SLAVES AND PLANTERS IN WESTERN BRAZIL: MATERIAL CULTURE, IDENTITY AND POWER

By

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A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

2006
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank the members of my doctoral committee for their advice and guidance throughout this process of learning. I am very grateful to my advisor, Michael Heckenberger, for giving me the incentive to pursue doctoral studies in the United States at the University of Florida. I also thank Michael for all of his assistance with the complicated academic matters that I had to face over the last four years. My cochair, James Davidson, has been a fundamental influence in my intellectual development during the last two years, especially in relation to my understanding of the African diaspora. Without his encouragement, ideas, and suggestions this dissertation would certainly not be what it is. The same is true for Kathleen Deagan, who has always been available to discuss my ideas and helped to open my mind to different perspectives through which I could approach my subject. The discussions with Jeffrey Needell regarding the historiography of slavery in Brazil had fundamental importance in the development of my research. His pointed commentary and critical sensibilities have inspired me to refine my ideas and be more careful in the use of primary and secondary sources. Outside of my committee I would like to thank Susan Gillespie, whose classes transformed the way I think about material culture.

In Brazil I would like to express my gratitude, first and foremost, to my colleague in the archaeological contract project that gave rise to this dissertation, Marcos André Souza. Marcos was responsible for the analysis of the pottery at the sites that I discussed in this dissertation and the first person to study the African influence in this material. I
thank Tania Andrade Lima, my intellectual mentor for the last fifteen years, for teaching me that archaeology is much more than the dry description and quantification of artifacts. I am also very grateful to my colleagues at the Instituto Goiano de Pré-História e Antropologia who participated in the project upon which this dissertation is based, especially Jézus Marco de Ataídes, Leila Fraga, Manuel Ferreira Filho, Dulce Pedroso, Cláudio Silva and Flávio Oliveira. In Mato Grosso I wish to thank the historian Elizabeth Madureira Siqueira, whose initial research on the history of Chapada dos Guimarães served as a basic reference for my documentary research. Particular gratitude is due to Dr. Nauk Maria de Jesus, specialist in history of Mato Grosso, for helping me with the documentary research and commenting on the first draft of this dissertation. At the Public Archive of Mato Grosso I would like to thank the good will of the director Eliane Fernandes and the employees Vanda Silva, Carlos Gonçalves and Luzinete Correa. Angelina Howell helped with the grammatical review, which I am sure was not an easy job. Others who have helped me in several facets of my academic and private life include Dave Mead, Renata Godoy, Diogo Costa, Flávio Jakowski and Juliana Azoubel. I must thank my parents, Eni Terezinha and João Pedro, for their constant emotional support. Finally, I am grateful to the Brazilian National Science Foundation (CNPq) for awarding the fellowship that allowed me to pursue and complete my doctoral studies at the University of Florida. CNPq has granted me successive fellowships over the last fifteen years and, without the generosity of this governmental organization, I would not have been able to complete my studies in the field of archaeology.
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This dissertation analyzes historic documents and the archaeological record in an attempt to reveal the processes of formation of differentiated groups of slaves, segmented along African-derived ethnic lines, on the plantations of Chapada dos Guimarães, in western Brazil. The two major data sets used in this analysis are demographic data regarding the composition of slaveholdings in Chapada dos Guimarães between 1780 and 1880, extracted from slaveholdings lists present in planters’ probate-inventories, and the locally-made pottery exhumed from 18th and 19th century sites of the region. The correlations between the changes in the African composition of the slaveholdings and the rise and fall of specific decorative techniques and designs on the locally-made pottery over time demonstrate that groups from different regions of Africa exerted specific influences over this material. Thus, it is affirmed that these more discrete groups used pottery as a vehicle of expression of their differentiated African regional identities. The evidence presented challenges the established models of creolization in the anthropology
and history of the African diaspora, which holds that the process of cultural homogenization of the African slaves in the Americas, particularly on plantations, was a very fast paced process. Rather, the cases discussed in this study demonstrate that this process of cultural homogenization was segmented, rather than linear, and occurred at a much slower pace than traditionally assumed.
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

This dissertation concerns slaves and the spaces where they composed an almost absolute majority: the plantations. The geographical scope is western Brazil, more specifically the county of Chapada dos Guimarães, in the state of Mato Grosso. Currently one of the biggest grain producers in Brazil, Mato Grosso was, during the 18th and 19th centuries, a peripheral province, far removed from the main Brazilian coastal centers, whose economy was initially based on the extraction of gold in short-lived mines whose rapid exhaustion forced the population to keep an itinerant way of life, always searching for new mines to be exploited. The collapse of the mining period, at the end of the 18th century, brought about the diversification of productive activities, with many miners investing all or part of their slaveholdings in plantation activities. In no other region of Mato Grosso was this process so clear as it is in Chapada dos Guimarães, which witnessed an enormous proliferation of sugar-cane plantations between the end of the 18th century and the first decades of the 19th century. Nonetheless, the products of these plantations were destined almost exclusively for the internal markets of Mato Grosso, since the huge distance from the Brazilian coastal cities made the exportation of these products economically unviable (Lenharo 1982; Volpato 1987).

This research will consider the plantations of Chapada dos Guimarães as the backdrop over which slaves waged their daily lives and developed strategies of social and cultural reproduction. Thus, a good deal of attention will be given to the characterization of these settings. A basic assumption is that the slaves life, and by extension, their
material culture, is better understood when contrasted against the other social groups with whom they interacted, that is, planters and free laborers. In this sense, the notion of class adopted in this research is a relational one, which sees class as “a set of relations that are historically constituted, fluid and constantly changing.” (Wurst 1999:9) Thus, class, rather than a static category based on rank, is considered as a formation based on perceived economic relationship. This relational notion of class is based on the concept of the dialectic, which proposes the study of the web of social relations that makes up the whole through the examination of its parts, considering that these relations define the whole (Wurst 1999:7-9). Therefore, in this study, planters, free laborers and slaves will be considered as representing three distinct classes, which can only be characterized through the relations that they maintained among themselves.

Although this relational notion of class is a necessary first step in the categorization of the groups who lived on the plantations, it does not take into account the great cultural diversity that characterized these settings. In that sense, while the relationships among planters, free-laborers, and slaves were fundamentally class-based, an important dimension of the relationships among the slaves was their differentiated ethnic-cultural identity, which permitted the formation of discrete groups within the slave’s wider community. Thus, this research will be less concerned with a class-based focus than with the cultural heterogeneity of the slave groups and the ways in which it may be manifested archaeologically. As will be discussed throughout this study, the colonization of western Brazil was carried out by people from Portugal, from different parts of the Brazilian colony, and from Africa, who all gathered with the several indigenous groups who occupied this region in villages, mining camps, fortresses, plantations, and farms. As a
consequence of these interactions, a highly diversified cultural landscape was created, which forced individuals with different cultural backgrounds to realign their sense of group affiliation and manage their identities at different levels. Thus the slaves had to cope not only with their differences of origin in the establishment of the plantations communities, but also with larger social categories created by the colonial encounters. These categories distinguished Portuguese from Brazilians; Africans from creoles, mulattoes, *cabras*, and *caborés*; whites from blacks and both from Amerindians; the free from the enslaved; and planters from free laborers and slaves. These categories corresponded to three interdependent levels of classification, starting with the widest social distinction between slaves and non-slaves, passing by the intermediary racial division of people according to color-lines, and finishing in the more subtle and narrowest ethnic-cultural categorization.

In Mato Grosso, the historiographic research on slavery has been predominantly focused on the first level of categorization, examining the slaves as a relatively homogeneous social group (see Aleixo 1984; Assis 1988; Brazil 2002; Volpato 1993, 1996). The only exception to this trend is Crivelente (2001), who studies the practices of marriage among African slaves of different origins in the plantations of Chapada dos Guimarães. In African-American archaeology the focus also has been in the homogeneity of the slaves, be it defined according to class, ethnic, or racial parameters (see, for example, Adams and Boling 1989; Orser 1992; Otto 1984; Thomas 1998; Young 1997). The issue of the cultural heterogeneity of the slaves has only been partially taken into account when scholars are concerned in mapping the cultural matrixes of some practices,
principally of magic-religious character, which left vestiges in the archaeological record (see, for example, Fennell 2003; Samford 1999).

**Cultural Contact Theories in African-American Archaeology**

Probably one of the major reasons that left archaeologists reticent to focus on the cultural heterogeneity of slave groups is that such an approach involves a search for African continuities, or *Africanisms*, an issue that has been discredited in recent decades due to its close contact with the outdated paradigm of acculturation. We are reminded by Singleton (1998:174) that the term *Africanism* was coined by Herskovits (1941) to refer to those customs and practices with an African origin still kept by African-descent populations in the Americas. Herskovits (1941:295) argued for a level of cultural homogeneity between Western and central Africa great enough for these two regions to be classified as a single “cultural zone.” Because this “cultural zone” was the major source of African-American culture, a reasonable degree of homogeneity was expected in the cultural practices of African-Americans. On the other hand, Herskovits attributed the lost of such African costumes and practices to acculturation.

In African-American archaeology, studies that developed under the paradigm of acculturation followed this premise, assuming that an initial African-influenced slave culture gradually conformed to Euro-American cultural models, through the adoption of Euro-American material culture (see, for example, Wheaton and Garrow 1985). Obviously, the first problem with this model in archaeology is the direct correlation between material culture and culture, so that the former becomes a passive reflection of the latter. In recent decades, acculturation has been strongly criticized as a passive, one-directional model, taken from the perspective of the politically dominant, which fails to examine the agency of the colonized, explaining cultural change solely in terms of
outdated ideas, such as trait complexes (Cusick 1998:126; Howson 1990:81; Singleton 1998:176).

The recognition of these problems has brought archaeologists to develop more subtle approaches to the issue of *Africanisms*, changing the focus from the search for material correlates of an African heritage to the specific African-oriented ways in which slaves could have used the material culture. This change of emphasis, from *Africanisms* and acculturation to the domain of practices, resonates with a change of theoretical orientation in the definition of African-American ethnicity, in which the essentialist model of ethnicity of the studies of acculturation was substituted with a more fluid model of creolization. The historian Edward Brathwait (1971, cited in Singleton 1998:177) defined creolization as “a process involving multicultural interaction and exchange that results in new cultural forms.” This concept is commonly used in conjunction with the notion of ethnogenesis, aiming to address the effect of the New World experience upon all population groups, including Euro-Americans (Dawdy 2000:1).

Fergunson (1992), influenced by the work of the historian and folklorist Charles Joyner (1984, cited in Fergunson 1992:xlii), introduced the concept of creolization in African-American archaeology. Joyner’s contribution was to apply linguistic concepts to describe the process of creolizing culture, arguing that slaves used European American material culture following underlying rules, a grammar which remained principally African (Fergunson 1992:xlii). Following this linguistic model, artifacts are comparable to the words of a language and the ways they were used are likened to the structure or grammar of language (Fergunson 2000:7). Studies concerned with the maintenance of African derived systems of beliefs have, implicit or explicitly, assumed this grammatical
model of creolization, insofar as they are concerned with the ways in which some categories of European-American artifacts were used in slaves’ magical-religious practices (see, for example, Adams 1994; Brown 1994; Leone and Fry 2001; Wilkie 1997).

The work of the cultural anthropologists Mintz and Price (Mintz and Price 1992 [1976]) has been very influential in studies concerned with the process of creolization in African-American archaeology. Mintz and Price (1992:9-10) defend a view of creolization consonant with the linguistic model, assuming that enslaved Africans shared a certain number of underlying cultural understandings and assumptions, that is, unconscious grammatical principles, that were used as the base over which they created a new creole culture in the Americas (Mintz and Price 1992:2; 9-14). These authors have argued that the cultural heterogeneity of the Africans in the New World was so large that they did not compose groups, “being more accurate to view them as very heterogeneous crowds”. (Mintz and Price 1992:18) Moreover, due to this cultural diversity, the process of creolization was very rapid, with slaves adapting to their new social environments and creating new institutions and creolized cultural forms almost automatically as a reaction to the oppressive conditions of slavery (Mintz and Price 1992:54).

However, some authors have criticized the idea underlying the linguistic model of creolization. Singleton (1998:177) argues that this approach is static, since it assumes that such grammars exist in invariable forms regardless of social context. Gundaker (2000:132) reaffirms this point, arguing that such a model is narrow insofar as it ignores the important fact of the coexistence of creoles with metropolitan languages, and, therefore, the active role of the actors in manipulating more than one kind of language,
behavioral style, and material repertoire according to their interests. The grammatical model of creolization is founded, therefore, in a rigid notion of structure, in which the action of individuals is caged into pre-determined cultural rules. Within this structure no margin is given to creative and strategic actions, in which so-called creolized groups could be adopting different patterns of behavior, determined according to the social context, aiming toward the accomplishment of specific goals. An additional problem, pointed out by Singleton (1988:177), is that the focus on the process of creolization obscures the cultural identity of specific ethnic groups.

Regarding this last issue, several recent studies have demonstrated that Mintz and Price exaggerated the level of cultural heterogeneity of the Africans in the Americas, since they did not take into account the regional patterns in the trans-Atlantic slave trade, which privileged, in distinct periods, peoples from specific regions of Africa, who, in turn, were sent to specific regions of the Americas. Furthermore, within these African regions different ethnic groups shared many beliefs, values, and customs (see Mann 2001:7; Sweet 2003:2-3; Thornton 1998:191-192). In the Americas, these groups tended to gather according to linguistic and cultural similarities, building broader ethnic identities, referred to as nations (Lovejoy 2000:9; Nishida 2003:32; Oliveira 1994:176; Thornton 1998:195-205). In this way, these studies have shifted the focus away from the explicit study of creolization toward an emphasis on placing Africans and their descendents at the center of their own histories. Finally, these studies have renewed the concern with African cultural retentions – the *Africanisms*, examining them within cultural matrices more specific than that proposed by Herskovits (see, for example,

This study will rely on the more recent trends in studies of the African diaspora, so that its primary focus will be on cultural diversity, considering that the slaves on the plantations of Chapada dos Guimarães, like those in Brazilian urban settings (see Karasch 2000; Nishida 2003; Oliveira 1994; Reis 2003), internally divided themselves in groups that shared cultural affinities, the so-called African “nations”. In this sense, the central thesis presented here is that the process of creolization of the African slaves in Chapada dos Guimarães was segmented rather than linear, first involving the formation of subgroups who shared cultural elements typical of their regions of origin in Africa, and thereafter the formation of a more culturally cohesive African-Brazilian group. This process of formation of differentiated groups of slaves will be examined through the combination of documentary and archaeological sources. The two major data sets used in this analysis will be demographic data regarding the composition of slaveholdings in Chapada dos Guimarães, extracted from slaveholdings lists present in planter’s probate-inventories, and the pottery produced by these groups. As will be discussed in Chapter 4, although documentary evidences point out to the possibility of maintenance of discrete African communities in the region, they provide very little information about the possible cultural practices and traditions that these groups might have brought with them, and, consequently, on the possible ways that they kept, re-invented, and hybridized their original cultures in this new context. In this sense, archaeological data, principally the locally-made, low fired, earthenware, denoted as “Colonoware” in North America, will have much to add to this discussion.
African Influences over Colonoware: A Debate in African-American Archaeology

In the United States, the issue of the African influence over Colonoware ceramics found in African-American sites has been subject of a wide debate, divided between scholars supporting this interpretation (Deetz 1996; Emmerson 1999; Fergunson 1992; Meyers 1999; Petersen and Waters 1988; Wheaton and Garrow 1985), and those rejecting it (DeCorse 1999; Hill 1987; Mouer et al. 1999; Posnanski 1999). The genesis of this debate goes back to the 1960s when Noel Hume (1962), excavating the earliest sites associated with the English colonization of Virginia, found assemblages of a coarse, unglazed pottery, mostly in non-European shapes. He classified this pottery as Colono-Indian Ware, given its similarities to both pre-historic and historic Amerindian wares in Virginia. Noel-Hume argued that Amerindians made the vessels in styles accepted by African-Americans, who bought them, thus explaining the presence of this pottery in African-American sites. In the 1970s, South (1974 cited in Fergunson 1980) and Polhemus (1976 cited in Fergunson 1980) challenged this interpretation, suggesting an African-American origin for this pottery, based on the similarities of the Colono-Indian ware of South Carolina with modern Ghanaian and Nigerian potteries. Fergunson (1980; 1992) traced similarities between Colono-Indian ware and pottery traditions from west Africa in terms of techniques of manufacture, in both the predominate low-fired coiled and molded earthenware; similarity of shapes, particularly in the flat bases and flaring rims; and surface finishing, in which smoothed or burnished finishing is the most usual techniques in both cases.

The evidence presented by Fergunson (1980; 1992) for an African influence over Colonoware found in slave sites, although supported by some subsequent works (see examples in Deetz 1996; Emmerson 1999; Meyers 1999; Petersen and Waters 1988;
Wheaton and Garrow 1985), have also been questioned by several scholars (see DeCorse 1999; Hill 1987, Mouer et al. 1999; Posnanski 1999). Thus, Hill (1987) argues that Colonoware vessels have little similarity with African archaeological pottery traditions, being rather similar to any pottery produced by native populations throughout the world, so that both Africans and Amerindians could easily have produced these vessels. Posnanski (1999) and DeCorse (1999) share Hill’s view, noticing that this utilitarian and poorly decorated pottery does not mirror the sophistication of the ceramic traditions of western Africa.

These criticisms of historical archaeologists working in Africa, the Caribbean, and North America demonstrate how problematic it is to assume the existence of direct correlations in stylistic and craftwork traditions between Africa and the New World slave’s material culture. Indeed, studies defending African influences over Colonoware have, in most cases, been based on selected evidence that constitute rare exceptions in the slaves’ material universe revealed through archaeology. This is the case of Meyers’ (1999) study in Jamaica, in which he argues for a western African influence over the decoration of pottery based only on 28 decorated fragments, which constituted 3% of the total Colonoware assemblage, otherwise represented only by undecorated sherds (see other criticisms in Hauser and DeCorse 2003). In fact, decoration is a minor dimension of Colonoware associated with slaves in United States and the Caribbean. Whereas in United States this pottery is generally undecorated, in the Caribbean decoration is present in a very small percentage, varying between 3% and 5% of the assemblages (see Meyers 1999:209; Petersen et al. 1999:185). This very low quantitative significance of decorated
Colonoware makes problematic the search for correlations with the richly decorated African pottery traditions.

More recently some historical archaeologists have proposed abandoning this polarized debate and evaluating this pottery in terms of the process of interaction that it represents (see Orser 1996; Singleton and Bograd 2000). Thus, Orser (1996) sees Colonowares as a mutualist kind of artifact, which was used by both African-Americans and Native-Americans as an expression of resistance to the European colonialism. Singleton and Bograd (2000) argue that the focus on the identity of the producers of this category of artifact is based on the idea of an essentialist and, therefore, static conception of ethnic identity, which limits the potential of this material in the study of colonial and multicultural settings. For these authors, a more productive perspective is to approach Colonoware as an intercultural artifact, imbued with transformative meanings and uses. The problem with this last view is that considering Colonoware as an intercultural artifact is a generalizing proposition, which does not take into account the cultural context in which this material was produced and used. For instance, an African slave producing Colonoware on a plantation probably was much more influenced by its African cultural templates of production than by an Amerindian tradition. Moreover, her/his major social and cultural ties were within her/his slave community rather than with Amerindians with whom this slave could have had very little, if any, cultural affinity. Thus, the explanation of Colonoware as an intercultural artifact has to be context-dependent, being necessary, in the first place, to establish the level of interaction among African-Americans, Amerindians, and European-Americans to each case, rather than just to assume that intense interaction happened.
In the case of Brazil, some scholars have suggested that incised decorations present in locally-made pottery from the historical period are predominantly associated with slave groups, since this type of decoration was employed largely in cooking pots, a type of vessel used in the kitchen, where female slaves carried out a significant part of their daily tasks, including cooking (Dias Jr., 1988:8; Jacobus, 1997:66; Souza 2002:76-77).

Differing from North American and Caribbean contexts, decoration is a very common dimension of the Brazilian Colonoware.\(^1\) In the case of Chapada dos Guimarães’ sites, 26.15\% of the locally-made pottery assemblages (1774 fragments) are decorated and most of the decorative techniques and designs that are present indicate strong similarities with sub-Saharan African pottery assemblages from both the end of the Iron Age and the colonial period (see Souza and Symanski forthcoming; Symanski and Souza 2001:131-169), pointing to the very strong possibility that slaves were principally responsible for the production of this pottery in these contexts, as will be discussed in Chapter 4.

Moreover, there are very clear differences between these historic pottery assemblages and the pre-historic pottery recovered from several sites in this region, in which incised decoration is practically absent (Vianna 2001). Finally, the tradition of pottery making in the region of Chapada dos Guimarães has been maintained until recent times by women of mixed African and indigenous descent, and there exists at least one potter in each rural community (Ataides 2001).

\(^1\) In this dissertation, the Colonoware found in Brazilian contexts will be called locally-made pottery. Although the low fired, locally produced, earthenware found in Brazilian historical contexts has been called, since 1960s, as Neo-Brazilian ceramic (cerâmica Neo-Brasileira), this term will not be used, due its homogenizing character, which does not take into account the huge variability of this material throughout the national territory and the multiplicity of cultural influences that it was subjected (see Souza, forthcoming).
Pottery and Slaves Identities in Chapada dos Guimarães

In this study I will argue that the more discrete African regional groups identified in the Chapada dos Guimarães’ plantations exerted specific influences over the locally-produced pottery found on these sites. Thus, the identification of the African composition of the Chapada dos Guimarães’ slaveholdings and the characterization of the major African “nations” that occupied this region is a fundamental first step for understanding the dynamics between pottery and African identities. Slaveholding lists present in probate-inventories of the planters of the region furnish detailed information about the origin, gender, and age of these slaves to the period between 1790 and 1880. The locally-made pottery, in turn, is represented by fifteen assemblages, representing distinct depositional intervals from the end of the 18th century to the end of the 19th and early 20th century. These two data sets will be analyzed via a diachronic perspective, searching for correlations between the changes in the composition of the slaveholdings over time and the variability of the locally-made pottery, especially its decorative techniques and designs.

Based on the correlations established between the pottery’s diachronic variability and the changes in the composition of the slaveholdings, I will defend the following points: 1- Africans in Brazil did not become a monolithic cultural group due the conditions of slavery; 2- although a general African worldview, or underlying cultural principles, could have been important in the adjustment of slaves with differentiated cultural backgrounds in the space of the plantations, more regionally circumscribed African cultural elements, such as language, religion, and material culture, were more important in the building of difference within the slave communities; 3- Colonoware
served as a material support of these more discrete African identities, being important for studying the processes of reconstruction of African identities as well as creolization.

Considering these points, I will argue that creolization in Chapada dos Guimarães was a segmented, rather than linear, process, an idea that has resonance with Nishida’s (2003) study on urban slavery in Salvador. In this sense, creolization first involved the formation of more exclusive groups within the wider slaves’ community. This diversity only decreased in the region when an African-Brazilian population strongly dominated the demographic setting after 1870. In this way, the process of cultural homogenization of the slave population had a rhythm much slower than that defended by Mintz and Price (1992:54).

After presenting evidence demonstrating the African influences over the Chapada dos Guimarães’ locally-made pottery, the analysis will advance to a further level of abstraction in Chapter 6, interpreting the distribution of this and other material categories on the plantations’ spaces as a strategy through which slaves symbolically re-appropriated these spaces according to their own perceptions.

**Methodology of Field and Laboratory**

This study is a direct result of the development of research that I began in 1999 when I was contracted by the Instituto Goiano de Pré-História e Antropologia of the Universidade Católica de Goiás to survey and rescue the historical sites located within the area subjected to be flooded by the dam of the Manso River Hydroelectric, a project financed by Furnas Centrais Elétricas SA (see Symanski and Souza 2001). The dam flooded an area of 432 square kilometers in the county of Chapada dos Guimarães, state of Mato Grosso. Between February of 1999 and July of 2000 I excavated four historical sites, three characterized as plantations referred to by the site names Taperão,
Buritizinho, and Engenho do Quilombo, and one as a small rural settlement, referred to as the Tapera do Pingador site, which, according to oral information, was occupied by runaway or freed slaves. The period of occupation of these sites is from the end of the 18th through the end of the 19th century.

The application of standardized survey and excavation procedures in each site (see Symanski and Souza 2001) permitted the recovery of quantitatively significant assemblages, associated with the three basic social groups that occupied the region: planters, free-laborers, and slaves. The systematic-geometric sampling methodology (Redman 1974) was applied to identify the areas with highest concentration of artifacts in the subsurface level in each site. Thus, test-pits of $\frac{1}{2} \text{m}^2$ were opened in regular intervals of 10 meters throughout the extent of each site. This method permitted a uniform coverage of the subsurface of each site, which, in turn, allowed the identification of the areas representative of the three above referred basic social groups which occupied these sites. The areas in each site that presented the highest concentrations of artifacts, revealed through the test-pits, were then intensively excavated. The excavation of each area was oriented to the natural stratigraphy, whose layers were subdivided into arbitrary levels of 10 centimeters. The areas of excavation varied according to each case, with the smallest significant area representing eight square meters and the biggest one representing 128 square meters. These areas were subdivided in units measuring 1 x 1 or 2 x 2 meters. The features identified were excavated as isolated depositional events. More detailed information about the sites, areas of excavation, stratigraphy, features, and assemblages will be presented in Chapter 2 and in the appendix.
Three major categories of artifacts were analyzed for this study: industrialized wares, glasses, and locally-made pottery. These assemblages were analyzed with the aim of deriving patterns of content. According to Majewski and O’Brien (1987:14) patterns of content are derived through the calculus of the frequencies and percentages of the material categories analyzed, taking into account previously established variables, such as types of paste, decoration, function, or value. The variability of the frequencies or percentages of the types identified can then be compared in the intra-site/inter-structure level and in the inter-site level, searching for regularities and divergences in the formation of the patterns (see also South 1977). Through this analysis it was possible to derive some trends in the patterns of artifacts related to the three basic social units considered here, as will be discussed in the chapters 3 to 6.

The assemblages of industrialized wares were classified according to the following attributes: paste, glaze, decorative technique, color, and decorative pattern. Imported wares were grouped, according to the paste, into four classes: majolicas, refined earthenware, ironstones, and porcelain. Refined earthenware composed the largest class of imported wares in the sites studied. After classifying the assemblages into these four classes, the fragments of each class were subdivided into the following functional categories: plates, bowls, cups, saucers, service and consumption wares, and other miscellaneous wares. Next, the minimum number of vessels was established for each of these functional categories.

Aiming to establish a chronology of occupation to the areas of excavation of each site, the mean ceramic date formula (South 1972) was applied to the assemblages of imported wares. The mean date was weighted by the frequency of the ceramic sherds of
those ceramic types that have a known period of manufacture or popularity. The total number of fragments of each ceramic type is multiplied by its respective mean date. The result obtained for each type is then totaled. This product is then divided by the total number of fragments that were considered in the calculation, which furnishes the mean date of the assemblage. In this study I ran the formula on the vessels, rather than the sherds, in each assemblage, aiming to ameliorate the possible deviations that could be occasioned by a great number of sherds referent to one piece versus the pieces represented by just one or a few sherds. It is important to note that the mean ceramic date formula was used just as a device to chronologically organize the assemblages. In many areas occupied by the slaves the assemblages of imported wares were represented by less than one hundred sherds, being therefore of low quantitative significance for applying this formula. Nevertheless, it was considered that the results of the formula could furnish a general idea of the period in which the areas in question were occupied. Regarding this issue, an important point to be noticed is that only one of the four sites excavated was continuously occupied since the 19th century, the Engenho do Quilombo site. The three other sites were abandoned in the end of the 19th or the beginning of the 20th century, which resulted in very little post-depositional alterations of their archaeological deposits.

