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THE PLUNDERING OF PAQUIMÉ: THE HISTORY OF LOOTING IN NORTHWESTERN CHIHUAHUA, MEXICO

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Abstract

The destruction of archaeological sites is a complex issue that affects sites around the world. Although site destruction could be the result of various factors, it is usually attributed to looting of artifacts for a local or global market. This case study examines the history of looting in the Casas Grandes region of Chihuahua, Mexico and its association with institutions in the United States in the last century. The region is unique because it so close to the United States/Mexico border, where part of the market is extremely close to its source. Casas Grandes pottery collections and archives curated at several borderland museums in the United States Southwest were the focus of this study. The changing relationships between United States borderland museums, looters, middlemen, collectors, and archaeologists allowed me to define three periods of looting: the Museum Period (1900-1939), the Private Collector Period (1940-1979), and the Present Period (1980-present). By examining the history of looting in the area, we can begin to better understand this complex issue and possibly implement strategies in the future that might educate locals, collectors, and tourists with the goal of ending looting and site destruction.

Chapter 1: Looting Across the United States and Mexico Border

The looting of archaeological artifacts is a worldwide phenomenon promoting the destruction of our world heritage. Looted objects have become commodities sold and displayed solely for aesthetic purposes in galleries, museums, and private homes around the world. The potential knowledge lost with these types of activities far exceeds the monetary value of any single object (Renfrew1999:5). Although laws and institutions have been established globally to protect cultural heritage, many archaeological sites are still being destroyed due to the demand and rising value of antiquities.

The destruction of archaeological sites, the extraction of ancient objects, and the commerce associated with these are not foreign to the United States Southwest and northern Mexico. Despite political boundaries separating the two regions, they share a common archaeology and history and therefore should not be studied independently. Many current sources (Brodie 2006) establish that artifacts looted in Mexico are for the most part sold to antiquities collectors in the United States and end up in private collections, museums, and galleries across the country. Therefore, borderland looting should be treated as a bi-national issue.

The purpose of this study is to examine the history of looting in northwestern Chihuahua, Mexico and its association with institutions in the United States in the last century. Casas Grandes or Paquimé is the focus of my research. Paquimé, is one of the largest and most impressive sites in northern Mexico. It occupies an area of 146 hectares and is characterized by Puebloan-style architecture, an estimated

2000 rooms, Mesoamerican style platform mounds, and ball courts (Whalen and Minnis 2001:27). The site reached its peak during the Medio Period (A.D. 1200-1450) and became a key center in northwestern Mexico and southwestern United States. In addition to its size and complexity, Paquimé is also known for its ornate ceramics, which are widely appreciated and collected for aesthetic purposes. Locals, private collectors, museums, and archaeologists have sought to collect Casas Grandes pottery since the beginning of the past century, which has lead to the looting of the main site, Paquimé, and smaller sites within the vicinity of the modern town of Casas Grandes. The purpose of my research is to examine the history of looting and the antiquities market that has focused on Casas Grande region, beginning in 1900 to the present. Given that none of the archival documents used for this study date earlier than 1900, I choose to examine the history of this region beginning at this date. The site's proximity to the United States/Mexico border and its highly collectible pots make this an unusual case study where the commodities are extremely close to its market. This creates a network of looting, trade, and contraband of Casas Grandes pottery among locals and foreigners within a 100 km radius over a span of more than 100 years.

Looting is not an activity that has been widely documented in this region of Mexico. Therefore, to establish such history, I examined museum collections and archives in the United States associated with the Casas Grandes region. Although it is impossible to establish a complete and accurate history of looting in the area solely by using museum collections and archives, they can definitely help us begin to

understand this bi-national issue. My attempt to document the history of looting in the Casas Grandes area is strictly associated with the relationship between United States museums, collectors, looters, and archaeologists. To understand such relationships and begin to establish a history, I visited several museums that house Casas Grandes pottery collections in the United States Southwest including the Arizona State Museum in Tucson, the University of Texas at El Paso Centennial Museum in El Paso, the Amerind Foundation in Dragoon, Arizona, the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology in Albuquerque, New Mexico, and the Arizona State University Museum of Anthropology in Tempe. My focus was geared towards dates of collection and accession, number of collections, number of pots per collection, types of pottery, names of donors, and provenience information.

The data analysis led me to establish three distinct periods of looting: the Museum Period (1900-1939), the Private Collector Period (1940-1979), and the Present Period (1980-present). Each period is defined by a unique relationship between looters, collectors, and museums and is tied to its historical context. Ancillary to the museum collections, I also documented sales of Casas Grandes pottery on eBay; I focused on recording, sales, frequency and provenience. I monitored the online auction site in order to understand the present market and the popularity of Casas Grandes pottery outside of museum collections. By doing this, I was able to determine whether a demand for looted Casas Grandes pots was in place in the public sector.

In the remainder of this chapter, I will provide an overview of the laws and institutions in both the United States and Mexico that have been established to protect cultural patrimony. This will provide a better understanding on how each country treats their cultural patrimony and how certain laws shaped looting activities and its criminalization. I will then review two case studies that deal with looting in southern Mexico and Central America, and Alaska. These two case studies document the impacts of looting activities and discuss strategies to combat them. I choose to include these in my study for comparative purposes and as possible future strategies that could be implemented in the Casas Grandes region. Chapter 2 will be devoted to discussing my methods and data; Chapter 3 will focus on the Museum Period; Chapter 4 will discuss the Private Collector Period; and Chapter 5 will concentrate on the Present Period. Chapter 6 summarizes my data and results, explores the implications of this study, and discusses possibilities for future research.

Laws and Institutions that Protect Cultural Patrimony in the United States

Laws in Mexico and the United States derive from different legal systems and philosophies and are therefore unique in their establishment and execution (García-Barcena 2007). Laws in the United States have their origins in British law, in which land ownership encompasses everything, and "as a result the landowner is the proprietor of any archaeological sites and materials that are on his or her land, and can dispose of them freely" (García-Barcena 2007:14). Although sites in United

States have suffered their share of looting, people in the United States have also been guilty of being major purchasers in the antiquities market.

Several laws and institutions in the United States have been established in the last few decades to protect cultural patrimony and regulate illegal trade of looted artifacts. The Antiquities Act became a law in 1906, and it criminalized any damage or destruction of antiquities located on federal government land, established and protected national monuments, and required permits for excavation of archaeological sites (National Park Service 2011). In 1974, the Archaeological and Historic Preservation Act was passed, and it protected historical and archaeological data from new constructions, flooding, and any other alteration of terrain that might disturb cultural patrimony on federal land. The Archaeological Resources Protection Act was passed in 1979, and it "protects archaeological resources on public and Indian lands and fosters increased cooperation and exchange of information between governmental authorities, the professional archaeological community, and private individuals having collections of archeological resources and data obtained before October 31, 1979" (National Park Service 2011).

The 1970 UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property defined cultural property as "property, which on religious or secular grounds, is specifically designated by each state as being of importance for archaeology, prehistory, history, literature, art or science" (UNESCO 2011). Each participating country agreed to prohibit the importation of any stolen cultural patrimony and force antiquities dealers

to "to maintain a register recording the origin of each item of cultural property, names and addresses of the supplier, [and] description and price of each item sold (Article 10a)" (Borodkin 1995:389). The United States joined the UNESCO Convention in 1983 and was one of the first major art-importing countries to do so, but it failed to implement article 10a, leaving such regulation to state and local governments. After the United States ratified the UNESCO convention in 1983, it enacted the Convention on Cultural Property Implementation Act (CPIA), which was meant to protect cultural patrimony from pillage and illegal trafficking.

In 1972, the United States Customs put into operation the Pre-Columbian Art Act, which restricted the importation of all Pre-Columbian goods. Any piece of art or monument of pre-Columbian origin coming from Bolivia, Belize, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, Panamá, Perú, and Venezuela cannot be imported in to the United States. Artifacts coming from these countries such as immobile stone monuments, altars, architectural structures, masks of architectural or ritual derivation, decorated capstones, decorated beams of wood, frescoes, glyphs, mosaics, and any other decoration part of a fixed monument are protected under this law (National Park Service 2011).

Although there are still cases of illegal importation of antiquities coming into the country, many of these are seized and returned to their countries of origin by United States Immigration and Customs and United States Customs and Border Protection. In 2008, United States Customs and Border Protection officials returned a Teotihuacán funerary mask and statuette to the San Bernardino, California,

Mexican Consulate. An art dealer in Denver, Colorado, had illegally imported the artifacts from Paris in 2004. There was a similar case in 2007 when a man from Laredo, Texas had imported pre-Columbian artifacts from Peru illegally into the United States and was allegedly selling them in the area. A total of 334 pre-Columbian artifacts were returned to the Peruvian government (Customs Border and Protection 2011). These are only two examples of successful repatriation of looted artifacts from the United States to Latin America in recent years.

Laws and Institutions that Protect Cultural Patrimony in Mexico

Contemporary Mexican law is based on Spanish medieval law, where land ownership is limited to surface area and everything else, including cultural patrimony, belonged to the Spanish crown (Garcia-Barcena 2007). This same principle was continued in the Mexican constitution after the country's independence from Spain in 1821; therefore, all cultural patrimony in the country belongs to the nation and not to individuals. The first law to protect cultural patrimony and prohibit its exportation was established in 1827. In 1939, the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (INAH) was established and guaranteed the rights and obligations to investigation, conservation, protection, and diffusion of cultural patrimony including archaeological, anthropological, historical, and paleontological. The Mexican federal law regarding the protection of historical monuments and archaeological sites was passed May 6, 1972, and its main objectives are to protect

all Mexican cultural patrimony through INAH, the Secretary of Education, state and municipal law, and any other cultural institutions in the country.

Today, INAH maintains its original mission statement, which is the protection of both tangible and non-tangible cultural patrimony. INAH manages all excavation and conservation projects in Mexico. Any foreigner planning to work in Mexico must acquire permission from INAH and follow its guidelines for excavation. These guidelines include appropriate crewmembers, amount of time allotted for research and excavation, collection of material, and storage of excavated objects. In most cases, material remains must stay in Mexico, and permission must be granted for any remains to leave the country. This type of artifact regulation, which have been legally excavated in Mexico, demonstrates the seriousness of looting and illegal exportation of cultural patrimony.

Looting in the Americas and its result, the antiquities market, has caused the destruction of many archaeological sites in both the United States and Latin America, including Mexico. "Many of these antiquities are removed destructively from archaeological sites, monuments, or cultural institutions, illegally exported from their countries of origin and converted into legal commodities through a series of commercial transactions and exchanges across jurisdiction" (Brodie 2006:1). In Mexico, over 29,000 archaeological sites have been registered, and of those only 180 are open to the public. That leaves an overwhelming percent of unsupervised sites vulnerable to looting and destruction. The International Council of Museums published their "Red List" in June 2010 of countries considered at risk for looting

and site destruction, and Mexico and Central America were listed as severely endangered (International Council of Museums 2011).

The Mexican archaeologist Enrique Nalda (2002) provides a perspective on looting and the lack of response in Mexico. He argues that Mexico considers anything associated with pre-hispanic cultures as cultural patrimony contributing to the understanding of the country's history. Thus, all pre-hispanic objects/places are to be studied rather than protected. Nalda argues that even in INAH's mission statement, research is top priority. He believes that Mexican archaeologists have little interest in or give less priority to defending, protecting, reconstructing sites, and recovering looted goods. He describes a division between "tourist archaeology" and "scientific archaeology," with Mexican archaeologists being the latter. Nalda ultimately urges Mexican archaeologists to reconsider their goals and to incorporate what they would consider non-scientific interest as part of their duties.

Looting and protection of cultural patrimony is a complex issue in both Mexico and the United States. Each country has incorporated laws and regulations that have been influenced by their distinct histories. The following case studies will demonstrate some of the issues with looting in the Maya area of southern Mexico and Central America, and Alaska, and the strategies implemented to combat such activity.

A Case Study from the Maya Area

The Maya Area Cultural Heritage Initiative (MACHI) works with local populations and government institutions in southern Mexico and Central America in

order to "save archaeological sites from plunder, development and exposure to elements" (Parks et al. 2006:425). Using an applied anthropological approach, people in this organization have conducted extensive interviews with archaeologists, government officials, non-governmental organizations, and Maya leaders regarding the preservation of Maya cultural heritage. Fifty interviews were conducted through phone, e-mail, and in person in the countries of Belize, Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, and southern Mexico (mostly the Yucatán Peninsula). The purpose of the interviews was to determine whether looting occurred opportunistically in the form of subsistence digging, or if semi-professional or professional looting networks had been created. Establishing the relationships between local, intermediary, and international markets was also a main goal for these interviews. According to some of the interviewees, there has been an indifference towards the conservation of archaeological sites due to lack of education regarding Maya archaeology and knowledge of national and international laws that protect cultural patrimony. In the following paragraphs, I will discuss some of the issues and challenges faced in each country with Mayan sites.

In Mexico, MACHI has mostly focused on the Yucatán Peninsula, and some of the challenges in this area are mostly attributed to development and urbanization. "In these regions, countless archaeological sites have been leveled to provide space for the construction of highways, tourist infrastructure, and homes, requiring the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (INAH) to devote a large portion of its resources to archaeological mitigation" (Parks et al. 2006:428). Looting in rural

areas is mostly through the dismantling of stone structures used for construction creating an opportunistic activity. In the country's southern border regions, looting is organized at a "professional level" and is associated with gangs, drug trafficking, and subsistence.

In Belize, residents have treated the archaeological record as a source of income but have for the most part participated in what MACHI defines as opportunistic and subsistence level of looting. The data from the Toledo district, the most southern district in Belize, identifies two kinds of intermediaries - a local one who visits villages in search of artifacts and many times makes deals with the locals, and an international one looking for artifacts to smuggle out of the country. Both types of intermediaries eventually sell their goods in the international antiquities market.

Looting in Guatemala appears to be practiced at an opportunistic or semi-professional level by farmers who encounter sites or artifacts when working in their fields. There are some organized gangs reported in the country's border regions, who are also associated with drug trafficking.

Data from Honduras and El Salvador vary according to the country's size. In El Salvador, looting appears to be the most severe due to the country's small size and large population. Professional gangs who are usually associated with drug trafficking mostly conduct looting activities. Urbanization and expansion also play a key role in the destruction of the archaeological record in El Salvador. In Honduras, looting occurs at all levels, opportunistic, semi-professional, and professional.

There are many challenges people in these five countries face such as high poverty levels, specifically for indigenous populations, limited education, and ignorance about the illegality of looting. Populations in all five countries practice "subsistence looting" along with other activities such as drug trafficking. The types of looting networks range from opportunistic to professional. Organized or professional looters appear to be associated with drug-trafficking and border regions between countries.

Although the Maya region is much larger than the Casas Grandes area and its antiquities are likely more collectible, there are some parallels. Casas Grandes is a border region and is part of one of the most concentrated drug-trafficking areas in Mexico. The difference between these two regions is that looting appears to be a larger threat in the Maya area than it is in Chihuahua at present. Although drug trafficking occurs in the Casas Grandes region, there is no evidence that it is related with looting as it occurs in the Maya area. The case study if anything is an excellent example of the type of initiative needed in the Casas Grandes region to determine what type of looting occurs today and the strategies that can be employed to combat such activities.

A Case Study from Alaska

The Alaska case study deals with ethical issues of "subsistence digging" conducted by descendant populations. Like the Maya case study, it considers the local perspective by interviewing those participating in such activities. Sites in the state of Alaska have undergone looting and destruction at third world-country levels,

according to Staley (1993) due to what he calls "native subsistence diggers." Staley focuses on Gambell, a small Yupik community on St. Lawrence Island, where subsistence looting is practiced and is destroying the archaeological record at a rapid pace. Staley conducted several interviews with local diggers and traders in order to understand the complexity of subsistence looting. He defines "subsistence digger" as "a person who uses the proceeds from artifact sales to support his or her traditional subsistence lifestyle" (Staley 1993:348).

A major source of income is the sale of ivory and ivory related artifacts from archaeological sites, of which the island is a major source. A 1920s excavation conducted by Otto Geist and Henry Collins altered the local attitudes towards digging, when these archaeologists began hiring locals as field assistants and purchasing artifacts. The hired help was paid according to the amount of ivory they each recovered. The natives lost their fear and superstition towards their dead ancestors, began "subsistence digging," and even employed excavating techniques learned from Geist and Collins.

Several strategies have been employed on the island to deter looting and site destruction. Legislation and law enforcement were implemented but have not succeeded in ending the destruction. New approaches including public involvement and education have been implemented, but it is unclear if these have helped curtail such activities.

Discussion

The Maya and Alaska case studies bring to light some of the issues surrounding the destruction of archaeological sites in both North and Central America such as poverty, lack of education, urbanization, and a relationship with an international market. Both case studies attempt to establish the current looting situation through interviews in their respective regions, and both employed public education about looting and preservation. Strategies such as interviewing locals and public education could potentially be employed in the Casas Grandes region. Interviews with locals and people in governmental institutions could be conducted to understand contemporary issues with looting in the area and to implement strategies to combat site destruction in the future.

The present study is focused on establishing the history of looting in northwestern Chihuahua, something that was not addressed in depth by either case study. By examining past patterns of looting we can better assess what can be done in the present to deter illegal behavior. Future research on looting in the Casas Grandes region could possibly address the current looting situation, but for the purpose of this study, I will begin by understanding its past.

Chapter 2: Museum Collections and Archival Data

The purpose of my research is to examine the history of looting in northwestern Chihuahua, Mexico and its association with institutions in the United States in the last century. This study focuses on archival data from museums in the United States; therefore, I can only establish the relationship between looting activities in the Casas Grandes region and museums across the border. Future research on archival data available in Mexico may provide a complete picture on the history of looting in the area. As mentioned earlier, the Casas Grandes region is the focus of this study, an area roughly located195 km from the United States/Mexico border (Figure 2.1.), placing it in an ideal location where a market is extremely close to the source.

