the Book of Mormon, were the American Indians responsible for all the ruins in the New World, including those in the Casas Grandes Valley. The Mormons were stunned by the quantity of Indian ruins when they arrived in the fertile valleys of the Casas Grandes River and its tributaries; there were thousands of smaller sites surrounding Paquimé, the largest archaeological ruin in northern Mexico. When the Mormons came upon Cueva de la Olla and Cave Valley to the west of Paquimé in the Sierra Madre, it was as if “they were walking in the Book of Mormon Days” (Johnson 1972: 49). And based on the Casas Grandes culture centered around Paquimé, the whole region became an affirmation of Mormon religiosity, as many Mormons believe Paquimé was built by their ancestors (Di Peso, “Daily Record,” Oct. 17, 1958, p. 17).

In the early 1960s, however, Mormon collectors told Charles Di Peso that their stores of prehistoric artifacts were in jeopardy. Di Peso wrote in his “Daily Record” for 1959 that several Mormon families were eager to show him their collections but expressed fear that they could be confiscated by the Mexican government (p. 66). Mormons weren’t the only ones collecting pots, however. As early as 1921, Eduardo Noguera, Mexico’s representative in charge of northern Chihuahua antiquities at that time, visited Edward Ledwidge, a leading exporter of Casas Grandes pottery, in El Paso. Di Peso wrote in his “Daily Record” that Ledwidge, a railroad man (auditor for the El Paso & Southwestern Railroad), was shipping thousands of pots north by train from Dublán, Chihuahua, to El Paso, Texas, in wooden crates, and had amassed a collection of more than five thousand pots from the area north of Dublán and from the Corralitos area (map).

Noguera must have been stunned when he saw the Ledwidge collection, and following Noguera's warnings of confiscation, Ledwidge began selling off his collection to various museums across the United States. Some of his pots eventually ended up in the Arizona State Museum in Tucson and the Museum of New Mexico in Santa Fe (Jacobs 2011; *El Palacio*, March 1, 1922). But this didn't stop the stream of illegal pottery moving north, for in 1938 Mr. E. C. Howard, another collector in El Paso, Texas, was still selling ancient ceramics to museums throughout the United States (Di Peso, "Daily Record," Mar. 17, 1961, p. 352; Phillips 2012: 6).

PAQUIMÉ AND THE AMERIND FOUNDATION

The Mexican government attempted to eliminate the unauthorized exportation of its patrimony beginning on May 11, 1897, with the Law on Archaeological Monuments and continuing thirty-three years later, on January 31, 1930, with the Law on the Protection and Conservation of Monuments and Natural Beauty. In terms of enforcement, however, these laws were just talk by the time the Amerind began excavations in 1958. Di Peso wrote that pothunting had been going on for a long time at Paquimé and suggested it could have been happening as early as 1565, with Francisco Ibarra's Spanish soldiers, the Ópata Indians to the west, and the Janos Indians to the north of Paquimé (Di Peso, "Daily Record," 1958, p. 39). Travel writer Lieutenant R.W.H. Hardy witnessed pothunting when he visited the area in 1828 and found Apaches digging in a site for ornaments and pottery (Hardy [1829] 1977: 464–66). In 1906 archaeologist Edgar Lee Hewett spent a year on horseback exploring the Southwest and said of the Casas Grandes area "there is a large amount of excavation going on in the ruins constantly" (Phillips 2012: 4). Ten years later, during the U.S. Army's Punitive Expedition into Mexico in pursuit of Pancho Villa, General John "Black Jack" Pershing's soldiers (probably out of boredom since they never found Villa) pillaged a number of sites while camped in the Corralitos area (Phillips 2012: 5), and later, in 1916, conducted a systematic removal of objects from San Joaquín Canyon, material that ultimately ended up in the Smithsonian collection in Washington, DC (Kelley et al. 2011: 205–6; Brenner and Bridgemon, this issue).

During the early weeks of September 1958, shortly after excavation at Paquimé began, news of the archaeological expedition spread all through the region via newspaper articles and local radio programs. Paquimé became a center of activity, with first a visit by Governor Barrunda of Chihuahua, then visits by dignitaries from Mexico City, the United States, and Canada, as well as curious onlookers from all across Chihuahua, Arizona, New Mexico, and west Texas. By the first of October, a few weeks after the Amerind Foundation began its excavation, Di Peso and his crew realized the need for guards, as the curious onlookers were becoming a problem. "We have had a tremendous number of visitors each day and they [the military guards] managed to keep them away from the walls. . . . The locals have shown a tremendous amount of enthusiasm and we are beginning to receive visitors from Canada as well as from the States" (Di Peso, "Daily Record," Oct. 1–15, 1958, pp. 9–23). The influx got so bad that on October 26, 1958, a Sunday, while all the archaeologists and Mexican employees were in town on their day off, seventy-five to one hundred cars overran the site, engulfing it with up to a thousand people, walking everywhere, throwing trash, and having picnics on the mounds. A carnival atmosphere ensued, with soft drink vendors setting up alongside food concessions offering roasted corn on the cob and ice-cream bars. The two soldiers who were guarding the place were overwhelmed and began showing people around the site as guides, charging a small fee. Even worse, Di Peso discovered the guards were now regularly charging 3 pesos (25¢) per visit to show people the ruins when the archaeologists weren't around, and when attractive women didn't have the money, the guards entertained them between the high walls, completely neglecting their duties. Even more difficult to handle were the local schoolkids who were raiding the piles of unscreened floor material for *Nassa* seashells.² Millions of such shells were unearthed to string into necklaces and sell to tourists for 2 to 4 pesos (16¢–32¢) apiece. It was an archaeologist's nightmare!

Poverty and the Rise of "Subsistence Diggers"

In a 1988 interview with Scott Ryerson, Mexican trader Oscar Argüelles claimed that "before the Amerind excavations, the locals saw the prehistoric pots only as curiosities, without monetary value." By 1959 I think it is fair to say everyone in the Casas Grandes Valley had heard of Paquimé, and people were beginning to understand the inherent value

of local prehistoric sites, pottery, and artifacts. It was during this time that locals began to specialize in pothunting, with “prehistoric pots . . . occasionally turn[ing] up from the ground near [their] home[s],” as MacCallum (1977: 35) stated.

Di Peso didn’t have any trouble finding people to work as diggers, truck drivers, mechanics, engineers, typists or lab workers. With pay rates ranging from \$0.80 per day for lab workers to \$1.68 a day for mechanics, there were always more applicants than posts.³ When prospective workers came to Paquimé seeking employment, only to be turned away, it was a simple matter for them to walk into the hills and dig for *mochezumas* or *pintos* on their own,⁴ and the illicit market began to expand rapidly as both American and Mexican buyers were arriving in increasing numbers. By the time the Amerind expedition finally left Mexico in the summer of 1960, pothunting had exploded throughout the region, with archaeological sites being destroyed at an unprecedented rate, which verified DiPeso’s earlier observations (Di Peso, “Daily Record,” Nov. 13, 1958, p. 37).

According to a Mata Ortiz potter, people everywhere were digging for pots after the Amerind left Paquimé in 1960, selling their finds to local merchants in Nuevo Casas Grandes, itinerant Mexican traders, Mormon collectors, and American buyers who were visiting the area for the first time. The price for a plain prehistoric pot was modest—usually 60 to 75 pesos (\$5–\$6) or less apiece—but that was still better than several days’ labor at the wages being paid in the early 1960s. And there was always the dream of finding a perfect polychrome *pinto* that could bring hundreds of dollars (anonymous pers. comm.). Kelley and colleagues (2011: 216) report that even in the early 1930s prices for Chihuahuan pottery ranged from \$1.00 to \$25.00 for quality polychromes and effigy jars. Pothunting has always been a lucrative profession.

Years later, this was still the case. One potter told me that in 1972, when he was eleven years old, he discovered a prehistoric site and began to excavate it himself, taking three weeks to dig the ruins. He found six complete ollas and one broken pot and sold all of them for 3,750 pesos (\$300) to a Mormon buyer. His father, a ranch foreman at the time, worked six days a week and made 125 pesos (\$10.00) per week. If pots could be found during the early 1970s, not only was there a market for them, but also the potential for considerable profit when compared to a normal day’s wage.

Antiquities and the Law

In 1970, UNESCO adopted a convention intended to prohibit and prevent the illicit trade of antiquities between developing countries and art-importing countries worldwide. The most influential art-importing countries didn't sign it. Thus, Germany, the United Kingdom, Japan, and the United States were exempt and free from accountability. In May 1972, Mexico, realizing its patrimony was flooding across its borders despite existing laws, enacted the Federal Law on Archaeological, Artistic and Historic Monuments and Zones. By signing this decree into law, President Luis Echeverría declared all pre-Columbian artifacts to be the property of the nation, and required all persons to have a permit issued by the federal government in order to transfer, export, or possess pre-Colombian antiquities. This law made it illegal to be in possession of prehistoric pottery at any time without a permit, and permits were seldom issued.

Although most people likely didn't understand the full implications of this law, they did understand that it was illegal to have antiquities in their possession. Reynalda Quezada of Mata Ortiz told her nephew, Damián Escárcega Quezada, that in the early 1970s people were afraid to fire pots on their property because soldiers who saw the smoke would come into their houses to look for old pots or any new pots that were made to look old.⁵ To avoid getting into trouble, the early potters fired their pottery far from their homes (interview with Damián Escárcega Quezada, Jan. 27, 2011). Otila Ortiz, the wife of Félix Ortiz, said that people used to "hide in the arroyos to fire them [pots]" (Jan Bell, field notes, Sept. 18, 1992). Rojelio Silveira reported that in the early years people had to be very careful of not only the police, but also the military. Juan Quezada said that the military once even surrounded his house, some soldiers holding machine guns while others ransacked the place.⁶ Several potters and traders told me that during the early 1970s having prehistoric pottery or new pottery that looked antique was quite dangerous.

Yet it was still legal to import prehistoric pottery into the United States during this time, as illustrated by Spencer MacCallum presenting a formal declaration to U.S. Customs at Columbus, New Mexico, on March 29, 1977, for "35 replica Indian pots" and "4 authentic pots" (MacCallum Archives, Museum of Man, San Diego). From this entry at least, it appears that in 1977 if one imported prehistoric pottery and declared it as authentic, this was still legal in the eyes of U.S. Customs,

even though it was illegal in Mexico without INAH authorization (article 44, chapter V, 1972). As late as 1981 MacCallum was still selling prehistoric pottery, as documented by a number of letters in the MacCallum Archives at the Museum of Man (see, e.g., letters of Feb. 18, 1980, July 27, 1981, or January 1981). In explaining the customs situation at the border, MacCallum wrote that having both prehistoric pottery and new pottery that was made to look prehistoric being shipped across the border simultaneously was confusing for customs officials, who had to decide “whether a given piece was old or new before they could assess the duty on it” (1978: 48).

U.S. policy on antiquities changed in 1983, when the United States officially embraced the 1970 UNESCO Convention after thirteen years of heated congressional debate and began to enforce the prohibition on the importation of antiquities from all source countries (Efrat 2009: 22). The importation of prehistoric pottery from Mexico thus became problematic for middlemen and traders at the border. Mata Ortiz sources report that a man from Colonia Juárez was stopped on the U.S. side with an engine compartment full of prehistoric pottery and was turned back into Mexico, which led to his being heavily fined and his vehicle confiscated by Mexican border officials. Jack Calderella, an El Paso importer, learned from Mexican buyers that in the mid-1970s “you could get in just as much trouble bringing antique pottery out of Mexico as if you were smuggling drugs” (pers. comm., Mar. 27, 2011).

The Early Pothunters: 1950s and 1960s

From my interviews it is clear that several different families in Mata Ortiz were digging for prehistoric pottery during the late 1950s and throughout the 1960s. It is claimed in the village that several different families in the surrounding area were involved in hunting for old pots before they learned how to make new pottery for themselves. According to Mata Ortiz sources, there was a steady demand for prehistoric pottery from buyers in Colonia Juárez, Nuevo Casas Grandes, Dublán, Casas Grandes, and the border towns of Palomas and El Paso during the 1960s. It is difficult to isolate the exact time frame for this activity, but my best guess would be between 1958 and 1962, corresponding with the Paquimé excavation (interviews in Mata Ortiz, Oct. 2010).

A potter from Barrio Porvenir in Mata Ortiz freely admits having dug pottery in the past. When asked if there were enough ruins in the area

to support this much local pothunting, he said there were more than four hundred ruins within a few miles of the village. Juan Quezada told Scott Ryerson that not only were there dozens of Casas Grandes sites around Mata Ortiz, but there were Mimbres sites as well (S. Ryerson, field notes, 1991; Gilbert 1995: 56). Today, if you ask people in Mata Ortiz whether they dug for pottery in the past, most will deny it. In contrast, in 1978 when I first visited the village, everyone I asked admitted being involved in digging *ruinas*. By the late 1970s, however, they reported that it was safer (and more profitable) to make new pots rather than dig prehistoric pottery, or even make replicas of prehistoric pots. Although some looting of sites continues in the area today, the occupational switch from digging sites for old pottery to digging clay to make new pottery took place over about twelve years, beginning in the early to mid-1960s. By 1978 it was obvious a new industry had been born.

The Mexican Buyers: 1960s

In the late 1950s and into the early 1960s the people of Mata Ortiz had little cash, so when the first *fayúqueros* came to the small towns and ranches surrounding Nuevo Casas Grandes, they brought used clothing, toys, bicycles, appliances, packaged food, cloth diapers, tools, and a thousand other items that they bartered for anything the villagers or ranchers had: corn, flour, beans, old furniture, old coins, old guns, or prehistoric pottery. By the mid-1960s, Jack Calderella stated, “most of the great old stuff had been cleaned out of Chihuahua . . . and that is when new pottery, antiques to look old, began showing up in the United States.” The faking of pottery had been going on for a long time, as local school administrator Julián Hernández indicated: “My older relatives dug pots, and then made pots to sell as old ones. They didn’t think they were doing anything bad. They were just working!” (Stover, this issue). Kirk Gittings, who worked in an El Paso cannery, said one of his coworkers revealed to him that “his family in the Casas Grandes region had been faking pots for five generations” (Kelley et al. 2011: 215).⁷

Forgeries from Chihuahua may even have made their way into Ledwidge’s collection in the 1920s, given that some “of the ‘too good pots’ had more in common with modern Mata Ortiz pottery than prehistoric pieces” (Kelley et al. 2011: 38; see also Norick 1993: 74). A pot in the Arizona State Museum collection might be an example of one of these too-good-to-be-true pots (figure 1). I commented to Mike Jacobs,

archaeological collections curator at the museum, that their pottery jar GP 3640 looked like something Juan Quezada could have made. When I showed a photo of this jar to several potters in the village, they told me it looked like one of Juan's early pieces. But Jacobs informed me that the museum has a photographic glass plate taken between 1920 and 1930, documenting that this ceramic jar came from the Ledwidge collection during this period. Juan Quezada could not have made this piece. Nevertheless, in the opinion of the Mata Ortiz potters, it still "looks too good to be true" for a Ramos Polychrome.

Alan Hawkins, an early buyer of Mata Ortiz pottery, told me that the first archaeological fakes he remembers seeing were replicas of stone statues that traders and *fayyuqueros* first brought north to the area from central and southern Mexico. He said the first person in the Casas Grandes area to fake these statues was Inés Quezada (no relation to Juan Quezada). He also told me that a number of these stone fakes were being made in the small farming community of Cuauhtémoc, between Colonia Juárez and Mata Ortiz, during the late 1950s and early 1960s.

Tom Bahti, a noted Tucson art dealer who began selling prehistoric Casas Grandes pottery in 1963, stopped buying this pottery when the Mexican buyers began to show up with a hundred pots in a shipment, of which only four or five were genuine (Mark Bahti, pers. comm., 2011). In the mid-1970s Charles Di Peso responded to numerous letters from collectors all over the world inquiring about the authenticity of their Casas Grandes pottery acquired in the 1960s. In many cases, Di Peso wrote back telling the collectors that what they owned were indeed fake pots: "These are being made by the hundreds and sold 'sub-rosa' out of the town of Nuevo Casas Grandes . . . [and] the new fakes are flooding the market place" (Di Peso, letter of Mar. 29, 1976 to Mr. Bruce Bryan, Southwest Museum). A year earlier Di Peso wrote to a concerned collector that the copies were getting better all the time; he referred to this development as a "new ceramic school" (Di Peso, letter of Jan. 21, 1975 to Mr. Peter J. Pilles, Jr, Museum of Northern Arizona).