In addition, refined earthenware was also classified according to the four levels of economic value proposed by Miller (1980). Based on refined earthenware price lists of the Staffordshire ceramic industries, for the period between 1795 and 1855, Miller (1980) verified these wares were classified in increasing levels of price according to the complexity of the technique of decoration employed. Years later, based on new sources, Miller (1991) extended the reach of this scale up to 1880. Miller classified refined
earthenware into four basic groups: 1- the lowest level of the undecorated, white wares; 2- the minimally-decorated wares, presenting decorations which required lesser skills, such as Shell Edge, Spongeware and Banded; 3- the hand-painted wares presenting motifs as flowers, leafs, stylized Chinese landscapes, and geometric patterns; and 4- the most expensive wares decorated in the technique of transfer printing. Although Miller also provided a method for calculating the relative value of these vessels in an archaeological assemblage based on the potter’s price lists, the present analysis seeks only to account for the frequencies and percentages of these four groups of wares to each assemblage for the following reasons: 1- the assemblages analyzed, in many cases, refer to wide depositional intervals; 2- assemblages with very different depositional intervals could not be subjected to comparison through these indexes, due the effects of inflation on the wares, and 3- the still unverified effects of the international and internal commerce over the price of these wares, although research in probate-inventories of merchants of imported wares has pointed out the validity of Miller’s scale for the Brazilian context (see Symanski 1998).

Glass sherds were, at first, divided by colors and then according to technological and morphological attributes. The pieces were classified into four wide, functional categories: beverage bottles, medicinal flasks, tableware, and others.

The analysis of the locally-made pottery emphasized three sets of attributes: technological, formal, and decorative. The analysis took into account the following attributes: types of temper, size of temper, surface treatment, decorative technique, manufacture technique, rim form, rim inclination, rim size, and rim diameter. The reconstitution of forms, calculation of volume, and ethnographic information permitted
inferences about the functional aspects of the vessels. Based on the formal characteristics of the reconstituted vessels it was possible to identify four basic functional categories: storage, cooking, service and consumption, and multifunctional. The minimum number of vessels was established based on the style of the rims and bases that did not coincide within the assemblages. Regarding the decorative dimension, the sherds were classified into thirteen decorative techniques: incised, painted, visible coil, visible coil plus incised, impressed, subdivided in impression of textiles, impression of circles, and others, stamped, incised plus stamped, incised plus punctured, corrugated, digitated/fingernailed, and incised plus digitated. The decorated sherds that did not fall into these categories were classified as undetermined/miscellaneous.

The seriation method was employed to verify the diachronic variability of the decorative techniques. In this way, the pottery assemblages were chronologically ordered according to the mean dates of their respective archaeological deposits and the decorative techniques present in each assemblage had their percentage represented in the form of a bar graph. The superposition of the lines of bars referent to each assemblage permits easy visualization of the popularity, presence, and absence of the decorative techniques and, consequently, their temporal variability, as will be discussed in Chapter 4.

The documentary research was carried out in the Arquivo Público do Mato Grosso (APMT), followed by complementary research in the Instituto Histórico e Geográfico do Mato Grosso (IHGMT). It was also used copies of land titles researched by Siqueira (2001) in the Instituto de Terras de Mato Grosso (INTERMAT).

The main goals of the documentary research were to:
- uncover information about the occupants of the historical sites, with the goal of correlating the archaeological deposits within specific and historically situated social units;

- study the material conditions of life in the plantations of the region in order to understand their economic and social structure and their similarities and differences to other more frequently studied plantation systems in Brazil;

- characterize economically and socially the distinct social groups who occupied these settings;

- study the regional demography of slaves, and the possible fluctuations over time in their origin;

- investigate the social and cultural practices of the slaves, with the goal of verifying the extent to which they built cultural borders between them and the planters and among themselves.

The major sources of information were probate-inventories, land titles, criminal process documents and traveler’s accounts. Land titles furnished important information about the process of occupation of the region, indicating the names of the first colonizers and the places where they settled. These documents permitted the identification of the first owners of the plantations excavated, which, in turn, allowed location of their probate-inventories to track the trajectory of their families and the process of occupation of these sites by different households between 1780 and 1880. In fact, probate-inventories were the richest documentary source and the most frequently used in this research, providing information about the planters’ domestic environment, the material structure of the plantations, the productive activities carried out in these sites, and the socio-economic
hierarchy among the planters. The slaveholding lists present in these documents permitted the study of slave demography in the region, providing information about the number of slaves held on each plantation, their origin, their “nations” (Congo, Angola, Benguela, Mozambique, Mina, among others), the “race” of the African-Brazilian slaves (creole, mulatto, cabra, or caburê), gender ratios, and age.

But, because the primary objective of the probate-inventories was evaluating the economic patrimony of the deceased, these documents provide little information about the social dynamics of the plantations and give only a partial picture of the social hierarchy in these establishments. In this regard, free laborers are referred in very few instances and only in the planter’s wills and in the plantation account books that are sometimes inserted into the probate-inventories. On the other hand, criminal process documents are a rich source for studying the social dynamics and some facets of the daily life in the plantations, since these documents, aside from describing the conflicts and tensions between planters, slaves, and free laborers, also furnish information about the social standing and occupation of the victims, defendants, and witnesses involved in a crime. Moreover, these documents often describe the activities of these individuals at the moment in which the crime happened. Traveler’s accounts provide some important information about the social practices of distinct groups, like foodways, use and significance of certain material items, and religiosity, that are not present in other sources.

Finally, a good deal of attention was given to the 18th and 19th century cultural practices and stylistic traditions of the peoples of the African regions of origin of the slaves who compulsorily migrated to Brazil and lived the rest of their lives in Chapada
dos Guimarães’ plantations. The main sources for this information were traveler’s accounts, historical studies, ethnographical and ethno-historical studies, museum catalogs, and archaeological papers and reports. The goal was verifying the extent to which these peoples were able to maintain, transform, and hybridize their original practices and traditions in this new context where they were obligated to rebuild their lives under the conditions of servitude.

**Structure of the Dissertation**

Because this dissertation deals with data from four historical sites located in the same region, the primary focus of analysis will be on the regional, inter-site scale, rather than the local, intra-site scale. In addition, the widest scale of the transatlantic region, the system that integrated Brazil, Africa and Portugal through a constant interchange of people, ideas, and objects (see Thornton 1998), will be considered throughout the chapters in this study. Thus, the archaeological contexts will be analyzed by taking into account these gradually increasing spheres of interaction, beginning at the site level, to the regional level, and finally to the transatlantic level.

Chapter 2 provides the basic context for this study. It begins by presenting some general information on the history and economy of Mato Grosso, progressing to a regional study and discussing the historical process of occupation of Chapada dos Guimarães, and then characterizing the economy and material structure of the plantations of this region, and finally presents basic information about the excavated sites and their occupants.

Chapter 3 focuses on the planters, their social practices and material life. The trajectory of some of the most important families of planters who established themselves in the region since the end of the 18th century is analyzed with the goal of understanding
the social strategies that this group developed to keep the ownership of the land in the region throughout the generations. The material life of this group will be characterized through documentary and archaeological data, discussing the extent to which this group was influenced by the bourgeois, western-European, culture of consumption that started to manifest and consolidate in Brazil in the early 19th century, and, on the other hand, the possible influences that slaves exerted over the planter’s material life.

Chapter 4’s focus moves to the group directly opposite to that of the planters on the social spectrum: the slaves. It begins by presenting information about the African slave trade to Brazil and Mato Grosso. Next, the process of reconstruction of African identities in Brazil is discussed, characterizing the principal African “nations” in terms of their regional origins and cultural elements, such as language and religiosity. The focus is then narrowed to the context of Chapada dos Guimarães, furnishing quantitative information about all of the African “nations” identified in the slaveholdings lists in the period between 1790 and 1888, and discussing the fluctuations over time in their general demography, gender ratios, and ratios of Africans to African-Brazilians. Marriage patterns among these groups, based on the data presented by Crivelente (2001), are discussed in relation to the demographic data. The demographic predominance of distinct African “nations” in different periods is established and these data are correlated with the rise and fall of specific decorative techniques and designs over time on the locally-made pottery. Having established these correlations in the regional scale, information is presented on the specific regions of origin of these African groups particularly in reference to stylistic traditions evidenced in pottery and other material supports, especially in relation to the strong similarities between some designs and decorative
techniques present on Chapada dos Guimarães’ pottery and those found in these African regions. The major implication of these correlations is that Africans in Chapada dos Guimarães used pottery as a vehicle through which they exposed their differences and affinities in terms of cultural order. More specifically, the dimension of gender is added to this analysis in an attempt to verify possible correlations between the African females who occupied each site, as they were supposedly primarily responsible for pottery production, and the intra- and inter-site pottery variability. Finally, the diachronic perspective advanced here also permits a discussion of the rhythm of the process of creolization in the region, demonstrating that pottery gradually lost its significance as an expression of identity differences insofar as a creole generation dominated the demographic setting in these plantations.

Chapter 5 treats the intermediary element between planters and slaves, that is, the free laborers who lived in these plantations. This was a very heterogeneous group, composed of specialized and well paid artisans as well as unspecialized and salaried laborers, who many times worked side by side with slaves. The ethno-racial composition of this group was also diversified, being represented by Portuguese and Portuguese-Brazilians, Africans, creoles, and mulattos. As previously discussed, documentary data about this group are much more fragmentary than those concerning planters and slaves. Because of this scarcity of information, this is the briefest chapter of the dissertation. Conversely, this scarcity of documentary data makes the archaeological record even more valuable as a source of information about this group, pointing out its daily practices and material life. In this regard, the main goal of this chapter was evaluating the extent to which free laborers were able to use the material culture to build a social identity which
differentiated them from the slaves and approximated them to the planters. As will be seen, the patterns of material life of this group were as ambiguous as their social condition in the plantation’s structure.

Finally, Chapter 6, as previously stated, is a study on the distribution of the material culture across the space of the plantations, exploring the ways in which slaves and planters used material items to appropriate these spaces according to their differentiated systems of references and the implications of this process in terms of power relations. In this way, the primary focus will be on the intra-site scale, but also searching for regularities and divergences in the regional level. This analysis will be founded on theories of space and landscape proposed by LeFebvre (2002 [1974]), DeCerteau (1984), and Hirsch (1995). In addition, the artifacts found in different contexts will be examined taking into account the different categories of value imbued to them, which include use, exchange, and sign-values (Kopytoff 1986:64; Orser 1992:97; Kearney 1995:158). It will be sustained that the material culture produced and/or culturally appropriated by the slaves represented a set of discourses, based on African-derived systems of values, alternative to the discourses imposed by the planters, who maintained a hierarchical view of these spaces. These two sets of discourses, as well as the worldviews from which they derived, were fitted in the same landscape, composing a dialectic that characterized the multi-cultural space of the plantations. As will be discussed with the basis in archaeological, documentary, and ethnographic evidence, these discourses gradually infiltrated one another in a such way that their contemporary composition is present in some of the traditional practices kept by the population of the region in modern times.
CHAPTER 2
THE PLANTATIONS OF CHAPADA DOS GUIMARÃES: ECONOMY AND MATERIAL STRUCTURE

My intent in this chapter is to present some basic information about the historical occupation of Mato Grosso and Chapada dos Guimarães, aiming to furnish a context for the discussions that will be developed throughout this dissertation. This contextualization will follow from the wider occupational process of the territory of Mato Grosso, to the specific region of Chapada dos Guimarães. Special attention will be given to the characterization of the economy and material structure of the Chapada dos Guimarães’ plantations. Finally, the four historical sites excavated will be described, and information about both the households and slaveholdings who occupied each site will be presented.

The Historical Occupation of Mato Grosso

The territory that currently corresponds to the state of Mato Grosso, although explored since the beginning of the 17th century by bandeiras, expeditions which searched for Indians for slaving and gold, only began to be colonized in 1718. It was this year that an expedition, coming from the captaincy of São Paulo, discovered gold on the margins of the Coxipó River. The population increase in this mining site gave rise to the village of Cuiabá, officially founded in 1719 (Correa Filho 1969:206-207). The first colonists came from the captaincy of São Paulo following a fluvial route originated in the Tietê River, called monções do sul (Siqueira et al. 1990:13).

During the 18th century, gold mining, carried out by slave labor, was the economic activity responsible for the colonization of the territory of Mato Grosso. Because the gold
in these mines was easily exhausted, the population was constantly moving, searching for new productive mines throughout the territory (Volpato 1987:92). The itinerancy of the population preoccupied the Portuguese government, since the possession of this frontier region, which was subject to disputes with Spain, could best be secured by the establishment of a more spopulation. Thus, in 1748 this region was separated from the captaincy of São Paulo and, in 1752, the capital of the captaincy, Vila Bela da Santíssima Trindade, was founded on the margins of the Guaporé River. Aiming to supply the new capital with the necessary commodities and slaves, the Portuguese government established, in 1755, the Companhia de Comércio do Grã-Pará e Maranhão, which monopolized the commercial navigation between Vila Bela and Belém do Pará, through the route of the Madeira and Guaporé rivers (Siqueira et al. 1990:20-21). Vila Bela kept the status of capital of Mato Grosso until 1835, when, due to its economic decline, the provincial government moved to Cuiabá (Bandeira 1988:112).

By the end of the 18th century the gold mines of Mato Grosso were exhausted, forcing its population to reprioritize economic activities. Thus, most of the slaves previously employed in gold mining were reallocated to cattle farms and sugar-cane plantations, which substantially increased in number during this period. In 1805 the Portuguese Crown permitted diamond mining, up to then prohibited due the dispute with the Spain over this frontier territory. Although the exploration of diamonds revitalized the export commerce of the captaincy, in 1830 it also began to decline (Assis 1988:26; Lenharo 1982:10).
Figure 2-1. Map: Planta topográfica da nova descoberta da quina na Villa do Cuyabá. Author: Priest José Manuel de Siqueira. Year: 1800. 1- Taperão site; 2- Buritizinho site; 3- Engenho do Quilombo site; 4- Tapera do Pingador site.
Gold and diamond mining, however, did not bring wealth to the region because the Portuguese Crown heavily taxed the mining production (Siqueira et al. 1990:20). Moreover, the long distance from Cuiabá to the center-southern region, the danger of Indian attacks during the travel, and the scarcity or absence of villages and posts along the routes made the commercial integration of Mato Grosso with the rest of Brazil (Volpato 1987) very difficult. The realignment of the economic activities from mining to sugar production and cattle raising in the end of the 18th century did not change this scenario, because these products, unlike gold and diamonds, did not have a high value per weight that could offset the cost of exportation (Volpato 1987:87), a problem that was only partially solved with the opening of the navigation in the Prata River, in 1857 (Volpato 1993:36, 50-51). The establishment of this fluvial route strongly affected the province’s economic and social life due to the easier access to industrialized commodities and to peoples and ideas coming from Europe (Volpato 1993:36-44).

**The Process of Occupation of Chapada dos Guimarães**

The historical occupation of Chapada dos Guimarães began as a consequence of the founding of the village of Cuiabá, in 1719. To supply the population of the village with foodstuffs, agricultural farms had to be located close to the village. Thus, in 1720, Antônio de Almeida Lara established the first plantation in the southern region of Chapada. This plantation employed more than 30 slaves in planting, cattle raising, and sugar production (Rosa 1995:42). A more intense occupation of this region started in 1726, when the colonial government began to distribute land titles, called letters of sesmarias, to the elite established in the territory of Mato Grosso, composed of the prestigious miners, militaries, and representatives of the colonial bureaucracy (Siqueira
2001:58). These *sesmarias* had commonly one half square league in size, an area roughly corresponding to nine square kilometers, but there were cases of grantings of bigger extensions of land in the region, having one half league by three leagues in size, as the *sesmaria* granted to the Portuguese Valentim Martins da Cruz in 1781.

In turn, the historical process of population settlement in the region that is the focus of this research, in the Casca and Quilombo rivers (Figure 2-1), only started in 1780 (Siqueira 2001:81). Between 1780 and 1791, at least 33 persons received land-titles in this region, with some of receiving two or more *sesmarias*. This establishment of the population occurred at a time when gold-mining was collapsing in Mato Grosso, forcing many miners to reallocate part of their slaveholdings for planting activities (Aleixo 1984:44; Volpato 1987:93-94). The case of the *sargento-mor* Antônio da Silva Albuquerque, documented by Crivelente (2001:49-50), is very illustrative of this process of diversification of productive activities during this period. In 1798, in a declaration for the government of the captaincy, this new planter affirmed that he started that same year to produce cane brandy (cachaça), an activity in which he had no experience, and that he simultaneously employed his slaveholding in mining and planting activities. The Portuguese Valentim Martins da Cruz was another planter who kept his slaves working in both activities. After 1805, when diamond mining was finally begun in the region after having been prohibited due the conflicts with the Spain over this territory, some planters also started to explore diamonds. The German naturalist Langsdorff, who visited this region in 1827, described diamond exploration sites on the margins of the Quilombo river, close to the plantation Engenho do Quilombo, and one of the sites discussed in this

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2 Military post equivalent to major.
dissertation (Langsdorff 1997:114). Other planters, however, like the Portuguese Luiz Monteiro Salgado, employed their slaveholdings exclusively in planting activities. In 1784 Luiz Monteiro requested from the General-captain of the captaincy a *sesmaria* to employ his 32 slaves in planting activities for their own subsistence and for that of his own family.³

The funds that most of the first colonizers used to establish these plantations came principally from the profits that they accumulated from gold mining (Arruda 1987:16), an activity that permitted them to acquire slaves, which were the most expensive investment, in quantity large enough to successfully start this new entrepreneurship. A *sesmaria* of one half square league, when it was not granted by the government, could still be bought, in the beginning of the 19th century, for prices varying between 60,000 and 360,000 réis. At this time a male slave between 18-25 years was evaluated and valued according to his abilities and physical condition, at between 180,000 and 240,000 réis.⁴ The value of a *sesmaria* varied according to its location, distance from the main rivers, and fertility of the soils. Even the whole plantation complex, which included the most expensive sugar-mills powered by water, planter’s house, smaller houses for free-laborers, deposits, and slaves’ cabins, was evaluated by amounts varying between 720,000⁵ and 1,800,000,⁶ the price of five to ten young slaves. The low value of these establishments was certainly due the fact that their buildings were made of wattle-and-daub, although the most important

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³ APMT, série: correspondência ativa; fundo:Câmara; requerente: Luiz Monteiro Salgado; year: 1784.
⁴ APMT, probate-inventory Luiz Monteiro Salgado, Cartório do 5º Oficio, Processo No. 448, year: 1808; probate-inventory Paulo da Silva Coelho, Cartório do 5º Oficio, Caixa 15, year: 1809.
⁵ APMT, probate-inventory Paulo da Silva Coelho, Cartório do 5º Oficio, Caixa 15, year: 1809.
⁶ APMT, probate-inventory Luiz Monteiro Salgado, 1808.
⁷ APMT, probate-inventory Antônia Maria Dias, Cartório do 5º Oficio, Caixa 16, Processo No. 20, year: 1812.
buildings, such as the planter’s house and the sugar-mill, commonly had roofs made of tiles.  

By the end of the 18th century the region of Chapada dos Guimarães had the largest concentration of sugar plantations in the state of Mato Grosso. According to Mesquita (1931:33), in 1796 there were 20 plantations with engenhos (sugar-mills) in this region, employing a total of 728 slaves, while in the rest of the captaincy there were only 14 plantations with engenhos, which employed 331 slaves. In 1815 the number of slaves in this region had substantially increased to 2,147 individuals, out of a total population of 3,743 inhabitants, indicating the strong intensification of the plantations’ productive activities (Crivelente 2001:52). Three years later, in 1818, a census pointed out Chapada dos Guimarães as still having the biggest concentration of engenhos in Mato Grosso, numbering 36 total, although the number of these establishments had substantially increased to 117 in the remainder of the captaincy.  

The Spatial Organization of the Plantations

A brief description of the social hierarchy on these plantations is required to better understand the spatial organization of these establishments. More detailed information about each social group will be furnished in the chapters 3, 4 and 5. A rigid social stratification, which had the planters on the top, was maintained in these units. Planters resided on the plantations during the dry season (between April and November), supervising the harvesting of the cane and the preparation of sugar and derived products. At the end of this period, most of them removed their families to Cuiabá, where they

7 APMT, probate-inventory Tereza Maria da Transfiguração, Cartório do 5º Ofício, Caixa 54, Processo No. 790, year: 1847.
could satisfy their social needs and look after their political and economic interests (Seckinger, 1970:69).

Free laborers, divided into wage-laborers, known as camaradas, overseers, sharecroppers, and artisans, composed the middle stratum. Overseers had as their main function controlling the labor and daily life of the slaves. Sharecroppers were not wage-laborers, but people who lived in the plantations as aggregates, keeping their own clearing to plant and giving part of their production to the planters, and/or carrying out other economic activities. Camaradas composed the lowest stratum among the free laborers. They worked as wage-laborers under the orders of the overseers, in activities such as carpentry, blacksmithing, conducting of mule troops and, principally, planting (Volpato 1993:201). Artisans, such as carpenters and blacksmiths, offered their services in the plantations of the region, being contracted on a daily basis or paid in accordance to the service carried out. Differing from the three other categories of free laborers, artisans did not live on the plantations for long periods of time.

The main activity carried out by slaves was planting, although they could also be employed in gold and diamond mining (Crivelente 2001:51). At least in some plantations of the region they were subjected to extremely violent and oppressive forms of treatment. Langsdorff (1997:111-112) visiting the plantation Engenho do Quilombo, in 1827, described the slaves as undernourished and barely dressed. The women were overwhelmed with cotton weaving activities and, at night, locked in a room located right under the planter’s bedroom. The social tensions resulting from this exploitative system sometimes emerged in cases of slaves murdering planters, overseers, and

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9 APMT, Tribunal da Relação, Proc. 779, year:1838; APEMT, Arquivo do 6º Ofício, caixa 1, maço 70, year:1853.
camaradas, in acts of revolt against the physical punishments to which they were constantly submitted. The formation of quilombos, settlements of runaway slaves, was also common in this region (Volpato 1996).

The description of the material structure of the plantations is important for understanding the use of the space by the different groups who occupied these establishments. Although the planters’ probate-inventories furnish some general information about the plantations’ buildings, little is informed about their spatial organization. For instance, one of the most complete descriptions of plantations is found on Manuel de Moura’s probate inventory, dated 1801. His plantation, located close to Cuiabá, is described as containing the following buildings: a living house presenting a double tiled-roof, one house of engenho (mill-house), also covered with tiles, whose engine was run by oxen, one house behind the engenho for wage laborers, one wattle-and-daub house containing two water-powered monjolos (mill for the making of manioc flour and corn flour), other wattle-and-daub houses containing one brickwork for the production of tiles, one larder, and several senzalas (slave cabins). This description makes clear that planters, wage-laborers, and slaves lived in different units within the plantation space.

The careful reading of the probate-inventories’ descriptions, attempting to join fragmented pieces of information that could point out to some general characteristics of the plantations spatial organization, demonstrates that the sugar-mill was always located next to the planters’ houses. Indeed, the French painter Hercules Florence, visiting the

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12 APMT, probate-inventory Manuel de Moura, Cartório do 5º Oficio, Caixa 07, Processo No. 675, year: 1801.
region in 1827, described the *engenhos* of two plantations as placed right behind the planters’ houses (Florence n.d.:110, 118). The *engenho* constituted the productive center of the plantations and their most important structure, as indicated in the probate-inventories descriptions, which tend to list first the *engenho*, followed by the planter’s house, as an attached structure, and therefore, secondary in importance.\(^{13}\) Visiting the Fazenda Jacobina, the biggest plantation of Mato Grosso, in 1827, Florence (n.d.:126) saw more than one hundred people, between slaves and free, women in their majority, working in distinct activities in the sugar-mill (see Figure 2-2).

According to Volpato (1993:110), the sugar-mills of Mato Grosso were very simple and small when contrasted to those existent in the coastal regions, whose production was oriented to exportation. However, most of these *engenhos* were water-powered, which, according to Schwartz (1985:116), implied a much higher investment than that necessary to run the oxen-powered mills. Besides the mill, these millhouses were equipped with *alambique*, which was a device for distilling sugar-cane, *monjolo*, a simple manual or water-powered device used to crush corn, manioc, and to grind coffee, molds for sugar and *rapadura\(^{14}\)*-making, barrels for storage of cane brandy, and other equipments and utensils.

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\(^{13}\) APMT, probate-inventory Ana Luiza da Silva, Cartório do 5º Ofício, Caixa 55, Processo No. 873, year: 1848; probate-inventory Antônio José de Cerqueira Caldas, Cartório do 5º Ofício, Caixa 63, Processo No. 02, year: 1853.

\(^{14}\) *Rapadura* is black sugar molded in the shape of small bricks.
Also close to the *engenho*, but not attached to the planters’ houses, were located the wage-laborers and/or tenant farmers’ houses. In Manuel de Moura’s probate-inventory\(^{15}\), as described above, one wage-laborers’ house was located right behind the millhouse. Paulo Silva Coelho’s probate-inventory\(^{16}\) describes five houses with tiled-roofs, located next to the planter’s house, which, according to the description, were used to house *camaradas* (wage-laborers) and as larders. Claudina Maria, a witness in an overseer’s case of murder by a slave in the Engenho Santo Antônio, in Chapada dos Guimarães, affirmed that she lived with her husband as aggregates in this *engenho*, in a house located in the backyard of the planter’s house.\(^{17}\)

While wage-laborers/aggregates’ houses were located close to the planters’ houses and, consequently, to the millhouses, the documents studied give no clues about the

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\(^{15}\) APMT, probate-inventory Manoel de Moura, 1801.

\(^{16}\) APMT, probate-inventory Paulo da Silva Coelho, 1809.

\(^{17}\) APMT, Tribunal da Relação, Caixa 11, Doc. 57, No. 255, year: 1862.
location of the slaves’ houses, know as *senzalas*, on the plantation spaces. This gap, however, is fulfilled by the archaeological data. Archaeological excavations on the Taperão and Buritizinho plantation sites, as will be discussed further in this chapter, demonstrates that while free-laborers lived in houses between 30 to 50 meters from the planters’ houses, slaves lived in houses located between 50 and 80 meters from the planters’. As pointed out by the probate-inventories and confirmed by the archaeological data, plantations could have several *senzalas*. Thus, in general, slaves were not sheltered into a single big structure, but in several smaller ones, and there probably existed some *senzalas* that were restricted to nuclear families, as suggested by Volpato (1993:150). *Senzalas* are generally described in probate-inventories as having grassed-roofs, and therefore indicating a wattle-and-daub construction of very little economic value. In Manuel de Moura’s probate inventory,\(^\text{18}\) *senzalas* are described as having banana trees around them, which could constitute an important foodstuff for the slaves’ subsistence, and illustrates some similarity to subsistence activities in Africa. According to Volpato (1993:150) these habitations were deprived of any kind of comfort, with the slaves sleeping on leathers stretched on the floor, and also indicating that leathers were also used as the *senzalas*’ doors.