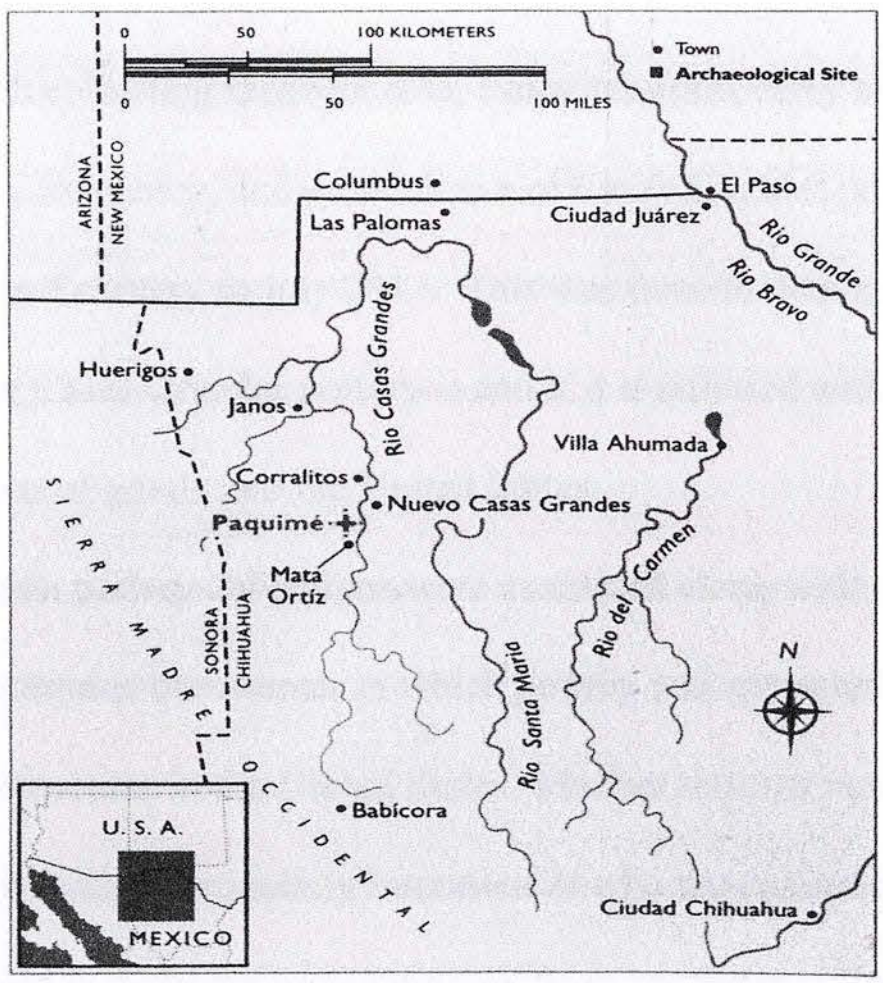

Figure 2.1 The Casas Grandes Region (based on map from Powell 2006:16).

To better understand the complexity of this bi-national issue, I decided to analyze pottery collections and archival data from five museums across the United States Southwest: the Arizona State Museum at the University of Arizona in Tucson, Arizona, the University of Texas at El Paso Centennial Museum in El Paso, Texas, the Amerind Foundation in Dragoon, Arizona, the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque, New Mexico, and the Arizona State University Museum of Anthropology in Tempe, Arizona. These museums were chosen due to their proximity to the United States and Mexico border and because they curate some of the largest collections of southwestern pottery. As mentioned earlier, this analysis will only document the relationship between borderland museums in the United States and looting activities and commerce in the Casas Grandes region.

Along with collecting museum data, I monitored the eBay auction site and documented sales, frequency, and provenience of Casas Grandes pottery over a span of six months from February to July 2011. This was done to determine what the current market for Casas Grandes pottery is and if it is still tied with looting and illegal importations of goods into the United States.

The museum pottery collections were examined along with their archival information to determine the manner in which pottery was extracted from Mexico and acquired by museums in the United States, whether through purchase, donation, or excavation. I was also particularly interested in who the collection donors were, since this would aid in determining the process from looting to commerce and

eventually to museum donation. I gathered information on the nature of museum acquisition, the identification of donor or seller, the nature of the acquisition by the donor or seller, the date of museum acquisition, and any information regarding provenance and or context. My ultimate goal was to establish not just the history of looting in relation to United States museums but to also understand changing networks of looting, trade, smuggling, and collection throughout the past century.

Although the Casas Grandes area was likely looted prior to the 1900s, there is not enough archival data at the aforementioned museums to be included in this study. Early explorers such as John Bartlett, Adolph Bandelier, and Carl Lumholtz visited the site and the surrounding areas during the late 1800s and were possibly the first Anglos to collect artifacts from the area and bring them to the United States. John Bartlett arrived in 1852 at Paquimé and created the first drawings of the ruins (Vilanova 2003). Adolph Bandelier (1890) created the first map and did minor surface excavations in 1884, during which he noted Paquimé's resemblance to Pueblo architecture found in Arizona and New Mexico. Bandelier also predicted that the tallest mounds could have been structures that were several stories high. From his minor excavations, he recovered marine shell, turquoise, and elaborate pottery (Bandelier 1890).

Carl Lumholtz was another early traveler who explored the state of Chihuahua in 1890. His book, *Unknown Mexico* (1902), was based on his five years of travel and amateur archaeology in the states of Sonora and Chihuahua. The book is mostly devoted to his explorations of cliff dwellings in the surrounding sierras and

only mentions Paquimé briefly by making an estimation of the number of inhabitants - 3000- 4000 people (Lumholtz 1902:39).

In the following sections, I will describe the collections used in this study from the five museum respective museums. I will also provide a brief summary of the eBay register.

The Arizona State Museum, University of Arizona

The Arizona State Museum (ASM) serves as a repository for the largest prehistoric pottery collections in the United States Southwest. Not surprisingly, it also houses one of the largest Chihuahua pottery collections in the country (Michael Jacobs, personal communication 2011). The Chihuahua pottery collection is comprised of eight major collections and nearly 1800 vessels. These collections are: the Ledwidge collection (1926, 1934), the Houghton collection (1933), the E. B. Sayles collection (1933), the Gustavo E. McGinnis collection (1933), the Byron Cummings collection (1934), the Arizona Archaeological and Historical Society (AAHS)-Zapata Ochoa Collection (1965), the Arizona Archaeological and Historical Society-Enrique Delgado collection (1966), and the Thomas Bahti collection (1966, 1967).

The Ledwidge collection is divided into two accession episodes - the Gila Pueblo (GP) and the Arizona State Museum (ASM). Harold S. Gladwin originally purchased the Ledwidge collection (GP), comprised of 512 Casas Grandes vessels, from Edward H. Ledwidge in 1926. This collection was stored at the Gila Pueblo Archaeological Foundation at Globe, Arizona, until 1950 when the foundation was

dissolved, and the collection was transferred to the University of Arizona (Jacobs 2011:2). Byron Cummings purchased the Ledwidge collection (ASM), 45 Casas Grandes vessels, in 1934 for ASM. The Ledwidge collection (GP) includes proveniences from three locations: Colonia Pacheco/Cave Valley (1) located southwest of Casas Grandes, Rancho Corralitos/Río Casas Grandes (490), and Paquimé/Rio Casas Grandes (21) (Figure 2.1). The Ledwidge collection (ASM) includes provenances from Casas Grandes (42) and Santana Ranch (3).

The Georgia B. Houghton collection was also originally acquired for the Gila Pueblo Foundation in 1933, prior to being housed at ASM. The Houghton family managed the Rancho Corralitos, north of Casas Grandes, Chihuahua, from 1905 to 1917 (Figure 2.1). The collection contains 242 vessels; all are provenienced to Rancho Corralitos.

The E. B. Sayles Chihuahua survey collection was acquired in 1933 after Sayles' fieldwork, funded by the Gila Pueblo Foundation, in Chihuahua. This collection is comprised of 220 non-perishable artifacts, 223perishables, and three whole vessels. Although thise collection was acquired through a professional survey, I could not find specific provenience information on the three whole vessels (Sayles 1936).

The Gustavo E. McGinnis collection was also acquired by ASM via the Gila Pueblo Foundation. This collection of 294 vessels was purchased from McGinnis in 1933 towards the end of Sayles' Chihuahua survey. McGinnis was the foreman of the Hearst Ranch in Las Varas, Chihuahua, located approximately 200 km southwest

of Casas Grandes. Sayles hired McGinnis's son to show him where the pots were collected prior to their purchase. There was no archival information that included specific context other than Las Varas, Chihuahua, for this collection.

The Byron Cummings collection came from a 1934 ASM excursion to Chihuahua conducted by Cummings. This excavation generated 32 vessels from a site near Colonia Enriquez, located 14 km north of Casas Grandes.

Bahti originally purchased the Thomas Bahti collection, donated in 1966, from an individual from Casas Grandes who claimed to have recovered it from a cache, but who refused to offer further information (Jacobs 2011:9). The collection consists of four vessels, as well as copper artifacts, and shell and turquoise ornaments. Bahti made a second donation in 1967 of three more pottery vessels, which he claimed were purchased for his Tucson Indian arts and crafts shop.

The AAHS-Zapata Ochoa collection was purchased from Ramon Zapata Ochoa of Colonia Juarez by ASM using funds provided by the Arizona Archaeological and Historical Society. Ochoa claimed to have found the items in a cave located near La Mesa del Huracán, Chihuahua, located 40 km east of Tres Ríos, Sonora. The collection consists of 10 vessels, three of which are from a second nearby cave.

Finally, the AAHS-Enrique Delgado collection was purchased by the Arizona State Museum, using funds granted by the Arizona Archaeological and Historical Society in 1966 from Enrique Delgado from Agua Prieta, Sonora. Delgado claimed

that the collection, consisting of 15 vessels, was acquired from a small site near Janos, Chihuahua (Figure 2.1).

Private collectors donated the remainder of Casas Grandes vessels curated at ASM after the 1960s, and these, a total of five, usually lack any information regarding provenance or context and are mostly single vessel donations. There is a three-vessel donation made by Jeff Ward in 2011. Ward claims to have purchased these from Michael Willey Gallery in Santa Fe, New Mexico in early 2000.

In addition to the ceramic collections, ASM also contains some important archival resources. The E. B. Sayles' Papers contain notes and correspondence with Harold S. Gladwin, director the Gila Pueblo Foundation, during Sayles' Chihuahua Expedition in 1933. These records were highly important to my research since they narrated Sayles' experience in Chihuahua and provided information on the transactions between looters/collectors and the Gila Pueblo Foundation.

The Maxwell Museum of Anthropology, University of New Mexico

The Maxwell Museum of Anthropology houses a significant collection of southwestern ceramics including Casas Grandes pottery. The largest Casas Grandes collectios consist of the North-Alves and Imhoff collections. The North-Alves collection is the larger of the two, comprised of 118 vessels, which North family donated to the museum in 1965. The North family acquired the collection throughout the 1930s mostly through direct purchase from looters. What is unique about this collection is that the North family provided information about provenience and sellers, which will be further discussed in Chapter 3. The Houghton family from

Rancho Corralitos, who also donated a collection to the Arizona State Museum, sold and donated at least 40 of the pots to the North family. The North family purchased the remainder of the collection from unknown individuals who provided the following provenances - Daniel Stevenson Ranch, Tapiecitas, Colonia Guadalupe Victoria, Janos, Pearson (Mata Ortiz), Babícora, Rancho Ramos, and Galeana (Figure 2.1). The Imhoff collection was donated by his wife in honor of the artist Joseph Imhoff from Taos who collected southwestern pottery. Only two pots of the 105 she donated in 1961 were from Casas Grandes.

Other collections at the Maxwell Museum came from a University of New Mexico field school in 1937 (six vessels), a Tom Bahti donation in 1967-1968, (17), the Turner collection (56), and the John Kennedy collection (28). These collections all lacked provenience information.

The Amerind Foundation

The Amerind Foundation is one of the most interesting repositories for this study because it conducted the largest excavation in Chihuahua - the Joint Casas Grandes Project (JCGP; 1958-1961), directed by Charles C. Di Peso and Eduardo Contreras. During the project, laws of exportation of cultural patrimony in Mexico were enforced, and therefore any vessel excavated were either brought to the Amerind with special permission and subsequently returned to Mexico or remained in Mexico. However, there were a few artifacts that Di Peso collected, around 10, and some 20 vessels and pieces of lithics possibly donated by one of his crewmembers during the excavation, that remain housed at the Amerind Foundation.

The only information provided on these is that they were either collected through survey or excavation but they have no other contextual information. The remainder of the Casas Grandes collections not related to JCGP total close to a thousand. Private collectors donated these in the 1960s, and they appear to lack provenience information. The largest of these donations came from private collectors Clay Lockett (52 vessels) and Joseph Memmott (166). The Clay Lockett collection only states that vessels came from Casas Grandes, Chihuahua, while the Joseph Memmott collection was collected from the Casas Grandes Valley near Colonia Dublan. Along with studying the pottery collections at the Amerind, I was given access to all of Di Peso's field notes. These provided a glimpse of what the looting/market situation was during the Joint Casas Grandes Project, which will be further discussed in Chapter 4.

The University of Texas at El Paso Centennial Museum

The University of Texas at El Paso Centennial Museum curates a Casas Grandes collection of 400 vessels; provenance information for most vessels is limited. Private collectors donated all but one vessel to the museum from the 1930s to the 1980s. The most significant of these donations are those that came from the Ladies Auxiliary Club of El Paso, Texas. This group donated around 300 vessels in 1936, and these appear to have been purchased from the Houghton family, mentioned earlier, and a Smith family in the Casas Grandes region. Various individuals, usually with one or two pots per donation, gave the remaining vessels.

Arizona State University Museum of Anthropology

The Arizona State University Museum of Anthropology curates 168 Casas Grandes pots from five different collections, all acquired after the 1960s. The largest of these comes from Tom Bahti, which consists of 159 vessels. The remainders of the collections are the Ordaz collection in 1962 (five vessels) from Colonia Juarez, the Paul Fish Midwest Collection in 1968 (two), the Midvale collection in 1973 (one), and the Mesoamerican Ceramics from Mexico Collection in 1980 (one).

eBay

In addition to the museum collection and archives, I monitored the eBay auction site to document sales, frequency, and provenience of Casas Grandes pottery over a span of six months from February to July 2011. Every week, I recorded how many pots came into the market, the seller location, prices, and any provenience information included in their descriptions. I recorded 28 vessels/listings circulating in the market, and after several months I realized that several were re-listed and were not selling. These will be further discussed in Chapter 5.

Discussion

The collections described above along with archival information and the eBay register were analyzed and divided in to three periods of looting and collection in the area. Looking at accession dates, numbers of vessels, and provenience data, I established the Museum Period (1900-1939), the Private Collector Period (1940-1979), and the Present Period (1980-present). These periods will be further discussed in the following chapters; each period is defined by certain patterns found

within the collections and by using historical context. I believe historical events and the Mexican economy influenced looting activities in the Casas Grandes region, while in the United States, the development of archaeology as a discipline affected how artifacts from foreign countries were collected, imported, and analyzed.

All three periods are strictly defined by the relationships established between borderland museums in the United States, looters, intermediaries, and collectors. The Museum Period (1900-1939) is characterized by large collections looted and sold to museums in the United States mostly by Anglo families living in Mexico. The Private Collector Period (1940-1979) is defined by smaller collections coming in to museums from various collectors within the United States Southwest. The Present Period (1980- Present) is one where museum donations and purchases of collections are on a decline; various possibilities are discussed for this occurrence. As mentioned earlier, this study is strictly focused on looting in northwestern Mexico and the antiquities market in the United States, and my analysis is based solely on collections and archives from the latter country. In order to understand this complex issue and establish a complete history, future research should focus on collections and archives in Mexico.

Chapter 3: The Museum Period – (1900-1939)

This chapter will examine what I have defined as the Museum Period from 1900 to 1939. This period is characterized by mass looting organized by Anglo families living in the Casas Grandes area and the eventual purchase of their collections by museums and collectors in the United States. Although some collections were not donated to the museums until the 1960s, there is significant archival information demonstrating that large collections were either purchased by institutions or by private collectors in the 1930s, directly from specific Anglo families in the area. I must mention that not all collections from this period were looted and purchased by the museum, as there are some that were the result of professional survey and excavations conducted by archaeologists such as E. B. Sayles, Byron Cummings, and a 1937 University of New Mexico field school. These collections are for the most part small in comparison to some of the looted collections.

To establish the Museum Period, I will provide background information on the history of Mexico's economy and politics during this time. I believe that looting and trade are linked to historical context, and for this reason I will review Mexico's economy, politics, and land distribution. I will also discuss the role museums and archaeology in the United States played in looting and the commerce associated with it. Historical information might elucidate and help us understand the complexity of how mass looting began in the Casas Grandes area.

In the following paragraphs, I will discuss the history of Mexico from 1900-1939 and the role of United States museums and archaeology played in promoting looting activities and the antiquities market across the border in Mexico during this time period. I will end the chapter by discussing the museum collections and how they pertain to this period. I will demonstrate how these were in one way or another influenced by historic events in both countries

Recent Mexican History (1900-1939)

The history of Mexico during this period reflects the restructuring and modernization of the country. The early 1900s marked the end of the "Porfiriato" (1876-1910) of Porfirio Díaz and the beginning of the Mexican Revolution. During Díaz's reign, Mexico witnessed modernization and industrialization at the expense of the rural farmers and working class citizens (Wasserman 1993:3). During the "Porfiriato," Mexico's economy took an enormous leap due to an increase in foreign investment, which allowed for the construction of roads, dams, factories, railroads, and overall modern infrastructure (Lister and Lister 1966:155-169). Díaz changed many of the progressive land reform laws initiated by Benito Juárez (1858-1864). Under the Porfiriato, land ownership had to be proven with a legal title that many peasant and small farm owners did not possess. Land became distributed among the Mexican elite, mostly families of European descent, and foreigners who were invested in mining, cattle, lumber, railroads, and many other industries (Lister and Lister 1966:155). Foreign companies owned one of every five acres of Mexican land

in 1894. By the end of Díaz's regime, five percent of the Mexican population and foreign investors legally owned 95 percent of the land, at a time that the majority of Mexican citizens were landless (Wasserman 1984:105).

The disparities in landownership as well as the blatant abuse of human rights towards the working class led to the Mexican Revolution in 1910. The years following the Mexican Revolution were ones of turbulence and instability in the country.

The Mexican Revolution came to an end with the election of Lázaro Cárdenas in 1938. During his administration, Cardenas focused on three principles: restoring common land *ejidos*, establishing socialist education, and forming cooperatives for workers.

History of Chihuahua (1900-1939)

The state of Chihuahua was a key player during the Porfiriato and the Mexican Revolution. After the Mexican-American War (1846-1848) and the Gadsden Purchase (1853), the state became the largest political border with the United States. During the Porfiriato, the state witnessed an influx of foreign investment and a growth in local elite business. "Foreign investment, mostly from the United States, fueled the rapid growth of the Mexican economy under the regime of Porfirio Díaz. At the core of the expansion and development of foreign investment was the connection between foreign entrepreneurs and the native elite" (Wasserman 1979:3). The Apache defeat (1880) and the construction of the

Mexican Central Railroad (1884) marked the beginning of foreign investment and entrepreneurship in the state of Chihuahua. "By 1902, American investors alone had invested $US 30,000,000 in Chihuahua… American and British landowners held over 10,000,000 acres, approximately 20 percent of the state's land surface" (Wasserman 1979:5). The investments of foreign and local elites, such the Terrazas and Creel families, in Chihuahua were allocated in mining, land, cattle, and timber.

