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Brazil: From Tupiniquim to Paulistaware*

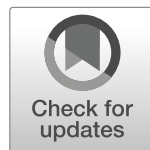
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An Archaeology of Colonialism and the Persistence of Women Potters' Practices in Brazil: From Tupiniquim to Paulistaware

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Abstract

The archaeology of colonialism has been recently reconceived as the investigation of persistent cultural practices that connect the past and the present which values alterities and cosmologies. In São Paulo, the singular alliance between Tupiniquim and the Portuguese starting in ca. 1502 CE generated practices that linked knowledge structures from the pre-colonial period to the present. This study compares three types of ceramics and interprets incorporative cultural practices of the Tupiniquim that explain how they bring in the Portuguese “other” – as people and as pottery practice – as a way of persisting; and explores the ways in which this relationship is different to allies and willing partners in the colonial process. The complexity of colonial relationships modified cultural practices, and the exchange and articulation of knowledge resulted in the society of São Paulo. Tupiniquim women transformed Portuguese ceramics into Paulistaware, which signifies not a cultural loss, but cultural persistence.

Keywords Brazil · Postcolonial studies · Tupí peoples · Long-term history · Ceramic practices · Indigenous peoples · Gender · todo o estudo dos Paulistas é a conservação da sua liberdade. · [all *Paulistas* training is about keeping their freedom.] · Governor's report by Antônio Paes de Sande (1693).

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Introduction

Since the nineteenth century, archaeological interpretations of Native American populations have been based on notions of demographic decline, degeneration, and cultural loss (Monteiro 2001; Noelli and Ferreira 2007; Silliman 2009). They have emphasized the loss of identity, authenticity, and collective cohesion, often silencing the voices and erasing the actions of Indigenous peoples. Perceptions of contact, conquest and colonization, all based on the notion of loss, assumed that the pre-contact period was the last moment of cultural authenticity (Law Pezzarossi and Sheptak 2019). These ideas still enshrine archaeology in the twenty-first century, and have deleterious effects on colonial and postcolonial studies. In Latin America, they are analyzed based on a Manichean duality, which does not recognize the complexity of relations between Native peoples and Europeans, which convert the former into mere victims (Feros 2017). One must break these anachronistic paradigms in order to understand more completely how people acted within colonial processes, not only to understand relational co-production of colonial order (Sheptak et al. 2010), but also to comprehend the roles of exchange and alliance (Viveiros de Castro 2004:478).

This article focuses upon a particular case of colonialism in the Captaincy of São Vicente, southeast Brazil. The Portuguese settled in this region due to a political alliance with part of the Tupiniquim population, which enhanced the strategic interests of both parties intensifying the war outside their territories. On the one hand, Natives made allies for their wars against various non-Tupiniquim peoples. On the other, Portuguese colonizers were able to establish a colony when they realized that the war to capture slaves would be a means of entering the Atlantic trading system. The alliance lasted until the early eighteenth century, when demographic, social, economic, and political changes reconfigured the organization of society. From this perspective, strengthened by the *archaeology of persistence* concept, this article addresses the appropriation and transformation of Portuguese materiality from the sixteenth century by some Tupiniquim peoples. It is crucial to construct new narratives emphasizing the persistence of Native peoples without ignoring or minimizing their difficulties and losses caused by colonialism.

Appropriation has paved the way for the persistence of colonial practices as “legitimate manifestations of specific ways of producing and using substances, raw materials, and objects according to specific classification and logical transformation” (Lagrou 2013: 22). We deal here with the transformation of Portuguese coarse ware into “paulistaware” and its production for almost 500 years, seeking a decolonized perspective upon Indigenous and Portuguese alliances which have maintained Tupiniquim autonomy and agency. Transformation is not a cultural loss; rather, it belongs to “the paradigm of exchange: an exchange event is always the transformation of a prior exchange event. There is no absolute beginning, no absolutely initial act of exchange. Every act is a response: that is, a transformation of an anterior token of the same type” (Viveiros de Castro 2004:477).

The colonial materiality established by the Tupiniquim persists up to the present time. The identity of the Tupiniquim people is difficult to trace after 1750, despite indications of its permanence in southeast São Paulo. Defining the identity of the people who produced this pottery from the eighteenth century requires a great deal of historical and ethnographic research and, considering the unilateral imposition of

Crown interests, it also requires a critical approach to the sources as well as the investigation of how identities have been elaborated in identity games (Monteiro 2001: 9) until the present day. The counterproof of the written records, in order to overcome the epistemological emptiness, will instead focus on indigenous identity as evidenced in the archaeological context, possibly an eloquent proof of everyday life. We must also examine, along with the archaeological record, the parish registers of births, marriages, and deaths, as well as inventories, wills, and real estate records of notary's office. The aim is to overcome the limits established by the bureaucracy of the Pombaline Era (1750–77), which diluted the diversity of Indigenous identities and gave rise to the notion of a “generic Indian” as a strategy of the Portuguese Crown to “mix the colonial population” (Morales and Moi 2008), a policy in force until the beginning of the twentieth century.

We seek non-dualistic analytical alternatives regarding colonialism and native communities (Card 2013; Dawdy 2005; Hayes and Cippola 2015), debating the terms that reinforce the unilateral and colonizing view of history, such as resistance and submission. Colonialism is not only a chronological phase but a modality of power whose impacts are multidirectional and spread over the long term (Cohn 1986), revising the notions of cultural change and agency in colonial contexts (Silliman 2001).

Materiality, the *chaîne opératoire*, and its uses are central to understanding the relationality within colonial processes (Gosden 2004; Voss 2008). They connote minutiae and complexities that do not exist in other source categories (Cooper 2005), such as the writings. They thus allow us to understand the responses of Native populations to colonial policies (Orser 1996; Silliman 2006). If colonization altered “non-questioned worlds” (Silliman 2001: 196), responses to structural changes followed local and particular cultural logics (Lightfoot 2005). In contexts of colonialism, indigenous practices often demonstrate processes of continuity (Rubertone 2000), and persistence (Panich 2013; Silliman 2009). Understanding them destabilizes official narratives on colonialism (Funari and Senatore 2015), problematizing analytical categories such as hybridity (Silliman 2015) and (non) *mestizaje* (Goldman 2017). Such change of paradigm demands the decolonization of archaeological, anthropological, and historical approaches (Battle-Baptiste 2011; Rizvi 2008), inspired by the thinking and critical action of Indigenous and non-Indigenous people dedicated to social engagement, and the appreciation of local communities in the knowledge production process (Atalay 2008; Cippola et al. 2018).

During the past two decades, in Brazil, colonial history and the recent past of Indigenous and traditional communities have been re-thought. Nevertheless, there is still little discussion about these issues (Amaral 2012; Jácome 2017; Moura and Allen 2015; Muniz and Gomes 2017; Silva 2013; Silva and Noelli 2015). Most of the research in this field is devoted to understanding the contexts of African and Afro-Brazilian enslavement (Agostini 2010; Ferreira 2015; Harteman and Moraes 2018; Lima 2002; Souza 2013; Symanski 2010).