By the late 1960s new Casas Grandes replica pottery had lost value because it was associated with the fake prehistoric market. Replica Ramos Polychromes (utilizing enhanced black, red, and white paint) were so prevalent that by 1970 knowledgeable buyers were no longer interested in anything from the region for fear of being swindled. This began to change around 1973–74, when Juan Quezada discovered a new market



Figure 1. Ostensible Ramos Polychrome, perhaps an example of an early forgery, acquired from the Ledwidge collection in the 1920s or 1930s. (Arizona State Museum Collection #GP 3640)

for Mimbres black-on-white replicas, which he sold between 1972 and 1975; this success, I believe, inspired other potters in Mata Ortiz to take up potting once again.⁸

Several people in Mata Ortiz told me the first local *faynuquero* to trade in contemporary replica pottery in the early 1960s was Benigno “Don

Benny” Hernández Sr., from Dublán. The second was Jesús Chávez, and other buyers followed. They would buy directly from Manuel Olivas or from residents of Mata Ortiz who brought their pottery to Nuevo Casas Grandes to sell in front of banks, hotels, gas stations, or wherever else tourists might frequent.⁹ Among the early buyers in Nuevo Casas Grandes were Francisco Corona from Nuevo Casas Grandes, who also had a shoe factory in León, Guanajuato; Alfredo Haider, a man of Arab descent who had a place in Nuevo Casas Grandes but lived most of the time in Moroleón, Guanajuato; Alan Hawkins from Colonia Juárez; Antonio Varrios, who ran a gas station in Nuevo Casas Grandes; Scott Bluth in Dublán; and an unidentified American buyer called El Feyuco (The Ugly One), who bought mostly from Manuel Olivas.

The American Buyers: 1960s

Texas antique dealers Jack and Peggy Calderella explained how buyers in El Paso most likely discovered what was going on in the Casas Grandes Valley during the late 1950s and 1960s (interview, Mar. 27, 2011). In 1960, Jack met Carl and Margaret Scott from San Francisco. They traveled often to Mexico, acquiring anything that looked interesting and returning through El Paso to sell what they had collected in the antique shops on Alameda Street, just across the border. Leo Gouch ran one of these stores, called Trash and Treasures. The Scotts and Gouch became good friends and worked as a team, scouring the small towns and ranches of northern Chihuahua for antique weapons, coins, furniture, *retablos*, old pottery, paintings, *santos*, etc. During the early 1960s they often drove south from El Paso to Ahumada, Chihuahua, then headed west on dirt roads to Nuevo Casas Grandes, and from there continued into the sierra of Colonia Juárez, Pacheco, and Morelia, visiting ranchos and villages along the rivers. The Scotts would find a spot under a large tree along the road or in a local plaza, and set up a card table in the shade. On it they would arrange a number of interesting items of the type they were looking for—such as coins or bullets or pottery—and wait for people to ride or stroll by to take a look. The people who stopped might, for example, look at the old Winchester rifle on the table and comment that they had one like that in their house that once belonged to their father.

Chihuahua was considered one of the richest states for antiques, pottery, memorabilia, and furniture, but it took Leo Gouch only about ten years to clean out the state of “all the best stuff since he lived in El Paso and would often travel to Chihuahua on a weekly basis” (Calderella interview). Other well-known El Paso buyers during the 1960s were Frank Turley, Dick Copenbarger, Rod Davenport, Harold Naylor, and Jim Conklin. Other buyers came from Deming, New Mexico—including Jack Inmon, John King, and Gary May—and there were itinerant buyers from Santa Fe, Phoenix, Tucson, and parts of southern California.

PART 2 (1965–1978): FOUR SCHOOLS OF INNOVATION

When I ask Americans that have been visiting Mata Ortiz for years who started the pottery industry, they invariably name Juan Quezada. When I ask the same question of people living in Mata Ortiz and Nuevo Casas Grandes, or particularly of the early Mexican traders who were dealing in pottery during the mid-1960s, they aren’t so certain. What they do say, almost to a person, is that pottery making in Mata Ortiz began with a group: Rojelio Silveira, Emeterio Ortiz, Félix Ortiz, Salvador [*sic*] “Chava” Ortiz, and Juan Quezada.¹⁰ They will then add that Manuel Olivas was the very first potter in the area, and that he lived in Nuevo Casas Grandes. Alan Hawkins, who has been involved in the buying and selling of pottery since the mid-1950s, said that Emeterio and Félix Ortiz, and probably Rojelio Silveira, were the first potters in Mata Ortiz, with Juan beginning about a year or two later. All of the early Mexican buyers concur that Manuel Olivas was making replicas of Casas Grandes pottery long before anyone in Mata Ortiz, although several agree that Juan Quezada had the greater talent.¹¹ Although Parks and MacCallum recognize that Manuel was one of the first individuals to make pottery in the region in the early 1960s, neither acknowledges that he had any influence on the potters of Mata Ortiz. As I will show, they have been wrong in that assumption.

Many have noted that the late 1950s and early 1960s was an difficult time economically for the residents of Mata Ortiz (see Parks 1993; Ryerson 1994; Hernández 2008; Hughes 2009). When the railroad machine shop and repair yard were moved to Nuevo Casas Grandes in

the late 1950s or very early in 1960, only a few low-paying jobs were left on the railroad, apart from occasional work picking fruit for Mormon farmers in Colonia Juárez, a few jobs as cowboys on local ranches, or occasional seasonal work in the local lumber mills (Price 1994: 137) or in the marijuana fields in the mountains to the west of Mata Ortiz (Nicolás Quezada, pers. comm., 1980). In the early 1960s, a number of people took advantage of seasonal farmwork in the United States via the Bracero program, but by the summer of 1964 that program came to an end. Pothunting thus became one of the few means of earning cash. As Di Peso wrote, “Since about 1965, there has been a considerable amount of simulation of Casas Grandes polychrome pottery to fill the market demand of unwary collectors” (1979: 21).

It Began with Music: Manuel Olivas and the Nuevo Casas Grandes School

Long before anyone in Mata Ortiz began making pottery, Manuel Olivas Lucero Borrega (1941–2007), who lived in Nuevo Casas Grandes, was producing Casas Grandes imitations. In 1951, at age ten, Manuel learned to make pots from his grandmother, Leonor Parra.¹² According to Julián Hernández, Manuel was “making pottery with Paquimé motifs at the end of 1951” (e-mail to the author, Nov. 6, 2009). He probably began making replicas for sale when he was just fifteen years old (Hernández 2008: 70–71).

Like many others in the region, he appreciated the beauty of prehistoric pottery and began to look for and dig up pots on his own at an early age. When colorful prehistoric pottery (*pintos*) became more difficult to find in the 1960s, he began making copies with prehistoric designs and “antiqued” his pots to make them look old.¹³ By the time of his death in 2007, however, he had progressed from making fakes to selling authentic copies of Ramos Polychromes with the official permission of INAH (Hernández 2008: 69). According to Spencer MacCallum, Manuel kept a “copy book” of the old designs he encountered (pers. comm., October 2010). When I visited Manuel’s wife and daughter in October 2010, I saw potsherds glued to a board hanging on the wall in their studio, which I assumed served as inspiration for color and design elements. Figure 2 is purported to be an example of one of Manuel’s early black-on-white bowls, dated around 1962 (Grant Taggart, pers. comm., 2012).



Figure 2. Black-on-white bowl, 9" × 5", attributed to Manuel Olivas, circa 1962. (Grant Taggart collection)

Manuel reportedly knew Charles Di Peso and had helped the Amerind Foundation restore pots that had been dug up at Paquimé. I believe Manuel was instrumental in helping the early potters of Mata Ortiz realize the potential of making reproduction pottery. He certainly helped both Juan Quezada and the Ortiz brothers learn some of the basic principles of pot making and assisted them in perfecting their techniques. In a 2011 interview Julián Hernández, who knew Manuel, mentioned that a lot of people were making “fake” pottery in the early 1960s but Manuel Olivas was probably the first—with everyone else following in his footsteps.

But Manuel’s first love was music. His wife, María Cruz Olivas (figure 3), told me that his interest in pottery always took second place to music, and that if he had an excuse to pick up his guitar or sing a song, he would drop everything to do so. People who knew him told me he had a large and joyful personality, and was open with his ideas and information. He

loved hiking in the hills, looking for ruins, and experiencing nature. He also loved to share his ideas with anyone who asked. María says he had a band, one of the first in the region, in which he played the accordion, bass, or guitar. It was called *Los Sufridos* (The Sufferers), and during the early years they performed in Nuevo Casas Grandes, El Pueblo, Buena Fe, Mata Ortiz, Willi, and El Rusio. These performances brought Manuel into contact with anyone who loved music and dance.

In the mid-1960s Manuel lived in Nuevo Casas Grandes, in Barrio Villahermosa, where many Mata Ortiz potters live today. According to María Cruz, sometime between 1982 and 1985 the Olivas family moved from that neighborhood to the western outskirts of Casas Grandes (El Pueblo) along the road to Colonia Juárez, where she and her children still live today (pers. comm., October 2010).

Although Manuel didn't reside in Mata Ortiz, he was in contact with many of the early potters there, and in fact, they were helping one another during the experimental years long before the first Americans discovered the village. Manuel Olivas told Rick Cahill that he showed Juan Quezada the basics of pottery making (pers. comm., Mar. 31, 2008). Manuel became acquainted with Juan during the time Manuel lived in Nuevo Casas Grandes. Jorge Quintana remembers seeing Juan several times at Manuel's home in Barrio Villahermosa. Although he was only seven years old at the time, Jorge has a clear memory of one of these occasions in 1968, when he was visiting his aunt and uncle, Consuelo and Alfredo Casas, who lived next door to the Olivases. Jorge remembers his Uncle Alfredo, Manuel, and others playing music together in the backyard with Juan in attendance, listening to the music. Before moving to Barrio Villahermosa in 1962, Alfredo and Consuelo had lived in Mata Ortiz, and they knew many of the residents there. When Alfredo lived in Mata Ortiz (prior to 1962), he played music with Santos Ortiz. Three of Santos's sons—Macario, Nicolás, and Eduardo "Chevo" Ortiz—eventually became some of the top potters from Barrio Porvenir, and their elder brother, Salvador, is said to have been one of the very first potters in the village. By 1974 the Ortiz sons themselves also had their own band, called *Los Rebeldes del Ritmo* (The Rhythm Rebels; figure 4). On my May 2011 trip to Mata Ortiz, I spoke with Nicolás Ortiz, who verified that his father indeed knew Alfredo Casas and had played music with him. Mata Ortiz resident Ernesto Jurado, who worked at the Adobe Inn and acted as a translator on occasion for Anglo-Americans, likewise had a band in the early 1970s and also confirmed that all of the



Figure 3. María Cruz Prieto Olivas, October 2010. (Photo by Jim Hills)

early pottery makers were in contact with one another, either through family relationships or their mutual love of music and friendship with Alfredo Casas; including Salvador, Macario, Chevo, Nicolás, and Osbaldo Ortiz; Juan Quezada, the Ortizes' half-brothers-in-law (Emeterio and Félix), their cousin Rojelio, as well as Manuel Olivas.

There is little doubt that Alfredo was an important link between Manuel Olivas and the residents of Mata Ortiz, and it was music that brought them together. Given that Manuel knew how to make pottery by the mid-1950s, and was reportedly open in sharing his knowledge, it is logical to assume that when the first potters of Mata Ortiz—the Ortiz, Silveira, and Quezada families—began to experiment with pottery making, they would have been in communication with Manuel Olivas for tips on how to solve the basic problems of making new pottery appear to be prehistoric. Manuel reportedly would sometimes come by Rojelio Silveira's and Félix Ortiz's houses in Porvenir to discuss the various problems *he* was having with paint or with sand in his clay. Manuel seems to have been a focal point of that early group: he already knew how to make pottery, he knew the key players, and had multiple opportunities to be with each of them through their mutual interest in music.

According to María Olivas, Manuel and Juan Quezada were also close associates “long before Spencer arrived,” and talked about pottery making on several occasions. She told me that Manuel would give Juan interesting rocks and clay he had found, and share information on paints. María recalls that when Juan finally discovered how to make black paint that would withstand a firing without changing color, Manuel was the first person to whom he gave a sample. Spencer states that Juan made this discovery in 1971 (MacCallum 1994b: 73), so we must assume Manuel and Juan knew each other *before* 1971.¹⁴ Even after the Olivases moved to El Pueblo in the early 1980s, Juan often stopped for long visits with Manuel and his family. On several occasions Juan invited Manuel to visit him in Mata Ortiz, and they would walk the hills, looking for prehistoric sites or special colors of clay, or simply enjoying each other's company.

In sum, from my conversations and interviews, it is clear that Manuel Olivas knew the men whom people in the village recognize as the first potters. Manuel's specific influence on their craft isn't clear, nor exactly when and how it occurred. But certainly they were all talking about how to make pottery and solve specific problems. There is no doubt in my mind that Manuel Olivas was a critical link in the success of early pottery making in Mata Ortiz.



Figure 4. Los Rebeldes del Ritmo; left to right: Chevo, Osbaldo, Nicolás, and Macario Ortiz and Arturo Hernández. (Courtesy of Richard O'Connor)

The Paquimé Connection

Sometime in 1959 a potter appeared at the Paquimé dig site and showed the Amerind staff photographer, Virginia Garner, examples of his pottery, seeking advice on how to improve his work. Virginia told Walter Parks and later Jorge Quintana that the person she spoke with was Juan Quezada. She remembered this man showing Di Peso examples of his Casas Grandes-style pottery; however, Parks does not believe the man could have been Juan Quezada, because Juan didn't make his first acceptable pot until 1965–66

(Parks 1993: 11). This was after he and his wife, Guillermina (“Guille”), returned from Namiquipa, where they had tried sharecropping for a year.¹⁵ More importantly Juan himself states he didn’t meet Charles Di Peso until MacCallum introduced the two many years later at the Amerind Foundation in Dragoon, Arizona, during one of their trips north.

I could find no corroborating evidence of this meeting between Juan and Virginia in any of Di Peso’s daily records from 1959 and 1960, when Virginia Garner worked at Paquimé. Nor were Virginia’s children able to confirm the meeting when I interviewed them in early 2011. In a recent conversation, however, Jorge Quintana related a similar story to me. In 1999, at a pottery show and exhibition at the Riverside Art Museum in California, an older woman approached Jorge and told him she had been the photographer at Paquimé when Di Peso was digging the site. She told Jorge that Juan was at the site and she had come to the show in Riverside because “she had known him from way back” and wanted to see him again. Clearly, Virginia believed it was Juan she met at the site, but I argue it may in fact have been someone else. Manuel Olivas was working for Amerind at the time, guarding the dig site, working as a laborer, and perhaps even restoring pottery if his wife’s information is correct (María Olivas, interview with author). I believe the person who showed Virginia his pottery was Manuel Olivas; Manuel and Juan were about the same age, and in 1955 it was Manuel, not Juan, who was making replicas.¹⁶

Several traders told me that in the mid- to late 1960s Manuel Olivas was making Casas Grandes-style pottery and selling it to tourists at restaurants, in front of hotels, and at gas stations in Nuevo Casas Grandes. Although María Olivas doesn’t have a clear memory of dates, she does remember the name of the first “gringo” who bought from them on a regular basis: El Feyuco. María also remembers dealing with some of the other early Mexican pottery buyers when I showed her the list of names I had gathered, including Don Benny Hernández; Rayo Aguilera Sr.; Jesús Chávez; Chapo Varella; Oscar Argüelles; the Muñoz brothers; and a fellow in El Paso named “Dusty” (i.e., Dusty Henson of El Paso Saddleblanket Co.).