Other foreigners migrated to Chihuahua during this period seeking religious freedom in Mexico rather than entrepreneurship. In 1885, Mormons from Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico embarked on the long trek south to purchase land in the Casas Grandes Valley and to establish colonies. "These Mormons had no desire to conquer and no time to convert. They sought a home where they could continue their church-sanctioned polygamous marriages (Lister and Lister 1966:191). Over 300 Mormons made the trip south, and by 1912, Colonia Juárez, located 16 km west of Casas Grandes, the largest of the eight established colonies, had a population of 1200. The Mormon colonies prospered for a short time as the Porfiriato came to its end and the Mexican Revolution erupted. At that point, many Mormon colonies were abandoned, and most foreign investors and local elite lost their lands and fortunes.

After 1920, the land reform movement granted *ejidos* to villages in the state, and subsequent administrations gave a total of 415 *ejidos* to various villages across the state. Pre- and post-revolution land distribution in Mexico, I believe, influenced looting activities. Prior to the Mexican Revolution, only *hacienda* owners and their

workers had access to land and in turn access to archaeological sites on their land. After the revolution, and the granting of *ejidos*, a greater part of the population obtained access to land that had been previously privatized. This shift in land distribution left many archaeological sites vulnerable and accessible to a greater portion of the population in Chihuahua.

United States Museums and Archaeology (1900-1939)

In the United States, archaeology developed by what would be considered today as looting: a collection of objects with no systematic analysis or context recording. "Historically, collecting artifacts for museums was a primary reason for doing archaeology" (Staley 1993:351). The idea of cultural patrimony was not a priority when collecting and importing artifacts from Mexico and other parts of Latin America, but instead it was important to establish typologies and fill museums with as many varied collections as possible.

During the early 1900s, archaeology was transitioning from its Descriptive Period into the Culture History Period (Trigger 1996:5). The Descriptive Period was devoted to the description of sites, their monumental architecture and archaeological materials. Scholars and individuals practiced archeology during this period with no formal training in archaeology. There was usually little excavation, mostly rough mapping and what would be considered today as looting of artifacts accompanied by detailed descriptions (Trigger 1996:161-163). As archaeology began transitioning to the Culture History Period, artifacts were treated as collectable specimens that were

amassed in large quantities in order to understand a particular culture (Trigger 1996:290).

In the United States Southwest, Adolph Bandelier was one of the first archaeologists to conduct fieldwork; some would go as far as considering him the "father of southwest archaeology" (Lekson 2008:34). Bandelier conducted major surveys and mapped many sites in New Mexico, Arizona, Chihuahua, and Sonora. He was one of the first to create a map of Paquimé in 1884. Other early southwestern archaeologists who followed Bandelier were Edgar L. Hewett, Byron Cummings, E. B. Sayles, and A. V. Kidder. In 1907, Hewett founded the School of American Research in Santa Fe and in 1928 founded the department of Anthropology at the University of New Mexico (Lekson 1998:36). Cummings established both the University of Arizona Museum, which is now the Arizona State Museum, and the Department of Anthropology at the University of Arizona. E. B. Sayles conducted a survey in Chihuahua funded by the Gila Pueblo Foundation in 1933 and purchased a few pottery collections for the foundation. All of these men formally or informally conducted surveys and excavation in Chihuahua. Cummings and Sayles are associated with collections used for this study at the Arizona State Museum: the Byron Cummings 1934 Collection, the E. B. Sayles 1933 Collection, and the Gustavo E. McGinnis 1934 collection.

Museum Collections

The Museum Period (1900-1939), as mentioned earlier, is one characterized by looting and selling of archaeological artifacts in Chihuahua by mostly Anglo families living in the area to museums in the United States Southwest. Most of the Anglo families associated with museum collections during this period were hacienda owners or managers for North American owned haciendas. The data I collected from the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology, Arizona State Museum, and the University of Texas at El Paso Centennial Museum provide evidence that specific Anglo families and or ranches were host to significant looting and commerce in antiquities. I used the data from only these three museums for this period because only these contain data that date back to the early 1900s. During this period, commerce of antiquities involved United States museums, Anglo landowners living in Chihuahua, collectors, and archaeologists. In the following paragraphs, I will discuss the data pertaining to this period from each museum collection analyzed, and I will demonstrate how these provide evidence that looting was associated with Anglo hacienda owners living in Chihuahua and how there was a direct link with United States borderland museums.

The Maxwell Museum of Anthropology

At the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology, I examined their six Casas Grandes collections (Table 3.1). For this period, I will focus on the North-Alves collection since it is the only one of the six whose archival information reflects the acquisition of vessels during this time frame. As I noted in Chapter 2, the Maxwell

Museum acquired this particular collection in 1965, through donation. The museum did not purchase this collection from looters or an intermediary, as is the case with other museums. The North family purchased most of their pots in the Casas Grandes area during the 1930s and kept meticulous records of proveniences. There was little information about the North family. The archives at the Maxwell Museum only indicated that Helen B. North made the donation in 1965, but the archives clearly state that the North family originally acquired the collection in 1939. Although I have only noted the collection of vessels, there was also a significant collection of perishable items and tools, a total of over 60 artifacts.

Table 3.1 Museum Collections for the Museum Period 1900-1939.

Museum	Date Collections Acquired by Museums	Collection	Number of Vessels	Provenience
Maxwell Museum of Anthropology	1937	University of New Mexico Field Expedition	2 Ramos Polychrome	
	1965	North-Alves*	10: 1 human effigy, 3 Ramos Poly, 2 Carretas Poly, 1 Dublan Poly, 1 Babícora Poly, 1 Villa Ahumada Poly (effigy), 1 toad effigy bowl	Colonia Guadalupe Victoria (near Corralitos)
	1965	North-Alves*	8: 1 unknown, 1 Dublan Poly, 2 Ramos Poly, 1 Villa Ahumada Poly, 2 Carretas Poly, 1 Babícora Poly	Corralitos
	1965	North-Alves*	21: 1 Playas Red Incised, 1	Purchased from or donated by

			Villa Ahumada Poly, 3 Carretas Poly, 1 unknown poly, 2 Corralitos Incised Poly, 5 Ramos Black, 4 Babícora Poly, 1 Ramos Poly, 1 Playas Corrugated, 1 unknown jar, 1 snake effigy	Mrs. E.C. Houghton
	1965	North-Alves*	12: 2 Carretas Poly, 2 Villa Ahumada Poly, 2 Ramos Poly, 3 Ramos Black, 1 Madera Bl/r, 1 Playas Red, 1 corrugated jar	Tapiecitas
	1965	North-Alves*	11: 4 Carretas Poly, 2 Villa Ahumada Poly, 1 Corralitos Incised Poly, 1 Ramos Poly, 1 Madera Bl/r, 1 jar, 1 Babícora Poly	Janos
	1965	North-Alves*	18: 3 Ramos Poly, 2 Villa Ahumada Poly, 5 Carretas Poly, 1 Carretas Black-on-buff, 5 Babícora Poly, 1 Corralitos Incised Poly, 1 effigy jar	Daniel Stevenson Ranch, Ascensión
	1965	North-Alves*	11: 2 Carretas Poly, 1 Corralitos Poly, 2 Corralitos Incised Poly, 1 Babícora Poly, 2 Ramos Black,	Pearson (Mata Ortiz)

			2 Villa Ahumada Poly, 1 jar	
	1965	North-Alves*	1 jar	Cliff Dwellings, Rio Chico Canyon (cave in the Sierra del Pajarito)
	1965	North-Alves*	1 Dublan Poly	Hacienda de Marquezote, 14 miles west of Sabinal, bought by R. B. Alves
	1965	North-Alves*	1 small black jar	Galeana
	1965	North-Alves*	2: 1 Babícora Poly, 1 Playas Red	Babícora
	1965	North-Alves*	11: 1 Carretas Poly, 1 Dublan Poly, 1 Ramos Black, 1 Madera Bl/r, 2 Playas Red effigy, 2 Villa Ahumada Poly, 1 Babícora Poly, 1 Corralitos Poly 1 Incised effigy bowl	Unknown, 4 came from a 1934 Ledwidge collection
	1965	North-Alves*	2 Playas Red	Foot of Cerro Pajarito, near Rancho Ramos
Arizona State Museum	1933	G. B. Houghton	233: 3 Anchondo R/b, 8 Babícora Poly, 5 Carretas Poly, 2 CG Armadillo, 10 CG Incised, 18 CG Plain, 1 CG Corrugated, 1 CG Scored, 16 Chihuahua Poly, 32 Playas Red, 1 Convento Rubbed Corrugated, 5	Rancho Corralitos

			Corralitos Poly, 9 Dublan Poly, 1 El Paso Poly, 1 Escondida Poly, 11 Madera Bl/r, 1 Medanos R/b, 30 Ramos Black, 45 Ramos Poly, 33 Villa Ahumada Poly	
	1933	E. B. Sayles	3: 1 CG Plain, 1 Ramos Black, 1 Escondida Poly	Various
	1933	Gustavo E. McGinnis	111: 1 Anchondo R/b, 20 Babícora Poly, 15 Carretas Poly, 2 CG Corrugated, 2 Corralitos Poly, 3 Dublan Poly, 1 El Paso Poly, 2 Escondida Poly, 9 Playas Red, 3 Ramos Black, 34 Ramos Poly, 1 Springerville Poly,18 Villa Ahumada	Rio Casas Grandes
	1933	Gustavo E. McGinnis	1 Corralitos Poly	Sitio de Tres Alamos, Rio San Pedro
	1933	Gustavo E. McGinnis	62:1 Anchondo R/b, 12 Babícora Poly, 6 Carretas Poly, 2 CG Plain, 1 CG Corrugated, 1 CG Incised, 1 Chihuahua Bl/b, 1 Corralitos Poly, 1 Dublan Poly, 1 El Paso Poly, 2 Madera Bl/r, 7 Playas Red, 7 Ramos	Colonia Enriquez

			Black, 14 Ramos Poly, 5 Villa Ahumada Poly	
	1933	Gustavo E. McGinnis	14: 1 Playas Red, 2 Ramos Black, 3 Ramos Poly, 8 Villa Ahumada Poly	Galeana vicinity, Rio Santa Maria
	1933	Gustavo E. McGinnis	10: 3 Babícora Poly, 2 Carretas Poly, 1 CG Plain, 1 Madera Bl/r, 1 Plays Red, 2 Ramos Black	Babícora Basin
	1934	Byron Cummings	32: 1 CG Incised, 7 CG Plain, 1 CG Scored, 1 CG Tool Punched, 1 Corralitos Poly, 1 Gila Poly, 6 Playas Red, 6 Ramos Black, 5 Ramos Poly, 1 Tularosa B/w, 2 Villa Ahumada Poly	Near Colonia Enriquez
	1926/1936	Ledwidge (GP)	518: 2 Anchondo R/b, 17 Babícora Poly, 21 Carretas Poly, 7 CG Corrugated, 7 CG Incised, 33 CG Plain, 1 CG Rubbed Scored, 1 CG Tool Punched, 9 Corralitos Poly, 10 Dublan Poly, 4 El Paso Poly, 13 Escondida Poly, 3 Gila Poly, 6 Madera Bl/r, 6 Medanos R/b, 58 Playas	Colonia Pacheco, Cave Valley, Rancho Corralitos, Paquimé

			Red, 62 Ramos Black, 170 Ramos Poly, 88 Villa Ahumada Poly	
	1934	Ledwidge (ASM)	45: 1 Babícora Poly, 2 Carretas Poly, 1 CG Corrugated, 3 CG Plain, 1 CG Tool Punched, 1 Corralitos Poly, 2 Escondida Poly, 1 Gila Poly, 1 Madera Bl/r, 7 Playas Red, 16 Ramos Poly, 1 Tucson Poly, 7 Villa Ahumada Poly, 1 unidentified poly	Casas Grandes vicinity, Santa Ana Ranch
The University of Texas at El Paso Centennial Museum	1936	Ladies Auxiliary	123: no types provided	No information about how Auxiliary obtained collections from their sources (Mrs. E.C. Houghton and Mrs. G.W. Smith), but notes indicate pottery "excavated" near Casas Grandes; some pieces from this collection may have been included in a 1951 exchange with the University of Pennsylvania
	1936	Ladies Auxiliary	155: no types provided	No information about how Auxiliary

				obtained collections from their sources (Mrs. E.C. Houghton and Mrs. G.W. Smith), but notes indicate pottery "excavated" near Casas Grandes; some pieces from this collection may have been included in a 1951 exchange with the University of Pennsylvania
	1936	Ladies Auxiliary	31: no types provided	No information about how Auxiliary obtained collections from their sources (Mrs. E.C. Houghton and Mrs. G.W. Smith), but notes indicate pottery "excavated" near Casas Grandes; some pieces from this collection may have been included in a 1951 exchange with the University of Pennsylvania
	1936	Maurice Schwartz Collection	1: no types provided	
	1936	Un-recorded source	3	

	1936	Un-recorded source	1	
	1936	Ladies Auxiliary	25	Pots and lithics from unrecorded sources and G.W. Smith collection
	1936	Ladies Auxiliary	1	
	1938	David Learne	1	No further details in records
	1938	A. L. Eaton	1	No further details in records
			Totals: 1426: 301 Ramos Poly, 174 Villa Ahumada Poly, 123 Ramos Black, 99 Playas Red, 75 Babícora Poly, 72 Carretas Poly, 66 CG Plain, 27 Dublan Poly (most collected types)	Pottery Type Abbreviations: Poly - Polychrome, Madera Bl/r - Madera Black-on- red R/b - Red–on-brown B/w - Black–on-white Bl/b - Black–on-brown CG- Casas Grandes

* The North-Alves Collections were donated to the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology in 1965, but they were originally collected/purchased by collectors in the 1930s; this is noted in the archival records.

The collection consists of 113 vessels, all with some provenience information. I divided the collection by provenience location as seen in Table 3.1. Ten vessels came from Colonia Guadalupe Victoria, near Corralitos, Chihuahua (Figure 2.1). A total of eight vessels are provenienced from Corralitos. Twenty-one vessels were purchased or donated by Mrs. E. C. Houghton from Rancho Corralitos. A total of 12 vessels came from Tapiecitas, and 10 vessels came from Janos. Seventeen came from the Daniel Stevenson Ranch, near Ascensión. A total of 11

vessels came from Pearson (Mata Ortiz), and a Dublan Polychrome came from Hacienda de Marquezote, 14 miles west of Sabinal, Mexico. One jar from Rio Chico and small black jar came from Galeana. A Babícora Polychrome and a Playas Red vessel came from Babícora and two Playas Red pots from near Rancho Ramos. There were 11 vessels that had unknown provenance -one Carretas Polychrome, one Dublan Polychrome, one Ramos Black, one Madera Black-on-red, two Playas Red effigies, two Villa Ahumada Polychromes, one Babícora Polychrome, one Corralitos Polychrome Incised (effigy), and one bowl.

The most looted/collected pottery types for this collection were Carretas Polychrome (21 vessels), followed by Babícora Polychrome (15), Ramos Polychrome (14), and Villa Ahumada Polychrome (13). The least looted/collected pottery types were Playas Corrugated (1), Casas Grandes Plain Corrugated (1), Carretas Black-on-buff (1), and Playas Red Incised (3).

The highest number of ceramics in this collection came from Rancho Corralitos (21 and 8) and the Daniel Stevenson Ranch in Ascension (17). Coincidently, United States families or companies owned both of these haciendas/ranches. The Corralitos Company, a United States company that specialized in mining and ranching, owned the Rancho Corralitos. The Houghton family worked for the Corralitos Company from 1895 until 1917 when the property was abandoned during to the Mexican Revolution. Edward Cone Houghton served as an employee and eventually a manager, 1895-1905, of the Rancho Corralitos (Jacobs 2011:4). The name Houghton appears in collections from other museums in

the Southwest, and the family seems to have been one of the main providers of looted pots during the Museum Period. This will be fully discussed at the end of the chapter.

I would also like to note that a significant number of pots (17) came from the Daniel Stevenson Ranch. Although the archives do not mention direct contact with anyone employed at this ranch, I assume by the name that it was American owned and operated. Other locations mentioned in the archives such as Pearson, Colonia Guadalupe Victoria, and Tapiecitas had been developed for foreign mining, ranching, and railroad investments (Lister and Lister 1966:113).

The Arizona State Museum (ASM)

For this period, I used the Georgia B. Houghton collection, the E. B. Sayles Chihuahua Survey collection, the Gustavo E. McGinnis collection, the Byron Cummings collection, and Ledwidge collection. These collections were chosen because of their early accession dates.

The Georgia B. Houghton collection consists of 242 vessels. These came from the Rancho Corralitos vicinity and were purchased by Gladwin in 1933 for the Gila Pueblo Archaeological Foundation and were later transferred to ASM. This is the second time the Houghton name and Rancho Corralitos is associated with a collection, This name and location had been previously associated with the North-Alves collection in the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology.

Sayles gathered the E. B. Sayles Chihuahua Survey Collection during his Chihuahua survey in 1933, which was funded by the Gila Pueblo Archaeological

Foundation (Sayles 1936). The collection consists of 446 specimens including 220 non-perishable objects, 223 perishable ones, and only three whole pottery vessels: one Casas Grandes Plain, one Ramos Black, and one Escondida Polychrome.

Sayles purchased the Gustavo E. McGinnis collection in 1933 for the Gila Pueblo Foundation. The collection was later transferred to ASM. Gustavo E. McGinnis is mentioned in the archives as the foreman of the Hearst Ranch in Las Varas, Chihuahua. The collection consists of 198 vessels: 111 from Rio Casas Grandes, 62 from Colonia Enriquez, 14 from Galeana, 10 from the Babícora Basin, and one Corralitos Polychrome from a site near Rio San Pedro. It is important to note that, while conducting the Chihuahua survey, Sayles hired McGinnis's son to guide him to the location where the pots from the McGinnis collection where found (Sayles 1936:8, 58).

The Byron Cummings collection was the outcome of an excavation near Colonia Enriquez conducted by Cummings in 1934. This collection consists of 32 vessels.

As I mentioned earlier, the Ledwidge collection is divided into two accessions, the Gila Pueblo (GP) and the Arizona State Museum (ASM). Harold S. Gladwin, of the Gila Pueblo Archaeological Foundation, originally purchased this collection in 1926 from Edward H. Ledwidge, an El Paso resident. After Gladwin's retirement in 1950, the foundation was dissolved, and the collections were transferred to the University of Arizona. The Ledwidge Gila Pueblo or GP

collection consists of 512 vessels. The proveniences for these are Paquimé, Rancho Corralitos, and Colonia Pacheco.

