

**Ceramicists at the Convención del 45 Neighbourhood:
Contemporary Ecuadorian Artisans
and Their Material Culture**

by

Victoria Elena Castillo

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APPROVAL

Name: Victoria Elena Castillo
Degree: M.A.
Title of Thesis: Ceramicists at the Convención del 45
Neighbourhood: Contemporary Ecuadorian
Artisans and Their Material Culture

Examining Committee:

Chair: Dr. A.C. D'Andrea
Associate Professor

Dr. R.W. Jamieson
Senior Supervisor
Assistant Professor

Dr. E.C. Yellowhorn
Supervisor
Assistant Professor

Dr. A.C. Brohman
External Examiner
Associate Professor
Geography Department
Simon Fraser University

Date:

23 July 2003

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**Ceramicists at the Convención del 45
Neighbourhood: Contemporary Ecuadorian Artisans
and Their Material Culture**

Author:

(signature) _____
Victoria Elena Castillo

(name)

(date) July 23rd / 03

Abstract

Ceramicists at the Convención del 45 neighbourhood have dealt with many economic and social changes over the course of the 20th century. At the beginning of the last century ceramicists continued the colonial practice of producing utilitarian vessels which met the needs of local and regional markets. Production was focused within the family and provided a dependable source of income. However, after World War II global changes, including mass production and globalization, had a profound affect on ceramicists as their products had to compete with imported plastic and metal items. As a result ceramicists made innovations in their design styles and found new avenues in which to sell their products.

This thesis uses a holistic approach to interpret the material culture produced by one small artisanal community in Cuenca, Ecuador. Through an examination of documentary research, oral history interviews, archaeological excavation of a kiln, and material culture research from the Convención del 45 neighbourhood I illustrate that ceramicists have, and continue to be, active participants in their society. Rather than emphasize the negative affects of imported goods and mass production on ceramicists, I demonstrate that as agents, they are reflexive participants in their community and have etched a place for themselves and their particular brand of production; their material culture is used to complement their own testimony regarding the socio-economic changes that orbit their neighbourhood and nation.

Dedication

Para Berty, mi mamá y mi amiga.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Commercialised small-scale ceramic production in Cuenca, Ecuador has a long history that extends from the beginning of the colonial period to the present. For most of that time ceramic production was primarily utilitarian, meeting the needs of different social classes. However a shift occurred during the mid 20th century and utilitarian wares began to be produced by both local and international large-scale ceramic factories as well as plastic and metal importers. Faced with the arrival of industrialisation, small-scale ceramicists at the Convención del 45 neighbourhood in Cuenca, who had been producing items such as cooking pots and tablewares for households throughout the city for centuries, began to change their market focus. Specifically, ceramic artisans at the Convención del 45 neighbourhood started to produce new types of pottery in order to capitalize on urban Ecuador's nostalgia and tourist markets. Rather than discuss Cuenca's ceramicists as marginalized members of society, this thesis will examine archaeological and oral historical evidence in order to understand how ceramicists have negotiated their socio-economic position in Cuenca during the last half of the 20th century.

Ceramicists at the Convención del 45, Cuenca, Ecuador

Nestled in the Andes, Cuenca is the third largest city in Ecuador, containing 300,000 people of Indigenous, mestizo, and Spanish descent (Figure 1.1). The city was founded in 1557 and maintains elements of its colonial heritage. Convención del 45 is a small neighbourhood in the old city, located in the northwest section of Cuenca. The

neighbourhood is predominantly a residential one with small artisanal studios scattered throughout. The ceramicists who work at the Convención del 45 neighbourhood consider themselves mestizo and as such do not affiliate themselves with a particular cultural group within Ecuador. At the time that this study took place there were approximately 11 ceramicists who continued to work inside of the neighbourhood. During the colonial period this area housed dozens of ceramic studios.

Research for this thesis was conducted during the summer months of 2001 and 2002 under the guidance of Dr. Ross Jamieson as part of his larger Cuenca Historical Archaeology Project. Prior to this thesis, the material culture of 20th century ceramicists had never been studied in any great detail. In order to facilitate such a project I decided to report on the archaeological material dating to a 1940s kiln in the Convención del 45 neighbourhood, and conduct a more in depth study involving oral history interviews. I felt this approach would provide insight about 20th century ceramic production in Cuenca.



Figure 1.1. Map of Ecuador. (after CIA 1991)

The summer of 2001 was spent excavating a ceramic kiln inside of the Posadas House, located in the Convención del 45 neighbourhood. The 2002 summer field season was spent obtaining documentary sources and conducting oral history interviews. During the interviews I found that many ceramicists had retired and others were weary of speaking with outsiders about their small-scale businesses. I also realized that those who spoke to me concentrated on topics they wished to discuss. This propelled me to move away from a traditional ethnoarchaeological study, instead allowing the ceramicists to voice what was important to them in regards to their own production.

Thesis Objectives

The main research objective of this thesis is to investigate changes in ceramic production at the Convención del 45 neighbourhood in Cuenca, Ecuador during the last 60 years. Particular emphasis is given to ceramicists' choices regarding stylistic preferences in the face of external changes. The principal objective of this research is therefore to understand the role Cuenca ceramicists, as agents of change, have played in ceramic production during the last 60 years. My research will investigate the extent to which ceramicists are sensitive to the changing nature of Ecuadorian society.

Meeting the objective of determining stylistic changes occurring in Cuencan ceramics during the mid-20th century requires examining the changes that had occurred in ceramic production during this time. Finally, and most importantly, understanding the views held by Convención del 45 ceramicists regarding their participation in the local economy is mandatory.

Chapter Progression

Chapter 2 begins by discussing the role that ceramic producers, as providers of industrial building materials, held in Cuenca society at the beginning of the colonial period. The chapter goes on to discuss the development of utilitarian ceramic earthenware production in the city and the social status of these ceramicists. The chapter then outlines 20th century small-scale production and reviews the documented effects of industrialisation and an encroaching global economy on ceramicists and their families.

Chapter 3 begins with a theoretical and methodological overview of ceramic ethnoarchaeology. This chapter critically reviews traditional uses of ethnoarchaeology and comments on its importance as a tool for understanding contemporary people and their social and economic positions. This is pertinent for Convención del 45 ceramicists who, in the past, have been the subjects of research, yet at the same time their social position in today's society has been ignored (Vanegas T. 1985). The chapter then reviews the utility of conducting oral history interviews as a means of obtaining individual accounts of historical changes. When oral histories can be conducted I believe they are critical for allowing people to share their own voices. Another aspect of oral history is the ability to demonstrate ceramicists' agency by enabling them to voice their own personal choices, both economic and social, in the context of a late 20th century Andean city. There are few historical publications which discuss Convención del 45 ceramicists; therefore oral history interviews provide another forum for ceramicists' to share their histories.

Oral histories are a key component of this thesis. Chapter 4 presents the ceramicists' perspectives on changes in production during the last half of the 20th century. This approach presents the participants' responses as a cohort, enabling me to demonstrate similarities and differences in their responses using their own voices. Ceramicists discuss changes in their ceramic production, styles, and their market as well as their views on government and non-governmental support. They also discuss some of the difficulties they face in creating a common voice.

Chapter 5 will examine the archaeological artefacts excavated from the Posadas kiln during the 2001 summer field season. The importance of this kiln is two-fold. First, this kiln is of particular interest as it reflects the production of one ceramicist at the Convención del 45 neighbourhood during the 1940s; it is a sealed deposit and therefore captures a particular moment in time. Second, I was able to ascertain the types of vessels being produced during this time, and create a detailed analysis of one utilitarian earthenware vessel type, an analysis which also includes characteristic design motifs.

Chapter 6 provides a synthesis of my data gathered from the historical documents, the oral history interviews and the archaeological material. The objective is to demonstrate the participatory role that one artisanal group has had in an urban setting. This approach allowed me to identify the need for ceramicists to unite in order to facilitate positive changes to their trade. My recommendations include expanding the membership in their union or creating an artisanal guild in order to obtain strength in numbers. As well, the need to innovate in order to cater to the tourist and nostalgia

markets is emphasized. To assume that ceramicists must continue producing the same objects made in the past only marginalizes them and ignores the fluidity of their tradition.

Chapter 2: The History of Ceramic Production in Cuenca

Introduction

Ceramicists have played an important, yet largely undocumented role in Cuenca society. During the colonial period, and into the present, Cuenca's small-scale ceramicists have participated in the city's growth, providing distinctively Cuencan utilitarian and decorative ceramics to homes throughout the city. The objective of this chapter is to describe the changes that are evident among the products of Cuenca ceramicists. By describing ceramicists' historical position in society a better understanding of their choices regarding ceramic production can be obtained. Such choices do not occur in a vacuum; rather they reflect the changes occurring in a society at any given time.

Prehispanic ceramic production in Cuenca will be discussed first in this chapter. This will be followed by a description of the Spanish ceramic influence in Ecuador. Colonial period ceramic production and the social position of ceramicists will follow. The final section focuses on 20th century ceramicists and will emphasize the urban setting in which they live and work. This socio-economic approach will yield clues regarding the choices ceramicists have made, as they are reflected in their material culture.

Prehispanic Colonial Ceramics in the Andes

An Indigenous ceramic industry produced ceramics for both utilitarian and ceremonial purposes for millennia prior to the Spanish arrival in the Andes. The demand for its products likely caused the Inka to bring in ceramicists from other regions and put

them to work making ceramics using local clay deposits (Gallegos 1965: 277). Inka ceramics are found throughout the sierra, including the pre-Columbian city of Tomebamba in what is now Cuenca (Idrovo 1990). Pots being manufactured before the colonial period included cooking pots, large grain and liquid receptacles, tortilla skillets used for toasting grains and tortillas, serving plates and ceremonial objects (Sjömann 1992: 24). These objects were either unglazed earthenwares or slipped earthenwares, as glazing and wheel throwing techniques were introduced from Spain.

Importation of Majolica and Lead-Glazed Ceramics Into the Spanish Colonies

Two primary glazing techniques appear with the Spanish presence in the Andes: lead glazing and majolica glazing. Lead glazed ceramics were “produced both in Spain and at New World sites throughout the history of the Spanish colonies” (Jamieson 2000: 185). The process of glazing involved a preliminary bisque firing after which the pots were “dipped into a solution formed of a compound of pulverized quartz sand, a bit of clay, and crushed lead oxide” (Lister and Lister 1987: 54-55). The result was a vitrified, glossy, transparent, and colourless surface on which ground mineral oxides such as copper, iron, or manganese were added to achieve green, amber, or brown tones (Lister and Lister 1987: 54-55).

Majolica ceramic production was introduced to Europe in the 13th century from the Islamic world. These tin-glazed ceramics were produced by adding tin oxide to clear lead glazes, creating an opaque white glaze. Mineral solutions could then be painted onto the tin glaze before being fired, creating polychrome glazed majolicas (Lister and Lister

1987). Majolica was the dominant ceramic tableware in Renaissance Spain and was used to represent Spanish social status in the New World (Jamieson 2001: 46). Majolica became “an essential symbol of Spanish ethnicity and status in the New World, it was a physical symbol of where an individual came from and all that that meant” (Jamieson 2001: 46). The Spanish began importing lead-glazed and majolica ceramics into the Americas as soon as they established colonies (Lister and Lister 1987). The exact date that Spanish ceramics appeared in the Audencia of Quito, today Ecuador, is unclear; however, lead-glazed and majolica ceramics were possibly aboard passenger and cargo ships that arrived regularly during the first half of the 16th century. Majolica was imported directly from Iberia, specifically Seville, in Andalusia (Lister and Lister 1987) .

Colonial Brick and Roof Tile Production

The city of Cuenca was founded April 18th 1557. Sources indicate that the Spanish city founders wished to create a city that was architecturally similar to those found in Spain. A fundamental component of Spanish architecture was the use of ceramic building materials, specifically roof tiles and bricks. This type of construction required that these ceramic building materials be produced near the city. However, producing roof tiles and bricks was a physically demanding and a dirty job detested by the Spaniards who preferred not to engage in it. Therefore, they decided to teach the Indigenous people living in and around Cuenca the techniques necessary to produce these building materials (Arteaga 2000).

During the early 16th century Spaniards and *mestizos* (people born of mixed Indigenous and Spanish ancestry) dedicated themselves to commerce and ranching, while Indigenous artisans continued producing ceramic bricks and roof tiles (Arteaga 2000). An archival source referring to a land sale in 1603 refers to a plot of land “above the *tejar* (tile producing neighbourhood) of the Indians of this city” (Archivo Nacional de Historia/Cuenca, 3rd Notary, Book 492, folio 517, 17.II.1603, quoted in Kennedy Troya 1990: 40). This quote likely refers to the same brick producing neighbourhood found today in the far northwestern section of Cuenca. Indigenous people quickly became the primary producers of ceramic materials and began accumulating profits from the sale of these materials. They later began producing glazed roof tiles, balustrades, floor tiles, and ceramic roof tiles, generating even greater profits (Kennedy Troya 1990). These profits enabled Indigenous ceramic producers to build their own studios in the city core.

In the mid 16th century, Cuenca city council passed a law requiring all churches and homes to replace thatch roofs with roof tiles and bricks (Arteaga 2000: 44). This created an even greater demand for ceramic production and larger profits for the producers. Wealthy European and *mestizo* entrepreneurs realized the lucrative nature of ceramic production and soon after established their own tile and brick factories (Arteaga 2000: 44). These factories were normally run by *mestizo maestros* (master craft people) who owned the materials necessary for ceramic production; Indigenous ceramicists were then employed as apprentices (Arteaga 2000; Gonzalez 1992).

Following accepted medieval Spanish city planning, Cuenca city council passed a law, on December 24th 1563, designating specific neighbourhoods to particular trades.

This law required persons who worked at a particular trade to live in a specific area with other artisans (Gonzalez 1992). Since ceramic producers needed clay and space to do their work, city council placed Indigenous artisans on the outskirts of the western part of the city, today's San Sebastian district. The nucleus of this district, which contained large clay mines, was the San Sebastian parish. Many artisans eventually became worshippers at the San Sebastian church and the parish became known as an Indigenous one (Gonzalez 1992). Throughout the colonial period ceramicists worked and lived in the San Sebastian parish; a practice that continues to this day.

Colonial Glazed Earthenware Production

There are few archival sources describing earthenware production in Cuenca during the colonial period and even fewer have been published (Arteaga 2000; Gonzalez 1992). This may be due to the low social status of Indigenous artisans during the colonial period. Indigenous artisans were a marginal concern from its onset, thus there is little mention of Indigenous ceramic artisans or their trade, which, as previously mentioned, was considered difficult, dirty work (Idrovo 1990).

The first known mention of an unglazed earthenware ceramic producer was in 1680. A woman named Magdalena, who lived and worked in the San Sebastian parish, was described as specializing in the production of unglazed ceramic jugs (Arteaga 2000: 41). These types of jugs would have been made by hand without the use of a wheel. Of course, the lack of documentary evidence does not mean that earthenware ceramics did not exist before this date as there are large clay deposits inside and near Cuenca.

Presumably, hand made prehispanic and colonial ceramics were being produced with the same clay. Diego Arteaga (2000: 40) states that there were clay objects being made in Sidcay in 1659. Sidcay is located only 7 kilometres away from the city, and was home to many potters because of its clay mines which continue to be exploited today.

Importing glazed ceramic vessels became too costly for the Spanish settlers and so they began teaching potters in and around Cuenca the majolica and lead glazed techniques. The earliest reference to the production of glazed earthenwares in Cuenca dates to 1858 when Manuel Villavicencio described the Cuenca potter's district. He wrote, "The main street continues through the pottery workshops, which produce the best loza de barro (glazed earthenware) in the republic..." (Villavicencio 1858: 429 in Jamieson 2000: 191, author's translation). Villavicencio was referring to the San Sebastian parish located on the northwest section of the city where glazed earthenwares were likely produced prior to this date. Although the exact dates are unclear, the archaeological record indicates the production of glazed earthenwares began sometime between circa 1650 and 1800 (Jamieson, personal communication). During this period, Spanish techniques, such as the use of the wheel, the Mediterranean round-kiln, and cream, green, and brown glazes, became known to Cuenca ceramicists.

Olaf Holm has identified three types of ceramic producers in colonial Ecuador and has given them specific socio-economic positions: the lowest were *tejeros* (roof tile producers) and *ladrilleros* (brick producers), followed by *alfareros* (utilitarian pottery producers), and the *loceros* (fine glazed ceramic producers) (Holm 1971). Until the 18th century, *tejeros* and *ladrilleros* made goods for municipal and private use. These

Indigenous artisans then passed the tile and brick producing tradition from one generation to the next. *Alfareros* were also Indigenous artisans who made unglazed earthenwares such as *platos* (plates), *escudillos* (wide bowls), *cantaros* (handleless jugs), *tinajas* (vats), and *botijas* (jars). They also produced water canals used in building trades (Kennedy Troya 1990). *Loceros* dedicated themselves to producing *loza* (fine glazed pottery) and *azulejos* (glazed tiles), and many other multicoloured, decorative products. *Loceros* had Spanish patrons; they learned how to use the wheel, and round oven, both techniques originally from Europe and the Near East. Thus, they were considered refined ceramic producers (Kennedy Troya 1990: 44). *Loceros'* products appealed to colonial Spanish aesthetics and helped to maintain Old World ambiance and status in Cuenca. These distinctions between ceramicists and potters continue into the present. Although both now use pottery wheels and glazes the social and economic distinctions between the artisans remains intact. At the same time many utilitarian producers are proud of being *alfareros* and do not want to be called *ceramistas* (ceramicists) or *loceros*.

By the end of the 19th century, ceramicists in the San Sebastian neighbourhood dedicated themselves to the production of utilitarian items, such as cooking pots, plates, bowls, earthen vats, earthenware jars, jugs and glazed tablewares. These products were sold in local and regional markets to people of varying social classes who used them in a domestic setting (Kennedy Troya 1990). Throughout the colonial period Cuenca's Indigenous and *mestizo* potters created both traditional ceramic forms and Spanish, or European forms. The results were hybrid vessels that contained both Indigenous and

Spanish elements, displaying syncretism between two distinct cultures (Holm 1971; Idrovo 1990).

Because the position of ceramicists during the colonial period was considered very low, the 18th century did see the rise of guilds (Gonzalez 1992). Ceramicists were primarily Indigenous people, working inside studios owned and operated by *mestizo maestros*. The *maestro* was considered both the employees' and apprentices' protector and teacher. In fact the young men who worked under a *maestro* often had to pay for instruction until they became *operarios* (operators), at which time they might be able to charge for their work. This group, consisting of apprentices, operators and *maestros*, formed ceramic guilds that fell under the jurisdiction of a community priest.

These guilds were also under the supervision of the town council who worked with the community priest. Priests had a great deal of influence over government decision making during the colonial period. Guilds attempted to obtain "mutual cooperation, helped sick members and helped children who were learning their parents' trade" (Gonzalez 1992). With time, guild members paid small annual quotas, or weekly stipends, guaranteeing them a proper burial at death with the presence of a chaplain (Gonzalez 1992). The guilds were always run under the watchful eye of the church (Gonzalez 1992). Thus, as early as the 18th century, ceramicists were already attempting to better their working and living conditions through cooperation.

Ecuador at the Beginning of the 20th Century

At the beginning of the 20th century Ecuador was primarily an agro-exporter of cocoa, bananas, rice, coffee, oil and sugar. The rise of industries, and the process of capitalization transformed the Ecuadorian economy at the beginning of the 20th century. Ecuador embraced capitalism as, “the intensified accumulation of capital gained from industry” ushered in its industrial era (Jean Francois Beliste quoted in Tamayo 1992). Industrial capitalism began later in Ecuador than in other parts of the world; for example Western Europe was becoming fully industrialized by the mid-19th century. Due to Ecuador’s economic position as a developing nation, the country lacked the resources to create large-scale manufacturing industries. Yet even with the emergence of some industries, the country’s economy still depended on agro-exports.

At the turn of the century, Ecuador’s right leaning Liberal government demonstrated few “accomplishments of major proportions” (Rudolph 1991). The Liberal party in office during the early 1920s did little to help Indigenous people and middle-class *mestizos*. Rather than support initiatives for agro-exporters, the Liberal government allowed itself to be manipulated by large businesses and banks that took government money and lined the pockets of private interests. Severe economic problems worsened at the end of the 1920s because of runaway inflation and a cacao tree fungus that severely reduced export of the product; the final blow was the Great Depression (Cueva 1983). Because Ecuador depended on external market demands for its agro-exports, any international economic declines severely affected the country’s gross national product (Tamayo 1992). The economic depression of the 1930s created a volatile political

situation and on one particular year saw the government change seventeen times. The working class and poor, including Cuenca's ceramicists, bore the burden of this economic decline (Rudolph 1991).

In 1924 one of the first large-scale factories was built followed soon after by the emergence of national unions. The beginning of industry was a catalyst for the development of unions (Barba 1983). The 1920s was an era of fundamental change in the development of popular worker's organizations and syndicates in Ecuador: Marxism became popular ideology throughout the country and influenced union thinking a great deal. Artisans quickly became aware that the only way to obtain control of their own working conditions was to unite and have a common voice (Barba 1983; Tamayo 1992).

Cuenca In the 20th Century

Cuenca began to develop its modern infrastructure at the turn of the century. The first large-scale factory to open in Cuenca was the *Textil Azuaya* in 1928 followed by the *Pasamanería* in 1936. Prior to the opening of these factories the major industry in Cuenca was producing Panama straw hats which were then exported to other parts of Latin America. In fact, "Panama hat production and exportation was the most important production activity in the southern sierra" (Tamayo 1992: 214). What was unique about this industry was that people were able to work from home, it was a piecemeal industry, meaning that they sold large amounts to wholesalers (Tamayo 1992). Unfortunately, the Panama hat declined in popularity in the 1940s and slowed production considerably, causing many people to lose their incomes. Yet, in its prime, it allowed workers the

opportunity to work at home, meaning that they could also tend to their small agricultural plots, in the same fashion as Cuenca's Convención del 45 ceramicists did.

Generally, Cuenca's industries were small-scale and provided the community with such items as "candles, fabrics, and carbonated beverages" (Vintimilla 1992: 33). Transporting items in and out of the city was difficult as there was no direct rail system. Modern phone lines were non-existent, so communication with the rest of the country was very difficult; telephones were not common until the 1940s (Vintimilla 1992). The result being any bulk production, just as with Panama hat production, employed thousands of artisans from both the city and the country, including ceramicists (Tamayo 1992). Following in this pattern, small-scale ceramic studios were therefore the primary providers of ceramics during the early part of the 20th century. Cuenca's small manufacturing sector was relatively autonomous from commercial capital and did not have a major economic presence in Ecuador, except in regards to the Panama hat industry (Tamayo 1992). Cuenca did not become more fully industrialized until the 1960s (Vintimilla 1992).

Convención del 45: Early 20th Century Pottery Production

Convención del 45 is located in the northwest section of Cuenca. During the colonial period the neighbourhood was called *Calle de las Ollerías* (street of pottery studios) and *Tandacatu* (hot oven); names that continued well into the republican period (Landivar and Cornejo 2002; Sjömann 1992). Speculation as to the origin of the name Convención del 45 holds that the neighbourhood was named after a ceramicists' union.

More plausible though, is that the name commemorates the meeting of famous historical figures who converged in Cuenca in 1845 to celebrate the National Convention (*Convención Nacional*), where Don Vicente Ramón Roca became president of the Republic (Vanegas T. 1985). Thereafter, “Convención del 45” became a prestigious name that celebrated the occupational status of the ceramicists, and the emerging role of the national government in this period. The name probably supplanted the association of the neighbourhood with the parish church of San Sebastian at a time when church power was declining.

At the beginning of the 20th century, Convención del 45 was a neighbourhood where the majority of Cuenca’s ceramicists lived and worked (Merchán 2001). The neighbourhood had approximately twenty small-scale ceramic studios (Gonzalez 1992). Its artisans belonged to the San Sebastian parish, the locus of colonial ceramic production. There is no documentary or oral evidence indicating the existence of a ceramicists union until the 1930s. Yet this does not mean that a union did not exist side by side with family run production facilities. Convención del 45 was situated in an ideal part of Cuenca that had access to a vast quantity of clay deposits, kaolin and tillable farmland. In this neighbourhood, ceramicists operated family run studios, where they lived, worked, and grew agricultural products (Sjömann 1992). Often potters traded their pottery for agricultural products (Sjömann 1992). Thus, artisans could rely on income from both the production and sale of utilitarian glazed earthenwares and agricultural produce. Both were sold in the local markets or plazas and ceramics were occasionally transported by mules and sold at markets in outlying regions (Sjömann 1992). Their

studio location inside the city meant that ceramicists could obtain the supplies necessary for ceramic production. Thus, the distribution and sale of their ceramics required less effort than for rural ceramic-producing communities.

The first plaza where ceramics were sold was the San Francisco plaza. Yet there is mention of an earlier plaza that sold pottery located in what is currently called the *Plazoleta Rotary* (Rotary Plaza) (Juan Chacón interview in Sjömann 1992: 139). Often vendors from other communities and towns, such as Chimborazo, went to Cuenca to purchase large quantities of items such as “*ollas de jalar* (cooking pots), *platos* (plates), *medianos* (serving bowls), (and) *mulos...*” [my translation] (Arias interview in Sjömann 1992: 139). Carlos Vanegas, a local ceramicist, recalls that:

There were some people who were called the *pulmas* who came from the north. They came here to buy items. They made bundles with straw from the hills. They carted things on donkeys. They went by foot to Riobamba. And so they would leave approximately 700 *suces* [pre year 2000 currency]. With those *suces* we would begin to work. The money they left us was not enough to last until their next visit so we would continue making pottery to sell in the market. In the market we would sell very little. [my translation] (Arias interview in Sjömann 1992: 139).

This passage emphasizes the difficulty potters had in obtaining a living wage during this period and the amount of production that was required of them by wholesalers in neighbouring communities.

Ceramic production was done within the family. The male head of the household produced the ceramics, often with the assistance of his sons. Wives and daughters were principally in charge of pottery sales; selling at regional and local markets (Sjömann 1991, 1992). When women did assist in production it was primarily to help prepare the

clay and glazes; women generally did not learn how to use the pottery wheel except in families with no sons. Carlos Vanegas related that his grandmother, Felipa Vanegas, was a potter as were her sisters, and that they learned the trade from his great-grandfather, Julián Vanegas, who never had any sons (Carlos Vanegas in Sjömann, 1992: 138). This was the exception, and not the rule.

Convención del 45: Post World War II

Cuenca's importance as the third largest city in Ecuador declined in the 1940s; it was considered provincial and had not grown in population or geography to the same extent as Quito or Guayaquil (Vintimilla 1992). Yet, some important changes occurred in Cuenca after World War II. Cuenca ceramicists were not immune to the growth of industry throughout many parts of the world as they had a huge impact on small-scale producers. Mass production and low cost of goods meant that importing such items as aluminum and plastic into Ecuador became easy and economical (Sjömann 1992). Thus, local markets became flooded with new types of containers that were inexpensive and durable. At the same time ceramicists witnessed a decline in their sales since they could not compete with these products. Rather than buying glazed earthenware ceramics, people preferred inexpensive plastic and metal containers, and tablewares that were durable and modern. In response, ceramicists found another avenue for sales; they produced toys, and small-scale reproductions of everyday utilitarian ceramics. People would pay very little, only *pesos* (cents), for these objects and even then "sales were not quick, there was no tourism..." [my translation] (Sjömann 1992: 140). These objects

would often be lead glazed, as the production of majolica tablewares and vessels was beginning to disappear. Ceramicists realized that they had to change their products and find new markets for them.