The combination of archaeological and documentary data indicates that the disposition of the habitations related to distinct social categories on these plantations followed a rigidly hierarchical plan, defined according to a greater or lesser proximity to the planters’ house. The picture of a plantation in the southern-central region of Brazil, drawn by Debret (1978) in the first decade of the 19th century (Figure 2-3), illustrates very well the plantations’ pattern of disposition of the habitations.

\(^{18}\) APMT, probate-inventory Manoel de Moura, 1801.
In this picture the foreground represents the area of the planter’s house,\textsuperscript{19} from which can be seen the stairway and one column. At the right side, behind this house, there is an adjacent house, probably the house of a free-laborer based on its proximity to the planter’s house. Finally, at the left background, there are what Debret describes as three wattle-and-daub houses that were occupied by slaves.

\textsuperscript{19} In his description, Debret affirms that this is the overseer’s house, what seems to be contradictory, since the stairway and the column indicate that it was a very elaborated structure, therefore more related to the planters’ houses. Debret could have been deceived by the fact that sometimes managers could live in the planters’ houses, as suggested by some documents.
Visiting the region of Chapada dos Guimarães in 1827, Hercules Florence (n.d.) made two drawings of the Engenho Buriti, taken from different perspectives, which illustrate a distribution of the houses very similar to that represented by Debret (see figures 2.4 and 2.5). In the left corner of Figure 2-4, part of a small, wattle-and-daub house is represented, followed by what seems to be a group of three more wattle-and-daub houses and, on the right background, the planter’s house and the engenho, both presented with tiled-roofs. In the Figure 2-5, the same distribution of the houses is presented, but in this case the planter’s house is located in the left middle-ground, with the engenho’s house, powered by the water from an aqueduct, right behind it. In the foreground the arrival of the planter is illustrated, an old woman called Antônia, carried by two slaves in a hammock suspended by thick bamboo, and smoking a long pipe.
Although Florence did not describe the social standing of the occupants of the smaller houses, it seems clear that it represents the same spatial hierarchy noticed in the Taperão and Buritizinho sites.

Other structures that comprised part of the plantation complex were one or more larders for storage of foodstuffs and tools, and, in the case of the bigger plantations, brickworks, carpentries, blacksmith’s workshops, and chapels. According to Mesquita (1931:36-37) the chapel was located next to the planter’s house. The importance the planters ascribed to the chapel was so great that the roofs of these buildings were covered with tiles even in the plantations where the planter’s house had a grass-roof.20

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20APMT, probate-inventory Antônio da Silva Albuquerque, Cartório do 5º Ofício, Caixa 16, Processo No. 621, year: 1812.
The Plantation Economy of Chapada dos Guimarães

Corrêa Filho (1969:455) describes the plantations of Chapada dos Guimarães as units that produced almost everything they needed for their subsistence, resorting to the external, local markets only for goods such as salt, iron, fabrics, agricultural tools and equipments (see also Aleixo 1984:46). Besides sugar-cane and its by-products, sugar and cachaça (cane brandy), these units still produced cotton, spinet weaved in the engenhos, tobacco, coffee, cacao, and several subsistence crops, such as beans, corn, rice, manioc, sweet cassava, sweet potatoes, and yams (Corrêa Filho 1969:455; Seckinger 1970:44). Probate-inventories also indicate the planting of castor bean. The biggest profit of the plantations, however, came from the selling of cane brandy, which was widely consumed in the Province (Mesquita 1937:38).

Mules, oxen, horses and pigs were the most common animals raised in these establishments. Mules, varying in number between eight and twenty, were used for the transportation of the plantation products to Cuiabá. Oxen, varying in number between four and 53, were used for pulling wooden cars, known as carro de boi, which transported the sugar-cane from the plant-fields to the mill and the general foodstuffs produced in the plantations to Cuiabá (Brazil 2002:79). Oxen were also used to power the mills in the non water-powered engenhos. Schwartz (1985:116) noted that oxen-powered mills needed about sixty animals to be kept functional; this is one reason why oxen were so numerous in some engenhos. Horses are also always present in the probate-inventories, but generally in small numbers, varying between one and eight, although some plantations could keep higher numbers. Florence (n.d.:112) affirmed that these plantations also raised pigs for selling in Cuiabá. However, pigs appear less frequently in the probate-inventories than the other animals given above, and generally in numbers
varying between 20 and no more than 50, demonstrating a low economic significance for these animals, which would have been used much more for the plantations’ internal consumption than for commercial trade. Other animals, such as cows and sheep, are occasionally present, but always in small numbers. In general, what these numbers indicate is that the planters were not concerned in raising animals to commercialize, but keeping only those animals needed for the internal consumption of their establishments.

The great distance of the Brazilian coast, where the major consumer markets were located, and the limitations of the local economy, are the main reasons given to the underdevelopment of an economy oriented to exportation in Mato Grosso (Lenharo 1982:30; Volpato 1993:50-51). This great distance from the coastal cities made counterproductive the exportation of any product that did not have a high value by weight to compensate for the cost of transportation, as was the case of the plantation products. For this reason, gold and diamonds reigned supreme in the captaincy’s exportation commerce until the opening of navigation in the Paraguay river in 1857 (Volpato 1993:50-51).

Thus, the production of these engenhos was basically for the captaincy’s internal consumption, being principally destined to supply Cuiabá and, in a smaller proportion, to the mule troops that passed by the region on their way to the captaincy of Goiás (Volpato 1996:110). Lenharo (1982:30) affirms that there was also a limited exportation to Pará, but he does not furnish information about the period and the exporting region, which, for logistical motives, could be Vila Bela, that kept a regular commerce with Pará through the fluvial Madeira-Guaporé route during the second half of the 18th century. Aleixo (1984:53) affirms that part of the sugar-production was also destined to the “frontier
market” in Bolivia, more specifically the villages of Moxos, Chiquitos, and Santa Cruz de la Sierra. After 1872, with the reopening of the navigation on the Paraguay River which was closed during the War of Paraguay (1865-1870), sugar and its by-products were also exported to the Paraguayan market (Aleixo 1984:53; Assis 1988:49; Volpato 1996:110).

The comparison to the more economically dynamic captaincies of Rio de Janeiro and Bahia, whose sugar production was oriented directly to exportation, gives a better idea of the expressivity of Mato Grosso’s engenhos. In the decade of 1770 there were 323 engenhos in Rio de Janeiro, in which lived 11,623 slaves (Florentino and Góes 1997:45-46), against 34 engenhos, holding 1059 slaves, in Mato Grosso. In 1817 there were 340 engenhos in Bahia (Schwartz 1985:440) and, for the case of Rio de Janeiro, Florentino and Góes (1997:46) note that the number of these establishments went from 400 in 1810 to 700 in 1828. At first sight, the number of 153 engenhos in Mato Grosso for the year of 1818 seems to be very significant, given the peripheral condition of this captaincy. However, a closer analysis, taking into account the size of the slaveholdings on these units reveals another reality.

The size of the slaveholdings provides insight not only into the intensity of the plantations’ productive activities, but also into the planters’ wealth and power, since throughout the period under consideration slaves were one of the most expensive goods a person could afford to buy. For instance, in 1850, the average price of a sesmaria was 1,200,000 réis, while the average price for a slave between 17 and 25 years old was 500,000 réis (Aleixo 1984:51).

Although the slaveholdings’ average in Chapada dos Guimarães oscillated over time, mean numbers do not represent the reality of the majority of these plantations,
because there were too many variations in their size (Table 2.1). Between 1790 and 1809 only two planters’ probate-inventories of Chapada dos Guimarães were found.

Fortunately, for the year of 1798 there is a list of the most important planters of this region, numbering 19, and their respective slaveholdings.²¹ For that year, the biggest planter was José Pedro Gomes, who kept 98 slaves, followed by Raimundo Manuel de Albuquerque, with 80 slaves, and Valentim Martins da Cruz, with 70 slaves. The other 16 planters kept between 13 and 60 slaves. The mean number of slaves per plantation was 38.42, which is very close to the average of slaves in the plantations of Rio de Janeiro for the year of 1778, calculated to be 36 slaves (Schwartz 1985:444).

<table>
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</tbody>
</table>

Slaveholdings in Chapada dos Guimarães tended to be much bigger between 1810 and 1829 than in the previous and subsequent periods, which is in accordance with Mesquita’s (1931:38) affirmation that the decade of 1820 was the phase of greatest economic development in this region. For this period, plantations averaged 53.57 slaves, with the biggest slaveholding, numbering 93 slaves, located in the Engenho do Rio da

²¹ APMT, Engenhos de fazer cachaças, farinhas e monjolos, Lata 1798 B.
Casca, and owned by the major Antônio da Silva Albuquerque. Albuquerque seems to have been one of the biggest slavers from Mato Grosso, since he still had 82 other slaves working in mining activities in two mines close to Cuiabá.\footnote{APMT, probate-inventory Antônio da Silva Albuquerque , Cartório do 5º Ofício, Caixa 16, Processo No. 621, year: 1812.} The second greatest slaveholding, numbering 72 slaves, pertained to Rosa Cardoso de Lima,\footnote{APMT, probate-inventory Luiz Monteiro Salgado, 1808.} widow of the Portuguese captain Luiz Monteiro Salgado, from another plantation also named Engenho do Rio da Casca, which is one of the historical sites analyzed in this dissertation (Taperão site). Slaveholdings from the five other plantations varied in number between 32 and 57 slaves (Table 2.2).

Between 1830 and 1849 the slaveholdings average was 26.77, and the biggest slaveholding found, numbering 57 slaves, was associated with Ana Luiza da Silva,\footnote{APMT, probate-inventory Ana Luiza da Silva, 1848.} owner of the Engenho Água Fria, which is another historical site analyzed in this dissertation (Buritizinho site). An additional eight plantations identified kept between 14 and 33 slaves (Table 2.2).

Between 1850 and 1869 slaveholdings averaged 33.16, and the biggest plantation, the Engenho Bom Jardim, owned by the ex-president of Mato Grosso, Antônio Corrêa da Costa,\footnote{APMT, probate-inventory Antônio Corrêa da Costa, Cartório do 2º Ofício, Caixa 02, year: 1855.} kept 128 slaves. This planter was another of the biggest slavers of Mato Grosso, since he also had 81 other slaves working on another plantation and in three cattle farms. The second biggest planter was Antônio Corrêa’s son-in-law José de Lara Pinto,\footnote{A. Alencar, Roteiro Genealógico de Mato Grosso vol. I, 135-136.} from the Engenho Campo Alegre, who kept sixty slaves. Another big plantation owner was
Table 2-2. Size of the slaveholdings identified in Chapada dos Guimarães

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Planter</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Plantation</th>
<th>Slaveholding</th>
<th>Sharing – year</th>
<th>Total Amount</th>
<th>Liquid</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Luis Monteiro Salgado</td>
<td>1808</td>
<td>Rio da Casca</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>1830</td>
<td>9.715.550</td>
<td>1.941.243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paulo Silva Coelho</td>
<td>1809</td>
<td>Lagoinha</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>1827</td>
<td>19.028.016</td>
<td>14.955.370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antônia Maria Dias</td>
<td>1812</td>
<td>Quilombo</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>9.331.462</td>
<td>9.331.462</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antônio Silva Albuquerque</td>
<td>1812</td>
<td>Rio da Casca</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>1813</td>
<td>46.999.730</td>
<td>35.520.529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apolinário Oliveira Gago</td>
<td>1816</td>
<td>Buriti</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>Nd</td>
<td>Nd</td>
<td>Nd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>José Gomes Monteiro</td>
<td>1817</td>
<td>Palmeiras</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>1817</td>
<td>16.601.005</td>
<td>14.450.593</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antônio L. A. Coutinho</td>
<td>1818</td>
<td>Conceição do Quilombo</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>6.601.231</td>
<td>1.915.410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antônio Silva Albuquerque</td>
<td>1830</td>
<td>Aricá</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Nd</td>
<td>9.876.105</td>
<td>Nd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priest Antônio T. C. de Sá</td>
<td>1834</td>
<td>Abrilongo</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Nd</td>
<td>Nd</td>
<td>Nd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosa Cardoso de Lima</td>
<td>1841</td>
<td>Rio da Casca</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>1842</td>
<td>13.179.180</td>
<td>7.034.749</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joaquim da Silva Prado</td>
<td>1843</td>
<td>Boroté</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1843</td>
<td>19.522.300</td>
<td>Nd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria Silva A. Nunes</td>
<td>1845</td>
<td>Aricá</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1845</td>
<td>15.785.200</td>
<td>11.370.740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carlota J. Moreira</td>
<td>1847</td>
<td>Bom Jardim</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1847</td>
<td>17.933.840</td>
<td>17.840.204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ana Luiza F. de Aquino</td>
<td>1847</td>
<td>Quilombo</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1847</td>
<td>7.041.400</td>
<td>Nd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ana Luiza da Silva</td>
<td>1848</td>
<td>Água Fria</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>1849</td>
<td>Nd</td>
<td>61.716.725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antônio J. C. Caldas</td>
<td>1853</td>
<td>Rio da Casca</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>1853</td>
<td>74.802.168</td>
<td>71.109.633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simplicio V. de Souza</td>
<td>1853</td>
<td>Bigorna</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Nd</td>
<td>18.746.700</td>
<td>Nd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antônio C. da Costa</td>
<td>1855</td>
<td>Bom Jardim</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>1856</td>
<td>234.990.179</td>
<td>233.583.539</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosa L. A. Coutinho</td>
<td>1856</td>
<td>Glória</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Nd</td>
<td>Nd</td>
<td>Nd</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2-2. Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Planter</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Plantation</th>
<th>Slave-holding</th>
<th>Sharing – year</th>
<th>Total Amount</th>
<th>Liquid</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>José G. Corrêa</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>Serra</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Nd</td>
<td>21.026.840</td>
<td>Nd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francisco V. de Azevedo</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>Quilombo</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1862</td>
<td>31.850.420</td>
<td>27.428.310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosália Xavier da Siqueira</td>
<td>1863</td>
<td>Samambaia</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1865</td>
<td>11.940.100</td>
<td>9.298.965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antônio José de S. Cruz</td>
<td>1865</td>
<td>Samambaia</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1870</td>
<td>6.000.000</td>
<td>3.925.500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escolástica M. da Cruz</td>
<td>1866</td>
<td>São Romão</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>1866</td>
<td>40.822.494</td>
<td>40.506.134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>José de Lara Pinto</td>
<td>1868</td>
<td>Campo Alegre</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>1869</td>
<td>Nd</td>
<td>105.289.400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antônia P. da Silva</td>
<td>1870</td>
<td>Água Fria</td>
<td>nd</td>
<td>1870</td>
<td>43.611.468</td>
<td>41.611.468</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laureano X. da Silva</td>
<td>1874</td>
<td>Bicuda</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Nd</td>
<td>Nd</td>
<td>Nd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria C. de Toledo</td>
<td>1876</td>
<td>Bom Jardim</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>1876</td>
<td>Nd</td>
<td>254.334.080</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caetano Leite Pereira Gomes</td>
<td>1878</td>
<td>Bigorna</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Nd</td>
<td>31.882.900</td>
<td>Nd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antônio Bruno Borges</td>
<td>1878</td>
<td>Quilombo</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1879</td>
<td>51.768.300</td>
<td>51.163.640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manoel José M. da Silva</td>
<td>1879</td>
<td>Lagoinha</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1879</td>
<td>Nd</td>
<td>43.308.809</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antônio C. da Costa</td>
<td>1883</td>
<td>Rio da Casca</td>
<td>Nd</td>
<td>1884</td>
<td>34.324.586</td>
<td>Nd</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Antônio José de Cerqueira Caldas’ Engenho Rio da Casca, which had 51 slaves.\(^{27}\) Nine other plantations kept between 10 and 37 slaves (Table 2.2).

Finally, for the period between 1870 and 1888, slaveholdings averaged 23.28 per engenho, and the biggest plantation identified remained the Engenho Bom Jardim, headed then by Maria da Conceição de Toledo,\(^{28}\) widow of Antônio Corrêa da Costa, which kept 55 slaves, followed by Antônio Bruno Borges’ Engenho do Quilombo, which

\(^{27}\) APMT, probate-inventory Antônio José de Cerqueira Caldas, Cartório do 5º Ofício, Caixa 63, Processo No. 02, year: 1853.
\(^{28}\) APMT, probate-inventory Maria da Conceição de Toledo, Cartório do 2º Ofício, Caixa 03B, year: 1876.
is other of the historical sites analyzed in this dissertation (Engenho do Quilombo site), with 32 slaves. The other five plantations identified had between nine and 24 slaves (Table 2.2).

The comparison of these figures to those presented by Schwartz (1985:449-451) for the sugar-plantations of the Recôncavo Baiano, in Bahia, which was the major sugar plantation region in Brazil in the beginning of the 19th century (Schwartz 1985:444), is a good way to evaluate the economic significance of the Chapada dos Guimarães’ plantations. Working with data for the years 1816 and 1817, Schwartz (1985:450-451) found an average of 65 slaves per engenho. He classified Bahian sugar-plantations into three sizes, small, medium, and big. The small plantations operated with 20 to 60 slaves; the medium with 60 to 99 slaves, and the big ones with more than 100 slaves. He noticed that medium-sized plantations were the most common, being that only 15% of the plantations counted 100 slaves or more. For the case of Chapada dos Guimarães, as can be seen in Table 2.1, 85% of the plantations (n=45) kept between nine and 59 slaves, being therefore characterized as small units when compared to Bahia. Seven engenhos (13.20%) had between 60 and 99 slaves, and only one (1.80%) kept more than 100 slaves. Even in the period of greatest economic prosperity (1810-1829), most of the engenhos of Chapada dos Guimarães could be classified as small and, in rarer cases, as medium, when contrasted to the more economically dynamic sugar-production province of Bahia. However, what could be characterized as the typical engenho in Chapada dos Guimarães, throughout the period studied, is one establishment keeping between 9 and 39 slaves, as was the case with 36 (67.92%) of the plantations identified.

29 APMT, probate-inventory Antônio Bruno Borges, Cartório do 5º Ofício, Caixa 119, year: 1878.
The total evaluation of the planters’ patrimony, referred to as *monte-mor* in the probate-inventories, is another way to verify the economic significance of these plantations and the possible regional hierarchy among the planters (Table 2.2). A wider comparison between the levels of fortune of this group and those from the economically more dynamic coastal regions of Brazil can be very suggestive about what it meant to be “senhor de engenho” in a peripheral captaincy. The potential incomparability among the sources related to different periods has to be taken into account, since the data available embraces a period of 75 years (1808-1883) in which inflation considerably devaluated the currency. For instance, while in 1812 a young male slave, between 18-25 years old, was evaluated in 240,000 réis,\(^{30}\) in 1878 a slave in the same age range was valued at 1,600,000 réis,\(^{31}\) an increase of 6.66 times. Although the value of the slaves might not be taken as the best comparison parameter, given the fluctuations in the Atlantic slave trade and its prohibition in 1850, which heavily inflated slaves’ prices, the prices of the sugar, the main trading product of these establishments, also rose considerably in the same period. In 1809 one *arroba* of sugar was valued at 1.650 réis,\(^{32}\) in 1879 it had increased to 5.500 réis,\(^{33}\) 3.33 times, which could correspond to a figure closer to the general inflation for this period. The best strategy to minimize the effects of the inflation over the planters’ total patrimonies is analyzing shorter periods of time.

For the period between 1813 and 1830, the average patrimony for six out of seven planters, for whom this information is available, was about 11,858,000 réis, while the wealthiest fortune, from Antônio da Silva Albuquerque, totalized 46,999,730 réis.

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\(^{30}\) APMT, probate-inventory Antônio da Silva Albuquerque, 1812.  
\(^{31}\) APMT, probate-inventory Antônio Bruno Borges, 1878.  
\(^{32}\) APMT, probate-inventory Paulo da Silva Coelho, 1809.  
\(^{33}\) APMT, probate-inventory Manoel José Moreira da Silva Júnior, Cartório do 3º Ofício, Caixa 184, year: 1879.
Between 1842 and 1856 the average for seven out of ten planters was 15,150,000 réis, while the three wealthiest planters, Ana Luíza da Silva, Antônio Joaquim Cerqueira Caldas, and the ex-president of the province, Antônio Corrêa da Costa, had fortunes respectively evaluated in 61,716,725 réis, 74,802,168 réis, and 234,990,179 réis. For the last period, 1860 to 1884, the average for 10 out of 13 planters increased to 27,752,000 réis, while the two wealthiest planters’ fortunes, totaled 105,289,400 réis for José de Lara Pinto, and 254,334,080 réis for Maria da Conceição de Toledo, widow of Antônio Corrêa da Costa. Although the fortune of the average planter increased 2.34 times between 1813 and 1884, what these numbers demonstrate is that, in general terms, these planters were impoverishing over time, given the inflation in the same period.

The question that must be raised is what was the significance of these planters’ average and highest fortunes when they are placed in the wider Brazilian social context? Unfortunately there are almost no studies done on the regional basis exposing levels of wealth of the general Brazilian population. For the case of Salvador, capital of Bahia, in the first half of the 19th century, Mattoso (1997:161-162) affirms that the group of people who could afford more stable living conditions, were those merchants and craftsmen whose patrimony totaled between two and ten million réis. Mattoso, however, classifies as “true fortunes” only those superior to ten million réis, reached by some merchants, bureaucrats, and civil servants, since this was the minimum amount that could guarantee economic stability for its owner and his or her family. In this sense, the average planters of Chapada dos Guimarães could be classified as belonging to the high class in the 19th century Brazilian general social structure. But when the fortunes of this group are

34 Antônia Pereira da Silva’s fortune was not considered in this calculation due the absence of the evaluation of her slaves, which could have very considerably increased her total fortune.
contrasted to those from the most economically dynamic southern-central coffee-production region of São Paulo, another picture is revealed. Working with seven coffee planters’ probate-inventories of the county of Queluz, province of São Paulo, for the period between 1842 and 1885, Marins (1995) found fortunes varying between 82,164,570 and 317,671,119 réis. For the period between 1842 and 1856, the fortunes of these planters averaged about 159,155,000 réis, a value more than ten times higher than that found for the average planters of Chapada dos Guimarães.

For the last period, between 1860 and 1885, these coffee planters’ fortunes averaged about 170,000,000 réis, a value still more than six times higher than that from their Chapada dos Guimarães peers. Only the three wealthiest planters of Chapada accumulated fortunes that could be comparable to those of these coffee planters, Antônio Corrêa da Costa, his wife Maria da Conceição de Toledo and, maybe not coincidentally, Antônio Corrêa’s son-in-law José de Lara Pinto. But, as previously stated, Antônio Corrêa da Costa had been president of the province of Mato Grosso, constituting, therefore, an exceptional case, since his fortune might have been accumulated through a set of other sources, rather than just by the plantation’s profit alone.

What these numbers confirm is the low level of profit of the Chapada dos Guimarães’ plantations. Although their production exerted a fundamental role in the economic vitality of the province, these establishments were not able to bring absolute wealth for their owners, benefiting them more in terms of the relative stability furnished by the land ownership and by the prestige and social status enjoyed by holding the condition of “senhor de engenho.” Still, even these two elements were not a guarantee of economic stability for the life of the planters’ descendents, who had to follow established
social strategies in an attempt to maintain at least part of the social prestige enjoyed by their parents, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

**The Historical Sites of Chapada dos Guimarães**

Four historical sites were excavated in the county of Chapada dos Guimarães as part of one historical archaeological rescue project (see Symanski and Souza 2001). Three of these sites, Taperão, Buritizinho, and Engenho do Quilombo, are plantations; the last one, the Tapera do Pingador, is probably a small quilombo (Figure 2-1).

**The Taperão Site (Engenho do Rio da Casca)**

The Taperão site, originally named Engenho do Rio da Casca, is a plantation which was occupied between the end of the 18th and the end of the 19th century. It is a site of large dimensions in the regional context, with structures and features distributed over an area of 180 x 180 meters (Figure 2-6).

Documentary research in the Arquivo Público do Estado de Mato Grosso permitted identification of the Taperão planters’ household and respective slaveholdings for the first half of the 19th century. This sesmaria had been originally granted to the captain Francisco Ferreira de Azevedo, in 1786, but a few years later the Portuguese captain Luis Monteiro Salgado acquired it in a public auction, from the patrimony of José Pereira Nunes. In the list of Chapada dos Guimarães’ engenhos for the year of 1798, Luis Monteiro appeared well established there, keeping a slaveholding of 60 slaves. He was married to Rosa Cardoso de Lima, who was born in Mato Grosso. The couple had three

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35 IHGMT, ACBM/IPDAC – Pasta 70 – Docs. 1.762-1763, fl. 46.
36 APMT, Engenhos de fazer cachaças...
sons and four daughters. His daughter Luisa Maria married another planter in the region, Captain Antônio Leite do Amaral Coutinho, who died in 1818.³⁷

Figure 2-6. Plan of the Taperão site (Engenho do Rio da Casca).

When Luis Monteiro Salgado died, in 1808, the plantation was very productive. There were 61 slaves living there and eight slaves living in his urban residence, in Cuiabá. Among his plantation’s slaves, 32 were Africans and 29 were Brazilian-born. Upon his death, the plantation was inherited by his wife. In 1812, she put her son,

³⁷ APMT, probate-inventory Antônio Leite do Amaral Coutinho, Cartório do 5º Ofício, Caixa 21, Processo No. 149, year: 1818.
Antônio Monteiro Salgado, in charge of its administration, an activity that he carried out until 1838. During the period of his administration, the plantation seems to have prospered even more, since in 1826 there were 71 slaves living there, 21 Africans and 50 Brazilians.38

Both Rosa Cardoso de Lima and Antônio Monteiro Salgado died in 1841. At this moment the plantation was in economic decline, given that its slaveholding had dropped to 33 individuals, nine Africans and 24 Brazilians.39 The plantation then passed into the hands of Rosa Cardoso’s grandson-in-law, João Fernandes de Mello, as partial payment of a debt, and the slaves dispersed, some being given in payment against debts and others distributed among Rosa Cardoso’s heirs.40 João Fernandes de Mello was also a planter of the region, owner of the Engenho da Glória. He was married to Rosa Leite do Amaral Coutinho, daughter of Luiza Maria and Antônio Leite, and therefore granddaughter of Luis Monteiro Salgado and Rosa Cardoso de Lima. João Fernandes probably sold the Engenho do Rio da Casca after a period of time, given that when his wife died, in 1856, this property was not listed in the couple’s probate-inventory.41 Although archaeological material demonstrates that this plantation was occupied until the end of the 19th century, no documentary registers of its subsequent owners was found.

Archaeological excavation on this plantation was concentrated on deposits related to six units of habitation (Figure 2-6). The archaeological material referent to the planter’s house is associated with the excavation units 7, 8, 9 and 12. Unit 7 corresponds

38 APMT, probate-inventory Luis Monteiro Salgado, 1808.
39 APMT, probate-inventory Rosa Cardoso de Lima, Cartório do 5º Ofício, Caixa 44, Processo No. 118, year: 1841.
40 Ibidem.
41 APMT, probate-inventory Rosa Leite do Amaral Coutinho, Cartório do 5º Ofício, Caixa 69, Processo No. 339, year: 1856.
to the interior of the planter’s house. Aiming to understand the internal compartmentalization of this house, four parallel trenches were opened, sampling 50% of their interior, totalizing 160m² of excavated area. Unit 8 is an area of refuse deposition adjacent to the house. Unit 9 is a trench of 1 x 20 meters in the backyard of the planter’s house. Unit 12, in turn, is a peripheral area of deposition of refuse of the planter’s house, located 14 meters northwest from it. Unit 14, located about 35 meters north from the planter’s house, is a deposit referent to some category of free-laborer, probably overseer or aggregate. Units 1, 3, 4, and 15 are deposits related to the slaves. The rest of the units of excavation, including Unit 13, were not considered in this analysis because they presented only small amounts of archaeological material that appear inconsequential to the context of the current analysis. A total of 422 square meters were excavated in this site, including 240 test-pits of 50 x 50 cm in regular intervals of 10 meters throughout the extension of the site.