The lack of interest in long-standing Indigenous history is hampered by the artificial division between prehistory and history, which challenges the development of anthropological interpretations (Lightfoot 1995; Schmidt and Mrozowski 2013). Recently, Souza (2017) pointed out that, in Brazil, archaeologists impute identity only to pre-colonial Indigenous people, during the period that they were free of European influence. The unique focus on cultural loss simplifies our understanding of identity

construction. It recolonizes the past in various ways, silencing inventiveness, protagonism, and persistence, against and also within colonialism. This recolonization includes the view that actual Native peoples, by transforming their social practices, would be less interesting or less “pure” compared to pre-colonial peoples (Silliman 2012). On the one hand, this notion highlights the harmful effects of colonialism; on the other hand, it confirms and supports a reducing perspective of cultural domination (Howard 2002).

Sources Used during Research

Our database is vast and interdisciplinary. We analyzed pottery from three different contexts - medieval and post-medieval Portuguese, pre-colonial and colonial Tupiniquim and Paulistaware. To do this we:

- 1) analyzed 3,000 fragments and semi-whole vessels from the Ruins of Abarebebê archaeological site – currently curated in the Historical and Archaeological Museum of Peruibe and in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology of the University of São Paulo;
- 2) visited 37 museums in São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Mato Grosso do Sul, and Paraná, where 230 vessels were analyzed (187 Tupiniquim and 53 Paulistaware);
- 3) conducted ethnographic fieldwork in Guaraqueçaba, Itararé, Bom Sucesso de Itararé, Rio Branco, Apiaí, Itaóca, and Iguape – São Paulo;
- 4) studied colonial sources, most of them dedicated to São Paulo in the sixteenth century, and many others from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and consulted Brazilian unpublished sources from public and private archives;
- 5) researched two taxonomic samples, for comparative purposes, from São Paulo, Paraná (Scheuer 1967, 1976, 1982; Nascimento 1986) and Portugal (Fernandes 2013, Bugalhão and Coelho 2017), as a starting point to guide searches of written sources and archaeological records.

Archaeology of Persistence in São Paulo

The archaeology of persistence was used to understand cultural practices in southeast São Paulo and northeast Paraná from the pre-colonial period to the present day. Persistence is not a synonym for historical continuity, but the “intentional rearticulation of certain practices and related identities in light of new economic, political, and social realities...effectively linking past and present in a dynamic but unbroken trajectory” (Panich et al. 2018: 11–12). The Tupiniquim and Portuguese articulated practices together, and this resulted in a deep and unbroken alliance which lasted until the end of the seventeenth century, by which point their descendants were the majority of people living in the Captaincy of São Vicente. Partly, the alliance worked to combat and enslave “enemy” indigenous peoples, as well as to expand a regional economy integrated into the Atlantic system (Monteiro 2018).

For Tupí peoples, part of their identity is in the Other that they choose to incorporate, including the descending generation. It is in the element of affinity that one finds cosmological and political dimensions, where the Other comes first and, above all, an

affine. The Other can be a friend, ally, guest, business partner, foreigner, or enemy, as well as an animal and spirit, all of whom are involved in the values of affinity. Kinship is built on a relational basis, which manifests itself as a constantly updated process (Viveiros de Castro, 2001). According to Lagrou (2013: 22), “things and people can be transformed, domesticated, pacified and incorporated without losing their relation to the externality.” Thus, we can say that affinity, within the Tupiniquim conception, brought them closer to the Portuguese settlers and, possibly, transformed the descendants of the relations in Tupiniquim. But as those who wrote the historic sources were the Portuguese or other Europeans, most of the time their descendants were registered as “Portuguese”, “mestizos” and “mamalucos”.

From the eighteenth century on, a minority of Tupiniquim-Portuguese descendants dominated the economy and colonial management associated with new Portuguese immigrants, mostly linked to nobility and bureaucrats, while the majority, along with enslaved Indigenous peoples, were no longer treated by their ethnonyms in colonial documentation. This century also saw, especially in São Paulo, the significant entry of African slaves and Afro-Brazilians, initiating a new local social process that included contributions from these groups to materiality and language. The Pombaline Era was marked by growing inequality between colonial subjects and the Crown's political hegemony in São Paulo, which had not occurred while the Tupiniquim were a demographic majority. The impact of Pombaline laws, especially the inclusion of “Indian” as a way to address Indigenous peoples by bureaucrats, and the prohibition of using Indigenous languages, contributed to changes that influenced a gradual erasure of Indigenous cultural identities and heritages, and the reinforcement of racial and class prejudices. Nonetheless, during the nineteenth century, the São Paulo General Language (*Lingua Geral Paulista*) was still spoken in some places (Leite 2013:22–23).

The transmission of cultural practices was the primary vector of persistence and the greatest legacy of the Tupiniquim to succeeding generations, creating links to unite past and present. It began with negotiations between Tupiniquim and Portuguese, based on indigenous policies of reciprocity that favored non-hostile relations and a particular environment of sociability. The Captaincy of São Vicente's first *donee*, Martim Afonso de Sousa, confided to the secretary of king Dom João III in 1533: “under the Tropic of Capricorn, in the twenty-third degree beyond the referred line, we arrived where it finds an equally blessed land” (Radulet 1991:99). A report from 1532 invokes the relations initiated in 1502 at the first Portuguese landing in São Paulo. In the same trip during the official foundation of São Vicente by Martim Afonso, his brother, Pero Lopes, revealed the strategy for a successful colonial process when they emphasized the importance of the Portuguese “living in communication of arts” with the Native people (Sousa 1994:184), referring to the “exchange of practices” and the need to learn how they lived and created their environment.

Ceramic appropriation was based on pre-colonial technological expertise that transformed attributes of Portuguese ceramics into Paulistaware during the first decades of the colony. It is necessary to understand the Tupiniquim decision to adopt and transform Portuguese coarse ware in the early years of the colony. At first, the colonial Tupiniquim ceramics were used in the settlements; then they were continually produced by their descendants and people of different backgrounds who settled the region and embodied such practices. In the twentieth century, they became known to the academic world as “popular ceramics of São Paulo,” according to Herta Löel Scheuer (1976). In

the 1960s the practice of making this pottery was registered in nine distinct areas of São Paulo and one in Paraná, but only that “manufactured in the south show some stylistic kinship,” as “utilitarian ceramic products... used for many possibilities... where we can notice the existence of influxes of indigenous culture” (Scheuer 1982:21–23). The definition followed the old dualistic tradition, “popular” versus “refined,” of nineteenth century Portuguese anthropologists and Brazilian folklorists who considered as “popular art” the locally produced materiality within self-sustaining family contexts, contrasting with the conception of “high art” valued by the elite.

We suggest that these terms be replaced by the concept of “Paulistaware” (*cerâmica paulista*), which we define as the “Portuguese coarse ware appropriated and transformed in the sixteenth century by Tupiniquim women from the São Vicente area for use in colonial settlements, which their descendants and newcomers reproduced until the present day in the southeast region of São Paulo” (Fig. 1). It was produced within specific regional, historical, and social contexts, initially distant from economic logic based on the increasing optimization of yield. Paulistaware was produced, used and exchanged exclusively in domestic and familial contexts, consistent with the Tupí practice that each household is responsible for the production of its own ceramics. The context of the commodification of Paulistaware is open to question, but it seems to be related to the emergence of regional supply networks and increasing urbanization in the nineteenth century. It is also necessary to deal with the concepts of “neo-Brazilian” and “local/regional” ceramics (Zanettini 2005), quite common in Brazil and provisionally useful to define colonial productions for which appropriation or transformation processes have not yet been thoroughly investigated.