The Mata Ortiz Schools: Barrio Porvenir and Barrio Central

Spencer MacCallum would have it that no one made pottery in Mata Ortiz before Juan Quezada: “There was none in northern Chihuahua

for him to copy” (MacCallum 1977: 35). Walter Parks similarly wrote, “Through years of work . . . Juan rediscovered the entire sequence of ceramic technology. *This is the miracle*. Juan had no instruction nor had he ever seen a pot being made” (Parks 1993: 11, emphasis mine).

There is ample evidence, however, to suggest a deeper, more complex story. Just as Manuel Olivas learned from his grandmother, the first potters in Mata Ortiz also learned the basics from the older members of their families. I have identified at least three women in the village who knew how to make pottery: Rumalda Aguilar, the grandmother of the Ortiz brothers; Antonia Flores Ibarra, Jorge Quintana’s grandmother; and María Delgado, the grandmother of Esperanza Tena (Ryerson 1994: 104; Jorge Quintana, pers. com., 2010; Esperanza Tena, pers. comm., 2011). There also is strong evidence that Soledad Ortiz, the mother of Rojelio Silveira, knew the basic techniques of pottery making (anonymous pers. comm., 2011). In an August 1992 interview with Jan Bell, Hortensia Martínez recalled that when she was nine years old, there was an old woman in Porvenir who made pottery (Bell, interview with the author, 2011). Jan Bell also recalls a conversation in which Emeterio Ortiz told her, “There was a man who made pots on a wheel. They were large *tesgüino* jars . . . [and] he also made little animals of clay, like dogs and burritos” (Bell, field notes, Sept. 18, 1992).¹⁷

There is ample evidence in family histories that the knowledge of traditional household pottery making was still active in Mata Ortiz when the first attempts at artisanal pottery began. It is fair to say that in the early 1960s, making *tesgüino* or small cooking pots was a dying art, but the knowledge of *how* to make pottery was still very much alive in the village. When the younger family members began asking questions about pottery making, these household potters could and would have provided some basic technological answers. This would have applied especially to the people living in Barrio Porvenir, since that appears to be where most of the traditional household pottery making was still going on in Mata Ortiz. People living in that barrio were also among the poorest in the village, and had little money to buy household ceramics from local vendors.

Jorge Quintana recalls that his grandmother, and the grandmother of Emeterio and Félix Ortiz, knew how to make pottery. Jorge said his grandmother (who learned from her mother) showed him the basic principles of pottery making when he was a young child. This is how he described what he learned from his grandmother:

The first grandmothers knew how to make pottery. They knew how to make *tesgüino* pots. They would dig a hole in the ground, about two meters in diameter, and fill it up with mud and water. And the rock and sand, the heavier material, would fall to the bottom of the hole, and the pot clay would rise to the surface and dry in the top few inches, and when the clay was a little bit dry, and it began to crack, they would roll it up . . . to make pots. It was a natural *secador* [dryer]. My great-grandmother Gregoria used to separate out clay in this manner. I knew her when she was very old, over one hundred years old. When I was very young and began making pots, my grandmother Antonia taught me how to take a piece of skin or rag and cover a smooth stone for the inside of the pot. [I would hold that in my left hand] and then with a piece of wood [held in my right hand] on the outside of the pot I would beat the stone-covered cloth against the clay, all the while holding a piece of wood on the outside to help shape the pot. . . . She did this instead of using a piece of a hacksaw blade like so many use today. (interview with the author, Mar. 7, 2011)

Some of the earliest Mata Ortiz potters—such as Emeterio and Félix Ortiz, whose grandmothers knew the basic principles of making pottery—likely knew how to find and grind clay, make it into plastic clay dough, and even form the clay into pottery shapes. When economic times grew hard in the early 1960s, the children and grandchildren of household ceramicists became the first market potters through observing the basic techniques used by their elders and then experimenting with making paints that would retain their color through a firing. The elders never had a reason to paint their utilitarian pottery, so paint was the real stumbling block to making replica jars, since the most valuable prehistoric pots on the illicit market were those painted with strong red and black colors.

As mentioned, the residents of Mata Ortiz always name a group of men as the earliest pottery makers: Rojelio Silveira, brothers Emeterio and Félix Ortiz who are Rojelio's cousins, their half brother-in-law Salvador Ortiz, and Juan Quezada, who was not related to any of these men and lived in a different barrio. What is consistent in all the stories I have heard from the people of Mata Ortiz, as well as from the early Mexican traders, is that these five men were friends. They hung out together, knew the basic principles of pottery, had a clear understand-

ing of the archaeological sites of the area, and around 1961 or 1962 began to experiment as a group with making replica pots for sale. There is strong evidence that by the mid-1960s they knew Manuel Olivas in Nuevo Casas Grandes, who had been making pottery since the 1950s. Working as a group and individually, these men attempted to solve the puzzle of how to make paint that would withstand a firing; in the beginning they all used house paints to replicate the ancient colors after firing the pots. The results weren't satisfying (Rojelio Silveira, Jorge Quintana, and Julián Hernández, pers. comms., 2010, 2011).

According to Reynaldo Quezada, Juan's youngest brother who lives in Barrio Central, the first three potters to begin working in Barrio Porvenir were Félix "Telo" Ortiz, Emeterio Ortiz, and Salvador "Chava" Ortiz, who were making pots by 1970. But Reynaldo maintained that his brother Juan was the "very first potter in the village." Gloria Hernández, who lives in Barrio Porvenir, told me that the first people in the village to make pottery were Juan, Rojelio, Félix, Emeterio, and Salvador. Pilo Mora, who used to live in Barrio Porvenir, told me the first pottery makers in the entire village, even before Juan, were Emeterio, Salvador, Félix, and Rojelio. According to Raquel Navarrete de Ortiz, Félix Ortiz's youngest daughter, the very first potters in the village were Félix, Salvador Ortiz, Rojelio Silveira, and Juan Quezada. She told me they were all friends and were working together. And so it goes. As one might expect, the story of who was first depends on which family the informant is a member of, and which barrio they live in. But the view that Juan was the solitary discoverer or sole inventor of pottery making in Mata Ortiz is vigorously disputed in the village.

Most people I've spoken with agree that Manuel Olivas was the first person in the Casas Grandes watershed to make pottery. I asked Jorge Quintana to clarify who was the first pottery maker in Mata Ortiz, and he named Juan Quezada, Emeterio and Félix Ortiz, Rojelio Silveira, and Salvador Ortiz, who were working loosely together because they all knew how to make pottery before it became an art. Jorge also told me he thought that Juan began making pottery in the early 1960s, which is consistent with what Rojelio Silveira said when I interviewed him. These multiple narratives may seem repetitive, but I included them to illustrate how difficult it is to get a single story of how pottery originated in Mata Ortiz. I contend that once someone writes a history, as MacCallum and Parks have done for Mata Ortiz, and that history is repeated over and over again, local people whose personal

family histories counter that history become reluctant to repeat their “truths” for fear that contradicting the “accepted” version would engender negative repercussions.

Barrio Porvenir School: Rojelio Silveira (1944–)

Rojelio Silveira (figure 5) has told several people over many years that he was the first person in Mata Ortiz to make pottery.¹⁸ I interviewed Rojelio twice in October 2010, with Ernesto Jurado acting as my translator. Rojelio was able to clearly date his first attempt. He told us that the first pot he made was a *mono* (effigy), when he was eighteen years old. He is certain he was eighteen at the time because he had to report every week to fulfill his military obligations. That would have been around 1961, one year after Di Peso left Paquimé. From what I have observed in all my interviews, people tend to date the history of pottery making by associating their innovations with memorable events. For example, Juan and Guille remembered that Juan’s first successful polychrome firing occurred around the birth of their son on January 21, 1971 (MacCallum 1994a: 6; 1994b: 73).

A number of Anglo-American traders argue that it really does not matter who was first: more important is that the pottery phenomenon happened. But it does in fact matter to those who believe *they* were the first. And Rojelio Silveira believes he can claim that honor, and is consistent with his story. In December 1987 he told Scott Ryerson that he, his cousin Félix Ortiz, and another man were the first to make pots, not Juan Quezada. He told me essentially the same thing in 2010: that the first three people to experiment with making pottery in Mata Ortiz were himself, Félix Ortiz, and Salvador Ortiz, around 1961.¹⁹ They worked in a place where “they melted horseshoes.” He further told me that it was only later that Juan joined them in trying to make pottery. Rojelio said he tried making a *mono* first, as that was what people wanted to buy during those early years. Félix tried making a bowl, and Salvador made a little pot. He explained that Juan, who was working for the railroad at the time, wanted to learn how to make effigies, so he asked Rojelio to come to his house and teach him how.

Juan and Rojelio were good friends at the time, so Rojelio agreed and walked the quarter mile from Barrio Porvenir to Juan’s house in Barrio Central every day for a month to teach Juan how to make effi-



Figure 5. Rojelio Silveira in his home, October 2010. (Photo by Jim Hills)

gies. It apparently was a frustrating experience for Rojelio, because he complained that Juan just couldn't do it, although he was able to make small pots. After a month, Rojelio gave up trying to teach Juan how to make *monos*. That purportedly is when Juan began to focus all his energy on pottery jars. The two pots in figures 6a and 6b are examples of Juan's earliest *mono* jars. In both cases the dates are approximate; there is simply no way to verify their accuracy. Jorge Quintana, who knows Juan's early design motifs, corroborates that these are examples of Juan's early work and were likely made in the early 1960s.

When I asked Rojelio who was the first person to discover paint that would survive a firing (the single most difficult task that everyone faced in the beginning), he said without missing a beat, "Juan Quezada . . . but Juan kept it a secret until the rest of us could figure out how to make it ourselves." When I asked others the same question, almost to a person they agree Juan was indeed the first to discover this paint. My question, then, is a simple one: Rojelio didn't lie about Juan being the first to discover paints (probably as early as 1963) so why would he lie about being the first potter in the early 1960s, or about trying to teach Juan how to make an effigy?

Llano de los Cristianos School

Félix Ortiz and his family, as well as members of the Silveira family, moved back and forth between Mata Ortiz and Los Cristianos between the 1960s and early 1980s. According to daughter Maricela "Chela" Ortiz, Félix moved his family to Llano de los Cristianos in late 1969 or early 1970, and it was there Félix and Salvador began perfecting their fake pots (Richard Ryan, pers. comm., May 2011).²⁰ From there, they shipped pottery back to Mata Ortiz by burro, or on occasion made the trip into Nuevo Casas Grandes on the back roads, when they had enough pottery to sell. Félix and his family returned to Mata Ortiz in 1975 when his children were of school age, while Salvador stayed in Los Cristianos. Rojelio Silveira and other members of his family returned to Mata Ortiz in the late 1960s under strained circumstances, as told to me by various members of the community.

Diego Valles and Jorge Quintana explained to me that José Silveira (Rojelio's brother) was the first to return to Mata Ortiz in the early 1960s, and that they were already making pottery in Los Cristianos. Anthropologist Kiara Hughes (2009: 109) writes that Rojelio Silveira



Figures 6a and 6b. Two of Juan Quezada's early mono pots: a. Effigy pot, unverified date of 1960 (Amerind Museum Collection, #7824); b. Effigy pot signed by Juan Quezada, mid-1960s. Juan told Diego Villas he made this pot while he was still working on the railroad, which would be sometime in the mid-1960s. (Diego Villas collection)

returned from Los Cristianos in the late 1980s and taught his brother José and sister-in-law Socorro a new process for sanding and polishing pottery.²¹ What is consistent in these accounts is that Rojelio was making pottery while he lived in Los Cristianos and may have perfected a number of techniques by the time he and other members of his family returned to Mata Ortiz. Pilo Mora has said that the Silveiras were making pots around 1961 on a ranch south of Mata Ortiz (Scott Ryerson, field notes, 1991). Perhaps this was Los Cristianos.

Manny Hernández, from Colonia Dublán, told me that his father Benny Hernández first bought pottery from Rojelio, his brother Nicolás Silveira, and friend Salvador Ortiz, as they brought their pots into Nuevo Casas Grandes to sell. He placed this date in the early 1960s. Rojelio said that on occasion he would take the back roads through Los Cristianos to avoid the military checkpoints to sell pottery in Nuevo Casas Grandes. Others have questioned Rojelio's stories, but in all the interview material I've researched, his story remains consistent (Scott Ryerson, field notes, 1987; Ryan, pers. comm., 2009; Hills, field notes, 2011). He has always maintained that he was the first person to begin making pottery in Mata Ortiz.

Several Mata Ortiz potters told me about digging *motezumas* to sell to people who would come to the village to buy "old things." Rojelio told me the main reason he stopped handling old pottery was that it became dangerous to sell and he was afraid of going to jail, so the Los Cristianos group decided that if they could make new pots and sell them (after they "antiqued" them) it would be a safer way to make a living. This is consistent with what Scott Ryerson heard twenty-two years earlier: "someone had spent time in jail for pot hunting and that is the reason they decided to try and make new pots" (Ryerson, field notes, Dec. 12, 1987). The years 1961 to 1963 thus appear to have been the critical period when these young men experimented with clay. At this time Rojelio Silveira was eighteen years old, Juan Quezada twenty-one, Félix Ortiz nineteen, Salvador Ortiz around nineteen, and Emeterio Ortiz the oldest at twenty-three (Manuel Olivas would have been twenty-one.)

Discovering Paint and Fracturing Friendships

According to Rojelio, in the early years everyone was trying, either individually or together, to figure out how *los antiguos* (the old ones) made their paints. He said everyone, including Juan, would first fire their

pots, then apply oil-based house paint as a slip, and finally paint the pot with different colored oil-based house paints. Over the years, various potters developed ingenious techniques for “antiquing” the new pots; they would rub the surface with dirt, ash, or grease, and sometimes bury the vessel for a month or two. Mike Williams, an anthropology student at the time, describes another method: the potters would dip a hot pot into a mixture of crushed walnuts and water to instantly age the piece (Williams, MA thesis, 1991: 110). To simulate the black dots from manganese staining on the inside of a pot, they would often mark black dots with ink pens, or would sprinkle a hot pot with sugar as it was brought out of the fire to produce marks on the clay surface. On occasion, pots would be buried in fields of corn or beans so that the fast-growing roots of these plants could form around the pot, leaving root stains both inside and out.

Although the potters knew how to antique the pots themselves by the early 1960s, they still did not know how to make the black and red paints used in the Ramos Polychromes. The discovery of this elusive technique eventually led to discord and resentment among the early potters. When I asked Rojelio how the early potters learned to make paint, he became visibly upset and told me that this was when his friendship with Juan began to fall apart. During this time all of the early potters were experimenting and “helping each other to learn.” Juan, he said, told them that they could get red paint from jackrabbit blood, red oak, or even ground-up pumice, and white paint from ground-up bleached bones. Rojelio now believes all these techniques were fabrications that Juan invented to send them off in a false direction and slow them down (pers. comm., 2010).

But Juan did in fact experiment with many of the techniques that he revealed to Rojelio. Juan told Bill Gilbert and John Davis that “the older people here used to say the ancients painted with mule’s blood! So I, ignorantly, even started to add animal blood—even human blood” (Gilbert 1995: 54). Over the years Juan and others have informed me that they experimented with all kinds of things in their attempt to discover the perfect color: chicken blood, burnt corn, charcoal, roots, deer blood, vegetables, and even ground-up green walnuts, which produced an intense black color when decomposed (and also stank to high heaven).

Still, I got a sense of Juan’s reputation for secretive behavior when I first came to the village in 1978. I have a clear memory of Nicolás, Juan, or even Consolación Quezada (I usually stayed in one of their homes)

telling me to be careful whom I showed photos to because they feared their work would be copied by the people in Barrio Porvenir. They also told me that “*those* people” would send kids over to their houses at twilight, to scrounge for broken pieces of pottery to bring home. People would purportedly sneak around at night, looking in windows, which is one reason people often pulled the drapes when they were working at night. The forgery problem was compounded because traders would show photos of Nicolás’s or Consolación’s pottery to people in Barrio Porvenir and have them make copies for half the price (Williams 1991: 155). This attempt to guard trade secrets certainly wasn’t particular to Mata Ortiz or any other small community. What is significant in this case is that once higher paint quality began to increase the value of the pottery, the marketing and commodification of a people through their pottery began to pit friends and families against one other, a process that I believe is still going on today.