Cuenca potters did begin an association during the late 1950s but there is little information as to its mandate, or membership (Sjömann 1992). They likely created this association in order to promote their common needs, allowing for a stronger voice when dealing with local and national government. Yet they had difficulty creating a union primarily because of individual concerns about sharing their designs and techniques with each other. Secrecy invariably hindered any attempts to create a strong union movement (Sjömann 1992). Without a common voice governmental support was difficult to obtain.

The first of many attempts to revive small-scale ceramic production began in Cuenca in 1955. The Ecuadorian government, through the *Centro de Reconversión Económica de Azuay, Cañar y Morona Santiago* (CREA), focused on training and licensing master craftspeople in fields such as ceramics (Paredes 1998; Vivero and Cardenas 1983). CREA brought in a Spanish ceramicist to teach Convención del 45 ceramicists new techniques, such as the use of plaster moulds in ceramic production (Paredes 1998; Sjömann 1991, 1992). Yet government interventions were insufficient to reinvigorate the ceramics industry. More difficult times confronted Cuenca's independent studio ceramicists.

Industrial Boom and Artisan Decline

The late 1950s and 1960s brought about the disintegration of neighbourhoods as modernization continued to encroach on the ceramicists of Cuenca. Two laws in particular directly affected Cuenca ceramicists: the Agrarian Reform law and the Industrial Protection law. The Agrarian Reform law partitioned large plots of farmland bordering Cuenca into smaller lots, resulting in rapid urban growth. Rural villagers moved into Cuenca from various regions and artisan oriented neighbourhoods were transformed into residential zones. Before long, the artisans of the Convención del 45 found themselves surrounded by residential homes as urbanization swallowed their neighbourhood. This movement into the Convención del 45 created a great deal of tension between the working ceramicists and the new urban dwellers (Gonzalez 1992; Sjömann 1991, 1992).

The second law that directly affected ceramicists was the Industrial Protection law. This law permitted the construction of an industrial park on the outskirts of Cuenca and the construction of some large-scale factories, such as metal and ceramic producing companies (Gonzalez 1992; Vintimilla 1992). International ceramic factories were built, which produced items such as roof tiles, bricks, floor tiles, and other ceramic building materials. The first of these factories was CERMOD (Cerámica Moderna). Built in 1963, it produced industrial ceramic products such as tiles and bathroom fixtures; this company was the antecedent of Cerámica Andina which expanded to 50 operators at its peak in the 1980s. CERMOD “saw the necessity of hiring artists and designers who

could transform ceramic objects into works that were different from traditional, in order to obtain a more urban market and to compete with the importation of urban ceramics” (Kennedy Troya 1992: 368). More large-scale ceramic factories soon appeared. Eventually, these factories began producing tablewares for export. Small-scale ceramicists could not compete with these industrial giants. While information regarding employees is difficult to obtain, many artisans, including ceramicists from the Convención del 45, are believed to have become workers at these factories (Vintimilla 1992). However, a few ceramicists did continue to work in their independent studios.

Urban Growth

Cuenca expanded a great deal between 1950 and 1975; “the surface area of the city grew more than it had during the preceding four centuries” (Paredes 1998: 115). In the early 1960s Cuenca could not “escape Ecuador’s general tendencies. Industrial development acquired importance because of the growth of small-scale and medium-sized businesses and because production was diversified” (Paredes 1998: 115). Ecuador’s main industrial cities were still Guayaquil and Quito; Cuenca was a minor industrial centre. Industries such as “ceramics... progressively displaced craft production, in spite of which, the Cuenca region continues as the largest centre of crafts activities in the country...” (Paredes 1998: 115).

Although tourism was not a well-organized industry in Cuenca, it began to make some gains during the late 1960s and early 1970s (Vintimilla 1992). Tourists looking to take part in a more “traditional” type of lifestyle, even if just for a few weeks, began

visiting communities such as Cuenca (Kyle 1999; Stephen 1991). In the outdoor markets and plazas, tourists could find Indigenous women from rural villages dressed in their traditional clothing selling produce, basketry, and unglazed ceramics. In among these rural sellers sat the wives and daughters of ceramicists of the Convención del 45 who sold their utilitarian glazed earthenwares (Sjomann 1991, 1992). At this time there were approximately 25 ceramicists who remained in this neighbourhood (Uquillas et al. 1981). Convención del 45 ceramicists soon realized that their market was changing, primarily due to the increase in tourism, and that tourists desired vessels and ceramic pieces which differed from local demands. Because they were travelling, tourists wanted goods that were smaller and easier to transport over long distances. Large water jugs were too heavy to carry in back packs but small bird whistles, miniature figurines, and small glazed plates and vases were ideal souvenirs to take home to friends and family (Sjomann 1991, 1992).

As Cuenca continued to grow in population a “developmentalist ideology” appeared. The emergence of “public and private employees is very significant, in that it generates a cultural environment, a capacity to consume, and the consequent need to develop the local market, offering incentives for cultural expansion” (Mario Monteforte cited in Paredes 1998: 116). The middle classes became a strong economic force. In the 1970s there was a resurgence of nostalgia for Ecuador’s colonial period. People yearned for a bygone era when ranching and farming were a part of everyday life. These new city dwellers, many of whom had directly or indirectly made economic gains from oil exportation and the rise of industries (Paredes 1998), began purchasing items, such as

ceramics, to decorate their homes with a more rustic flavour. Local purchasers favoured large undecorated vessels which could be used to adorn gardens and entryways.

Another change in production for the internal market grew from the demand for *macetas* (flower pots). Because *macetas* and decorative vessels were destined for the urban market they displaced the utilitarian products once sold there (Sjömann 1992). Not only did ceramicists begin to produce small tourist souvenirs such as toys and miniatures in greater number, but they also began making ceramic objects that looked rough and rustic so as to cater to the Ecuadorians' sense of nostalgia. This boom in internal sales led to a new market for Convención del 45 ceramicists.

In 1976, the Organization of American States and the Ecuadorian government created the Centro Interamericano de Artesanías y Artes Populares (CIDAP). This organization was set up to create “craft reappreciation” through a variety of activities including training and networking (Paredes 1998: 115). However, obtaining information on its effectiveness is difficult. Organizations like it have been dedicated to the support and development of artisanal production. In an interview with Eduardo Segovia, a ceramicist who has moved from utilitarian production to ceramic art production, he states:

I have received very little assistance and small loans from loan institutions. There are few institutions that work with artisans for instance *La Casa de La Cultura* (The House of Culture), *Núcleo del Azuay* and CREA. The others have always been negative when I have tried to solicit their collaboration. In other cities such as Quito and Guayaquil there is real help for artisans. In Quito there is the *Centro Nacional Para La Investigación Artesanal* (CENAPIA), *El Museo de Artesanías del Ministerio de Trabajo y Recursos Humanos*, and *Casa de la Cultura Matriz de Quito*. In Guayaquil there is the *Hotel Oro Verde*, *El Centro Norteamericano Abraham Lincoln* and the *Museo Municipal*, where doors

open easily. This is why I belong to the Plastic Artists of Guayaquil. I haven't had the same kind of support in Cuenca [my translation] (Vivero M. and Cardenas C. 1983: 126-128).

Clearly there was still some need by artisans for external support during the 1970s and 1980s in Cuenca. Laws were implemented during these two decades to assist ceramicists (Uquillas et al. 1981: 71-72). Whether they provided much help is unclear.

Convención del 45: Present Day

Today the Convención del 45 neighbourhood is a highly urbanized residential area. Six ceramicists continue to live and work there, while most have moved away from the city centre (Landivar and Cornejo 2002). Ceramicists need a great deal of space to house their studios so the rezoning of land into smaller plots makes steady production difficult to maintain. The encroachment on ceramicists by urban dwellers continues unabated. There are multi-storey condominiums being built throughout the northwestern section of Cuenca, where the Convención del 45 neighbourhood is located. Numerous residents have complained about the toxicity of the clay dust, iron oxide and lead fumes which permeate the air when pots are being fired (Sjomann 1991, 1992).



Figure 3.1. Open Kiln Firing.

Most ceramicists from the Convención del 45 neighbourhood sell their ceramics at the *Plazoleta Rotario* (Rotary Plaza), *La Casa de Las Mujeres* (The Women's House), or from their own studios to wholesalers and neighbours. Women are still principally in charge of sales, usually going to the *Plazoleta Rotario* every Thursday. They sell their own products, as well as ceramics bought from other studios, specifically studios located in Chordeleg, a small town near Cuenca well known for its ceramics. Often they sell to wholesalers. Once a year, in November, the *Feria de Finados* (Fair of the Deceased) is held in Ambato, where Cuenca ceramicists sell their products and often make a profit - a rare occurrence in local markets (Sjömann 1992: 147).

Convención del 45 ceramicists continue to use similar techniques and materials as those utilized in the past, yet there have been some changes which ceramicists discuss in Chapter 4. Today they make such items as *jarrones* (pitchers), *floreros* (vases), *alcancías* (piggy banks), *figuras* (figurines), *cestas* (clay baskets), *casitas* (miniature houses), *pitos* (whistles), and *miniaturas* (miniatures). Some items are traditional, made throughout the decades, while others are of more recent invention. The majority of objects are monochrome, although occasionally, they are polychrome. Very rarely do ceramics have intricate majolica designs, reminiscent of colonial and early republican pottery. Today glazes are applied rapidly, with little artistic flourish.

Generally all the products made by the ceramicists are sold. Yet the commercial value of the pottery is very low, meaning that once the cost of the clay, lead and combustibles are taken into account a ceramicist makes very little profit. Because of these expenses, the "quality of the objects is sacrificed for quantity" (Sjömann 1992:

148). Wholesalers are not concerned with quality, just that the ceramics be inexpensive. Thus, ceramicists who make more refined products have difficulty obtaining compensation for their time and materials (Sjömann 1992: 148).

Large-scale ceramic industries now own the clay mines that were once communal. Ceramicists must pay to mine clay, meaning a decrease in their profits. A look in the Cuenca Yellow Pages reveals approximately eleven mid-sized, and nine large-scale, ceramic factories in or near Cuenca. Although not all of these companies are in direct competition with small-scale ceramic producers, the ones making utilitarian objects, such as cups, plates, and bowls, and more decorative pieces such as vases, ashtrays, lamp bases and fruit plates, do compete with Convención del 45 ceramicists. Large-scale ceramic factories are able to mass - produce objects inexpensively and they have access to more glaze colours and a variety of clays. As a result, they are able to keep up with changing demands more effectively than Convención del 45 ceramicists.

Recently a government study, *Estudio de Competitividad de las Artesanías del Ecuador* (Study on the Competitiveness of Artisanal Products in Ecuador), was commissioned to determine how to “sell more ceramics throughout the world...artistic, artisanal, moulded and machine made” (Mercurio, 13 July 2002: 1B). The study identified a lack of marketing and distribution as key problems facing ceramicists. It recommended that artisanal products be marked under the Cuenca brand; ceramics made in small-scale studios could then be considered specialty items (Mercurio, 13 July 2002: 1B).

Another study, conducted by the *Universidad Politécnica Salesiana* for the *Ministerio de Comercio Exterior*, discovered that the greatest obstacle for artisans, including ceramicists in Cuenca, was the lack of credit and government funding, insufficient training, and the absence of any real profits from the sale of ceramics. For instance Jose Encalada, a small-scale ceramicist at the Convención del 45 states that he makes “Six hundred dollars a year. The ideal would be to make at least 10,000 dollars, in order to acquire sufficient materials for a years’ worth of production” [my translation] (interview in Plaza 2002: 8D). The *Universidad Politécnica Salesiana* study found that the most *traditional* [emphasis added] ceramicists in Cuenca are on the brink of disappearing. These studio owners are aging and no one seems interested in continuing their tradition (Plaza 2002: 8D). Small-scale ceramicists are not alone in facing difficult financial circumstances. Large scale ceramic factories, such as *Yapacunchi* which closed down in the Spring of 2002, are also facing competition from other ceramic producing countries, such as Colombia (Comercio, 1 August 2002: 1B). Most artisanal ceramicists question these proposed solutions.

The Future of *Ceramistas* and *Alfareros* at the Convención del 45

The sale of traditional ceramics from the Convención del 45 neighbourhood must improve if the small-scale ceramic trade is to continue. The lack of a decent income has dissuaded a new generation from learning the trade. Instead their children, who may assist in production, are being educated outside of the home for professional careers, thereby allowing them the chance to obtain a higher income (Sjömann 1991, 1992).

Ceramicists must find new avenues for selling their product, they must “be more aggressive” using their position as producers of traditional, rustic ceramics as a competitive advantage (Landivar and Cornejo 2002: 19). Yet, how this is to be done is not explained by government agency reports. Changing the types of products being sold, adding new products, learning new techniques, and finding shops and boutiques that will sell Convención del 45 ceramics is a good start; unfortunately, most programs that attempt to assist ceramicists have had only short term success (Kennedy Troya 1992).

Only by coming together can ceramicists make the necessary changes needed to continue their studio production. Unfortunately some of the egoism that occurred at the beginning of the 20th century persists today. There are approximately 11 ceramicists remaining at the Convención del 45 neighbourhood, yet their association, *la Asociación de Cerámistas de la Convención del 45* (The Ceramicists Association of the Convención del 45) is only beginning to allow ceramicists from other locations outside the neighbourhood to join them.

Chapter Summary

Ceramicists in the Convención del 45 neighbourhood have witnessed many changes over the past century. At the beginning of the 20th century ceramicists made a decent living by producing utilitarian earthenwares to local and regional markets. After World War II the influx of plastic and metal imports into Ecuador caused a decrease in sales for ceramicists; many ceramicists stopped producing items all together. Yet, some ceramicists did continue production by focusing their sales towards the nostalgia and

tourism markets which emerged in the 1960s and 1970s. By the 1980s those ceramicists that continued production had found their own niches in the local economy, minimizing competition from other ceramicists. Ceramicists have faced many setbacks, the most recent being the international rejection of lead glazed wares and the year 2000 dollarization of the Ecuadorian currency, yet they continue to keep their studios running by finding new avenues in which to sell their products.

Chapter 3: 20th Century Historical Archaeology: Agency, Ethnoarchaeology, and Material Culture

Introduction

The intent of this study is to document the changes in ceramic production in Cuenca, Ecuador from the mid 20th century until the present in order to determine the extent to which changes in global culture affected the local neighbourhood of the Convención del 45. For such a purpose, the ceramic industry can be considered a microcosm of the changes wrought on Ecuadorian society during that time. My research will bring together different types of evidence and provide me with the opportunity to discover concepts and ideas that I would not discover by solely using one set of data (Wylie 1993: 24). For this reason I have elected to conduct research that includes the use of agency, ceramic ethnoarchaeology, material culture studies, and oral history interviews. By conducting oral history interviews with Convención del 45 ceramicists as well as documenting changes to the material culture they produce, I can discuss changes in their production through time and also document their reasons for making particular choices. These are choices specific to an economically, and to some degree socially, marginalized group in Cuenca society. At the same time I can obtain a better understanding of ceramicists' archaeological material culture by examining their emic perspective in relation to these objects (Barber and Berdan 1998: 12).

Agency

Leone (1984) and Hodder (1982) began examining the concept of agency in the early 1980s. Agency refers to the active strategies of individuals (Hodder 2001; Johnson

1999). Giddens (1979; 1984) heavily influenced the development of the concept of agency. He states that:

To be able to ‘act otherwise’ means being able to intervene in the world, or to refrain from such intervention, with the effect of influencing a specific process or state of affairs. This presumes that to be an agent is to be able to deploy (chronically, in the flow of daily life) a range of causal powers, including that of influencing those deployed by others. Action depends upon the capability of the individual to ‘make a difference’ to a pre-existing state of affairs or course of events. An agent ceases to be such if he or she loses the capability to ‘make a difference’, that is, to exercise some sort of power (Giddens 1984: 14).

Barrett explains the basic premise of agency in a more succinct manner:

Agency is the means by which things are achieved. It therefore has the power to act and human agency operates knowledgeably and reflexively. Agents are therefore accepted as monitoring their own actions as well as the actions of others in the construction both of their world and of themselves culturally and socially. Agents do not appear upon the historical stage as a given, rather they make themselves within and through their own specific social and cultural conditions (Barrett 2001: 141).

As agents, people create and manipulate overarching social, economic and ideological structures and place themselves at the centre for their own benefit. People are aware of their own actions and the actions of others within their society and make decisions about how to act accordingly.

In recent years agency has become an important concept for historical archaeologists. Some historical archaeologists were not satisfied with the results they obtained when using positivist concepts or scientific reasoning and instead wanted to acknowledge that individuals or “active agents” could make decisions from within the overarching structures they observed in their immediate surroundings (Shackel 2000).

Thus, historical archaeologists began to examine “the subtle variations in the

archaeological record and placed them within historic and social context. Some archaeologists believed that they could observe and interpret the choices that agents made” (Shackel 2000: 232).

Studies of industry and mass production have enabled historical archaeologists to understand how agents negotiate structures in their daily lives (Shackel 2000: 232). In the case of the ceramicists at the Convención del 45 neighbourhood, older ceramicists chose to continue making traditional colonial style ceramics well after the introduction of plastic and metal. Others took a different route, choosing instead to produce ceramic objects which catered to different local and international markets. As Shackel indicates “while most groups in industrial society have limited choices (for example they all buy ceramics to set their tables) it is the choices that they make (such as choice of design) that shows social agency in action” (2000: 233). Finding evidence for choice in the material culture is key here.

Ethnoarchaeology: Facing Socio-Economic Change

Archaeologists have created myriad definitions for ethnoarchaeology (David and Kramer 2001: 6-14). Typically it was regarded as “the study by archaeologists of variability in material culture and its relation to human behaviour and organization among extant societies, for use in archaeological interpretation” (Longacre 1991: 1). Kramer defined ethnoarchaeology as “ethnographic fieldwork carried out with the express purpose of enhancing archaeological research by documenting aspects of sociocultural behaviour likely to leave identifiable residues in the archaeological record”

(Kramer 1996: 396). Simply put, archaeological artefacts and/or features could be interpreted by using contemporary ethnographic information; by means of analogy we can infer socio-cultural activities in the past.

Rather than create a dichotomy between an ethnoarchaeology which is only used as an analogical tool and one that ignores its function in archaeology altogether we must keep in mind that “the issue is partly terminological, involving definitions of ethnoarchaeology and archaeology” (Hegmon 2000: 134). Often ethnoarchaeological studies can shed light on the variability that appears when its methods are used as tools for the broader discipline of archaeology; therefore many ethnoarchaeologists who wish to demonstrate global patterning are left with studies which demonstrate just the opposite.

I argue that Kramer’s definition is problematic because it assumes that cultures exist inside a vacuum, untouched by the global effects of industrialization and modernity. Kramer’s definition is limiting as it ignores the fact that external influences often intrude upon the local reality of people to an extent that was unknown in the past. Particularly in historical archaeology, where there is often an abundance of primary and secondary information, one must include all “cables of evidence” in order to get a broader understanding of peoples’ lives in the past (Wylie 1989).

The emergence of capitalism as a dominant global economic and social force has no precedent (Waters 1995: 161). As such it has influenced the production and consumption of goods in a manner unseen before. Its influence cannot be emphasized enough. “What sets the subject matter of historical archaeology off from the archaeology of other stratified societies is the predominance of capitalist production and market

principles over state organizations” (Paynter 2000: 170). Conducting ethnoarchaeology in the modern world means understanding that there are few areas untouched by globalisation and mass production. In the midst of this constant change small-scale producers must negotiate a place for themselves, as the ceramicists at the Convención del 45 have done.

Since ethnoarchaeological studies can serve more than one purpose in assisting archaeological interpretation I have chosen to employ Sillar’s definition of ethnoarchaeology as it focuses on understanding the current socio-economic aspects of a culture:

Ethnoarchaeology should be a study of how material culture is produced, used and deposited by contemporary societies in *relation to the wider social and economic aspects of the society being studied* with particular reference to the problems of interpreting archaeological material [my italics] (Sillar 2000: 6).

My ethnoarchaeological study of ceramicists at the Convención del 45 is a study of contemporary people, affected by modern external socio-economic influences. This actualistic study cannot be regarded as a direct analogical tool for prehistorians. The mass influx of large-scale industries, imports, and foreign influence into Ecuador, requires an understanding of the socio-cultural role of Cuenca ceramicists in the modern nation (Hanratty 1991). Ethnographic studies that are more anthropological in nature help describe specific socio-economic activities within the larger social structure. In turn, understanding socio-cultural activities leads to an understanding of ceramicists’ role in Cuenca and how their material culture and social practices interrelate (Sillar 2000). Becoming aware of and understanding the socio-economic framework or structures

within a society is useful in comprehending why material culture is manufactured and produced in specific ways.

Material Culture Studies

Material culture studies is an interdisciplinary field that “sees it as its specific project to examine the nature of artefacts as cultural forms” (Miller 1987: 110). This is similar to ethnoarchaeology, where archaeologists work in contemporary ethnographic situations in order to study the relationship between peoples and their material world. Yet ignoring the material basis of material culture is impossible (Miller 1987: 112). The ceramics produced at the Convención del 45 neighbourhood have become “a conspicuous example of non-industrial production” (Miller 1987: 114). The ceramicists gain their meaning from the fact that their wares are not industrially produced and thus highlight production in small-scale workshops for the benefit of tourists and the nostalgia market (Miller 1987: 114-115).

The Many Uses of Ceramic Ethnoarchaeology

Studying changes in pottery is one of the basic focuses of archaeological research (Hegmon 2000; David and Kramer 2001). Over the years there have been numerous ceramic ethnoarchaeological investigations of pottery, that have focused on topics such as pottery manufacture and production (Arnold 2000; Hegmon 2000). Rice has separated the process of manufacturing from that of production in an interesting and useful way (1996). She considers manufacturing to be the processes by which people fabricate a pot, while

production studies research the social, political, and ideological context in which ceramics are made (Rice 1996: 173). Ethnoarchaeological studies of contemporary potters cannot focus solely on identifying human behaviour and then creating analogies considered useful for understanding archaeological remains. This is problematic because it creates a one-dimensional picture of individuals and their traditions. As with broader ethnoarchaeological studies, ceramic ethnoarchaeological studies rarely consider the cultural and historical context in which the material culture is being produced. Although I discuss the historical development of ceramic manufacturing, and the ceramicists themselves include it within their interviews, I have chosen to focus on the socio-political influences on production.

Few ceramic ethnoarchaeological studies of potters in the Andes have been conducted. Those that have been carried out have focused on small Indigenous communities in the Andean highlands, describing fabrication techniques, trade, and use of ceramics (Arnold 1993; Chavez 1987, 1992; Hagstrum 1999; 2001; O'Neal 1977; Sillar 1997). Researchers have analysed and documented kiln shape and size, firing methods, clay extraction areas, and ceramic formation techniques in various Andean communities. However temporal changes have not been documented, and more importantly, the underlying causes for these changes remain ignored. Andean communities, particularly those in large cities, are part of an integrated world system. Andean ceramicists, particularly those that reside in large cities must deal with continual economic and social changes. By conducting ceramic ethnoarchaeology at the Convención del 45 neighbourhood, I have been able to study what some consider to be

“the rapidly disappearing traditional potters who still practice their craft” (Kramer 1985: 97). I do not mean to imply that small-scale “traditional” ceramicists will eventually vanish. Traditions are fluid, and ever changing; we must therefore erase this concept of traditions as being stagnant.

Hegmon claims that a loss of traditional crafts may be “cause for despair”, a statement I disagree with. Yet I completely agree with her when she says that “research with potters who are producing in the context of today’s world economy can still produce important ethnoarchaeological insights” (Hegmon 2000: 134). These insights include the ways ceramicists classify their designs, the relationships among scale, skill, standardization, and production techniques, and the way that traditions constrain innovation (Hegmon 2000: 134). Simply because some ceramic ethnoarchaeological studies do not specifically inform archaeological interests does not mean that they are not useful. On the contrary, these studies are useful because they broaden anthropological knowledge about cultures, the whole reason that we study archaeology. Since the Convención del 45 ceramicists are fully immersed in the capitalist system, discovering how much of their past production continues in the midst of a global capitalist system has implications for other communities of urban artisans.

Oral History As a Means of Gaining Personal Insights

Oral history is defined as “the interviewing of eyewitness participants in the events of the past for the purposes of historical reconstruction”(Grele 1996: 63). Documenting the oral history of a group of people is beneficial in that it provides a

permanent record of people's lives. Through oral histories ceramicists can discuss what is important to them and what has influenced their choices. It "provides access to undocumented experience...the hidden histories of people on the margins: workers, women, Indigenous peoples, ethnic minorities and members of other oppressed or marginalized groups" (Thomson 1999: 291). Oral history interviews also allow for the recording of specific historical moments which are undocumented, in this case the historical experiences of the ceramicists at the Convención del 45 neighbourhood (Allen and Montell 1981: 291; Thomson 1999: 19). By using orally communicated history, ethnoarchaeologists can expand their database and gain a different viewpoint on the events and forces that shaped an individual or community (Allen and Montell 1981: 3).

Schwarzstein writes that the "development of oral histories in Latin America began much later than in Europe and the United States...and its development has been extremely slow" (1996: 418). A major reason for the slow development of oral histories in Latin America is the political instability that surfaced in many countries during the 1980s. Since the 1980s the focus of oral history research in Latin America has broadened to include the working class, rural-urban migration, Indigenous culture, issues of gender and identity, the church, neighbourhood communities, elites and the history of organizations such as trade unions (Schwarzstein 1996). Specifically in Ecuador, there has been an absence of "a true trend in historical studies based on the recovery of oral testimonies" (Schwarzstein 1996: 420) although there have been some isolated attempts (Moya 1988). The lack of neighbourhood community oral histories and, more specifically, the lack of small-scale artisanal histories is troubling because "everyone has

a story to tell of his or her own life, which offers invaluable raw material for the history of this century”; oral histories offer “accounts of unprecedented change through the men and women who experienced them” (Slim and Thomson 1995: 11). This type of data reflects changes in a small community, changes often omitted in the literature.

Two kinds of information about artefacts can be elicited from oral sources. First, the process of construction and use can be described. This is a useful analogical tool for archaeologists when they attempt to understand the material culture they are studying. Second, and more importantly, personal recollections associated with artefacts and structures can personalize those objects and provide a personal testimony on the relationship between person and artefact (Allen and Montell 1981: 17).