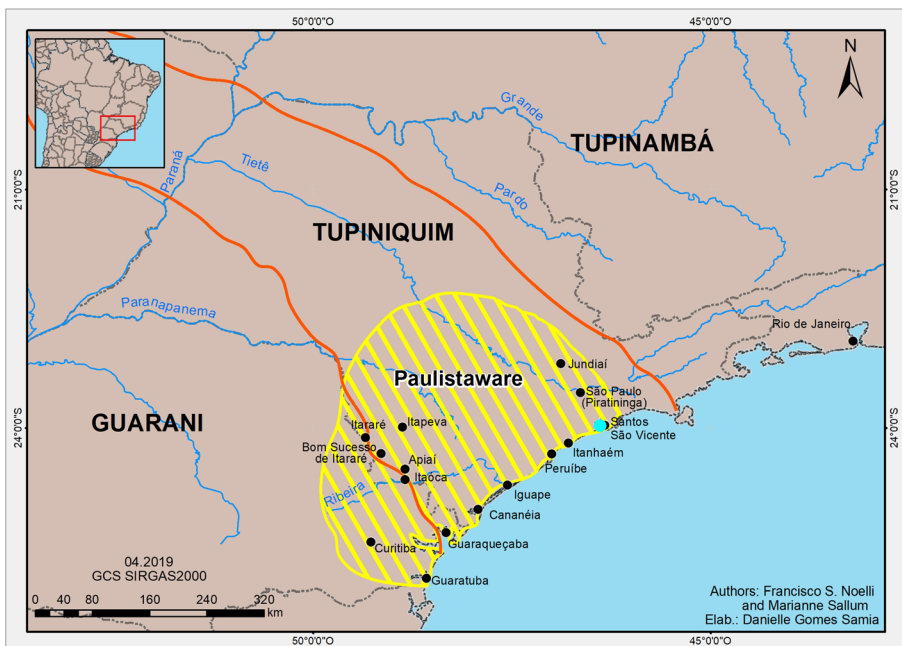


Fig. 1 Map of Paulistaware distribution in southeast São Paulo and northeast Paraná

The articulation of practices between the Portuguese and Tupiniquim did not mean the dominance of one side over the other. The appropriation of Portuguese ceramics was a way for the Tupiniquim exercise their alterity and potentialize their differences. Nor is it equivalent to hybridity, a concept dependent on social context, involving subtleties not inherent to objects. Hybridity depends on practice, neither being a point of arrival nor an outcome; it is also not a definitive solution, but rather a process in permanent formation and transformation (Liebmann 2015; Loren 2013; Silliman 2015).

In the Tupiniquim case, ceramic transformation did not occur in an environment of colonial resistance. One possible interpretation would be to consider appropriation and predation as an exercise of Tupí alterity (Ribeiro and Jácome 2014), by incorporating the Other who was chosen by affinity, since the essence of their cosmology is the establishment of identities through the transformation of Others (Perrone-Moisés 2014). It is possible to consider that the transformations experienced by the Tupiniquim were compatible with the logic of their alterity and cosmology, perhaps with the desire to socially relate to the Portuguese and take ownership of their technologies. The change did not mean cultural loss, but cultural persistence.

On the one hand, anthropological research in Brazil tries to understand “the complexity of the Indigenous ways of constructing history” (Albert 2002: 10), in three interrelated dimensions: 1) historical (colonial process); 2) political (social reproduction tactics); 3) symbolic (concepts of alterity). On the other hand, it approaches Indigenous cosmology to understand processes of change and continuity, identifying the specific dialectics of identity and otherness (Fausto and Heckenberger 2007). Such issues are doubly problematic: while these themes are means of representation, they also try to symbolically and ritually tame the alterity of non-indigenous peoples (Albert 2002). Within Tupí cosmology, pacifying White settlers was a polysemous notion. It requires linking the White objects and colonizers into Native cosmologies, ridding the colonizer of their lethality and cruelty (their warlike and material aggressiveness) in order to underline their fragilities and, at the same time, establishing new relations. The Native point of view, humanizes the settlers. Thus, it is intended, and it is feasible, to reproduce society, no longer against the colonizer, but through it, for its own persistence (Cameiro da Cunha 2002). It is necessary to emphasize Native ontologies in order to not reduce the debate to the sterility of authenticity and inauthenticity concepts (Fausto and Heckenberger 2007), neither to decide what is or is not Indigenous, nor form any boundary to indicate identity, since these practices limit the understanding of Native persistence (Law Pezzarossi and Sheptak 2019).

It is necessary to establish research on the archaeology of persistence in early São Paulo, and its effects that are still felt in the present day. To elucidate ceramic practices, we began by reviewing the social context and the complexity of Portuguese and Tupiniquim relations, considering the agency of women and the generational transfer of their knowledge. This underlies the explanation that Paulistaware production encompasses a time frame of almost 500 years. However, one of the authors of this article (Sallum 2018) found evidence of persistence within Tupiniquim ceramic practices in long-term history. Tupiniquim potters possibly had as reference the Portuguese earthenware with red, brown, and orange pastes, light, and dark, without the glazed surface (Newstead and Casimiro 2015). The records indicate that the black pottery produced in the northern half of Portugal (Fernandes 2012) served as a model, as the Tupiniquim

began to apply black vegetable dyes to cover the vessels, a new cultural practice at that time.

Tupiniquim Precolonial Ceramics

The Tupiniquim people, who were also called Tupí by Jesuit missionaries, spoke a Tupinambá dialect, or a language very close to it (Rodrigues and Cabral 2002). Since it was sparsely documented, it presents difficulties for precise linguistic classification, but it belonged to the Tupí-Guaraní family, affiliated with the Tupí linguistic stock, sharing practices and materialities with more than 70 peoples (Rodrigues and Cabral 2012).

The convergence of historical data about the process of cultural construction in São Paulo suggests that Paulistaware was initially produced on the south coast, around São Vicente. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Tupiniquim numbered many thousands of people distributed among numerous Indigenous villages from the Atlantic coast to the Paraná River, stretching around 1,000 km along the Tietê river basin (Corrêa 2014). The Tupiniquim managed forests with polyculture agroforestry and consumed a bounty of plant resources, processing them in vessels with specific functions (Brochado 1991; Noelli and Brochado 1998). The Indigenous food was transformed with the adoption of African and Portuguese ingredients, as these newcomers adapted to the Tupiniquim system. This articulation of practices allowed the historical persistence of Natives and foreigners in the colonial world, a critical theme which has not yet been examined.