Table 2.3 presents the number of fragments and minimum number of vessels for the three material categories exhumed from this site which will be approached in this study, including: imported wares, glass, and locally-made pottery. The table also provides the mean date for each deposit, according to the mean ceramic date formula (South 1972) applied to the refined earthenware.
Table 2-3. Taperão site – total of imported wares, glasses, and locally-made potteries present in the analyzed contexts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taperão site</th>
<th>Imported wares</th>
<th>Glass</th>
<th>Locally-made pottery</th>
<th>Mean ceramic date</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sherds MNV</td>
<td>Sherds MNV</td>
<td>Sherds MNV</td>
<td>Sherds MNV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planter’s deposits</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Units 7+8+9+12/layer 1</td>
<td>277 77</td>
<td>149 14</td>
<td>206 15</td>
<td>1850.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Units 7+8+9+12/layer 2</td>
<td>651 140</td>
<td>400 41</td>
<td>535 14</td>
<td>1836.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free-laborer deposits</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unit 14/layer 1</td>
<td>62 20</td>
<td>162 07</td>
<td>27 02</td>
<td>1852.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unit 14/layer 2</td>
<td>232 35</td>
<td>117 11</td>
<td>140 10</td>
<td>1825.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slaves deposits</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unit 1/layer 1+2</td>
<td>27 11</td>
<td>32 04</td>
<td>251 13</td>
<td>1810.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unit 3/layer 2</td>
<td>60 25</td>
<td>252 07</td>
<td>440 19</td>
<td>1820.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unit 4/layer 1+2</td>
<td>64 16</td>
<td>13 03</td>
<td>194 14</td>
<td>1802.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unit 15/layer 1+2</td>
<td>63 13</td>
<td>13 04</td>
<td>380 13</td>
<td>1797.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1436 337</td>
<td>1138 91</td>
<td>2146 98</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Buritizinho Site (Engenho Água Fria)

The Buritizinho site, originally named Engenho Água Fria, is another plantation of large dimensions, whose structures and features are distributed over an area of 80 x 140 meters (Figure 2-7). Mato Grosso’s provincial governor conceded this *sesmaria* title to Domingos da Silva Barreiros in 1809.42 Domingos Barreiros was married to Ana Luiza da Silva, daughter of the Portuguese Lieutenant Paulo da Silva Coelho, one of the greatest planters of the region in the end of the 18th century. This couple had two daughters, Ana Luiza Tereza da Silva and Antônia Pereira da Silva. Both daughters

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42 INTERMAT – Livro de registro das sesmarias. Livro 3, Reg. 27 – fls. 22v a 23v.
married local planters. In 1827 Ana Luiza married the captain Vitoriano José do Couto, who was son and grandson of Portuguese local planters, the captains José do Couto da Encarnação and Francisco Corrêa da Costa, respectively (Alencar n.d.a: 19). Antônia Pereira, in turn, married the planter José Gomes Monteiro, who was also son and

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43 APMT, probate-inventory Ana Luiza da Silva, 1848.
grandson of Portuguese local planters, the captains José Gomes Monteiro and Francisco Corrêa da Costa, respectively. In 1818 Domingos Barreiros died, and the engenho passed into the hands of his wife, Ana Luiza. When she died, in 1848, the plantation had 57 slaves, 25 Africans and 32 Brazilians. The plantation was inherited by her daughter, Antônia Pereira da Silva, then widow of José Gomes Monteiro. Antônia Pereira died in 1870, leaving no descendants. In her will, she freed all of her slaves, which is the reason why there is no slaveholding list in her probate-inventory. She left the plantation to her god-daughter Antônia Guilhermina de Oliveira, who was married to the physician Caetano Xavier da Silva Pereira. This couple lived in Cuiabá, and seems to have had little interest in keeping the plantation, since Caetano Xavier sold it some years latter to Inácio José de Sampaio, who still owned this property at the beginning of the 20th century.

Archaeological excavations on this plantation concentrated on deposits associated with three units of habitation including the planter’s house, the free-laborers’ house, and one senzala. The planter’s residential area presented a large refuse disposal area, a channel 1.90m deep by two meters wide and of an undefined length, which probably served to channel water for powering the mill. This channel was filled with the garbage produced by the planter’s household. The archaeological material in this feature was deposited between the beginning and the end of the 19th century. Although this feature presented five archaeological layers, the cross-mending of the archaeological material from the layers I, II, and III pointed out to the same depositional process. The material

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44 APMT, probate-inventory Antônia Pereira da Silva, Cartório do 6º Ofício, Caixa 02, year: 1870.
45 APMT, probate-inventory Ana Luiza da Silva, 1848.
46 APMT, probate-inventory Antônia Pereira da Silva, 1870.
47 INTERMAT. Certidão de registro de propriedade. Fl. 20
recovered from layers IV and V also cross-mended, so that the assemblages were separated in only two depositional sequences.

Unit 2, located about 35 meters to the northeast from the planter’s house (Figure 2-7), is probably associated to the overseers or aggregates of the *engenho*. The material recovered in this area is predominantly related to the middle of the 19th century. Area 3, located about 70 meters from the planter’s house, corresponds to a slave cabin. Its material is also predominantly related to the second half of the 19th century. A total of 117 square meters was excavated in this site, including 116 test-pits of 50 x 50 cm in regular intervals of 10 meters throughout the extension of the site.

Table 2.4 presents the quantitative data for the imported wares, glasses, and locally-made potteries exhumed from the three excavated units.

Table 2-4. Buritizinho site – total of imported wares, glasses, and locally-made potteries present in the analyzed contexts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site Buritizinho (Engenho Água Fria)</th>
<th>Imported wares</th>
<th>Glass</th>
<th>Locally-made pottery</th>
<th>Mean ceramic date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sherds MNV</td>
<td>Sherds MNV</td>
<td>Sherds MNV</td>
<td>Sherds MNV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planter’s deposit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unit 1 – layers I – III</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unit 1 – layers IV-V</td>
<td>1308</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free-laborers’ deposit – unit 2</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slaves’ deposit – unit 3</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1837</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>713</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**The Engenho do Quilombo Site**

The Engenho do Quilombo is a plantation whose features and structures are distributed over an area of 70 x 80 meters (Figure 2-8). Its first owner was Antônio Dias Lessa, who acquired it through land title administered by the captaincy governor in 1781.
The Portuguese Domingos José de Azevedo bought this plantation in the beginning of the 19th century. In 1827 the German naturalist Ludwig von Langsdorff, after spending the night in the Engenho Água Fria (Buritizinho site), where he was very well received by Ana Luiza da Silva, visited this plantation. Langsdorff (1997:111-112) described the property as decadent, and Domingos José de Azevedo as a notoriously brutal man, who treated his slaves more viciously than any other planter he had met in Brazil. According to Langsdorff, these slaves were undernourished and barely dressed. The women were burdened in their cotton weaving tasks and, at night, Azevedo locked them in a room located right under his bedroom, as noted earlier in this chapter.

Domingos Azevedo was married to Antônia Maria Dias, who died at an early age in 1812, leaving five young children. At this time the plantation had 33 slaves, 10 Africans and 22 Brazilians. Domingos Azevedo probably died in the 1830s. The Engenho do Quilombo was inherited by his son, Francisco Vieira de Azevedo, who was married to Ana Lutéria Filiz de Aquino, also a daughter of planters of the region. Ana Lutéria died in 1847, a period in which the plantation’s slaveholding had dropped to 21 slaves, only one being African. After Ana Lutéria’s death, Francisco Vieira married Ana Leite Pereira. He died in 1861. At this time, four Africans and eight Brazilian-born slaves lived on the plantation. In 1870 Ana Leite sold the Engenho do Quilombo to another planter of the region, the colonel Antônio Bruno Borges. Antônio Borges was born in 1826, in São João del Rey, Province of Minas Gerais. He got married to

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48 IHGMT, ACBM/IPDAC – Pasta 70 – Docs. 1.762-1763, fls. 9v-10.
49 APMT, probate-inventory Antônia Maria Dias, 1812.
50 APMT, probate-inventory Ana Lutéria Filiz de Aquino, Cartório do 5º Ofício, Caixa 52, Processo No. 211, year: 1847.
51 APMT, probate-inventory Francisco Vieira de Azevedo, Cartório do 5º Ofício, Caixa 75, Processo No. 398, year: 1861.
52 Ibidem.
Umbelina Ricarda do Couto in 1847 (Alencar n.d.a:3). Umbelina was daughter and grand-daughter of two planters of Chapada, the captain José Couto da Encarnação and the captain Francisco Corrêa da Costa, respectively, both native from Portugal (Alencar n.d.a:3). Antônio Borges was an active combatant of the quilombos of the region. In 1868, revolted by the quilombolas’ frequent attacks on the plantations, he contracted an African-Brazilian to infiltrate the Quilombo do Rio Manso, located in the county of
Chapada dos Guimarães. This was the largest quilombo of Mato Grosso at that time, sheltering about 300 individuals (Volpato 1993:188-189). In 1871 Borges provided financial assistance for an expedition against these quilombos, which was only partially successful, since some quilombos kept active until the beginning of the 1880s (Siqueira 2001:91). Antônio Borges died in 1877, twelve years after his wife, a time in which his plantation had 32 slaves, only five of which were Africans.\textsuperscript{53} According to oral information provided by Joana Paes de Oliveira, her grandfather-in–law, Raimundo José da Siqueira bought the plantation from Antônio Borges’ descendants at the end of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, keeping two of the female ex-slaves who lived there. This property still belongs to the descendants of Raimundo Siqueira.

Archaeological excavations in the Engenho do Quilombo concentrated in two refuse areas (Figure 2–8). The first related to the planter’s house (Unit 1) and the second one, located 40 meters from this house, related to a dwelling that was occupied by plantation laborers in the beginning of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, according to Joana Paes’ information (Unit 2). For the 19\textsuperscript{th} century there is no conclusive evidence to affirm if this second area was occupied by slaves or free-laborers. Although the deposit associated to the planter’s house presented 3 stratigraphic layers, totaling 1 meter of thickness, only the layer in contact to the base of the deposit contained material from the 19\textsuperscript{th} century. Unit 2, in turn, presented an archaeological layer varying in thickness between 40 and 70 centimeters. An anachronism was verified between the refined earthenware found in this deposit, in that its majority dated to the middle of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, while the majority of glass bottles dated to the beginning of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century. This combination of older wares and newer bottles was verified close to the bottom of the deposit. It must be remembered

\textsuperscript{53} APMT, probate-inventory Antônio Bruno Borges, 1878.
that diamond mining was carried out in this site since the beginning of the 19th century, as described by Langsdorff in 1827 (see Langsdorff 1997:114). It is possible that in this case, this particular area saw intermittent use up to the beginning of the 20th century, thus mixing up components from this later period with those from previous occupations. A total of 108 square meters was excavated in this site, including 82 test-pits of 50 x 50cm opened in regular intervals of 10 and 5 meters.

Table 2.5 presents the quantitative data for the imported wares, glasses, and locally-made pottery, considered in this analysis.

### Table 2-5. Engenho do Quilombo site – total of imported wares, glasses, and locally-made potteries present in the analyzed contexts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site Engenho do Quilombo</th>
<th>Imported wares</th>
<th>Glass</th>
<th>Locally-made pottery</th>
<th>Mean ceramic date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sherds</td>
<td>MNV</td>
<td>Sherds</td>
<td>MNV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planter’s deposit – unit 1/layer 3</td>
<td>410</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unit 2/layers 1+2</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>487</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>587</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>852</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**The Tapera do Pingador Site**

The Tapera do Pingador is a site of small dimensions. The features and structures are distributed in an area of 30 x 30 meters (Figure 2-9). The land where this site is located has been occupied since the end of the 19th century by an African-descent family, nowadays headed by Durvalino Nascimento da Mata, but unfortunately no documentary information was found about its previous occupations. However, according to oral information provided by Durvalino Nascimento, this site was occupied by slaves, and was probably a small quilombo or a settlement of freed slaves. As previously discussed, throughout the 19th century there were several quilombos of various sizes spread throughout this region. It was common for inhabitants of the biggest quilombos to leave
and settle into new, smaller quilombos (Siqueira 2001:94). Freed slaves, in turn, could also live in isolated places. Langsdorff (1997:96), in 1827, mentioned the existence of these small units, inhabited by poor ex-slaves in the region. Other evidence sustaining the possible African/Afro-Brazilian occupation of this site is the local toponimy, since the closest hill is called Serra do Cambambe. Cambambe is the name of a region in Angola’s hinterland and, in Brazil, it also came to be the name of an African nation (Russel-Wood 2001:13).

Figure 2-9. Plan of the Tapera do Pingador site.
A total of 131 square meters was excavated in this site (Figure 2-9). Two components were identified, one related to the first half of the 19th century and the other one to the end of that century. In the clay-bottom level of the archaeological deposit, a feature of irregular shape, about 3 x 4 meters of diameter and ½ meter deep was exposed. It was filled in with dark soil presenting many pottery fragments, which in some cases formed complete vessels, and other occasional fragments of refined earthenware and coins, both from the first half of the 19th century. On the eastern border of this feature, a line of post-holes was exposed. This feature is similar to the clay pits found in African-American sites in the United States, which consisted of holes excavated close to the slaves’ houses and whose clay was used to build the walls of wattle-and-daub houses, wherein the holes were likely used as refuse areas (Ferguson 1992:64).

Quantitative data for the imported wares, glasses, and locally-made pottery, considered in this analysis are presented in Table 2.6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tapera do Pingador</th>
<th>Imported wares</th>
<th>Glass</th>
<th>Locally-made pottery</th>
<th>Mean ceramic date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sherds</td>
<td>MNV</td>
<td>Sherds</td>
<td>MNV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>layer 1</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1283</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>layers 2 + clay-pit</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1286</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This chapter consisted in a wide contextualization, at first furnishing information about the history and economy of Chapada dos Guimarães plantations and, later, furnishing basic information about the historical sites studied. The next three chapters will be focused on the actors who occupied these settings: planters, slaves, and overseers.
These groups will be characterized according to documentary and archaeological information, approaching the social strategies that they used to maintain their social-cultural cohesion and characterizing their differentiated material world. Special attention will be given to the role that these groups gave to the material culture as a vehicle through which differences of economic, social, and cultural order could be expressed.
CHAPTER 3
THE PLANTERS WORLD: SOCIAL STRATEGIES AND MATERIAL CULTURE IN CHAPADA DOS GUIMARÃES PLANTATIONS

This chapter will focus on the planters, aiming to characterize this group in terms of its social practices and material life. This analysis will take a diachronic perspective, starting with tracking the trajectory of some of the most important Portuguese and Brazilian planters’ families that established themselves in Chapada dos Guimarães in the end of the 18th century, aiming to investigate the strategies that this group developed to keep the possession of the land in the region over the generations. The planters’ material world, in turn, will be characterized on the basis of the documentary and archaeological data. While documentary data, particularly probate-inventories’ lists of household items, permits characterization of the domestic environment of this group in its regularities and idiosyncrasies, the archaeological data is more informative of their daily practices, thusly adding a more dynamic dimension to this analysis. These two categories of sources present information that can be, simultaneously, complementary and discrepant. Whereas the complementary nature between data sets furnishes a richer picture of the planters’ material life, the discrepancies are also very informative, since they demonstrate that the social and material life of this group was impregnated with influences of the other social segments, particularly slaves, who shared most of the physical spaces with the planters.
Familial Trajectories in Chapada dos Guimarães

As revealed in Chapter 2, in 1780, the general-governor of Mato Grosso started to distribute land-titles in the region under study, located between the Casca and Quilombo rivers. These land-titles were basically given to miners who, due the exhaustion of the gold mines at this period, wanted to use their slaves in productive activities related to planting and processing of sugar cane and other foodstuffs (Volpato 1987:93-94). However, the documents available suggest that only a few of these original land-granters established themselves and carried out productive activities on these lands. The documents available furnish the name of 33 persons originally granted with land-titles in this region between 1780 and 1790. When these names are contrasted to the relation of Chapada dos Guimarães’ planters of 1798, composed of nineteen planters, it is verified that only six of these planters, Francisco Corrêa da Costa, Valentim Martins da Cruz, José Gomes de Barros, Maria Roiz, José Pedro Gomes, and Domingos da Costa Monteiro, gained their land-titles through this system of concession of sesmarias. Probably most of the other thirteen planters bought the lands from the original land-title holders. This was the case of Apolinário de Oliveira Gago, who bought the sesmaria that had been granted to his uncle José Góes e Siqueira in 1785.1 A more emblematic case was the Portuguese captain Luis Monteiro Salgado, who acquired seven sesmarias, all of them bought by auction from the inheritance of José Pereira Nunes.2 Luis Monteiro Salgado’s sesmarias were located in contiguous lands, and in 1798 he employed 60 slaves in planting activities in his Engenho do Rio da Casca (Taperão site), the biggest

1 IHGMT, ACBM/IPDAC – Pasta 70 – Docs. 1.762-1763, fl. 2v.
2 IHGMT, ACBM/IPDAC – Pasta 70 – Docs. 1.762-1763, fl. 46.
site excavated for this research. José Pereira Nunes himself, although having been granted by the government a number of land-titles, was also concerned with purchasing some *sesmarias* from previous land-grant holders. Therefore, most of the original land-grant holders were not concerned in keeping their properties, selling them just a few years later to the Portuguese and Brazilians with military patents who arrived in Mato Grosso in the second half of the 18th century.

This group came to compose the first generation of planters in the Casca and Quilombo rivers, whose families created roots in the region, exploring the land and exploiting the slaves almost until the end of the 19th century. Most of these planters started to arrive in Mato Grosso principally after 1751, due the establishment of the government of the captaincy, which required the formation of an administrative and military apparatus. These public servants and military officials superposed the existent elite, up to then composed of miners and merchants (Volpato 1987:20-21).

The tracking of the familial trajectory of some planters suggests that this group was very concerned in establishing familial alliances and, through this means, guarantee the intra-group perpetuation and transmission of power, represented by the owning of land and slaves. This analysis will start with the family of the Portuguese captain Francisco Corrêa da Costa, who was born in the village of Massarelos, county of Porto (Alencar n.d.a:1).

In 1798, Francisco Corrêa da Costa appears in the lists of *engenhos* in Chapada dos Guimarães as owning 34 slaves. He gained the land title in 1780, establishing his

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3 APMT, Engenhos de fazer cachaças...
4 IHGME, ACBM/IPDAC – Pasta 70 – Docs. 1.762-1763, fl. 47.
5 APMT, Engenhos de fazer cachaças...
**engenho** in the headwaters of the Aricá stream, later called Ribeirão Bom Jardim. He married the **cuiabana** (from Cuiabá) Maria Tereza de Jesus, daughter of the captain **paulista** (from São Paulo captaincy) Martinho de Oliveira Gago and sister of the captain Apolinário de Oliveira Gago, also a planter in Chapada dos Guimarães (Alencar n.d.a:1). Francisco Corrêa da Costa died in 1800, leaving three sons and three daughters. Significantly, his three daughters married Portuguese military officials. The oldest one, Gertrudes Maria de Jesus, married the Portuguese captain José do Couto da Encarnação, who arrived in Cuiabá in 1781 (Alencar n.d.a:2). José do Couto was another planter in Chapada dos Guimarães, keeping 15 slaves working on his plantation in 1798. His second daughter, Ana Maria da Lapa, married the Portuguese captain José Gomes Monteiro, who also managed to acquire land in Chapada dos Guimarães in the beginning of the 19th century. When he died in 1817, he had 46 slaves working in his Engenho das Palmeiras. Finally, his last daughter, Maria Francisca de Jesus, married the Portuguese captain Paulo Luiz Barata (Alencar n.d.a:74). In this last case, however, there is no information that this couple came to own land in Chapada, although this possibility is great, since their son, also named Paulo Luiz Barata, owned the Engenho Barrocas, in Chapada (Alencar n.d.a:78), which he could have inherited from his parents.

Another case in point was the Portuguese lieutenant Paulo da Silva Coelho, who, in 1798, kept 45 slaves working in his **engenho** Lagoinha de Santo Antônio das Palmeiras, in Chapada. He was married to Ana Pereira da Silva, whose ascendance was not

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6 APMT, probate-inventory Antônio Corrêa da Costa, 1855.
7 APMT, Engenhos de fazer cachaças...
8 APMT, probate-inventory José Gomes Monteiro, Cartório do 5º Ofício, Caixa 20, Processo No. 179, year: 1817.
9 APMT, Engenhos de fazer cachaças...
determined, having six children, four women and two men. Of his daughters, at least three, Ana Luiza, Maria, and Custódia, married other planters of Chapada. Ana Luiza got married to the captain Domingos da Silva Barreiros, who was granted a land-title in the Rio da Casca region in 1809, where he established the Engenho Água Fria (Buritizinho site). Unfortunately, no information was found about the origin of Domingos Barreiros. Maria married the Portuguese *alferes* Manoel José Moreira, who acquired the Engenho Bom Jardim in 1818. Custódia, in turn, got married, after her parents’ death, to the *cuiabano* captain Eleutério da Costa Monteiro, owner of the Engenho Jurumim, which he probably inherited from his father, the planter Domingos da Costa Monteiro, who had been granted a land-title in the region in 1780.

The wealthiest planter identified for this initial period was the Sergeant-Major Antônio da Silva Albuquerque. He was Brazilian, born in Paracatú, captaincy of Minas Gerais. In 1798 he had 40 slaves working in his *engenho* in Chapada, number that increased to 93 when he died, in 1812, without taken into account his other 82 slaves who worked in two mines in other regions of Mato Grosso. Antônio Albuquerque married Maria Francisca de Moraes, daughter of the lieutenant José Ribeiro Mendes (Alencar n.d.c:60). He and Maria Francisca had eight children, five women and three men (Alencar n.d.c:59). At least two of their oldest daughters married Portuguese planters.

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10 APMT, probate-inventory Paulo da Silva Coelho, 1809.
11 INTERMAT – Livro de registro das sesmarias. Livro 3, Reg. 27 – fls. 22v a 23v.
12 Military post equivalent to second lieutenant.
13 Although none information was found about Manoel Moreira’s origin in the archives of Cuiabá, his name appears in documents of the Arquivo Distrital de Braga, Portugal, for the years of 1774 and 1816 (source: http://epl.di.uminho.pt).
14 APMT, probate-inventory Eleutério da Costa Monteiro, Cartório do 5º Ofício, Caixa 103, Processo No. 632, year: 1870.
15 APMT, ACBM/IPDAC – Pasta 70 – Docs. 1.762-1763, fls. 10-10v.
16 APMT, probate-inventory Antônio da Silva Albuquerque, Cartório do 5º Ofício, Caixa 16, Processo No. 621, year: 1812.
17 APMT, Engenhos de fazer cachaças...
who owned land in Chapada. Their first daughter, Maria da Silva Albuquerque, got married to the Portuguese lieutenant Jerônimo Joaquim Nunes, who arrived in Cuiabá in 1804, and died in 1837. Jerônimo Nunes was nominated vice-president of the Mato Grosso province in 1826 (Alencar n.d.c.:59-62). This couple owned the Engenho do Aricá, in Chapada, whose slaveholding was composed of 14 slaves at the time of Maria Albuquerque’s death, in 1845.18 His second daughter, Ana da Silva Albuquerque, married the Portuguese lieutenant-colonel Antônio José de Cerqueira Caldas, owner of the Engenho Rio da Casca, in Chapada, where he had 51 slaves working when he died, in 1853.19

Actually, the practice of Brazilian families marrying their daughters to Portuguese was well established in the colonial period, and has been verified in other rural regions of Brazil, such as the countryside of the captaincies of São Paulo (Metcalf 1992:94; Bacellar 1997:110), Rio de Janeiro (Faria 1998:193), and Bahia (Borges 1992:244). This preference of Brazilian planters for Portuguese sons-in-law has been explained in terms of the web of contacts of these immigrants, who tended to be merchants, with the more urbane and commercial world, thus allowing families to annex new capital and lines of business (Borges 1992:244; Faria 1998:193; Metcalf 1992:94), although, as Freyre affirms (1986:96-97), their European origin could also have been an important criterion for those families concerned in keeping the “whiteness” of their offspring. In spite of this subject, Florence (n.d.:127) ironically refers to the case of the Portuguese lieutenant-colonel João Pereira Leite, from the Fazenda Jacobina, the biggest plantation of Mato

18 APMT, probate-inventory Maria da Silva de Albuquerque Nunes, Cartório do 2º Ofício, Caixa 01, year: 1845.
19 APMT, probate-inventory Antônio José de Cerqueira Caldas, Cartório do 5º Ofício, Caixa 63, Processo No. 02, year: 1853.
Grosso in 1827, with the following words: “Oh, this nostalgic colonial time (…) in which the Portuguese men from Europe were able to marry rich [Brazilian] heirs only because they were white.”

This practice of endogamic marriages among the planters’ families was kept over time, in such a way that granddaughters and grandsons of the first planters married among themselves. This case is very well illustrated by Domingos da Silva Barreiros’ daughters. As illustrated above, Domingos Barreiros, owner of the Engenho Água Fria (Buritizinho site) was married to Ana Luiza da Silva, daughter of the Portuguese planter Paulo da Silva Coelho. This couple had two daughters, Ana Luiza Tereza da Silva and Antônia Pereira da Silva. Both daughters married local planters. In 1827 Ana Luiza married the captain Vitoriano José do Couto, who was son and grandson of Portuguese planters, the captains José do Couto da Encarnação and Francisco Corrêa da Costa, respectively (Alencar n.d.a:19). Antônia Pereira, in turn, married the planter José Gomes Monteiro, who was also son and grandson of Portuguese planters, the captains José Gomes Monteiro and, again, Francisco Corrêa da Costa, respectively (Alencar n.d.a:42-43).

Nevertheless, although skin-color categorizations acted as a major scheme of social distinction, in a scale in which the predominantly whiter, Portuguese ascendance, skin color was correlated to the planters class, while the darker, African ascendance, skin color was correlated to the slaves class, some planters also had offspring with Africans and Indians. For instance, Crivelente (2001:147-150) refers to the case of the Portuguese Valentim Martins da Cruz, who had nine children from his slave Joaquina. Valentim, was
settled in the region since 1780, and had a significant slaveholding of 70 slaves in 1798. He never married, but in his will, in 1812, he recognized as legitimate the six daughters and three sons that he had with the referent slave. His children are all categorized as pardos (mulattos) in this document, being that his plantation was inherited by his daughter, the parda Escolástica Martins da Cruz, who kept this property productive until her death, in 1866. Siqueira (2001:107-108) also describes the case of a planter of the region, José Martins de Carvalho, married to an indigenous woman, Emerenciana Bororo, who inherited his plantation in 1863.

In summary, the cases discussed demonstrate that a reasonable majority of these planters were very concerned with establishing a community, aggregated by familial ties and sharing the same social and economic interests and positions. The benefits of establishing such alliances were many. Considering just the economic level, they guaranteed that the land ownership in the region was held in the hands of their small group of families over the generations, a very important advantage in a world marked by the economic instability that menaced even the most powerful families, as will be discussed next.