Debate has focused on the usefulness of oral history research. In particular, some criticism centres on the distortion of fact that memory creates (Thomson 1999: 292). Memory is often thought to be “distorted by physical deterioration and nostalgia in old age, by the personal bias of both interviewer and interviewee, and by the influence of collective and retrospective versions of the past” (Thomson 1999: 291). But, rather than see this distortion as a negative, oral historians have begun to see the “peculiarities of oral history” as a strength rather than a weakness (Thomson 1999: 292). Memory and cognition are partly comprised by social relations and thus they represent a portrait of society (Tonkin 1992: 97). “What is really important is that memory is not a passive depository of facts, but an active process of creation of meaning” (Thomson 1999: 69). Memory is a way of understanding why things occurred the way that they did and what role an individual had in the processes of change.

The way ceramicists contribute to and work within Cuenca's changing economy is relevant to archaeologists because it provides an understanding of why particular production choices were made by ceramicists in the past and present: these are then reflected in the archaeological material culture of their community. An artefact can be useful in complementing the historical record when we know something about its manufacture and function. By interviewing ceramicists we can learn how a ceramic vessel's use has changed over time and why this change has occurred. Thus, when the time comes to study the material remains of a mid-twentieth century kiln inferences can be made regarding the excavated materials. Such inferences will be supported by oral histories.

Although the life histories of ceramicists at the Convención del 45 neighbourhood may be seen by some as irrelevant I take a different stance. Inequality and poverty have their pattern and history, and any improved future for a community must come from knowing both the strengths and weaknesses of its past. These inequalities have roots in a number of different factors including the political, cultural, and personal. The meanings that a ceramicist personally assigns to their active participation in Cuenca's economy are useful in that they give subjective insight into past events in Cuenca's history, specifically, the economic changes that have occurred since World War II. People who have been *marginalized* (my italics) can be recognized as active participants in a society because the choices they make are a reflection of the greater society. In the case of the ceramicists at the Convención del 45, their participation must at least be partially understood through their own memories and their own choices.

Chapter Summary

By invoking holism as a motivating factor for this study, through interviews and an examination of the material culture of the ceramicists at the Convención del 45 neighbourhood in Cuenca, Ecuador, I had a unique opportunity to investigate how these artisans have dealt with changes to their economy during the last half of the 20th Century (Trigger 1991). I also had the opportunity to study how agency is manifested in the ceramic artefacts and material culture of one ceramic producing community during the 20th century. The years since World War II have resulted in rapid economic changes for Convencion del 45's artisans. The importation of inexpensive plastics and metals, the arrival of international ceramic industries, and the demand by tourists and Ecuadorians for "nostalgic" ceramic objects, have necessitated changes in the production and style of ceramics.

Yet, rather than blame the changing economic system as forcing choices upon ceramicists, a better approach would be to treat these artisans as agents. In the case of the artisans at the Convencion del 45 neighbourhood, the individual ceramicists have chosen to manipulate outside economic forces for their own benefit. They have done so by continuing to work in their individual small-scale studios, rather than close their businesses or participate in Cuenca's growing large-scale industrial ceramic sector. If Giddens is correct in stating that social actors assume to know a great deal about the way in which society operates, reasserting, manipulating, and transforming the rules of a given social situation, then the ceramicists at the Convención del 45 neighbourhood are active agents in their society (Giddens 1979: 49). Ethnoarchaeology is more than an

analogical tool for archaeologists. Historical archaeologists can use ethnoarchaeology and more specifically, ceramic ethnoarchaeology, not only as a means of comprehending how an artefact was made but why it was made. Using oral histories, and accepting that ceramicists are active participants in their society, gives us a more holistic view of 20th century artisanal material culture. The following chapters will demonstrate the efficacy of this holistic approach.

Chapter 4: The Ceramicists' Point of View

Introduction

The purpose of conducting interviews with ceramicists at the Convención del 45 neighbourhood is to incorporate ceramicists'¹ agency into my research. I feel that interviewing ceramicists is an important component in understanding changes in ceramic style and ceramicists' choices during the last half of the 20th century. Obtaining artisans' opinions of socio-economic changes and their own choices in regards to these changes provides a more integrated understanding of their role in Cuenca society. Every informant tells a story and here we see how ceramicists feel about the external forces which have contributed to their trades' possible obsolescence.

Method

We all enter into our research with expectations and biases even if we attempt to remain objective. Bruce Jackson states that there is no such thing as a neutral observer (Jackson 1987: 68-78). Conventional wisdom holds "that social science should and could be value-free" (Gouldner 1965: 196). What is important is that we try to conduct our research as objectively as possible. In order to hear the subjective voices of artisans at the Convención del 45 neighbourhood I have chosen to conduct qualitative (inductive) research for this study. I have decided to conduct a modified version of "grounded theory" whereby a researcher attempts to remain open to new sources of data and

¹ I use the term ceramicist to include both *alfareros* (potters) and *ceramistas* (ceramicists). Traditionally producers of utilitarian items considered themselves *alfareros* while those making glazed tablewares called themselves *ceramistas*. The term is often used interchangeably. Interview quotes will include the term the ceramicist used.

problem orientation, rather than begin the study with a prior hypothesis (Strauss and Corbin 1990). In this way I hope to facilitate the inclusion of ceramicists' own voices.

Research Design

As previously mentioned, there is little published information on small-scale urban ceramic production in Ecuador. Before going into the field I conducted documentary research in order to obtain information regarding the history of the Convención del 45 neighbourhood in Cuenca and the ceramicists who live there. Published documentary sources regarding these ceramicists are minimal (González 1992; Sjömann 1991, 1992; Vintimilla 1992). I also conducted background research on ceramic production techniques and tourism (Kyle 1999; Sillar 2000; Stephen 1991).

After reviewing the literature I developed 56 questions relating to six concepts, which included: family history, production, style, market, pricing, and future directions. I conducted a total of eight interviews, six with Convención del 45 ceramicists, one with a medium-scale ceramic factory owner and one with an up-scale ceramicist living outside of the Convención del 45 neighbourhood. I chose to include interviews of ceramicists from outside the Convención del 45 because I wanted to get a different perspective on socio-economic changes in Cuenca during the 20th century. I also wanted to understand how outsiders viewed Convención del 45 ceramicists and their production. All the ceramicists allowed me to use their names, and two formally requested that I do so. Of the eight people interviewed, only one ceramicist was female, a fact which I will discuss later.

I located ceramicists using a snowball effect. A friend recommended I talk to two ceramicists who in turn recommended others. I also found ceramic studios as I walked through the Convención del 45 neighbourhood, knocking on their doors and requesting interviews. All of these attempts were successful except for one which will be discussed under the interview heading. None of the participants were paid. All interviews took place in people's home/studios. After the first two interviews I re-examined the interview format, adding new questions and re-evaluating concepts that I had not initially taken into consideration.

Ethics

I had several ethical concerns going into this project, the primary one being the privacy of informants. Slim and Thompson state that the ethical issues to be considered in interviewing centre around establishing the rights of narrators to privacy and confidentiality. "These ethical questions relate to the issue of the extraction and dissemination of knowledge, as well as important concerns about attribution and anonymity" (Slim and Thomson 1995: 152). I was aware that I should not solely gain knowledge about interviewees for personal gain and that I must respect their concerns².

Significance of Research

Artisans throughout the world have had to deal with the changing global economy (Kaino 1995; Robertson 1992). The utilitarian use of locally made ceramics was the

² My research was approved by the Simon Fraser University Ethics Review Committee (see Appendix A and B). I chose not to use a consent form, rather I obtained verbal consent because I did not know the literacy level of participants.

norm during the first half of the 20th century in Ecuador as in many other developing countries. I approached the interviews wondering how ceramicists had dealt with the changing demands of purchasers throughout the decades. Traditionally, Cuenca ceramicists have been ignored in the literature. Rather than cite the few governmental reports and published documents regarding small-scale ceramicists, I wanted to create an avenue whereby ceramicists could present their own voices. This section of my research is meant to contribute to the study of small-scale artisans who face the challenges of modernity, and to understand these challenges through the artisans' own words.

Limitations

There were several limitations to this research which I recognized from the outset. First and foremost, time restraints limited the amount of data which could be collected. Second, there are only a few working ceramicists remaining at the Convención del 45 neighbourhood, thus my sample was not large. Because they work long hours, obtaining appointments with interviewees was difficult and often appointments would be cancelled or postponed. Lastly, interview questions were also of concern. I wanted to use questions that were not overly formulaic; questions had to deliberately stress the topics I was studying but they had to remain broad, or open ended, to encourage a more conversational style of interview.

Field Work

The importance of developing rapport with informants has been well documented in qualitative research (Walmsley 1998: 131). I realised quickly that it takes time to build trust with interviewees and that the more interviews one conducts the better one becomes at obtaining specific information. It was not always possible to conduct the interviews one-on-one; there were two instances where a third party was present. In hindsight I would not have had a third person present as it was disruptive and may have caused the interviewee to withhold information.

My position as a Chilean-Canadian woman was useful during my interviews. Because I am fluent in Spanish and presented myself as coming from Chile and living in Canada, ceramicists may have felt a closer connection with me. “It is important to acknowledge how our own culture, class position and political worldview shapes the oral histories we collect, for the interview is a historical document created by the agency of *both* the interviewer and the interviewee” (Sangster 1998: 92). Because I am a female research student, ceramicists were not intimidated by me and appeared, for the most part, to not be worried that I might have ulterior motives in conducting my research.

The Interviews

The interviews were conducted between July 7th 2002 and August 19th 2002. I had not conducted research interviews of this length and from the start there were a few difficulties which haunted me for the first few interviews. During my first interview I had typical technical difficulties with my audio recorder. During my second interview, the ceramicist, who was very soft spoken, would not stop working on the wheel while I

conducted the interview. I was forced to hold the tape recorder up to his mouth for half an hour while he quietly answered my questions. Another time I was forced to conduct an interview in someone's front yard, a yard adjacent to a busy road. Upon replaying the interview I realized just how loud car horns can be.

Yet, there is one failed interview attempt which stands out in my mind. I was walking through the Convención del 45, looking for the studio of a ceramicist who I had planned to interview that day when I came across another studio a few blocks away. I went to the door, knocked and asked the woman who answered if I could speak to the owner. She told me that he was at the Rotary Market delivering his pots and would be back in a few hours. When I returned a few hours later I found the ceramicist working on his wheel. He was very friendly and told me that at that moment he was busy with an order and that he would be available to talk to me the next day. When I returned the following day there was a huge wood shipment on the road outside his studio. When I walked up to talk with him he told me anxiously that he was much too busy to speak with me at that moment and requested that I come back the following day. I told him I would return the next day and did so. This time he was not so pleasant and asked me what I wanted with him. When I told him about my research he asked where I was from and upon hearing that I was Canadian, he began to curse at me, yelling about how foreigners had no right asking him questions. He demanded that I buy his products or he would not help me. I quickly apologized for intruding on him and walked away puzzled at the encounter and wondering what I had done wrong. This encounter was an exception, and for the most part all of the interviews went well.

Coding

I used a modified “grounded theory” technique in my analysis (Strauss and Corbin 1990). I read and re-read the interviews looking for similarities and differences in responses. I found that certain patterns and themes appeared. “As in any social science research that includes open-ended questions, a wealth of information was gathered that was not directly related to the question asked, but completely relevant to the research study” (Boyd 1996: 217). After completing transcriptions of the interviews I opened separate files for each of the now 85 questions and concepts I had found. I then analysed and coded the participants’ responses and incorporated them into this chapter.

Validity

All of the interviewees will have access to my thesis upon request. Three ceramicists have already requested copies be sent to them and I am happy to do so.

Participants

Interviews were conducted with José Encalada, Carlos Vanegas, Juan Pacheco, José Ramon, Ana Ramon and Eduardo Segovia all of whom have their studios in the Convención del 45 neighbourhood. The other two informants were Eduardo Vega, whose studio is located on Turi Mountain on the outskirts of the city, and Alejandro Crespo, who is not a ceramicist but instead the owner of a mid-sized factory located in an industrial park in Cuenca.

Results

Remembering the Past: Ceramicists Recount Their Own Histories

The six ceramicists interviewed at the Convención del 45 neighbourhood were all raised in that neighbourhood. Their ages varied from approximately 35 to 80. Yet, although they all grew up in the same neighbourhood their stories, specifically regarding how they learned the skills necessary to do their craft, differed:

I learned over 60 years ago, no one taught me, I taught myself [José Ramon³]

Another ceramicist stated:

I went out to look for work when I was fourteen. I learned to prepare clay. Soon I learned a little more and then I went to another *maestro* and learned his designs. I have had two *maestros*. First I learned how to prepare the clay and then the other *maestro* taught me how to model clay and how to model each piece. The rest comes from each person, from within. Slowly I learned how to create new designs and how to glaze with different colours. [José Encalada⁴]

These two ceramicists emphasized the fact that they taught themselves, that the techniques came from within. Alternatively, others emphasized the help they obtained from people such as teachers, clergy or family members:

I learned in school, in Sunday school, but only very basic techniques. I also learned through contact with my neighbourhood. I grew up in this neighbourhood, right next to Don José Encalada. I spent a lot of time with him [Juan Pacheco⁵].

³ José Ramon was interviewed in his studio, located at the Convención del 45 neighbourhood, on July 24th, 2002.

⁴ José Encalada was interviewed in his studio, located at the Convención del 45 neighbourhood, on July 11th, 2002.

⁵ Juan Pacheco was interviewed in his studio, located at the Convención del 45 neighbourhood, on July 11th, 2002.

My mother married a ceramicist, he was my step-father. I was 3 or 4 when my mother married him. I would go to school and then come home and watch him use the wheel. He would make *ollas, macetas, poncheros*. I am going to be 64 years old. I was born July 24th 1938. I began making ceramics when I began school. My inclination was brought about through the fantastic support of Father Crespi. I would play with clay in class, never listening to my teacher, making whistles, and birds. The schoolteacher would say to the Father “I do not have patience for the Segovia boy, he never wants to do his work and instead makes pigeons out of clay”. The father asked me “What do you like”? I told him “I love working with clay, I live in the neighbourhood where all the pots are made.” So, he took me to the museum where the archaeological materials were kept, all the pre-Columbian artefacts. He would give me clay and clothes. [Eduardo Segovia⁶]

Many of these ceramicists began their careers at a young age:

My father started when he was 15 and he will be 80. We learned from him. [Ana Ramon⁷]
I have been working in this for 40 years; I began when I was 14 years old. [Carlos Vanegas⁸]

This age is concurrent with ethnoarchaeological research which studies the age of apprenticeship in more rural areas (Arnold 1991: 93; Deal 1998: 28-29). Interestingly, women are frequently found to be the primary ceramic producers in these rural areas, yet men are the primary ceramic producers in Convención del 45's urban setting.

During the first half of the 20th century there were many more ceramicists in the neighbourhood than there are today. Although there are no exact numbers ceramicists do remember many families working in the neighbourhood:

⁶ Eduardo Segovia was interviewed in his studio, located at the Convención del 45 neighbourhood, on July 5th, 2002.

⁷ Ana Ramon was interviewed at her studio, located at the Convención del 45 neighbourhood, on July 20th, 2002.

⁸ Carlos Vanegas was interviewed in his studio, located at the Convención del 45 neighbourhood, on July 25th, 2002.

The Convención del 45 began on the corner of Delamar Daniel Alvarago, and from there was the Peraltas house. There were about 50 to 60 families throughout a 1km radius. The Peraltas, Vanegas, Masas, Zapatales, Campoverdes, Jimbos, all of them potters, living side by side. There are no old ceramicists left. I knew 500 people who worked as ceramicists, right up until the 1950s and then they all disappeared. The old ones died one after the other, the Tolas, Paras, Vanegas. Well one Vanega still works. [Eduardo Segovia]

The 21st block and Lamar was the nucleus of the *alfarerias*. That is where my father was and Don Mejillo, Don Tapatanga, Don Masa. None of them are there anymore. [Carlos Vanegas]

Today there are no more than eleven ceramicists still working at the Convención del 45 neighbourhood, and many were not present when the shift towards producing more decorative objects occurred:

Here at the Convención del 45, in this sector are Don Miguel Arias, the Señoritas Alavarros, sisters who work in ceramics, José Encalada, Manuel Arias, Juan Arias, and Florencio Cajamarcas. There are eight authentic *alfareros* here. [Carlos Vanegas]

Seven out of the 8 ceramicists interviewed, including one from outside the Convención del 45 neighbourhood, considered their business a family based one. I include family business to mean one that has or has had more than one family member working either in production or sales at the same time. For example Carlos Vanegas states:

The ceramic producing tradition has been in our family for 100 years. My great-grandmother Philipa Vanegas made ceramics 100 years ago. My grandfather, José Vanegas and my father Carlos Vijilio Vanegas did as well. I am the fourth generation. We have all worked in Cuenca, here at the Convención del 45. My wife also works with me, she sells the products at the market. [Carlos Vanegas]

Other ceramicists stated:

This workshop was formed in 1992 with my brother Freddie who is an industrial engineer as well as a ceramicist. The rest of my family are artisans but not specifically ceramicists. [Juan Pacheco]

My stepfather was a Jimbo (a famous ceramicist family) and Lorena, my niece, works with me today. [Eduardo Segovia]

My father works on the wheel that is why I have dedicated myself to working by hand. My brother is also a ceramicist. [Ana Ramon]

Yet, some ceramicists no longer have the same assistance from family members as they once had, as many young people are obtaining more lucrative means of employment:

In the past the helpers were wives and children. They were only helpers because 30 or 40 years ago the head of the *taller* (studio) was not interested in placing his children in school. What was important was that the wife and children help prepare the materials, work and do the firings. The husband was always in the water and it was believed that one could not be in the water and in the heat for health reasons. So, the wife did the firings. This is no longer the case. [Carlos Vanegas]

My son used to make ceramics but he immigrated to the United States. I am the only one in my family now who produces ceramics. [José Encalada]

Because of this change, some ceramicists have apprentices and assistants working for them. This is not a new occurrence but a tradition that dates back to the colonial period (González 1992: 24):

Only me, my father and the young man who was here, work in the *alfareria*. [Ana Ramon]

I design the pieces but I also have a group of people who help me. [Eduardo Vega⁹]

⁹ Eduardo Vega was interviewed in his studio, located on Turi Mountain, on August 19th, 2002.

I have an assistant that helps me work and I pay him a salary. He helps me prepare the materials, he helps me with many things. He also learns. [José Encalada]

Today many of the apprentices working at the Convención del 45 neighbourhood are women:

Just Lauren (his niece) and myself work in the studio. [Eduardo Segovia]

I have only one person assisting, a woman. [Juan Pacheco]

The factory owner told me:

The majority of workers here are women. They are more agile with their hands. They earn more than men. They are patient. Men do not have their patience. Of 35 people there are five men, the rest are women. It has always been like this. [Alejandro Crespo¹⁰]

The number of female apprentices rises with the types of products being made as well as the size of the industry. Newer more modernized studios have female employees. Again I must emphasize that traditionally Cuenca's urban ceramicists have been men.

Women hold a specific place in the production and sales of ceramics, yet when I asked Ana Ramon why she was not part of the union she responded that it was because she was a woman. This is typical of Third World labour practices; women are willing to earn less because they must provide for their families and are less likely to belong to trade unions and other groups (Brohman 1996: 277). Ana Ramon explains:

There are few women who work in *alfareria*. For example there are three ladies who work by hand. I am separated from my husband and I have four children and live with my father and mother. I do not have enough money. My brother is part of the ceramicists' union but I am not. People in the union seem to get help. One day I will have to work as a washer or

¹⁰ Alejandro Crespo was interviewed in his factory, Monti Turi, located in the Cuenca's industrial park, on July 10, 2002.

ironer because my father cannot make things on the wheel any longer and I do not know how (Figure 4.1). [Ana Ramon]



Figure 4.1. Ana Ramon with Clay Baskets.

The Clay: Ceramicist Discuss the Manufacture and Production of Vessels

Ceramicists were not interested in supplying me with lengthy production information, even after many attempts on my part. Yet, they did focus on specific areas of the manufacturing and production process which they found important. The production technology of the ceramics is not the main focus of my research, but a basic understanding of the production techniques helps in understanding the choices Convención del 45 ceramicists have made.

No one can rightly discern the exact date in which the pottery wheel first arrived in Cuenca. What is known is that it did not exist prior to the colonial period, that is before 1557, and was incorporated in the production of utilitarian goods. Today all of the ceramicists have a wheel but just how often they use it varies:

This wheel is 30 years old. My brother built it out of wood. [José Ramon]

I bought this wheel (of metal construction) four years ago. I bought this wheel for 1,200 *suces*, putting my own materials on it. If I had bought it

with the materials already there it would have cost 1,500 *suces* (Figure 4.2). [José Encalada]

The wheel I use is metal with a foot pedal. [Carlos Vanegas]

I do not use a wheel; I make everything by hand. [Ana Ramon]

I no longer use the wheel. [Eduardo Segovia]

The last two responses are particular cases as Ana Ramon, like many female ceramicists in Cuenca, was never taught to use the wheel while Eduardo Segovia, like other ceramicists, used the wheel in his younger years but now relies more heavily on the use of moulds. Moulds are much more efficient for producing complicated objects such as high relief decoration and for the presentation of human and animal figures (Shepard 1956: 195):

I am an expert in moulds; I know many techniques. [Eduardo Segovia]

I learned to use the wheel but I am not very good at it. I believe that I am best at design. One of the young men who works here now is good with moulds, his father was an *alfarero* (potter). [Eduardo Vega]

We use moulds and the wheel and we also do hand sculptures. [José Encalada]

I work with everything, the wheel, moulds, everything. Here are some pieces of my father's, a mould in his style (Figure 4.2b). [Carlos Vanegas]

We make our own moulds here in the factory. [Alejandro Crespo]

The only ceramicist who does not utilise moulds is José Ramon, who is the oldest of the ceramicists I interviewed and is now semi-retired.



Figure 4.2a. Encalada Kick–Wheel; b. Vanegas Mould.

Kilns varied in form and type amongst the ceramicists I spoke with. There were updraft ceramic kilns, updraft adobe and ceramic kilns, small electric kilns, large electric kilns and gas kilns both small and industrial. Two families were in the process of changing kilns:

Right now we are making a kiln. The kiln we had was of adobe and was too big for the amount of firing we do now so we are constructing one of brick. [Ana Ramon]

I use an electric kiln and a gas kiln. You must have both. One makes one type of work the other another type of work. Electric kilns are very exact, there is no variation, you are sure of your results. In exchange, a gas kiln has variations and sometimes that is not good for the type of work one is doing, especially for murals and more rustic items. The electric is a sure thing, you have no problems with it. Kilns made out of adobe and brick, like they use in the Convención del 45, well these are materials that are refractory, nothing will happen to them. [Eduardo Vega]

The kiln is made of adobe and brick so that I can use a lot of combustibles. This oven is not totally refractory but partially refractory. It is also economical. The oven is square, some people have round ovens because they say the pieces are round so you can fit more pieces inside. [José Encalada]

My kiln is square. I continue using the same adobe oven and it is square (Figure 4.3a.). [Eduardo Segovia]

The type of kiln I use is brick, although I am about to bring a gas kiln from Mexico. It will cost \$7000.00U.S. [Carlos Vanegas]

Our kiln is our biggest machine. We have both an electric and gas kiln but we use the gas one because it is more economical (Figure 4.3b.).
[Alejandro Crespo]

Clearly there is an economic factor in choosing a kiln. Adobe and brick kilns are less expensive to build and repair while gas and electric kilns are costly. Yet even Alejandro Crespo, owner of the mid-sized Monte Turi Factory, does not use his electric kiln because it is too costly to do so.



Figure 4.3a. Segovia Adobe Kiln; b. Monte Turi Gas Kiln.

Clay is obtained in various places throughout Cuenca and outlying regions. In the past clay was freely available, one just drove to the clay mine in Sinincay and removed it.

Today things have changed:

We buy our clay in Sinincay; it is expensive. Since my father was 14 he would obtain clay in Sinincay. [Ana Ramon]

I obtain the clay from various places, from mines that are here in Sinincay. There is another mine in the south close to Loja, other materials come from the eastern slopes of the Andes. [Eduardo Vega]

We buy clay from various places. The red clay comes from Santa Ana and Cadijanay. The sandy clay we buy in Chordeleg. The plastic clay we buy in Sinincay and in the eastern slopes of the Andes. [José Encalada]

The clay is taken from Sinincay which is about 20 minutes by car. Much of the clay deposits are owned by large factories, but in my case this is not a problem. Of course the owners of large factories have stolen clay deposits. People try and take some and the security guards forbid them to. They have taken all of it, and really the clay is not anybody's. [Eduardo Segovia]

I find the clay nearby in Sinincay which is one hour away. I also buy clay in Chordeleg, and Azogues. [Carlos Vanegas]

We buy clay from specialized companies, for instance Explominas. [Alejandro Crespo]

Sinincay is located 4 kilometres north of the Convención del 45 and is easily reached by car.

The price of clay has risen over the last few years, and has risen further since

Ecuador dollarized its currency in 2002:

We now buy in *caretillas*, before it was different. It now costs eight to ten dollars for eight pounds. We used to buy it at 6,000 or 7,000 *suces* but now it is double. [Ana Ramon]

You can buy the clay in *bolquetas*, half *bolquetas*, *caretillas*, and *sacos* the size of a rice bag. A rice bag of clay costs four dollars U.S. I use about 20 bags per week. We are talking about 80 dollars U.S. a week. [José Encalada]

Almost all clay requires some form of preparation before it can be used in forming pottery (Orton et al. 1993: 117). Some ceramicists buy their clay ready made while others prepare it themselves:

We get the clay from Sinincay as plain clay (*barro*). We let that dry and when it is dry we pound it with a stick and turn it into powder. We put the powder to one side and soak the denser part, then we take out the liquid. We prepare the powder by adding more clay. The clay takes a few days in the sun to dry. All the production is done here in the studio. [Ana Ramon]

I make everything by hand. I do not have a grinder for the clay, rather I take off my shoes and step on the clay. None of it is sophisticated. [Eduardo Segovia]

We have begun buying clay from a friend. The results are not satisfactory, yet it helps us a lot with time. [Juan Pacheco]

Ceramicists commented on the fact that the clay employed in the past was not the same as that which is used today:

The pots at the Convención del 45 were vitreous¹¹, you would use them for cooking and after a while they would crack; the pots made in Chordeleg would not because the kaolin had a porosity that the clay here does not have. Here the clay is more compact and very plastic [José Encalada].

Mixing clays from different regions has alleviated this problem, allowing ceramicists to make sturdier ceramic objects.

The Use of Lead Glazes

Glazes were used as early as the colonial period in Cuenca (Jamieson 2000: 191). In chapter two I demonstrated the changes in glazing techniques brought on by modernization and recent health concerns over the use of lead (Rhodes 1973). In fact a recent report from the Archives of Environmental Health reviewed the effects of childhood lead intoxication associated with the manufacture of roof tiles in Ecuador's Andes. The authors discovered that children involved in lead roof tile production had a higher rate of lead in their blood which correlated with higher rates of school failure (Harari and Cullen 1995). Here the ceramicists discuss the types of glazes they use and what they have done to change their glazing techniques:

¹¹ Vitrification is "the action or process of becoming glass; the high-temperature process whereby the particles within a mass fuse, closing the surface pores and forming a homogenous, impervious mass without deformation" (Rice 1987: 484).