Exactly what happened between Juan and his friends in Barrio Porvenir in terms of perfecting the paint will forever be unclear, for it is filtered through time, human experience, and different motives and agendas (Bowen and Hills 2010). What happened could have been the result of deliberate deception on Juan’s part, as Rojelio assumes. Or it could have been an honest attempt to share his experiments with his friends, since Juan was in fact trying out those techniques himself. What we do know, however, from many different informants, is that sometime during the early stages of this process, Juan began to hold back information about what he was doing with the paint. My suspicion is that Juan made a simple discovery that the pigments came from minerals instead of vegetable- or animal-based ingredients.²² When he realized that paints could be made from different colored clays, with additives such as manganese or hematite, that was the revolution he probably tried to keep secret (figure 7).

According to Spencer MacCallum, the reason Juan kept the paint formulas a secret was to maintain a monopoly on paint color and strength as a way “of exercising some quality control. When others did well, he supplied them paints. However if they did poor work . . . he could withdraw his paints” (MacCallum 1994b: 80). Juan and his late brother, Nicolás Quezada, gave me the same explanation when I was buying pottery between 1979 and 1984.

A recent story may shed additional light on how Juan carefully maintained a position of power at that time. At a gathering in Mata Ortiz in



Figure 7. Three pots identified by Juan Quezada as examples of his early work, showing the evolution of his painting style and paint quality: left, bowl circa 1963; middle, bowl circa 1965; far right, bowl circa 1968. (Hills collection)

2010, MacCallum told me that Juan and his wife, Guille, were charging potters 25 percent on the sale of any pot sold that featured “their” paint.²³ This is consistent with testimony I have heard regarding the Quezadas’ business dealings over the years. It could also reveal why some of the early potters developed a negative opinion of the Quezadas: since they all began making pots about the same time, they felt entitled to free paint (or at least to the formula). Recall that when Juan perfected his paint, he apparently gave some to Manuel Olivas, perhaps as a token of his appreciation of their friendship (María Olivas, pers. comm., 2010).

In 1982, Juan told Donna McClure how he made black paint by mixing manganese powder with ground turquoise. Later that day, Donna spoke with Reynaldo Quezada, Juan’s youngest brother, who was using Juan’s black paint on one of his ollas. He told her he didn’t know how Juan made the paint (McClure, “Notes from Trips to Mata Ortiz,” p. 7). Oscar González Quezada, the eldest son of Consolación Quezada, told Scott Ryerson that he got his black paint from Juan (Ryerson, field notes, Sept. 4, 1987). When I was buying pottery in the late 1970s, several of Juan’s siblings reported that they were using Juan’s paint, but none mentioned having to pay a percentage of their sales for its use. In every case they told me that Juan provided them with the good paint as long as they maintained quality. I am now convinced that Juan made at least two paint discoveries. He must have perfected the first paint in

the early 1960s, since there is strong evidence he was making pottery then. The second discovery of paint came much later, probably in 1971 (MacCallum 1994a: 6). When I asked Rojelio how he figured out that Juan's pigments weren't made from blood or ground-up bones or vegetable matter, he said,

One day, I was walking by Juan's house and saw him out by the corral *colando barro* [sifting clay] through a screen. I went over to see what he was doing, and when I approached I noticed on a low table a number of bowls filled with different colored clays, and Juan was trying to cover the bowls up with a cloth. When I saw that, I knew what he was doing. He was using different colors of clay to get the different colored paints.

After that, Rojelio said, the potters in Porvenir began to experiment with colored clays to figure out how to make the different pigments, and looking everywhere for the sources of those clays. Many colored clays—white, red, and yellow—can be found around *pozos* [springs], and mixing them with black or red manganese makes a bright paint that will stick during a firing. Rojelio said that when Juan came back from one of his trips with Spencer (after 1979), he had some green powder (apparently copper oxide) that when added to clay and other minerals made a “strong” paint color.²⁴ He said many people are using this today. According to Rojelio, then, successful pottery production in Barrio Porvenir began with the discovery of manganese as an additive to the different clay colors.

Emeterio “Telo” Ortiz R. (1938–1997)

Emeterio Ortiz, the elder brother of Félix Ortiz, was born in 1938 and died in February 1997, at fifty-nine years of age (figure 8). He was the oldest of the early Mata Ortiz potters. Numerous individuals have mentioned that Emeterio was making pottery before Juan was, and that the two were good friends. Juan could have learned the basic principles of pottery making from Emeterio, principles which both Emeterio and Félix probably learned from their grandmother. In 1980, Juan admitted to me in passing that he learned the basic principles from Emeterio, but I didn't follow up with more detailed questions, as this was a casual conversation. Juan did not have the advantage of a household pottery maker in his family, even though his great-grandmother knew how to



Figure 8. Félix Ortiz (left), and Emeterio Ortiz (right), circa 1981. (Courtesy of the Ortiz Family)

make pottery. MacCallum (1979: 54) reports that she died when Juan's mother was only seven years of age, so that technology was never handed down, as it was in the Ortiz and Silveira families.

An anonymous potter who now lives in Nuevo Casas Grandes cites Emeterio as the first person to make pottery in Mata Ortiz, but says it was a different kind of pottery from what Juan and the others began making later. Emeterio's grandmother made pots for kitchen use and "Emeterio told Juan she knew the technique for making pottery, so Emeterio gave

Juan the idea when he described how his grandmother was making pottery” (pers. comm., Oct. 14, 2010). This source clarified however that it was Juan who made the first “Mata Ortiz-style” pottery, that which most people in the village today refers to as *de lujo* [luxury]—in other words, nonfunctional pottery (Carlotta Boettcher, pers. comm., 2011). Ray Rhodes, out of El Paso, Texas, who was buying pottery for himself and his company, Chico Arts, in the late 1970s, showed me an example of Emeterio’s work purchased in 1979 (figure 9). Although the pot is cracked, one can see Emeterio had mastered the important elements of potting by this time and had the control of expression that is necessary for making effigies.

In his essay “The Potters of Porvenir,” Scott Ryerson writes that Emeterio was the town’s postman in the late 1950s, but after the railroad machine shop moved to Nuevo Casas Grandes in the early 1960s, Emeterio lost his job. He then followed in Félix’s footsteps and began to make pottery (figure 10), presumably sometime in the early to mid-1960s (Ryerson 1994: 105). Emeterio told Jan Bell in 1992 that he and one Nicolás Ortiz (perhaps this was his father’s brother) were the first potters, along with Juan Quezada (Bell, field notes, Aug. 7, 1992). Although the exact date cannot be pinpointed, it appears to be within the time frame that Rojelio Silveira noted: sometime in the early 1960s, and certainly by 1964 or 1965.

On the other hand, Emeterio told Spencer that he and Félix began working with clay a year or so *after* the Quezadas, around 1971, only after seeing the success Juan was having (MacCallum 1994a: 7). From what most people tell me about Emeterio, Rojelio, and Félix being the first potters, I suspect the 1971 date may be a misunderstanding on Spencer’s part. Rojelio and Félix told Andrea Freeman that they “abandoned pottery making altogether” as it “was too time consuming for full-time production” and not worth their time economically (Freeman, “In the Beginning,” p. 6). Emeterio probably meant that they *started up making pottery again* after they saw the success Juan and his siblings were having, particularly since they returned to Mata Ortiz from Los Cristianos around 1975.

Salbador “Chava” Ortiz and the Barrio Central Connection

Chava Ortiz (figure 11) provided an important link between Barrio Porvenir, where he lived, and Juan Quezada, who lived in Barrio Central.



Figure 9. Effigy by Emeterio Ortiz, 1979. (Ray Rhodes collection)

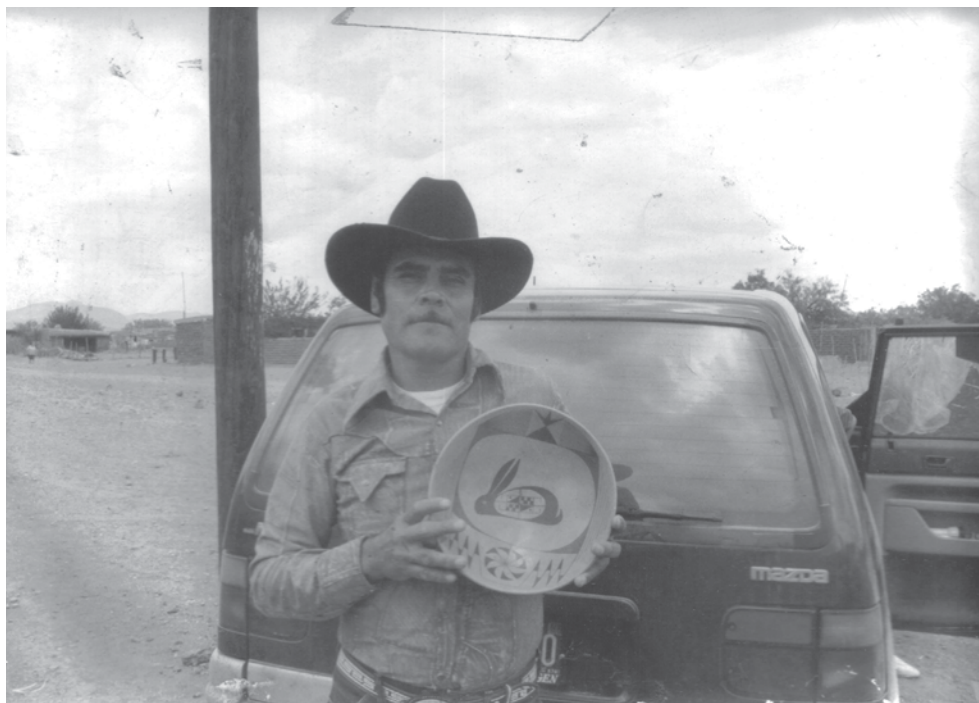


Figure 10. Félix Ortiz with a modern version of his Mimbres replicas, circa 1976–78. (Courtesy of the Ortiz family)

He also linked the two Ortiz families. He is the half-brother-in-law of Félix and Emeterio Ortiz and is godfather of Juan Quezada's two boys, Efrén and Albaro, which confirms a friendship and connection between the two families and the two barrios (Steve Rose, pers. comm., 2009). Salvador is also the eldest brother of the Ortiz family of potters and musicians: Chevo, Nicolás, Macario, Santos, and Osbaldo. These are the same young men who knew Alfredo Casas and Manuel Olivas through their music, and most likely heard stories of pottery making since they were little kids, first through Manuel Olivas and then through Chava.

Scott Ryerson describes Chava, Santos, and Osbaldo Ortiz as competent but average potters, whereas the younger brothers, Macario, Chevo, and Nicolás Ortiz, are three of the best potters living in Mata Ortiz today. Ryerson describes Chava (the first Ortiz brother to take up pottery) as producing pottery lacking in "quality of workmanship [but with] a unique charm that appeals to a certain portion of the market"



Figure 11. Salvador Ortiz. (Courtesy of Paty Ortiz)

(Ryerson 1994: 111). Chava came from a different Ortiz family than Félix and Emeterio, but married their half-sister, Eduvijes Rodríguez, creating a relationship by marriage (see Ryerson 1994: 104, 110, tables 1 and 3, for details of these relationships).

Salvador moved back and forth between Barrio Porvenir and Los Cristianos with regularity. José Quezada, Juan's father, had a small ranch in the Los Cristianos area, and given that Salvador and Juan became *compadres*, I can only assume he was an important link between the various locations, families, and individuals who were experimenting in clay during the very early years.

Félix Ortiz (1942–2006)

Within the circle of early potters, Félix Ortiz (figure 12) has always been considered the best potter of sculptural forms (effigies). Once Spencer



Figure: 12. Félix Ortiz, his wife, Otila, elder daughter Raquel, and younger daughter Maricela “Chela,” circa 1978–79. (Courtesy of the Ortiz family)

MacCallum discovered Barrio Porvenir, two years after he began working with Juan, he was moved by the quality of Félix’s work. “I was impressed with what I saw,” he wrote. “Félix’s work had a style and vigor all its own. The fact that he didn’t follow the rule of symmetry didn’t seem important to me” (MacCallum 1994b: 82).

Félix Ortiz told Jan Bell that in the very early years, his first pots were all black because he “gave them no protection from the firing.” MacCallum may have been referring to this when he wrote that “Juan said he and Félix Ortiz had occasionally made this [black] monkey figure for years” (MacCallum and Johnson 2001: 93). This also might allow us to speculate on what they may have been experimenting with before they mastered paints.

Félix learned his designs from books, but before he began making new pottery, “there were many buyers for the old pots. One was Don Venni [Benny] Hernández” (Ryerson, field notes, Aug. 22, 1991). Many early potters were trying to make effigies, which were more sale-

able than other forms. Félix's coyote, bird, coatimundi, monkey, and bear effigy pots were simply the best. Rojelio may have been correct that Juan couldn't get his effigies right during the early years, but Félix was a master of them. It's not surprising that some of the best effigy potters working today live within a block of where Félix Ortiz lived and worked, as he trained many of the younger second-generation potters, like Gerardo "Tena" Sandoval, Nicolás Ortiz, and members of the Villalba family.

When people in Porvenir are asked who influenced their introduction into pottery making, Félix and Emeterio Ortiz are most often mentioned as mentors. Their loyalties and sense of gratitude align with the Ortiz family, not the Quezada family. In his 1994 article in *The Kiva*, Scott Ryerson includes a quotation from his interview with Félix that probably sets the tenor for the feelings most of the people in Barrio Porvenir have for Félix and Emeterio: "A lot of people learned to make pottery in that little room," he told Ryerson, pointing at a work shed between his house and that of his brother Emeterio. The kids and adults from Porvenir flowed through that workshop on a regular basis, probably beginning in the early 1970s.

Spencer MacCallum found Félix in Porvenir several years after he first arrived in Mata Ortiz, when his relationship with Juan became strained. It was in the summer of 1979 that the "contract" period between Spencer and Juan came to an end. MacCallum wrote,

My stipendiary arrangement with Juan—which lasted for the first three years, or until his work had come into such demand that it was impossible to maintain an exclusive contract with him—was so successful in its primary purpose of enabling him to advance his art, that I extended the same arrangement to several others in the village, namely Juan's youngest sister, Lydia, Nicolás, and Félix Ortiz. (MacCallum and Johnson 2001: 90)²⁵

Spencer also began looking south to Barrio Porvenir during this time because he had discovered that Juan was selling pottery to other traders and, according to Spencer's ex-wife, Anne Copeland, that revelation broke his heart and certainly affected his trust of Juan and Guille. The knowledge that Juan's pottery was becoming more and more difficult to obtain at the low prices he was accustomed to paying also most certainly encouraged Spencer to reach out to other potters (interview with Anne Copeland, Apr. 9, 2011).²⁶

Ryerson (1994: 100) notes that Spencer MacCallum didn't cross the Arroyo Sección, which separates Barrio Porvenir from the rest of Mata Ortiz, to "discover" the dozens of potters living there until two years after he arrived in 1976, when he began working with Félix Ortiz. As I later discovered, there were some good reasons for this. When I first arrived in the village in 1978, I never had more than a couple hundred dollars to spend, and all of that money was spent in a short period of time. I usually stayed overnight in one of the Quezadas' homes on my way to Tarahumara country, another eight hours south, which was the main focus of my business at the time. I appreciated the Quezadas' hospitality, but they seldom mentioned other people outside of Barrio Central who were making pottery. Since my time and money for that leg of my buying trip were limited, I never looked south across the arroyo in the seven years that I visited the village. This seems strange to me today, but I was not alone in this. Several people in Porvenir told me that when Spencer would come to the village he would go into Juan's house and never come out until he left. I expect this was an exaggeration, but it certainly was their perception.