**Gender and Social Strategies**

The study of probate-inventories demonstrates that, although the planters’ patrimony was divided among the widow and heirs upon the planters’ death, the widow not only had right to 50% of her husband’s goods, but also was, many times, responsible for the administration of the patrimony left to the rest of the heirs. The women, therefore,

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21 APMT, Engenhos de fazer cachaças…
22 APMT, probate-inventory Valentim Martins da Cruz, Cartório do 5º Ofício, Caixa 17, Processo No. 970, year: 1812.
23 APMT, probate-inventory Escolástica Martins da Cruz, 1866.
exerted a fundamental role in the planters’ social strategies, being primarily responsible for the maintenance of the land and its transmission over the generations. In many cases, these planters’ wives were much younger than their husbands, tending to die many years later than them. This was the case, for instance, of the Portuguese captain Luis Monteiro Salgado’s wife, Rosa Cardoso de Lima, who died in 1841, 33 years after him,24 of captain Domingos da Silva Barreiro’s wife, Ana Luiza da Silva, dead in 1848, 30 years after her him;25 and of the Portuguese captain José Gomes Monteiro’s wife, Ana Maria da Lapa, dead in 1858, 41 years after him.26

The control over the whole fortune by the widows was a very important strategy to avoid the fragmentation of the family’s patrimony, which, however, was unavoidable after the widow’s death. This fragmentation tended to occur as a result of the process of division of the fortune, as demonstrated in the probate-inventories. The death of the spouse, whether the planter or his wife, required the inventorying of the couple’s patrimony, aiming to establish its total value to start the process of division of the fortune among the heirs. In this inventorying all the debits and credits of the couple were also computed, being that the debits in many cases tended to be much bigger than the credits. Thus, the first procedure was paying the deceased’s debits. The remaining value was divided in two halves, 50% for the widow/widower and the 50% for the deceased. From the deceased’s part, he/she had the right to destine 30% according to his/her own will in will, in cases where the deceased had left one, which was usually used to cover the expenses with the death, such as burial, masses, donations for churches and religious

24 APMT, probate-inventory Rosa Cardoso de Lima, 1841.
25 APMT, probate-inventory Ana Luiza da Silva, 1848.
26 APMT, probate-inventory Ana Maria da Lapa, Cartório do 5º Ofício, Caixa 71, Processo No. 780, year: 1858.
sodalities, as well as paying of debts, rewarding of favorite sons, daughters, godsons and
goddaughters, and recognition of illegitimates children, sometimes had with slaves, in the
case of the male planters. Thus, only 35% of the planters’ fortune, after the paying of the
debits, remained to be divided among his/her children. Taking into account that these
planters had an average of seven children, the final result was a total of 5% of the
planters’ liquid patrimony to each heir. This proportion, however, could be even more
fragmented in the case of heirs with children, since these last ones had right to 50% of
their parents’ share.

Therefore, only on occasion of the death of the widow, which, as previously
discussed, tended to happen only after a considerable number of years or decades, was
the patrimony fully divided among the heirs, but not before it was again subjected to the
whole process of inventoring, in which more debts were again abated. An additional
problem was the lack of experience of many of these female widows over the
administration of the plantations. Living in a rural, patriarchal society, these women used
to be very submissive to their husbands. For instance, visiting in 1827 the plantation
Engenho do Quilombo (site Engenho do Quilombo), Hercules Florence (n.d.:118)
became horrified when the planter, the Portuguese Domingos José de Azevedo, told him
that, when his wife was alive, he used to lock her in the basement of the house when he
had to leave the plantation for business. In view of this oppression, many of these
planters’ wives were not involved in the economic affairs related to the administration of
the engenhos before their husbands’ death. Therefore, these widows had two options:
contracting a manager for administrating the plantation or learning by themselves how to
do it.
For the un-experienced widows who had sons of a mature age, the best solution was contracting them as plantation managers, as did Rosa Cardoso Lima and Ana Pereira da Silva. Rosa Cardoso kept her son, Antônio Monteiro Salgado, as the manager of the Engenho Rio da Casca between 1812 and 1838, under the yearly wage of 64 oitavas of gold. On the other hand, for the widows without sons or whose sons were very young, the solution was either contracting a third party for carrying out the administrative activities, or taking care of the engenho by themselves. Feliciana Querubina Pereira da Silva, widow of the captain Manoel Pereira da Silva Coelho, without children, contracted the husband of her niece, Miguel Joaquim Soares, for administering her Engenho Lagoinha. At the occasion of her death, in 1856, she owed for such services the significant amount of 3,000,000 réis. This was one of the cases in which the contracted manager seemed to care little about the carrying out of his administrative functions, since upon Feliciana’s death the engenho went to public auction, being bought by Manoel José Moreira da Silva for 18,000,000 réis, an amount which included the 23 slaves who worked there. Most of this money went to pay Feliciana’s debits, leaving the amount of 8,102,801 réis to be divided among her heirs.

Among those widows who decided that taking care of the engenhos by themselves was the best option, there were some histories of failure and others of success. The case of Tereza Maria da Transfiguração, widow of Luiz Rodrigues de Sampaio, owner of the

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27 APMT, probate-inventory Rosa Cardoso de Lima, 1841.
28 APMT, probate-inventory Paulo da Silva Coelho, 1809.
29 Oitava: the eighth part of an ounce.
30 APMT, probate-inventory Feliciana Querubina Pereira da Silva, Cartório do 5º Ofício, Caixa 69, Processo No. 506, year: 1856.
31 Ibidem.
Engenho Abrilongo, is illustrative of the former situation. This couple had eight children, most of them still very young when Tereza Maria died in 1847. Her fortune totaled 13,869,440 réis, but after the payment of debts, there remained only 5,210,857 réis to be divided among the orphans, meaning a value of 604,708 réis went to each one, an amount of money sufficient to buy only one 18-25 years old male slave. After the payment of the debts, the orphans, under the guardianship of Antônio Bento Pires, son-in-law of Thereza Maria, were able to keep the engenho. The way that Antônio Bento carried out his role of tutor, however, was subjected to criticisms by a local planter, the widow Antônia Pereira da Silva, from the Engenho Água Fria (Buritizinho site). In a letter to the Judge of Orphans, in 1849, she denounced that the orphans were living in misery and the engenho was degrading, since most of its equipment and slaves had been given as payment of debts. Antônia Pereira asked the judge for a public auction for selling the engenho, so that the orphans could guarantee the money from a property which was rapidly loosing value due to its state of abandonment. In his defense to the judge, Antônio Bento Pires argued that the fertile land in which the engenho was settled was more important than the mill and other buildings, and the little planting that had been done was enough to guarantee the orphans survival. This case is exemplary of the economic instability to which the children of the powerful planters could be subject upon their death, when the payment of debts and fragmentation of the patrimony could bring about a situation of near misery even when they were able to keep the plantation.

There were also cases in which the family’s bankruptcy came even before the widow’s death. This appears to have happened to Ana Maria da Lapa and Luiza Maria de

32 APMT, probate-inventory Thereza Maria da Transfiguração, Cartório do 5º Ofício, Caixa 54, Processo No. 790, year: 1847.
33 Ibidem.
Jesus. Daughter and wife of important planters of Chapada dos Guimarães, the
Portugueses Francisco Corrêa da Costa and José Gomes Monteiro respectively, Ana
Maria was left, by occasion of her husband’s death, in 1817, with seven children between
one and 15 years old. She assumed the administration of the Engenho das Palmeiras,
since her husband had left few debts and a considerable patrimony evaluated at
14,452,593 réis. When she died, in 1858, she had lost the engenho and lived in her house
in Cuiabá, having then only 13 slaves, a small number when contrasted to the 46 slaves
left by her husband. She was able to keep just a tract of land in Chapada, without
buildings and evaluated to be worth the small amount of 200,000 réis, in a time in which
a young slave was valued at 1,400,000 réis.\textsuperscript{34} A similar situation happened to Luiza
Maria de Jesus, also daughter and wife of planters, Luis Monteiro Salgado and Antônio
Leite do Amaral Coutinho, respectively. She inherited the Engenho Conceição do
Quilombo from her husband in 1818. Antônio Leite had seven children, three from one
previous marriage and four from his marriage to Luiza Maria. He left her in an instable
economic situation, since most of his fortune, including many of his 32 slaves, went to
pay debts, resulting in the amount of 6,136,729 to be divided between the widow and his
seven children. After winning a judicial dispute to avoid a third party assuming her
children’s tutelage, Luiza Maria won the right to administer the engenho by herself, but
the book of receipts and expenses of the engenho, present in her husband’s probate-
inventory, for the years between 1818 and 1826, makes clear that she was unsuccessful in
this enterprise, since the expenses were bigger than the profit, forcing Luiza Maria to

\textsuperscript{34} APMT, probate-inventory Ana Maria da Lapa, Cartório do 5º Ofício, Caixa 71, Processo No. 780, year: 1858.
mortgage the *engenho* in 1836. By occasion of her death, in 1855, she had lost it, keeping just one house in Cuiabá and a tract of land in Chapada, this last one valued at the small amount of 50,000 réis.

There were some cases, however, of women who were very successful in administering *engenhos*. Florence (n.d.:109-110), in 1827, described one of these female planters, Mrs. Antônia, from the Engenho Buriti, who spent the days laid on a hammock close to the sugar-mill, smoking a long pipe and supervising the activities of the slaves. Mrs. Antônia Arruda was daughter of Apolinário de Oliveira Gago, who died unmarried in 1816, leaving a son and a daughter from two illicit relationships. In his will, Gago left one half of his patrimony to Antônia, as recognition of her help in the plantation affairs. She seemed very adept at conducting the business, since one account book of the *engenho* under her administration for the year of 1817 presented a positive balance of 619,654 réis, while in many other cases *engenhos* tended to present a negative balance after the planters death.

Ana Luiza da Silva, widow of Domingos da Silva Barreiros, and her daughter, Antônia Pereira da Silva, are another example of very successful female planters. Both mother and daughter lived in the Engenho Água Fria (Buritizinho site). By the time of Ana Luiza’s death in 1848, she had accumulated the significant fortune of 62,161,429 réis. Moreover, several of the planters of the region owed money to her, suggesting that lending money was an important way to guarantee her economic success. Ana Luiza’s inheritance was divided by two heirs, Antônia Pereira and her first cousin, Antônio

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35 APMT, probate-inventory Antônio Leite do Amaral Coutinho, Cartório do 5º Ofício, Caixa 21, Processo No. 149, year: 1818.
36 APMT, probate-inventory Luiza Maria de Jesus, Cartório do 5º Ofício, Caixa 67, Processo No. 651, year: 1855.
37 APMT, probate-inventory Apolinário de Oliveira Gago, Cartório do 2º Ofício, Caixa 1, year: 1816.
Correa de Couto. Antônia kept the Engenho Água Fria. Even before her death, in 1870, she freed all of her slaves in a will, since she did not have descendents, leaving her fortune to a goddaughter, Antônia Guilhermina de Oliveira, daughter of the Baron of Aguapey. Even without slaves, Antônia Pereira’s patrimony totaled the significant amount of 43,611,458 réis. Like her mother, she also seemed to be lending money, given the great number of people owing money to her and the great amount of money in specimen described in her probate-inventory.

While at least some of the planters’ daughters had the possibility of guaranteeing their welfare by marrying other planters of the region, the planters’ sons and the less fortunate daughters, in many instances, had to face a more unstable situation since, as discussed above, after the planters’ widows death the patrimony had to be shared by the numerous heirs and was rarely enough to guarantee the social and economic status that their parents afforded. Thus, social strategies had to be developed to give them a chance to reach economic success. One recurrent alternative for the men was to get married to the daughters of successful planters, having access, through this way, to a dowry that could permit their initial economic emancipation. This practice well established in colonial Brazil, was maintained into the 19th century. The dowry constituted a donation given by the parents, or other closer family members, to their daughters on the occasion of their marriage. According to Metcalf (1992:102), the dowry constituted one of the most commons practices to favor one heir over another, since its value was established by the parents. Although kept in the name of the wife, whose rights to the dowry were

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38 APMT, probate-inventory Ana Luiza da Silva, 1848.
39 APMT, probate-inventory Antônia Pereira da Silva, 1870.
protected by law, so that her husband would be unable to loan it or to sell it without her consent, the dowry was administered by the husband.

One example of the proportions that a dowry given by a rich planter could reach is that received by Carolina Corrêa da Costa from her father, the captain Antônio Corrêa da Costa, on the occasion of her wedding to the captain José de Lara Pinto, in 1840. The couple received 11 slaves, 25 canadas of cachaca (cane brandy), 38 horses and mares, 291 head of cattle, 1,568,312 réis in money, and two sesmarias in Chapada dos Guimarães, where they probably established the Engenho Campo Alegre (Alencar n.d.a:127, 135). Antônio Corrêa da Costa was one of the most powerful men of Mato Grosso, coming to assume the presidency of the province between 1831 and 1834 (Alencar n.d.a:127), being owner of the Engenho Bom Jardim, in Chapada, which he inherited from his father, the Portuguese Francisco Corrêa da Costa. The Portuguese planter Paulo da Silva Coelho also gave very generous dowries to his daughters Ana Luiza and Maria Pereira. Ana Luiza received, on occasion of her wedding to the captain Domingos da Silva Barreiros, four thousand cruzados in public titles, two small houses in Cuiabá, two female slaves, and four thousand cruzados in gold or in foodstuffs. Probably Domingos Barreiros used a part of this capital to establish the Engenho Água Fria, which he acquired the same year of his father-in-law’s death, in 1809. Maria Pereira, on the occasion of her wedding to the Portuguese alferes Manoel José Moreira, received one house in Cuiabá, two female slaves, and the value of two thousand oitavas

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40 Canada: Portuguese measure for liquids equivalent to three English pints.
41 APMT, probate-inventory Paulo da Silva Coelho, 1809.
42 INTERMAT – Livro de registro das sesmarias.
of gold in foodstuffs. Years later, in 1818, Manoel José was granted a sesmaria in the region of Chapada, where he established the Engenho Bom Jardim.

The dowry, however, rather than a total donation, was a kind of long-term loan, since the couple benefited had to return 50% of the value received by occasion of the sharing of the patrimony upon the death of the of the last parent. Thus, the dowry was an endogamic system of circulation of the family’s capital, since the 50% returned benefited the planters’ sons as well as the other daughters that did not receive this assistance. Moreover, although administered by the husband, the dowry continued to be considered the patrimony of the donating family, serving as a mechanism of subordination of the husband to his dowry donators. An illustrative case is present in the will of the widow Escolástica Martins da Cruz, daughter and wife of Chapada’s planters. She declared that she had given as a dowry for her granddaughter, Antônia Leonor Martins da Cruz, when the granddaughter was married to João de Albuquerque Nunes, one house in Cuiabá and three slaves. Antônia Leonor died a few years after her marriage, leaving only one daughter. In her will, Escolástica affirmed that the dowry pertained to her great-granddaughter, who was still underage in 1866, and named as a caretaker a third party, since she was very disappointed with the behavior that her grandson-in-law was having towards her family.

Another alternative for the planters’ sons, after their parents’ death, was to be kept as the manager of the family’s engenho. This was the case of the lieutenant Manoel Pereira da Silva Coelho, son of the Portuguese Paulo da Silva Coelho. His mother, Ana

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43 APMT, probate-inventory Paulo da Silva Coelho, 1809.
44 INTERMAT – Livro de registro das sesmarias.
45 APMT, probate-inventory Escolástica Martins da Cruz, Cartório do 5º Ofício, Caixa 85, Processo No. 766, year: 1866.
Pereira da Silva, died in 1812, just three years after her husband. The seven direct heirs of the couple decided to keep Manuel Pereira as the administrator of the Engenho Lagoinha, in the role that he had carried out since their father passed away in 1809. The process of dividing the parents’ patrimony was only executed many years later in 1827, each being entitled to the total amount of 2,932,689 réis. Rather than selling the engenho, the heirs decided to keep it under Manoel Pereira’s administration, a role that he carried out until his death, somewhere between 1828 and 1839. His widow, Feliciana Querubina Pereira da Silva, somehow managed to gain ownership of the engenho, and kept it until her death, in 1856. Upon her death, the engenho went to public auction, being bought by the alferes Manoel José Moreira da Silva Junior, who was the grandson of the original engenho’s owner, Paulo da Silva Coelho. Manoel José kept the engenho until his death, in 1878. Thus, in some sense, the Engenho Lagoinha was kept in the hands of the same family from the end of the 18th to the end of the 19th century.

Another alternative for the planters’ sons was using their part in the inheritance to buy the engenho from the rest of the heirs. This was the case of Antônio José de Siqueira e Cruz, owner of the Engenho Samambaia, which he declared in will, in 1865, to have purchased from the two other heirs of his mother, Rosália Xavier de Siqueira. Rosália passed away just two years earlier than Antônio, in 1863. When she died, there were only ten slaves working in the Engenho Samambaia. This was a small and decadent establishment, valued at 800,000 réis, at a time in which a 18-25 years old male slave

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46 APMT, probate-inventory Paulo da Silva Coelho, 1809.  
47 APMT, probate-inventory Feliciana Querubina Pereira da Silva, 1856.  
48 Ibidem.  
49 APMT, probate-inventory Manoel José Moreira da Silva Júnior, Cartório do 3º Ofício, Caixa 184, year: 1879.  
50 APMT, probate-inventory Antônio José de Siqueira Cruz, Cartório do 5º Ofício, Caixa 84, Processo No. 01, year: 1865.
was valued at 1,500,000 réis.\textsuperscript{51} Antônio died as a 51 year old single man. He seems to have lived his whole life under his parents’ dependency, without conditions for economic autonomy. In the three years in which he could keep the status of small planter the \textit{engenho} lost value, since the process of sharing the Rosália’s patrimony among the heirs and paying her debts, had further devalued this establishment. At the time of his death, Antônio was able to keep only five slaves working in the \textit{engenho}, three being men over 50 years old, and two children. The plantation is described in his probate-inventory as little cultivated and with the sugar-mill in a very bad state of conservation. The total value of the \textit{engenho} dropped from 800,000 réis in 1863 to 700,000 réis in 1865.\textsuperscript{52}

A more successful case was that of Francisco Vieira de Azevedo, son of the Portuguese Domingos José de Azevedo. His father had been established in the region since the end of the 18\textsuperscript{th} century, owning the Engenho do Quilombo, which is one of the sites excavated for this research. Domingos Azevedo’s wife, Antônia Maria Dias, died in 1812,\textsuperscript{53} while he died sometime after 1831. When Antônia Dias passed away, the sugar-mill plus the rest of the buildings of the plantation were valued at 1,800,000 réis, and the land where the \textit{engenho} was established, at 420,000 réis. In 1820, Domingos Azevedo had a patrimony worth 9,331,462 réis, and five heirs from his marriage to Antônia Maria.\textsuperscript{54} After Azevedo’s death, Francisco Vieira used his part of the inheritance to buy the \textit{engenho} and the land from the others heirs. Unfortunately, Domingos Azevedo’s probate inventory was not located, but it is unlikely that he had considerably increased his fortune in this period of about ten years. Given the general pattern of contraction of

\textsuperscript{51} APMT, probate-inventory Rosalía Xavier de Siqueira, Cartório do 5\textsuperscript{o} Ofício, Caixa 80, Processo No. 06, year: 1863.
\textsuperscript{52} APMT, probate-inventory Antônio José de Siqueira Cruz, 1865.
\textsuperscript{53} APMT, probate-inventory Antônia Maria Dias, 1812.
\textsuperscript{54} Ibidem.
debts among the planters, the opposite could be expected. Thus, taking into account the
expenses with the sharing process, each heir may have received, in the best case
hypothesis, an amount not higher than 1,500,000 réis, which was insufficient to keep the
engenho functioning as a productive unit in a case where the heir had no other capital
available. In 1831 Francisco Vieira got married to Ana Lutéria Filiz de Aquino, daughter
of the alferes Thomas Filiz de Aquino and Josefa Maria de Barros. The most probable
situation is that he received a dowry from this marriage and used it as the additional
capital to buy the engenho and keep it productive. The fact is that when Francisco Vieira
passed away in 1867, he had accumulated the significant amount of 27,428,310 réis.
Two more of Francisco Vieira’s brothers, José and Antônio, however, did not have such a
fortunate a fate. José died poor in 1859, having as patrimony only one small house in the
village of Poconé, in the south of Mato Grosso. Antônio, in turn, was, in 1865, a captain
deserter of the National Guard, probably a refugee of the war between Brazil and
Paraguay (1865-1870), and living in a quilombo in the southwestern region of the
province, the Quilombo do Sepotuba (Volpato 1993:191).

The most successful history of a planter’s son was that of Antônio Corrêa da Costa.
Son of the Portuguese Francisco Corrêa da Costa, the captain Antônio Corrêa da Costa
was born in Cuiabá, in 1782. He got married, in 1805, to Maria da Conceição Toledo,
also a native of Cuiabá, and daughter of the captain paulista Bento de Toledo Piza. They
had nine children. Antônio Corrêa da Costa was the second president of the Mato
Grosso’s province, nominated in 1831, a post that he held until 1834 (Alencar

55 Ibidem.
56 APMT, probate-inventory Francisco Vieira de Azevedo, 1861.
57 APMT, probate-inventory José Vieira de Azevedo, Cartório do 5º Ofício, Caixa 73, Processo No. 08,
year: 1859.
n.d.a:127). From his father he inherited the Engenho Bom Jardim, in Chapada. At the
time of his death in 1855, he had the largest slaveholdings in the region, composed of 126
slaves in this engenho, plus 51 slaves working in the Sítio da Glória, and 30 more slaves
working in three cattle-raising farms. By the time of his death, his patrimony, after
expenses were paid with the probate-inventory, was worth 233,583,539 réis, the highest
amount among Chapada dos Guimarães’ planters.58 His wife died in 1871. She was able
to keep most of the family’s fortune, and, even after losing one-third of her share to the
payment of debts, the amount of 228,908,460 réis remained to be divided among eleven
heirs.59 She left the Engenho Bom Jardim, in will, for her son, Francisco Corrêa da Costa,
who kept the property until at least 1893.60 This is another case of an engenho which was
kept in the hands of the same family from the end of the 18th through the end of the 19th
century.

The Planters’ Domestic Material World

The purpose of this section is to characterize the planters’ domestic material world
contained in their plantations and urban houses, and consider the extent to which this
group was influenced by the more sophisticated patterns of material life adopted by the
urban elites of the great Brazilian population centers, principally after the opening of the
ports, in 1810. In addition, the comparison between the domestic environment of
Portuguese and Brazilian planters will highlight the extent to which factors like national
origin, social standing, and urban versus rural context, were more or less determinant in
the building of these domestic worlds.

58 APMT, probate-inventory Antônio Corrêa da Costa, 1855.
59 APMT, probate-inventory Maria da Conceição de Toledo, Cartório do 2º Ofício, Caixa 3B, year: 1876.
60 INTERMAT – Livro de registro de terras. Livro 3, Reg. 109, f.l. 83v a 84.
To understand the specificities of this context, it is necessary, at first, to delineate the general characteristics of the Brazilian colonial domestic environment and its changes over time. Describing the Brazilian colonial domestic setting, Algranti (1997:105) notices the extreme simplicity of the furniture even in the richest households, characterized by only a few chairs, one or two tables with their benches, and some boxes and trunks. Luccock, a British traveler who visited Brazil in the first decade of the 19th century, described the parlor of the richest houses as furnished only with a wooden sofa and a few chairs. The dining room was furnished with an improvised table made of a large piece of plain wood supported by two trestles, accompanied by two benches of wood and, more rarely, one or two chairs (Leitao, 1937:131). Algranti (1997:105) affirms that the simplicity of the colonial houses was symptomatic of the reduced interest in the intimate life in a society in which the domestic sociability was very restricted. For this reason, the more sophisticated domestic customs from Portugal were precariously adapted to the colonial life.

On the other side, in Western Europe, the aristocracy started to adopt an ideal of domesticity at the end of the 16th century (Schammas 1980). The compartmentalization of houses, guarantying the privacy of residents and the creation of specific spaces for socializing, such as the dining room, are characteristic of these changes. Concurrent with these changes was a bigger investment in domestic furniture and accessories, such as cutlery, crystals, porcelains, and services of tea, indicating a more complex elaboration of meals. Such changes intensified during the 17th century and began to reach the lower classes during the Industrial Revolution. Finally, in the 19th century, privacy entered into its ‘golden age’ (Perrot, 1995), with domesticity becoming the hallmark of a bourgeois
way of life, outlining a dichotomy between the male and female spheres, respectively associated to the external public domain and the private domestic domain (Hall, 1995).

In Brazil, this concern with the domestic comfort only began in the second half of the 18\textsuperscript{th} century, among the wealthiest of the classes (Algranti 1997:153). For western São Paulo state, Metcalf (1992:88) notices that improvements in the planters’ houses, indicating higher levels of comfort, started at the end of the 18\textsuperscript{th} century, when families acquired beds with mattresses to replace cots woven from sticks and vines, covered their beds with coverlets sewn from silk, damask, and cotton, began to use china and pewter plates rather than earthenware, and started to eat with spoons rather than with their fingers. These improvements, however, were very subtle, only becoming more remarkable after the moving of the Portuguese Real family to Brazil, as they escaped from the Napoleonic wars, in 1808. In 1810, the prince regent, D. Joao VI, opened the Brazilian ports to the ‘friendly’ nations, thus ending three centuries of Portuguese monopoly.

In Brazil, the ideal of domesticity was initially adopted by a class of planters who, as a consequence of the political, economical, and social changes occasioned by the Imperial regime, started to escape from the isolation of their plantations and projected themselves in the economic setting of the cities and into the political environment of the court and provincial governments. This group tended to adopt an urban style of life and cosmopolitan patterns of behavior (Fernandes, 1975:27). According to Queiroz (1978:56-57), this process started between 1820 and 1830, when the differences between urban and rural life were accentuated at all social levels. During this period, the urban population differed from the rural not only in economic, but also in cultural terms, with the higher
classes adopting new customs and habits as signs of distinction, sophistication and erudition. This new way of life was first adopted in the court (Rio de Janeiro) and only decades later in the capitals of other provinces (Queiroz, 1978:58).

The period between the opening of ports, in 1810, and the beginning of adoption of this bourgeois European way of life, in 1820, as pointed out by Queiroz, was a transitory period of assimilation of these new discourses and of the industrial capitalism’s material culture associated with them. Illustrative of this process is the comparison done by Silva (1977:50-54) between the house furniture described in the probate-inventory of a very wealthy merchant in Rio de Janeiro, dated 1816, who held a commendatory title and the concurrent newspapers’ advertisement of refined European furniture. The merchant’s domestic furniture was related to the typical patterns of the colonial period, characterized by the scarcity of luxury items and the heavy investment in items of silver, rather than to the more modern and sophisticated European items sold in the stores of luxuries.

After 1820 the upper classes of Rio de Janeiro increasingly assimilated the discourses and material culture related to the ideal of domesticity. After 1850, these classes adhered to French modes and fashions, considering France the paradigm of civility. These new modes and customs radiated from the court outward to the rest of the country (Alencastro, 1999:47-50; Needell 1993).