I get the glazes (*engobes*) when I go to Guayaquil by car. I stop in Chanquay and get some off the side of the road. [Eduardo Segovia]

I paint “al frio” (post fire painting) with acrylics and sometimes I glaze. [Carlos Vanegas]

When the foreign community discovered the toxicity of lead glazes ceramicists at the Convención del 45 had to yield to a market that refused to purchase items which contained lead:

We used to make glazes that came from car batteries but not anymore. We only make things in terracotta now and sometimes we use glazes that are not lead-based but they are expensive. [Ana Ramon]

Ceramicists are now well aware of the toxicity of lead glazes and the harmful effects of years of lead exposure. Interestingly not all of the artisans agree on how harmful lead glazes are. Some only stopped using lead glazes because the market forced them to:

Before plastic, well I have thought that we never were affected by the lead from the plates, never. Everyone in the world ate off those plates, upper-class, middle-class, and lower-classes. [Eduardo Segovia]

Lead was not something artisans worried about until recently. The Americans and Europeans denounced lead glaze, but Latin American people do not worry about it. All over the world lead was the basis of production. It was hard for artisans to change their mind about using lead, first because artisans utilize brick ovens where there is no proper chimney for ventilation and secondly they only went to temperatures of between 700-750 degrees Celsius. At that temperature no glaze worked unless it had lead. Pure lead, a sulfur of lead from car batteries, was mixed with silicas or quartz to get a glaze (*esmalte*), a glaze that was extremely inexpensive. Batteries were recycled. I have seen many *compañeros* with serious health problems and some have died, even if they do not admit that it was the lead. [Juan Pacheco]

I stopped using lead glazes because they are toxic, they are bad for your health, for your family’s health. Later I wanted to use other varnishes but they are expensive. I make everything in terracotta now. [José Encalada]

My father stopped making traditional pots two years ago because his spine is injured (a side effect of lead use). He made beautiful things, but now we do not use glaze. [Ana Ramon]

We began to know that glazes were toxic when scientists told us. Before, no one cared. Everyone used these products. The popular artisans use these glazes. It is an inexpensive form of producing glazes but very unhealthy. [Eduardo Vega]

Other Tools Used in Production

Contrary to the literature written about ceramic production at the Convención del 45, which emphasizes the homogeneity of production in that neighbourhood (Morochó and Lopez 1996; Sjömann 1991, 1992), I found that different people utilized different techniques (Vanegas T. 1985):

I use hand moulding now. Everything I have learned I have mixed together. That was what I learned at the Convención del 45. I use the same materials that I used when I was young. I find nails, pieces of metal on the street, sticks, rocks. I make everything by hand. [Eduardo Segovia]

Because pieces are made in a brick oven the smoke sticks to them and changes their colour. People like this. I pour the glaze inside of the *cafeterita* (small coffee pot) and leave the outside terracotta. I use this technique a great deal. [Carlos Vanegas]

The amount of pieces made per day can vary depending on the size of the objects, market demand and even the head size of the wheel:

I do not know how many flower-pot bases I can make from a lump of clay, it depends on how much clay there is and the size of the wheel head (*cabeza del torno*). [José Ramon]

Depending on the size of the pieces, I make 10-20 *macetas* (flower pots) per day. It depends how many people ask for them; it can also be just three. I can make 500 small pieces per day because they are small and therefore not so laborious to make. [José Encalada]

I can make 30 large pieces per day or 300 miniature tea sets. [Carlos Vanegas]

Firing times and temperatures also varied. One ceramicist told me that on average:

The ceramics need to be in the kiln (brick) at 900 degrees Celsius for four hours. [Carlos Vanegas]

Mr. Vanegas went on to explain that he would leave the ceramics in the kiln overnight in order to have them cool down slowly.

The Fluidity of Styles

Ceramic styles in Cuenca have changed considerably since the 1940s. In the past items were strictly utilitarian and occasionally a commemorative vessel marking a birthday or event would be made:

They purchased *shilas*, *chocolateras*, *tortilleras*, *poncheras*, *dulceras*, the *dulcera* had between four to six decorative *asas* (handles), and *cazuelas* (Appendix F). These were made until the 1950s. [Eduardo Segovia]

The *empanada* design is called *repulgado* (piecrust rim). I was very good at making this on the wheel. You would spin the wheel and run your hands along the rim. They no longer make these types of pots. We made *platos hondos* that were yellow. My stepfather made huge *medianos*, almost 80cm big. We would write poems, for instance, “*Vecina Rosa, que viva la fiesta, viva el carnaval de Sayuasi*”¹². [Eduardo Segovia]

My great-grandfather made *olletas*, *mulos*, *platos*, *cazuelas*, *poncheras*, *tortilleras*, *saleros* (Appendix F). They stopped making these things around 1950 when plastic and metal arrived. [Carlos Vanegas]

The Global and the Local: Ceramicists Discuss Their Markets

Finding a good place to sell one’s product is important. In the past most ceramicists sold their products in one of the city’s open-air markets:

¹² Neighbour Rosa, long live the celebration, long live the Sayuasi carnival.

The same market was used to sell Chordeleg and Cuenca pots. The Rotary Plaza has only recently been utilized again. Before that the 12 de Agosto Market where the Otavaleños now sell their clothes was used. That is where my mother sold her pots. The Rotary Plaza is more recent. First they were given the 12 de Agosto and then they were sent to the 10 de Agosto. [Eduardo Segovia]

But today, obtaining a location to sell their merchandise can be difficult and many of the ceramicists now sell out of their studios as well as selling items at the Rotary Plaza (Figure 4.4) and local galleries:

We go and give our pieces but they do not want them. We do not have a stand at the Rotary, we sell to people there. I wanted them to give me a stand for myself, so that the product would go from my hands to the market but no one has helped me. Now they pick a few items to sell. I have not taken anything to the Rotary in a year. [Ana Ramon]

To get a spot at the Rotary you have to pay the municipality. They rent for two years at a time. [José Ramon]

I only sell from my studio. The clients come here. I do not sell anywhere else. I have always sold here. Sometimes wholesalers come and take pieces to other provinces but they come here to get the pieces. [José Encalada]

I have a little stand at the Rotary Plaza and one at *La Casa de la Mujer* (The Woman's House¹³). [Carlos Vanegas]

We have distributors in Quito such as Kinara, Folklore Olgafish, and we used to have a pair of galleries in Guayaquil, they helped us with commercialisation there and here in Cuenca. [Juan Pacheco]

I have this site which is very pretty. It is a touristic spot, therefore many tourists come here to buy. I also sell through the internet, internationally. [Eduardo Vega]

¹³ La Casa del la Mujer (The Woman's House) is a non-profit marketing initiative with a building devoted to the promotion of folk art sales by female artisans.



Figure 4.4. Rotary Market.

The interviewees made it clear that they suffered a decline in sales due to the importation of plastics and metals during the mid-20th century. Their sales diminished substantially and today many artisans can no longer find a market in which to sell their products:

Plastic arrived after W.W. II and people stopped buying. Today people can barely feed themselves let alone buy objects. [José Ramon]

Ceramic purchasers have changed over time. In the past everyone used locally made glazed earthenwares for both cooking and food consumption:

They stopped making *platos hondos* about ten years ago. I have been working since 1962 and in 1978 I was making these bowls by the thousands; we would send them to Chimborazo or Riobamba. People utilized them there because other types of plates were not shipped there but now plastic and china have entered the market. Now there are plastic plates that fall and do not break. [José Encalada]

Before 1965 no one ate out of porcelain plates, especially the lower classes. Everyone ate out of clay bowls, *platos hondos*. My father would make 40 dozen per day. It was a good business, but at the end of the 60s the boom in plastics took over. People did not want to buy ceramics because they broke too easily. Metal was very expensive, only people with money could buy it. Plastic came to be cheaper than clay. That is when it all ended. Today I make one of a kind pieces which I sell here and sometimes to European clients as well as Asian and African clients. Now many people from other countries come. This was not always the case, now they are the ones who buy. [Eduardo Segovia]

All of the ceramicists had their specific opinions regarding the influx of large-scale ceramic producers, which opened factories in Cuenca during the latter half of the 20th century. Opinions ranged from indifference to anger and many blamed the factories for raising the cost of their production and taking away part of their market:

Mr. Juri, who owns many of the ceramic factories, who owns Grupo Cerámico in Cuenca came here once with my brother who works at the University of Cuenca del Azuay. My brother was friends with this man. So he came here and started copying our pieces like the *cazuelitas*. Since he used moulds he made them fast and in large numbers. We lost our market, what could we do? [Ana Ramon]

The large factories own the clay deposits. I think Mr. Juri owns a lot of the clay mines. [José Ramon]

I do not think that I compete with large factories because they have methods of production, their way of doing things. Ceramicists in small studios make their own things, there is no competition. [José Encalada]

A problem in this city was the existence of a monopoly, a few families were in charge of all the raw material importation and commercialisation. All information was filtered through there, there was no access but this has changed slowly. People here wanted to buy ceramics from Europe so large companies, who copied European designs, did very well. Large corporations want there to be homogeneity in style because then they can sell one product. [Juan Pacheco]

In fact, Alejandro Crespo, the owner of Monte Turi, the only mid-sized factory that I visited, has also been affected by large-scale international ceramic producers:

People were limited to buying ceramics from here but now with globalisation, and commerce without borders, lower-class people want to buy things made in China, in Taiwan because they are cheap. If you make very elaborate products with lots of detail you have to sell to the elite, they are the ones who appreciate art. Buying a jug made by hand costs ten to sixteen dollars but buying a jug made in China costs five dollars. [Alejandro Crespo]

In 2002 the Ecuadorian government, like other South American countries who are under IMF (International Monetary Fund) (Brohman 1996: 133) structural adjustment programs, dollarized its currency. Ceramicists discuss how this has personally affected them:

The dollarization has affected us negatively. We work so hard to get twenty or thirty dollars. [Ana Ramon]

After the dollarization I imagine a wheel costs between 500 and 600 dollars U.S. In the 1960s a plate would cost 15 *suces*. Now the *sucre* is useless, what we use now is the dollar, so one piece now costs 4 dollars U.S. The dollarization has not only affected me but all artisans. [José Encalada]

In our situation now, people are having a hard time with the dollarization, it does not work. Prices have gone up and people do not have money to buy adornments. Today people can barely buy food, whereas before, with our own currency, I sold a great deal in our country but not anymore. [Eduardo Segovia]

The Nostalgia Market

Today ceramicists are making new types of ceramic products incorporating new styles which cater to both the tourist and nostalgia markets that emerged during the last half of the 20th century. I define the nostalgia market as one that looks to “some sense of lost space and lost time from which contemporary social systems can be measured and found wanting” (Turner 1987: 148); late 20th century nostalgia is “intimately bound up with consumerism” (Robertson 1992: 159). The ceramicists explained to me how and why the style of their ceramics changed over time:

Lately the pieces I make are decorative but in the past everything I made was utilitarian. I made utilitarian pieces such as *cazuelas*, *ollas*, *olletas*, they were all utilitarian but now there is a change. It happened as the city

got bigger around 1975. With modernization more decorative pieces became popular. [José Encalada]

Today I make *azucareras*, *casitas*, *macetas*, and bird whistles while in the past I made *cazuelitas* and *platitos* (Appendix F). [Ana Ramon]

Before, we painted little birds, flowers, and *burros* (donkeys) and the technique was totally different, now we no longer make these things unless someone asks for them. [Eduardo Segovia]

Ceramicist's current production lines are quite different from items produced in the past:

The pieces I make are decorative, others are utilitarian. Sometimes I make utilitarian plates, cups, etc., but I also make decorative pieces like the ones found in the entrance to peoples' homes. I have large ceramic angels that people put on their roofs or in their gardens under a tree, it looks elegant. [José Encalada]

I make little cups and whistles. [Ana Ramon]

I make flower pot bases. [José Ramon]

Most of my pieces are one of a kind. [Eduardo Segovia]

I make *lecheras*, *cafeteras*, *azucareras*, all in miniature....Here is a *cantaro* like they made in San Miguel de Porotos. I shrink the form and make it into an adornment. [Carlos Vanegas]

I use to make large pots and vases but now items are flat and compact with wood borders so they will not break in suitcases. [Juan Pacheco]

Today, design inspiration comes from many different avenues: I dedicated myself to reading Picasso, Artiega, Capodemonte, Shaeolin from China, and Apauntenberg from Germany. [Eduardo Segovia]

I get my ideas from my imagination and from books; I have ceramic books. I use my father's models, magazines, and periodicals. [Carlos Vanegas]

The dollarization of Ecuador's currency has severely affected people's expendable income. Yet the nostalgia market continues to flourish and those that have

not begun producing more traditional looking pieces commented that they had begun to consider moving towards this avenue:

I took photos to Spain which showed replicas of past designs. These photos showed the pots, the *shila*, *chocolatera*, *tortillera*, *ponchera*, *dulcera*, *cazuela*. These models show what I was making up until the 1950s. People there were very interested in them. [Eduardo Segovia]

I sell mostly to tourists from other regions of Ecuador. I think that if I began making more traditional pieces people would buy them because they do not exist anymore. People will one day lament at not having a traditional piece of ceramic in their home. [Carlos Vanegas]

We have an artisanal production but it is small. We sell it all in Ecuador, in local places. Local people like it. We make between 100-150 traditional items. You have to sell to specific niches. [Alejandro Crespo]

My products are large and resemble traditional types of vessels. [José Encalada]

Just Visiting: The Impact of Backpackers on Ceramic Production

International tourism has been described as a “pseudo-reconstruction” of “authentic otherness”; people go in search of the authentic and the communities they visit attempt to cater to tourists’ desires (MacCannell 1989: xv). Many of the ceramicists talked about their encounters with the tastes of tourists:

We did not know *gringos* (foreigners) here until 20 years ago. They started coming slowly one after the other. I sell my ceramics here and sometimes I have European clients. Now many people from other countries come, this was not the case before. They are the ones who buy. [Eduardo Segovia]

Just a little while ago a German agent came asking for more traditional looking products, as did a Spaniard. The Spaniards say they have a lot of money allotted to the purchase of artisanal goods but they want something identifiable. What they forgot was the following: the Andes is one, therefore if I buy something from Bolivia, Peru, or Ecuador, it might very well look the same. We can make a zone but it is complicated. It means

raising costs. Ecuador produces the same things produced in Mexico; they produce what is in fashion and they sell it cheaply. [Juan Pacheco]

Although ceramicists wish to reproduce traditional pieces for tourists and the nostalgia market the fact that they have been miniaturised and different glazes are now used emphasizes the point that material culture is ever-changing. In part they are creating a consciously traditional object for tourist and local consumption, yet these objects are different from those dating before World War II. They are hybrids of what was produced before the 1940s, they are not pre-1940 vessels.

Ceramicists and the Government

Ceramicists are small business owners. They have all dealt with government agencies in the past and here they discuss their feelings in relation to the amount of support they have received:

I have received no government support. [José Encalada]

There is little government support. We get no government support but we must also criticize ourselves. We ourselves are incapable of moving forward. We could have consultations with the government, we could ask for help. Unfortunately, we like paternalism, to have things done for us. But, when one does want to make changes there is no support [Eduardo Segovia].

The *alcalde* (mayor) has cultural patrimony parties. What he should do is show all the artisanal things being made here. He should put us in there so that tourists can see us. [Ana Ramon]

Not all the government involvement has been seen as negative. Some ceramicists like Juan Pacheco have had good experiences, as he received training that he continues to utilize:

In 1981 a ceramic course was introduced through CREA (Centro de Reconversión Económica del Azuay). This foundation opened with the idea of helping this zone when there was an economic depression, and they encouraged the creation of micro-businesses. CREA brought in Spaniards who taught ceramics as well as other artisanal trades. The techniques I learned there were very practical. [Juan Pacheco]

As explained previously, there have been a number of private organizations which have attempted to assist ceramicists in improving production and sales, again with mixed results:

Foundations do nothing; they are just a name. They are only interested in working with money. [José Ramon]

The ceramicists who are brought in by foundations from Europe to teach new techniques come to large factories, not to us. [José Encalada]

Over there (pointing to a section of his studio) is a tomb that the Fundación Paul Rivet made. It is a gas kiln. I will be buried there. The Fundación built it but the money ran out. They never finished it because the money ran out. They will bury me there with a *cantaro* of *chicha* (traditional beer). [Carlos Vanegas]

I asked Eduardo Vega, who co-founded the Fundación Paul Rivet with his wife Alexandra Kennedy-Troya, to tell me why they started the foundation:

Paul Rivet is a foundation that we put together about 14 years ago. There were 2 things we wanted to do. We wanted to save a house that was in ruins, and to do that we had to create an organization. Ceramics was the obvious choice, as I am a ceramicist. We wanted to help ceramicists and those who were involved with ceramics. It has changed a bit over time. They help ceramic artisans but now they also help people that work with fire and iron and jewellers. Once in a while we brought people from other countries to teach courses. People made popular items out of tradition, it was hard to teach the older ones. There are young people who took courses and learned more techniques but these are mostly young people, children of ceramicists. [Eduardo Vega]

Clearly the needs of small-scale ceramicists were central to the construction of the Paul Rivet Foundation, yet some of the ceramicists I spoke with did not feel that they were being assisted in a meaningful way:

Institutions do very little to help artisans. In many cases they come and obtain information but do not reciprocate it with help. The artisan has solely been a well of information; institutions have not helped back. Organizations should ask us what we need rather than tell us what we need. There is always this paternalism. There should be reciprocity. [Carlos Vanegas]

Because of the lack of concrete help received by ceramicists I wondered if they had tried to unite in other ways, such as by building co-operatives. One ceramicist explains the difficulty with this:

Here at the Convención del 45, well everyone makes their own product with his own designs, with his own kiln, therefore making items of the same quality is difficult. To start a co-operative we would have to close our home studios and open up a central industrial studio. We would have to contract one technical engineer and we would all sell our items there. It means losing all independence. Making hats is different because women had a few hours a day where they sat and made them. Here artisans live off of this, it would mean renouncing our patrimony, everything. [Juan Pacheco]

This individuality has not always played a positive role in ceramicists' lives. Being small business owners most of their lives, ceramicists would have a difficult time working closely together and sharing their ideas for fear of competition. The ability to create and maintain a meaningful ceramicists' union has been difficult. They do not see a contradiction between their need for government support and their suspicions of collective organizations. With the emergence of young non-family apprentices this suspicion may cease.

El Gremio (The Union)

Co-operatives were not deemed useful by ceramicists. Some tried to improve their economic conditions through other means such as belonging to a union. Those that once belonged to or continue to be a part of a union explain its function and how useful it has been in assisting them:

There used to be an *alfareros*' (potters') union but it no longer exists. Now there is a ceramicists' union. The *gremio* (union) for *alfareros* started years ago but they have all died. [José Ramon]

There are 20 members in the union. There are no longer many members from the Convención del 45. The ceramicists union is about 50 years old. First there were *alfareros* and soon after ceramicists. There are new people there now. We have to pay a monthly fee. What the union does for us depends on the president. It depends on the dynamism of the president. The president does things with health and granting credits. He does only a little bit but it is something. [Carlos Vanegas]

For the most part ceramicists were not comfortable discussing the union with me and there was no documented information on its mandate. This may be due to the lack of trust that many ceramicists have towards organizations. The union has begun allowing ceramicists from other parts of the city to join them in an attempt to increase its numbers and its voice.

Considering Change

Some might argue that, as craft-producers, small-scale ceramicists face a bleak future, what Terry Smith calls "the inevitability of craft's slide into extinction" (Smith 1997: 23). Yet, Smith believes that there is a resistance to modernity and all its trappings and that craft production has become re-valued in the face of mass production (Smith

1997: 27-28). With that said I asked the ceramicists what they felt the future held for small-scale ceramic producers:

One day studios will not exist, it makes me sad. My father does not make money anymore. [Ana Ramon]

I think studios like mine will disappear in the future. Large factories are closing down small studios. The government does not help us. The tradition of different artisanal neighbourhoods will disappear if the government does not help. [José Encalada]

But now over time there are only one or two *alfareros* (potters) remaining that I know of. They are old and their world has been lost. None of their children continue to make ceramics, they are doctors, architects, professionals; none of them have continued with ceramic production. [Eduardo Segovia]

Young people no longer want to learn but my son will learn. Things have changed; we must try to revive the story of the artisan. We carry this tradition in our blood and the love of ceramics and clay. We must find someone to follow us, in my case my son. [Carlos Vanegas]

Chapter Summary

Although the ceramicists at the Convención del 45 share some of the same production techniques and economic histories they also differ in many ways. Principally, each ceramicist has transformed his or her production in order to meet the needs of both local and international markets.

Historically ceramicists at the Convención del 45 produced utilitarian glazed earthenwares, often learning the trade from family, neighbours, or working as apprentices. Over time the number of ceramicists has diminished. Those that continue to produce objects now have assistants from outside the family who are paid a salary. Women continue to be the primary vendors.

Production is no longer solely based on the use of the wheel as the use of plaster moulds has increased over time; many ceramicists now use both interchangeably depending on their needs. Types of clays, kilns and glazes also differ amongst ceramicists. Specifically, the use of lead glazes, once the primary type of glaze utilized, has been replaced with other varieties of glazes. Most ceramicists have consciously done this because of the toxicity of lead glazes and the fear that their families may be exposed to harmful toxins.

Ceramic styles have also changed through time, as a means of catering to new markets. Small objects which are easily transported in bags and suitcases, traditional hybrid pieces, and large colonial style containers are all being made, each targeting a different part of the market, specifically towards the tourism and the nostalgia markets. These markets are the best chance small-scale ceramicists have of continuing their tradition.

Sales have been affected by both large-scale ceramic producers who compete with their smaller counterparts and by the dollarization of the *Sucre*. This monetary change has limited the expendable income of local people meaning that less is spent on decorative objects. Large-scale ceramicists have copied traditional designs and fabricated them faster and at less expense. They have also bought the clay mines which were once freely available to everyone. Most ceramicists feel that the future of small-scale ceramic studios is bleak, yet those that are positive about the future are encouraging their children to carry on the tradition and they continue to teach new apprentices. Clearly ceramicists, who have had to deal with the emergence of post-industrial late 20th

century changes, still have an active, although ever changing, role in Cuenca's local economy.

Chapter 5: *La Casa De Las Posadas* (The Posadas House)

Introduction

The excavation was conducted at the Posadas House in July of 2001 and was part of a larger project, the Cuenca Historical Archaeology project, led by Dr. Ross Jamieson. Unfortunately there is no documented history pertaining to the Posadas House (Figure 5.2). The architecture appears to be late 18th century but this is based purely on the architectural features (Jamieson 2000). At one time the Posadas House was a colonial “inn” located “two blocks west and one block north of the San Sebastián parish church, on the edge of the colonial urban core” (Jamieson 2000: 72-83). Because this house was, and continues to be, located on one of the main roads into Cuenca, it was perfectly positioned to function as an inn for travellers.

During the 20th century the Posadas House was a private residence co-owned by the Bernal and Neyra families. In 2000 the house was purchased by the city of Cuenca in order to preserve its architecture; the city gave us permission to excavate. During the summer of 2001 Mr. Bernal and his family lived in the house and allowed us to place test units throughout the back portion of the property. Dr. Ross Jamieson had previously done an architectural study of the Posadas House but had never before excavated the site (Jamieson 2000: 72-83). Thus, this was an opportunity to obtain archaeological materials from a colonial building that had remained in use right into the 21st century (Fig. 5.1).

This chapter will outline the results of this excavation and will include a description of the excavation context and the artefacts unearthed. I will also present a

preliminary typological investigation of *plato hondo* vessels, coarse earthenware ceramics excavated from a 1940s kiln within the Posadas property. If this typology withstands scrutiny it will assist future research conducted on coarse earthenware ceramics from Cuenca. Finally, I will analyse design motifs from various Azuay region coarse earthenware vessels. I will then compare them to design motifs found on the *plato hondo* kiln collection.

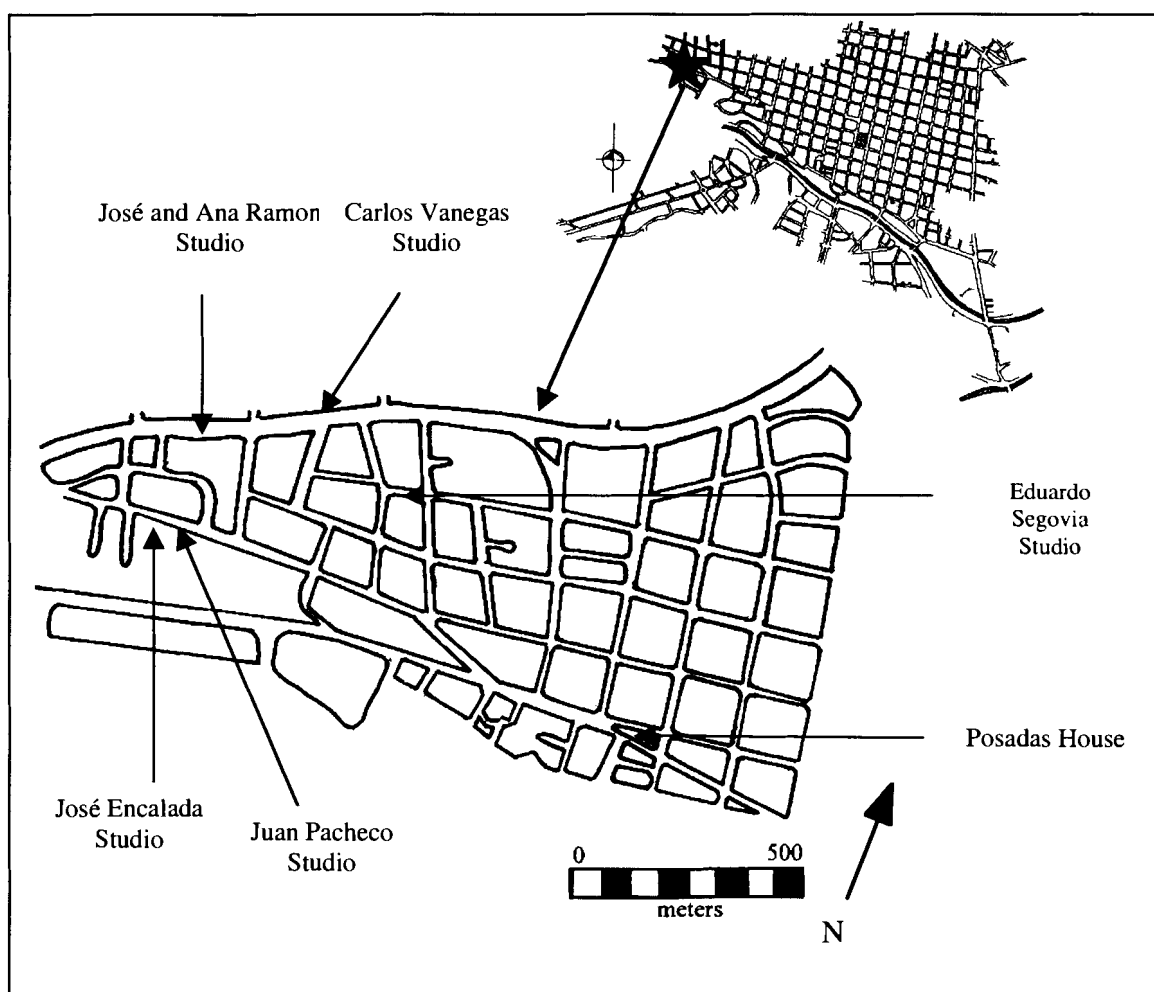


Figure 5.1. Posadas House and Convención del 45 Neighbourhood.