Byron Cummings (Director, Arizona State Museum, 1915-1938) purchased the second part of the Ledwidge Collection (ASM) for the museum in 1934 from the Edward H. Ledwidge estate. This collection consists of 45 vessels. These came from the Casas Grandes vicinity and the Santa Ana Ranch. David Phillips and Michael Jacobs (personal communication, 2011) believe the Santa Ana Ranch may refer to William Randolph Hearst's "Santa Ana Babícora Ranch".

The most looted/collected types for this period at the Arizona State Museum collection are Ramos Polychrome (287), Villa Ahumada Polychrome (161), Ramos Black (113), and Casas Grandes Plain (65). The least looted/collected pottery types are Convento Rubbed/Corrugated (1), Casas Grandes tool punched (3), Casas Grandes scored (3), and El Paso Polychrome (7). Although the polychromes dominate the pottery types collected, there is a significant amount of Casas Grandes Plain. It appears that looters and collectors were interested in a wide range of types in that they were not exclusively collecting decorated pots, and they were perhaps more interested in collecting whole pots.

It is important to mention the difference between looted collections and those that were collected through excavation and survey. The E. B. Sayles Chihuahua Survey collection consists of only three vessels - one Casas Grandes Plain, one Ramos Black and one Escondida Polychrome. The Byron Cummings Collections as mentioned earlier was comprised of 32 vessels, mostly Playas Red, Ramos Black,

Gila Polychrome, and some Casas Grandes Plain (Table 3.1). These two collections are small in comparison to the looted ones. The pottery types for these have some variety, but neither collection has Ramos Polychrome, which was the most collected type in the looted collections.

The collections from the Arizona State Museum reflect a correlation between looting and mostly foreign owned ranches in Chihuahua, with the exception of Sayles' and Cummings' professional excavations. The Corralitos Company, a United States company with a concentration on mining and ranching, owned Rancho Corralitos. The Ledwidge (GP) collection contains several vessels from Rancho Corralitos, which likely had been purchased from the Houghton family by Ledwidge. Edward H. Ledwidge was a Wells Fargo Express Company agent and an avid collector of archaeological and ethnographic specimens, most of which he sold to museums during the 1920s and 1930s prior to his death in 1934. Although there is no concrete evidence that the vessels from Rancho Corralitos were looted and sold by the Houghton family to Ledwidge, the time frame is consistent.

The Georgia B. Houghton collection is an obvious indication of the Houghton family's involvement in looting, collecting, and trading activities in the area. The collections associated with the Houghtons and Rancho Corralitos demonstrate a transition from looter (Houghton or a worker), to intermediary (Houghton/Ledwidge) to museum.

The professional archaeologist also played the role of intermediary in this market, and this is evident in the purchase of the McGinnis Collection by Sayles

while conducting a survey in the area. In this case, the archaeologist was dealing directly with the looter and became the intermediary between the looter and the museum.

The Ledwidge collection (ASM) also gives to speculation regarding the three vessels from the Santa Ana Ranch if this was in fact William Randolph Hearst's "Santa Ana Babícora Ranch." This would fit in to the pattern of foreign owned ranch associated with looting. Both of the Ledwidge (GP and ASM) collections reflect the transport from looter to collector to museum.

The University of Texas at El Paso Centennial Museum

The final museum collections used to define the Museum Period in this study are from the University of Texas at El Paso Centennial Museum. Although this is a much smaller museum than the Arizona State Museum and the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology, it is the one closest to the source (Casas Grandes). Eleven collections or separate donations were obtained during 1900 and 1940. A local group called the Ladies Auxiliary made six separate donations in 1936; four had significant numbers of pots - 123, 155, 31, and 25 respectively. The Ladies Auxiliary was charity organization that had several chapters in the state of Texas. Their mission was to be involved with veterans of foreign wars. The provenience for the collections that contained 123, 155, and 31 vessels noted there is no information about how Auxiliary obtained collections from their sources (Mrs. E.C. Houghton and Mrs. G.W. Smith) but notes indicate pottery "excavated" near Casas Grandes; some pieces

from this collection may have been included in a 1951 exchange with the University of Pennsylvania.

Two other collections, which contain 25 and three vessels, are also from the Ladies Auxiliary. Their provenience notes that pots and lithics came from unrecorded sources and from the G.W. Smith collection. The remaining two Ladies Auxiliary collections consist of one and three vessels and lack any provenance information. The other five collections were one to three vessel collections donated by various collectors and lack provenience information (Table 3.1). Vessel typologies for all of these collections were not provided by the museum.

There are United States Census records that indicate the Houghton family moved to El Paso, Texas, during the 1920s and remained until Georgia B. Houghton's death in 1937 (United States Census Population Schedules, 1920, Texas; 1930, Texas). There is a possibility that Mrs. Houghton might have joined the women's group at this time and might have donated archaeological pieces since her name does appear in the provenance section, but that is just speculation on my part.

Discussion

This period was definitely one during which museums acquired significant collections of Casas Grandes material, a total of 1426 vessels from the three museums I analyzed. As discussed earlier, the collections in this period exhibit a variety of pottery types, but overall the polychromes, that is, the most decorated, vessels predominate. It can be inferred that although collectors were interested in a

wide range of types and would collect plain pottery they still had some preference for decorated vessels. Perhaps some of the collectors were aiming for a representative sample of Casas Grandes types. The most collected types during this period were Ramos Polychrome (301), Villa Ahumada Polychrome (174), Ramos Black (123), Playas Red (99), Babícora Polychrome (75), Carretas Polychrome (72), and Casas Grandes Plain (66). Ramos Polychromes were collected the most, almost twice as much as any other type. Collectors were purchasing all types but were opting to retain more decorated vessels than plain ones.

The Houghton family name appears associated with large collections in the three museums used for this period - the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology, the Arizona State Museum, and the University of Texas at El Paso Centennial Museum. Kelley et al. (2011) note that Edgar L. Hewett who worked for the Museum of New Mexico in 1906 inspected the collection of Mrs. E.C. Houghton, "an amateur archaeologist living in Ramos, and commented she had amassed 200 vessels from the area." There is also evidence that Harold S. Gladwin through E. B. Sayles, both of the Gila Pueblo Archaeological Foundation, purchased collections from the Houghton and McGinnis families. In correspondence between Harold S. Gladwin and E. B. Sayles on May 17, 1933, Gladwin describes some of the collections that he purchased from Chihuahua; he notes, "Our collections came from, for the most part, the Corralitos Ranch, Colonia Dublan. About one half were excavated by Mrs. Houghton; the rest came through Ledwidge" (letter from Sayles to Gladwin, May, 17 1933, Sayles papers at the Arizona State Museum). This evidence once again places

Mrs. Houghton at the center of looting activities and also places Edward H. Ledwidge as one of the main collectors of this time period.

There is another letter from Sayles to Gladwin dating to June 1, 1933, in which Sayles describes the collection he wants to purchase from Mr. McGinnis for $900. He notes that the collection has already been shipped to El Paso to another potential buyer (letter from Sayles to Gladwin, June 1, 1933, Sayles papers at Arizona State Museum). Gladwin responds, "In regard to the McGinnis collection, the price is reasonable, I think but already have so much material of this kind that I do not feel that we would be justified in taking it on.... We should be very glad indeed to purchase the seven pieces from Ascensión.... If Mr. McGinnis will consider this, we should be glad to pay $5 a piece for the eighteen from Galeana and Babícora." (letter from Gladwin to Sayles, June 16, 1933, Sayles papers at Arizona State Museum). In another letter from Sayles to Gladwin on August 2, 1933, Sayles confirms that he has shipped the McGinnis collection and notes that part of the collection also came from Ledwidge, who had purchased a small collection from McGinnis at an earlier time (letter from Sayles to Gladwin, August 2, 1933, Sayles papers at Arizona State Museum).

The North family also exemplifies the role of the early collector, since they began collecting Casas Grandes pots in the 1930s and kept detailed records of provenience. Edward Ledwidge is another early collector during this time, and he amassed two large collections in the Arizona State Museum. As mentioned earlier, he was a Wells Fargo Express Company agent and at some point also worked for the

Northwestern Mexico Railway Company and dealt with "cross-border shipments" (Kelley et al. 2011:199). Therefore, it is likely that he was involved with importing collections of pots illegally through El Paso, Texas. Kelley et al. (2011) estimate that Ledwidge may have been responsible for the illegal importation of over 2000 pots between 1914 and 1934. Ledwidge was a definite key player during this period; I would go as far as labeling him one of the main early collectors and intermediaries of Casas Grandes pottery.

The archival information, whether it is donor information, provenance, or correspondence, plays a crucial role in beginning to understand the initial period of looting in Chihuahua. There appears to be a relationship between land-owning Anglo families residing in the area and museums in the United States. Although I cannot make the direct correlation that Anglo families were conducting the looting, they were definitely acting as intermediaries with museums and whoever was looting for them. In this period, I can identify three key players - the intermediary (Anglo land-owning families and some archaeologists), the collectors (North family and Ledwidge), and the purchasers (museums). During this period, we know very little about who the possible looters were. It can be inferred that the looters might have worked for the Anglo families who were selling collections to museums at this time. "The excavators may well have been *peones* seeking a little extra income, as their descendants often do today - or perhaps they were assigned a task - but someone else must have gathered the pots and sent them on to El Paso and other gathering points" (Kelley et al. 2011:204).

Chapter 4: Private Collector Period (1940-1979)

This chapter will focus on what I have defined as the Private Collector Period (1940-1979). I decided to label this period as Private Collector because the collections acquired during this time are no longer associated with Anglo landowners residing in Chihuahua nor did archaeologists purchase them for specific museums. Instead private collectors from the United States begin acquiring small collections and subsequently donating them to museums. There is less archival and provenience information for this period, and these collections are mostly donated and not sold to museums. Therefore, it is hard to track where collections were coming from originally. This is the reason why I labeled this period the Private Collector, since it is no longer museums or archaeologists playing the role of main purchaser, rather it is private individuals interested in collecting.

This period is also characterized by a shift in land distribution in Mexico as well as a change in the field of archaeology in both the United States and Mexico. These shifts lead to an alteration in the process of looting, purchase, and exportation along the United States and Mexico border. Beginning around 1940, we witness a definite change in the looting and antiquities market. Large haciendas in Mexico are no longer in power, and communities are divided into *ejidos* and small *colonias*. Many foreign landowners abandoned or sold their lands, and many religious refugees, such as Mormons, never returned to Chihuahua, fleeing during the Mexican Revolution, after 1910 (Lister and Lister 1966:221).

This time period also witnesses the single most important event in the history of archeology in Chihuahua, the Joint Casas Grandes Project directed by Charles C. Di Peso and Eduardo Contreras begun in 1958 (Di Peso 1974). This project was a collaborative work between the Amerind Foundation, which Di Peso directed, and the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, represented by Eduardo Contreras. This large-scale bi-national project impacted the residents of the Casas Grandes region and how they viewed the past including the possible monetary and historical value of archaeological material.

In this chapter, I will discuss the history of Mexico and how this altered land distribution and access to sites and how in turn this affected looting and the commerce associated with it. I will discuss the impacts of the Joint Casas Grandes Project and end by discussing the museum collections that pertain to this period.

History of Mexico (1940-1979)

Mexico during this time witnessed a reform in land ownership, much social and political stability, and an emphasis on agriculture development. Many call the period between 1940-1965 the "Green Revolution," a period characterized by a boom in agricultural exportation from the country (Sonnenfeld 1992:28). The country was recuperating from the Mexican Revolution and enjoying relative stability. One of the promises of the revolution was land reform. At the time the Mexican Revolution exploded in 1910, "90% of the rural population of Mexico was

landless, and only 15% of the indigenous communities retained possession of their traditional communal lands" (Sonnenfeld 1992:31).

It was not until President General Lazaro Cardenaz's last term in office in 1940 that 11,000 *ejidos* were established in the country, encompassing over 20,000,000 hectares of land (Esteva 1983). After the "Cardenas Years," Mexican agricultural policy shifted in favor of large-scale commercial landholders. Agricultural peasants and small landholders were greatly affected by this so-called "Green Revolution." "Mexican industrial capitalists allied with large landholders against the peasantry and rural smallholders" (Alcantara 1976:309). Although the new agricultural policies brought overall progress to the country with investment in rural infrastructure and an increased amount of irrigated land, the only beneficiaries were "urban industrial capitalists." *Ejidatarios* suffered unequal access to loans and new technologies, *and* simply could not compete with the industrial capitalists of this time.

"Paid less than living wages, rural workers in the capitalist agricultural sector were forced to supplement their income … through engaging in subsistence farming, having their children work for wages in the field, and by having unmarried family members go to other regions of Mexico and to the United States and send money home" (Grindle 1988:105).

It is in this post-revolution setting that we witness what I defined as the Private Collector Period, one where locals begin looting and selling pots to supplement their income. Although policies were established to redistribute land and

power in Mexico, in reality small landholders never really had the opportunity to take advantages of new technologies or entrepreneurship. One thing they did have access was land that had been previously under strict supervision by large haciendas. Many of the haciendas in Chihuahua such as San Miguel de Babícora, Corralitos Land and Cattle Company, Las Varas, and Hacienda Hearst contained Medio Period sites, which evidence demonstrates were looted prior to the Mexican Revolution as was mentioned in Chapter 3 (Kelley et al. 2011:195-203).

Many *ejidatarios* during this period worked or had elders who worked for haciendas prior to the revolution and had knowledge of archaeological sites and the commerce associated with it. Not only did the land reform provide access to land, but it also promoted population increase through subsistence farming and emigration of rural peasants looking for land, and jobs from other Mexican states (Kelley et al. 2011:206). The new boom in population and the implementation of policies that would only benefit Mexican industrial capitalists led local *ejidatarios* to seek alternative ways of subsistence. Grindle (1998) notes that many sent family members to more prosperous states in the nation or to the United States to make money. For those who stayed behind to tend the communal lands, selling looted objects might have provided a quick alternative to make extra cash, but there is no clear evidence of this other than personal communication with locals.

The Joint Casas Grandes Project

The Joint Casas Grandes Project (JCGP), funded by the Amerind Foundation, was the first large-scale exploration of the Casas Grandes area and the site of Paquimé. From 1958 to 1961, they excavated at Paquimé and neighboring sites, as well as mapping, stabilizing, and reconstructing excavated structures at the main site. The fieldwork yielded an enormous amount of data, which were published in eight volumes (Di Peso1974). This report has been a major influence on scholars working in the United States Southwest and northwestern Mexico, and it has provided a base for further research and understanding of the area.

It is evident that JCGP generated excitement and pride among the locals but also sparked curiosity and might have promoted looting activities. In his notes, Di Peso mentions several incidences of on-going looting during his time in Casas Grandes. In his entry for March 17, 1961, he mentions taking the Ronstadts (friends/visitors) surface hunting to site Chi:D:9:13 and notes "a great deal of pot hunting in the last 6 months" (Di Peso 1961). In the same entry, he also notes, "I was very much upset when I took the Ronstadts to the Convento site to find that treasure hunters had torn up the interior of the church where we spent so much time repairing. The baptismal font has not only been torn down but a deep hole has been dug where it once stood" (Di Peso 1961). Di Peso also mentions a visit to the home of Joseph F. Memmott in Dublan to view his collection of Casas Grandes pottery, which the owner claimed to have been collected within a ten-mile range of Dublan on the old Corralitos Ranch. On January 15, 1959, Di Peso describes the collection

and the variety of pieces, and notes, "The collection is very selective and would make an excellent study collection for type forms. Memmott fears that his collection might be confiscated and desires to have part of it taken to some museum in the States where it will be appreciated" (Di Peso1959). Although this is the last mention of the Memmott collection in Di Peso's notes, the collection was donated to the Amerind Foundation in 1960, which I will discuss latter in this chapter.

There are two other places in Di Peso's field notes of local private collections that Di Peso visited, one owned by Mr. Bert Whetten and another by Mr. Taylor, both residents of Colonia Juarez (Di Peso1959). For the Whetten's collection, Di Peso mentions, on June 22, 1959, that it contained an assortment of Ramos and Villa Ahumada Polychromes, redwares, and blackwares. Although he mentions his plans to talk to Mr. Whetten regarding provenience of the collection at a later time, but such encounter is never mentioned in his notes (Di Peso 1959). It is interesting to note that Whetten donated one vessel to the Amerind Foundation in 1961. For the Taylor collection, Di Peso mentions, on June 22, 1959, that it was a small 20-piece collection, which had been dug in Taylor's orchard in Colonia Juarez (Di Peso 1959). On July 4 of that same year, Di Peso also visited and viewed the collection of the Wallace family of Corralitos Ranch. He does not give any details regarding the collection but does mention, "Near the ranch house there are a number of low mounds which Dr. Carey has dug in and reported on. Mr. Wallace told me that one of the mounds is approximately five feet in height and fifty feet in diameter" (Di Peso 1959)

From Di Peso's field notes, it appears that he maintained good relations with the locals and was concerned with looting in the area. The fact that he visited several local private collectors might have generated interest in the public to loot or might have simply concerned the local collectors enough for them to donate their collections to museums in the United States. It is also interesting to note that several small collections were donated and sold to the Amerind in 1958 and 1961 by Pedro Garcia, one of Di Peso's workers. This might indicate that local crewmembers perhaps were acquiring a respect and concern for the archaeological record and decided that such collections belonged in museums and not in their homes. Either way, it appears that the JCGP had an impact in the Casas Grandes population by possibly changing the way they viewed the past and generating sense of pride and respect for the local heritage. The archival evidence demonstrates that several local collectors that Di Peso encountered donated their collection after meeting with the famed archaeologist. Not only was Di Peso respected, but so was Eduardo Contreras. The Nuevo Casas Grandes Library was named after Contreras upon his death, 1986; special permission was given by INAH for his remains to be buried at Paquimé.

Museum Collections

The Private Collector Period (1940-1979) as I have described earlier is one characterized by a shift in looting, collection and eventual donation. The archival evidence for this period demonstrates an increase in private collectors in the United States Southwest and the eventual donation of collections at the time of the

collector's death or out of fear of repercussions from the Mexican government, as was mentioned earlier with the Memmott family. Although the museum collections do not provide direct evidence for local peasants taking part in the looting, it could be implied by the economic situation of many *ejidatarios* in the area during this time.

For this period, I used collections from the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology, the Arizona State Museum, the Arizona State University Museum of Anthropology, the Amerind Foundation, and the University of Texas at El Paso Centennial Museum. All of these contained data that pertained to this time period. In the following paragraphs, I will discuss each collection and how it fits into my interpretation.