Most of these improvements, however, could have taken a longer time to arrive in Mato Grosso. In 1827, Langsdorff (1997:139) observed that hammocks were the main furniture in Mato Grosso’s houses, accomplishing the function of sofas in Europe. In one of his diary’s passage he describes the impressions that the wife of the wealthiest merchant of the province had from Rio de Janeiro. The woman did not like the court for
the simple reason that she could not find, in the houses she visited, any room where she
could set a hammock for sleeping. Referring to the customs of the province’s inhabitants,
both Langsdorff (1997:140) and Florence (n.d.:97) noticed that only in very rare
occasions did women eat at the table with their husbands. Langsdorff (1997:140)
observed that even women from the elite ate with their fingers.

Nevertheless, in Portugal more sophisticated patterns of sociability and domestic
life started in the beginning of the 18th century (Algranti 1997:117). Thus, it could be
expected that the Portuguese planters in Chapada were more influenced by the Western
European ideal of domesticity, bringing from the metropolis habits, customs and patterns
of behavior related to the domestic life which were still very incipient in their adoption in
Western Brazil. A greater sophistication of their domestic setting, therefore, could be
indicative of their concern in reproducing a more metropolitan way of life, distinguishing
them from the Brazilians senhores de engenho with their colonial mannerisms.

The comparison of the furniture described in six planters’ probate-inventories for
the first two decades of the 19th century, however, shows otherwise. Portuguese and
Brazilians, with some exceptions, kept the same very low levels of domestic comfort in
their rural houses (Figure 3-1). Their rural residences, in general, presented very little
furniture, composed of tables, in numbers of two to five, small benches, called moxos,
numbering between six and nine, simple small beds, called catres, generally numbering
two, one or two larger beds, and one or two leathered boxes or trunks, both used to guard
clothes and other personal items. Their furniture was valued between 15,000 and 20,000

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61 Portuguese planters: Luis Monteiro Salgado – 1808; Paulo da Silva Coelho, 1809; Valentin Martins da
Cruz, 1812; and Antônia Maria Dias, wife of the Portuguese Domingos José de Azevedo, 1812. Brazilian
planters: Apolinário de Oliveira Gago, 1816; Antônio Leite do Amaral Coutinho, 1818.
réis, in a period in which a young slave of 18-25 years in age could reach the price of 240,000 réis. The only planter studied who was concerned with keeping a material life a little more sophisticated was the Portuguese Paulo da Silva Coelho, whose furniture was valued at 83,300 réis, including two expensive beds, of 14,000 and 12,000 réis each, and the most unique wardrobe of all the inventories valued at 14,400 réis.62

Figure 3-1. Rural domestic environment in the early 19th century (Rugendas 1979).

Besides the furniture, more portable household items are described in these inventories, including silver, copper, and pewter items, imported wares, bottles and glassware. The investment in silver items, rather than indicating a behavior in tune with a more sophisticated domestic life, was a traditional way for accumulating wealth during the colonial period, justified by the low capitalization of the economy. Langsdorff (1997:140), perhaps excessively generalizing, affirmed that, even in the simplest houses of Mato Grosso, he could see silver forks, spoons, and knives, although he also noticed

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62 APMT, probate-inventory Paulo da Silva Coelho, 1809.
that women ate with the fingers. In the plantations, silver items are represented in general by cutlery, forks and spoons, trays, glasses, jars, and horse riding items, like stirrups. These items are found in variable number, but always predominating in cutlery over the rest of the items. The valuation of these items presents a huge variation, ranging from 23,200\textsuperscript{63} to 215,200 \textit{réis}.\textsuperscript{64} Some of the planters who owned houses in Cuiabá preferred to keep these silver items in their urban residences, as will be discussed later. Pewter items were restricted to a few plates, whereas copper is represented by some lamps and kitchen items, predominately in this last case in terms of pans of variable sizes, called \textit{tachos}. These copper pans were also used in the productive activities of the sugar-mill, being therefore omnipresent in the probate-inventories.

Finally, Chinese and European wares are also listed in two of these six probate-inventories, those of the Brazilian Apolinário de Oliveira Gago and Antônia Maria Dias, wife of the Portuguese Domingos José de Azevedo. Algranti (1997:117) noted that a Portuguese influence on the colony was expressed through the luxury of the tableware, displayed on rare social occasions to impress the guests. In the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, the social significance attributed to tableware, particularly imported wares, increased in Brazil among the high and middle classes, as a consequence of the assimilation of the Western European ideal of domesticity, as demonstrated by research carried out by Lima in the context of Rio de Janeiro (see Lima, 1994; 1996a; 1996b; 1997; 1999). Lima’s research demonstrates that in both the domains of the social consumption of tea and the formal dinners, these classes tried to emulate the European bourgeoisie. Such emulation resulted in the mixing of Brazilian traditional practices with those of European influence, thus

\textsuperscript{63} APMT, probate-inventory Antônio Leite do Amaral Coutinho, 1818.  
\textsuperscript{64} APMT, probate-inventory Apolinário de Oliveira Gago, 1816.
creating, in Lima’s words, “hybrid expressions, marked by accentuated contrasts.” (Lima, 1999:215; see also Needell 1993) The social importance attached to the tea and dinner sets demonstrate that the acquisition of these items was guided by desires and necessities that surpassed their utilitarian function.

For the case of the plantations of Chapada dos Guimarães, these portable items, although much cheaper than silver items, were evaluated by significant amounts of money, when contrasted to the investment made in furniture. In Antônia Maria Dias’ probate-inventory, the imported wares were valued at 6,637 réis, while her furniture was valued at 15,000 réis.65 The case of Apolinário Gago is more remarkable, since wares and furniture were very similar in value, 19,725 and 20,400 réis66 respectively. In terms of the regional context, this was a considerable amount of money spent on wares, since, as referred above, the valuation of the planters’ house furniture oscillated between 15,000 and 20,000 réis. This concern in investing significant amounts of money in imported wares indicates the social importance of these items for the planters. Indeed, when Langsdorff visited this region, in 1827, he spent some days at the plantation Engenho do Quilombo (site Engenho do Quilombo) of the Portuguese Domingos José de Azevedo, widower of Antônia Maria Dias. Langsdorff described Azevedo’s house as a decadent and badly built structure, whose walls were not plastered. Nevertheless, he noticed that the planter’s dinner table was nicely presented, with English wares and a set of silver cutlery, despite the frequent apologies of the Domingos, who argued, probably aiming to impress the German traveler, that the majority of his dinner sets were in his house in Cuiabá (Langsdorff 1978:111).

65 APMT, probate-inventory Antônia Maria Dias, 1812.
66 APMT, probate-inventory Apolinário de Oliveira Gago, 1816.
This passage from Langsdorff’s diary suggests that these planters may have been more concerned with keeping a higher level of domesticity in their urban residences, where they had more occasions to create a social display, than in their plantation houses, despite the fact they spent most of the year in the latter establishments. Domestic items of urban houses for this period are described in four planters’ probate-inventories. \(^67\) Luis Monteiro Salgado, for instance, had furniture worth of 96,000 réis in his urban residence, as opposed to 15,200 réis worth of furniture in his Engenho Rio da Casca (Taperão site). He was also concerned with keeping his silver items, valued at 78,700 réis, in this urban residence, as well as imported wares, valued at 19,500 réis. \(^68\) However, the most remarkable case was that of the Brazilian Antônio da Silva de Albuquerque, who had a furniture worth 138,600 réis in his urban house, plus 219,375 réis worth of items made of silver, 19,500 réis in imported wares, and 31,000 réis in glassware, while the furniture from his plantation was not evaluated at all, probably because it had no commercial value. \(^69\) There were also cases of planters, like the Portuguese Valentin Martins da Cruz, who spent practically the same amount of money, about 15,000 réis, in furnishings and wares for both residences, thus keeping low levels of domestic comfort in both urban and rural contexts. Other planters, like the Portuguese Paulo da Silva Coelho and the Brazilian Apolinário de Oliveira Gago, were not interested in having houses in Cuiabá, keeping their silver items in their respective plantation houses. Despite some variations, what these comparisons demonstrate is that, in general terms, planters were much more concerned in investing money in household items for their urban houses than for their

\(^{67}\) The probate-inventories of the Portugueses Luis Monteiro Salgado, 1808, Valentim Martins da Cruz, 1812, and José Gomes Monteiro, 1817; and the Brazilian Antônio da Silva de Albuquerque, 1812.

\(^{68}\) APMT, probate-inventory Luiz Monteiro Salgado, 1808.

\(^{69}\) APMT, probate-inventory Antônio da Silva de Albuquerque, 1812.
rural ones. But, this comparison raises a question. Was the furniture that the planters maintained in their urban residences qualitatively distinct from that kept at their plantations, or are differences of a quantitative nature instead?

Actually, the urban furniture presents little distinction in terms of functional variability from their correspondents in the plantations, being composed of tables, benches, trunks, boxes and small beds which are omnipresent in these latter settings. These items, however, had a higher valuation in the city, suggesting that they tended to be newer and maybe of better quality than their rural counterparts. The difference also consisted in the addition of a few items not common in plantation houses, such as chest of drawers and wardrobes. These pieces, however, are bedroom furniture, and not related to the social spaces of the houses. The only planter who appeared concerned with exposing the more sophisticated furniture in his urban house was the Brazilian Antônio da Silva Albuquerque, the richest planter of Chapada during this period. In his parlor he kept two sofas, called *canapés*, and six armchairs of different types, in addition to 36 traditional, small benches.

These comparisons demonstrate that there was no significant difference between the Portuguese and Brazilian planters’ material life in the first decades of the 19th century. Rather, a low level of sophistication was generalized, although the wealthier planters tended to spend more on furniture and on other domestic items than the average planters. Perhaps the gender dimension could be an important factor behind this Portuguese austerity regarding their houses. Freyre (1986:29) notices that the areas in Brazil colonized by Portuguese couples had stronger European influence than those areas, like Mato Grosso, in which Portuguese men married local women. According to the author:
Where they established themselves [the Portuguese women], fat and slow-moving, with their knowledge of the culinary arts and the hygiene of the home, with their European and Christian manner of caring for children and the sick, there the European civilization sent down its deepest roots and achieved its greatest permanence. (Freyre 1986:29)

Another important factor to be considered is the original social standing of these Portuguese planters in Portugal. Probably very few of them came from wealthy families. Although a deeper study of their original social background would require additional research in Portuguese archives, the fact is that most of these men came from small cities and villages, rather than from the biggest Portuguese cities, like Lisbon, where more cosmopolitan manners were adopted by the higher classes in the 18th century (see Santos 1983).

Archaeological Artifacts and Probate-Inventories: Planters’ Material Life in a Diachronic Perspective

The picture presented by the domestic items described in probate-inventories suggests that planters had very similar material worlds, whose level of sophistication slightly varied according to their higher or lower economic condition. Could the archaeological material add something significant to this picture of social and material conditions? A major distinction between probate-inventory lists of domestic items and archaeological artifacts is that the former source describes items that were present in the house of the individual by occasion of his/her death. In this sense, these documents present a frozen picture of a very specific moment in the trajectory of the household. The archaeological record, in turn, represents practices principally carried out on a daily basis. Thus, despite its static nature, it presents a more dynamic picture of the daily practices of the households in their multiple economic, social, and ideological facets. The main goal of this section is to contrast the documentary and archaeological records, and search for
differences, similarities, and ambiguities between the material culture described in the probate-inventories of the three excavated planters’ houses and the artifacts recovered through the archaeological research. Intra-site and inter-site comparisons, considering synchronic and diachronic variability at the regional level will be undertaken in an attempt to discover the regularities and differences in the material behavior of the planters’ class.

The three categories of archaeological artifacts treated here are imported wares, glasses, and locally-made potteries. The assemblages were chronologically ordered according to the mean ceramic date formula (South 1972). The archaeological deposits studied presented intervals of formation greater than specific household occupations, so that the established mean dates must be considered as devices to chronologically organize the assemblages rather than referring to very delimited depositional events. Thus, the two oldest assemblages, referent to the years of 1836.2 (mean date) (Taperão site) and 1841 (mean date) (Buritizinho site) are constituted by artifacts that were deposited between the end of the 18th and the first half of the 19th century. For the households in question, Taperão’s earlier assemblage represents the occupation of the first planter, the Portuguese Luis Monteiro Salgado, who died in 1808, and the subsequent occupation of his widow Rosa Cardoso de Lima, who dies in 1841. In turn, Taperão’s later assemblage, dated of 1850.5 (mean date), although it could embrace the final period of Rosa Cardoso’s household, is principally related to the subsequent occupation of this site, during the second half of the 19th century, when the household was not identified through the documentary research. The earlier assemblage of the Buritizinho’s planters is mean-dated to 1841, being predominantly related to the households of Domingos da Silva Barreiros’,
who died in 1818, and his widow, Ana Luiza da Silva’s, who died in 1848. The later assemblage, mean-dated to 1863.4, embraces both the occupation of their daughter, Antônia Pereira da Silva, dead in 1870, and the subsequent occupation, by Inácio José de Sampaio. For the case of the Engenho do Quilombo, the only planter’s deposit identified was mean-dated to 1853, correlating principally to the period of occupation of Francisco Vieira de Azevedo’s household, which lasted from the 1830s through 1861.

Figure 3-2 presents the frequencies of imported wares, glasses, and locally-made potteries for each context of deposition, chronologically ordered according to the mean ceramic dates. The first point to be considered is the omnipresence of locally-made pottery in the planters’ assemblages, in proportions varying between 8% and 18% of the assemblage totals. Despite their omnipresence, locally-made potteries are not described in planter’s probate-inventories due to their very low economic value. These items were only listed in two freed slaves’ probate-inventories, having very little or no value attached to them. Locally-made pottery is represented, in the planters’ contexts, almost exclusively by cooking pots, followed by a very low frequency of storage vessels, probably used for water, as is still common in the region today. Therefore, these items were predominantly used for cooking food in the kitchen, an activity carried out by the domestic slaves.

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70 The analysis of these material categories took into account exclusively the minimum number of vessels, rather than the number of fragments.
71 APMT, probate-inventory Maria Mina, Cartório do 5º Ofício, Caixa 33, Processo No. 655, year: 1832; probate-inventory Eugênio, Cartório do 5º Ofício, Caixa 130, Processo No. 219, year: 1882.
In general terms, the planters’ material patterns present some regularity in the case of these three classes of artifacts. At the diachronic level, these three classes present little oscillation. Imported wares composed the great majority of the assemblages, followed by glasses and, in smaller proportions, pottery. The only exception for this pattern was the first period of occupation of the Buritizinho site (Engenho Água Fria), in which pottery appears to be more popular than glass. This deviation in pattern suggests an intensification of cooking activities on this plantation, probably related to the existence of a centralized kitchen, in which food could be cooked for some of the plantation’s slaves not related to the household. This possibility is reinforced by the highest proportion of plates (Figure 3-4), suggesting a more intense consumption of meals in this area and, as will be discussed further, by the bowls present in this assemblage.

Glasses, classified as beverage bottles, medicinal flasks, and tableware, presented a high inter-site variability (Figure 3-3). The only regularity noticed concerns the highest
popularity of beverage bottles in all contexts. Diachronically, there is a gradual decrease of the bottles concurrent to the increase of tablewares up to 1850.5, when this trend is inverted. However, it is probable that these trends are more related to idiosyncrasies of these planters’ households rather than indicative of significant temporal variations.

Figure 3-3: Frequency of glass’ functional categories in planters’ contexts: Taperão 1836.2 – MNV: 41; Buritizinho 1841 – MNV: 35; Taperão 1850.5 – MNV: 14; Engenho do Quilombo 1853 – MNV: 39; Buritizinho 1863.4 – MNV: 17.

Imported wares (Figure 3-4) present some regularity in terms of proportions of forms, but also a significant diachronic variation. Whereas plates tended to present very similar proportions over both time and space, with the only exception being the already discussed first period of occupation of the Buritizinho site, bowls tended to increase in frequency over time. The exception to this trend is in the latest context of the Buritizinho site, but this deposit also presents other material particularities which do not correspond to the general trends evidenced in the planters’ material behavior. This is the case of the strong disproportion between cups and saucers, which is common in contexts related to
Figure 3-4. Frequency of imported wares’ functional categories in planters’ contexts: Taperão 1836.2 – MNV: 140; Buritizinho 1841 – MNV: 162; Taperão 1850.5 – MNV: 77; Engenho do Quilombo 1853 – MNV: 112; Buritizinho 1863.4 – MNV: 65.

the other social groups, as will be discussed later. Bowls were used for the consumption of soups and stews, meals which were generally taken straight from these pieces, without the use of cutlery. These pieces were more popular during the 18th century, when the use of cutlery was not widespread in Brazil (Cascudo 1983:709-710). Thus, the trend for the increase in the frequency of these pieces over the 19th century in the region suggests a higher emphasis on the consumption of meals like soups and stews without the use of spoons, a pattern that is anachronistic to the general trend to a higher complexity in the meals and the paraphernalia used for consuming them in 19th century Brazil (see Lima 1996), in which bowls were gradually substituted by deep plates which required the use of spoons for consuming the soups. This increase of the bowls over time in the planters’ assemblages is probably due to the slaves’ influence. As will be discussed in Chapter 6, in the areas occupied by the slaves in the Taperão and Buritizinho sites, bowls constituted the most frequently occurring pieces related to the consumption of food, suggesting that
traditionally oriented African foodways, centered on the consumption of stews and soups (see DeCorse 1999:147-148), were maintained by the slaves in the region. Since female slaves were the main cooks in the planter’s houses (Freyre 1992:454; Ramos 1977:85), it is probable that they influenced the planter’s foodways. Thus, this gradual increase of bowls over time in the planters’ assemblages could point to a process of creolization of the planters’ foodways, but the possibility that these pieces were principally used by slaves who worked in the sugar-mills located next to the planters’ houses, must also be considered, as will be discussed later.

One way to verify the extent to which planters were concerned with the social significance of the imported wares in their rural households is by classifying their refined earthenware assemblages according to the four levels of decoration proposed by Miller (1980; 1991) (see figures 3.5 and 3.6).

The validity of the four levels of value of refined earthenware, based on the attribute decoration, was verified for the region of Chapada dos Guimarães through lists of imported wares in probate-inventories which were specific enough to describe, although in very general terms, the decoration of these items. This was the case of Ana Luiza da Silva’s probate-inventory, dated 1848, in which white, refined earthenware plates were valued at 240 réis per unit, Blue Edge pieces at 300 réis, and blue transfer-printed pieces in 400 réis. Previous research, in probate-inventories of merchants of imported wares in Porto Alegre (in southern Brazil), have also demonstrated Miller’s scale as valid in Brazilian contexts (see Symanski 1998).

72 APMT, probate-inventory Ana Luiza da Silva, 1848.

It can be assumed that those planters’ households that presented higher frequencies of the most expensive transfer-printed wares were concerned not only with the exhibition of socio-economic status but were also influenced by the Western European ideal of domesticity. As previously revealed, the increasing social significance attributed to the imported wares by the Brazilian high and middle classes was a consequence of the assimilation of this ideal in the 19th century, as demonstrated in research carried out by Lima in the context of Rio de Janeiro (see Lima, 1994; 1996a; 1996b; 1997; 1999; see also Sousa 1999; Symanski 2002).

For the Chapada dos Guimarães’ plantations, a gradual decrease may be noted in transfer-printed wares and an increase in the white, undecorated, wares over time, although the context of 1850.5 from the Taperão site represents an extreme case, which
must be individually analyzed. This pattern suggests that insofar as the 19th century advanced, planters became gradually less concerned with displaying their social status through imported wares, which became increasingly utilitarian, losing most of their social significance, as demonstrated by the increase of the cheapest undecorated pieces.

Although this trend in the lower investment in household items matches the previously discussed decline of the planters’ wealth over time, verified through the study of the diachronic variation of their fortunes, it also indicates that these planters were increasingly less concerned with the adoption of the ideal of domesticity in this region during the second half of the 19th century. This trend goes against the increase in both the sophistication of the meals and of the paraphernalia used to present and serve them, as verified in the cosmopolitan city of Rio de Janeiro during the 19th century (see Lima 1999). Moreover, this occurred at the exact time during which Mato Grosso’s upper classes started to adopt new concepts about civilization and progress, being more
influenced by the industrialized European countries due the opening of navigation in the Prata River, in 1857, which linked Cuiabá to Rio de Janeiro and to the capital of Argentina, Buenos Aires (Volpato, 1993:37-50). According to Volpato (1993:36-44), the establishment of this fluvial route strongly affected the province’s economic and social life, due to the easier access to industrialized commodities and to peoples and ideas coming from Europe.

The variations in refined earthenware decorative categories are still more significant at the intra-site scale, specifically in the case of the two sites that presented deposits related to different temporal intervals, the Taperão and Buritizinho sites. In both cases it is very clear that the trend towards a less sophisticated material life in the assemblages relates to the second half of the 19th century.

In the Taperão site, transfer-printed wares were the most popular type in the earlier period of occupation, related to the Portuguese Luis Monteiro Salgado’s and his widow, Rosa Cardoso’s, households. Interestingly, industrialized wares are not listed either in Luis Monteiro Salgado’s probate-inventory nor in that of his widow. In 1808 the furniture in this plantation house was valued at the small sum of 10,800 réis, and was composed of only four tables of different sizes and eight benches. More portable items were restricted to one kettle for hot chocolate making, called a chocolateira, one basin and one jar of pewter, two pewter plates, one brass lantern, one brass jar, and several copper pans (tachos). When Rosa Cardoso died, in 1841, no furniture was listed for the house, demonstrating the very low value of its probable domestic items. The portable items were restricted to one case holding eight flasks and one lantern of brass. Rosa Cardoso, however, appeared to have lived in Cuiabá, leaving the plantation under the
administration of her son, Antônio Monteiro Salgado. In Cuiabá, she maintained high standards of domestic comfort, as demonstrated by the furniture in her house, valued at 106,500 réis, without taking into account several silver items and other portable goods also present in this residence.

While both probate-inventories demonstrate very little concern with the domestic comfort in this planter’s house, archaeological data, particularly the imported wares, suggest a greater concern with the presentation of more expensive items at meal times, as indicated by the predominance of transfer-printed plates and the higher proportion of serving pieces, like platters, tureens and terrines. Moreover, the intense consumption of social drinks, like tea and coffee, as indicated by the high frequency of cups and saucers, in practically the same proportions, demonstrates the importance of social events more typical of urban bourgeois domestic settings in this rural environment. Thus, the presence of more expensive wares gave some sense of refinement to this rustic environment. However, it must be taken into account that this “refinement” in the imported wares was far from matching the level of refinement found in the more cosmopolitan urban and even semi-rural contexts of Rio de Janeiro, in which the upper and middle classes used combined sets of transfer-printed dinnerware and tea ware, as well as porcelain tea sets, in their increasingly sophisticated and ritualized meals (Lima 1996; 1999:214; 1999:218; Sousa 1999:212-216). In the case of the plantations of Chapada dos Guimarães, there is no evidence of combined sets of transfer-printed wares, indicating that these pieces were whether individually bought or brought from the planter’s urban houses insofar as they became older and were substituted with new pieces. Moreover, for the specific case of the Taperão site, despite the combined use of teacups and saucers, teapots are absent from the
assemblage, suggesting that tea, coffee, or other social drinks, were served directly from
the kettle to the teacups, constituting a very informal way of using these items. Thus,
these planters were much less concerned with the organization, order and segmentation of
the meals than the urban elites of Rio de Janeiro. This “informality” in the use of
imported wares demonstrates the specific configuration that the western European ideal
of domesticity, and the practices associated to it, acquired in this very faraway
countryside located in the heart of South America.

In the case of the earlier occupation of the Buritizinho site (Engenho Água Fria), by
Domingos da Silva Barreiros’ and his widow Ana Luiza da Silva’s households, presented
a distinct situation, since Ana Luiza appears to have lived in the plantation, despite the
fact that she also had a house in Cuiabá. Ana Luiza was concerned with keeping a high
level of domestic comfort in her plantation house, as demonstrated by her furniture,
valued at 180,200 réis. She kept 282 pieces of imported wares, including several
specialized pieces for serving food and tea/coffee, as well as a porcelain tea set, valued at
19,200 réis. These wares, when totaled, came to the impressive amount of 202,609 réis, a
value higher than that attributed to her furniture. She was also concerned with having a
variety of glasswares, principally water and wine glasses, valued at 12,350 réis.

Interestingly, when the archaeological assemblage of imported wares associated
with this period of occupation is compared to that of the above referred Taperão
occupation (Figures 3.4 and 3.6), it is noted that the occupants of this last site, despite the
simplicity of their furniture, were more concerned in using more expensive wares and
consumed tea/coffee more frequently than Ana Luiza’s household. The possibility that
part of Ana Luiza’s archaeological wares assemblage might be related to the activities of
a centralized kitchen, thus including extra-household individuals, as previously discussed, could explain this incongruence between the archaeological and documentary records. Indeed, when the frequency of the shapes of wares described in her probate-inventory is contrasted to the archaeological assemblage, some clear divergences appear (Figure 3-7).

In the first place, it is noted that the lower frequency of plates and the higher frequency of cups and saucers for the probate-inventory list is very similar to those proportions established for the Taperão site’s archaeological assemblage. Conversely, bowls are practically absent from the probate-inventory list, which describes only two of these items, a remarkable contrast to the archaeological data, in which these pieces compose 15% of the assemblage of wares. This discrepancy between the frequencies of imported ware shapes presented in these two categories of records strongly suggests that the higher proportions of archaeological plates and bowls are related to the feeding activities of other social groups present in the plantation, including slaves, who probably ate their principal meals close to the planter’s house, where the sugar-mill was located. In this sense, it is important to note that bowls constituted the most popular functional category in the slave’s imported wares assemblage of the Buritizinho site, constituting 47% of all pieces.

A closer look at the bowls decorative variability in the planter’s assemblage suggests very strongly that these pieces were more related to slave activities. As can be seen in Figure 3-8, when Miller’s indexes for bowls are contrasted to those derived from the whole assemblage, significant differences appear. The high proportion of minimally-decorated bowls, which compose 62.5% of this functional category is very remarkable. Undecorated bowls, in turn, constitute 20.83% of this assemblage. Thus, more than 80%
of the planters’ bowls assemblage is constituted by the least expensive pieces found on the market, demonstrating the very low social significance of this category of wares.

Moreover, the proportions of the bowls in decorative categories strongly match those ones verified in the slaves’ assemblage for this site, as can be seen in the Figure 3-8. The high level of similarity between these pieces in both planter’s and slave’s assemblages is highly suggestive that most of the bowls present in the planter’s area were used in slave’s mealtime activities.

In this sense, it is interesting to note that bowls are also absent from the only list of wares found for the Engenho do Quilombo site, in the probate-inventory of Antônia Maria Dias, dated 1812, while the archaeological wares assemblage of this site presented the highest proportion of these pieces among the five planter’s deposits (Figure 3-4). However, in the case of the latter, the temporal differences between most of the archaeological assemblage, whose mean date was 1853, as well as the small number of

Figure 3-7. Planters’ imported wares assemblages of the Buritizinho site – functional variability. Probate-inventory 1848 – MNV: 283; archaeological assemblage 1841 – MNV: 162.
wares listed in Antônia Maria’s probate-inventory, limited to 30 items, do not furnish a secure comparative basis, although it may suggest the possibility that most of the bowls found on this site could be related to the slave’s mealtime activities, as opposed to those of the planters.

![Graph showing the percentage of bowls classified according to Miller's scale.]