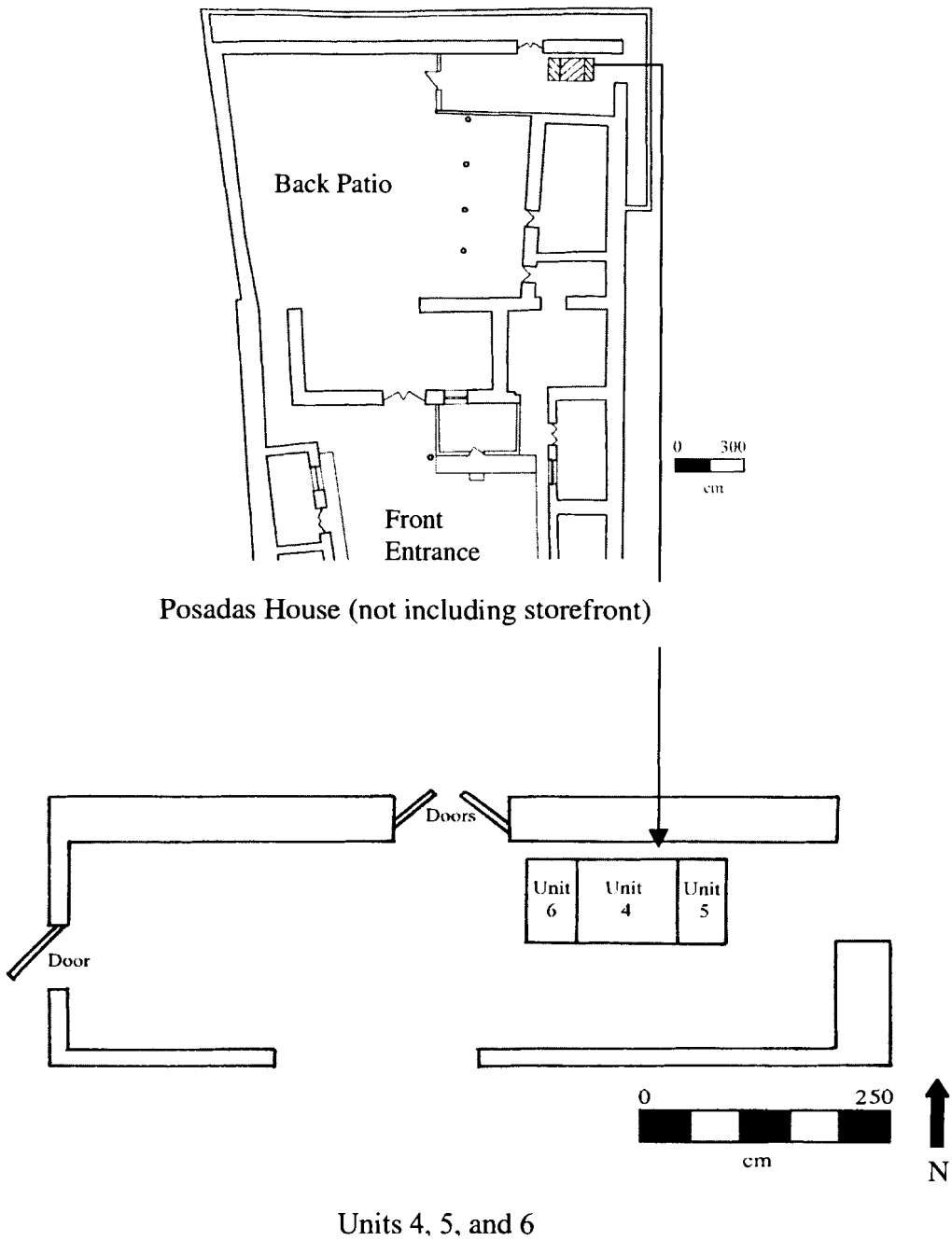


Figure 5.2. Posadas House: Units 4, 5 and 6.

House 24 – The Posadas House Kiln Excavation

During the first two days of excavation at the Posadas House we randomly placed three test units throughout the back patio. On the third day of excavations we placed a test unit on the southeast section of the back patio; this unit contained a brick kiln. Unit 4 was 1x1 metres in size. The unit was excavated in arbitrary 20cm levels until natural stratigraphic changes were encountered at which point levels were changed. Excavation was with shovels and trowels, all material was screened through quarter inch (3mm) screens. In total, Unit 4 contained six levels, including the surface level. The surface level was compact soil created from constant walking. Material was organized initially by mode of manufacture and each category was further differentiated by artefact type (Figure 5.1 and 5.2).

The stratigraphy can be chronologically separated into later levels 1, 2, and 3, which consisted of garden build up, and the earlier kiln deposit, levels 4 and 5, which contained ceramic wasters. The garden deposit included plastic, indicating that it was a post 1940s deposit. No plastic was found in the kiln deposit which constituted the second and older context in the stratigraphic sequence (Figure 5.3a).

In Unit 4, level 2 we discovered a brick wall on the north side of the unit. Mr. Bernal, who observed our excavations, remembered his father having a kiln in that exact location 60 years earlier, ca. 1940. We continued to excavate through the 20th century garden deposit until we saw a sharp change in soil and artefacts at the end of level 3.

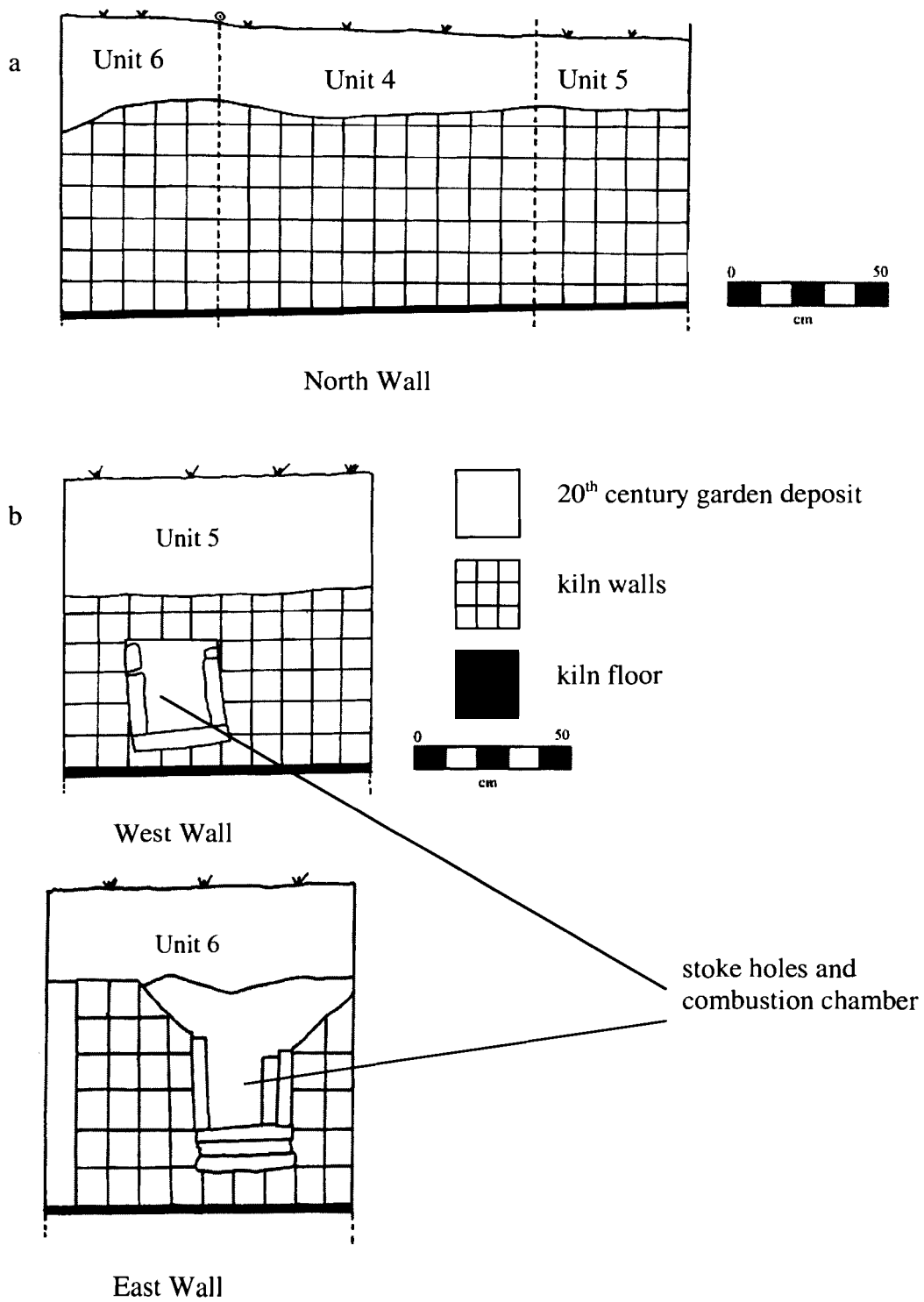


Figure 5.3. Kiln Profiles: a. North Wall, b. West Wall, c. East Wall.

Unit 4, level 4 contained a great deal of kiln refuse, including burnt soil, brick wall debris, and increasingly, very large ceramic sherds and nearly whole vessels. There was no plastic found in this level (Table 5.2); in previous levels plastic was present (Table 5.1). As we continued to excavate we discovered that Unit 4 did indeed contain a brick kiln, similar to kilns still in use at the Convención del 45 neighbourhood today.

We decided to open two more units adjacent to Unit 4 in order to expose the western and eastern walls of the kiln. Units 5 and 6, on the western and eastern sides of Unit 4, respectively, both measured 0.50 x 1m (Figure 5.2). By this time we had determined that the kiln deposit represented one depositional event, as it was very homogenous, thus Units 5 and 6 were allocated only three levels, including the surface level (Figure 5.3b, c). The 20th century garden deposit from Units 5 and 6 was not screened and artefacts were not kept. The artefacts from the first three layers of Unit 4 have been recorded and will be analysed separately from the kiln artefacts. The kiln context, which includes Unit 4, Level 3, 4, and 5 and Units 5 and 6, Level 2, have been analysed together as I believe they are from one depositional event.

There are two possibilities regarding the nature of the kiln deposit. The first is that the assemblage consisted of a final firing which was left intact and sealed shut by the ceramicist. The second, and more plausible explanation is that once the kiln was no longer of use to the ceramicist he filled it with wasters that had been fired over time and placed them back into the kiln, as the open disused kiln would have

been both a convenient place for refuse and a hazardous depression in the rear of the house. Glazed and unglazed ceramic earthenwares are rarely fired together as they require different firing times and temperatures. If fired together the plainwares may adhere to the glazewares while inside the kiln. Because there are glazed, slipped and plainware sherds in this assemblage, I believe the latter explanation to be the most plausible (Rice, 1987: 99).

Table 5.1. Unit 4, Level surface, 1, 2, 3; 20th Garden Artefacts

| Artefact | N |
|--|-------|
| <i>coarse earthenware</i> | 1,237 |
| <i>plastic</i> | 3 |
| <i>ferrous</i> | 30 |
| <i>RWE (refined white earthenware)</i> | 9 |
| <i>porcelain</i> | 1 |
| <i>slate</i> | 1 |
| <i>glass</i> | 5 |
| <i>bone</i> | 150 |
| <i>earthenware brick</i> | 11 |
| <i>earthenware roof tile</i> | 141 |

Table 5.2. Unit 4, Level 4 and 5; Units 5 and 6, Level 2; Kiln Artefacts

| Artefact | N |
|--|------|
| <i>coarse earthenware</i> | 2328 |
| <i>ferrous</i> | 75 |
| <i>RWE (refined white earthenware)</i> | 11 |
| <i>glass</i> | 6 |
| <i>bone</i> | 130 |
| <i>earthenware brick</i> | 87 |
| <i>earthenware roof tile</i> | 687 |
| <i>earthenware floor tile</i> | 77 |

The ceramics produced in this kiln are utilitarian coarse earthenwares. The following rim tables demonstrate the range of vessel rim types found within the 20th century garden deposit (Table 5.3) and inside the kiln deposit (Table 5.4). Rim

sherds are “considered especially important because they usually reveal more about vessel shape than the body” (Shepard 1956: 245). Rim and base forms were measured and recorded. A standardized list of vessel rims, and base forms, was created and each type was assigned a code (Figure 5.4). I decided to conduct a typological study of the ceramics inside the kiln because the various forms of vessels represented a relatively homogenous style which dominated the assemblage.

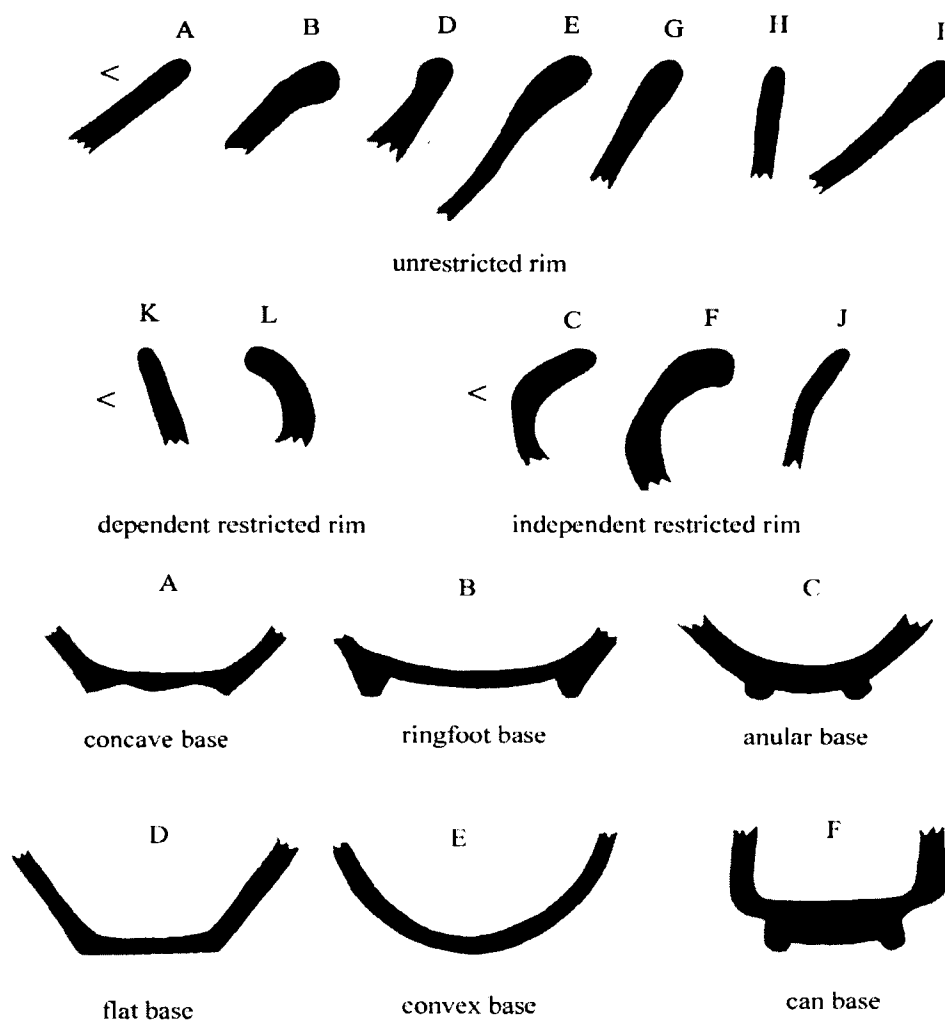


Figure 5.4. Rim and Base Form Chart.

The garden deposit has a total of 241 rims with 12 different rim form types including unidentified rim forms (Table 5.5). The kiln deposit has a total of 692 rim sherds with 11 different rim form types including unidentified rim forms (Table 5.6).

Table 5.3. 20th Century Garden Deposit: Rim Types and Counts

| Rim Form | N | % of Total |
|---------------|------------|-------------|
| A | 34 | 14% |
| B | 23 | 9.5% |
| C | 4 | 1.7% |
| D | 6 | 2.5% |
| E | 83 | 34.4% |
| F | 6 | 2.5% |
| G | 32 | 13.3% |
| H | 4 | 1.7% |
| I | 6 | 2.5% |
| J | 6 | 2.5% |
| K | 2 | .8% |
| unidentified | 35 | 14.5% |
| TOTAL: | 241 | 100% |

Table 5.4. Posadas Kiln (House 24) Deposit: Rim Types and Counts

| Rim Form | N | % of Total |
|---------------|------------|-------------|
| A | 59 | 8.5% |
| B | 88 | 12.7% |
| C | 12 | 1.7% |
| D | 3 | .4% |
| E | 324 | 46.8% |
| F | 3 | .4% |
| G | 95 | 13.7% |
| H | 2 | .3% |
| I | 65 | 9.4% |
| J | 5 | .7% |
| unidentified | 37 | 5.3% |
| TOTAL: | 692 | 100% |

Table 5.5. 20th Century Garden Deposit: Rim Type and Diameter Frequency

| Rim Diameter | Rim Forms | | | | | | | | | | | | Total | % of Total | |
|--------------|-----------|---|---|---|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---------|-------|------------|------|
| | A | B | C | D | E | F | G | H | I | J | K | Unknown | | | |
| 2cm | | | 2 | | | | | 2 | | | | | | 4 | 1.7 |
| 4cm | | 1 | | | | | | | 5 | | | | | 6 | 2.5 |
| 6cm | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | | | | | | 7 | 2.9 |
| 8cm | 2 | | | | 1 | | 2 | | | | | 1 | | 6 | 2.5 |
| 10cm | 2 | | | | 1 | | 1 | | 1 | | | | | 5 | 2.1 |
| 12cm | | | 1 | | 2 | | 3 | | | | | | 4 | 10 | 4.1 |
| 14cm | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 | | | 1 | | 2 | | | 4 | 15 | 6.2 |
| 16cm | 7 | 9 | | 3 | 27 | 1 | 9 | | | 4 | 1 | | 9 | 70 | 29 |
| 18cm | 3 | 3 | | | 5 | | 2 | | | | | | 1 | 14 | 5.8 |
| 20cm | 10 | 4 | 1 | | 30 | 3 | 4 | | | | | | 2 | 54 | 22.4 |
| 22cm | 3 | 1 | | | 8 | | 1 | | | | | | | 13 | 5.4 |
| 24cm | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | 2 | .8 |
| 26cm | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | 2 | .8 |
| unknown | 2 | 1 | | | 6 | | 9 | | | | | | 15 | 33 | 13.7 |
| Total | | | | | | | | | | | | | 241 | 100% | |

Table 5.6. Kiln Deposit: Rim Type and Diameter Frequency

| Rim Diameter | Rim Form | | | | | | | | | | | Total | % of Total | |
|--------------|----------|----|---|---|-----|---|----|---|----|---|---------|-------|------------|------|
| | A | B | C | D | E | F | G | H | I | J | Unknown | | | |
| 4cm | 2 | | | | 2 | | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | 7 | 1 |
| 6cm | 2 | 1 | 2 | | 2 | | 1 | | 3 | | | | 11 | 1.5 |
| 8cm | 2 | | | | 4 | | 1 | 1 | | 3 | 2 | | 13 | 1.9 |
| 10cm | 1 | 2 | 3 | | 5 | | 2 | | | | 1 | | 14 | 2.1 |
| 12cm | 4 | 5 | 4 | 1 | 1 | | 2 | | | 1 | 1 | | 19 | 2.7 |
| 14cm | 1 | 1 | | 1 | 7 | 1 | 2 | | 4 | | | | 17 | 2.5 |
| 16cm | 22 | 44 | 3 | 1 | 180 | 1 | 37 | | 36 | | 3 | | 372 | 47.3 |
| 18cm | 11 | 20 | | | 106 | | 20 | | 16 | | 4 | | 177 | 25.6 |
| 20cm | 1 | 3 | | | 8 | 1 | 2 | | 1 | | | | 16 | 2.3 |
| 22cm | | | | | 2 | | | | | | | | 2 | .3 |
| 24cm | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | .1 |
| 26cm | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | .1 |
| 28cm | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | .1 |
| 30cm | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | .1 |
| unknown | 10 | 12 | | | 7 | | 26 | | 4 | 1 | 26 | | 86 | 12.4 |
| TOTAL | | | | | | | | | | | | 692 | 100% | |

Table 5.3 and Table 5.4 demonstrate the rate at which rim diameters appear with particular rim forms in both the garden fill deposit and the kiln deposit. While 16cm and 20cm rims are most frequent in the garden fill (Table 5.5), 16cm and 18cm diameters are the most frequent rim forms found in the kiln deposit (Table 5.6). The most commonly occurring rim types in the garden fill deposit are types E, followed by A, G and B. The most commonly occurring rim types in the kiln deposit are E, followed by G, B, I, and A. All of these rim types are from unrestricted vessels (Shepard 1956: 231).

***Plato Hondo* Vessels**

Using the materials from both the garden fill and the kiln deposit I have decided to delineate rim diameters ranging from between 16 and 20cm as being of the *plato hondo* variety, or deep bowl. *Plato hondo* vessels have been found in the Santo Domingo Convent in Quito, Ecuador dating to the beginning of the 17th century. They are characterised as having an unrestricted rim, convex body, and concave base (Buys 1997: 116) *Plato hondo* rim forms include rim types A, B, E, G, and I. *Plato hondo* is a term used by ceramicists at Convención del 45 to describe this form and size of vessel. The *plato hondo* was used to consume stews, soups and other meals before factory made products, both local and international, appeared on the Ecuadorian market after World War II (Figure 5.5). The garden and kiln assemblages both contained more *plato hondo* vessels than any other type of vessel with a total of 620 rim sherds falling within the delineated *plato hondo* rim diameters

and types thus making up 66% of the identifiable rims in the collection. I believe that these two deposits demonstrate a utilitarian ceramic production site.

There was a total of 35 partially complete vessels that contained both a rim and base in the collection, all of them *plato hondos*. Using my pre-determined *plato hondo* rim form and diameter measurements as a guide, I was able to determine the range of sizes in which *plato hondo* vessels appeared. Of these 35 vessels only one lacked a cavetto, a typical feature of *plato hondo* vessels (Figure 5.5). The cavetto is the concave area between the obverse centre and rim of open vessel forms (Lister and Lister 1987: 355).

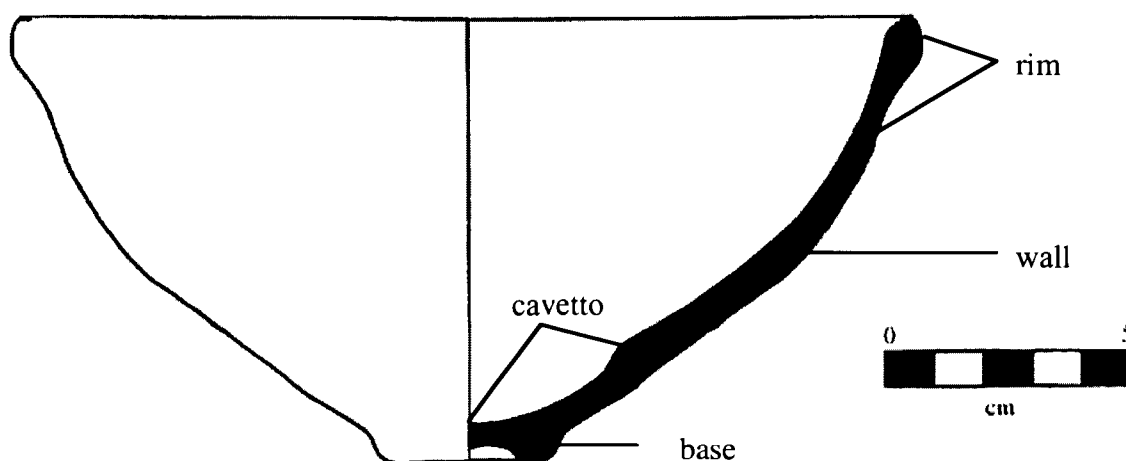


Figure 5.5. Profile of *Plato Hondo* with Cavetto.

Only rim types E and I appear amongst the partially complete vessel forms. Rim diameters range from 16 and 20 cm (Figure 5.6). The height of the *plato hondos* range between 5 and 9 cm. Cavetto diameters range between 5.5 and 9.5 cm. *Plato hondo* vessels with 16cm rim diameter make up 42.9% of the partially complete *plato hondo* assemblage, 18 cm diameters appear 54.3% of the time while 20 cm rim diameters appear 2.86% of the time.

The base is considered a secondary form feature but may still have important utilitarian as well as decorative functions (Rice 1987: 214). Six different base forms were identified amongst the garden and kiln deposits (Figure 5.4). Of these six only two types, A and B, were found among the partially completed *plato hondo* vessels. Because base diameters ranged between 5 cm and 6 cm, I delineated bases having types A and B with this diameter as *plato hondo* bases. There were a total of 36 base sherds that fell within this range.

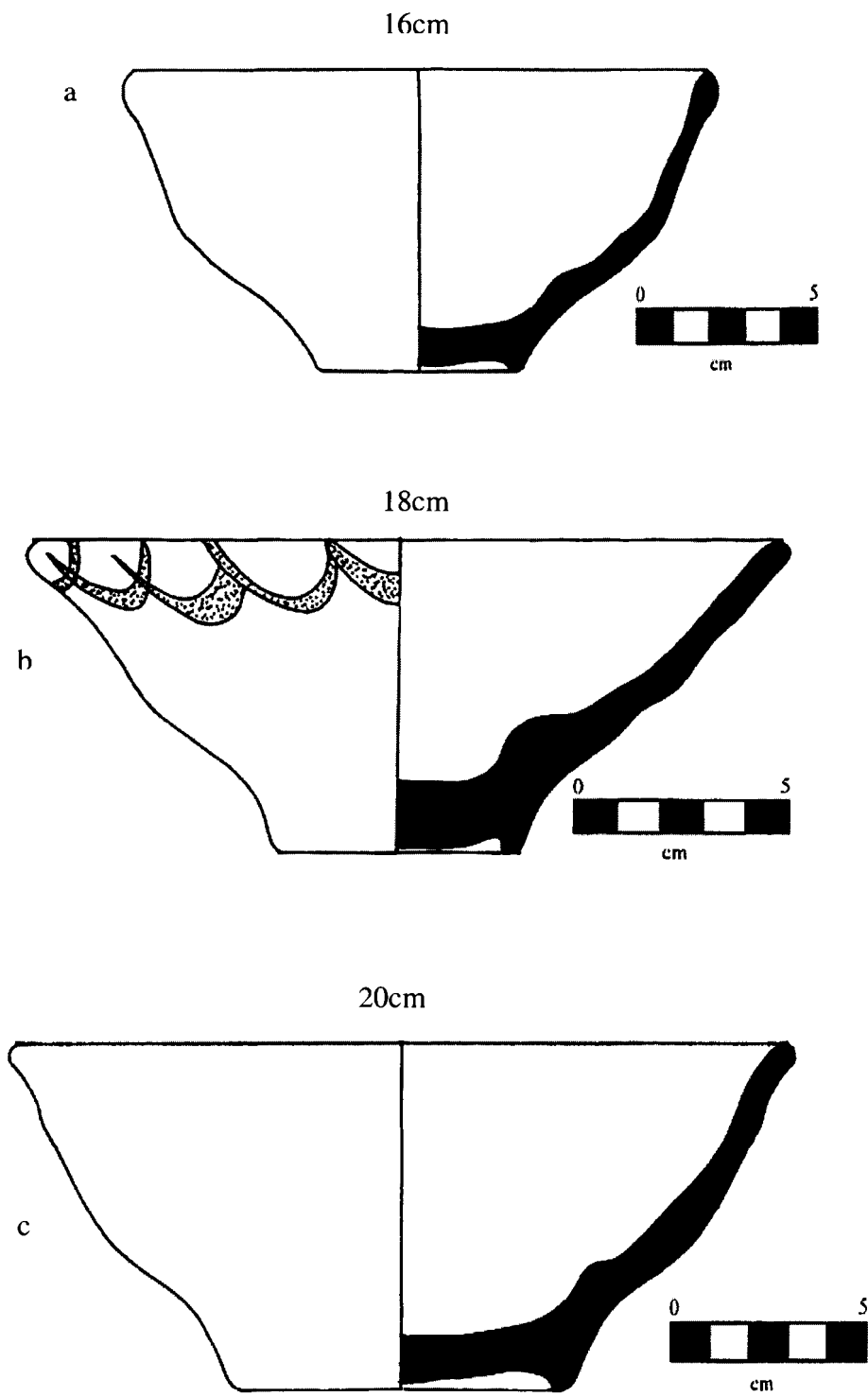


Figure 5.6a, b, c. Semi-Complete *Plato Hondo* Vessel Forms and Diameters.