The Maxwell Museum of Anthropology

I used the following collections from the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology: Thomas Bahti (1965-1968), Mr. and Mrs. Leslie W. Turner (1967), John W. Kennedy (1972), and Dr. and Mrs. Andrew Babey (1976) and (1979) (Table 4.1). These collections totaled 107 pottery vessels.

Table 4.1 Museum Collections for the Private Collector Period, 1940-1979.

Museum	Date Collections Acquired by Museum	Collection/Donor	Number of Vessels/Type	Provenience
Maxwell Museum of Anthropology	1965-1967	Tom Bahti	5: 1 Playas Red, 1 Carretas Poly, 1 Babícora Poly, 1 Villa Ahumada Poly, 1 Ramos Black	Museum purchase
	1967	Mrs. Leslie W. Turner	56: 12 Ramos Poly, 2 Playas Red Incised, 7 Carretas	Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Leslie W. Turner, 2118 South

			Poly, 14 Babícora Poly, 10 Villa Ahumada Poly, 8 Playas Red, 2 Dublan Poly, 1 Ramos Black	Kings, Springfield, Missouri 65804. From the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Frank P. Brown, Hachita, New Mexico. (The Oriole and Frank Brown Collection)
	1968	Tom Bahti	12: 2 Villa Ahumada Poly, 2 incised brown ware, 1 Unknown Poly, 1 Ramos Poly, 1 Dublan Poly, 1 Carretas Poly, 1 CG Plain ware, 2 effigy jars, 1 Madera Bl/r	Gift
	1972	John W. Kennedy	28: 11 Playas Red Incised, 10 Playas Red, 1 Playas Red Corrugated, 3 unknown poly, 2 Babícora Poly, 1 Madera brown	Gift from John W. Kennedy, Gallup, New Mexico
	1976	Dr. and Mrs. Andrew Babey	2 Babícora Poly	Gift from Dr. and Mrs. Andrew Babey, Las Cruces
	1979	Dr. and Mrs. Andrew Babey	4: 2 Carretas Poly, 1 unknown poly, 1 Villa Ahumada	Gift from Dr. and Mrs. Andrew Babey, Las Cruces
Arizona State Museum	1965	AAHS-Zapata Ochoa Collection	10: 1 Ramos Black, 3 Playas Red, 5 CG Plain jar, 1 CG Plain bowl	Cave near La Mesa del Huracán
	1966	Thomas Bahti	4: 1 Ramos Poly, 1 Ramos Black, 1 cream-on-red plate, 1 Playas Red	Donation from Thomas Bahti, Casas Grandes vicinity
	1967	Thomas Bahti	3: 1 Escondida Poly, 1 Huerigos Poly, 1 CG human effigy	Purchased by Bahti for his Tucson Indian arts and crafts shop
	1966	AAHS-Delgado Collection	16: 5 Ramos Poly, 1 Carretas Poly, 2 Ramos Black, 3 San Antonio Red, 3 San	Purchase, small ruin near Janos, Chihuahua

			Antonio Plain, 1 CG jar, 1 Playas Red	
Arizona State University Museum of Anthropology	1962	Ordaz Collection	5: no types provided	Donation, Mike Ordaz, Colonia Juarez
	1968	Thomas Bahti Collection	159: no Types provided	Donation, Thomas Bahti
	1968	Dr. Paul Fish Midwest Collection	2: no Types provided	Donation, Dr. Paul Fish
	1973	Midvale Collection	1: no Types provided	Donation, Mrs. Frank Midvale
The Amerind Foundation	1942	W.S. Fulton	5: 2 Villa Ahumada, 1 Dublan Poly, 1 Ramos Black, 1 Playas Red	Purchased from F. Harvey, 1931, Donor: Mrs. W. S. Fulton
	1950	W.S. Fulton	5: 2 Ramos Poly, 1 Babícora Poly, 1 Villa Ahumada Poly, 1 Madera R/br	Purchased from R. Burton, 1948 Donor: W. S. Fulton
	1958	Pedro Garcia	10: 6 Ramos Black, 1 CG scored jar, 1 Playas Red, 1 CG Plain, 1 unknown poly jar	Purchased from Pedro Garcia, Casas Grandes Survey
	1958	C. Hernandez	10: 2 CG Plain, 1 Playas Red, 1 Ramos Poly, 1 Corralitos Poly, 2 Ramos Black, 1 Medanos jar, 1 human effigy, 1 Babícora Poly	Donation, C. Hernandez
	1959	Geo. W. Chambers	2: 1 Ramos Poly effigy, 1Ramos Poly	Donation, George W. Chambers, Chihuahua
	1959	Charles C. Di Peso	8: 1 Ramos Poly, 1 Dublan Poly, 1 Villa Ahumada Poly, 3 Playas Red, 1 CG Corrugated, 1 Ramos Black	Collected by Charles C. Di Peso in Casas Grandes, Chihuahua
	1960	Joseph F. Memmott	166: 32 CG Plain, 2 effigy jars, 27 Playas Red, 18 Ramos Black, 1 Madera Black jar, 4	Donation by Joseph F. Memmott; 204 prehistoric items gathered in Casas

			Corralitos Poly jars, 25 Ramos Poly, 5 Ramos Poly effigy jars, 3 Ramos B/w, 25 Villa Ahumada Poly, 9 Babícora Poly, 3 Carretas Poly, 6 Dublan Poly jars, 4 Escondida Poly, 1 Gila Poly, 1 El Paso Poly	Grandes Valley (166 vessels)
	1961	Pedro Garcia	4: 1 Ramos Black, 2 CG Plain, 1 Playas Red	Donation by Pedro Garcia from Buena Fe and Casas Grandes, Chi.
	1961	Bert Whetten	1 Medanos R/br	Donation from?
	1963	W. S. Fulton	1 Ramos Poly	Gift from D. Spilsbury, Rancho No Tengo, Chihuahua
	1965-1966	Clay Lockett	52: 11 Ramos Black, 8 CG Plain, 2 Babícora Poly, 8 Villa Ahumada, Poly, 11 Playas Red, 8 Ramos Poly, 1 Madera Bl.r, 1 Corralitos Poly, 1 Dublan Poly, 1 R/br	Donation, Clay Lockett.
	1967	H. Myers and Charles Di Peso	2: CG Plain, Carretas Poly	La Guata, Chihuahua Survey
	1968	Clay Lockett	1 Villa Ahumada Poly	Donation, Clay Lockett
	1968	Thomas Bahti	1 Huerigos Poly human effigy	Donation, Thomas Bahti
	1969	Survey by the Amerind Foundation	4: 1 CG Plain, 1 Playas Red, 1 Ramos Poly, 1 Ramos Black	Survey of G:2:1, Chihuahua
	1969	A. M. Withers	2: 1 Babícora Poly, 1 CG Plain	Survey
	1975	Mr. and Mrs. Carroll Caldwell	1 Villa Ahumada Poly	Gift, Mr. and Mrs. Carroll Caldwell
	1977	Peter Wray	1 CG Plain	Donation, Peter Wray, Scottsdale, Arizona
	1979	Steve Getzwiller	7: 3 Ramos Poly, 2 Villa Ahumada	From Saw Mill, Arizona, appraised

			Poly, 1 Ramos Black, 1 Babícora Bl/r	by Tom Bahti Indian Art shop in Tucson, Arizona
The University of El Paso Centennial Museum	1944	Salvador Lopez	9	At least one of these objects listed as being in exchange with University of Pennsylvania (per record in Ladies Auxiliary file). No further details in records
	1944	Howard Bell	1	No further details in records
	1953	Mrs. J. H. Parker	7	No further details in records
	1956	P. H. Luckett	3	No further details in records
	1967	Ladies Auxiliary	1	No further details in records
	1968	Ladies Auxiliary	1	No further details in records
	1972	Hugh R. Quinn	4	No further details in records
	1979	Alice King	22	No further details in records
			Totals: 638: 78 Playas Red, 68 Ramos Poly, 59 CG Plain, 55 Villa Ahumada Poly, 48 Ramos Black (Top five most collected types)	Type Abbreviations- Poly- Polychrome Madera Bl/r- Madera Black-on-red R/br- Red- on-rown Bl/w- Black-on-white CG- Casas Grandes

Thomas Bahti sold or donated three separate collections to the Maxwell Museum in 1965, 1967, and 1968. From 1965-1967, Bahti donated five vessels, and in1968, he donated 12 vessels. Thomas Bahti appears to have been an avid collector of Casas Grandes pots since his name appears in more than one museum's accession

records, as we will latter discuss. What is important to note from Bahti's collections is that they are small lots of mostly decorated pots. They all lack provenance information, and the private collector, Bahti, resided in Tucson, Arizona.

The Mr. and Mrs. Leslie Turner collection consists of 56 vessels. This is the largest in this period at the Maxwell Museum. It appears that the Turners, from Springfield, Missouri, acquired the collection from Mr. And Mrs. Frank P. Brown of Hachita, New Mexico, placing the initial private collector relatively close to the border.

The John W. Kennedy collection (1972) consists of 28 vessels. Kennedy was from Gallup, New Mexico.

Dr. and Mrs. Andrew Babey, from Las Cruces, donated six vessels. They donated two Babícora Polychromes in 1976 and in 1979 two Carretas Polychromes, one Casas Grandes Polychrome, and one Villa Ahumada Polychrome.

The pottery types most collected during this period for the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology were Playas Red (19 vessels), Babícora Polychrome (19), Villa Ahumada (14), Ramos Polychrome (13), and Playas Red incised (13). The pottery types least collected were Madera Brown (1), Casas Grandes Plain (1), Playas Red Corrugated (1), and Ramos Black (2).

The Arizona State Museum

The Arizona State Museum had few significant collections that were considered part of the Private Collector Period. These are the Arizona Archaeological and Historical Society-Zapata Ochoa Collection (1965), the Thomas

Bahti Collection (1966, 1967), and the AAHS-Enrique Delgado Collections (1966). These collections total 33 vessels.

The AAHS-Zapata Ochoa Collection was obtained by ASM with funds provided by the Arizona Archaeological and Historical Society in 1965. The collection is comprised of 10 vessels. These were purchased from Ramon Zapata Ochoa, a resident of Colonia Juarez, Chihuahua, who claimed to have found the pots in a nearby cave. This same donor sold a small collection to ASM of perishable objects from the same cave in 1963, but these will not be further discussed.

The Thomas Bahti collections were donated in 1966 and 1967. The 1966 collection consists of four vessels: one Ramos Polychrome, one Ramos Black, one cream-on-red plate, and one Playas Red. These appear to have been acquired from the Casas Grandes vicinity. The archives for this donation note that Thomas Bahti was a collector from Tucson, Arizona and the collection, which also consisted of various copper artifacts and turquoise and shell beads, bought from an unidentified individual who claimed to have recovered it from a cache in the Casas Grandes vicinity. In 1967, Bahti donated three more vessels to the Arizona State Museum. These came from Bahti's Tucson Indian arts and crafts shop, and they had no other provenience records. Although these two are small collections, they are significant due for the fact that Bahti donated them, and he indicated that he purchased some of the donated pots from a local individual in the Casas Grandes area.

The AAHS-Enrique Delgado Collections consists of 16 vessels. This collection was bought by ASM from Sr. Enrique Delgado from Agua Prieta, Sonora,

using funds provided by the Arizona Archaeological and Historical Society (AAHS). The provenance information provided for this collection was a statement from Sr. Delgado claiming to have found the vessels in a small ruin near Janos, Chihuahua. This collection is significant because it provides evidence that there were also Mexican private collectors, who were perhaps also looters, and who were intentionally removing artifacts from the ground, taking them out of the state, and keeping them as private collections. It is important to note that again private collections at the Arizona State Museum are not traveling very far before ending up in museums.

The pottery types most collected during this period at the Arizona State Museum were Casas Grandes Plain (7 vessels), Ramos Polychrome (6), Playas Red (5), and Ramos Black (4). The least collected pottery types were Carretas Polychrome (1), Huerigos Polychrome (1), and Escondida Polychrome (1). This is the first time that Casas Grandes Plain is the most collected type, although Ramos Polychrome is only one vessel less.

Arizona State University Museum of Anthropology

From the Arizona State University (ASU) Museum of Anthropology, the following collections were used: the Ordaz collection (1962), the Thomas Bahti collection (1968), the Dr. Paul Fish Midwest collection (1968), and the Midvale collection (1973). Mike Ordaz donated the Ordaz collection, which consists of five vessels, in 1962. The only provenance information included in this collection is that the source of the vessels was Colonia Juarez. The Thomas Bahti Collection consists

of 159 vessels. It is not clear if Bahti donated them in 1968, or they were not accessioned until that year by the museum. The archives for this collection include a greater amount of information on Thomas Bahti. Bahti was a well-known collector of Southwest art and had a store, which is now run by his son Mark Bahti, named Bahti Indian Arts in Tucson, Arizona. In an email from Mark Bahti to a curatorial assistant at the ASU Museum of Anthropology, Mark speculates that his father may have donated the objects because he went to school with Dr. Alfred Dittert, who was a long time faculty member at Arizona State University.

The Dr. Paul Fish Midwest collection consists of 19 artifacts and of these only two were identified as Casas Grandes. There is no other information provided for this collection. Following Dr. Minnis' advice, I contacted Dr. Paul Fish, and he informed me that the collection belonged to his father, and upon his father's death he decided to donate the collection.

Lastly, Mrs. Frank Midvale donated the Midvale Collection in 1968. This collection only includes one vessel identified as Casas Grandes. There was no other information provided for this collection.

All the collections at the Arizona State University Museum of Anthropology lacked typology information.

The Amerind Foundation

The Amerind Foundation housed the most collections from the Private Collector Period. The following collections were used for this period: the C. Hernandez (1958), Geo W. Chambers (1959), Di Peso (1959), Joseph F. Memmott

(1960), Pedro Garcia (1958 and 1961), Bert Whetten (1961), W.S. Fulton (1942, 1950 and 1963), H. Myers and Di Peso (1967), Clay Lockett (1965-66 and 1968), Thomas Bahti (1968), Survey Amerind Foundation (1969), A.M. Withers (1969), Mr. and Mrs. Carroll Caldwell (1975), Peter Wray (1977), and the Steve Getzwiller Collection (1979).

The Steve Getzwiller collection is comprised of seven vessels. Provenance notes for this collection indicate that the donor was from Saw Mill, Arizona, and Tom Bahti's Indian Art Shop in Tucson appraised the pottery. This is a small collection, but again we see they are mostly decorated pots, and the collector Tom Bahti is associated with yet another collection. This same collector made a single donation, one Huerigos Polychrome human effigy, in 1968 to the Amerind Foundation.

Peter Wray made a single vessel donation in 1977, but there was no other information provided.

The A. M. Withers collection consists of only two vessels, one Babícora Polychrome and one Casas Grandes Plain. The only provenance information provided indicates survey, although Di Peso mentions in his field notes, March 18, 1961, that the Withers had a house in Casas Grandes and visited "the ruin, the lab, and the Convento site, along with Dr. Haury, and Fred Pleasant of the Brooklyn Museum" (Di Peso 1961).

The Clay Lockett collections were donated in 1965-1966 and 1968. In 1965-1966, Lockett donated a total of 52 vessels. The archives only mention that the

vessels came from Casas Grandes, Chihuahua. In 1968, Lockett made a single donation of a Villa Ahumada Polychrome

There are five collections associated with Charles C. Di Peso; some of these are contemporary with his Chihuahua fieldwork (1958-1961). These are the Survey Amerind Foundation (1969), H. Myers and Di Peso (1967), Pedro Garcia (1958 and 1961), Joseph F. Memmott (1960), Bert Whetten (1961), and Di Peso (1959), which is interesting since at the time it was already illegal to export collections to the United States. As I mentioned earlier, the first law to protect cultural patrimony and prohibit its exportation in Mexico was established in 1827.

The Survey Amerind Foundation collection consists of four vessels: one Casas Grandes Plain, one Playas Red, one Ramos Polychrome, and one Ramos Black. The H. Myers and Di Peso collection only consists of two vessels: one Casas Grandes Plain, and one Carretas Polychrome. These were apparently recovered from a survey in La Guata, Chihuahua.

The Pedro Garcia collections were donated or purchased in 1958 and 1961. The Amerind purchased the 1958 collection, and it consisted of 10 vessels. The second Garcia collection was donated in 1961 and consisted of four vessels: one Ramos Black, two Casas Grandes Plain, and one Playas Red. Pedro Garcia was one of Di Peso's workers and apparently a tour guide for visitors that came to site during the Joint Casas Grandes Project. The proveniences provided for this collection sources are Buena Fe and Casas Grandes, Chihuahua.

The Joseph F. Memmott collection was donated in 1960, and it consists of 166 vessels. This was the largest collection donated for this period and as was mentioned earlier in this chapter, Di Peso visited and viewed this collection during his time in Casas Grandes. Memmot claimed to have found the pottery within a 10-mile range of Dublan on the old Corralitos Ranch (Figure 2.1).

The Bert Whetten collection was donated in 1961 and is a single Medanos Red-on-brown. The Di Peso collection (8 vessels) were collected and donated by Di Peso himself in 1959. It is unclear whether these were collected during the Joint Casas Grandes Project.

The most collected pottery types for this period at the Amerind Foundation were Ramos Polychrome (50 vessels), Casas Grandes Plain (49), Playas Red (46), and Ramos Black (43). The least collected pottery types were Huerigos Polychrome (1), El Paso Polychrome (1), Madera Black (1), and Carretas Polychrome (4). It appears that both Ramos Polychrome and Casas Grandes Plain are the most collected pottery types for collections at the Amerind Foundation.

The University of Texas at El Paso Centennial Museum

For the University of Texas at E Paso Centennial Museum, the following collections were used to define the Private Collector Period: Salvador Lopez (1944), Howard Bell (1944), Mrs. J. H. Parker (1953), P. J. Luckett (1956), Ladies Auxiliary (1967 and 1968), Hugh R. Quinn (1972), and Alice King (1979). These are small collections or donations that generally lack provenience information. The Salvador Lopez collection consists of nine vessels at least one of which appears to have come

from the University of Pennsylvania. The rest of the collections have no further details in their records other than the number of vessels and the name of the donor (Table 4.1). There were no typologies provided for these collections

Discussion

During the Private Collector Period, land distribution in Mexico made archaeological sites more accessible to the public, and the regional economy encouraged subsistence looting. The result of the new land reform from large hacienda holders to *ejidos* in Chihuahua shifted the relationships between local looters, intermediary, potential buyers and eventually museums. The role of looter or intermediary is no longer associated with hacienda owners or Anglo families, and the role of primary purchaser is no longer tied to museums. The relationship between land-owning Anglo families and museums in the United States dissolved, leaving the market open to local looters and interested private collectors.