Figure 3-8. Buritizinho site, bowls assemblages classified according to Miller’s scale:

Assemblages of imported wares for the later period of both Taperão and Buritizinho sites are less sophisticated than those in earlier periods, demonstrating that the planters, in the second half of the 19th century, were less concerned with exhibiting evidence of a more sophisticated material life through these artifacts. In the case of the Taperão site, there is a decrease in both the serving pieces and in the transfer-printed wares, and a great increase in the proportion of bowls of the least expensive, white, undecorated, wares. As previously discussed, this later deposit is principally related to the undocumented household(s) that followed that of Luis Monteiro Salgado, which
represented a rupture with the original Portuguese and Portuguese-descended family that kept the plantation from the end of the 18\textsuperscript{th} century until the 1850s.

In the case of the Buritizinho site, this late period is marked by the decrease in serving pieces, a high disproportion between cups and saucers, and a strong increase in the inexpensive undecorated wares. The most remarkable characteristic of this assemblage is the high disproportion between saucers and cups, with the former presenting almost the double of the frequency of the latter. The proportionality of frequencies between these two items was a constant in all previous planter’s assemblages, as well as in the planter’s probate-inventory lists of imported wares, demonstrating that both pieces were used together and consequently broke in similar proportions. Acting in support of cups, saucers have a superfluous utilitarian function, serving only to present some level of sophistication in the act of drinking tea and coffee. The higher frequency of these items in this late archaeological record indicates, however, that they were more intensely used than cups, thus probably having multiple functions. Lima (2000) found a similar disproportion between cups and saucers for the first half of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century in the contexts of the state of Rio de Janeiro, which she explained by considering the common practice, during that period, of consuming tea in the saucers themselves, which served to cool the hot beverage. In the second half of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century Lima noticed that this custom began to be seen as inappropriate and attributed to uneducated people. As referred to above, this late assemblage of the Buritizinho is related to the occupation of Ana Luiza’s and Domingos Barreiro’s daughter, the widow Antônia Pereira da Silva, who died in 1870, and the subsequent occupation, by Inácio José de Sampaio, which lasted from the 1870s until the beginning of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century. Antônia Pereira da Silva, as opposed to her
mother, was more concerned with her urban residence in Cuiabá, where she kept the most expensive furniture, valued at 240,000 réis, as well as the silver items, valued at 308,000 réis. The plantation house furniture, in turn, at the year of her death in 1870, was restricted to just three tables, valued at 13,400 réis. In her will Antônia Pereira recognized the good services that Maria Cecília and Manuel Vicente Neves had done in the administration of the plantation, and left each the sum of 500,000 réis. Thus, this radical dropping in the standards of domestic comfort can be explained by the occupation of the planter’s house by these managers, who demonstrated a less sophisticated material behavior. In the late period, post-1870, Inácio Sampaio’s household also maintained these lower levels of domestic comfort. A very important point to be noted is that this functional pattern of imported wares is much more similar to that verified in the overseers/free-laborers deposit at this site, as will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5, than to that of other established planters in the region.

The imported wares diachronic variability points to a trend of a more sophisticated, European-influenced, material life for planters in the earlier occupations of these plantations than that in the late period of the second half of the 19th century. The weakening in the ideal of domesticity in the post-1850 contexts is contradictory to Mato Grosso’s socio-economic conjuncture for this period, in which the province was better integrated in the world economic system and its high classes were more heavily influenced by European discourses and material life. On the other hand, such evidence matches the gradual impoverishment of the planters during this period, which was discussed in the Chapter 2. The gradual lack of concern with the domestic environment of these plantations in the second half of the 19th century may be indicative of the total
consolidation of the city as the context for the social display in Mato Grosso. Indeed, some of the elite houses of Cuiabá, in the last quarter of the 19th century, presented sophisticated furniture, including pianos, in consonance with the bourgeois environments of the court and larger Brazilian coastal cities (Leonzo 2004:271).

Finally, the mixed character of the planter’s assemblages, as exemplified by the case of the Buritizinho site, demonstrates the problems of trying to separate this social unit from other social groups, particularly the slaves. After all, slaves shared most of the physical plantation’s spaces with the planters. Thus, rather than trying to identify the “noise in the pattern” generated by the evidence of the practices of other social groups which left their vestiges in the planter’s archaeological record, a more productive approach is to try to understand the complexities in this record as elements inherent to the plantation’s multicultural landscape, in which planters, free laborers, and slaves, or rather Portuguese, Africans, Indians, and Brazilians, despite their social and cultural boundaries, closely interacted, mutually influencing each other in a number of ways. In this sense, the planter’s archaeological record, and all of its implications in terms of power, identity, and creolization, acquires another level of significance when contrasted, at an intra-site scale, to those of the other socio-cultural groups who occupied the plantations, as will be discussed further in Chapter 6. With this understanding in place, the next focus of analysis should be on the group opposed to the planters in terms of the hierarchical structure of the plantations: the slaves. Like the planters, slaves also developed a series of social strategies on these spaces, building alliances based on cultural affinities and expressing their differences through the material culture.
Slaves in Brazil did not compose a homogeneous group, neither in physical or social terms, and much less in cultural terms. The constant and intense arrival of new, African slaves in Brazil until 1850 resulted in the maintenance of several African-derived traditions throughout the country. Moreover, it permitted the formation of multiple African communities, built under cultural communalities such as language and religion. In this chapter, I will characterize the slave communities in Chapada dos Guimarães’ plantations considering their African origins, gender ratios, marriage patterns, and material culture, in particular, the pottery that they produced. Based on the combination of documentary and archaeological data, I will defend the idea that the African slaves in these plantations did not become a monolithic cultural group due to their common condition of captives, but rather, they were concerned with demonstrating their cultural differences through the reproduction of group-specific marriage patterns and through other elements of their cultural traditions, one material correlate of which was locally-made ceramics. An implication of this maintenance of multiple, African-derived identities in these spaces is that creolization was not a linear process, in which Africans with different cultural backgrounds formed a new, homogeneous, creole culture. Rather, this was a segmented, multidimensional, process. In this sense, the slaves creolized when they constructed these discrete African-derived communities. Creolization, as a homogenizing process, only became more evident when the African population was surpassed in number by the Brazilian-born slaves, in the second half of the 19th century.
By the same token, the maintenance of stylistic elements of their original cultural traditions, as displayed on their pottery, indicates that these groups charged this material with perceptions about themselves, and thus intentionally used it in support of their African-derived identities. In addition, gender is a critical dimension to be considered, since women were principally responsible for the production of pottery.

**Slave Trade to Brazil and Mato Grosso**

The slave trade to Brazil followed regional patterns, privileging, in distinct periods, peoples from specific regions of Africa, who were sent to specific regions of Brazil. According to Conrad (1986:16) between 1500 and 1520 the major source of slaves was the Congo, and from 1520 until the end of the sixteenth century, Angola. During the 17th century, Central Africa, principally Angola, continued to be the major source of slaves transported to Brazil.

Between 1680 and 1690, Bahia and Pernambuco opened a new trade to the so-called Mina Coast (Lower Guinea), due to a severe drought and epidemics in Central Africa which strained supplies of slaves (Miller 1988:452). Thus, west Africa became the major source of slaves to these captaincies in the 18th century (Curtin 1969:209-210). According to Curtin (1969:208-209), the province of Bahia had a special preference for slaves from the Mina Coast over Central Africans because the tobacco produced in Bahia was highly prized in west Africa and traded for slaves. However, central Africa was still the major source of slaves to Brazil during the 18th century, supplying 1,414,500 slaves, while west Africa supplied 611,000 slaves (Curtin 1969:211).

In the early 18th century Rio de Janeiro became the main port of entry for Angolan slaves, whose final destination was the gold-bearing regions of Minas Gerais, Goiás, and Mato Grosso (Miller 1988:450-452). Although it was not possible to find specific
references about the proportions of central and western Africans to Rio de Janeiro during the 18th century, Curtin’s (1969:208-211) numbers make clear that the majority of the slaves disembarked in Rio de Janeiro came from Central Africa. In fact, Florentino (1993:85) noted that between 1795 and 1811 only 3.2% of the slaving ships porting in Rio de Janeiro came from West Africa, being that after 1816 none entrance of slaving ships from that region was documented.

Around 1770, the Mina trade shifted further down toward Porto Novo and Lagos in the Bight of Benin. Civil wars in this region resulted in an increasing number of Yoruba slaves being sent to Bahia. This pattern continued into the opening decades of the 19th century, redefining the African ethnic setting in Bahia (Reis 2003:159-164; Schwartz 1985:340).

In the first half of the 19th century, Curtin (1969:240) affirms that 79.8% of the Atlantic slave traffic to Brazil was directed to Rio de Janeiro (73%) and São Paulo (6.8%), where Central Africans composed the vast majority of the slaves imported. From a total of 412,800 slaves imported to these two provinces between 1817 and 1843, 303,400 were from Central Africa, 105,600 from East Africa (Mozambique and Madagascar), and only 3,800 from West Africa. During the same period, Bahia and the northeast of Brazil received only 13% of the slaves arriving in the country, the great majority coming from the ports of the Bight of Benin (Curtin 1969:240). The introduction of East Africans in Rio de Janeiro, although beginning at the end of the 18th century, was accentuated after 1815 (Florentino 1993:87) as a consequence of British pressure to end the African slave trade, ultimately forcing Portugal to ban the slave trade on the African coast north of the Equator. Between 1817 and 1843 slaves from this region came to
represent about one quarter of the African slaves disembarked in this city (Curtin 1969:240-241; Florentino 1993:87).

During the 18th century Mato Grosso was connected to the Brazilian coast by three routes. The first, called *monções do sul*, linked Mato Grosso to the southern captaincy of São Paulo through a system of rivers, a trip that took four to six months to complete (Siqueira et al. 1990:26). This was the predominant route until 1755. The slaves introduced through this route disembarked in Brazil at the port of Rio de Janeiro. It is calculated that between 1722 and 1750 a total of 15,606 slaves arrived in Mato Grosso through this route (Silva 1995:250).

Between 1755 and 1778 a fluvial route, connecting Vila Bela in Mato Grosso to Belém in the northern captaincy of Pará, was widely used. This route was called *monções do norte*. The African slaves coming into Mato Grosso through this route were predominantly from Bissau and Cacheu, in West Africa (Neto 2001:44). This route, however, was never as critically important for the slave traffic to Mato Grosso as other routes, being responsible for the introduction of only 874 slaves in the period between 1755 and 1772, as opposed to 3,700 slaves coming from Bahia and Rio de Janeiro between 1761 and 1771 (Silva 1995:250, 257).

In 1736 a road connecting Cuiabá to the central Brazilian village of Goiás was opened, allowing the terrestrial contact between Mato Grosso and the northeastern and southern-central Brazilian coast. This road, however, was of little use until the last third of the 18th century when many merchants, unsatisfied with the monopolistic practices of the *Companhia do Grão Pará and Maranhão*, the Portuguese trade company which controlled the route of the *monções do norte*, started to use the Goiás road to trade with
the coastal cities of Rio de Janeiro and Salvador. The Goiás road continued to be the major route of commerce, and consequently of slave traffic, until the opening of navigation on the Paraguai River in 1857 (Lenharo 1982:26). Therefore, the commercial contact between Cuiabá and the two major receiving ports for slaves in Brazil supplied Mato Grosso with slaves coming both from Western Africa, through Salvador, Bahia, and Central Africa, through Rio de Janeiro, being that after 1815 Rio de Janeiro also furnished slaves from Eastern Africa.

In 1850 the Atlantic slave trade was officially abolished in Brazil, making Brazilian planters dependent on the inter-provincial slave trade and of the natural reproduction of their slaveholdings to acquire servile labor for their plantations. However, the Mato Grosso province seems to have been scarcely active in the importation of slaves during this period, since the slaveholding lists in the probate-inventories indicate that between 1870 and 1888 - the year of slavery abolition in Brazil – the great majority of the slaves working in the plantations of Chapada dos Guimarães were born in Mato Grosso, with a small number coming from Minas Gerais, Goiás and Bahia.

**African “Nations”: The Reconstruction of African Identities in Brazil**

A continuous discussion between scholars studying African and African-American cultures concerns the level of cultural homogeneity versus heterogeneity in sub-Saharan Africa. Mintz and Price (1992 [1976]) have argued that the cultural heterogeneity in Africa was so great that slaves in the New World composed a very heterogeneous group. For these authors, such cultural diversity fostered a very rapid process of creolization among African slaves in the Americas. On the other hand, Herkovitz (1941:295) maintained that the cultural homogeneity among the societies of western and central Africa was great enough for these two regions to be classified as a single cultural zone,
which was the major source of African-American culture. More recently, Kopytoff (1987:35-40) has also defended the idea that certain cultural principles of organization were shared throughout sub-Saharan Africa. These principles include a sense of hierarchy in social, political, and ritual relations, the tendency for certain positions of authority to be held for life, the submergence of the social identity of individuals in the group - above all the corporate kin group, the use of the kinship idiom as an appropriate metaphor for political relations, a pattern of “perpetual kinship” in the relations among rulers, the drive to acquire relatives, adherents, dependents, and to keep them attached to oneself as a kind of social and political capital, and the authority of those ones who first established in a certain region over the newcomers (Kopytoff 1987:35-40).

Others authors (Mbiti 1990:xiii; see also Harding 1997:39-41) have argued for a basic shared cosmology among sub-Saharan peoples or, in Mbiti’s (1990:xiii) words, a “potential unity” within the diversity of the African religions. Among the general characteristics of the African religions is the belief in a universal energy, which is placed at the center of the natural order of things (Harding 2000:39; Mbiti 1991:19), the belief in the continuation of life after death, the indivisibility between the spiritual and the physical, or the sacred and the secular, in a such way that religiosity permeates all the facets of life, and their ability to incorporate new elements, suitable to their own historical situation and needs, into their traditional structure (Harding 2000:39-41; Mbiti 1990:2-5; 1991:14-19).

Thornton (1998 [1992]:186-191; see also Sweet 2003:19), echoing Herskovits, also applies the idea of cultural zone to Africa but, rather than classifying western and central Africa into a single, cultural zone, he argues that these two regions embrace three cultural
zones: the Upper Guinea, covering the area reaching from the Senegal river down to the area just south of Cape Mount in modern Liberia, whose peoples spoke languages of two families, the West Atlantic and the Mande; the Lower Guinea, stretching from Cape Palmas to the Bight of Biafra, whose peoples spoke languages of the Kwa family; and the Angola coast, occupied by peoples who spoke languages of the Bantu family. According to Thornton, within each one of these three cultural-linguistic areas different ethnic groups shared many beliefs, values, and customs, resulting in mutual understandings both in Africa and in the slaves’ communities of the Americas. In his analysis, however, Thornton does not consider Eastern Africa.

This region, particularly Mozambique, from where most of the eastern African slaves came, had little in common with the Atlantic coast despite the predominance of Bantu speakers peoples (Russel-Wood 2001:14). According to Huffman (1989:157-158), these differences include language, with strong distinctions between the Western Bantu spoken in central Africa and the Eastern Bantu from the eastern and southern regions of Africa; ideology, with Western Bantu peoples being matrilineal while the eastern are patrilineal. Other differences include economy, marriage patterns, and belief systems. Such differences formed distinct worldviews between these two groups, which are reflected in their markedly distinct settlement patterns (Huffman 1989:158-159).

Thus, what these discussions suggest is the existence of a scale of similarity or universality ranging from general cultural principles widely shared among all sub-Saharan populations, to beliefs and practices more characteristic of these distinct “cultural zones,” to more discrete ones, shared along linguistic lines, and, finally, to the specific cultural traits that are characteristic of definite ethnic groups. As recent research
on African slavery in Brazil and elsewhere in Americas demonstrates (see Heywood 2002; Lovejoy 2000; Reis 2003; Russel-Wood 2001; Slenes 1991; Sweet 2003; Thornton 1992), the previously defended view that slavery brought about a sudden and deep cultural rupture among African slaves, due to factors such as the major cultural differences among these groups and a supposed devastating effect of the transatlantic passage over their lives, is no longer sustainable.

Discussing the importance of the study of African cultural principles for the understanding of the African diaspora in the Americas, Russel-Wood (2001:25) reminds that enslaved Africans brought with them values, beliefs, behaviors, practices, concepts, and perspectives about themselves, their role in the society and their place in the world that distinguished them from both the Afro-Brazilians and the Luso-Brazilians. In the New World, these Africans developed broadened conceptions of ethnicity, establishing bonds among themselves based on wider linguistic-cultural similarities, so that peoples from the same African language group, although from different original African ethnicities, associated with one another under the label of specific African “nations.” (Lovejoy 2000:9; Nishida 2003:32; Thornton 1992:195-205) In this work the emphasis will be on this most particular level of the African “nations.” Nevertheless, Thornton’s model of “cultural zones” is valid as an initial way to divide the diversity of the African “nations” in Mato Grosso according to macro cultural similarities. In this context it should be remembered that the great majority of western Africans came from the region denoted by Thornton as Lower Guinea.

Nishida (2003:31) reminds us that the classification of African slaves into “nations” in the New World was a device used for reducing African slaves to a limited number of
categories, inherited from the European custom of identifying slaves in Africa by “nationalities,” regardless of their specific places of origin or ethnic affiliations. An African “nation” was characterized according to one out of five criteria: 1- the name of the port which slaves were shipped, such as Mina, referring to slaves embarked in the Bight of Benin, Western Africa, where the major slaving port was the Portuguese fortress of São Jorge da Mina (current day Elmina, Ghana); 2- a wider ethnic-linguistic term, such as Nagô, which was broadly applied to all Yoruba-speaking peoples; 3- the geographical regions of origin of the slaves, such as Congo and Angola; 4- the names by which more discrete ethnic groups were known to other ethnic groups, such as the Tapa, a designate by which the Yoruba called the Nupe; 5- the rarest cases in which the original African ethnic designation was kept, like the Hausas (Curtin 1969:184-185; Karash 2000: 45; Nishida 2003:32; Soares 1998:4).

Therefore, in general, the African “nations” did not keep a direct correlation with the forms of self-ascription current in Africa. Nevertheless, the enslaved Africans adopted such categorizations to re-create their identities in the New World for the reason that these designations referred to geographical and linguistic-cultural areas wide enough to permit a general identification among the different people classified under these general labels (Nishida 2003:38; Oliveira 1994:176). In this sense, the declaration given by the slave Antônio, one of the rebels from the Malê (Islamized Yoruba) rebellion that occurred in Salvador in 1835, is illustrative of this point. On the occasion of his trial he affirmed: “We are all Nagôs, but each of us has his/her own homeland.” (see Nishida 2003:38)
Nevertheless, African “nations” were European categorizations imposed upon the African slaves. In this form, as affirms Oliveira (1994:176) the adaptation of peoples from different African ethnic groups to these more restricted categories involved the acceptance of new customs and the social contexts to which they referred. As Barth affirms (1998:194-195 [1969]), self-ascription is the fundamental feature in the categorization of ethnic groups. Thus, if one group, despite the dissimilarities among their members, recognizes itself as a single entity, distinct from other groups, and declares itself subject to the culture shared by its members, it constitutes an ethnic group (Barth 1998:195). In the case of the African “nations” in Brazil, these groups acquired a self-significance insofar as they created their own rules and defined the limits related to their affiliation or exclusion, orienting the behavior of their members and establishing criteria to socially classify the other groups (Oliveira 1994:176).

As previously discussed, African slaves imported to Mato Grosso arrived in Brazil principally through the ports of Salvador and Rio de Janeiro. Central Africans, who were predominantly Bantu speakers, came from a region of Africa largely related to four regional cultures: Kongo (Kikongo speakers), Mbundu (Kimbundu speakers), Ovimbundu (Umbundu speakers), and the Lunda-Tchokwe groups from eastern Angola (Karash 2000:58). Vansina (2002:xi-xii) affirms that these Central African cultures were not only interrelated, but also continually interacted with each other. In Rio de Janeiro, these groups were divided into several nations, with the Cabinda, Congo, Angola and Benguela being the most numerically prevalent during the first half of the 19th century (Karash 2000:50-58).
Several authors (Craemer, Vansina, and Fox 1976; Curto and Lovejoy 2004:12; Haywood 2002; Karash 2000:355-356; Mesquitela Lima 1988:223; Slenes 1991, 2002; Sweet 2003; Thompson 1984:104; Thornton, 1998) agree that Central Africans tended to share a cultural complex characterized by linguistic similarities and a common religious worldview, based on the complex of fortune-misfortune. This worldview sees the natural order of the universe as benevolent, but that misfortune can be caused by the malefic action of spirits or persons, through bewitching. Their rituals are symbolic acts emphasizing music, dance and trance and focused on charms that embody the most powerful religious symbols. These charms are placed in sanctuaries aiming to protect the community from the misfortunes. Another feature of these religions is the lack of conservatism, in which foreign rituals, symbols, and beliefs can be added according to the circumstances, but always fitted in the precepts of the cultural complex based on the notion of fortune-misfortune (Craemer, Vansina, and Fox 1976; Karash 2000; Slenes 1991:58, 2002; Sweet 2003). According to Karash (2000:361-362), this Central African religious worldview was a characteristic of the African slaves in Rio de Janeiro, so that they worshiped the images of Catholic divinities as powerful amulets that could be related to their specific systems of beliefs.

On the other hand, eastern African Bantus, although they also could share this general religious worldview, were different from those of Central African, due to the absence of or very little contact between the peoples of these two regions (Huffman 1989: 157-158; Russel-Wood 2000:14). Indeed there are references in 19th century Brazil where Moçambiques, who composed the most representative Eastern African nation, kept their
own dances and songs, separated themselves into religious brotherhoods, and had rivalries with other Bantu speaker “nations,” particularly the Congos (Alpers 2005).

In the case of Bahia, the majority of Western Africans came from the Bight of Benin. In Bahia, in the first decades of the 19th century, the Nagô, Jeje, Mina, and Hausa were the major Western African nations. During this period, the Nagô “nation,” related to the Yoruba-speaking peoples, was the most numerous (Reis 2003:309). Similarly to the case of the Central Africans, the Nagô identity was based on several linguistic and cultural communalities, such as a common myth of origin and the belief in the same pantheon of divinities. Oliveira (1994:176) observes that the great number of Nagô speakers in Salvador, capital of Bahia, allowed more specific African ethnic categorizations, such as Ijexas, Ijebus, Oyo, etc., to be kept within this group. However, the major division within this group seems to have been based within religion, distinguishing those who followed the precepts of Islam from those who tended to follow the Yoruba orisha cult. It is important to remember that Islam was a widespread religion in West Africa, and thus adopted by other groups besides the Nagô, such as the Bornos, Tapas, and Hausas. Islamic slaves in Bahia were generically referred to as Malê, a Yoruba expression for Muslim (Reis 2003:177).

The Hausa was predominantly an Islamic group, composed primarily of prisoners captured in religious wars or jihads that occurred in the Hausaland (Central Sudan) in the beginning of the 19th century. For this reason, this group constituted the majority of new arrivals from west Africa in the first decade of the 19th century (Nishida 2003:69; Reis 2003:73). In Bahia, this group kept a strong cohesion, being responsible for a series of rebellions between 1807 and 1821 (Reis 2003:68-93).
The Gege “nation” was composed of speakers of the various Gbe languages, such as Ewe, Fon, and Allada. Most of the Gege came from the kingdom of Dahome, and worshiped Dahomean divinities called as *voduns*. This group composed probably the largest African “nation” in Bahia in the second half of the 18th century, but they were surpassed by the Nagô in 1820 (Parés 2000:70). In Bahia, the Geges had rivalries with the Nagôs whose origin was related to the conflicts between the Gege Kingdom of Dahome and the Yoruba empire of Oyo (Reis 2003:326, 328). Nevertheless, the African-Bahian religion of *candomblé* was developed in the 19th century as a heterogeneous aggregation of deities of the polytheistic Gege’s *vodun* religion and the more monotheistic Yoruba *orisha* cults (Parés 2005). This religious aggregation, however, had precedence in Africa during the 18th century, when the Gbe absorbed Yoruba religious elements, more particularly the *Ifa* divinatory system (see Greene 2000:93).

The Mina “nation” constituted a more generic category, which could refer to any slave from western Africa who was sent to Brazil through the Mina coast, the name designated in Brazil for slaves from the Bight of Benin. It not necessarily implied for only those slaves shipped from the port of São Jorge da Mina, but also for those that embarked in the four other ports to the east of Mina: Grand Popo, Quidah, Jaquin and Apa (Verger 1976, cited in Kiddy 1999:235; Nishida 2003:31). Reis (2003:328), however, notes that the name Mina also referred to a more specific nation, composed of individuals from the kingdom of Pequeno Popo, located in the Dahome coast. This kingdom was formed in the 18th century by migrants running away from conflicts in the region of Elmina. This people called and still call themselves Mina. According to Reis
(2003:328), it is probable that a considerable number of Mina slaves in Salvador were derived from this more discrete group within the wider Mina “nation.”

Brazilian-born slaves, in turn, were classified, according to their skin-color, into three nations: *criolo, pardo, and cabra* (Karash 2000:36-41; Soares 2000:99-102). The term *criolo* was applied to slaves whose descent could be directly related to Africa; *pardos* or *mulattoes* were slaves with mixed African and European descent; and *cabra* was the designative to slaves with mixed and uncertain descent, which could involve Amerindian and African descent, but also other mixed origins. For the case of Mato Grosso, an additional category, *caboré*, was used to classify slaves of mixed African and Amerindian ascendance (Silva 1995:177).

It has been argued that the formation of African “nations” was better propitiated in urban settings, due to factors such as the greater concentration of slaves, the weaker control over them, and their ease of movement when contrasted to the plantations (Bastide 1978:51-52; Harding 2000:52-54; Slenes 1991:57; Thorton 1992:202). In urban environments, Africans from the same “nation” tended to work together in male work gangs, had their own established meeting points referred to as *cantos*, gathered for drum dances called *batuques* in which they danced and sang in their native languages, attended festivals related to their native African religions, sometimes established their own religious sodalities, and tended to keep endogamic strategies of marriage, selecting partners preferentially from the same “nation.” (see Nishida 2003:39-57; Oliveira 1994:177-182; Sweet 2003:207) As late as the early 20th century, scholars in Rio de Janeiro and Salvador observed that ex-African slaves from different “nations” still kept
their own religious cults and tended to gather with those from the same “nation” in specific locations of these cities (Rio 1906; Rodrigues 2004 [1933]).

For rural areas, the maintenance of these African-derived identities of “nation” could have been more problematic due the small size of the slaveholdings, which made it difficult for the slaves to be selective in their social relations and to build alliances along these ethnic lines (Slenes 1991:57). However, studies of African slave marriage patterns have demonstrated that also in the rural areas slaves could have emphasized their identities of “nation,” selecting, when the circumstances permitted, partners from the same African “nation” or those with similar cultural backgrounds (see Florentino and Gôes 1997:150; Schwartz 1989:391-393; Sweet 2003:46; Wimmer 2004:152-153). The case of the several rebellions conducted by the Hausas who lived in plantations close to Salvador, between 1807 and 1821, is not only very suggestive of the maintenance of such African “nations” in the rural environment, but also demonstrates that the boundaries between plantations did not impede slaves from keeping connections and establishing relationships with those from the same “nation” living in other plantations (Reis 2003:68-93).