Lodging opportunities improved in August 1991 when, with the financial help of Walter Parks, Mike Williams built a four-room hotel with two separate bathrooms, called Posada de las Ollas (MacCallum 1994a: 17; Williams, pers. comm., 1999). Prior to the opening of this hotel, travelers to Mata Ortiz camped, stayed with a local family, or drove an hour and a half over a rough dirt road back to Nuevo Casas Grandes to stay in a hotel. After the Posada de las Ollas opened, Mata Ortiz became a primary destination for Anglo-American traders and hardy tourists who wanted to stay a night or two in the village. As more and more American buyers began staying overnight in the village in the early 1990s, they were able to wander farther afield and discover more potters.

Although some of the early traders were unaware of what was happening in Barrio Porvenir, Francisco Franklin wasn't one of them. When Francisco arrived in the village in 1979, the only two potters he bought from were Félix and Emeterio Ortiz. He said he discovered the village when he bought a cheap pot in a Deming junk shop, on his way to El Paso. Inside the pot was a piece of paper reading "Mata Ortiz, Chihuahua." I then asked Francisco how he ended up in Barrio Porvenir once he found the village. He gave me a puzzled look and asked, "What was Barrio Porvenir?" He said the village was so small "that it couldn't have possibly been divided up into barrios" (Franklin, interview with the author, Mar.

31, 2008). He knew of Juan and his siblings, but they were “famous” by the time he arrived, and their pottery was too expensive for him, so he did all of his buying from either Félix or Emeterio. He told me one of their quart-sized pots cost about \$8.00 to \$10.00 then; when I look at my notes for the same time frame (1978–1980), a pot by Nicolás or Reynaldo Quezada was \$15 to \$18. Lydia’s pieces were \$35 to \$45, and Juan’s started at \$130. Until recently, Quezada pottery has always been expensive relative to the other potters’ work. This is the result of Juan’s superior talent, but more importantly of Spencer’s early marketing of the Quezada name. What is most startling about these numbers, however, is that a year after Spencer first arrived in the village, he was paying Juan \$10.00 to \$15.00 for his pottery. Three years later, Juan was selling his pottery to itinerant traders for \$150 to \$200, while the best potters in Porvenir were getting only \$8 to \$10 for their work.

During the mid-1970s and into the early 1980s, Mexico’s economy suffered a dramatic downward plunge. In the early 1970s, the U.S. dollar was worth 12.5 pesos. In November 1980, the conversion rate was one U.S. dollar to 22.5 pesos (MacCallum Archives, Museum of Man, November 11, 1980). By 1985 the U.S. dollar was worth almost 3,000 pesos (Williams 1991: xi). This inflationary cycle had a devastating effect on Mexico’s middle class and caused a massive flight of money out of the country. It also forced Mexicans to spend their pesos as fast as they earned them; if they waited three days, durable goods might cost significantly more. It was in the midst of this massive inflation, when the peso was losing value almost on a monthly basis, that Spencer MacCallum unintentionally set in motion an economic boom for the potters of Mata Ortiz. In November 1977, he began paying for Mata Ortiz pottery in U.S. dollars, offering Juan and Lydia Quezada stipends of \$500 and \$300 a month, respectively.²⁷ Other potters in the village quickly learned that selling pottery for U.S. currency provided an enormous hedge against the falling peso. It was during this time, then, that all Mata Ortiz potters began to place a high priority on Anglo-American buyers, and to insist that they be paid in dollars (Scott Ryerson, pers. comm., 2009).

Prior to 1983, however, most of the pottery sold in Barrio Porvenir, including that made by Félix and Emeterio, was purchased by Mexican buyers using pesos. Members of Emeterio’s family fondly remember the few Americans, like Francisco Franklin, who were buying in Barrio Porvenir, and even today speak of them in respectful terms. Although it was more difficult for the Porvenir potters to become established during

the early years, two important events helped them through the challenging economic times from the early 1970s into the 1980s. The first was expanding markets in El Paso. Three companies there—Mayatex, Americraft, and Chico Arts—began buying and selling Mata Ortiz pottery as low-end decorator art. Then in 1984, the arrival of a new El Paso company had a profound and lasting effect on the fledgling industry of Mata Ortiz as a whole, and the potters of Porvenir in particular. Dusty Henson opened his first downtown store, El Paso Saddleblanket Co., and began “buying tens of thousands of the commercial, economical grade Mata Ortiz pottery for the decorator market.” This lower-end pottery was mostly made by Manuel Olivas in Nuevo Casas Grandes or the potters in Barrio Porvenir. Henson told me that the Muñoz brothers of Nuevo Casas Grandes provided him with most of the pottery, and although the brothers paid in pesos, they did provide the potters with a steady flow of income during the early 1980s (Dusty Henson, pers. comm., 2011; Henson and Henson 2001).

Second, in the late 1970s through mid-1980s, more American and Mexican buyers began showing up and paying in U.S. currency in response to Spencer MacCallum’s promotional efforts in the United States between 1977 and 1979: Jim Hills and Joe Garcia (circa 1978); Francisco Franklin, Scott Mayo and John Davis (circa 1979); Bobby Rodriguez (circa 1980); and Tito Carrillo (circa 1982) arrived in the village. Another key American buyer during this period was artist Debbie Flannigan (circa 1983), who worked with Nicolás, Macario, and Chevo Ortiz from Barrio Porvenir. Her efforts had a direct impact on the quality and price of their pottery (Ryerson 1994: 112). Shortly after her arrival, other traders began buying pottery: Walter Parks and Oscar Argüelles (circa 1983); Richard Humphries (circa 1984); Hermann Knechtle (circa 1985); John Murray and Jerry Boyd (1985); and Rick Cahill and Steve Rose (circa 1986). Boyd quickly became the most influential trader in the village due to his buying power, and he is still the most important commercial buyer today, supporting hundreds of potters (see appendix of traders and key buyers for a more complete list).

Goebel, a Mata Ortiz trader since 1996, told me of an emotional interview he had with Félix Ortiz’s oldest daughter, Chela, regarding her father’s difficulties getting started. She broke down crying when talking about how Spencer MacCallum devoted his attention exclusively to Juan during the early years to the exclusion of her father and the other potters from Porvenir. Members of other Porvenir families have expressed



Figure 13. John Davis, Deming, New Mexico, 1998. (Courtesy of Jeremiah Davis)

the same sentiment that potters of Barrio Porvenir were neglected and didn't have the same opportunity as the Quezadas who lived in Barrio Central. This is probably one of the reasons why the potters of Porvenir today remember John Davis (figure 13) as more important in their lives than Spencer MacCallum. Davis was the first American to take the time and effort to help the lesser-known potters. It is difficult to establish a precise date for his arrival, but after interviewing his son Jeremiah, an ex-girlfriend, several of his associates, and people in Mata Ortiz, I deduce it was likely between 1976 and 1979. When I first arrived I recall people talking about "El gringo de los dulces" [the gringo with the sweets]; later I found out this was John Davis, who was always giving away candy and polishing stones. I never met John, but people I have interviewed

describe him as a “wonderfully irreverent contrarian . . . generous, kind, encouraging and joyful.” He “exuded a kind of magic” with his warm smile, long white hair, silver beard, and twinkling blue eyes; it is little wonder that people often called him Saint Nicholas (email from Beth Thomas, July 27, 2011).

In the opinion of Pilo Mora, a Barrio Porvenir potter at the time, John was the most important American to come to Mata Ortiz in the early years. John wasn’t a trader per se, but he always helped the people and cared about all the struggling artists. Pilo said that John always brought someone along with him on each trip, and those companions would buy from the potters as well. John was famous for the tumbled stones he would bring to the village in a coffee can. He told Jan Bell he would go to the Quartzite, Arizona, mineral show every year and buy the tumbled stones, which he would then take down to Mata Ortiz, allowing each potter to pick two polishing stones and, of course, giving candy to the kids.

In an interview with Jan Bell in 1995, John said he believed that his taking down the tumbled stones when he did “allowed for the big explosion in the number of potters.” I asked Jan, an anthropologist and potter, if this comment made sense. She told me that Consolación Quezada once told her that polishing stones were in such short supply that people would have to schedule the use of a stone to polish their pots in shifts (Bell, field notes, Dec. 10, 1995: 3; Bell, pers. comm., 2011). Jan further noted that polishing stones are very personal items, often highly valued and guarded with great care. Because one polishes with the side of the stone as well as the flatter surfaces, perfectly shaped stones are hard to come by. Jeremiah Davis, John’s son, told me that “John was going around telling people what a good job they were doing, bringing candy and polishing stones, and always buying small pots to encourage each individual potter, and would often pay the potter more money than he or she asked, just to . . . help the art movement forward [and] . . . Dad would pay the artists to try new approaches, even if they failed” (email, Sept. 22, 2010). It is interesting to note that even today people ask me for polishing stones and are willing to pay up to 500 pesos (about \$40) for the “perfect” stone.

Juan Quezada (1940–)

The story of how Spencer MacCallum “discovered” the village of Mata Ortiz has been recounted many times. The discovery is usually framed



Figure 14. Juan Quezada painting a pot, 1982. (Photo by Jim Hills)

by Spencer's 1976 finding of three intriguing pots at Bob's Swap Shop in Deming, New Mexico. His personal odyssey to find the maker of those three unsigned pots led him to Mata Ortiz and, ultimately, to Juan Quezada (figure 14; MacCallum 1979:23). Spencer wrote soon after that encounter that "it all began" with his discovery of those pots, as if nothing had occurred prior to 1976 (MacCallum 1979: 28). Although that may be when it all began for Spencer MacCallum, "beginnings" are mental constructs that divide history in ways that must be examined and reexamined.

Recently another variation of that story of origins surfaced, referred to as the "six-pot story" or "the miracle that almost didn't happen." According to this narrative, a woman came into Bob's Swap Shop, noticed six pots on the shelf, and wanted to buy all six. But at the last minute she decided to buy only three little pots, leaving three medium-sized ones behind. She returned the next day to buy the three remaining pots, only to discover that someone—Spencer MacCallum, of course—had purchased them that very day (Bridgemon et al. 2010: 3–4). When this story was first told to a group of knowledgeable American aficionados of Mata Ortiz in October 2010, the punch line brought a gasp from the crowd. The implication of the story is obvious: if Spencer hadn't found

those three pots, and subsequently Juan Quezada, the “miracle” in Mata Ortiz” would never have occurred.

Spencer MacCallum’s influence in Juan’s life at this time was significant, but to move from this single “discovery” to the assumption that the entire pottery industry came about from this chance encounter, and that Spencer is singlehandedly responsible for the success of the village, is naïve at best, self-serving at worse. It is also patently false. First, Juan was already successful when Spencer arrived. Local traders were giving Juan orders for both Mimbres- and Casas Grandes-style pottery. In an interview translated by Pamela Potter in 1994, Juan Quezada explained that while he was still working on the railroad, he was making pottery and selling it to a man from Casas Grandes, and “he was already selling to three or four people that would fight for the pieces.”²⁸ By the mid-to late 1960s, Ryerson (field notes, 1991, p. 8) reports Juan was good enough that a half-dozen buyers in Nuevo Casas Grandes were buying his pottery. In addition, the Mexican government had already arrived in the village in the early 1970s and set up the Sociedad Cooperativa de Alfareros de Juan Mata Ortiz, Chihuahua (Cooperative Society of Potters of Juan Mata Ortiz), with Juan as president. This was an effort of the Mexican Institute of Foreign Trade (Instituto Mexicano de Comercio Exterior) designed to help the fledgling industry target markets.²⁹ Last but not least, when Spencer first arrived in the village in 1976, Juan was finishing an order of 250 pots for a buyer by the name of James H. Maxon of Americraft in El Paso, who may have been part of the Institute of Foreign Trade marketing effort (MacCallum 1994a: 19). I think it is fair to say that Juan Quezada had already been “discovered” by the time Spencer arrived.

White Clay and the Mimbres Connection: Early 1970s

It appears that before Spencer arrived in 1976, both Juan and Nicolás Quezada were making Mimbres replicas.³⁰ Scott Ryerson says that Juan was always fascinated with the black-on-white painted Mimbres bowls that were found at archaeological sites in the immediate vicinity of Mata Ortiz. Juan and Nicolás knew about local Mimbres sites and pottery, but few American archaeologists at the time were willing to concede that the Mimbres pots occurred that far south of the Mimbres Valley in New Mexico. Juan showed Ryerson where a Mimbres pot was found when a hole for a utility pole was being dug on the north end of town near the

train trestle in the early 1970s. As Juan told him, “When they dug the hole for that pole they found a Mimbres pot; it had a deer on it.”³¹

According to Ryerson Spencer MacCallum told Arnold Withers of the Amerind Foundation that in 1975 Juan had a contract with a Mexican buyer in Nuevo Casas Grandes to produce thirty fake Mimbres pots per week. The bulk of these had characteristic Mimbres geometric designs.³² On occasion Juan would place a small life form—a deer, insect, or fish—in the center of a white circle (Ryerson, field notes, 1991, p. 17). Around 1979 MacCallum showed one of these bowls from a private collection in Columbus, New Mexico, to Juan, and Juan identified it as made by Nicolás Quezada. It was during this time Di Peso commented that the late 1970s was when fake pottery of this variety peaked on the market (Di Peso letter of Feb. 10, 1979, in Wind River Logs).

This could explain why Juan, for years, was determined to find the perfect white clay. He knew that if he could find the white clay that the local Mimbres bowls had been made from, and could prevent the black paint he was using from turning brown after a hot firing, his Mimbres fakes would become instantly more valuable.³³ Alan Hawkins told me in August 2011 that the buyer for Juan’s Mimbres pots was Jesús Chávez in Nuevo Casas Grandes, that Chávez gave Juan photos of Mimbres pots to copy, and that “he had a lot of luck selling” the pottery. Juan told me that he had a “falling out” with a friend in Nuevo Casas Grandes who used to buy his pottery because he was selling Juan’s pottery as prehistoric. I suspect the falling out came less from this deception than from Juan feeling that the man wasn’t paying him enough for his work, particularly when he saw “that man” driving a new pickup truck and buying cattle, as Juan told me in 1980.

Juan’s Mimbres Pots

The Museum of Man in San Diego has three of Juan’s fake Mimbres bowls, purchased from a junk shop in Safford, Arizona, for \$30 each in 1973 by Charles Gilbert. “It always troubled me that someone trying to copy Mimbres pottery would use poor clay and paint twice as much design as needed,” he noted.³⁴ When Gilbert showed these pots to J. J. Brody at the 1995 Pecos Conference on the Mimbres River in New Mexico, Brody told him that they “were out of Mexico in the early 1970s and the potter wasn’t too familiar with the Mimbres tradition [and] had perhaps examined a few pictures.” Brody further commented that a man

from the Geronimo Museum, in Truth or Consequences, New Mexico, showed him a box of these pots in 1973 or 1974.

When Gilbert was in Mata Ortiz taking a pottery class sponsored by Mike Williams, owner of the Posada de las Ollas, in 1985, he showed photos of these pots to Andrés Villalba, who suggested he speak with Juan. Because the insides of the bowls were decorated with Mimbres designs and the outside painted in Casas Grandes designs, Andrés suspected they were probably early pieces of Juan's. Before he left Mata Ortiz, Gilbert showed the photos to Juan Quezada for identification, and Juan recognized his work. Years later when Juan was in New Mexico, he signed the back of each bowl in ink and told Gilbert he knew the bowls were his because, he "was having trouble with *cal* [lime] causing 'pop-out,'" and further, that he didn't use a *molde* [mold].³⁵

Mimbres bowls often feature a "kill hole" punched in the center of the bowl with a pointed object after the bowl was placed over the face of the interred (Cosgrove and Cosgrove 1932: 28; Shafer 2003: 213).³⁶ Gilbert suspects that the kill holes in his three bowls were carefully placed to keep the design whole, because the animal in the center of each bowl had conveniently been missed, unlike in authentic Mimbres bowls, where the hole often obliterates or damages the central design element (figure 15). Juan knew about kill holes from a number of Mimbres bowls he had handled over the years. According to Ryerson, "Juan said that he had personally seen 30–40 pieces of Mimbres . . . pots . . . and all of them had holes in the center, i.e., "killed," and they were . . . either over the face or to the side of the head." This indicates that Juan had firsthand experience of how the Mimbres buried their dead (Ryerson, field notes, 1991, p. 2).