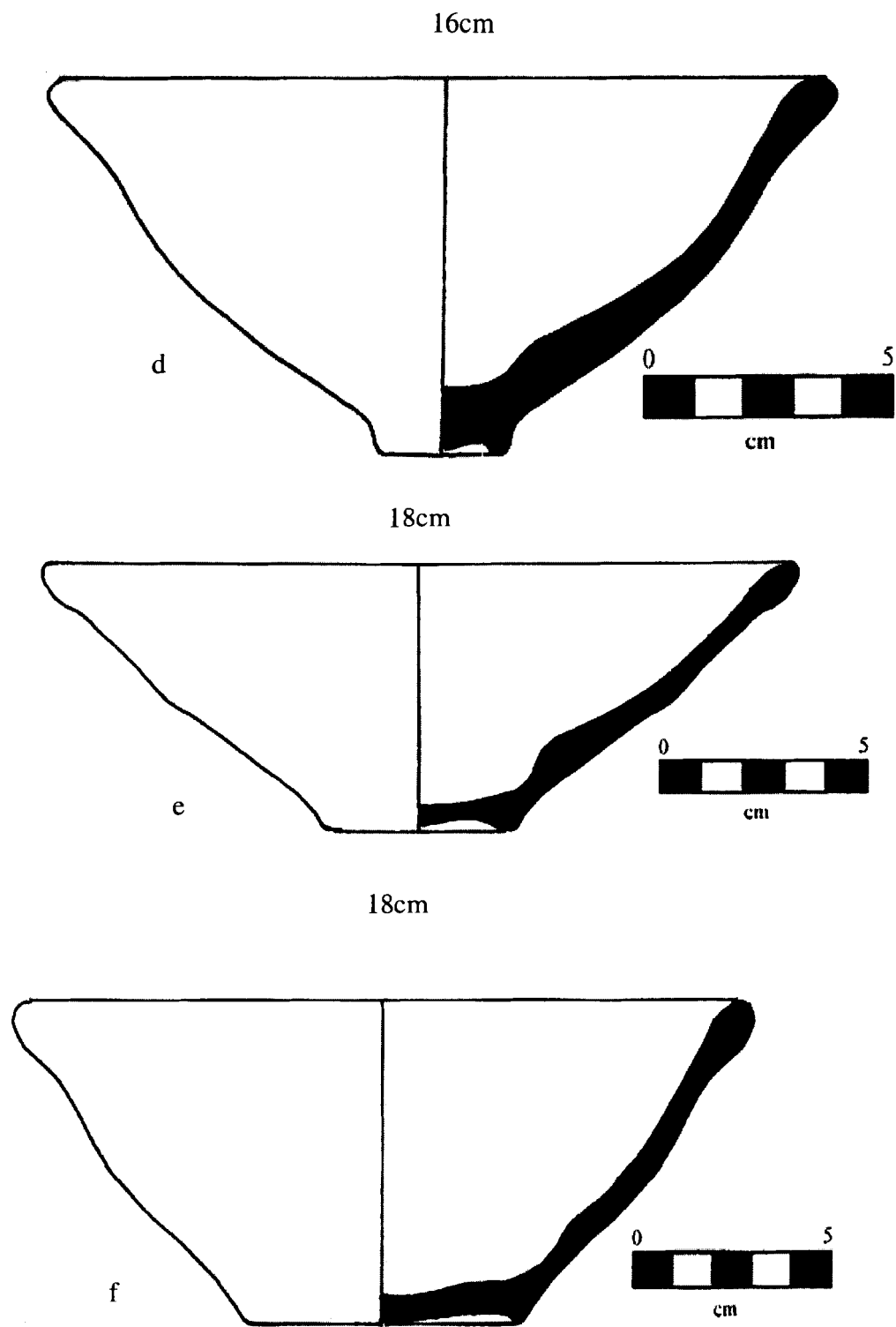


Figure 5.6d, e, f. Semi-Complete *Plato Hondo* Vessel Forms and Diameters.

Plato Hondo Glaze Types

There are 57 varieties of glaze and slip colours and combinations of colours found on sherds from the garden and kiln deposits. Until the 1990s glazes used at the Convención del 45 neighbourhood were lead based. Thus, the ceramics from the Posadas kiln are likely lead based. Colonial Spanish and New World majolicas are characterized as “earthenware with tin-opacified lead glaze” (Lister and Lister 1987: 358). The glazed ceramics from the kiln are local majolicas.

Table 5.7. Posadas Kiln (House 24): *Plato Hondo* Glaze Frequencies

| Artefact | N | % of Total |
|--|-----|------------|
| Plato Hondo | | |
| <i>interior plain / exterior plain</i> | 331 | 53.4% |
| <i>interior glaze / exterior plain</i> | 91 | 14.7% |
| <i>interior glaze / exterior glaze</i> | 191 | 30.8% |
| <i>interior plain / exterior glaze</i> | 7 | 1.1% |
| TOTAL | 620 | 100% |

Yellow is the most frequently occurring glaze colour followed by cream. A combination of cream, green and brown glazes also appear but less frequently. There are other combinations of glazes and slips represented in the *plato hondo* assemblage but they occur less frequently. Table 5.7 demonstrates the occurrence of glazes on the interior and exterior of the vessels.

Plato Hondo Decorative Motifs and Design Fields

Using a modified version of Hardin’s “four basic units” (1983: 17) of design organization, which include the brushstroke, the design element, the motif and the design configuration as a guide, I decided to divide the different painted designs into motifs. I have analysed only *plato hondo* decorative fields and motifs because they

represent the vast majority of sherds from the kiln. Motifs are “combinations of design elements that by themselves are not of sufficient complexity to fill a spatial division; they are used as a fixed combination in forming larger arrangements” (Hardin 1983: 17). By analysing the Posadas kiln ceramics, local glazed earthenware from museum collections including the Banco Central, local earthenware collections located at the CIDAP (Centro Interamericano de Artesanías y Artes Populares) and local earthenware collections from El Instituto Azuayo de Folklore I was able to create a database of motifs which appear in Figure 5.7. I then recorded the position of motifs on the vessel in order to understand the design structure, or grammar, of the vessel.

Plato hondo design elements often, but not always, appear on rims, interior walls, exterior walls, and wells. Table 5.8 demonstrates the types of design motifs found on the vessels, the decorative fields the motifs appear on and how often the design element appears in the *plato hondo* collection. Because *plato hondo* vessels do not have a definitive break between the rim and the body I have included both under the headings “interior wall” and “exterior wall” unless a design motif appears to create an arbitrary break between the rim and the body such as with a band. Motif names were borrowed from Lister and Lister (1982; 1987) when possible, otherwise all motif names are my own.

In total there were 65 rim sherds which exhibited design motifs. The most commonly occurring design element found on *plato hondo* vessels is the abstract mark which appears on the interior wall of 16 sherds (Figure 5.8a, b, c). This is

followed by small hatched, which appear in the interior wall of 14 sherds (Figure 5.8h, j). Random brush strokes appear 12 times on the interior wall (Figure 5.8e, g, i, l) and large hatched appear on 8 sherds (Figure 5.8j). Typical of majolica ceramics throughout the Old and New World are flowers and / or zoomorphic birds and animals which in the case of *Convención del 45 plato hondos*, are found on the interior wall or cavetto of the vessel (Figure 5.8f, k). These Spanish elements, which are rendered in free brush work and are often polychrome, appear on the *plato hondo* sherds (Lister and Lister 1982: 15). The *Convención del 45* vessel colours are often limited to brown for the definition lines and green for the principal motifs (Figure 5.8l).






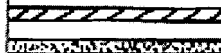












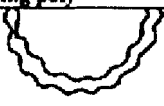


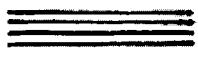

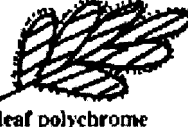


















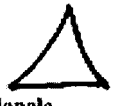

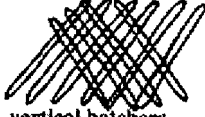




| | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|---|
|  abstract motif |  banded cavetto |  banded rim |  bird zoomorphic poly |  brush dots repeating |
|  colour banded horizontal |  curve stroke large |  flower |  flower polychrome |  flower rounded with vine |
|  flower w/ vine repeat horizontal poly |  fronde |  half oval concentric ring combo |  half oval concentric ring poly |  half oval concentric ring poly combo |
|  half oval concentric rings |  half oval concentric rings repeating poly |  half oval rings repeat |  half oval wavy |  hatchers concentric ring poly combo |
|  hatchers polychrome |  horizontal lines |  leaf monochrome |  leaf polychrome |  lines vertical |
|  monochrome thin leaf |  palmette |  palmette polychrome |  perforations |  pointed leaf |
|  poly rim banded |  poly vertical lines |  random brush strokes |  random lines |  scalloping |
|  scene |  small curve stroke |  small triangle |  spiral polychrome |  squiggle stroke |
|  s-shaped vertical |  text |  triangle |  vertical colour banded |  vertical hatchers |
|  vertical wave |  wave |  waves random |  x-large | |

Figure 5.7. Design Motifs.

Table 5.8. Plato Hondo Design Motifs and Decorative Fields

| Design Motifs | Interior rim | Interior wall | Exterior wall | Cavetto |
|---|--------------|---------------|---------------|---------|
| <i>abstract motif</i> | | 16 | 1 | 1 |
| <i>banded cavetto</i> | | 1 | | |
| <i>banded rim</i> | 3 | | | |
| <i>bird zoomorphic polychrome</i> | | 3 | | 1 |
| <i>colour banded horizontal</i> | | 2 | | |
| <i>curve stroke large</i> | | 8 | 1 | 1 |
| <i>flower</i> | | 1 | | |
| <i>flower polychrome</i> | | 1 | | |
| <i>frond</i> | | 2 | | |
| <i>half oval concentric ring combo</i> | | 2 | | |
| <i>half oval concentric ring polychrome</i> | | 2 | | |
| <i>half oval concentric rings</i> | | 2 | | |
| <i>half oval ring repeat</i> | | | 1 | |
| <i>half oval wavy</i> | | 3 | | |
| <i>hatchers concentric ring poly-combo</i> | | 2 | | |
| <i>hatchers polychrome</i> | | 1 | | 1 |
| <i>horizontal lines</i> | | 1 | | |
| <i>leaf monochrome</i> | | 3 | | |
| <i>lines vertical</i> | | 4 | | |
| <i>monochrome thin leaf</i> | | 2 | | |
| <i>pointed leaf</i> | | 1 | | 1 |
| <i>polychrome leaf</i> | | 5 | | 1 |
| <i>polychrome rim banded</i> | | 1 | | |
| <i>polychrome vertical lines</i> | | 3 | | |
| <i>random brush dots</i> | | 12 | | 2 |
| <i>random lines</i> | | 6 | 1 | |
| <i>scalloping</i> | | 1 | | |
| <i>small curve strokes</i> | | 14 | | 4 |
| <i>small triangle</i> | | 2 | | |
| <i>squiggle stroke</i> | | 1 | | 5 |
| <i>triangle</i> | | 1 | | |
| <i>vertical colour banded</i> | | 1 | | |
| <i>vertical hatchers</i> | | 1 | | |
| <i>vertical wave</i> | | 5 | | |
| <i>wave</i> | | 6 | | |
| <i>waves random</i> | | 1 | | |
| <i>X - large</i> | | 1 | | |

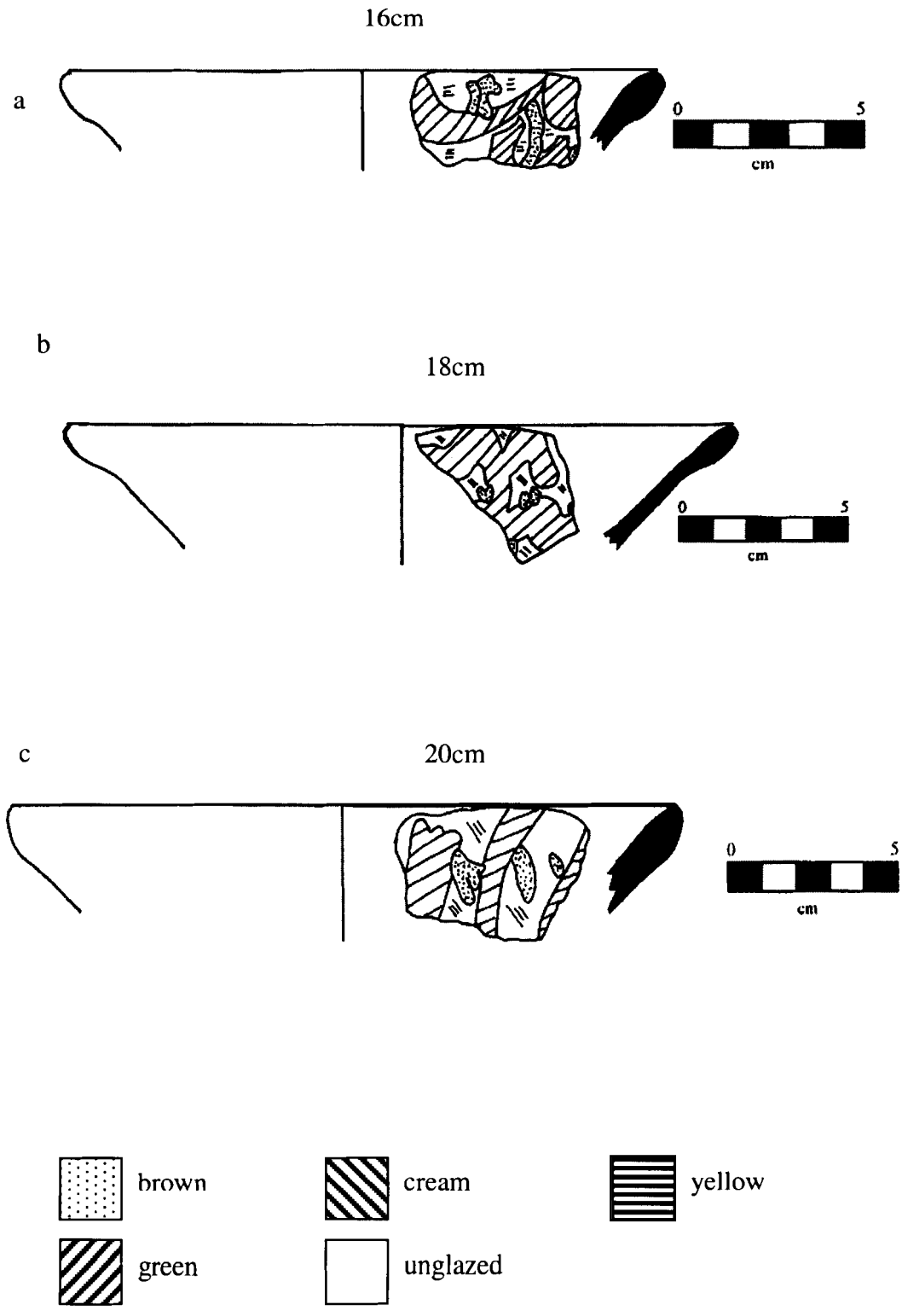


Figure 5.8a, b, c. *Plato Hondo* Design Motif Examples, Profiles and Plan Views.

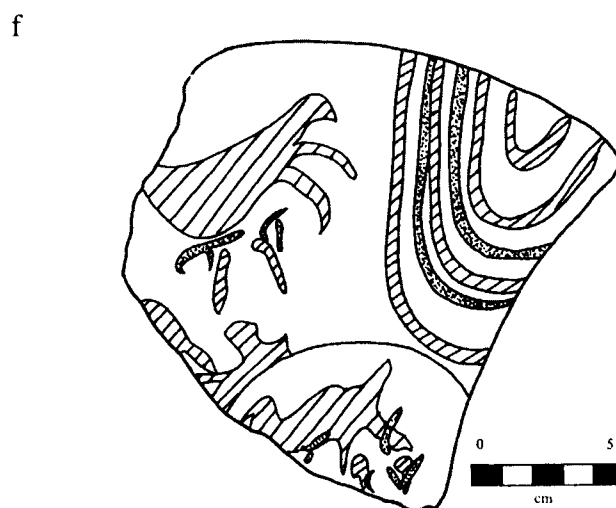


Figure 5.8d, e, f. *Plato Hondo* Design Motifs Examples, Profiles and Plan Views.

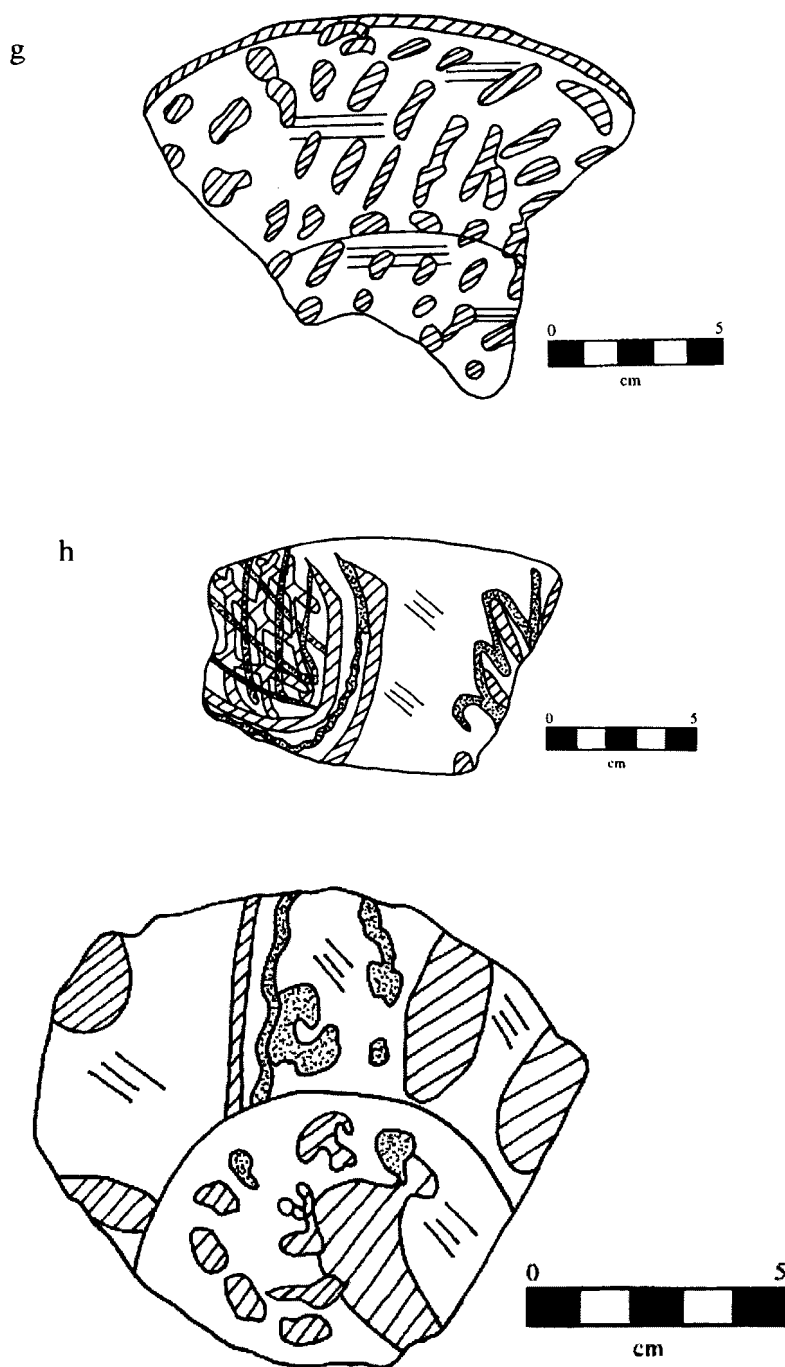


Figure 5.8g, h, i. *Plato Hondo* Design Motif Examples, Profiles and Plan Views.

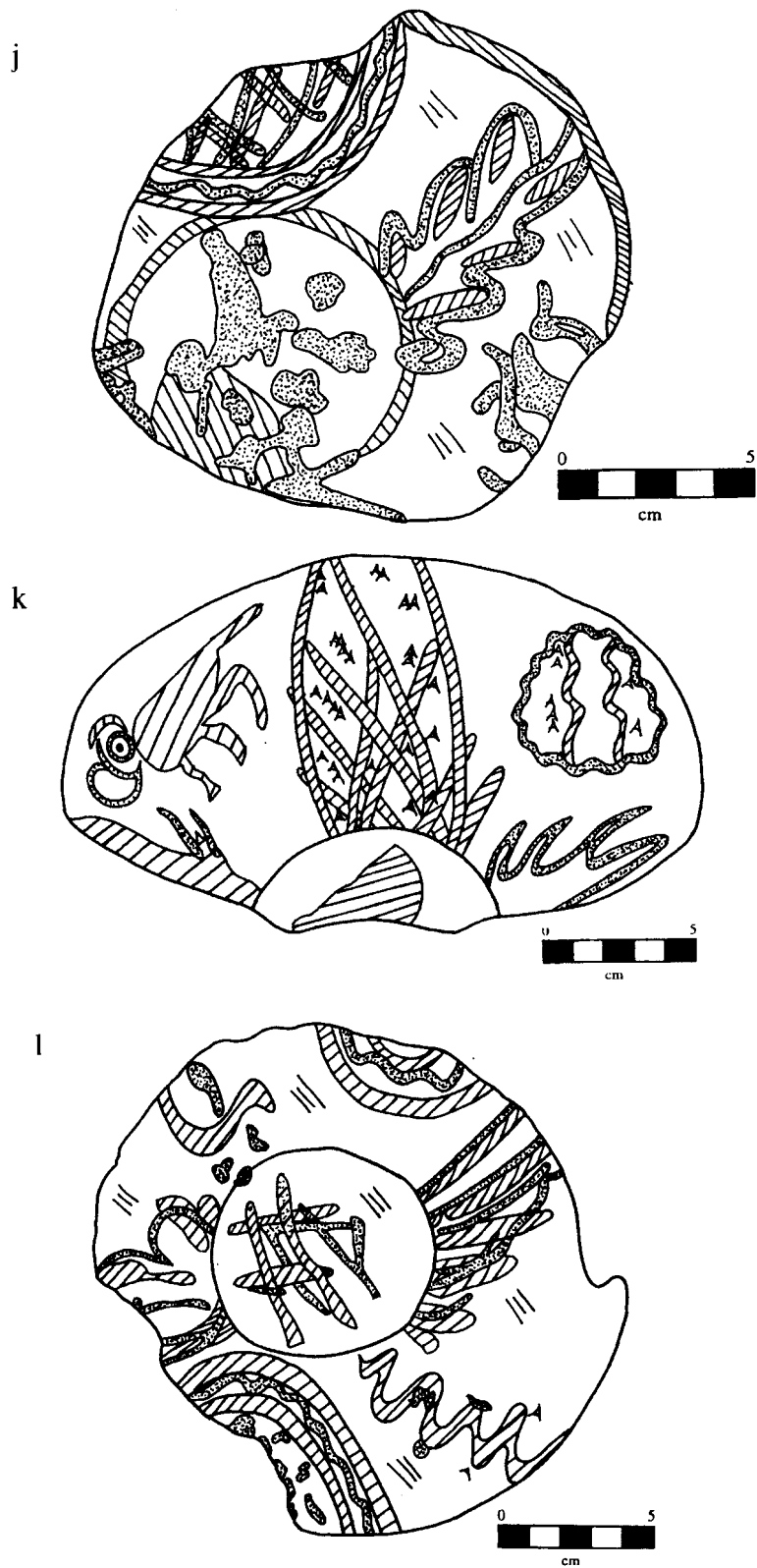


Figure 5.8j, k, l. *Plato Hondo* Design Motif Examples, Profiles and Plan Views.

Also typical of the kiln collection was the use of small brown triangles as fillers and accents placed on top of larger motifs. “Filling the outlines of living forms with random dotting was a Muslim concept dating back to the ninth century in the Middle East” (Lister and Lister 1987: 241) and I believe that these small triangles held the same purpose, even though they are found on plant motifs rather than animals (Figure 5.8k). In general, design elements are placed randomly on the interior wall and cavetto of the vessels in order to fill the space; in some cases the space is filled with brush dots, a convenient and fast way of covering the surface (Figure 5.8g). Banding around interior rims and cavettos is also visible and is used as a break between vessel sections (Figure 5.8g, j). Various types of concentric rings also appear on the interior walls of vessels (Figure 5.8e, f, h, j, l).

In conclusion, excavations of the Posadas kiln and the garden soil directly above the kiln revealed that various vessel forms were produced at this house in the 20th century. I have chosen to conduct a typological study of the *plato hondo*, as a means of documenting this vessel form, which dominated the assemblage. Consistently amongst all the *plato hondo* vessels there is uniformity in shape and a minimal set of design motifs. When design motifs are present they are almost always found on the interior wall and cavetto of the vessel. Because of their utilitarian nature most glazed vessels are monochrome on both the interior and exterior. This may be due to the high demand for these vessels. A ceramicist would take little time in adding details to a vessel that was needed in high volume as this would slow down the fabrication process.