Archaeological records of Tupiniquim precolonial pottery show their long-term reproduction during approximately 15 centuries (Brochado, 1984; Corrêa 2014). Figure 1 shows the area of the Tupiniquim domain with ca. 1,400 sites located in the states of São Paulo, Paraná, and Mato Grosso do Sul, as well the first wave of expansion of Paulistaware during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The precolonial Tupiniquim ceramics revealed a high degree of standardization, but with variability in terms of morphology and surface treatments. This variability was a result of individual creativity, such as among the Guaraní who “conceive the vessels as a stacking of zones or well-defined horizontal segments,” defined as the “standard units, of defined forms which, superimposed, make up the contours of the vessel” (La Salvia e Brochado, 1989: 116). In other words, variability can be explained by factors intrinsic to the Tupiniquim and not by external factors. Variability resulted from numerous combinations of a vast repertory of vessel wall segments that were taught systematically to each new generation of ceramists. We conclude that the standardization was variability itself, to the point that difference was the norm that made the morphologies so similar for 15 centuries.

Pottery survived because the set of vessels used to process meals and beverages was part of self-sustaining agroforestry systems based around family nuclei that continuously reproduced culinary practices (Fig. 2). On the one hand, part of indigenous food was transformed with the adoption of African and Portuguese ingredients. On the other hand, the newcomers adapted to the Tupiniquim system. This articulation of practices allowed the historical persistence of Natives and foreigners in the colonial world, a critical theme which has not yet been examined. The eventual incorporation of novel foods brought by Europeans, and later by Africans, resulted in a specific culinary tradition called *caipira* (Dória and Bastos 2018).



Fig. 2 “Women working in the beverage production” (Hans Staden 1974)

Tupiniquim Women Protagonists

Tupiniquim and Portuguese relations brought new knowledge for both, in various fields. In the case of materiality, the agenda is immense, and the study of ceramics should integrate future interdisciplinary research. Data suggest that colonial Tupiniquim ceramics arose from millennia of technological knowledge that allowed Tupiniquim people to appropriate Portuguese pottery. The Tupiniquim educational system, similar to the notion of communities of practices (Wendrich 2012), bequeathed to their descendants, as well as to newcomers, valuable knowledge reproduced up to the present, underlining a trajectory of historical persistence capable of articulating cultural differences and establishing lasting collective compositions since the colonial period. The Portuguese joined the Tupiniquim system and supported their struggles against other indigenous peoples such as the Carijó, Tupinambá, and Jê. The Portuguese adapted themselves according to the social organization of their indigenous allies, giving up their traditional gender roles and divisions and the monogamous family arrangement. In the same way, Tupiniquim also adopted Portuguese consumption habits and appropriated their ceramic technology.

The social inequality experienced by the Portuguese in Europe disappeared among the Tupiniquim, where merits and deeds determined a person's worth, and many settlers

found a space of social, economic, and political coexistence that the kingdom did not allow them to experience. The power of nobility, bureaucracy, and clergy was limited and relatively isolated during the first two centuries of colonization due to the alliance of the majority of settlers with Natives, and supported by the immense demographic difference between Indigenous peoples and Europeans. In summarizing the first 82 years of the colony, the missionary José de Anchieta (1988:314, 441), wrote in 1584 that the Tupiniquim were among the “more political” Indigenous people in Brazil, and that in the Captaincy of São Vicente, there had never been “wars against the natural Indians called Tupís [Tupiniquim], who were always friends of the Portuguese, except in the year 1562, when a few of them from the countryside, moved by their evil (most of whom keep their friendship as before) waged war on Piratininga, the village of São Paulo.”

The colonial sources indicate no binary opposition between Tupiniquim men and women, but a fluidity of identity that guaranteed the social stability within a politics of collaboration between genders. In daily life, women were the main link with Europeans, sharing with men the management of settlements, and were also responsible for the handling of vegetable food supplies, which represented most of Tupiniquim diet. They were also responsible for the production of objects, food, and various other practical and symbolic activities related to planning the annual food security calendar. Women were crucial in the colonial system, mediating relations within family nuclei as well as with European settlers, a fundamental role commonly ignored in traditional narratives.

Local pottery production was an act of self-determination and Tupiniquim residential autonomy, and an alternative to Atlantic trade for most poor settlers. Indeed, by the nineteenth century, and perhaps before, local ceramic practices began to complement domestic sustenance; its local and regional marketing served to acquire goods and items in the exchange economy. Scheuer's (1967, 1976) ethnographic research is a witness of the independence and agency of women potters, whose lives were stereotyped as a metonymy for poverty and cultural loss according to many travelers, naturalists, and bureaucrats. The local production of pottery and food within polyculture agroforestry were practices that not only reaffirmed self-determination but reduced the need to sell the labor force, reproducing much of the Tupiniquim economic structure and its colonial features. But the modesty of their residences was usually described as a display of misery and indolence, as in Auguste de Saint-Hilaire's (1995: 179) record, on his way to Guaratuba, on the coast of Paraná, where he saw “a miserable hut simply built with scraps of wood that couldn't prevent wind and rain from passing through. Some pots and mats made up all the furniture, and those who inhabited it were covered with rags.”

São João Batista Settlement: Ruins of Abarebebê

The Ruins of Abarebebê was the colonial village of São João Batista, nowadays Peruíbe, located on the south coast of São Paulo (Petroni 1995; Cali 1999). It is an archaeological site, and its stratigraphy serves as a model for the occupation sequence

of Tupiniquim settlements that present colonial strata. The sources confirm occupation continuity from the first half of the sixteenth century to the present.

The records show that Peruíbe was within Tupiniquim territory when the Portuguese arrived. Although the land grant letter of 1553 states that there was an Indigenous village in Peruíbe (Leite 1938:541–542), this site has not yet been delimited but is very likely underneath the downtown district, near the mouth of the Preto River. In 1605, there was a rural nucleus there (Rodrigues 1940: 199), populated by Tupiniquim, Portuguese, their descendants and, probably, Indigenous slaves of indefinite origin as was common in the region. Later, archaeological research attests to continuous human presence in the area of Peruíbe leading up to the foundation of the São João Batista settlement at the end of the seventeenth century, located 8.5 km from the downtown.

The data reveal an intermediate point in the chronology of Paulistaware on the south coast of São Paulo, established between the end of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century (Sallum 2018). For the mid-nineteenth century, we have the ethnographic oral record of ceramic practices and the genealogy of potters' lineages (Nascimento 1986; Scheuer 1976). Among these records, we find how knowledge was transmitted through generations who sought to maintain their "regular style" (Scheuer 1976:56). A comparison of local and regional data allows us to understand that the process that led to the transformation of Portuguese coarse ware by the Tupiniquim potters would have occurred in the first half of the century, most probably between 1502 and 1550. It would have been a strategy that allowed the Portuguese to supply their European materiality with local objects, since the arrival of Portuguese ships was intermittent and rare, and the colonial system benefited from Portuguese food and culinary practices.

São João Batista is a case that could reveal the precise identity of its inhabitants and suggest a method to overcome the problem imposed by the Pombaline bureaucracy, as we have proposed above. It was an Indian village maintained for 212 years by the Crown and administered by Franciscans (1692–1804). In 1802, its inhabitants were able to vote for the exit of religious settlers and the end of the tithing system (in which they were paid 1/3 of all products), a claim registered since 1767. Therefore, in the early nineteenth century the predominant population was Indigenous (Petroni 1995). Archaeological data suggest that their identity was Tupiniquim. The Captaincy of São Vicente was a slave society bolstered by non-Tupiniquim captives, which delayed the entry of considerable contingents of enslaved Africans and Afrobrazilians, whose entry was most notable in the eighteenth century (Nizza da Silva 2009). The Atlantic Slave Trade Database (www.slavevoyages.org) shows numbers of African slaves arriving in southeast Brazil (1576–1700), including Espírito Santo and Rio de Janeiro, where the vast majority were taken (Table 1).