Spencer MacCallum believed that Juan's connection with Mimbres came around 1974 or 1975, when a trader in Nuevo Casas Grandes commissioned a large number of Mimbres-style bowls (MacCallum 1994a: 7). I believe it actually occurred a few years earlier, in 1971 or 1972. I recently purchased one of Juan's early Mimbres design bowls (figure 16). After Juan identified it as one of his early pieces, made around 1973, and signed the bottom, he said that the bowl was never sold. Instead, it went into a local collection, as the grasshopper design on the bottom wasn't a popular animal motif at that time.³⁷

In the early 1970s Juan had buyers for his Mimbres bowls but had yet to discover the perfect white clay or the perfect black paint necessary to create a reasonable facsimile. Jorge Quintana told me that he and other



Figure 15. Juan Quezada, replica Mimbres bowl, 1973; note the attempt at a white slip on the beige clay. (Museum of Man, new acquisition not catalogued at the time)

young kids in the area were always on the lookout for white clay, as Juan was obsessed with finding it. We know from MacCallum (1994b: 73) that Juan perfected his paints in 1971, which is to say that he was finally satisfied with how his black paint looked after it had been fired.³⁸ But he was still looking for the elusive white clay in 1979 when I was buying pottery from the Quezada family. All the time I knew Juan and Nicolás,



Figure 16.
Juan Quezada,
replica Mimbres
bowl, 1974; note
improved white
slip on beige clay.
(Hills collection)

from 1978 into 1984, they were constantly experimenting with different colored clays in their attempt to get white clay. But nothing worked to their satisfaction. Juan and Nicolás continued to search for white clay long after the Mimbres phase of pottery making was over, and it wasn't until much later, sometime in 1989 or 1990, that the perfect white clay was finally discovered.

Nicolás Quezada (figure 17), one of Juan's brothers, made many technical discoveries that have often been credited to Juan. In response to my question about what was his most important discovery over the years, Nicolás said it was when he discovered the source for white clay on a site that is now located on Juan's ranch, Rancho Barro Blanco (White Clay Ranch) (Hills, field notes, Oct. 2010). Nicolás claims that in 1990 he was walking along an animal trail on the land to the east of the Río Palanganas, looking for a lost cow. "I looked off to the right and saw where an animal, like a squirrel or rabbit, had dug into a bank and exposed a small pile of white clay." He dug out a bit, ground it up, experimented, and found it would fire bright white. When Juan saw it he got very excited, and Nicolás then took Juan to the site. Nicolás laughed as he told me that within six months, everyone in town knew where it was, and today there is a huge hole in the ground where there once was a little rabbit hole. I asked him if it bothered him that Juan got the credit for this and other discoveries that he had made and he said, "No, after all it was all in the family." By the time this source of pure white clay was

discovered, circa 1990, it was no longer important for making Mimbres replicas, for by then the village had moved from making fakes into the burgeoning experimentation phase of making new pottery for the art market, a phase that began shortly after Spencer left town for good, in the spring of 1982 (Ryerson field notes, 1991, p. 4).

Juan Quezada, the Artist

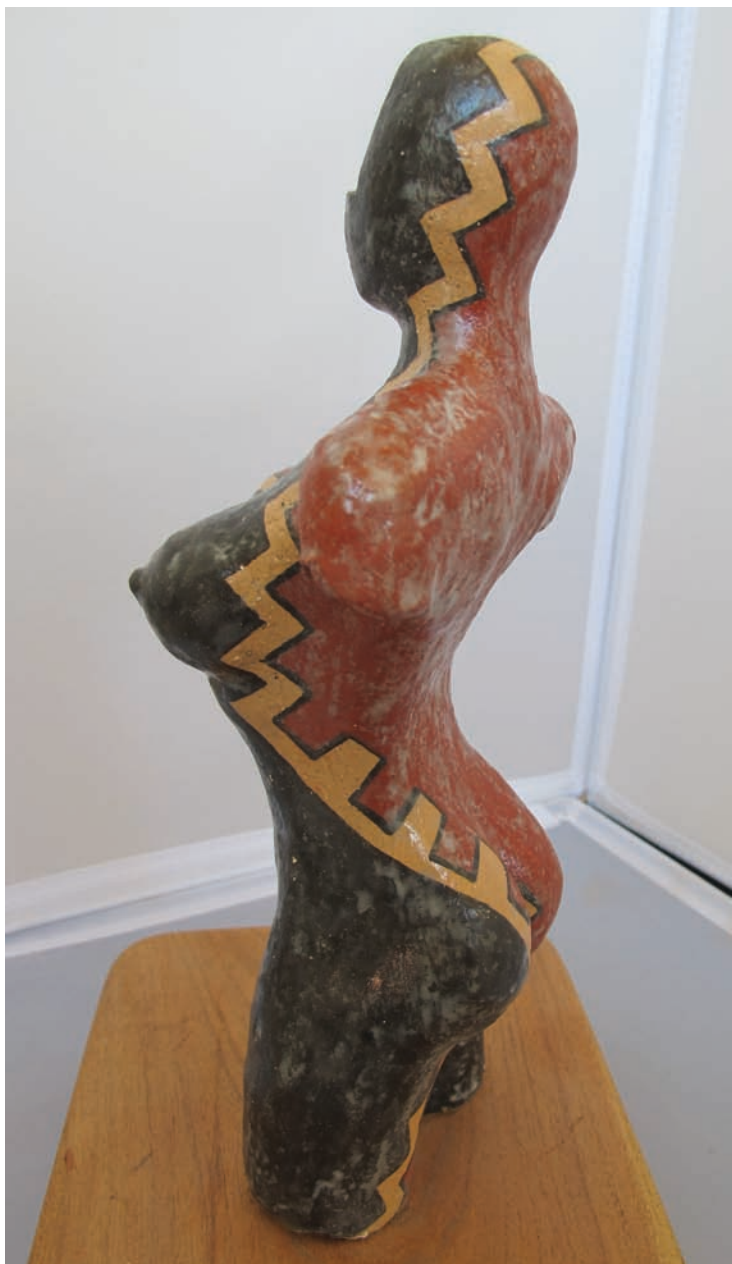
While Juan Quezada and I worked together during the early 1980s we walked the countryside, having long discussions about pottery and the techniques he used. The Juan Quezada I know today isn't the same person I met and built a relationship with thirty years ago; it appears success has changed him.

I was probably the second person to have a “contract” with Juan—based on a handshake—lasting from December 1980 through January 1982. After we mutually terminated our contract, Santa Fe artist Amado Peña began buying from Juan, promoting his work, and helping him develop different design motifs (Dusty Henson, pers. comm., 2011). The Juan of the early years always considered money secondary to art and quality. If someone showed an interest in something he made, he often simply gave it as a gift, rather than sell it. As an example, in the early 1960s, Juan used to carve animal and human forms out of wood, and in a 1994 interview, Juan said he enjoyed carving the female form the best (figure 18). In 1993, he made a sculpture of a woman in clay. A woman wanted to buy it: “it was perfect . . . I want you to sell it to me,” she apparently told Juan. “I will not sell it to you, he replied, I will give it to you.”³⁹

One of the more important trips Juan took with Spencer MacCallum was one to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, toward the end of their relationship, in 1982. “For Juan, the highlight of our visit to the Met was not when we saw their incredible masterpieces of pre-



*Figure 17. Nicolás Quezada, 1980
(Nicolás died in August 2011). (Photo
by Jim Hills)*



*Figure 18. A ceramic example of Juan's female forms, made in 1994.
(Grant Taggart collection)*

Columbian art but later, when on our way out of the Museum we took a turn through the hall of Greek marble sculptures. He would have stayed the rest of the day, had there been time” (MacCallum 1982: 4). When Marta Turok interviewed Juan at his house in 1998, he reiterated his interest in sculptural forms: “I sculpted and painted and liked to make furniture as well—anything I could do with my hands . . . when I was thirteen [around 1953] I worked with wood, always the hardest kind to work. I used to sit by the window and my dad would yell at my mom, ‘Where’s Juan?’ She would always answer, ‘He must be somewhere making his figurines’” (Turok 1999: 87–88).

Juan was on the road to success long before Spencer met him. He was the consummate experimenter. When he was young he tried making hard-textured candy that could be packaged and sold in quantity. He also attempted to make a substitute for *chicharrones* (pork rinds or cracklings) out of flour and various spices.⁴⁰ When he was a little boy, he experimented with making paints so that he could paint. When he didn’t have paper he would draw on his mother’s walls, then wash them down with kerosene and begin again (MacCallum 1979: 46; Price 1994: 135). MacCallum relates that Juan tried firing pottery with a grass fuel that he had invented by mixing “chopped hay, mixed with water containing just enough clay to make it sticky and then pressed-molded into blocks and dried in the sun.” It apparently burned better than cow chips (MacCallum 1982: 3). Walter Parks recounts a story that when Juan was working on the railroad, he would get out of backbreaking work by preparing his boss a favorite meal of *nopalitos*. “Often when his co-workers were laboring on the tracks, Juan was off in the hills gathering cactus for the boss” (Parks 1993: 11).

When I first met Juan in May 1978 (along with Spencer MacCallum and his wife, Anne Copeland), Juan immediately began sharing with me some of the problems he was having with Spencer, which struck me as odd since we had just met. I asked Juan if it was better to work with a contract or without one and he said, “A person can make more money without a contract [but] with Spencer he got more publicity and potential” (Hills journals, book VII, 1978–1979). Juan always told me meeting Spencer when he did was a stroke of great luck, as it gave him a steady income. But Juan has also said to me, and others, that he would have been successful even if Spencer had never come to Mata Ortiz. Juan has even insinuated that Spencer may have gained more over the years from being associated with the Quezada name than the other way around.

What Spencer MacCallum brought to Juan, though, was what Malcolm Gladwell in his book *Outliers* refers to as a “superior experience” (2008: 25), which gave Juan a huge advantage over all the other potters in the area at the time. As Juan’s mentor and promoter, Spencer MacCallum gave Juan coaching, positive reinforcement, economic security, and greater exposure to new techniques. But most important, Spencer showed Juan what sold best in the North American ceramic market by his buying patterns and his excitement toward specific vessel shapes and design motifs. It was as if Juan were plunged into a gifted program; couple that advantage with Juan’s innate passion, hard work, artistic talent, and the fact that he didn’t drink, which allowed him to stay focused, and new doors of opportunity opened for him. Gladwell sums it up thus: “extraordinary achievement is less about talent than it is about opportunity” (2008: 76)—and luck. The important point is that no one else in the village received the same kind of help at this critical stage. This facet of the story was eventually lost in the MacCallum Narrative and Parks’ sequel to it, which I believe has led to many of the undertones of hostility toward the Quezada family seen in the village today.

PART THREE: THE RECEIVED STORY

Anthropology is a profession in which adventure plays no part The truths that we travel so far to seek are of value only when we have scraped them clean of all this fungus.

—Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes tropiques*

The first time Americans read about Juan Quezada was in an article by Spencer MacCallum (figure 19) in the Winter 1977 issue of *American Indian Art Magazine*. In it we see the work of an inveterate storyteller weaving facts and what I call half-truths into a picturesque marketing story; it is the tale of a hero’s journey:

The story begins with a gifted individual, Juan Quezada, whom I first encountered early in 1976. . . . It is quite probable that Juan Quezada is a descendant of those same ceramicists who for eighteen generations after about A.D. 1060 produced that florescence in north Mexican polychrome pottery, which is popularly called Casas Grandes. Juan . . . as a boy . . . had little opportunity to

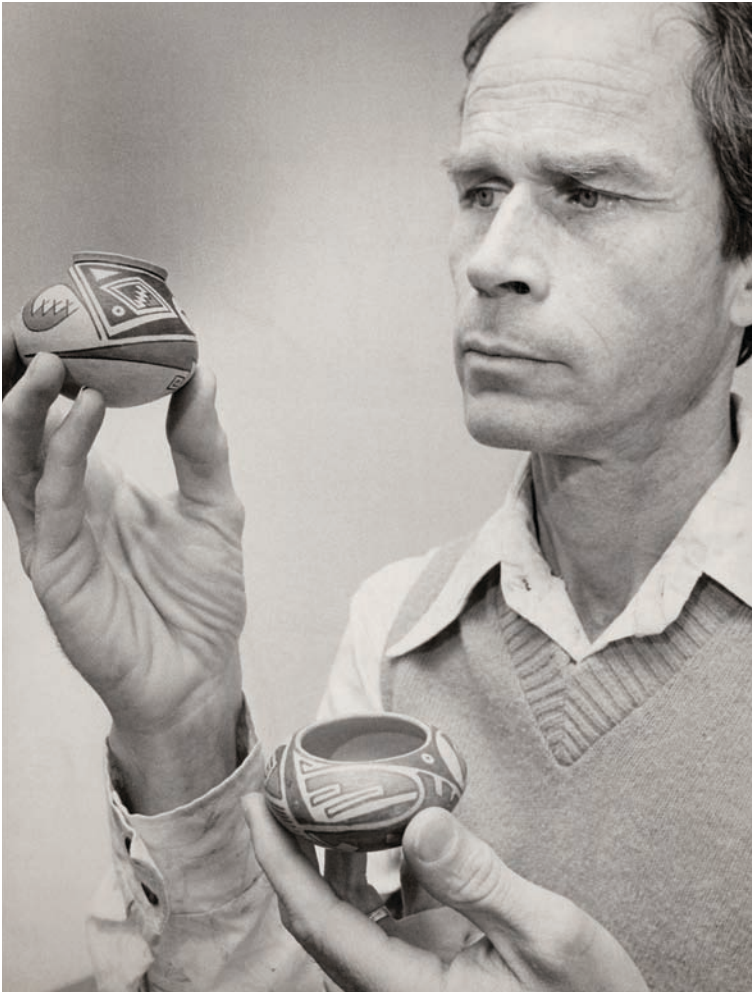


Figure 19. Spencer H. MacCallum, circa 1977. (Courtesy of Anne Copeland)

cultivate his artistic talents. Instead, like other men in his village, he cultivated the family gardens and a few head of livestock and worked as a railroad laborer. . . . Juan began about 1971 to look . . . at the prehistoric pots and pottery sherds that occasionally turned up from the ground near his home. . . . With a searching, experimental mind, he learned how to choose and prepare his clays

and to form the vessels . . . then one day he attempted to create pottery of his own. His interest grew to meet the technical challenge, and gradually he succeeded in inventing his own ceramic technology. There was none in northern Chihuahua for him to copy. (MacCallum 1977: 35)

A year later, in 1978, MacCallum told a different story in the *Masterkey*, a publication of the Southwest Museum. For the first time Mata Ortiz is mentioned. The pottery is now referred to as “neo-Casas Grandes,” although Juan Quezada is not presented as a descendent of ancient people from the Casas Grandes culture. Spencer writes that Juan was a “young woodcutter with an artistic eye who had taken note of the ceramic art in pottery sherds since childhood.” We also are told that as a twelve-year-old boy, Juan Quezada contributed to his family’s income by transporting wood on the back of his burro, to sell in town.⁴¹ While in the hills, he studied potsherds, and through deductive reasoning realized that if ancient potters could make pots, he could too. According to Spencer, “In all the years of developing his art it had never occurred to him that there might one day be a market for it” (MacCallum 1978: 46). We further learn that Juan was a teacher whose influence inspired others to make pottery, not only in the village of Mata Ortiz, but also in Nuevo Casas Grandes, where Manuel Olivas began experimenting with “similar-appearing pottery” (47). And finally, Spencer writes with some flourish that in a short two-year period after he met Juan Quezada, in 1976, Juan’s work had advanced “more than any other artist, in any medium or comparable time period” (51).