Proveniences for this period are not as consistent as with the Museum Period, where objects were being purchased possibly directly from the looter or a very close intermediary. The inconsistent or lack of proveniences could be attributed to collections passing through different owners prior to being donated to a museum or to the fact that purchasers were not archaeologists or museums and did not particularly care about context. During the Private Collector Period, the lack of information can be an indication that objects were looted, collected, sold, and resold

to various individuals before reaching museums. Therefore any form of provenience was easily lost after several transactions or simply due to looting.

A total of 638 vessels were donated during this period, less than half of the total donations during the Museum Period (1426). The most collected pottery types during this period were Playas Red (70 vessels), Ramos Polychrome (69), Casas Grandes Plain (57), Villa Ahumada Polychrome (55), and Ramos Black (49). Overall it appears that the same pottery types that were most collected during the Museum Period were collected during the Private Collector Period. These are Playas Red, Ramos Polychrome, Villa Ahumada Polychrome, and Ramos Black. The major difference between these two periods is that Casas Grandes Plain was collected more frequently during the Private Collector Period than the Museum Period. Although decorated wares still dominate during the Private Collector period, plain pottery is being collected much more than it was in the previous period. The implications of this could be attributed to how the collections were obtained by museums during each period.

There are several overarching patterns that can be discerned in these collections. Most collections were secondary purchases acquired within the United States Southwest. Several collections were donated by or purchased from the collector Thomas Bahti, making him the most avid collector during this period. There was indications of Mexican private collectors such as Pedro Garcia, Salvador Lopez, and the Zapata-Ochoa, Delgado and Ordaz collections. For the most part collections donated to museums during this period were a mixture of decorated and

plain vessels. The collections were not strictly comprised of decorated vessels, which means that collectors were still interested in a variety of types and were knowingly purchasing plain pottery.

From these data, we understand that collections were not traveling very far before they were sold or donated to the respective museums. This is understandable since my sample is strictly from museums in the United States Southwest. It is likely that museums with Casas Grandes collections in other parts of the country and in Mexico might show other overarching patterns.

The Joint Casas Grandes Project in 1958 to 1961 had a significant impact on how the local population treated cultural patrimony. The project was well received, and relations were cordial with the residents of Casas Grandes. Di Peso's notes indicate that there was ongoing looting, and several local families housed private collections of Casas Grandes pottery. It is unclear how much involvement Di Peso had with such families, but some of the local private collections he visited were eventually donated to the Amerind Foundation. These include the Memmott and Whetten collections. The late J. R. Memmott's final wishes were to divide his private collection, a division apparently made by Di Peso. Half would go to the Amerind Foundation and the other half to the Museum of Peoples and Cultures, Brigham Young University in 1966-1968 (Nielsen-Grimm and Stavast 2008:4). There are also several small collections donated by Di Peso and one of his workers, Pedro Garcia, to the Amerind. It seems unclear why these were not returned to Mexico with the rest of the JCGP collections.

Chapter 5: The Present Period (1980-Present)

This chapter will examine the third and final period in this study, the Present Period (1980-2012). This period is characterized by an apparent decrease in looting, commerce, and museum donations. The museum collections used for this period are significantly smaller and are exclusively from the 1980s and 1990s. There are hardly any museum donations of Casas Grandes pottery after the early 1990s. These collections are characterized not only by being small, but also by having less provenience information compared to other periods. Ancillary to the museum collections used to study this period, I also examined eBay listings of Casas Grandes pottery auctioned on the website during a span of six months. The eBay register and the museum collections both show an apparent decline in the overall market for Casas Grandes pottery.

Land-owning Anglo families, their workers, archaeologists, and museums dominated the Museum Period. During the Private Collector Period, looting, collecting, and commerce shifted to local *ejidatarios*, private collectors, and museums. During the Present Period, there is a significant decline of the public market. I believe there are several contributing factors that have led to a diminished interest in looting and the purchase of Casas Grandes pottery beginning in the 1980s. These may include the growing drug cartels in northern Mexico and the Mata Ortiz pottery phenomenon. In the following paragraphs, I will discuss how drug trafficking in northern Mexico and the Mata Ortiz pottery phenomenon might have

affected looting activities and demand for Casas Grandes pottery during this period. I will then describe the museum collections that pertain to this period, followed by the eBay register. I will end this chapter with the archaeologists' perspective on the matter. I interviewed Dr. Paul Minnis and Dr. Michael Whalen on their experience of the last 20 years working in the Casas Grandes area and their perspectives on looting in the area.

Mexican Economy and Drug Cartels (1980-Present)

The 1980s in Mexico marked the end of what was coined the "Green Revolution" with a rapidly growing population, the "*ganaderizacion*" or "*livestocking*" of Mexican agriculture, and the unprecedented importation of basic food grains (Sonnenfeld 1992:37). During the late 1970s, Mexico's middle class began expanding along with the development of new technologies in refrigeration and transportation. With this expansion and developments came an increase in United States-based corporations in Mexico. New luxury food items were introduced to the Mexican palate, such as strawberries, broccoli, asparagus, and wheat products among other commodities. By the 1980s, food taste and consumption in Mexico increase to a meat and wheat based diet. All of these changes in production and consumption represented a detriment to the small landholder in Mexico. "The rain-fed, peasant agricultural sector, which had been one of the sources of expansion of agricultural production in the 1940s, 1950s and

1960s, and a significant contributor to Mexico's self-sufficiency, faced crisis" (Sonnenfeld 1992:38).

The unequal distribution of goods and wealth in Mexico led many peasants to search for alternative means to sustain their families. In the previous chapter, I suggested that small landholders began looting as a subsistence activity but during the Present Period, the economy, laws, and art market began to change, and the growing popularity of narcotic production provided a steady money flow. By the late 1980s, Mexico was known as the main producer of marijuana, heroin, and at least a major transporter of cocaine from South America for the United States market (Reuter and Ronfeldt 1992:91). The main Mexican states devoted to the cultivation of opium and its processing into heroin were Sinaloa, Chihuahua, and Durango. "In the mid-1970's, tens of thousands of peasants participated in marijuana and poppy cultivation and trafficking" (Reuter and Ronfeldt 1992:102). With this being said, it is possible to infer that peasant farmers in the Casas Grandes region might have abandoned subsistence-looting activities and resorted to cultivation of marijuana and poppy plants. Although there is no concrete evidence for this, drug trafficking and cultivation might have provided greater income and a larger market across the border than selling looted pots to the average peasant farmer in the area.

The Mata Ortiz Phenomenon

Mata Ortiz is a small railroad town located south of Casas Grandes, and it has been the setting for one of the most remarkable art movements in Mexico. What

began as a simple interest in collecting pottery sherds by the now well-known artist Juan Quezada initiated the "Mata Ortiz art phenomenon." In 1971, Quezada created his first polychrome vessel meant to be an imitation of Paquimé pottery (MacCallum 1994a:6). By 1975, he was selling pots in Casas Grandes and Palomas, Chihuahua; the latter near the border with New Mexico. In 1976, the social anthropologist Spencer MacCallum purchased three pots in Deming, New Mexico, and intrigued by the craftsmanship set out to find the potter responsible for such creations. That same year, MacCallum met Juan Quezada and made an arrangement with him to provide a fixed monthly stipend in exchange for him to "freely pursue his art in any direction he chose" (MacCallum 1994a:8). The same agreement later extended to other Quezada family members; McCallum's interests were to promote their artistic skills.

By the late 1970s and early 1980s, Quezada and several of his family members were exhibiting their work at the Arizona State Museum, California State University at Fullerton, the Rex E. Wignall Museum in Alta Loma, California, the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology, the Robert H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology at the University of California at Berkley, and the Heard Museum in Phoenix (MacCallum 1994a:9). The exposure from these exhibits provided a demand for Quezada's pottery. This type of exposure generated a dilemma; there were many potential buyers but not enough potters. This changed by the late 1980s with an estimated 300 potters successfully making a living as artists. MacCallum (1994a:12) explains this rapid growth as due to the "accumulation of unsatisfied demand left over from the promotions of 1977-1983, augmented by the popularity of

southwestern motifs in decorator fashions that was in full swing in the mid-1980s." By 1994, there were 30 permanent buyers coming to Mata Ortiz. These buyers were from California, Arizona, Colorado, and New Mexico (MacCallum 1994a:14). During the 1990s, the pottery was meant for United States consumers. Traders from across the border came to buy in bulk, or potters were invited to demonstrate in museums and galleries and to sell their product that way. Although some galleries opened in Nuevo Casas Grandes and Dublan that began selling Mata Ortiz pottery during the 1990s, for the most part the market remains mostly direct from the artist's home or via traders in the United States.

Many collectors during the late 1970s and early 1980s were under the impression that Mata Ortiz pots were exact replicas of Paquimé pottery (MacCallum 1994b:72). Although Quezada began making replicas or fakes in the early 1970s, as soon as he was commissioned by MacCallum in 1976 Quezada began exploring his own artistic style. Charles C. Di Peso was a supporter of this movement in its early stages, "It would be improper to claim that the product of the Mata Ortiz School is an integral part of the Casas Grandes historical continuum. It is not. But it is a blossoming out of a group of artists who momentarily were simulating the old Casas Grandes tradition" (Di Peso 1979:21).

Early in the "Mata Ortiz phenomenon," many collectors in the Southwest thought these pots were forged representations of the Paquimé style. Therefore, it is possible to infer that the demand for original looted pots began declining with the production of pottery at Mata Ortiz, since these were not illegal, were accessible, and

were extremely collectible. I believe the "phenomenon" became an experience in which collectors took pleasure. Many tourists and collectors enjoyed visiting Mata Ortiz and coming into the artist's home and purchasing pieces of art. Although Mata Ortiz ceramics are not as popular as they were during the 1980s and early 1990s, I believe they still play a significant role in replacing the demand for original looted pottery from the area.

Museum Collections

The Present Period is the final period in this study and is characterized by the decline in overall looting and demand for Casas Grandes pottery. In this period, we see an almost absence or replacement of the market with an underground one, if any. For this final period, I used collections from the Arizona State Museum, Arizona State University Museum of Anthropology, the Amerind Foundation, and the University of Texas at El Paso Centennial Museum. All of these collections were used because they dated to the Present period and carried significant information toward this topic.

Table 5.1. Museum Collections for the Present Period (1980-2012).

Museum	Date Acquired	Collection/Donor	Number of vessels/Type	Provenance
Arizona State Museum	1983	Miller Donation	1 Ramos Black jar	Donated by Margaret Miller in memory of Mabel M. Fick
	1996	Mallery Collection	1 Ramos Polychrome	College of Business and Public Administration, University of Arizona,

				transferred to ASM
	2006	Barry Donation	1 CG Incised Double Jar	Purchased by John and Valerie Barry at Andrews Pueblo Pottery, Old Town Albuquerque
	2008	Bialac Donation	1 Ramos Polychrome	James T. Bialac, Scottsdale, Arizona, purchased in Tom Bahti Indian Arts in Tucson about 1956
	2011	Ward Donation	3; 1 Carretas Polychrome, 1 Babícora Polychrome, 1 Playas Red	Purchased by Jeff Ward, Austin, Texas, in Michael Wigley Galley, Santa Fe, New Mexico
Arizona State University Museum of Anthropology	1980	The Mesoamerican Ceramics from Mexico Collection	1	Donated by Orvil M. Bushman
	1985		1	No other information
	1985		1	No other information
	1985		1	No other information
The Amerind Foundation	1981	Spencer MacCallum	11; Palanganas Polychrome	Donation; from Mata Ortiz (might be modern)
	1981	Al Heimer	8; 2 Playas Red-on-brown, 1 Babícora Ploychrome, 1 Corralitos Polychrome, 1 Casas Grandes	Donated by Al Heimer

			Plain, 2 Ramos Black, 1 Ramos Polychrome	
	1986	Unknown	9; 3 Ramos Black, 4 Ramos Polychromes, 1 red ware, 1 Gila Polychrome	Collection was purchased but no comments on whom pots were purchased
	1991	George J. Gummerman	1 Ramos Polychrome	Donator from From Santa Fe; purchased at a Prescott flea market
University of Texas at El Paso Centennial Museum	1983	M. Alvidrez	1	Gift; Dug up in Casas Grandes area by donor's mother when she was a child, brought to United States in 1927
	1981	R.E. Reading	3	Gift; no further details in records
	1981	D. Kiely	2	Gift; no further details in records
			Totals: 46 11 Palanganas Poly, 8 Ramos Poly, 6 Ramos Black, 2 CG Plain, 1 Carretas Poly, 2 Babícora Poly, 2 Playas Red-on-brown, 1 Playas Red, 1 Corralitos Poly, 1 Gila Poly, 1 Redware, 1 CG Incised	Type Abbreviations: Poly- Polychrome CG- Casas Grandes

			Double Jar (most collected types)	

The Arizona State Museum

In the Arizona State Museum, there are only five collections from this period. These are the Miller collection (1983), the Mallery collection (1996), the Barry collection (2006), the Bialac collection (2008), and the Ward collection (2011).

The Miller Collection was a single Ramos Black jar donated in memory of Mabel M. Fick in 1983. The Mallery donation was also a single Ramos Polychrome vessel. The donation came from the College of Business and Public Administration, University of Arizona and was transferred to the Arizona State Museum in 1996.

The Barry donation is another single vessel donation of a Casas Grandes Incised double jar. John and Valerie Barry, owners of Andrews Pueblo Pottery in Old Town Albuquerque, New Mexico, purchased the jar in 1990 and donated it in 2006. The Bialac donation is a single Ramos Polychrome donated by James T. Bialac,of Scottsdale, Arizona; he purchased the vessel from Tom Bahti in his Indian Art Shop in 1956.

Finally, the Ward donation was acquired in 2011, and it consists of three vessels - one Carretas Polychrome, one Babícora Polychrome and one Playas Red jar. Jeff Ward, of Austin, Texas purchased these at the Michael Wigley Gallery in Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Arizona State University Museum of Anthropology

There are only four separate donations of a single Casas Grandes vessel each in this museum for the Present Period. Only one of the four vessels has a donor name. This vessel was part of the Mesoamerican Ceramics from Mexico Collection, donated by Orvil M. Bushman in 1980. Unknown donors gave the other three vessels in 1985; these collections did not include any typology information.

The Amerind Foundation

The Amerind Foundation collections used for the Present Period were the Spencer MacCallum collection (1981), the Al Heimer collection (1981), an unknown seller (1986), and George J. Gummerman (1991).

The Spencer MacCallum collection consists of eleven Palanganas Polychromes from Mata Ortiz. The provenience notes indicate that these might be modern pots possibly made by Juan Quezada or one of his relatives in accordance with the donation date, 1980. Given MacCallum's collaboration in the Mata Ortiz pottery tradition, it is likely that these are modern and not looted pots.

The Al Heimer collection consists of eight vessels, two Playas Red-on-brown, one Babícora Polychrome, one Corralitos Polychrome, one Casas Grandes Plain, two Ramos Black, and one Ramos Polychrome. Al Heimer resided in Tucson, Arizona at the time of donation.

The collection from the unknown seller was purchased by the Amerind in 1986 and consists of nine vessels - three Ramos Black, four Ramos Polychromes, one red ware, and one Gila Polychrome. George J. Gummerman, from Santa Fe,

New Mexico donated a Ramos Polychrome in 1991 and noted that it was purchased at a Prescott, Arizona flea market.

The University of Texas at El Paso Centennial Museum

The University of Texas at El Paso Centennial Museum had only three small collections/donations that are from the Present Period: the M. Alvidrez donation (1983), R. E. Reading (1981), and D. Kiely (1981). The M. Alvidrez donation consists of a single vessel, which was apparently looted from the Casas Grandes area by donor's mother and was brought to the United States in 1927. The R. E. Reading donation consists of three vessels, and the D. Kiely consists of only two vessels. Both were donated in 1981 and lack provenance information. These collections are very small and have no provenance information or typology information. They are consistent with collections in other museums from this same time period in both their small size and their almost complete lack of provenience information.

Museum Collections Summary

A total of 49 vessels were donated to museums during this period, not even a tenth of the number of vessels that were donated during the Private Collector Period. Although not all museums included pottery type information, these are the types that were collected in this period: 11 Palanganas Polychromes, eight Ramos Polychromes, six Ramos Black, two Casas Grandes Plain, one Carretas Polychrome, two Babícora Polychromes, two Playas Red-on-brown, one Playas Red, one Corralitos Polychrome, one Gila Polychrome, 1 red ware, and 1 CG Incised Double Jar. Even though this is a very small sample, we can still see variability and a

mixture of both plain and decorated. Although the possible modern Palanganas Polychromes dominate followed by Ramos Polychrome, there are a few plain pots that are still being collected and donated.

eBay Sales Register

As mentioned earlier, I monitored the Internet auction site eBay for six months from February 2011 to July 2011. The goal for the six month register was to document sales, frequency, and provenience of Casas Grandes pottery. This eBay register appeared to be consistent with the museum collections for the Present Period. They both demonstrated a decline in overall interest of Casas Grandes pottery. For the museum collection there was a decline in the amount of collections donated as well as the size of the donations. After a month on eBay, I realized that the pots were not selling, and there was no way of determining whether they were purchased and at the time I was unaware that I had access to completed listings. I stopped trying to document whether they were selling and focused on how many times sellers would re-list items, and if they would change the price or alter the information provided. There were several vessels that remained listed for the full six months. I also documented any provenience information provided or any claims to authenticity or legality, as seen in Table 5.2. In the following paragraphs, I will summarize the listings by month.

In the month of February, 10 pots came into the market from five different sellers - the Artemis Gallery in Lafayette, Colorado, Anakam (The Prehistoric

Collector) from Tucson, Arizona, Antlers99 from Arizona, Hamant 1287 from Columbus, New Mexico, and Hunters of Treasures from Toronto, Canada (Table 5.2). The Artemis Gallery had the most expensive listings of the month: a human effigy jar listed for $1995. This piece was acquired from a collection at Skinner's Auction, in Boston, Massachusetts. The effigy jar came with a certificate of authenticity, but did not sell. Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector) from Tucson, Arizona, had the most listings for the month with a total of six: a Corralitos Polychrome jar for $495, a Huerigos Polychrome jar for $425, a Casas Grandes Plain bowl for $55, a Playas Red jar for $225, a Ramos black and tan four lobed jar for $350 and a set of Ramos, Carretas, Playas, and Babícora sherds for $16.95. This seller did not offer any provenience information, but he did offer a lifetime certificate of legitimacy and authenticity with each purchase. The seller, Antlers99, from Arizona had one listing of a Casas Grandes Polychrome bowl for $100, which he claimed was legally acquired from an estate sale in Arizona. Hamant 1287 from Columbus, New Mexico, had one listing as well, a possible Ramos Polychrome olla/jar for $200, which he claimed was purchased at an estate sale in Deming, New Mexico. Finally, the listing for Hunters of Treasures from Toronto, Canada was a Casas Grandes black plain bowl for $260, which came from an old private collection in New Mexico.