Despite the influx of slaves, in the collections of whole vessels and fragments that we recorded from many locations in southeast São Paulo, there are no evident African attributes such as those found in Jundiá by Morales (2001). Vessel wings could come from African cultures, as Morales suggests, but they were found in contexts that pre-date African presence in colonial sites in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Rio Grande do Sul. Our analysis of vessels housed in 37 institutions in São Paulo and Paraná suggests that eventually African contributions to Paulistaware was more commonly decorative than morphological, this being a theme open to further research because of the variations of local and regional demography over time. In the nineteenth and twentieth

Table 1 Entry of Africans in Southeast Brazil

| Atlantic Slave Trade Database | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|
| Period | Quantity per capita |
| 1576–1600 | 4.770 |
| 1601–1625 | 32.395 |
| 1626–1650 | 48.317 |
| 1651–1675 | 68.248 |
| 1676–1700 | 72.123 |

centuries, people from various regions of Europe and Japan entered the south coast, forming a multicultural regional context, diversifying the predominantly Indigenous, African, and Afro-Brazilian social background and, to a lesser extent, Luso-European. Despite this cultural diversification, Paulistaware did not undergo significant changes in the long term. Newcomers were forced to change their ways of producing ceramics and consuming food to survive and persist in the local way of life, reinforcing our hypothesis that the technology was taught to newcomers who joined the local society. It appears that the newcomers opted for change in order to adapt to the local way of life. These pieces show that the style of colonial wings and straps followed the technique of Portuguese “ribbon wings,” but it also seems that wings were modified to form decorated, curved strips and adhered between the shoulder and the neck of the vessels (Fig. 3).



Fig. 3 Ceramic vessels with handles and wings (a) Tupi colonial, Torres, Rio Grande do Sul, photo by Ângelo Corrêa, courtesy of the Centro de Estudos e Pesquisas Arqueológicas, Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul; (b) Contemporary Paulistaware, Jairê, Iguape, photo by Francisco Noelli, courtesy of the Marianne Sallum private collection; (c) Colonial Paulistaware, Itapeva, São Paulo, photo by Francisco Noelli, courtesy of the Museu Histórico de Itapeva; (d) Tupinambá colonial, Araruama, Rio de Janeiro; (e) Santa Olaia (Portugal) (Nazaré 2013), photo by Ângela Buarque, courtesy of the Museu Nacional

Ceramic Practices: From Tupiniquim to Contemporary Potters

Tupiniquim ceramics have two main chronological stages: 1) precolonial (until the seventeenth century); and 2) Paulistaware (from the sixteenth century to the present). An assessment of this chronology is essential for establishing processes of change and continuity that allow us to understand the persistence of ceramic practices, even though this remains an elusive theme in the face of scarce records of the Tupiniquim.

To comprehend the initial process of paulistaware development it is fundamental to consider the relation between sociability and the understanding of technologies among the Tupiniquim and Portuguese. At first glance, the morphologies of Tupiniquim precolonial ceramics have few similarities with Portuguese coarse ware and Paulistaware (Fig. 4). However, when observed in detail, one notices many similar surface treatment attributes and wall profile sections. Technical choices therefore comprised of: 1) appropriation of Portuguese coarse ware by indigenous potters; and 2) articulating of ceramic practices such as raw materials, *chaîne opératoire*, and language, creating links between past and present.

The widespread shift from precolonial to colonial technology did not occur automatically. The majority of the Tupiniquim kept on making pottery the same way after the arrival of the Portuguese. From São Vicente, colonial pottery expanded gradually following the growth of the colonial nuclei like a constellation of the community of practices. This process can be partly explained by demography, since there were thousands of Tupiniquim inhabiting numerous settlements along the vast territory extending from the Tietê river basin to the Paraná river, whereas the Portuguese were restricted to areas that were closer to the coast. It can be stated that the European population of the Captaincy of São Vicente did not exceed the yearly average of 1,000 people in the first 150 years of the colony (Table 2).

Production Context

This section compares the main aspects of earthenware ceramic production and use according to the following authors: 1) Tupiniquim (see Brochado 1991; Corrêa 2014); 2) Portuguese coarse ware (Fernandes 2012); 3) Paulistaware (Nascimento 1986; Sallum 2018; Scheuer 1976).

Amongst Tupiniquim, social roles were fluid, with no binary opposition between men and women, but the sources tell us that it was women's role to make pottery, as is common to all peoples of Tupí ancestry. In Portugal, pottery was the male domain, and its production occurred in communities of family practices, similar to Tupiniquim education. Paulistaware was the result of women's practice. Indigenous organization of work had different production relations to those in Portugal, which were residential and hierarchical, and consisted of different specialized steps requiring jobs that were differently remunerated under the leadership of the leading potter. For Tupiniquim and Paulistaware, production was residential and generally performed by a single woman, but sometimes activities such as locating, extracting, and transporting was done by anyone. Tupiniquim production was mainly local and for nuclear family use, but occasionally collaborative among families for collective activities. Portuguese and Paulistaware had similarities: both were locally manufactured and aimed at commerce with urban nuclei and small regional exchange networks, especially from the eighteenth

