Social Change and Evolution of Ceramic Production and Distribution in a Maya Community

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ture of Maya life that is complex, just as the people are, without romanticizing Maya lives and responses to violence. Instead it shows that responses to violence and politics in Maya communities are not uniform.

Several chapters are of particular note. Abigail E. Adams documents the internal conflict within the Maya Spirituality Movement. This conflict shows the complexities of spiritual and religious experiences of Mayas in Guatemala that can be applied to indigenous people elsewhere. In addition, two of the original contributors to *Harvest of Violence* appear in this volume. Robert M. Carmack contributes the conclusion and points to the similarities and differences between the two volumes. The chapter by David Stoll asks some tough questions: to what extent did the guerrillas represent the interests of the Maya majority and other repressed groups in Guatemala? What role does solidarity work have in creating an essentialist view of Guatemalans, particularly Mayas? Stoll argues that much of the solidarity and scholarship in Guatemala utilizes an army versus the people paradigm that is simplistic and reductionist. This paradigm does not allow for an analysis of the present complexity of the many involvements and loyalties that Guatemalans hold. The issue, as Stoll points out, is that Mayas become the source of moral authority and help comes only in the ways that U.S. and European intellectuals deem appropriate. This type of thinking deems other intellectuals, such as ladino/a race theorists, as unfit and effectively pushes them away from knowledge creation.

The weaknesses of the collection center around two issues. First, the editors frame this book as activist-oriented scholarship but offer few suggestions on how to move from analysis to action, thus leaving the reader wondering how to engage with solutions to violence as a participant in the solidarity movement. Second, the authors do not address indigenous/ladino relations. This gap is explained by the editors as reflective of the changes at the local level in which the relations within indigenous communities are increasingly important. Nonetheless the influence that the ladino elite continues to hold is an important aspect for understanding Guatemala as a whole. Finally, the editors address the obvious absence of Maya scholars in this volume by explaining that these scholars have other venues in which to publish their work and that this project had the blessing of the scholars themselves. This is not a good enough explanation, particularly when the volume seeks to give voice to Mayas themselves.

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Dean Arnold’s latest book adopts an ecological approach to ceramic studies, which relates the production, use and discard of ceramics to broader sociocultural and environmental contexts. It is an important case study in ceramic ethnoarchaeology, with relevance to our
understanding of the development of craft specialization in antiquity. Arnold puts the Maya potters of Ticul under the microscope to examine the growth of their craft through 32 years of technological and social change (1965-1997). Successive chapters deal with changes over time in craft organization, demand/consumption, distribution, raw material procurement, fabric composition, forming and firing. Arnold identifies a number of research paradigms that inform this study, and in particular, specialization, evolution, and material engagement theory. Specialization embraces a largely mechanistic process, whereby potters make choices that increase efficiency and cost effectiveness. Evolution draws on a comparison with biological evolution, in which potters have to adapt to changing market conditions to survive. Arnold prefers a material engagement approach, which emphasizes the relationships between humans and the material world.

The social context of ceramic production in this study consists of the region (northern Yucatán), the city (Ticul), the community of potters and the household. The persistence of a household basis of learning and production, along with the practice of patrilineal land inheritance, is credited with the continuity of production and production location within the community. Significantly, household production units were able to adopt a variety of strategies (e.g., segmentation of tasks) in order to increase specialization without increasing in size. Consumers of Ticul pottery include the Yucatec Maya, tourists, urban dwellers, and hotel managers. Between 1965 and 1984 water jars became obsolete with the introduction of piped water and metal vessels replaced cookware. The same period saw a change in the transportation infrastructure from railroads to highways. This led to a comprehensive shift from native demand for domestic pottery to vessels for urban consumers and tourists, supplied through brokers (middlemen). This shift also involved rapid innovation in the production of plant pots, small vessels, and application of ancient Maya designs.

Instead of elite control causing restricted use of clay and temper resources, procurement in Ticul evolved in terms of mining technology, task segmentation, and organization. The relative quality of clays and tempers available had a tremendous effect on the techniques adopted for clay preparation (e.g., levigation) and the recipes used by Ticul potters. In the 1970s there was a move toward standardization in vessel forms, not due to potter choice, but rather due to broker demands for uniform vessel sizes. Arnold identifies a complex set of factors that affected the adoption of new techniques (e.g., vessel molds), including clay quality, vessel shape, potter skill, consumer demand and production organization. Firing was affected by the emergence of fuel collecting and firing specialists, and changes in kiln types, size and number. The materiality of change in Ticul is most evident in the number of vessels produced, amount of clay and temper used, and advances in kiln construction.

All archaeologists studying ceramics should read this comprehensive and thought-provoking book. The volume itself is written and produced well, with ample illustrations and a subtle use of statistics. Arnold makes a convincing argument that the characteristics of clay and the requirements of ceramic production should be the analytical foundation for the reconstruction of ancient ceramic production. Pottery making in Ticul has survived
due to the versatility of traditional potters, just as potters undoubtedly endured in the past when faced with globalization (i.e., intercultural trade). Theorists should heed his parting advice to be more aware of how potters make their pots, acquire their resources and organize their production space.

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FAMILY & GENDER STUDIES


Sarah Hautzinger’s Violence in the City of Women is an engrossing work that addresses the evolution of institutional and societal responses to gender-based violence in the city of Salvador, the capital of the state of Bahia. This book is the culmination of nearly twenty years of Hautzinger’s experience investigating gender-based violence in Salvador. The strength of this work lies in her personal narrative and connection to people, families, and state institutions. Since 1990, Hautzinger has conducted extensive fieldwork in the city’s sole women’s police station (Delegacia da Mulher or DM for short), collaborating with other researchers to document police officers’ opinions and procedures, and listening to testimonies. A second research site, a poor urban neighborhood that became her home for nine months starting in 1993, is the center of her ethnographic account of family violence. In addition to analysis of both sites, the book draws on multiple vantage points and methodologies to provide a full account of the evolution of gender-based violence in Salvador.

Hautzinger examines multiple facets of violence between men and women and centers her analysis on evolving gender relations and power struggles. She argues that violence arises not only from men’s use of violence to dominate, but also from men reacting to women’s contestation and rejection of male dominance. Throughout her analysis, she resists simplistic dichotomies and characterizations of female victimhood and male dominance to highlight how Bahian women resist men’s domination and avail themselves of resources (community support, cultural delegitimation, and state sanctions against violence) to avoid becoming victims.

The book challenges many truisms perpetuated by mainstream actors in the international battered women’s movement and proposes alternative premises. First, while gender-based violence is widespread, it is not a universal and static phenomenon. Second, while violence is destructive, it can also hold other meanings, including the performance of masculinity. Third, gender-based violence is not “one size fits all;” man-to-woman violence does not always reinforce masculine power and patriarchy. In breaking with the tendency in the field to assert that violence against women crosses culture, class, and race, Hautzinger emphasizes the ways in which these categories and distinctions matter. In par-