Table 5.2 Casas Grandes Pottery listings on eBay (February-July 2011).

Month	Week	Pottery Type	Seller/Location	Price	Additional Information
February	7-11	Human effigy	Artemis Gallery/Lafayette, Colorado	$1995	Collection acquired at Skinner's Auction, Boston
February	7-11	Sherds - Ramos, Carretas, Playas, Babícora	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson, Arizona	$16.95	Certificate of authenticity
February	7-11	Corralitos Poly jar	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson, Arizona	$495	Certificate of authenticity
February	7-11	Huerigos Poly jar	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson, Arizona	$425	Certificate of authenticity
February	7-11	CG Plain bowl	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson, Arizona	$55	Certificate of authenticity
February	7-11	Playas Red jar	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson, Arizona	$225	Certificate of authenticity
February	13-18	CG Polychrome bowl	Antlers99/ Arizona	$100	Legal because from an estate sale in Arizona.
February	13-18	Human effigy	Artemis Gallery/Lafayette, Colorado	$1995	Collection acquired at Skinner's Auction, Boston, Mass
February	13-18	Corralitos Poly jar	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson	$495	Certificate of authenticity
February	13-18	Huerigos Poly jar	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson	$425	Certificate of authenticity
February	13-18	CG Plain bowl	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson	$55	Certificate of authenticity
February	13-18	Playas Red jar	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson, Arizona	$225	Certificate of authenticity
February	13-18	Ramos Black and Tan 4-lobed	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson, Arizona	$350	Certificate of authenticity
February	13-18	Sherds - Ramos,	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson, Arizona	$16.95	Certificate of authenticity

		Carretas, Playas, Babícora			
February	20-25	Human effigy	Artemis Gallery/Lafayette, Colorado	$1995	Collection acquired at Skinner's Auction, Boston, Mass
February	20-25	Sherds - Ramos, Carretas, Playas, Babícora	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson, Arizona	$16.95	Certificate of authenticity
February	20-25	Corralitos Poly jar	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson	$495	Certificate of authenticity
February	20-25	Huerigos Poly jar	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson	$425	Certificate of authenticity
February	20-25	CG Plain bowl	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson	$55	Certificate of authenticity
February	20-25	Playas Red jar	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson	$225	Certificate of authenticity
February	20-25	Ramos Black and Tan 4-lobed	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson, Arizona	$350	Certificate of authenticity
February	20-25	Polychrome olla (possible Ramos)	Hamant 1287/ Columbus, New Mexico	$200	Purchased through an estate sale in Deming, New Mexico
Feb/Mar	28-4	CG Black Plain bowl	Hunters of treasures/Toronto, Canada	$260	Found in New Mexico, old private collection
Feb/Mar	28-4	Human effigy	Artemis Gallery/Lafayette, Colorado	$1995	Collection acquired at Skinner's Auction, Boston, Mass
Feb/Mar	28-4	Ramos Black and Tan 4-lobed	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson, Arizona	$350	Certificate of authenticity
Feb/Mar	28-4	Sherds - Ramos, Carretas, Playas, Babícora	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson, Arizona	$16.95	Certificate of authenticity
Feb/Mar	28-4	Corralitos Poly jar	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson	$495	Certificate of authenticity

Feb/Mar	28-4	Huerigos Poly jar	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson	$425	Certificate of authenticity
Feb/Mar	28-4	Playas Red jar	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson	$225	Certificate of authenticity
Feb/Mar	28-4	CG Plain bowl	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson	$55	Certificate of authenticity
March	11-15	CG Black Plain bowl	Hunters of Treasures/Toronto	$260	
March	11-15	Human effigy	Artemis Gallery/Lafayette, Colorado	$1995	Collection acquired at Skinner's Auction, Boston, Massachusetts
March	11-15	Ramos black and tan 4-lobed	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson, Arizona	$350	Certificate of authenticity
March	11-15	Corralitos Poly jar	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson, Arizona	$495	Certificate of authenticity
March	11-15	Huerigos Poly jar	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson, Arizona	$425	Certificate of authenticity
March	11-15	CG Plain bowl	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson, Arizona	$55	Certificate of authenticity
March	11-15	Playas Red jar	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson, Arizona	$225	Certificate of authenticity
March	11-15	Sherds - Ramos, Carretas, Playas, Babícora	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson, Arizona	$16.95	Certificate of authenticity
March	11-15	Zoomorphic effigy jar	Random926/Fairfield, Connecticut	$299	From private Brooklyn, New York collection
March	18-23	CG Black Plain bowl	Hunters of Treasures/Toronto	$260	Found in New Mexico, old private collection
March	18-23	Human effigy	Artemis Gallery/Lafayette, Colorado	$1995	Collection acquired at Skinner's Auction, Boston, Massachusetts
March	18-23	Sherds - Ramos, Carretas, Playas,	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson, Arizona	$8.50	Certificate of authenticity

		Babícora			
March	18-23	Huerigos Poly jar	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson, Arizona	$250	Certificate of authenticity
March	18-23	CG Plain bowl	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson, Arizona	$55	Certificate of authenticity
March	18-23	Playas Red jar	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson, Arizona	$125	Certificate of authenticity
March	18-23	Ramos Black andTan 4-lobed	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson, Arizona	$150	Certificate of authenticity
April	1-5	Effigy olla	Galleryofthegreatestthings/ Hillsboro, New Mexico	$675	Acquired in New York in 1950's
April	1-5	CG Black Plain bowl	Hunters of Treasures/Toronto	$260	Found in New Mexico, old private collection
April	1-5	Human effigy	Artemis Gallery/Lafayette, Colorado	$1995	Collection acquired at Skinner's Auction, Boston, Massachusetts
April	1-5	Ramos Polychrome	Anthro-arts/Ocotillo, California	$1200	Origin: Arizona/New Mexico border; includes certificate of authenticity
April	1-5	CG-Fernando Red/brown bowl	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson, Arizona	$185	Certificate of authenticity
April	1-5	CG- Plain olla	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson, Arizona	$350	Certificate of authenticity
April	1-5	Playas Red Incised	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson, Arizona	$150	Certificate of authenticity
April	1-5	CG Pilon Red/brown	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson, Arizona	$150	Certificate of authenticity
April	1-5	CG Plain bowl	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson, Arizona	$55	Certificate of authenticity
April	1-5	Plain human effigy	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson, Arizona	$250	Certificate of authenticity
April	1-5	Plain parrot effigy	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson, Arizona	$250	Certificate of authenticity

April	8-12	Effigy olla	Galleryofthegreatestthings/ Hillsboro, New Mexico	$675	Acquired in New York in 1950s
April	8-12	CG Black Plain bowl	Hunters of Treasures/Toronto	$260	Found in New Mexico, old private collection
April	8-12	Human effigy	Artemis Gallery/Lafayette, Colorado	$1995	Collection acquired at Skinner's Auction, Boston, Massachusetts
April	8-12	Ramos Polychrome	Anthro-arts/Ocotillo, California	$1200	Origin: Arizona/New Mexico border; includes certificate of authenticity
April	8-12	CG Plain bowl	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson, Arizona	$55	Certificate of authenticity
April	17-25	Effigy olla	Galleryofthegreatestthings/ Hillsboro, New Mexico	$675	Acquired in New York 1950s
April	17-25	CG Black Plain bowl	Hunters of Treasures/Toronto	$260	Found in New Mexico, old private collection
April	17-25	Human effigy	Artemis Gallery/Lafayette, Colorado	$1995	Collection acquired at Skinner's Auction, Boston, Mass
April	17-25	Ramos Polychrome	Anthro-arts/Ocotillo, California	$1200	Origin: Arizona/New Mexico border; includes certificate of authenticity
April	17-25	Ramos Polychrome jar	Rdlaw1/Prescott, Arizona	$102.50	Found in southern New Mexico
April	17-25	CG Plain bowl	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson, Arizona	$55	Certificate of authenticity
April	17-25	Macaw effigy pot	Jonas8916/Chicago, Illinois	$475	

May	5-18	CG Black Plain bowl	Hunters of Treasures/Toronto	$260	Found in New Mexico, old private collection
May	5-18	CG Black jar	Crewzzen/Scottsdale, Arizona	$175	Certificate of authenticity
May	5-18	CG Plain bowl	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson, Arizona	$49.50	Certificate of authenticity
May	5-18	Sherds - Ramos, Carretas, Playas, Babícora	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson, Arizona	$15.25	Certificate of authenticity
May	5-18	Human effigy	Artemis Gallery/Lafayette, Colorado	$1995	Collection acquired at Skinner's Auction, Boston, Massachusetts
May	5-18	Ramos Polychrome	Anthro-arts/Ocotillo, California	$1200	Origin: Arizona/New Mexico border; includes certificate of authenticity
May	22-28	Historic effigy olla	Galleryofaffordabletreasures/ Hillsboro, New Mexico	$275	Historic replica
May	22-28	Human effigy	Artemis Gallery/Lafayette, Colorado	$1995	Collection acquired at Skinner's Auction, Boston, Massachusetts
May	22-28	CG Black Plain bowl	Hunters of treasures/Toronto	$260	Found in New Mexico, old private collection
May	22-28	Sherds - Ramos, Carretas, Playas, Babícora	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson, Arizona	$15.25	Certificate of authenticity
May	22-28	CG Plain bowl	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson, Arizona	$49.50	Certificate of authenticity
May	22-28	CG Black jar	Crewzzen/Scottsdale, Arizona	$157.5	Certificate of authenticity
May	22-28	Ramos	Anthro-arts/Ocotillo,	$1200	Origin:

		Polychrome	California		Arizona/New Mexico border; includes certificate of authenticity
June	2-8	CG Black jar	Crewzzen/Scottsdale, Arizona	$157.5	Certificate of authenticity
June	2-8	Historic effigy olla	Galleryofaffordabletreasures/ Hillsboro, New Mexico	$275	Historic replica
June	2-8	CG Plain bowl	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson, Arizona	$55	Certificate of authenticity
June	2-8	Human effigy	Artemis Gallery/Lafayette, Colorado	$1995	Collection acquired at Skinner's Auction, Boston, Massachusetts
June	2-8	CG Black Plain bowl	Hunters of Treasures/Toronto	$260	Found in New Mexico, old private collection
June	2-8	Sherds - Ramos, Carretas, Playas, Babícora	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson, Arizona	$16.95	Certificate of authenticity
June	2-8	Ramos Polychrome	Anthro-arts/Ocotillo, California	$1200	Origin: Arizona/New Mexico border; includes certificate of authenticity
June	11-18	Historic effigy olla	Galleryofaffordabletreasures/ Hillsboro, New Mexico	$275	Historic replica
June	11-18	Human effigy	Artemis Gallery/Lafayette, Colorado	$1995	Collection acquired at Skinner's Auction, Boston, Massachusetts
June	11-18	Sherds - Ramos, Carretas, Playas, Babícora	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson, Arizona	$16.95	Certificate of authenticity
June	11-18	CG Plain	Anakam (The Prehistoric	$55	Certificate of

		bowl	Collector)/Tucson, Arizona		authenticity
June	11-18	CG Black plain bowl	Hunters of Treasures/Toronto	$260	Found in New Mexico, old private collection
June	21-28	CG Black plain bowl	Hunters of Treasures/Toronto	$260	Found in New Mexico, old private collection
June	21-28	Human effigy	Artemis Gallery/Lafayette, Colorado	$1995	Collection acquired at Skinner's Auction, Boston, Massachusetts
June	21-28	Ramos Polychrome jar	Brooktrader/Saguache, Colorado	$69.55	
July	2-10	Historic effigy olla	Galleryofaffordabletreasures/ Hillsboro, New Mexico	$250	Historic replica
July	2-10	CG Black plain bowl	Hunters of Treasures/Toronto	$260	Found in New Mexico, old private collection
July	2-10	Human effigy	Artemis Gallery/Lafayette, Colorado	$1995	Collection acquired at Skinner's Auction, Boston, Massachusetts
July	2-10	Ramos Polychrome	Anthro-arts/Ocotillo, California	$66	Origin: Arizona/New Mexico border; includes certificate of authenticity
July	2-10	Sherds - Ramos, Carretas, Playas, Babícora	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson, Arizona	$16.95	Certificate of authenticity
July	2-10	CG Plain bowl	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson, Arizona	$55	Certificate of authenticity
July	13-19	Historic effigy olla	Galleryofaffordabletreasures/ Hillsboro, New Mexico	$250	Historic replica
July	13-19	CG Black Plain bowl	Hunters of Treasures/Toronto	$260	Found in New Mexico, old

					private collection
July	13-19	Human effigy	Artemis Gallery/Lafayette, Colorado	$1995	Collection acquired at Skinner's Auction, Boston, Massachusetts
July	13-19	Sherds - Ramos, Carretas, Playas, Babícora	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson, Arizona	$16.95	Certificate of authenticity
July	13-19	CG Plain bowl	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson, Arizona	$55	Certificate of authenticity
July	13-19	Ramos Polychrome bowl	Anthro-arts/Ocotillo, California	$750	Origin: Arizona/New Mexico border; includes certificate of authenticity
July	13-19	Bird effigy	The_best_nest/Phoenix, Arizona	$99	
July	13-19	CG Plain jar	Rofugar/Tucson, Arizona	$150	
July	21-27	CG Black Plain bowl	Hunters of Treasures/Toronto	$260	Found in New Mexico, old private collection
July	21-27	Zoomorphic effigy	Or33/New York	$4750	Purchased at auction w/stones, soil, and arrow head inside
July	21-27	Human effigy	Artemis Gallery/Lafayette, Colorado	$1995	Collection acquired at Skinner's Auction, Boston, Massachusetts
July	21-27	CG Plain bowl	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson, Arizona	$55	Certificate of authenticity
July	21-27	Sherds - Ramos, Carretas, Playas, Babícora	Anakam (The Prehistoric Collector)/Tucson, Arizona	$16.95	Certificate of authenticity

July	21-27	Ramos Polychrome bowl	Anthro-arts/Ocotillo, California	$750	Origin: Arizona/New Mexico border; includes certificate of authenticity
July	21-27	Ramos Polychrome jar	Uhely/Green Valley, Arizona	$275	
July	21-27	Historic effigy olla	Galleryofaffordabletreasures/ Hillsboro, New Mexico	$250	Historic replica
			Total: 28 different listings		

For March, four of the five sellers from February re-appeared with the exact same listings and only one of these sellers, Anakam, changed prices on three of his listings. Anakam's sherds went from $16.95 to $8.50; the Playas Red jar that originally was priced at $225 went to $125, and the Ramos black and tan four lobed jar decreased from $350 to $150.00. The only listing from February that did not re-appear in March is Hamant 1287 's Ramos Polychrome olla/jar for $200. Only one new seller appeared during this month - Random926/Fairfield from Connecticut. He/she had a single listing; a zoomorphic effigy jar for $299, which was acquired from a private collection in New York.

For the month of April's listings, I documented four new sellers with their listings: Galleryofthegreatestthings from Hillsboro, New Mexico, Anthro-arts from Ocotillo, California, Rdlaw1from Prescott, Arizona, and Jonas8916 from Chicago, Illinois. Galleryofthegreatestthings listed an effigy olla for $675, acquired in New York during the 1950s. Anthro-arts lists a Ramos Polychrome for $1200 claimed the vessel was from the Arizona/New Mexico border, and included certificate of

authenticity. Rdlaw1 listed a Ramos Polychrome jar for $102.50, which he/she claimed to have found in southern New Mexico. Jonas8916 lists a macaw effigy for $475.

In terms of repeat sellers for April, the seller Anakam, added seven new listings - a Casas Grandes Fernando Red-on-brown bowl for $185, a Casas Grandes Plain olla for $350, a Playas Red Incised for $150, a Pilon Red and Brownware for $150, a Plain human effigy $250, and Plain parrot effigy for $250. This seller no longer lists the Corralitos Polychrome jar, the Huerigos Polychrome jar, the Playas Red jar, and the Ramos black and tan four lobed jar. The Artemis Gallery still lists the $1995 effigy jar, and the Hunters of Treasures black plain bowl still is listed for $260 for this month.

For May, there appear two new sellers. Crewzzen from Scottsdale, Arizona lists a Casas Grandes black jar for $157.50 and Galleryofaffordabletreasures from Hillsboro, New Mexico lists an historic effigy olla (early Mata Ortiz) for $275. For returning sellers, Anakam only lists a Casas Grandes plain bowl for $49.50 and the same sherds for $15.25. The Artemis Gallery still lists the $1995 effigy jar, Hunters of Treasures's black plain bowl still is listed for $260, and Anthro-art lists the same Ramos Polychrome for $1200 this month.

For the month of June, I saw the exact same listings from the same sellers as the previous month. Crewzzen's Casas Grandes black jar for $157.50 and Galleryofaffordabletreasures historic effigy olla (early Mata Ortiz) for $275. Anakam raised his prices by a few dollars; the plain bowl is back to $55 and sherd

set is $16.95. Artemis Gallery lists the $1995 effigy jar, Hunters of Treasures's black plain bowl is listed for $260, and Anthro-art lists its Ramos Polychrome for $1200 this month.

The only new listing for June was a Ramos Polychrome jar for $69.55 from the seller Brooktrader in Saguache, Colorado.

For the final month of this study, July, I documented the same listings and prices for Galleryofaffordabletreasure, Hunters of Treasures, and Artemis Gallery. Anthro-arts lists the same Ramos Polychrome but changes the price from $1200.00 to $66.00 and then late in the month to $750.00. Anakam keept listing the plain bowl for $55 and the sherd set for $16.95. There are four new sellers with single listings this month. Uhely of Green Valley, Arizona lists a Ramos Polychrome jar for $275, Or33 of New York lists a zoomorphic effigy for $4750, Rofugar of Tucson, Arizona lists a Casas Grandes Plain jar for $150, and The_best_nest from Phoenix, Arizona lists a bird effigy for $99.