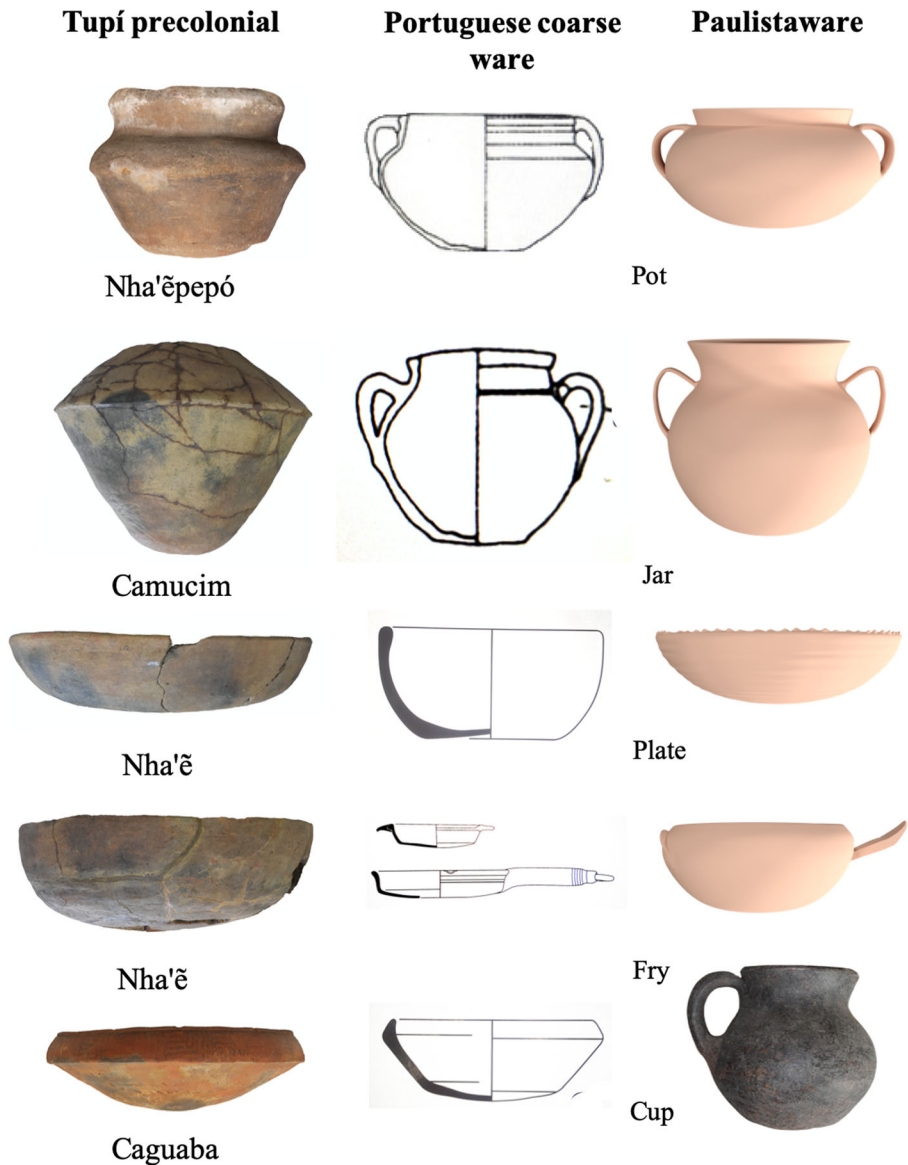


Fig. 4 Comparison between Tupiniqum precolonial, Portuguese coarse ware and paulistaware. References: Tupiniqum ceramics: *nha'ëpépó* (courtesy of the Museu Histórico e Arqueológico de Peruibe, photo by Francisco Noelli), *camucim*, *nha'ë* (courtesy of the Museu Nacional do Rio de Janeiro, photo by Francisco Noelli), *caguaba* (courtesy of the Museu Nossa Senhora Aparecida, photo by Francisco Noelli) Portuguese: pan, jar and plate (Gomes 2012); fry and cup (Bugalhão and Coelho 2017); Paulistaware (Scheuer 1976)

century. Ceramic production was inspected and taxes were collected subject to royal permission in Portugal. Tupiniqum and Paulistaware relied on the quality and aesthetics of the products as the conditions to expand beyond residential circulation, even

Table 2 Portuguese/indigenous descendant numbers – Captaincy of São Vicente and their villages

| Year | Portuguese/indigenous descendant numbers in source terms | Place | Source |
|---------|--|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1548 | “more than 600 souls between men, women and boys” | Captaincy of S. Vicente | de Góis 1965:262 |
| 1553 | ca. 800 Christians | Captaincy of S. Vicente | Schmidl 1985:219 |
| 1561 | 300 | São Vicente\Santos | Cortêsão 1956:354 |
| 1576 | 500 | Captaincy of S. Vicente | Gândavo 1576:37 |
| 1584 | 300 | Captaincy of S. Vicente | Anchieta 1988:430–431 |
| 1584 | 50 Portuguese | São Vicente | Anchieta 1988:430 |
| 1584 | 30 white neighbors | Itanhém | Anchieta 1988:431 |
| 1584 | 100 neighbors | Santos | Anchieta 1988:430 |
| 1585 | 120 | Piratininga | Cardim 1934:314 |
| 1585 | 80 | São Vicente | Cardim 1934:316 |
| 1585 | 80 | Santos | Cardim 1934:316 |
| 1585 | 50 | Itanhaém | Cardim 1934:316 |
| ca.1590 | 600 Portuguese | São Vicente\Piratininga | Soares 1966:11 |
| 1590 | 140 | Piratininga | Luís 1980:199 |
| 1590 | 171 Portuguese | Piratininga | Sant’Ana 1956:9–15 |
| 1606 | 190 | Piratininga | Luís 1980:279 |
| 1606 | 700 Portuguese | Captaincy of S. Vicente | Luís 1980:232 |
| ca.1635 | 100 “white and mestizos” | São Vicente | Glimmer 2007:269 |
| ca.1635 | 200 Portuguese and “mestizos” | Santos | Glimmer 2007:270 |
| ca.1635 | 200 Portuguese and “mestizos” | Piratininga | Glimmer 2007:274 |

though it is only from the early nineteenth century that we have indications of payment for vessels with goods or money and city hall license and tax collection (Table 3).

Chaîne Opératoire

The three ceramic sets have some general similarities, but they contain meaningful differences (Table 4). Preparation of clay was divided into several stages in Portugal, but it was a predominantly male task; in Tupiniquim and paulistaware it was women’s domain. Use of a potter’s wheel and low wheel were fundamental for raising the vessel among Portuguese, but they were not adopted in São Paulo, a place where molded bases and coiled walls still predominated in the present day.

Black mineral pigmentation in clay was prevalent in the northern half of Portugal but unknown to the Tupiniquim. However, after firing, they colored Paulistaware with black vegetable dyes such as the barks of *jacatirão* (or *kuipeúna*, their Native name) (*Tibouchina mutabilis* Cogn.) and mastic (*corneiba*) (*Schinus terebinthifolius* Raddi), used until today (Nascimento 1986; Scheuer 1976), to cover the palette of reddish colors, browns, and creams. Post-depositional

Table 3 Production context

| Production Context | Tupiniquim | Portuguese coarse ware | Paulistaware |
|---|---|--|---|
| Dominant gender | Female | Male | Female |
| Work structure | Familial | Familial | Familial |
| Formation | Domestic Female Lineage Community of practices | Domestic Male Lineage Community of practices | Domestic Female Lineage Community of practices |
| Organization of work and <i>Chaîne opératoire</i> | Generalist Master all steps. Casual people aid for raw material extraction | Hierarchical Specialized tasks | Generalist Master all steps. Casual people aid for raw material extraction |
| Distribution | Local | Local\Regional | Local\Regional |
| Activity | Unregulated | Controlled by municipality regulations | Unregulated |
| Permission | Aesthetic | License\Public Exam | Trust in product and aesthetics |

chemical changes in the archaeological context often change the black color to gray, as occurs in blackware in Portugal (Costa 2014).

After passing the slip uniformly and sealing the internal and external sides of the wall, Portuguese women polished and burnished the vessels, as the men raised them, while they still had the consistency of leather. Women making Tupiniquim and Paulistaware did the same.