In the 1979 catalog for Juan Quezada and the New Tradition, a traveling show sponsored by the Visual Arts Center in Fullerton, California, we find that Spencer’s grand adventure has turned into what he calls “An Odyssey Complete and Continuing”:

Juan Quezada’s achievement is remarkable in many ways. His rediscovery of ceramic technology entirely by experiment, without ever having had a lesson or having seen a potter work, stands high as an intellectual accomplishment. It ranks with such feats as that of Sequoyah, the unlettered Cherokee who, early in the 19th century, invented Cherokee script. (MacCallum 1979: 24)

The unbridled romanticism of such early writings became the basis of what is now largely taken for granted as historical fact. Moreover, it is a story that is being taught in Mexican schools. From these three

articles, written over a period of three years more than thirty years ago, an extremely biased and romanticized story of Juan Quezada took hold and grew. In 1993 Walter Parks, working closely with Spencer MacCallum, published his book, *The Miracle of Mata Ortiz*. Together they reinforced the mythic tale of the lone woodcutter roaming the hills of northern Chihuahua. The book further cemented MacCallum's story in the public imagination. Despite its simplicity and errors in fact and detail, the image of Juan Quezada as a lone hero and the story of Mata Ortiz framed as a miracle narrative still compose the prevalent, popular story being told to, and perpetuated by, the American buying public. The story is recounted again and again, as we can see from this description found on an Internet trading site in March 2011:

The hero in this story starts out as a young twelve-year-old boy, who with the family burro roamed the hills surrounding a struggling village in the northern Mexican state of Chihuahua. Mata Ortiz had at one time been a lumber town, but the mill closed in about 1910. Work was very scarce and . . . these jobs paid but a few dollars a day to those lucky enough to get them. Like all of the little boys in this dwindling village, Juan Quezada was poor . . . Juan went out each day in search of sticks and deadfall that could be bundled and sold as firewood. . . . In his daily searches Juan Quezada sometimes stumbled upon pottery shreds, and, rarely, whole pots from pre-Columbian peoples that had once inhabited the nearby Paquimé ruins. . . . Ingeniously curious, Juan thought a lot about these remnants. . . . Where did they get the clay? What about the colors painted on these works of ancient art? How did the surfaces become so smooth? . . . One by one . . . Juan Quezada answered for himself each of these questions . . . then, through years of experimentation . . . he pieced together the puzzle of ancient technology used by the creators of these pre-Columbian vessels. He is the man behind the renaissance of this ancient pottery art, and the man, who by sharing his knowledge with family and fellow villagers, turned a dying village called Mata Ortiz, into a comparatively thriving and influential economic center. (<http://hubpages.com/profile/CasaDeMataOrtiz>, accessed Mar. 2011)

I am not the first to note the romantic nature of these early stories. In a talk to a University of Arizona anthropology class in 1991, Scott Ryerson asserted that Spencer “paints a picture of Juan as a boy out in

the hills cutting firewood, with only his burro for company, picking up potsherds and thus being sufficiently inspired to invent or re-invent pottery. This almost mythic depiction, one with Disneyesque or Rockwellian overtones, becomes streaked when viewed through the dust and sweat of Chihuahua.”

The many dimensions of the formative story of pottery making in Mata Ortiz as told by Spencer MacCallum were a fabrication to promote sales, to create a sense of quality and romance around these undeniably beautiful material objects. The story created an aura of adventure around Spencer and the “village” of Mata Ortiz, and, of course, around Juan Quezada himself, who becomes the hero of MacCallum’s mythic quest.⁴² MacCallum openly denies being a trader (MacCallum 1994a: 18), yet in a letter he wrote in May 1976, “Yes, I’m having a grand time with my potter in the mountains of Chihuahua. . . . It’s a great adventure now, and hopefully it will become some good business in its own good time.”⁴³ It is difficult to know for certain where the evolution of the craft stood before MacCallum began promoting the solo work of Juan Quezada in 1976, but it did appear that a number of potters already had their own buyers who were determining what kind of pottery should be produced for their specific markets (Bell 1994: 38). It also seems that about the same time Spencer entered the village and took Juan under his wing, some of the longtime friendships Juan had enjoyed became strained as Félix and the others saw Juan getting all the attention and nothing coming their way. I remember a discussion with Félix shortly after I met him, around 1983. He told me that he and Juan used to be the best of friends, but since Juan became “famous,” their friendship had suffered. He said they almost got into a fistfight in the street over who should get credit for something, and I got the impression that Félix was deeply hurt by what was happening, and so was Manuel Olivas, as his wife and others have told me.

The arrival of Spencer MacCallum in 1976 was quite significant. His promotional efforts spread the word through out the American Southwest about this new “Indian looking” pottery from northern Chihuahua. This stimulated interest from other Anglo American traders and retailers, but more importantly it provided a tremendous advantage for Juan and his immediate family, to the exclusion of others. Today there are hostilities between families in Mata Ortiz that I suspect began with Spencer’s arrival and limited patronage, which led to inequality (Rick Cahill and Julián Hernández, pers. comms.). A similar pattern developed

at the early Santa Fe Indian Fairs in the 1920s, specifically in the case of Maria Martinez of San Ildefonso. When the art fairs showered Maria with opportunities and prizes, it soon became apparent that “selective patronage, inevitably selective and arbitrary, encouraged rivalry, political and economic inequality, and divisiveness among the pueblos” (Mullin 1995: 179). The damage that patronage does to a community has long been studied and generates many explanations of how social turmoil can become institutionalized through naïve or manipulative traders and patrons, including those with good intentions. Mata Ortiz is no exception to that cycle.⁴⁴

For Juan, working with Spencer wasn’t always easy, and the public version of his story was sometimes quite different than the private reality. During Juan’s first experience traveling to the United States for the opening of the Arizona State Museum winter show in 1977–78 (MacCallum 1994a: 9), he became sick and was taken to the hospital. As Juan explained in a 1994 interview, on opening night he told Guille, “I can’t work, I feel terrible, never felt like this in my life. A strength I had never felt before, bad, strong, shaking, Spencer I can’t work.” “People started to arrive, cameras, tables, there were 80 Americans [I] was very nervous.” Juan was taken to the hospital and given an injection “and [I] was flat. Slept in the hospital . . . felt different . . . not shaking but tranquil.” The next day they came back to the museum, and Juan felt better and worked for three days. Eventually, Juan received treatment and got better, but the damage had been done. In Juan’s own words, it took him more than four years to recover from this experience, and at times he was so traumatized he would have a relapse when he heard English spoken on TV years later, because it reminded him of that terrible experience. In his attempt to control this dreadful feeling—“like [I] had killed someone”—Juan would go on long walks in the mountains, drink natural teas, and seek magical cures with stones held over him. Yet he still had trouble sleeping and he couldn’t work and felt like he was going to drown, and whenever he heard English, it reminded him of that feeling.⁴⁵

As a comparison let us now read what Spencer wrote about the same event:

The Tucson show . . . was so beautifully done that it seemed to be magical . . . [and Juan and Guille] displayed such poise and dignity at the reception as one might look for in a Parisian artist who had long been accustomed to this kind of attention. . . . At the reception,

there were press photographers, University officials, the Mexican Consul, and a crowd of admirers and well-wishers. At one point, one of the University staff . . . sensed that Juan and Guille were tiring a bit. She drew them out through the crowd of people and led them to a mezzanine where [a] harpist . . . provided music . . . for 30 minutes with a private concert. The reception was . . . a grand success. . . . I don't know what this adventure would become . . . [but] we were doing things right. (MacCallum 1979: 45)⁴⁶

CONCLUSION

Spencer MacCallum has always told the Mata Ortiz story from the perspective of his individual odyssey, which he summed up as follows: "I have chosen to write . . . in the vein that is most meaningful to me—as a personal adventure" (1979: 28). The problem with what I call "adventure history" is that MacCallum continually customized his story over the years in an attempt to promote a single narrative, which required omitting, modifying, or diluting facts. The MacCallum Narrative is about Spencer MacCallum first, Juan Quezada second, and everything else he considered pertinent to his story line, third. And yet this story, told through Anglo-American eyes, has often constituted the sum total of what outsiders know and believe about the pottery phenomenon of Mata Ortiz.

Recording history is always a difficult task, as Lowenthal illustrates: "It is impossible to recover or recount more than a tiny fraction of what has taken place, and no historical account ever corresponds precisely with any actual past." The limiting factors of what can be known are the "immensity of the past itself, the distinction between past events and accounts of those events, and the inevitability of bias" (Lowenthal 1985: 214). The historical bias of the MacCallum Narrative has left a mixed legacy.

The most common theme I have heard in my interviews when I ask about the MacCallum Narrative is what the locals call the *mentiras* (lies) that we foreigners have created. What I believe angers the villagers most is they do not feel comfortable speaking about their families' history with and involvement in the pottery industry for fear of upsetting the people who created the myth, for the potters know these are the same people who write the books, buy the pottery, and promote the village.

I am under the impression that many talented potters today feel they cannot tell the world what really happened in Mata Ortiz for fear of negative repercussions from the very Americans who have always been their biggest supporters. I believe the MacCallum Narrative has damaged familial self-image throughout the village and bred resentment toward those involved in the myth.

Every story is worthy of being heard and respected. The second- and third-generation potters of Mata Ortiz no longer want to live in the shadows of the MacCallum Narrative, and simple justice dictates that their voices and stories be heard, even if they don't correspond to our romantic vision of the "Miracle of Mata Ortiz." If we respect the people of Mata Ortiz, the least we can do is to get out of their way. ✦

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In writing this article I have benefited from the words, voices, and advice of friends and critics. Many thanks to Richard Ryan, Scott Ryerson, Carlotta Boettcher, Dr. Richard O'Connor, Jorge Quintana, Ken Hatt, Jerry Boyd, Karen Jones, David Di Peso, Ana Livingston Paddock, Jeremiah Davis, Anne Copland, Jan Bell, Dusty Henson, Paul Mirocha, Mark Bahti, Walter Parks, Dave Yetman, Steve Rose, Phil Stover, Jorth Richardson, Alan Hawkins, Rick Cahill, Julian Hernández, Jim Bremmer, Jack and Peggy Calderella, Grant Taggart, Armando Muñoz, and Debra Hills. The Amerind Foundation was most helpful and allowed me hours of their time researching Di Peso's personal notes and letters; sincere thanks go out to Erick Kaldahl and John Ware. Thanks to Jannelle Weakly at the Arizona State Museum, and especially Mike Jacobs, who helped me understand the specifics of the Ledwidge collection. An additional special thanks goes to the curators and librarians at the Museum of Man in San Diego: Grace Johnson, Wayne Saunders, Joyce Antorietto, and Karen Lacy who, like all museum staff today, are understaffed but press on out of sheer dedication to their work. I want to offer a special thanks to Jeff Banister for his continued support and encouragement at *Journal of the Southwest*, and special kudos to editor Joe Wilder, who first listened to this tale and offered a clear vision through the fog of criticism.

NOTES

1. A *fayunqueiro* is a traveling salesman who buys, sells, and trades in anything, including contraband.

2. *Nassa* are intertidal mud- and sand-dwelling snails. Millions of their shells were imported prehistorically from the Gulf of California and the Gulf of Mexico. This was the most common shell found at Paquimé.

3. David Di Peso told me that the Mexican government set these wage rates.

4. *Pinto* is a term locals use to describe colorful prehistoric pottery. *Moctezuma* describes both a prehistoric site and the individual items found in that site.

5. Article 17 of the federal law also targeted new pots that were made to look old: "The reproduction of archaeological, historic or artistic monuments for commercial purposes shall require the permission of the competent institute" (*Official Gazette*, May 6, 1972).

6. Turok 1999: 88; transcript of November 25, 1994, interview with Juan Quezada, translated by Pamela Potter, MacCallum Archives, Museum of Man, San Diego, California, p. 5.

7. Interestingly, as early as 1904 Edgar Lee Hewett of the Museum of New Mexico had Julian and Maria Martinez replicating prehistoric pottery styles for the St. Louis World's Fair and the 1914 Panama-California Exposition in San Diego, California.

8. I recall the high value and demand for prehistoric Mimbres pottery between 1972 and 1980, when I was trading. Friends of mine were buying and selling Mimbres pottery for thousands of dollars apiece.

9. No one in Mata Ortiz had a vehicle in the 1960s. People would travel by train, on a local bus, on horseback, or on occasion, by hitching a ride into town with someone who was traveling through.

10. Throughout the text, I use the term *school* loosely to denote that there were probably four different groups of people using differing technical methods of production during the early years of experimentation.

11. Personal communications from Jorge Quintana, Alan Hawkins, María Olivas, and Julián Hernández, 2010–11.

12. Both Spencer MacCallum and Walter Parks write that Manuel learned pottery making from his grandfather. Parks has corrected this in his latest version of the *Miracle of Mata Ortiz*, Rio Nuevo press, 2011.

13. Julián Hernández told me in May 2011 that Manuel's father-in-law was making fake pottery in 1954 and 1955.

14. Establishing dates is an ongoing problem in piecing together the Mata Ortiz story, but as I argue below, Juan Quezada made at least two discoveries regarding black paint, the second of which occurred in 1971. I believe Juan knew Manuel Olivas before this second discovery in 1971.

15. The evidence shows Juan was probably making pottery earlier.

16. In 1959 Juan would have been nineteen years old and Manuel eighteen.

17. *Tesguino* is a local beer made from fermented corn sprouts.

18. Richard Ryan, pers. comm., 2009; Scott Ryerson notes, Dec. 14, 1987; Hills interview notes, 2010.

19. Félix Ortiz and Rojelio Silveira are second cousins, whereas Félix Ortiz and Salvador Ortiz are related by marriage only (Ryerson 1994: 107).

20. Chela is Félix Ortiz's eldest daughter, who was born in November 1969. They moved from Mata Ortiz to Los Cristianos shortly after she was born.

21. It would be important to note the exact date that Rojelio returned to Mata Ortiz and taught this new sanding process, as Reynaldo Quezada has always been given credit for this discovery around 1978 (MacCallum 1994a: 78).

22. Several people told me that Juan serendipitously discovered manganese pellets in a prehistoric pot "...that turned up from the ground near his home..." (MacCallum 1977:35) and realized that manganese could be used as a paint additive when he saw how it had stained the inside of the bowl.

23. I have verified this with a second source, who thought the percentage was even higher (Hills, field notes, October 2010).

24. One of the major problems with oral history is the confusion of time periods with specific events. I suspect Rojelio is confusing the first years of paint discovery during the early 1960s with the mid-1970s, when Spencer arrived and began helping Juan.

25. MacCallum admits he lost his exclusive rights to Juan's work due to competition. Because of Spencer's promotion of Juan's pottery between 1976 and 1978, many traders began showing up in Mata Ortiz offering Juan more money than Spencer was willing to pay, even though Spencer and Juan had an exclusionary contract. The irony is that once Spencer dropped Juan, many traders began buying Juan's pottery. They did make money, although not at the same markups Spencer was accustomed to getting.

26. In the MacCallum Archives at the Museum of Man in San Diego, CA, I found an IOU between Spencer and Juan Quezada dated July 1977, indicating that Spencer was paying Juan \$15 for his large jars, \$12 for medium ones, and \$10 for small ones.

27. Copies of these contracts in the possession of Dr. Richard O'Connor, San Diego, California.

28. Transcript of November 25, 1994, interview with Juan Quezada, translated by Pamela Potter, MacCallum Archives, Museum of Man, San Diego, California, p. 2.

29. MacCallum Archive, Museum of Man, 1977 and 1979 folders. The Mexican Institute of Foreign Trade was established to help local, regional, and national markets become more competitive for their goods and services.

30. Scott Ryerson, talk given to the Anthropology Department, University of Arizona, July 31, 1991; Charles Gilbert, short paper (2008, p. 1) accompanying three fake Mimbres bowls recently donated to the San Diego Museum of Man.

31. Ryerson, field notes, Sept. 1, 1991, pp. 2, 16; Ryerson, talk to Anthropology Department. Charles Di Peso did not believe Mimbres sites occurred this far south, but after Juan had Spencer show Di Peso an example of this pottery (in the early 1980s?) he confirmed it was Mimbres (Gilbert 1995: 56).

32. This contract would have been worth an amazing amount of money for the time. Let's assume Juan was being paid \$8.00 per pot for thirty pots per week. That is a little less than \$1,000 per month, which was almost double the \$500 stipend Spencer was paying Juan a few years later. Experts who have seen Juan's early Mimbres bowls recognize that they aren't authentic due to the odd combination of Mimbres and Casas Grandes motifs.