The Internet market does not seem to be consistent. There appears to be no real demand for these goods, and sellers are struggling to sell and to find a price range that appeals to possible collectors. The pieces are not the highest quality and are not all decorated. Month-to-month listings seem to be fifty percent plain and fifty percent decorated. There were a total of eleven different pottery types; eight effigy vessels, six Ramos Polychromes, five Casas Grandes plain, one historic polychrome, one Casas Grandes Pilon Red, one Playas Red, one Playas Red incised, one Casas Grandes Fernando Red-on-Brown, one Ramos Black and Tan, one

Huerigos Polychrome jar, and one Corralitos Polychrome jar. There was also the set of Ramos, Carretas, Playas, and Babícora sherds.

Prices for effigy vessels ranged from $99 to $4750. For Ramos Polychromes prices ranged from $66 to $1200 while for plain pottery they ranged from $49.50 to $350. Overall prices ranged from $15 to $4750, which is a pretty broad range for prices. There are some price alterations with listings that are not selling but apparently they were not significant enough to produce a sale. Anakam alters his pricing from month to month but only by a few dollars. Then there is the seller Anthro-arts that within a month altered pricing from $1,200 to $66 and then late in the month to $750.

There's a range of four to eight different listings per month and an average of two to four new listings each month. There were a total of seventeen sellers and twenty-eight different listings recorded for the six months. Twelve of the seventeen eBay sellers were from the United States Southwest, sixty-six percent. The remaining five were from New York, Canada, California, Illinois, and Connecticut. Of the twenty-eight different listings only five were located outside of the United States Southwest. The seller with the most listings during this six-month period was Anakam of Tucson, Arizona. Most of the provenance information provided indicates that most pots either came from old collections/auction houses or were found in the United States. There is no way of determining the accuracy of these statements.

Only three of the seventeen sellers, Anakam, Anthro-arts, and Crewzzen, offer a certificate of authenticity to provide a sense of security to potential buyers.

None of the listings indicate that the piece came directly from Chihuahua; these pieces seem to have passed through several owners according to some of these sellers.

Over the a span of the six months, I noticed that seventy percent of the listings under Casas Grandes or Casas Grandes pottery were Mata Ortiz pots, and each posting indicated that they were from the town of Mata Ortiz. Although I did not include these in my study, I did notice that these were much cheaper and more widely available than original looted pots.

Overall, it appears that most pots are not selling or at least are not selling within a six-month span. This lack of a market could be attributed to the Mata Ortiz phenomenon as mentioned earlier, high pricing, a possible underground economy where auctions are held privately, or simple awareness of the illegality or ethical dilemma of collecting looted pots.

Twenty Years of Field Work in Casas Grandes

I interviewed Dr. Paul Minnis and Dr. Michael Whalen to obtain a current perspective on looting in the Casas Grandes region. Minnis and Whalen have been conducting research in Casas Grandes since 1989. Their experience and knowledge of the area are a crucial component in understanding the Present Period. I also wanted to compare their experiences to those of Jane Kelley and the Proyecto Arqueológico Chihuahua (PAC), who have also worked in Chihuahua since 1990

(Kelley et al. 2011). My objective was to have a more complete understanding of modern looting in Chihuahua.

Over the past 20 years, Minnis and Whalen have documented over 450 sites in the area of which the majority demonstrated evidence of prior looting (Whalen and Minnis 2001a, 2001b, 2003, 2009). Only one site surveyed remained completely intact, and Minnis and Whalen attribute this to the site's restricted access on private property (Paul Minnis and Michael Whalen personal communications, 2012). The majority of the sites excavated during this 20-year period appear to have been looted prior to any formal excavation (Whalen and Minnis 2001a, 2001b, 2003, 2009). I asked Minnis and Whalen whether they felt that their excavation and presence in the area promoted looting or if any of the sites they excavated were later looted by residents. They have gone back over the years to sites they have excavated and have not encountered any evidence of subsequent looting. They did not witness any increase in simultaneous looting during excavation. They claim that most landowners make an effort to protect or preserve sites on their land. Their overall experience with locals has been positive. Minnis and Whalen have not experienced any incidents of locals selling artifacts or asking for appraisals, "For the most part people have been hospitable and are proud of Paquimé as being part of their heritage and identity" (Paul Minnis personal communications, 2012).

Although Minnis and Whalen's experience appears to be positive and free of contemporary looting, they suggest that the largest threat to sites in the area is development. The growing population in the Casas Grandes and Janos areas has

promoted rural developments and significant land modifications that have been detrimental to many sites. The construction or expansion of new roads in Casas Grandes has caused destruction to some sites. The construction of houses on top of sites have definitely damaged or destroyed archaeological sites. There is also the possible re-routing of the Casas Grandes River and canals might affect some sites and erase prehistoric hydraulic systems. These are only some of the examples provided by Minnis and Whalen (Paul Minnis and Michael Whalen personal communications, 2012).

Another issue brought up by Minnis was the apparent disconnect that the general public in the area had regarding Paquimé versus surrounding smaller sites. Locals feel proud of Paquimé and want to preserve it, but at times fail to give the same amount of respect to other sites in the area. Minnis believes there is a need to disseminate more information about these secondary sites to the surrounding *municipios* within the Casas Grandes region and the importance of preserving these as well.

All archaeologists working in the state of Chihuahua do not share the experience of Minnis and Whalen. The Proyecto Arqueológico Chihuahua (PAC) headed by Jane H. Kelley has been conducting research for the last 20 years in what is known as the southern periphery of the Casas Grandes culture area. The project's experience has been somewhat dissimilar to that of Minnis and Whalen. In the article, "Land Use, Looting and Archaeology," Kelley et al. (2011) provide a list of cases where they witnessed ongoing damage to sites in the area. The list includes the

leveling of sites to prepare land for agriculture, parts of a mound removed to make adobe bricks, an arroyo re-routed across a site to improve farmland, destruction of a site when constructing an apple orchard, and an excavation conducted by a school teacher and students as an extracurricular activity (Kelley et al. 2011:213). They also attribute looting to visibility and accessibility of sites during long droughts and episodes of looting after their excavations. Kelley et al. (2011:213) note that some of the sites excavated by the Proyecto Arqueológico Chihuahua have been subsequently looted. "Our units were dug into during absences from the site, and looter's pits were dug next to our test pits".

There are some differences between the experiences of these two projects. There appears to be more ongoing looting and destruction in the southern periphery of the Casas Grandes Culture area than in the "core" area near Paquimé. This could be attributed to the southern periphery being more isolated and not as economically robust as the Casas Grandes area. The immediate presence of Paquimé, INAH, and the Museo de las Culturas del Norte in the "core" area serves as a constant reminder of heritage and the link to a distant past, which should be respected. Local residents in the Casas Grandes region may have a higher education level and in turn be more familiar with preservation than those of the southern periphery, which is more rural. I am not looking to establish a definitive answer as to why the experiences have been relatively different for these two projects; I simply wanted to provide a more complete spectrum of a complex issue that is still in need of addressing in the state of Chihuahua. Overall both projects have witnessed site destruction attributed to

modern development than anything else. I can only hope that more education regarding preservation is diffused among the smaller *municipios* in the state and that future projects have to deal less with the issue of looting and overall site destruction.

Discussion

The Present Period has proved to be a complex one which includes a changing Mexican economy, a growing art movement and the varied experiences of professional archaeologists working in the area for the past 20 years. The Mexican economy went from a "Green Revolution" of agricultural prosperity and industry in the early 1960s and 1970s to an economy based on corruption and drug trafficking during the late 1970s and 1980s. The unequal distribution of wealth and power in the country placed most small landowners and peasants on the fringes of society. During the Private Collector Period, we have an indication that *ejidatarios* or peasants in the Casas Grandes region might have been looting and selling pots as a source for alternative income. These types of activities seem to come to an end in the Present Period. Collections are no longer being donated or purchased by museums, and overall looting appears to be on the decline. The museum collections during this period are much smaller than in the other two periods. They lack provenience information, which was also relatively common during the Private Collector Period. Also, like in the previous period do not come directly from Mexico.

I presented three arguments that might explain the decline of looting and interest in Casas Grandes pottery - the underground drug economy, the Mata Ortiz phenomenon, and social awareness of the negative impacts of looting among the local population. As I suggest earlier in this chapter, the underground drug economy in Chihuahua might have provided locals with an alternative subsistence that at some point previously might have been fulfilled by looting. Again there is no direct evidence for this; it is only a possible explanation for the overall decline in looting and antiquities market in the area. The Mata Ortiz phenomenon may have also replaced the demand for looted goods. This new art movement attracted collectors who perhaps originally sought looted pots but who became interested in a new art movement that was legal, original, accessible, collectible, and possibly cheaper.

Minnis and Whalen's experience working in the area for the last 20 years is in congruence with my arguments. They suggest that all the sites they surveyed and excavated had been looted prior to their involvement, and no on-going looting occurred in the area to their knowledge (Paul Minnis and Michael Whalen personal communications, 2012). They both suggest that development is the biggest threat to archaeological sites in the area, as do Kelley et al. when speaking of the PAC region (Kelley et al. 2011). The presence of INAH, the site of Paquimé, and the Museo de las Culturas del Norte in what could be considered the "core region," Minnis and Whalen's focus, might serve as constant reminders to the public of the importance of preservation in the area. This same social awareness appears to be lacking in the Proyecto Arqueológico Chihuahua region. Kelley et al. (2011) notes that there

appears to be on-going looting and destruction in this southern periphery of the Casas Grandes region. This could be attributed to lack of education, higher poverty levels, and not enough resources and/or the lack of INAH presence in the region. However, as mentioned earlier, development has become the largest threat for sites in Chihuahua. Therefore modern issues with site destruction in both areas are attributed to the carelessness of government officials and perhaps the under-funding of INAH in the state.

The Present Period appears to be characterized by an overall decline in looting and the public marketing of Casas Grandes pottery. Very few donations are coming in to museums, and there appears to be a lack of demand for looted pots on eBay. Site destruction is no longer attributed exclusively to looting activities but to development and infrastructure. Future research needs to be conducted to determine whether there is an underground economy or if the public is simply no longer interested in Casas Grandes pottery.

Chapter 6: Concluding Remarks

The purpose of this study was to examine the history of looting and the antiquities market in northwestern Chihuahua from 1900 to the present. I focused on the relationship between museums in the United States Southwest, looters, intermediary, archaeologists, and collectors who lived in Chihuahua. I studied museum collections and archives in the United States Southwest at the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology, University of New Mexico in Albuquerque, New Mexico, the Arizona State Museum, University of Arizona in Tucson, Arizona, the Arizona State University Museum of Anthropology in Tempe, Arizona, the Amerind Foundation in Dragoon, Arizona, and University of Texas at El Paso Centennial Museum in El Paso, Texas. Using these data, I defined three periods of looting in association with United States borderland museums: the Museum Period (1900-1939), the Private Collector Period (1940-1979), and the Present Period (1980-present). In addition to the museum collections and archives, I documented listings of Casas Grandes pottery on eBay over a period of six months to determine where a portion of the current market for Chihuahuan antiquities is.

The Museum Period (1900-1939) is the one for which I had the most archival and provenance information. It was characterized by the relationships between land-owning Anglo families residing in the Casas Grandes region, archaeologists, early collectors, and museums in the United States. During this period, museums purchased large collections from Anglo families, such the Houghtons and McGinnis

families. Archaeologists such as E. B. Sayles and Edgar Lee Hewett purchased collections from collectors for the Gila Pueblo Archaeological Foundation. While collectors such as the North family and Edward Ledwidge, played the role of intermediary. There is no direct evidence that indicates who the looters were, whether they were the Anglo families, their workers, both, or neither. This period defines the relationships and transition of cultural patrimony from Mexico to the United States, mostly through museum purchase. The largest number of looted pots, (1426), were donated, sold, or collected by archaeologists for museums were during this period. Although decorated vessels comprise most of these collections, there were a substantial amount of plain pottery, which could indicate that collectors were interested in a wide range of pottery types. It is unknown what was happening within Mexico and if Mexico had an internal antiquities market. This is an issue that should be explored in future research to establish a complete history of looting in the area.

The Private Collector Period (1940-1979) was defined by a shift in land reform in Mexico, resulting in the dissolution of established relationships between United States museums and local Anglo families. Large haciendas are divided into *ejidos,* and the Mexican economy shifts in to agricultural industrialization where agricultural peasants and small landholders suffered unequal access to goods and new technologies. I suggested the possibility of "subsistence looting" practiced by local landowners for supplemental income. These subsistence looters might have been selling small collections to collectors or intermediary coming across the border.

In the collection archives, we see substantial collections accessioned by museums but these usually lack any provenience information as opposed to information provided by some collectors in the Museum Period. Instead of the large collections purchased directly from Anglo families and well-known collectors, we see many private collectors donating collections from un-provenience sources. There is a decline in the number of vessels donated to museums during this period. A total of 638 vessels were donated, less than half of the amount of vessels donated in the previous period (1426). Again, we see a mixture of both plain and decorated vessels donated.

The Present Period (1980-2012) is one characterized by the decline of looting and the public market in antiquities. The total number of donated vessels during this period is 49, mostly decorated. The museum collections are few, and they are smaller and lack provenience data. In the Private Collector Period, I suggested that locals were resorting to subsistence digging in order to counteract their poor local economy. For this period I made the suggestion that the trafficking and drug activity might have replaced subsistence digging due to its higher profitability. The rise of drug trafficking and cultivation in Chihuahua could have been a contributing factor in the decline.

The Mata Ortiz art movement might have also replaced the demand for looted pots in the area. The popularity of this ceramic tradition created an accessible, collectible, and legal commodity that might have replaced an earlier demand for looted goods.

The eBay register reflects this same decline; during the six-month period I monitored this site, I noticed that the same pots were being re-listed month after month because they were not selling. There were a total of 28 different listings of Casas Grandes pottery that I encountered, some of which remained listed for the entire six-month span. Some sellers modified their pricing, but it seemed that there was a lack of demand for this type of pottery in this section of the market overall market. This might also be an indication of an underground market.

Future research of museum collections and archives in Mexico and in other parts of the United States could help establish a more complete picture on the history of looting in the Casas Grandes area. I recently requested information from two museums outside of the United States Southwest for comparative purposes: the National Museum of American Indian and the Museum of Peoples and Cultures in New York, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. Casas Grandes collections in both museums proved to be consistent with some of the periods I established. The National Museum of American Indian curates two large Casas Grandes Collections, the Andrew H. Blackiston (455 catalog numbers) and the Edward Ledwidge collections (633 catalog numbers). The Blackiston collection was purchased by the museum in 1914. Mr. Blackiston appears to have lived in Maryland, Chicago, and possibly El Paso. He worked in mining and investments and traveled extensively in Latin America, according to the museum records provided. Blackiston published three articles in the early 1900s on his excavations in the Casas Grandes region (Blackiston 1906a, 1906b, 1909). The Edward Ledwidge collection was purchased

in 1915. Both of these collections could fit very well with the Museum Period (1900-1939) in that both donors were avid collectors that traveled and or lived near the United States/Mexico border. Then there is Edward Ledwidge, who is associated with selling two collections to the Gila Pueblo Archaeological Foundation. These two collections alone make up almost the same number of the total vessels purchased/donated during the Museum Period (1900-1940).

For the Museum of Peoples and Cultures, Brigham Young University, I mostly examined donor names to determine if any overlapped with some of the donors in my study. As I discussed earlier, half of the Memmott collection (around 166 vessels) was donated to this museum after Di Peso analyzed it in 1966 and 1968. Frank Turley, a well-known looter and collector in the United States Southwest, made a donation in1977. Shirley Taylor Robinson from Colonia Juárez, Chihuahua, Mexico made a donation in 1986 (Nielsen-Grimm and Stavast 2008:4). The first two collections could potentially be included in the Private Collector Period. As was discussed earlier, half of the Memmott collection, one at the Amerind Foundation was already part of my study. Therefore it would make sense to include the second half, at Museum of Peoples and Cultures, Brigham Young University. However, I would definitely need more information on the other two donors and donations in order to determine whether or not they would fit with any of the periods I established.

Finally, I briefly examined a publication on Casas Grandes collections curated in the Museo Nacional de Antropología in Mexico City (Narez 1991). A total of

1017 specimens comprise this collection of which over half came from the JCGP excavation in 1958-1961. The remainder of the collection was donated or sold to the museum by three Mexican private collectors: Guadalupe Martin del Campo, Antonio Mendez Lomeli, and Dr. Guadalupe Martinez. Guadalupe Martin del Campo was a military doctor, who resided in Casas Grandes, Chihuahua, and collected and eventually donated a large Casas Grandes Collection of 490 artifacts. These were donated in the mid 1940s and comprise almost half of the museum collection. Antonio Mendez Lomeli sold 23 artifacts to the museum, and Dr. Guadalupe Martinez donated one vessel (Narez 1991:10). The dates for these donations are unknown.

The Casas Grandes collection at the Museo Nacional de Antropología in Mexico City does not fit with any of the periods I defined. More than half of the collection came from a professional archaeological excavation. This is not the case with any of the collections I analyzed in the three periods, except for the small excavations in the early 1900s. This might be due to Mexico's exportation laws on cultural patrimony. Although this collection does not fit perfectly with the defined periods, there are still private collectors, one of whom lived in Casas Grandes, and two others for whom there is no information provided. What is important about this collection is that all of the donors are Mexican, which indicates that collecting was occurring among Anglos and Mexicans in the Casas Grandes region.

This brief comparative study of the National Museum of American Indian, the Museum of Peoples and Cultures, the Museo Nacional de Antropología demonstrates

the need for further research to understand the history of looting in northwestern Chihuahua. There are various Casas Grandes collections curated in many other museums in both the United States and Mexico that could provide a more complete picture of this complex issue. This study has only provided a glimpse into the activities that have destroyed the cultural patrimony of Chihuahua over the past 100 years. Future research should be focused on museums on both sides of the border and perhaps examine other networks or relationships tied with looting and the antiquities market in the area.

Looting and destruction of archaeological sites will remain a global issue as long as the population keeps growing and cities and agricultural activities keep expanding. Not only does development and infrastructure pose a threat to the archaeological record, but also the interest in collecting the past will always be part of the human experience. Although the last period in my study demonstrates a decline in looting and an overall lack of demand for looted pots, there still remains an urgency to educate the public about preservation. Issues of site destruction still remain in the area according to Whalen and Minnis (personal communications, 2012), and Kelley et al. (2012). Public education regarding preservation in the local schools and *municipios* within the Casas Grandes region would help with protection and preservation efforts in the area. Perhaps surveys and interviews similar to ones discussed in the Maya area case study could be implemented in Casas Grandes to determine the root of contemporary destruction. I believe the key to ending site destruction and implementing preservation tactics is collaboration between local

residents, government officials, and interested archaeologists working in the area. The history of looting in the Casas Grandes region is important and should be understood from both sides of the political border. I believe it is crucial to examine this recent history to be able to preserve the prehistory of the area and to stop any further destruction.

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