Table 4 Chaîne opératoire

| Activity | Tupiniquim | Portuguese coarse ware | Paulistaware |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| Clay preparation | Female | Male | Female |
| Piece lifting | Modeled/coiled | Low wheel Wheel | Modeled/coiled |
| Black pigment | Female Nonexistent | Male Clay | Female Vegetal |
| Polish/burnish | Female | Female | Female |
| Watery | Female | Male | Female |
| Decoration: Line appliqué incise wing, handle and <i>appliqué</i> Brace <i>appliqué</i> \clay cord Painting | Female | Male\Female | Female |
| Burning | Open air Female | Kiln\open air Male | Kiln\Open air Female |
| Vegetal resin | Present Female | Absent Nonexistent | Present Female |
| Decorated Vessel | Painted not used on fire | Usually not used on fire | Incises used on fire |

The decoration was a woman's activity on both sides of the Atlantic, being occasionally male in Portugal. The internal side surface of the three assemblages was smoothed, regularized, and sealed with slips of different densities and thicknesses; in the case of Tupiniquim ware, some vessels received interior painting, especially collective plates. Portuguese ceramics always had a smooth external surface, sometimes receiving cords or clay straps, incised lines and painted floral motifs. Tupiniquim ceramics can have smoothed, corrugated, fingertip-marked, fingernail-marked, brushed, stored, spatulated, incised, and, finally, painted outer surfaces, with geometric patterns (Fig. 5). For the painting (Sallum et al. 2018), they employed minerals like iron oxide for red (*Taguá*, indigenous name), and kaolin for white (*Tabatinga*, Indigenous name), both are from Tupiniquim language (Anchieta 1595:14v), which was later spoke in the Paulista General Language. We have not yet found historical data on the composition of the black color in the Tupiniquim language, but it is usually attributed to manganese oxide. In Paulistaware, however, painted vessels lost relevancy in the twentieth century due to the difficulty of finding pigments because of land disputes, and these became practically unknown (Scheuer 1976).

Paulistaware has a smoothed external surface, but some vessels were entirely or partially corrugated, fingertip-marked, nicked, brushed, and also received undulated incised lines. The rims were straight, sometimes externally thickened, and undulated, with a rounded, flat, and occasionally serrated lip. On the external wall, they added clay cords or applique decorated in the Portuguese style. Portuguese coarse ware had handles, lugs, and spouts, while the Tupiniquim pots did not. In Paulistaware, handles, wings, and beaks are present, following Portuguese style. There are rare archaeological records of Tupiniquim vessels with wings outside the colonial nuclei, which seem to represent an option to copy this attribute, elaborated outside of the traditional Portuguese patterns, suggesting that the ceramist did not integrate into a community of practices in a colonial nucleus.

The pottery was fired in the open using these three techniques: 1) Portuguese: *soenga* (pit firing) with large quantities of pots, which is still used in Portugal; 2) Tupiniquim: on the ground, a few pots at a time; and 3) Paulistaware, similar to *soenga*. Oven use was the most common technique in Portuguese coarse ware and Paulistaware. In São Paulo, the first written records on the use of ovens are from 1560, and the first known municipal license for pottery is from 1575 (Brancante 1981:210). However, their use was probably older still, considering that particular initiatives were not recorded due to the essential need to produce objects.

Vegetal resin was common in Tupiniquim and Paulistaware, but it was not employed in Portugal. Its raw material was the *almecegueira* tree or white pitch (Cardim, 1939:53), also called by the Natives *yvyra ysy* (*Protium heptaphyllum* (Aubl.) Marchand), applied in liquid state after firing to complete the sealing process and give the inner surface a varnished appearance. It also covered painted surfaces.

Painted Tupiniquim vessels were not put to use in the fire, and only those jars used to ferment and store *cauim* (a fermented beverage) were heated with braziers around their base. The others would be exposed to fire, especially those used to process food and possibly larger vessels used to serve and keep the meal warm. Painted Portuguese vessels and Paulistaware were not used in the fire either, while those made to process food were. In all three practices, storage vessels were not exposed to fire.

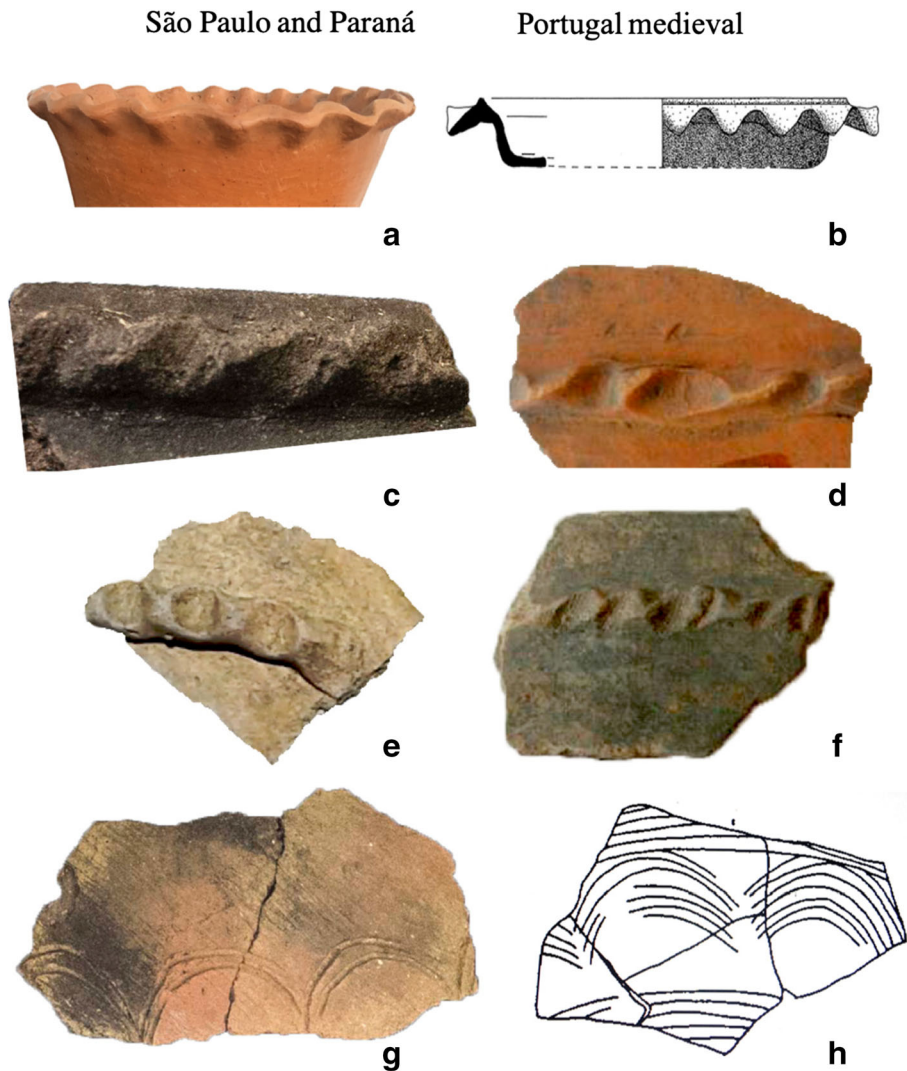


Fig. 5 Decoration. Undulated rim: (a) Apiaí (São Paulo, photo by M. Sallum); (b) Lisboa (Santos 2008); Clay cord undulate: (c, g) Peruíbe (courtesy by Museu de Arqueologia e Etnologia/Universidade de São Paulo, photo by M. Sallum); (d, f) Lisboa (Bugalhão and Coelho 2017); (e) Antonina (PR, photo by Francisco Noelli); Incised undulated: (g) Peruíbe (courtesy by Museu de Arqueologia e Etnologia/Universidade de São Paulo, photo by M. Sallum); (h) Lisboa (Ferreira 1998)

Morphology

Tupiniquim and Paulistaware vessels present similarities between function and morphology, more so than Portuguese coarse ware. Most of them have walls of varying thicknesses (between 0.4 and 2.0 cm), both in vessels that are put to use in the fire and the ones used to serve and store food and liquids. The body can be rounded, ovoid, elliptic and truncated cone-shaped, some forms with complex contours, with flat or slightly rounded bases.