33. As Juan and others began mixing white clays with the original beige clays, they found the black paint they had been using turned brown when fired (a bad event for a Mimbres bowl), since the white clays had to be fired at a higher temperature (Nicolas Quezada, pers. comm., 1980; Jorge Quintana pers. comm. 2011).

34. Gilbert, paper accompanying three fake Mimbres bowls, pp. 1–2; correspondence between Jan Bell and Charles Gilbert, in Bell's possession.

35. Gilbert, paper accompanying three fake Mimbres bowls.

36. No one knows the exact meaning of these "kill holes," but since the bowls often cover the faces of the dead, it is assumed they are ritualistic in nature.

37. Quezada, pers. comm., 2011. Also note the obvious white slip on this beige-colored clay. White clay had not yet been discovered.

38. The year 1971 has become known as the official date Juan made his first pot, even though Spencer never said that prior to 2010. An October 2010 documentary film by Scott Peterson suggests that 1971 is when Juan began making pottery. Richard O'Connor says Juan told him the year was 1971, the year when his first son, Noe, was born (email, July 5, 2011), yet all of the evidence suggests a *much* earlier beginning date. I believe the 1971 date is merely when Juan perfected his polychrome paints, as first explained by MacCallum (1994b: 73).

39. Transcript of November 25, 1994, interview with Juan Quezada, translated by Pamela Potter, p. 8.

40. Personal communications from two anonymous informants in Mata Ortiz, 2011.

41. There is no mention of the fact that Juan's brothers and sisters all took turns cutting and selling wood to help the family in this manner (Turok 1999: 88).

42. Spencer's ex-wife, Anne Copeland, told me that with Spencer "everything was about the adventure."

43. MacCallum letter addressed to Tekki regarding an easement (Teckla H. Cox, May 31, 1976, MacCallum Archive, Museum of Man).

44. It is important to note the difference between patronage and what Spencer was doing. Spencer often tried to make it look like he was acting as a patron, but in fact he was a trader trying to protect his personal interests. Spencer always expected all of Juan's pottery in return for the \$500 a month he was paying, which was reasonable for the time and money he was spending promoting Juan's work to increase his sales.

45. Transcript of November 25, 1994, interview with Juan Quezada, translated by Pamela Potter, p. 11.

46. Juan interacted with Spencer from 1976 through 1979, which Spencer calls “the Golden Years.” Within three years Juan had outgrown Spencer’s help and was ready to move on (MacCallum and Johnson 2001: 90).

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

Unpublished Sources

- Brenner, Sylvia, and Rondal R. Bridgemon. “San Joaquin Canyon and 1916 Punitive Expedition.” Unpublished manuscript in possession of the author, 2010.
- Brody, J. J. Panel discussion in conjunction with the “Crossing Boundaries” exhibit. Museum of Fine Arts, Santa Fe, NM, June 25, 2000.
- Calderella, Jack and Peggy, interview with the author in El Paso, TX, March 27, 2011.
- Copeland, Anne. Interview with the author in Lomita, CA, April 9, 2011.
- Curtis, Sallie W. “Revolution of a Tradition: The Ceramics of Juan Quezada.” Paper submitted for Anthropology 121, December 4, 1979. On file in the Museum of Man Archives, San Diego, CA.
- Davis, Jeremiah. Interviews and email correspondence with the author, 2010.
- Di Peso, Charles C. “Daily Record.” File of Di Peso’s personal notes, August 29, 1958, through summer 1961. On file at the Amerind Foundation, Dragoon, AZ.
- . “Wind River Logs.” Letters on file at the Amerind Foundation, Dragoon, AZ.
- Freeman, Andrea K. L. “In the Beginning: The Genesis of a Pottery Making Tradition.” Master’s thesis, University of Arizona, Tucson, April 1990. Copy on file at the Museum of Man Archives, San Diego, CA.
- Hills, Jim. “A Time Line of Events: Forgotten Tributaries of the Palanganas and the Untold Stories of Mata Ortiz.” Unpublished document in the author’s possession, 2009–2011.
- . Notes of various interviews conducted in October 2010.

- Hughes, Kiara M. "The Women Potters of Mata Ortiz: Growing Empowerment through Artistic Work." PhD diss., Dept. of Anthropology, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, August 2009.
- Jacobs, Mike. "Chihuahua Archaeological Collections at the Arizona State Museum." Documentation of the Ledwidge Collection, March 24, 2011. Arizona State Museum, Tucson.
- MacCallum, Spencer H. MacCallum Archives at the Museum of Man, San Diego, CA. Notes cover the period 1975–1997 and include exhibit photos, clippings, contracts, and letters.
- McClure, Donna. "Notes from Trips to Mata Ortiz, Chihuahua, Mexico, November 1981, May 1982, and November 1982." Permanent accession files ASM 82-28. Arizona State Museum, Tucson.
- Quintana, Jorge. Interview with the author, Mata Ortiz, Chih., October 2010.
- Rose, Steve. Email to the author, August 6, 2009.
- Ryerson, Scott H. Field notes taken between 1987 and 1993. Copy in author's possession. .
- Stover, Phil. "The Eye of God: Tranquility and Tradition . . . Mata Ortiz Pottery in Harmony with the Ancients." Unpublished manuscript, 2006.

Published Sources

- Bell, Jan. 1994. "Making Pottery at Mata Ortiz." *Kiva* 60 (1): 33–70.
- Bowen, Thomas, and R. James Hills. 2010. "The Meeting: An Essay on Memory." *New Mexico Historical Review* 85 (1): 61–77.
- Bridgemon, Rondal R., Susan L. Bridgemon, Janis B. Diers, Russell D. Diers, Kathryn L. Iverson, and John R. Gentile. 2010. *The Magnetism of Mata Ortiz: Places, People, & Pottery, Including the Mexican Revolution in the Region*. Tucson: R & S Enterprises.
- Cahill, Rick. 1991. *The Story of Casas Grandes Pottery*. Tucson, AZ: Boojum Books.
- Cosgrove, H. S., and C. B. Cosgrove. 1932. *The Swarts Ruin: A Typical Mimbres Site in Southwestern New Mexico*. Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 15, No. 1. Cambridge, MA: Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

- Di Peso, Charles C. 1974. *Casas Grandes: A Fallen Trading Center of the Gran Chichimeca*. Vol. 2. Dragoon, AZ: Amerind Foundation; Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Press.
- . 1979. "Roots of the New Tradition: Prehistory of the Casas Grandes Valley." In *Juan Quezada and the New Tradition*, the catalog for the traveling exhibition. Fullerton: Visual Arts Center, California State University.
- Efrat, Asif. 2009. "Protecting against Plunder: The United States and the International Efforts against Looting of Antiquities." *Cornell Law Faculty Working Papers* No. 47. http://scholarship.law.cornell.edu/clscops_papers/47 (accessed May 15, 2012).
- Gilbert, Bill. 1994. "The Potters of Mata Ortiz: Transforming a Tradition." Exhibition at the University Art Museum, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque .
- . 1995. "Juan Quezada: Mexican Potter." *Studio Potter* 24 (1): 51–59.
- . 1999. *The Potters of Mata Ortiz: Five Barrios, Seven Families*. Exhibition catalog. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Art Museum; Kansas City, MO: Exhibits USA.
- Gladwell, Malcolm. 2008. *Outlier: The Story of Success*. New York: Little, Brown & Co.
- Goebel, Ron. 2008. *Mata Ortiz Pottery: Art and Life*. Intro. Michael Wisner. Cayucos, CA: Ron Goebel.
- Graburn, H. H. Nelson, ed. 1977. Introduction to *Ethnic and Tourist Arts: Cultural Expressions from the Fourth World*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hardy, Lt. R.W.H. [1829] 1977. *Travels in the Interior of Mexico: 1825, 1826, 1827, 1828*. Reprint, Glorieta, NM: Rio Grande Press.
- Henson, Dusty, and Bonnie Henson. 2001. *Rugs to Riches: The Amazing Story of the El Paso Saddleblanket Company*. El Paso, TX: Trego-Hill Publications.
- Hernández Chávez, Julián Alejandro. 2008. *La nueva cerámica de Paquimé*. Nuevo Casas Grandes, Chih.: Publicaciones Casas Grandes.
- Hernández, Macarena. 2005. "Interview with Spencer MacCallum: The Man Who Discovered the Pots." Frontline/World, a production of WGBH Boston, May 2005. <http://www.pbs.org/frontlineworld/stories/mexico403/anthropologist.html>.

- Hills, Jim, and Jorge Quintana Rodríguez. 1999. "The Potters." In *The Many Faces of Mata Ortiz* (81–185). Tucson, AZ: Rio Nuevo.
- Johnson, Annie R. 1972. *Heartbeats of Colonia Diaz*. Salt Lake City, UT: Publishers Press.
- Johnson, Steven. 2010. *Where Good Ideas Come From: The Natural History of Innovation*. New York: Riverhead Books.
- Jones, Karen. 1998. *Turquoise Tours Newsletter* No. 12 (September).
- Kelley, Jane H., David A. Phillips Jr., A. C. MacWilliams, and Rafael Cruz Antillón. 2011. "Land Use, Looting, and Archaeology in Chihuahua, Mexico: A Speculative History." *Journal of the Southwest* 53 (2): 177–224.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude. 1967. *Tristes tropiques*. New York: Atheneum.
- Linde, Charlotte. 2001. "The Acquisition of a Speaker by Story: How History Becomes Memory and Identity." *Ethos* 28 (4): 608–632. [American Anthropological Association]
- Lowenthal, David. 1985. *The Past Is a Foreign Country*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- MacCallum, Spencer H. 1977. "A Ceramic Arts Revival in Northern Mexico." *American Indian Art Magazine* 1 (Winter): 35–39.
- . 1978. "Ceramic Revival in the Casas Grandes Valley." *Masterkey* 52 (2) [Southwest Museum, Highland Park, CA].
- . 1979. "An Odyssey Complete and Continuing." In *Juan Quezada and the New Tradition*, the catalog for the traveling exhibition (24–80). Fullerton: Visual Arts Center, California State University.
- . 1980. Newsletter 4. November 11. Heather Foundation, Tonopah, NV.
- . 1981. Newsletter 5. June 1. Heather Foundation, Tonopah, NV.
- . 1982. Newsletter 7. July 1. Heather Foundation, Tonopah, NV.
- . 1994a. "Chronology and Perspective on the Mata Ortiz Phenomenon." *Kiva* 60 (1): 5–23.
- . 1994b. "Pioneering an Art Movement in Northern Mexico: The Potters of Mata Ortiz." *Kiva* 60 (1): 71–91.
- MacCallum, Spencer H., and Grace Johnson. 2001. "The Research Pottery Collection of Spencer H. MacCallum." In *From Paquimé*

- to *Mata Ortiz: The Legacy of Ancient Casas Grandes* (89–130). San Diego Museum Papers 40. San Diego, CA: Museum of Man.
- Marcus, George E., and Fred R. Myers, eds. 1995. *Traffic in Culture: Refiguring Art and Anthropology*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Mullin, Molly H. 1995. "The Patronage of Difference: Making Indian Art 'Art, Not Ethnology.'" In *Traffic in Culture: Refiguring Art and Anthropology*, ed. George E. Marcus and Fred R. Myers (166–200). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Museum of New Mexico. 1922. *El Palacio* 12 (3–4; March 1).
- Norick, Frank A. 1993. *Too Good to Be True*. A handlist to the exhibition, October 6, 1992–March 28, 1993. Berkeley: Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California.
- Parks, Walter P. 1993. *The Miracle of Mata Ortiz: Juan Quezada and the Potters of Northern Chihuahua*. Riverside, CA: Coulter Press.
- Phillips, David. 2012. "Archaeology and Prehistory of Northwest Mexico: A 'Rough Essay.'" <http://www.unm.edu/~dap/nwm/chronology.html> (accessed May 15, 2012).
- Price, William F. 1994. "Through a Mother's Eyes: A Conversation with Doña Paulita." *Kiva* 60 (1): 131–48. [Arizona Archaeological and Historical Society]
- Ryerson, Scott H. 1994. "The Potters of Porvenir: The Lesser Known Artisans of Mata Ortiz." *Kiva* 60 (1): 93–118. [Arizona Archaeological and Historical Society]
- Sernett, Milton C. 2007. *Harriet Tubman: Myth, Memory, and History*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Shafer, Harry J. 2003. *Mimbres Archaeology at the NAN Ranch Ruin*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Turok, Marta. 1999. "Un alma de alfarero." *Artes de México* 45: 46–51.
- Welz, Gisela. 2003. "The Cultural Swirl: Anthropological Perspectives on Innovation." *Global Networks* 3 (3): 255–70.
- Wisner, Michael. 2008. Introduction to *Mata Ortiz Pottery: Art and Life*, by Ron Goebel. Cayucos, CA: Ron Goebel.

APPENDIX

These names represent buyers of Mata Ortiz pottery, whether traders or collectors, arranged by time of their approximate arrival to Mata Ortiz. This is an evolving list that will change over time.

1960-1970

Alfred Haider
Alan Hawkins
Antonio Varrios
Francisco Corona
Moises T. Garcia
Jesus Chaves
Benigno Hernández
Scott Bluth
Barbara Stein
Leo Gouch
“El Feyuco” (?)
Tom Bahti
John King
Jack Inmon

1971-1975

Chapo Varella
Teofilo Muñoz
Rayo Aguilera Sr.
Luis Aldama
George Burlingham
James H. Maxon
Bill Miles
Cleo Morgan
Dr. Jim Spier
Tito Krohn
Jim Conklin
Gary May
Harold Naylor
Glenn Quick
Frank Turley

1976-1980

Alejandro Heras
Manuel Hernández
Spencer MacCallum
Joe Garcia
John Davis
Conrad Angone
Jim Hills
Scott Mayo
Francisco Franklin
Ray Rhodes
“The Vacuum Cleaner”
Harden Doyee
Jack Calderella

1981-1985

Bobby Rodriguez
Tito Carrillo
Tom Fresh
Richard Humpheries
“Mayatex”
Dusty Henson
Oscar Argüellas
Antonio Nava
Debbie Flannigan
Conrad Pussman
Amado Pena
Jack Delany
Walter Parks
Cynthia Whiting
Jerry Boyd
John Murray
Hermann Knechtle
John Gillmore
Cathy Giesy
Karen Jones

1986-1990

Rick Cahill
Steve Rose
Christina Swift
Rayo Aguilera Jr.
Timothy Kearns
Scott Ryerson
Char/Randy Burger
Jock Favour
Adalberto P. Meillon
“Solo Lo Mejor”
Michael Wisner
Jerry Ryan
Mike Williams
Jim/Dian Bruemmer
Les Johnson
Jorge Muñoz
Al Favour
Susan Nava

1991-1995

Bill King
Bill Gilbert
Oscar Hernández
Richard Ryan
Victor Con (?)
Nick Brown
Chester Olenec
Jorge Quintana*
Mayté Luján
James Bridger (?)
Bob Estes
Barry King
Barbara Goffin
Kiara Hughes
Richard O'Connor
Oz Osmer
John Bezy

Leroy/Esequiel Flores
Juan/Lupe Mora*
Honey Levin
Paul Nussbaum
Bill Callahan
Jay Leff

1996-2000

Mark Bahti
Ron/Sue Bridgemon
Ron/Nancy Goebel
Alain Isabelle
Clive Kincaid
Christine Stull
Joan Warner
Javier Pedroza
Steve Savel
Ken Wilcox
Carl Johnson
Ivan Fox
Carlos/Lorena Palma
Ron Schneider
Penny Hyde
Bill/Sue Hensler
Larry Deming
Luci Mora*
Eidell Wasserman
George Wise
Carl/Till Zimmerman
Susan Hill
Bob Marfil

2001-2005

Bill Callahan
Edward Bottomley
Tony Gonis
Dwight Hoxie
David Armstrong

Dan Talleen
Oscar Trevizo*
Grant Taggart
Jan/Russell Diers
Shelli Gold
Tara/David Gordon
Nena/Macario Ortiz*
Philip Stover
Jamie Arellano
Steven Thompson
Louis Rodriguez
May Herz

***Mata Ortiz Traders**