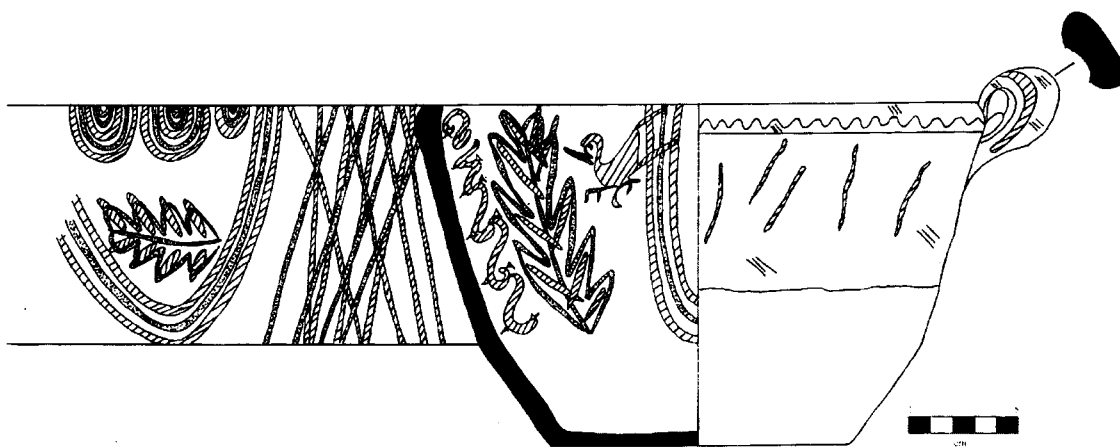
The *platos hondos* which did have design motifs resembled designs found on other pre-1950s vessels, which were obtained from various Cuenca museum and private collections: they will be discussed in greater detail in the next section. What this demonstrates is a design technique which is typical of the period and at some point during the last half of the 20th century this utilitarian vessel disappeared almost entirely from production. It is now only visible in the archaeological record. The *plato hondo* is a marker of the changes that Cuenca society and more specifically, the Convención del 45 neighbourhood, experienced after the 1940s. The influx of plastics and metals led to changes in the style of ceramics produced at Convención del 45.

Azuay Region Museum Collections

Paila Chica: A Dated Vessel from Convención del 45

Evidence that design motifs found amongst *plato hondos* were in fact typical of Convención del 45 styles from the first half of the 20th century can be found in a *paila chica* housed at the CIDAP in Cuenca. This vessel which has “19 de 1937” written on the inner base depicts motifs found on various *plato hondo* vessels excavated from the garden and kiln deposits (Figure 5.9).

a



b



Figure 5.9. *Paila Chica*: a. Roll Out Drawing, b. Plan View Drawing.

Azuay Region Design Motifs

There are no makers' marks on locally made earthenwares. Therefore many of the ceramic vessels housed at the Banco Central, CIDAP and Instituto Folklórico del Azuay museums in Cuenca are difficult to date. Even so, recording the various design motifs and fields of decoration on these pots as a means of understanding 20th century stylistic practices is essential to establishing the period of production. A total 76 vessels were analysed, drawn to scale, and/or photographed. Table 5.9 demonstrates the location of design motifs on vessels; fields are an amalgamation of ceramic subdivisions depicted in Rice (1987). Of the ceramics housed at the museums the *dulcera*, the *olla* and the *jarra* vessel forms dominated. Because museums wish to display the most elaborately designed vessels for public viewing there is an abundance of decorated forms in the collections.

Plants and flowers are characteristic design elements found on colonial majolica ceramics (Lister and Lister 1982; Lister and Lister 1987). The palmette, or palm leaf, a typical design element of European majolicas, is a modification of the Persian palmette (Lister and Lister 1982: 15). Six palmettes appear in the museum vessel examples. They differ in shape and glaze colour, yet most appear on the exterior upper or lower body of the vessel (Figure 5.10a, d). Other plants found on the vessels included the pointed leaf (Figure 5.10b), unidentifiable or stylised flowers (Figure 5.10c) and fronds or leaves (Figure 5.10d). While most of the plants appear on the upper interior and exterior of the body, they do appear on the lower exterior of the body although less frequently (Figure 5.10e).

Table 5.9. Azuay Museum Collections: Design Motifs and Fields of Decoration

| Design Motifs | Inter. rim | Exter. rim | Inter. neck | Exter. neck | Inter. upper body | Exter. upper body | Inter. lower body | Exter. Lower body | Inter. base |
|---|------------|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------|
| <i>bird zoomorphic polychrome</i> | | | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | | |
| <i>brush dots repeating</i> | | | | | | 2 | | | |
| <i>colour banded horizontal</i> | | | | 2 | | 2 | | | |
| <i>curve stroke large</i> | | | | | | 1 | | | |
| <i>flower polychrome</i> | | | | | | 1 | | | 1 |
| <i>flower rounded with vine</i> | | | | | | 1 | | 1 | |
| <i>flower with vine repeating horizontal poly</i> | | | | | | | 1 | | |
| <i>frond</i> | | | | | 1 | | 1 | | |
| <i>half oval concentric ring polychrome</i> | | | | | 1 | 1 | | | |
| <i>half oval concentric ring poly-combo</i> | | | | | | 1 | | | |
| <i>half oval concentric rings</i> | | 1 | | | | | | | |
| <i>half oval rings repeating</i> | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| <i>half oval rings repeating poly</i> | | 2 | | | | | | | |
| <i>hatchers polychrome</i> | | | | | 1 | | | | |
| <i>leaf monochrome</i> | | | | | | 1 | | | |
| <i>leaf polychrome</i> | | | | | 1 | 1 | | 1 | |
| <i>palmette</i> | | | | | | 3 | 1 | | |
| <i>palmette polychrome</i> | | | | | | | | 2 | |
| <i>perforations</i> | | | | | | 1 | | | |
| <i>pointed leaf</i> | | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | |
| <i>s - shaped vertical</i> | | | | | | | | 1 | |
| <i>scalloping</i> | | 2 | | | | 3 | | | |
| <i>scene</i> | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| <i>spiral polychrome</i> | | | | | | | 1 | | |
| <i>text</i> | | | | 1 | | | | | 1 |
| <i>wave</i> | | | 1 | 1 | | | | 1 | |
| <i>waves random</i> | | | | | | 1 | | | |
| <i>x - large</i> | | | | | | 1 | | | |

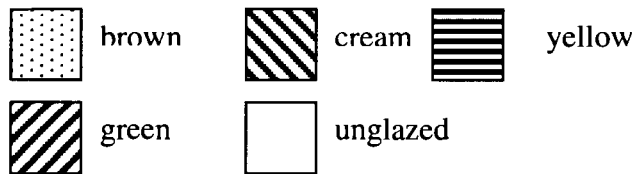
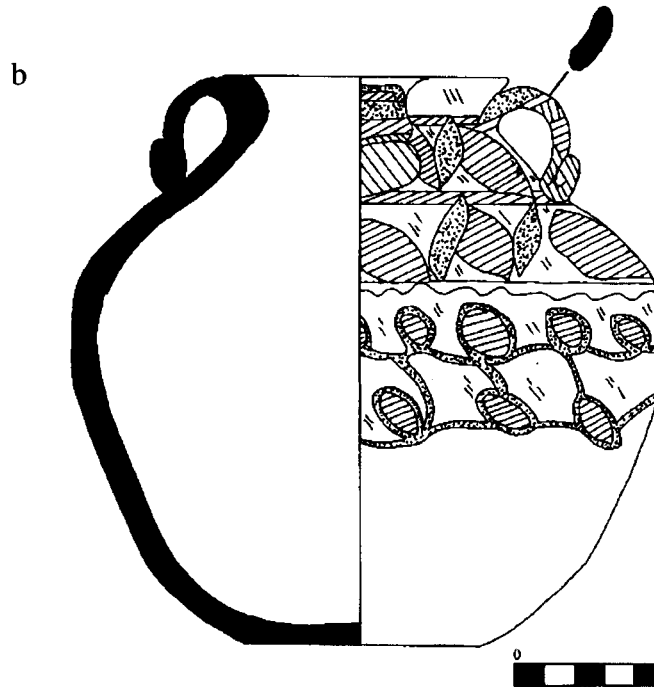
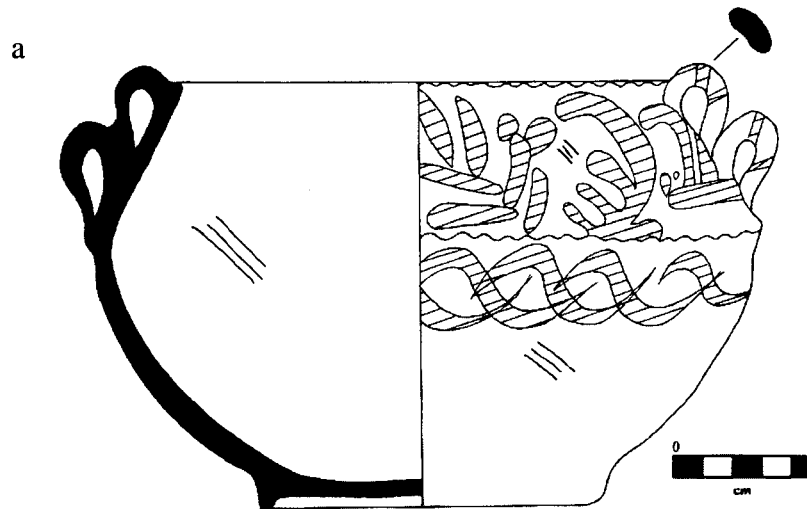


Figure 5.10a, b. Azuay Region Museum Collection Vessels.

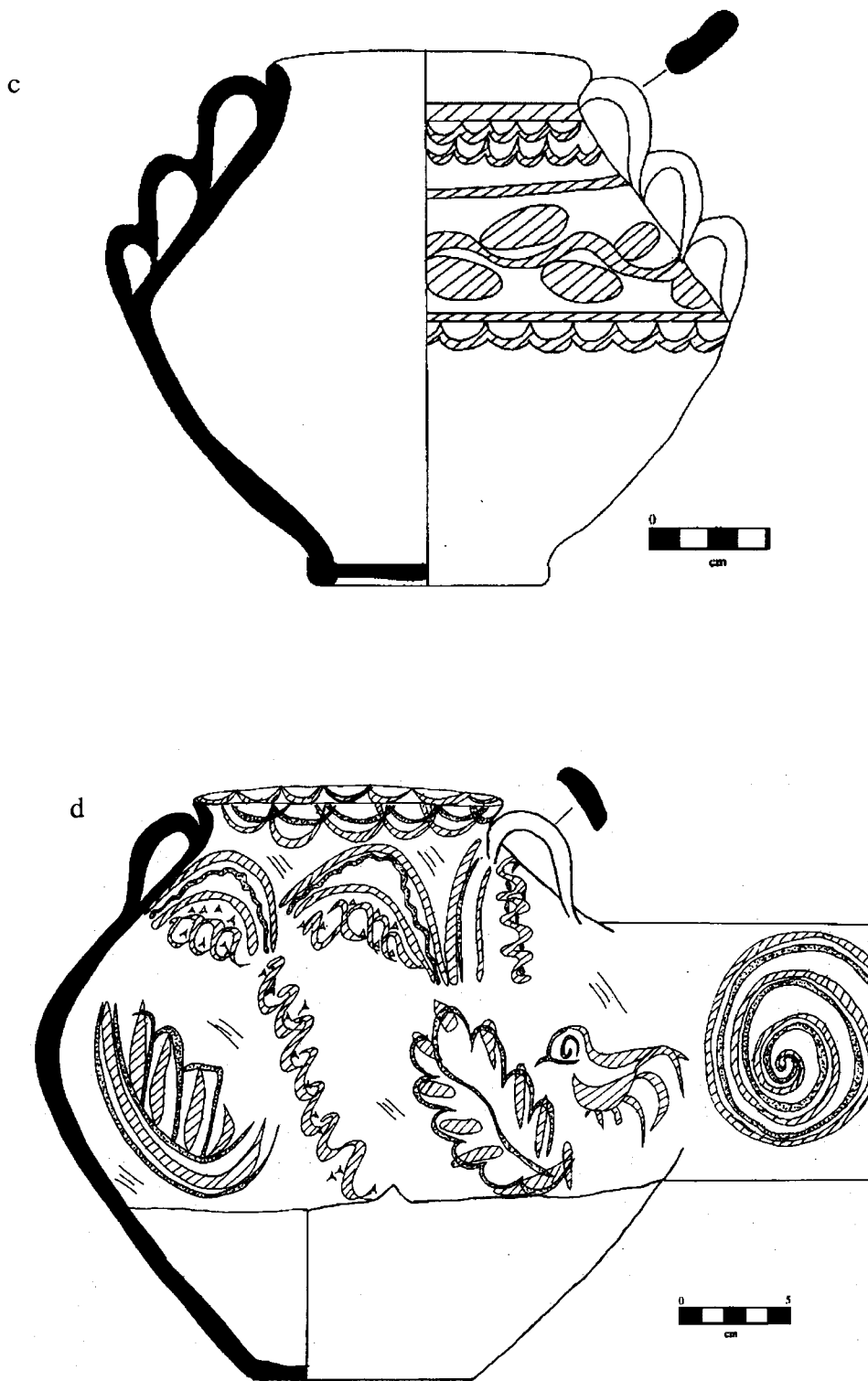


Figure 5.10c, d. Azuay Region Museum Collection Vessels.

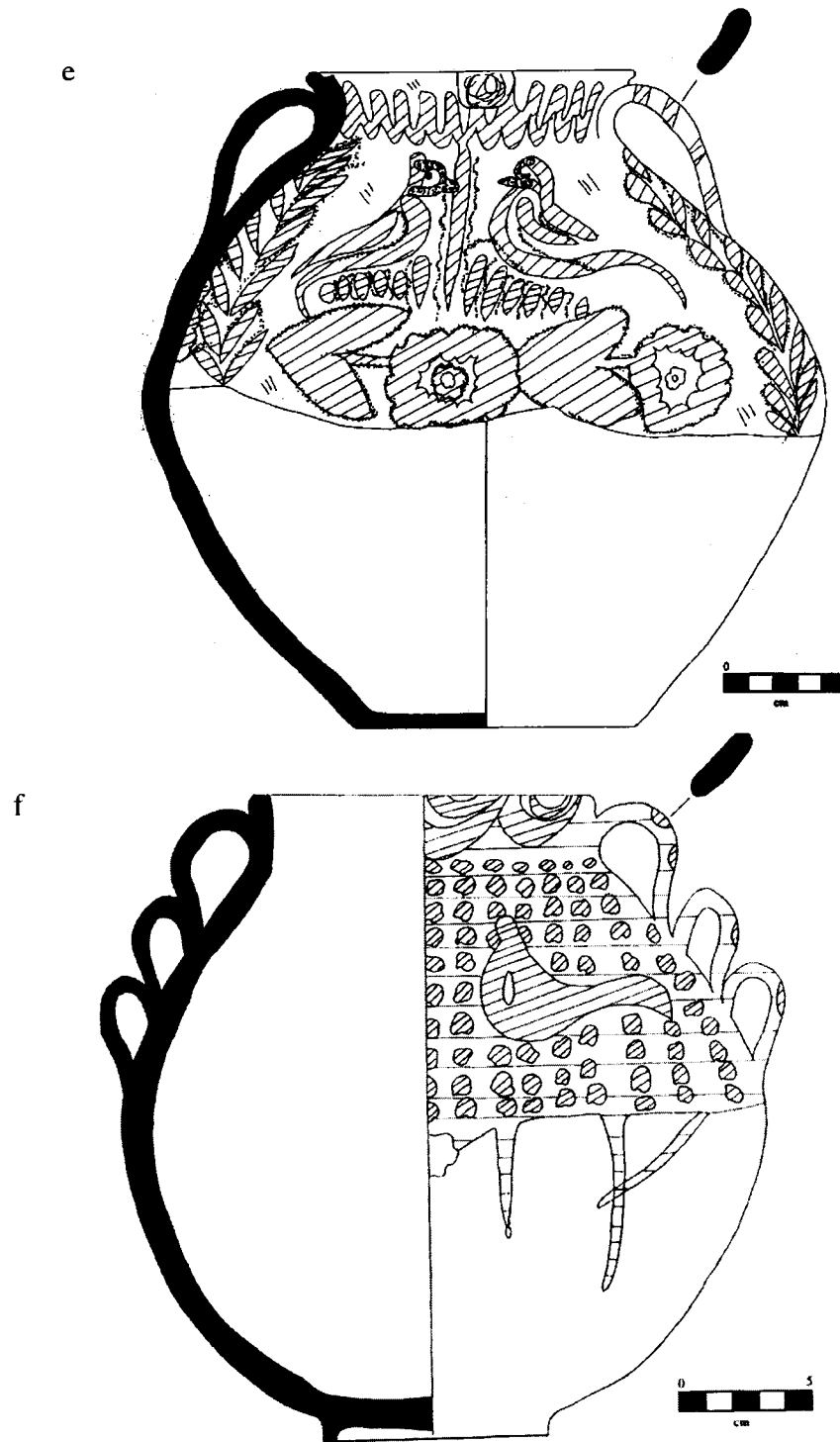


Figure 5.10e, f. Azuay Region Museum Collection Vessels.

Zoomorphic design elements such as birds are also consistent with colonial majolica designs. There are four birds represented in the museum collections all of which are polychrome, appearing on the interior and exterior of the vessel body (Figures 5.9, 5.10d, e). They are all associated with plants or flowers.

Concentric ring motifs, containing wavy lines, hatched and / or polychrome glazes are also prevalent in the collection. They can appear as half ovals or circles and are located on the interior and exterior rims of vessels as well as on the interior and exterior upper body (5.10d). They vary in size and occurrence; sometimes they are part of a pattern or appear only once on the vessel.



Figure 5. 11. *Chocolatera* Dated to 1949.

The *paila chica*, which was discussed earlier, has a scene on the interior base of the vessel (Figure 5.9). It depicts a bouquet of flowers and is associated with text which dates the vessel to 1937. Another vessel, the *chocolatera*, has text and a date on the exterior upper neck (Figure 5.11). Both of these vessels may have been used to commemorate special events (see Appendix E, for other vessels with dates, text, and / or scenes). Other more abstract decorative design elements include waves (Figure 5.10c, e), spirals (Figure 5.10d) and repeating dots (Figure 5.10f). No design elements appeared on the lower half of the exterior lower body of the vessels.

Chapter Summary

The Posadas House kiln was a perfect indicator of an individual production studio during the mid-20th century. The ceramics found within the kiln were a marker of a specific period in time and allowed me to compare more recent ceramics to those from the kiln in order to see stylistic changes in time. Specifically, the *plato hondo* vessel type demonstrated the ever changing nature of production. This vessel fell from popularity after the introduction of plastic and metal containers in the 1940s, yet was the dominant vessel form found within the kiln.

Sixteen of the design elements found on the excavated *plato hondos* are also found on the museum pieces. Both contain zoomorphic bird characters, monochrome and polychrome leaf motifs (including fronds and palmettes), banded areas, scalloping, concentric rings of varying type and geometric design elements. What occurs in many *plato hondos* and not on the museum vessels are abstract

motifs. By the 1940s utilitarian ceramics such as the *plato hondo* were already being mass produced, therefore attention to detail was lost. Instead abstract motifs were used to decorate vessels quickly and with minimal skill.

The kiln collection vessels differ from the museum collection in terms of the types of vessels and time period in which they were produced. Comparing design elements between the two collections allows me to demonstrate the types of design elements being favoured by Cuenca ceramicists through time. Ceramicists in Cuenca repeatedly used specific design elements in their craft, elements which no longer appear in the grammar of Convención del 45 ceramic decoration techniques.

Chapter 6: Conclusions

Small-scale ceramicists face many difficulties when attempting to continue their particular brand of production in the face of global industrialisation and mass production. Ceramicists at the Convención del 45 neighbourhood are not immune to the influences of modernity, nor are their production choices. This study has used interdisciplinary research in order to obtain a holistic understanding of the Convención del 45 ceramicists and their production over the last half of the 20th century. Of great importance was the inclusion of agency as a mitigating factor in understanding ceramicists personal choices regarding the material culture they produce. In order to determine these choices I conducted an archaeological investigation of Convención del 45 ceramics and a material culture analysis of museum and market ceramics. I augmented these research strategies by interviewing ceramicists currently working at the Convención del 45 neighbourhood.

Cuenca Ceramicists In the 20th Century

During the first half of the 20th century ceramicists in Cuenca had an important role providing utilitarian ceramic products to local and outlying regions. Unfortunately, documentary evidence pertaining to Cuenca ceramicists is minimal and the few colonial documents which exist are not specific to the Convención de 45 neighbourhood. Nonetheless we know that at the beginning of the 20th century the neighbourhood was a thriving centre for small-scale ceramicists to live and work. The lack of imported tablewares in Ecuador prior to World War II, and more importantly the expense of such

goods, meant that local ceramicists had a permanent demand for their goods and a permanent source of income.

Like many small-scale artisans throughout the world, the years following World War II transformed Cuenca's small-scale artisans experience with craft production that resulted in a huge decline in their sales. Imported plastics and metals flooded local markets, and because of their low cost and durability, they were inexpensive and more durable consumers preferred them over ceramic vessels. At about the same time large-scale factories began appearing on the outskirts of the city. These large factories mass-produced ceramic objects which were sold to internal and international markets. Convención del 45 ceramicists were faced with a huge loss of profits. Yet, rather than allow these economic changes to destroy their production, many ceramicists decided to change their focus. Instead of utilitarian vessels, they oriented their products towards the newly emerging tourism and nostalgia markets.

The tourism market emerged in the 1960s and with it the demand for souvenirs. Their traditional objects had been large and therefore difficult to transport so ceramicists began making smaller, more compact pieces which tourists could carry inside back-packs and suitcases. At about the same time the nostalgia market developed. Ecuadorian nationalism intensified, possibly as a reaction to the ever-expanding domination of powerful multi-national corporations. The use of material culture as an identifying marker of nationality was a key determinant in continued small-scale production. The rustic looking ceramic objects purchased to decorate homes and gardens were emblematic of Ecuador's rugged colonial past.

Artisanal Interviews: First Hand Perspectives On Ceramic Production

Interviews conducted with ceramic artisans at the Convención del 45 neighbourhood during the 2002 field season gave me the opportunity to understand what ceramicists at the Convención del 45 felt was important to them in regards to their socio-economic position in Cuenca. The interviewees were very specific in what they wished to discuss and what they deemed irrelevant or trivial. The interviews gave Ceramicists an opportunity to discuss subjects such as raw material price increases, lack of governmental support, competition amongst themselves and with large-scale national and international factories, dollarization and their aspirations for the future. Some emphasized that their trade might gradually disappear while others believed it had the potential of continuing far into the future.

Evident from the onset was their lack of interest in discussing traditional production techniques. Discussing these techniques only reinforced the notion of ceramicists as lacking innovation; this is a common perception of small-scale ceramicists which they continually strive to eliminate. The need for more government support, more funding from NGO's and a more unified stance were of primary importance to ceramicists. Ceramicists are clearly aware of the changing demands of both local and international markets fuelled by both tourism and attempts at forming nationalistic identity through the use of nostalgia. Ceramicists do not want to appear stagnant. Artisans at the Convención del 45 neighbourhood realize more than anyone that the material culture they produce is and should be fluid and ever changing.

An Archaeology of 20th Century Ceramics

The archaeological component of my research looked specifically at a 1940s kiln located in the Posadas House in the Convención del 45 neighbourhood. The kiln was sealed and contained ceramic wasters. After analysing the ceramics from both the 20th century garden deposit and the kiln deposit beneath it I decided to conduct a typological study of *plato hondo* utilitarian vessels as these were the most common vessel forms found in the kiln. These vessels are no longer produced in mass quantity by ceramicists at the Convención del 45 neighbourhood, therefore the archaeological kiln materials represent specific examples of ceramic vessels which were in demand during the middle of the 20th century.

Understanding the grammar of the kiln vessels was a key objective of my research as it gives material evidence of 20th century production changes in Cuenca ceramics. This objective was met by recording the different design motifs and their placement on the *plato hondo* vessels. Many of the same motifs found on colonial majolicas produced in the New and Old World were found on the 20th century *plato hondo* vessels, these included free-hand drawn birds, plants, and hatched. One can argue that ceramicists had no other competition and therefore did not need to change their production. I compared the data from the kiln collection with that of dated and undated local museum vessels and found that Cuenca ceramicists repeatedly used very specific design motifs in their craft during the first half of the 20th century, not only on *plato hondo* vessels but on larger vessels used for cooking and as tablewares. Finally, by comparing the design motifs found on the *plato hondo* kiln collection with those found on vessels from current local

producers I discovered that the rules governing design motifs and their placement on vessels became more flexible over time; motifs became largely abstract, or incorporated new design motifs such as reliefs of vines and grapes, or they were absent from vessels all together.

Future Directions

The study of small-scale ceramicists is important as it contributes to an understanding of modern day artisanal production. The ceramicists at the Convención del 45 neighbourhood, like other small-scale ceramicists throughout the world, have faced numerous economic obstacles over the last half of the 20th century, including growing urbanization and the loss of their utilitarian ceramic market. Yet, although many of the ceramicists who once had studios at the Convención del 45 neighbourhood have retired or passed away, some still remain. Ceramicists are proud of their art and have found innovative ways of continuing their production. Presently ceramicists are catering to tourism and nostalgia markets yet, because theirs is a fluid tradition, there is every possibility that they will find other niches. Tracking the production and market choices of one small artisanal group is important in understanding the effects of today's world economy on local people and their material culture. The change from artisanal heterogeneous to mass-produced homogeneous items are particularly telling examples of what occurs with universal modernity. In this instance the return to nostalgia has become a local response to globalism.

Future research on small-scale artisanal production in Ecuador should focus on smaller communities throughout Ecuador in order to see differences and similarities between urban and rural ceramicists and their decision making processes. It would be valuable to understand how more rural populations are dealing with the ever-increasing influence of multinational corporations and the importation of mass-produced goods.

Although many would argue that ceramicists have lost their voice as their numbers decline, there is still hope for their trade. One possibility is to have ceramic artisans unite with other trades or guilds in order to increase their numbers and their voices. In so doing ceramicists may influence policy changes that would support the improvement of their trade.

The ceramicists of the Convención del 45 neighbourhood have changed their production over the many years in which they have lived and worked in their neighbourhood. They are not static, they do not live in a vacuum, but rather they are participants in the society in which they work and live. They have changed their techniques when necessary, while interacting with a city that has grown in size and population. Their trade is a dynamic one that has moved from purely utilitarian earthenwares to glazed tablewares, toys, miniatures and nostalgic art pieces. Convención del 45s small-scale ceramicists will continue to create their particular brand of ceramics despite the obstacles held up so clearly before them.

Appendix A: Request For Research Approval

To: Office of Research Ethics
Simon Fraser University

April 2nd, 2002

From: Victoria Elena Castillo
Graduate Student
Department of Archaeology
Simon Fraser University

Re: Request for Research Approval

To Whom It May Concern,

I will be conducting interviews with ceramicists in Cuenca, Ecuador during the summer of 2002. Because ceramicists may be illiterate, a written consent form will not be used. Instead, I will verbally explain to the interview subjects that I am an archaeology graduate student from Simon Fraser University conducting research on ceramic production at the Convención del 45 neighbourhood. I will explain to participants that their participation is voluntary and that they may withdraw their participation during the interview at anytime. As well, I will explain that their anonymity will be maintained by coding the interview material and that I will not disclose interviews to a third party. I will also provide the phone number and address of the archaeology chair in the event that the interview participants have concerns in regards to the study (Dr. David Burley Department of Archaeology, Simon Fraser University 8888 University Drive Burnaby BC, V5A 1S6, Canada; ph.# 01-604-291-3135). A copy of the research results will be sent to all the interview subjects once these results are available.