Paulistaware cooking pans

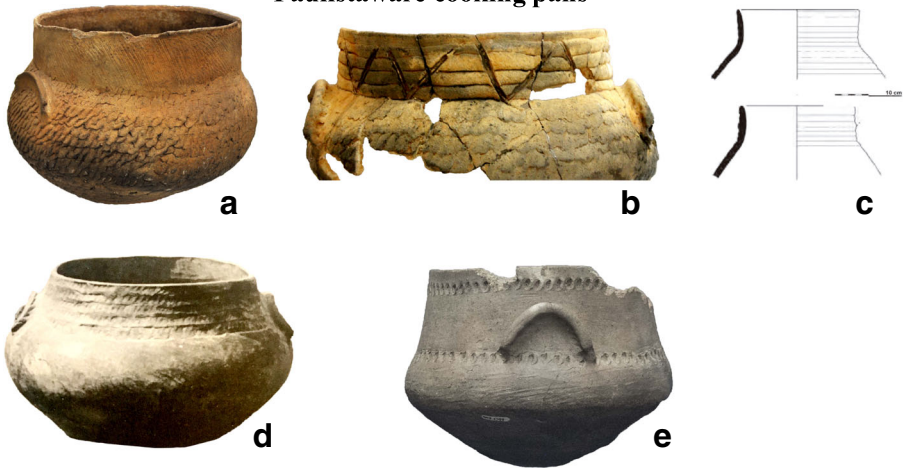


Fig. 6 Cooking vessels. (a) Tupí colonial, São Paulo, photo by Ângelo Corrêa, courtesy of the Museu de Arqueologia e Etnologia da Universidade de São Paulo; (b) Colonial Paulistaware, Itapeva, São Paulo, photo by Francisco Noelli, courtesy of the Museu Histórico de Itapeva; (c) Medieval Portuguese vessels profiles for comparison – ninth, and eleventh centuries, Museu Nacional Machado e Castro, Portugal (Silva 2014); (d) Contemporary Paulistaware, Jairê, Iguape, São Paulo, photo by Herta Scheuer (1976); (e) Colonial Paulistaware, Jundiá, São Paulo, photo by Francisco Noelli, courtesy of the Museu Histórico de Jundiá

In contrast, Paulistaware has morphologically stable vessels that can be divided into two size categories: 1) familial, with dimension and volume proportional to the number of relatives; and 2) community, for use in feasts as a result of collaborative work within a context of reciprocity. They have in common with the Portuguese pots a relatively narrow neck without a reinforced rim (Figs. 6 and 7).

Jars in the Portuguese context were utilized to conserve and transport liquids. In Paulistaware there is the “deposit” jar or pot, which has a similar morphology and function, having an elongated, globular, or ovoid body, flat base and two handles or wings. Frying pans appear in both Paulistaware and Portuguese ceramics. They usually have more than one function, depending on their size and some other technological

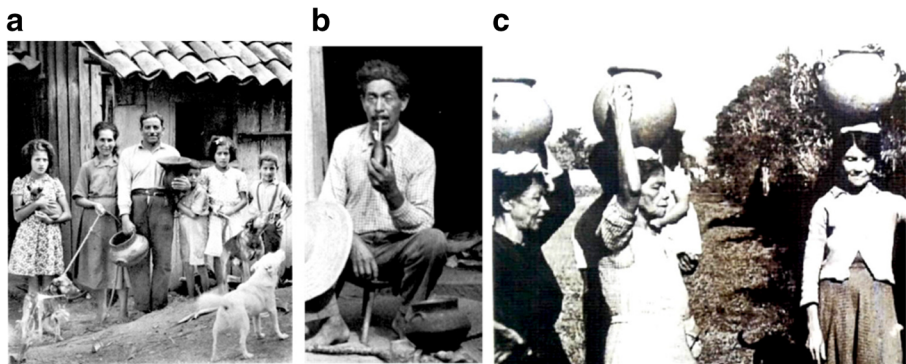


Fig. 7 (a, b) Couscous pot and cooking pot with handles. Fundo do Campo (1941–42), Araucária PR (Tiburcius 1968); (c) Women carrying water in boião (costrels). Jairê, Iguape ca. 1945 (photo Paulo Florençano, courtesy of the Museu da Imagem e do Som, Taubaté)

specificities, serving to heat tobacco rolls (smaller vessels), and fry foods (larger vessels), maintaining the same morphology. They usually have curved walls with continuous or truncated cone-shaped edges, cables, and wings in opposite positions. In some cases, they have undulated incisions on the wings, and the walls are polished and dyed black. Double and sometimes flat rollers form cables. Wings are curved and in some cases undulated.

Conclusion

The notions of alterity, appropriation, and transformation are fundamental to understand long-term Tupiniquim ceramic practices in São Paulo. The change of Tupiniquim colonial pottery did not mean cultural loss, but cultural persistence. The relations between Portuguese and Tupiniquim, an alliance dedicated to fighting outside colonial settlements and to enslave other Indigenous peoples, open up new investigative possibilities, since the Tupiniquim were neither *tabula rasa* nor submissive to the Portuguese, as the colonized historiography often emphasizes. The way these relations were developed in the colony ended up awakening, within part of the Tupiniquim, the willingness to incorporate the “other,” turning the Portuguese and their things into objects of predation, as is known in the anthropology of Tupí peoples. This explains the transformation of pottery in the sixteenth century because, before the arrival of the Portuguese, Tupiniquim pottery maintained the same technological style for fifteen centuries. This fact does not equate to a stagnant technology but rather a pottery assemblage that attended the dietary needs of people within stable polyculture agroforestry systems. One possible explanation for non-modification, a subject to be investigated, could be the way the “enemy” occupied space in their cosmology. Food, consumption habits, and agroforestry management practices were very similar among peoples who lived contemporarily to the Tupiniquim in the pre-colonial period. The non-modification of the precolonial materiality seems to have been a result of the lack of necessity, simply because there was nothing new. On the other hand, the alliance with the Portuguese allowed the updating of materiality, food, eating habits and some animal and plant management practices. Thus, the Portuguese and their things were appropriated and transformed within the Tupiniquim logic of alterity and cosmology. We could also mention here the Portuguese and European appropriation of indigenous things, minerals, plants, and animals, which definitively altered the daily life and economy of these countries.

The identity of Tupiniquim women potters from the eighteenth century needs to be investigated in order to overcome the epistemological vacuum in academia concerning them. There is a chance to find information in written sources, which need to be investigated from specific research problems, with the aim of understanding their trajectories and processes of identity elaboration over time. The transmission of knowledge within communities of practice seems to be the basis of the persistence of Tupiniquim ceramics until today.

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