Victoria Elena Castillo
M.A. student, Dept. of Archaeology
Simon Fraser University

Appendix B: Approval of Research

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

OFFICE OF RESEARCH ETHICS



BURNABY, BRITISH COLUMBIA
CANADA V5A 1S6
Telephone: 604-291-4370
FAX: 604-291-4860

April 9, 2002

Ms. Victoria Castillo
Graduate Student
Department of Archaeology
Simon Fraser University

Dear Ms. Castillo:

**Re: Artisans in the 20th Century: post 1940s Ceramic production at the Convencion
Del 45 Neighbourhood
"Status and Caste in the Colonial Andes: the Case of Cuenca, Ecuador
SSHRC**

Research has been approved on behalf of the Research Ethics Board. This approval is in effect for twenty-four months from the above date. Any changes in the procedures affecting interaction with human subjects should be reported to the Research Ethics Board. Significant changes will require the submission of a revised Request for Ethical Approval of Research. This approval is in effect only while you are a registered SFU student.

Best wishes for success in this research.

Sincerely,

Dr. Hal Weinberg, Director
Office of Research Ethics

c: R. Jamieson, Supervisor

/bjr

Appendix C: Questionnaire

| | |
|---|--|
| <p>Family History:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How did you become a ceramicist? 2. Is this a family business? 3. Do you have relatives who are ceramicists? 4. Do they work at the Convención del 45? 5. Who works in your production facility? <p>Production:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6. What type of wheel do you use? 7. Do you work on the wheel often? 8. Has the wheel changed over time? 9. What type of kiln do you use? 10. Has the kiln changed over time? 11. Do you use moulds? 12. Have you ever used moulds? 13. Where do you obtain clay? 14. Have you always gotten your clay there? 15. Do you pay for your clay? 16. How much do you pay for your clay? 17. How much do you purchase at a time? 18. Do you prepare your own clay? 19. Where do you prepare the clay? 20. What is the process for preparing the clay? 21. How long do you leave the clay out to dry? 22. Does all the production take place in the studio? 23. Has production always taken place in the studio? 24. Do you use glazes? 25. What kinds of glazes do you use? 26. Have the colours changed over time? 27. Where do you obtain glazes? 28. Do you make glazes? 29. If you buy glazes, are they expensive? 30. What techniques do you use in making pots? 31. Have stages of production changed over time? 32. How many pots do you make per day? | <p>Style:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 33. Describe your current production line. 34. How have your styles changed over time? 35. What item is most popular? 36. Why is this item most popular? 37. Have buyers changed their tastes over time? 38. What did buyers purchase in the past? <p>Market:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 39. Who buys your ceramics? 40. Have purchasers changed over time? 41. Where do you sell your pots? 42. Has your location for sales changed over time? 43. Where did you previously sell your pots? 44. Do you feel that you are competing with large companies for business? <p>Pricing:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 45. What is the current price for a pot? 46. What were prices like in the past? 47. How many pots are sold per week on average? 48. How many pots were sold in the past? <p>Future:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 49. How has the national dollarization affected you? 50. Do you receive government support? 51. Do you receive support from NGOs or non-governmental agencies? 52. How do you feel about students coming in to study the studio? 53. What do you see as the future of family run studios such as yours? |
|---|--|

Appendix D: Glossary

| | |
|--------------------|--|
| <i>alcalde</i> | mayor |
| <i>alcancia</i> | piggy bank |
| <i>alfareria</i> | small-scale utilitarian ceramic studio |
| <i>alfarero</i> | utilitarian pottery producer |
| <i>asas</i> | handles |
| <i>azucarera</i> | sugar bowl |
| <i>azulejo</i> | glazed tiles |
| <i>barro</i> | clay |
| <i>bolqueta</i> | bulk rice bag size |
| <i>botija</i> | jug that holds wine, alcohol, and other liquids |
| <i>cafetera</i> | coffee pot |
| <i>cafeterita</i> | small coffee pot or miniature coffee pot |
| <i>cantaro</i> | an earthenware water bottle, usually with a flat base, bulbous body, restricted neck, and one or two handles near the neck |
| <i>caretilla</i> | cart |
| <i>casita</i> | miniature house |
| <i>cazuela</i> | casserole; round-bodied, relatively broad, low-walled cook pot |
| <i>ceramista</i> | ceramicist, may be considered potter of high calibre ware |
| <i>cesta</i> | clay basket |
| <i>chicha</i> | traditional beer |
| <i>chocolatera</i> | small pitcher often with one handle and a spout used to serve hot chocolate |
| <i>compañero</i> | co-worker |
| <i>cuye</i> | guinea pig |
| <i>dulcera</i> | high-shouldered, bulbous jar often with 2 handles; used as a sweets receptacle especially during carnivals; also called <i>mulo</i> if more than 2 handles |
| <i>empanada</i> | a pastry with crimped edges |
| <i>engobe</i> | a slip or wet coating of fine-grained clay, sometimes coloured with mineral oxides, applied prior to firing |
| <i>escudillo</i> | a cup or bowl form distinguished by its high shoulders, straight rim, and absence of handles |
| <i>esmalte</i> | glaze |
| <i>figura</i> | figurine |
| <i>florero</i> | vase |
| <i>gremio</i> | union |
| <i>jarron</i> | large pitcher |
| <i>ladrillero</i> | brick producer |
| <i>lechera</i> | milk jug |
| <i>locero</i> | fine glazed ceramic producer |
| <i>loza</i> | fine glazed pottery |

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| <i>maceta</i> | flower pot |
| <i>maestro</i> | master craftsman |
| <i>majolica</i> | earthenware with tin-opacified lead glaze (also spelled maiolica) |
| <i>mediano</i> | large hemispherical bowls used for serving stews, rice, beans, corn potatoes, guinea pig and other meats; often they have two horizontal handles |
| <i>mestizo</i> | people born of mixed Indigenous and Spanish ancestry |
| <i>miniatura</i> | miniature |
| <i>mulo</i> | high-shouldered, bulbous jar often with 2 handles and four decorative handles; used as a sweets receptacle especially during carnivals |
| <i>olla</i> | any large jar or pot with a round body and small mouth, commonly used for storing and serving water and for cooking |
| <i>olleta</i> | small jar or pot with a round body and small mouth, commonly used for storing and serving water and for cooking |
| <i>operario</i> | operator |
| <i>paila</i> | a large, shallow basin with sloping sides, a flat base, and a flat flange rim (also known as lebrillo) |
| <i>peso</i> | Ecuador's pre-2000 year currency |
| <i>pitos</i> | whistles |
| <i>platito</i> | small plate |
| <i>plato hondo</i> | utilitarian bowls with a rim ranging from 16 to 20cm and a base ranging from 5 to 7cm; these bowls were in common use throughout Cuenca, Ecuador prior to the 1940s |
| <i>plato</i> | plate |
| <i>ponchera</i> | punch bowl |
| <i>pulma</i> | caravans |
| <i>repulgado</i> | crimped areas on a vessel; often but not always found on rims and or bodies to demarcate different design fields |
| <i>saco</i> | sack |
| <i>salero</i> | salt shaker |
| <i>shila</i> | earthenware vessel |
| <i>sucre</i> | Ecuador's pre-2000 year currency |
| <i>taller</i> | studio |
| <i>tejar</i> | tile producing neighbourhood |
| <i>tejero</i> | roof tile producer |
| <i>tinaja</i> | large earthenware jar of cylindrical shape, usually with tapered base, brief neck, and two opposed handles |
| <i>tortillera</i> | large flat plate used to cook tortillas |

Appendix E: Pre-1950s Cuenca Local Earthenware

Emic terminology: *mediano* (1924)
 Origin: Instituto Azuayo de Folklore
 Rim diameter: 48cm
 Rim type: D
 Height: 21.5cm
 Maximum body width: 21.5cm
 Base diameter: 16cm
 Base type: C
 Glaze: Interior; cream, green and brown. Exterior; cream and green.
 Use: commemorative serving dish for *cuye* (guinea pig), corn, and rice. Text reads “*Casa de Fabrica, Enero de 1925 al año de su construccion*”



Figure E1. *Mediano*.

Emic terminology: *chocolatera, olleta* (1949)
 Origin: Instituto Azuayo de Folklore
 Rim diameter: 9.5cm
 Rim type: J
 Height: 15.5cm
 Maximum body width: 13.5cm
 Base diameter: 6cm
 Base type: C
 Glaze: Interior; plain, Exterior; cream, green and brown
 Use: commemorative jug for serving hot chocolate. Text reads “*Manuel Jose Loha No 1949*”.



Figure E2. *Chocolatera or Olleta*.

Emic terminology: *paila chica* (1937)

Rim diameter: 25cm

Rim type: H

Height: 16.5cm

Maximum body width: 16.5cm

Base diameter: 11.5cm

Base type: E

Glaze: Interior: cream, green and brown; Exterior: cream and green

Use: Serving dish. Text reads “19 de 1937”

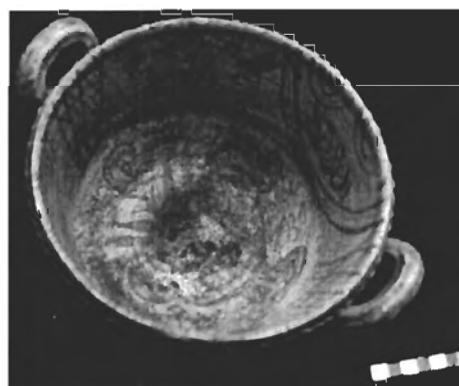


Figure E3. *Paila Chica*.

Emic terminology: *dulcera* (1946)

Origin: Private collection of Elena Vanegas T., daughter of Carlos Vanegas Senior.

Rim diameter: n/a

Rim type: n/a

Height: n/a

Maximum body width: n/a

Base diameter: n/a

Base type: n/a

Glaze: Interior; cream, green and brown.

Exterior; cream, green and brown.

Use: for candied fruits and other sweets. Text Reads “1946 Cuenca, Martes Enero 15”



Figure E4. *Dulcera*.

Appendix F: Classification of Cuenca Ceramics

Emic terminology: *cazuela*
 Origin: Instituto Azuayo de Folklore
 Rim diameter: 40.5cm
 Rim type: B
 Height: 14cm
 Greatest body width: 40.5cm
 Base diameter: 11cm
 Base type: E
 Glaze: Interior; clear and green
 Exterior; plain
 Use: baking and serving stews.

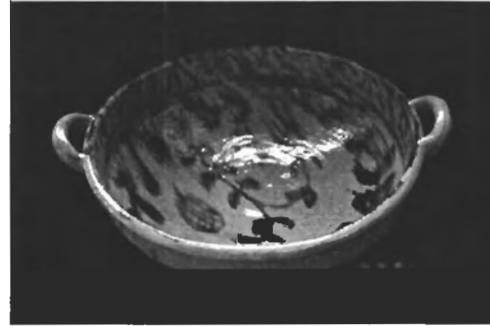


Figure F1. *Cazuela*.

Emic terminology: *tortillera / tortero*
 Origin: Instituto Azuayo de Folklore
 Rim diameter: 35cm
 Rim type: D
 Height: 4cm
 Maximum body width: 35cm
 Base diameter: 14cm
 Base type: E
 Glaze: clear and green
 Use: Cooking tortillas.

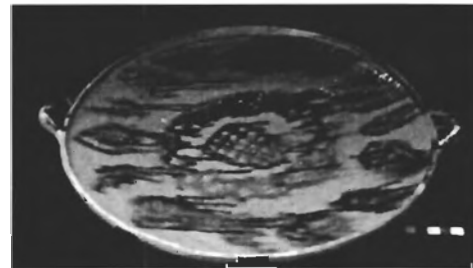


Figure F2. *Tortillera / Tortero*.

Emic terminology: *olla con boca tendida*
 Origin: Instituto Folklore del Azuay
 Rim diameter: 20cm
 Rim type: F
 Height: 15.5cm
 Maximum body width: 23cm
 Base diameter: 6cm
 Base type: E
 Glaze: interior, green
 Use: cooking stews and soups



Figure F3. *Olla con Boca Tendida*
 (Pot with flaring mouth).

Emic terminology: *achiote* strainer
 Origin: Instituto Folklore del Azuay
 Rim diameter: 9cm
 Rim type: K
 Height: 6cm
 Maximum body width: 11cm
 Base diameter: 5.5cm
 Base type: D
 Glaze: Interior, green; Exterior, plain
 Use: used to strain red achiote seeds and butter



Figure F4. *Achiote* Strainer.

Emic terminology: *dulcera*
 Origin: Instituto Folklore del Azuay
 Rim diameter: 25cm
 Rim type: F
 Height: 32cm
 Maximum body width: 36cm
 Base diameter: 12.5cm
 Base type: C
 Glaze: Interior, yellow; Exterior, clear, green and brown.
 Use: Serve fruits and other sweets.



Figure F5. *Dulcera*.

Emic terminology: *mediano* or *chico*
 Origin: Instituto Folklore del Azuay
 Rim diameter: 21.5cm
 Rim type: B
 Height: 7cm
 Maximum body width: 21.5cm
 Base diameter: 9cm
 Base type: D
 Glaze: Interior, green; Exterior, plain.
 Use: Serve stews and soups.



Figure F6. *Mediano* or *Chico*.

Emic terminology: *jarra*
 Origin: Instituto Folklore del Azuay
 Rim diameter: 6.5cm
 Rim type: B
 Height: 13.5cm
 Maximum body width: 21cm
 Base diameter: 7.5cm
 Base type: D
 Glaze: plain
 Use: water or wine dispenser



Figure F7. Jarra.

Emic terminology: *jarra/shila*
 Origin: Instituto Folklore del Azuay
 Rim diameter: 14cm
 Rim type: B
 Height: 31cm
 Maximum body width: 24cm
 Base diameter: 12cm
 Base type: B
 Glaze: Interior, clear and brown glaze;
 Exterior, clear, green and brown.
 Use: liquid dispenser.

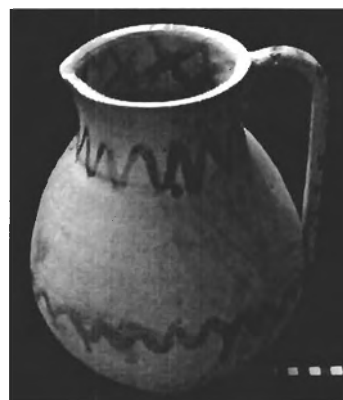


Figure F8. Jarra or Shila.

Emic terminology: *botella*
 Origin: Instituto Folklore del Azuay
 Rim diameter: 4cm
 Rim type: G
 Height: 33.5cm
 Maximum body width: 21.5cm
 Base diameter: 13.5cm
 Base type: B
 Glaze: Interior, plain; Exterior, clear, green and brown
 Use: wine dispenser



Figure F9. Botella.

Emic terminology: *maceta*
 Origin: Instituto Folklore del Azuay
 Rim diameter: 13.5cm
 Rim type: L
 Height: 15cm
 Maximum body width: 18cm
 Base diameter: 8cm
 Base type: C
 Glaze: Interior, green; Exterior, green
 Use: flower pot



Figure F10. *Maceta*.

Emic terminology: *mulo*
 Origin: Instituto Folklore del Azuay
 Rim diameter: 14cm
 Rim type: C
 Height: 21.5cm
 Maximum body width: 23.5cm
 Base diameter: 9cm
 Base type: C
 Glaze: Interior, green; Exterior, green
 Use: To serve candies and fruits. Multiple decorative handles.



Figure F11. *Mulo*.

Emic terminology: *alcancia de zapallo*
 Origin: Instituto Folklore del Azuay
 Rim diameter: n/a
 Rim type: n/a
 Height: 12cm
 Maximum body width: 12cm
 Base diameter: 7.5cm
 Base type: n/a
 Glaze: Interior, plain; Exterior, green
 Use: squash shaped piggy bank



Figure F12. *Alcancia*.

Emic terminology: *cruz de cerámica*
 Origin: Instituto Folklore del Azuay
 Rim diameter: n/a
 Rim type: n/a
 Height: n/a
 Maximum body width: n/a
 Base diameter: n/a
 Base type: n/a
 Glaze: Interior, plain; Exterior, clear and green.
 Use: ceramic cross placed on people's roofs.



Figure F13. Cruz de Cerámica.

Emic terminology: *cazuelita*
 Origin: Banco Central
 Rim diameter: 16.5cm
 Rim type: D
 Height: n/a
 Maximum body width: 16.5cm
 Base diameter: 7cm
 Base type: D.
 Glaze: Interior: clear and green; Exterior: plain.
 Use: serve stews (*encebollados*), casseroles and to fry eggs .

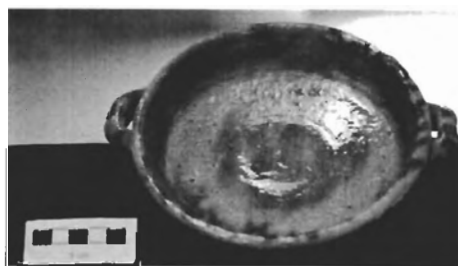


Figure F14. Cazuelita.

Appendix G: Convención del 45 Current Earthenware Production

Carlos Vanegas Collection (2002):

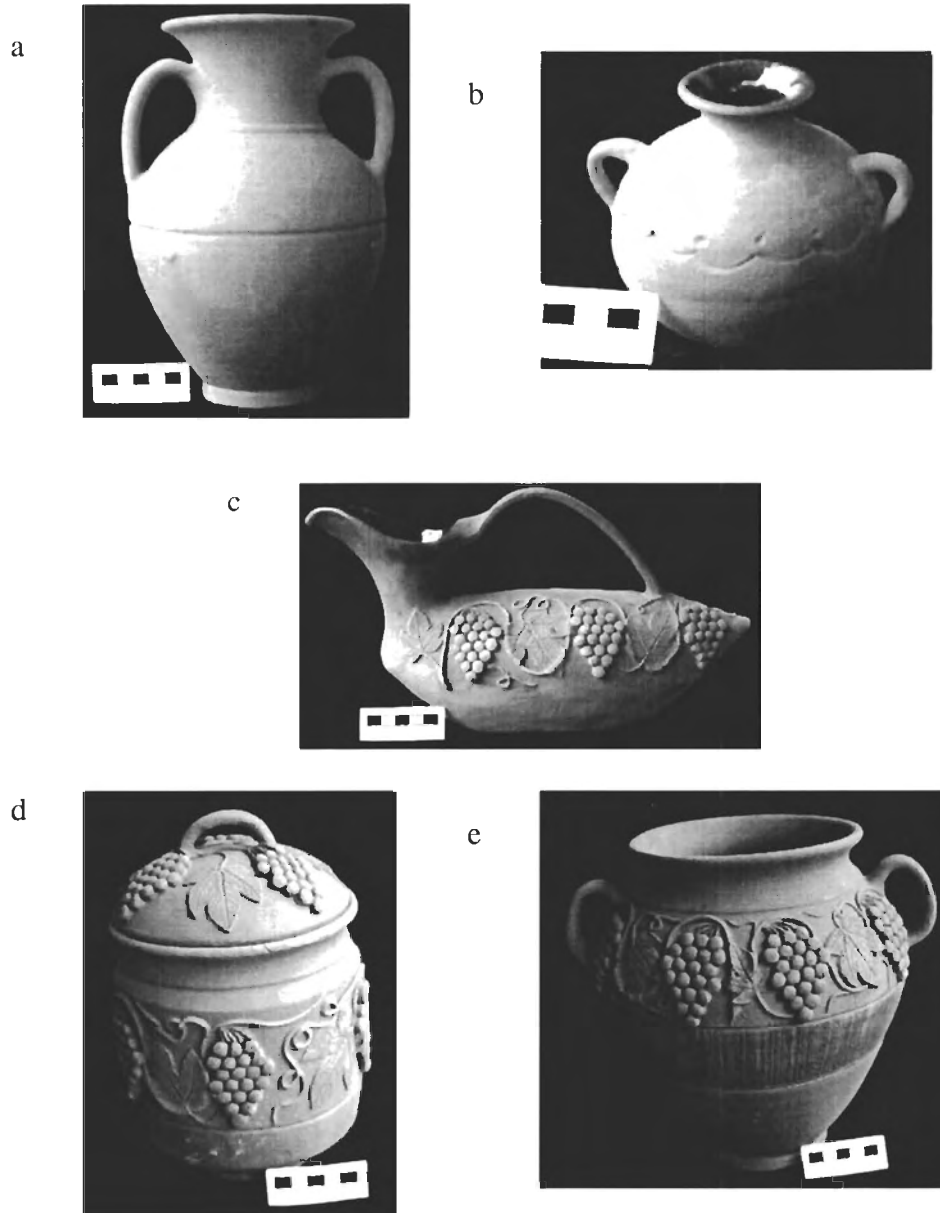


Figure G1. Vanegas Collection, a-e.
a, Florero; b, Florero; c, Cafétera; d, Bonbonera; e, Bonbonera.

Carlos Vanegas Collection (2002):

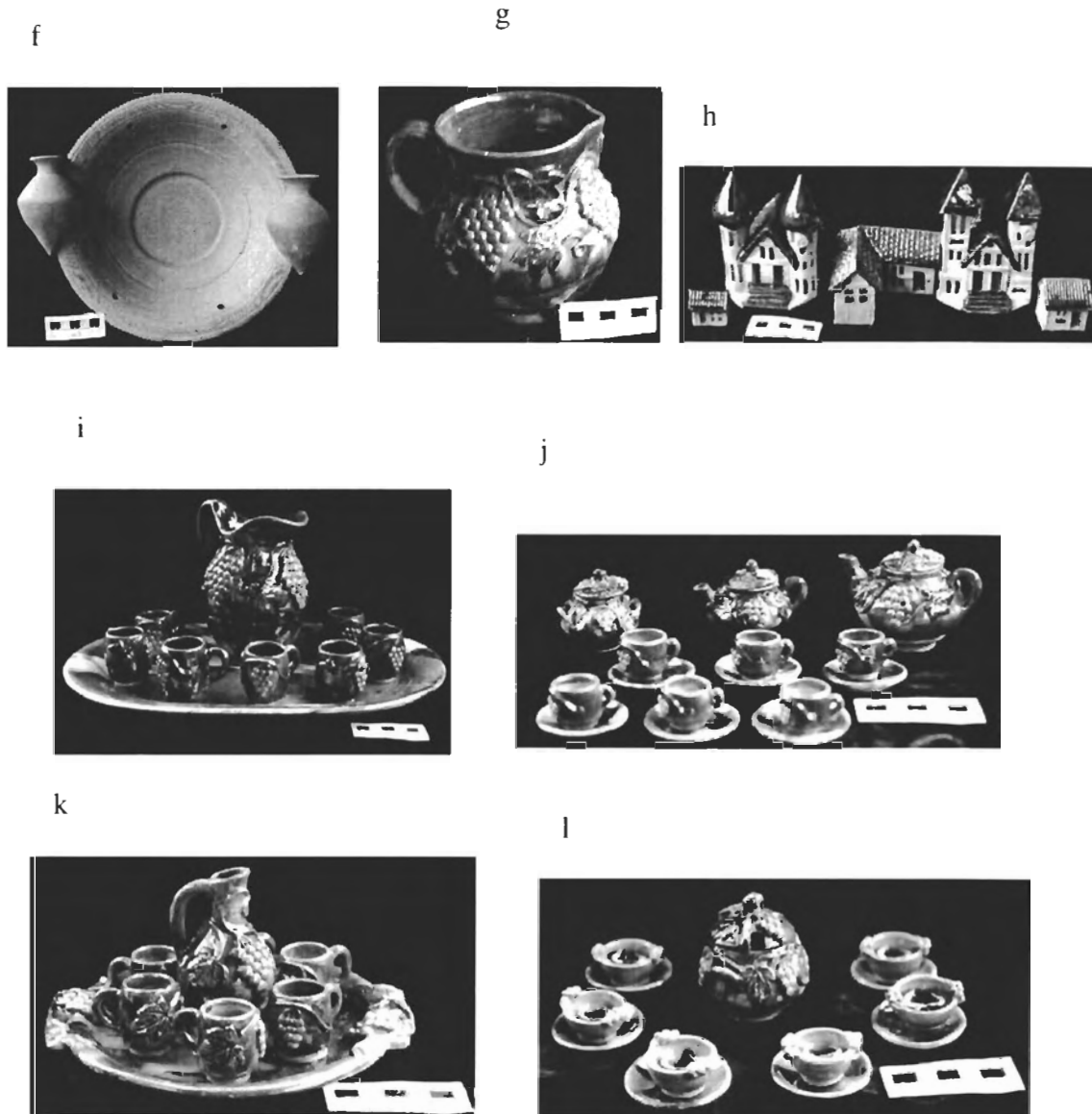


Figure G1. Vanegas Collection, f-l.

f, Mediano and Moté Miniatura; g, Chocolatera; h, Casita en Miniatura; i, Jarra Mediana; j, Miniatura de Café; k, Miniatura de Chicha; l, Miniatura de Sopera.

Eduardo Segovia Collection (2002):

a



b



c



d



e



f



Figure G2. Segovia Collection.
a, Wood and Ceramic Sculpture; b, Female Figure; c, Pre-Inkaic Style Vessel; d, Sculpture; e, Vase; f, Ceramic Penguin.

José Encalada Collection (2002):

a



b



c

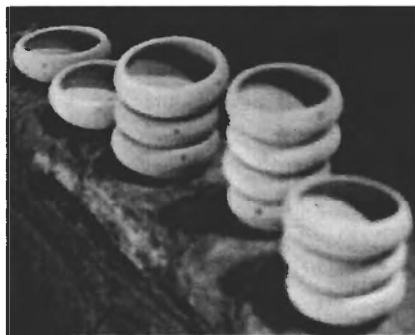


Figure G3. Encalada Collection.

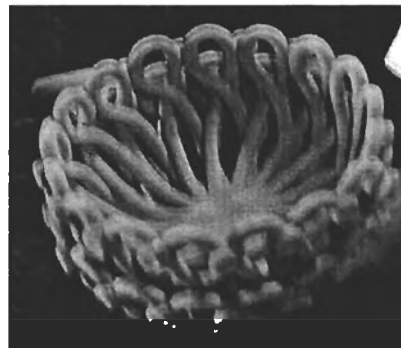
a, Large Female Terracotta Garden Ornament; b, Terracotta Ceramic Vessels; c, Large Terracotta *Ollas*.

Jose and Ana Ramon Collection (2002):

a



b



c

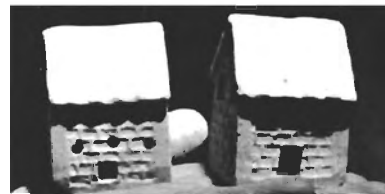


Figure G4. Ramon Collection.

a, Planter Bases; b, Woven Ceramic Baskets; c, Miniature Houses.

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