The Demography of Slavery in Chapada dos Guimarães

Research on slaveholding lists present in the probate-inventories of 33 planters of Chapada dos Guimarães, complemented by data of the probate-inventories of another 18 planters whose plantations were located in the region around Cuiabá, permitted the identification of 31 African “nations” for the period between 1790 and 1869 (Table 4-1). For the late slavery period, between 1870 and 1888, African slaves composed a small minority and were no longer classified by nation. There are two complementary ways of analyzing this demographic data; one more general, taking into account the three general
Table 4-1. Slaves “nations” in Chapada dos Guimarães’ plantations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>1790-1809</th>
<th>1810-1829</th>
<th>1830-1849</th>
<th>1850-1869</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>55.67</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>39.83</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

geographic regions of origin of these slaves (western, central and eastern Africa), and one more specific, discerning the most numerically large African nations.
Figure 4-1 presents the proportions of slaves from Western, Central, and Eastern Africa, plus those born in Brazil. It is clear that Brazilian-born slaves predominated in number over any African regional group and, consequently, over any African “nation” throughout the period analyzed. This group of slaves will be discussed further. Presently the focus will be exclusively on the African groups.

As can be seen in the Figure 4-1 Central Africans composed the majority of the African slaves in these plantations throughout the period between 1790 and 1869. Western African slaves, in turn, were also present in great proportions between 1790 and 1829, gradually dropping after 1830, the same period in which Eastern Africans started to increase in the region. These fluctuations in the regional demography of African slaves suggest that central African cultural influences could have been predominant throughout the period in study, while Western African influences could have been strong in the two earlier periods. After 1830 eastern African cultural influences could have increased as a consequence of the increasing number of slaves from this region. As will be discussed
further, these fluctuations have strong correlations with the diachronic variability associated with the locally-made pottery.

At a more specific level, 31 African “nations” were identified for the period between 1790 and 1888 (see Table 4-1). From these “nations” the numerically predominant were, in decreasing order, Benguela, Mina, Congo, Mozambique, Angola, Hausa, Cabinda and Cassange. As can be seen in the Figure 4-2 the four first nations mentioned tended to be the majority groups in different periods within this temporal spectrum.

Figure 4-2. Major African nations in Chapada dos Guimarães: 1790-1809 – n= 106; 1810-1829 – n= 284; 1830-1849 – n= 166; 1850-1869 – n= 228.

For the period between 1790 and 1809 Mina was the major African “nation” in the region, and the second one in the subsequent period. According to Vianna Filho (1988:35), Mina slaves were the preferred slaves in the mining captaincy of Minas Gerais in the 18th century, because they were considered to be the most strong and vigorous among the African slaves. Kiddy (1999:237), however, gives other interpretation for this preference. According to her, the Europeans thought that Mina slaves had an innate
knowledge for gold mining, because the Akan peoples of the gold or Mina coast (Bight of Benin) controlled the gold mines of the region. Thus, in Minas Gerais, the miners conferred upon them almost magical powers for finding gold. It is probable that the same perception about these slaves was common among the miners in Mato Grosso during the 18th century gold mining period, which could explain the predominance of this group in the earliest period here analyzed. Indeed, there are references that Mina slaves were preferred in Mato Grosso in the 18th century, being less discriminated against than the Angola and Benguela slaves (see Silva 2001:119-120). As previously discussed, in 1815 the slave trade was banished north of the equator, forcing the slavers to concentrate in the regions of the southern hemisphere that included central and eastern Africa. Thus, as the importation of western African populations began to decline in Brazil, this lead to the gradual decrease of these slaves between 1810 and 1869, as demonstrated in the Figures 4-1 and 4-2.

Benguela was the second major nation represented between 1790 and 1809, and the largest between 1810 and 1849. The cultural influence of Benguela slaves, therefore, may have been very strong in the region throughout the first half of the 19th century. These slaves came from the region of Benguela, in southern Angola, which was predominantly occupied by the Ovimbundu, an Umbundu speaking people. This territory supported one of the largest populations of central Africa, due to the very good soils and weather conditions propitious for agriculture, particularly in the central plateau (Miller 1988:17). The Ovimbundu were farming peoples spread throughout this region in chiefdoms, each under the control of a paramount chief. In the 19th century they were divided into 22 chiefdoms, about one half tributary to one or another of the more powerful groups
(McCulloch 1952:1-2; Childs 1949:168). Childs (1949:167-168) observed that nearly all of the political divisions and denominations of these chiefdoms recorded in the end of the 18th and in the 19th century, such as the Bailundu, Bihe, Quiaca, Galange, Quibula, Andulo, Quingolo, Caluquembe, Sambo, Quikete, Caconda, and Quitata, were still in use in the first half of the 20th century. These chiefdoms, although not representing a single polity, were political and commercially tied, sharing a common political ideology which rationalized the ruling lineages’ right to inherit control of these states, based on the belief that rulers had supernatural powers, with the practice of intermarriage also commonplace among the ruling lineages (Heywood 2000:4). Their traditions can be traced back to a combination of ancient rainmaking kings, warlords rich in cattle, and a late 16th century military cult recalled in the 18th century as the “Jaga.” (Miller 1988:28)

The region of Benguela grew steadily as a source of slaves throughout the 18th century. In the 1770s a large military expedition, launched by the Portuguese, displaced the Ovimbundu warlords on the highland plateau and established a string of merchant princes along the slave trading routes. These princes funneled slaves to the port of Benguela (Miller 1988:133). The most intense period of slave traffic in this region was in the 1780s and 1790s, occasioned, according to Miller (1988:226), by a great drought that extended from 1785 to 1794. This drought generated enormous mortality from starvation, warfare, and smallpox epidemics. However, Silva (2004:245) adds that the peak of the slave traffic in the region was reached between 1791 and 1796, due principally to the conflicts between Benguela’s Portuguese government and the local chiefdoms, intentionally generated by the Portuguese to acquire captives for the slave trade.
The high proportion of Benguela slaves in Chapada is in partial accordance with the data presented by Florentino (1993:88-89) for Rio de Janeiro, which was the main Brazilian port of entrance for central Africans. Florentino notes that, for the period between 1795 and 1811, slaving ships coming from Benguela and Luanda (Angolan slaves) composed 96% of the central African ships arriving in Rio de Janeiro’s port, of which those coming from Benguela composed almost 50%. However, between 1811 and 1830, ships from Benguela decreased to 15%, while the proportion of Cabinda (northern-central Africa) increased to 35%, followed by Luanda, which, although still the second most frequent central African slave port, dropped to 32%. It is interesting to note that slaves from Benguela increased in proportion in Chapada dos Guimarães at exactly the same period in which their entrance in the port of Rio de Janeiro radically dropped (Figure 4-2). The predominantly Benguela composition of Chapada’s slaveholdings is also in remarkable contrast to the composition of African slaves of the neighboring province of Goiás between 1810 and 1834, in which the slaves of this “nation” were a small minority (see Karasch 2004:172).

The contrast between the furnishing Brazilian port of Rio de Janeiro and the receiving region of Mato Grosso points to the possibility that Chapada dos Guimarães’ planters preferred Benguela slaves over those from other African “nations.” Crivelente (2001:97) observed that there are environmental and climatic similarities between the Benguela plateau, inhabited by the Ovimbundu, and the highlands of Chapada dos Guimarães. Moreover, these Benguela populations from the Central Plateau were traditionally farmers. Visiting this region in the second half of the 19th century, Capelo and Ivens (n.d.a:64) noticed that the principal crops planted by the Ovimbundu were
bean, rice, cotton, potatoes, manioc, some fruits, and sugar-cane, all crops also planted in Chapada (see also Crivelente 2001:97-98). Thus, these Benguela slaves carried out in their native land the same general planting activities that they would do in Chapada dos Guimarães plantations, which could explain the preference of the local planters for these slaves.

One important point to note is that the change in composition from Mina to Benguela slaves in Chapada dos Guimarães (Figure 4-2) occurred at the same moment that the principal economic activity in the region was changing from gold mining to planting (see Chapter 2). This is very suggestive of the planters’ intentionally choosing slaves from specific regions of Africa, since, as discussed, Mina slaves were preferred for gold mining activities, while Benguela slaves were traditionally farmers.

The Angolan ethnographer Mesquitela Lima (1988: 154, 184) affirms that the Ovimbundu, from Benguela, share with the Mbundu (Kimbundu speakers), from central Angola, the same linguistic system, whose differences are composed only of dialectical forms specific of each ethnic group. According to him, these two groups also share the same history and a set of cultural elements, constituting, therefore, a single cultural block. This point is significant since the Angola “nation,” which was principally composed of Kimbundu speakers, was the fifth most numerically prevalent African “nation” in Chapada. According to Thornton (2002:28-29), the kingdom of Angola referred, in the 1570s, to the region subject to the *ngola a kiluange*, the African ruler along the middle Kwanza. In the early 17th century the Portuguese established their principal slaving port at Luanda, designating the inland regions around as Angola, a term that served in Brazil as a cognate for the slaves that embarked at that port.
For the period between 1830 and 1849, Benguela was still the major African “nation” in Chapada, but the Mina had been surpassed by Congo and Mozambique slaves. Finally, these two last groups became the major African “nations” between 1850 and 1869. This increase in both Congo and Mozambique slaves reflects the dynamics of the trans-Atlantic slave trade. As previously discussed, in 1815, the slave trade was banished north of the equator, forcing the slavers to concentrate in the regions of central and eastern Africa. In the case of Mozambique, Capela (2002:84) affirms that the transatlantic traffic significantly increased after 1814, reaching its peak in 1829.

The slaves referred to with the terms Mozambique were those embarked in the port of the Island of Mozambique, which was the most important slaving port in this region of eastern Africa (Capela 2002:207). Alpers (2005:44) observes that the designation “Mozambique” is highly problematic because it reflects the application of a geographical toponym to a wide variety of enslaved Bantu speakers from east Africa. Despite this diversity, Alpers (1975, cited in Karasch 2000:60) affirms that most of the slaves exported from Mozambique in the 19th century were Macuas. Macuas were, indeed, the biggest eastern African ethnic group in Rio de Janeiro during the first half of the 19th century (Karasch 2000:60).

Regarding the Congo “nation,” Karasch (2000:54) notes that in Rio de Janeiro it included the Bakongos of northern Angola and southern Zaire (currently Peoples Republic of Congo), as well as other ethnic groups who had been commercialized through the slave markets linked to the trading network of the Zaire river and its tributaries. In Rio de Janeiro, the Congos were known as a proud people, who preserved their traditions and celebrated the Kongo Kingdom in their songs (Karasch 2000:55). The
Kongo Kingdom was the largest state of central Africa. Originating from a confederation of states in the 15th century, this kingdom derived its power from collecting slaves that were concentrated in the capital, Mbanza Kongo. These slaves provided Kongo with both the wealth and the demographic resources to guarantee its political centralization (Thornton 1998:93). In 1765 this kingdom lost its political unity, due to conflicts with the Portuguese, who captured and killed its king. The kingdom was thus broken up into a number of autonomous and semi-autonomous small states (Birmingham 1966:122-123). In the 18th century this region continued divided in provinces whose lords still fought one another for a Christian Kongo royal title (Miller 1988:35).

Herlin (2004:262) observes that the traffic of this region to Brazil was intensified after 1808, when Brazilian slave traders established in Luanda started to move to the independent African ports north of the Congo River mouth pushed by Portuguese slave traders, where they reorganized the slave trading system that they dominated until its end. During the 1830s and 1840s, the intensification of British anti-slaving pressure led these slavers to create interlocking systems of factories, barracoons, financiers, brokers, suppliers, and shippers along the Congo coast, from which was woven a seamless web of legal and illegal trading operations. In the 1840s, despite the fact that Portuguese, under British pressure, began seizing Brazilian slavers, the slave imports to Brazil coming from these independent ports on the Congo coast reached its peak (Herlin 2004:264-265).

In summary, despite the great diversity of African “nations” in Chapada dos Guimarães, there were only four groups who were the most numerically prevalent in different intervals between 1790 and 1869. Western African influence, principally represented by the Mina slaves, was very strong between 1790 and 1829. However,
southern central African Benguelas composed the major group throughout the first half of the 19th century. North-central African Congos and eastern African Mozambiques, in turn, increased in numbers after 1830, becoming the major “nations” between 1850 and 1869.

After characterizing the dynamics of this African cultural diversity in the region, the following question emerges: to what extent were these different “nations” recognizing themselves as discrete groups and trying to keep their African-derived identities in this region?

Differing from the descriptions of other regions of Brazil such as Rio de Janeiro and Bahia, the travelers who visited Mato Grosso in the 19th century were not concerned with describing the slave’s cultural diversity and possible maintenance of boundaries among the different African “nations.” Perhaps one of the reasons for this absence is the scarcity of traveler’s accounts for Mato Grosso, when contrasted to the coastal regions. However, studying the documents of the sodality of the *Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Pretos*, in Cuiabá, for the colonial period, Silva (2001:119-120) presents some evidences that suggest that Mina slaves were privileged in this fraternity over those ones from other African “nations.”

There are three sets of data that may be explored in an effort to evaluate the extent to which African slaves in Mato Grosso recognized their differences of origin as significant in the establishment of their social relationships and alliances: 1- the rare documents, like wills of freed Africans and criminal processes, in which they affirmed their African origins; 2- the slave marriage patterns in Chapada dos Guimarães, analyzed by Crivelente (2001) through parochial records present in the local church and
complemented by the demographic data presented in this research; and 3- the archaeological data, represented principally by the pottery made and used by these slaves. These three sets of data, although complementary in many ways, can also contradict one another, since they concern three different levels of information: 1- the slaves’ self-perception of their origins, present in their own affirmations; 2- the slaves’ practices of marriage, as registered by the parochial authorities, for which there is no direct evidence about whether they constituted their own choices or were imposed by the planters; and 3- the slaves daily practices, as represented by those durable artifacts that they used to carry out these practices and which compose the archaeological record. The extent to which the slaves charged this material with perceptions about themselves, and therefore, intentionally used it as a support of their African-derived identities, is the main subject to be considered.

African Slaves Self-Perceptions in Mato Grosso

The will of Antônio José de Souza,1 written in Cuiabá in 1852, certainly constitutes the richest African testimony left by an ex-slave in Mato Grosso. Antônio declared he was born in Africa, from the Hausa (Aussá) nation, from where he was captured and transported to Brazil when he was seven years old. He disembarked in the port of Salvador and seems to have been soon afterwards transported to Mato Grosso. He acquired his freedom during the period in which he worked in the Santa Casa de Misericórdia, a traditional Catholic hospital present in most of the Brazilian captaincies. Antônio paid for his freedom with a slave that he had bought. Antônio probably saved money for purchasing this slave when he worked as a slave himself mining diamonds in the district of Diamantino, under the orders of the colonel Francisco Pereira Caldas.

1 IHGMT, ACBM-IPDAC, probate-inventory Antônio José de Souza, Pasta 73, n. 71p, year: 1852.
During this period he married the creole Benedita Pereira Caldas, who was also a slave of the same colonel. After a while the colonel moved to the province of Goiás, bringing with him Antônio’s wife. Despite the forced separation, Antônio managed to get information about his wife, since he declared that she still lived in Goiás, as a slave of one of the colonel’s daughters. Antônio’s narrative gives the impression that many years passed between the separation of his wife and the elaboration of his will. Nevertheless, he left the amount of 400,000 réis for Benedita, whom he still called his wife, for freeing her from slavery.

A second case is that of Ana Maria Corrêa’s will, dated 1816. Ana Maria declared she was from the Mina Coast, from the Sabarú “nation,” having been baptized in the locality of Porto Feliz, captaincy of São Paulo. This is one case in which within the wider label “Mina,” the slave still recognized her specific African ethnicity as Sabarú, and by making this designation marked this term as significant to the point of giving this information in her will. Unfortunately, no information was found on a “Sabaru” people in west Africa, but, traveling in Sudan in the second half of the 19th century, Theodore Roosevelt referred to the following local proverb, based on a text in the Koran: “Allah ma el saberin, izza sabaru” – “God is with the patient, if they know how to wait.” This name can also be a possible reference to Solagberu, the leader of the Yoruba Muslims in Óyo in the beginning of the 19th century, who headed the community Oke Suna, in Ilorin (see Reis 2003:167). In both cases it is pointed out that there is a strong possibility that Ana Maria Corrêa was an Islamic Yorubá.

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2 APMT, probate-inventory Ana Maria Corrêa, Cartório do 5º Ofício, Caixa 20, Processo No 363, year: 1817.
3 See www.sakoman.net/pg/html/13930.htm
The freed slave Roza da Costa Roriz also declared in her will, in 1824, that she was from the Mina Coast. Although she did not furnish more specific information about her origin, she affirmed that she had been married to another freed Mina slave, having therefore chosen as partner somebody who was from the same African “nation.” The freed slave Antônio Silva Ribeiro also affirmed in his will that he was from the Mina Coast, being married to Ana Gonçalves, whose origin, unfortunately, he did not mention.

The case of José Congo, a 50 years old farmhand slave, defendant in a murder case that happened in the rural district of Brotas, in 1881, is also elucidative. During the trial, when the authorities asked where he was born, he answered: “I am from Africa, from the land of the Congos.” Although very short, this declaration is highly significant, in the sense that José Congo referred to a specific territory occupied by a precise people, the Congos, attaching his origin to this people.

These sources indicate that African slaves in Mato Grosso kept a memory of their natives land and peoples even when they arrived in Brazil as children, as was the case of the Hausa Antônio José de Souza. These ascriptions, therefore, constituted an important element of their individual identities, otherwise these Africans could have referred to their origins only by the more generic category “Africa.” These documents, however, do not furnish information on the possible use of these labels in the formation of more discrete African groups in Mato Grosso. In this sense, the analysis of slave marriage

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4 APMT, probate-inventory Rosa da Costa Roriz, Cartório do 5º Ofício, Caixa 26, Processo No 325, year: 1824.
5 APMT, probate-inventory Antônio da Silva Ribeiro, Cartório do 5º Ofício, Caixa 29 Processo No 2, year: 1828.
6 APMT, processo criminal, réu: José Congo, escravo de José Pinto de Figueiredo, Cartório do 6º Ofício, Caixa 2, Maço 300, year: 1881.
patterns in Chapada dos Guimarães can be informative of the extent to which African slaves were trying to build alliances based on their identity of “nation.”

**Slaves Marriage Patterns in Chapada dos Guimarães**

The marriage patterns of the Chapada dos Guimarães’ slaves were discussed by Crivelente (2001), based on the parochial records existing in the *Igreja Matriz de Santana de Chapada dos Guimarães*, for the period between 1798 and 1830. Unfortunately, there is no research on this subject for the period after 1830 when, as previously discussed, major changes took place in the origins of the African slaves in this region. Because Crivelente did not work with wider slave demographic data for the region, the marriage patterns that she found were contrasted neither to the actual African and Brazilian composition nor to the gender ratios of Chapada’s slaveholdings. These two sets of data are more than complementary, in the sense that demographic data can point out the possible reasons behind some of the slaves’ marriage patterns verified in the region.

Crivelente (2001:124) found 290 registers of slave marriages for the period between 1798 and 1830. She noted that both partners were Africans in 37.2% of the cases. However, Crivelente did not calculate the ratios of slaves of African origin separately from those related to slaves of Brazilian origins. When this calculation is done it can be noted that from the total of 580 slaves, 326 (56.20%) were Africans. This proportion matches the demographic data for the period between 1790 and 1829, in which Africans composed 52.25% of the slaveholdings (Table 4-1), demonstrating that both Africans and Brazilians slaves married in proportions related to their actual ratios in the slaveholdings, with no group privileged over another in this practice.

A closer look at the African married population demonstrates that from these 326 African slaves, 216 individuals (66.25% of this group) married African partners,
demonstrating the trend of African slaves to privilege as partners those who were born in Africa rather than in Brazil. This trend becomes even more significant when it is contrasted with the gender ratios by origin present on these slaveholdings (Figure 4-3).

As apparent in this graph, between 1790 and 1829, African female slaves composed 11.41% of the total population of these slaveholdings, while African males were the most numerous group, composing 40.73% of the total slave population. Thus, there was an approximate proportion of four male African slaves to each African female, while, in the total slave population, there were about seven males to every three females (Figure 4-4). For this period, there was a ratio of two Brazilian slave women to each African woman, demonstrating that there was twice the chance for African males to marry Brazilian females, when, in fact, the opposite occurred: for each three African males, two married African females. Thus, the gendered slave demography of Chapada dos Guimarães demonstrates that Africans strongly tended to marry among themselves,
with African men marrying Brazilian women probably only in situations where few or no African women were available in their slaveholding. In fact, Crivelente (2001:136) noted that from the 75 marriages between Africans and Brazilians slaves, only 15 (20%) happened between African females and Brazilian males. Therefore, for the total of 123 African females, only 12.19% married Brazilian males.

Figure 4-4. General gender rates between slaves: 1790-1809 – n= 246; 1810-1829 – n= 470; 1830-1849 – n= 336; 1850-1869 – n= 560; 1870-1888 – n= 196.

Despite the high proportion of African marriages, only 66 Africans (30.55%) married partners from the same African “nation,” demonstrating that intra-“nation” strategies of marriage between African slaves were not the norm in the plantations of Chapada dos Guimarães. Crivelente (2001:125) notices that Benguela slaves tended to present a higher degree of endogamy (13 marriages), followed by Mina slaves (8 marriages), while there were 14 cases of marriage between Benguela and Mina slaves. Again, this lower frequency of intra-“nation” marriages could have been occasioned by the low proportion of African women in the slaveholdings, so that African males had, in many instances, to choose between females from other African “nations” or, conversely,
to marry a Brazilian slave. In this sense, the possibility could be that the Africans chose as partners those from the same cultural areas. Unfortunately, Crivelente does not present the complete data about inter-African “nations” marriages, focusing her analysis only on the major group of the Benguelsas. Benguela slaves, in 65.30% (n=32) of the cases, married other central Africans (including other Benguelas, Rebolos, Congos, Angolas, and Cabindas) and in 32.65% (n=16) of the cases they married western Africans (Minas and Nagôs). When these proportions are contrasted against the general African demography of this period, in which central Africans composed 56.95% of the slaveholdings, there was a slight trend for Benguela to privilege central Africans over slaves from other regions of Africa.

In summary, these data point out the trend of African slaves choosing other Africans as partners, while Brazilians privileged other Brazilians. This endogamy developed in three levels: the wider and more recurrent level of the general African origin of the partner; the intermediary level of the African regional origin of the slaves; and the more specifically, and less frequently, at the level of the African “nation.” Thus, what these data indicate is the stronger maintenance of boundaries between African and Brazilian slaves in the space of the plantations, which sometimes could have given greater latitude to the formation of more discrete African groups, based on wider regional origins or in the more specific “nations.” It is important to note that these levels of endogamy, principally those verified in the more specific scale of African “nations,” are very significant when, as demonstrated, these slaves were far from the ideal situation for finding partners, since their choice was limited exclusively to those slaves who lived in the same plantation. Between 1790 and 1829 the average size of the slaveholdings in the
plantedions of Chapada was 46 slaves (see chapter 2). If the very young and very old slaves are excluded, the number of marrying slaves would be drastically reduced. Moreover, the possibilities of choosing a partner dropped even more due the general gender disproportions of seven men to three women or, even worse for the Africans, of four male African slaves to each African female. Regarding all these limitations, the figure of 30.55% of endogamy in the level of African “nations” acquires a very high significance, demonstrating that the African slaves of Chapada were concerned with finding marriage partners more related to their origins and culture.

**Slaves communities and pottery variability in Chapada dos Guimarães**

So far this discussion has been focused on the regional origins of the African slaves, the ways that they used these origins as a basis for the establishment of new communities in the coastal regions of Brazil, and the possibilities that the same process occurred in Mato Grosso, as pointed out by the documentary data. The changes in the African composition of the slaveholdings in Chapada between 1790 and 1869 suggest that different cultural influences, principally related to the major African “nations” that dominated the slaves demographic setting in different periods, could have been introduced in the region at this time. Although documentary evidence points out the possibility of maintenance of discrete African communities in the region, it provides very little information about the possible cultural practices and traditions that these groups might have brought with them, and, consequently, on the possible ways that they kept, re-invented, and hybridized their original cultures in this new context. In this sense, archaeological data, principally the locally-made pottery, have much to add to this discussion.
As discussed in the Chapter 1, some scholars in Brazil have suggested that incised decorations present in pottery from the historical period are predominantly associated with slave groups, since this type of decoration was employed predominantly in cooking pots, a type of vessel used in the kitchen, where female slaves carried out a significant part of their daily tasks, including cooking (Dias Jr., 1988:8; Jacobus, 1997:66; Souza 2002:76-77). Taking into account the active participation of female slaves in local economies during the Brazilian colonial period, especially in the production and commercialization of food and utilitarian objects (Figueiredo, 1993; Mott, 1976; Nishida 2003), it is probable that female slaves – and in some cases, Amerindians – were primarily responsible for the production of pottery in Brazil during the 18th and 19th centuries. Indeed, for the specific case of Mato Grosso, D’Alincourt (1857:63) observed that pottery was made exclusively by poor women, in the shapes of cooking pots, storage pots, plates, and basins. Most of these women were from Africa and, in smaller proportions, of indigenous origin and/or descent. In fact, in 1797, only 5.96% of the Mato Grosso’s population was white (Silva 1995:212).

**Pottery variability, African “nations” and creolization in Chapada dos Guimarães**

When documentary and archaeological data are analyzed under a diachronic perspective, both point to significant changes over time: changes in the origin of the African slaves, in the ratios of Africans to Brazilians and of males to females, and in the decorative techniques for pottery, including designs, shapes and functions. The diachronic perspective, therefore, is the best strategy for understanding the meaningful relationships regarding slave groups and pottery, allowing the establishment of relevant temporal and cultural contexts to guide analogies (Hauser and DeCorse 2003:70).
In the case of Chapada dos Guimarães’ pottery assemblages, the seriation method was employed in an effort to verify possible correlations between the pottery diachronic variability and the fluctuations in the origins of slaves over time, thus looking for possible cultural continuities as well as innovations that could be the result of the arrival of different groups of slaves in the region. The seriation method involves measuring stylistic similarity among pottery assemblages to verify variations in time and space. It constitutes, according to Neimann (1999:146), one of the best methods to both track cultural continuity and establish ruptures in the archaeological record.

The implications of possible correlations between the diachronic variation of the African composition of the Chapada’s slaveholdings and the pottery’s diachronic variability are very significant, since they can point out that Africans from different regions arriving in Chapada dos Guimarães did not compose a culturally deprived crowd, but rather, brought with them specific cultural templates from their regions of origin, and thus were able to reproduce, re-invent, and hybridize their original pottery traditions in this new context.

In this section the analyses will consider the pottery found in the areas related to all the deposits excavated, so that this discussion will transit between the local, intra-site, and the regional, inter-site scales. Pottery from fourteen units of deposition, presenting mean dates furnished by the mean ceramic date formula (South 1972) applied to the European ceramics, and estimated dates ranging from the end of the 18th to the end of the 19th century, will be considered. One late context, related to the first third of the 20th century (see Symanski and Souza 2002), was added, to demonstrate the continuities with the late 19th century contexts.
The focus of this analysis will be on the pottery decorative techniques and designs. The functional variability of these assemblages will be discussed further, in the next chapter. The frequency of decorated vessels varied over time (Figure 4-5). In deposits whose mean dates are prior to 1862.1, decorated fragments represent between 20% and 38% of the assemblages. These percentages are very representative, since decorations in general were circumscribed on the neck of the vessel and, less frequently, on the lips and upper bulge. In the deposits with mean dates after 1853, the frequency of decorated sherds gradually dropped, representing 10% of the pottery assemblages on the

Figure 4-5. Percentage of decorated to undecorated fragments of locally-made pottery in the analyzed contexts: 1797 – n= 380; 1802.5 – n= 194; 1810.9 – n= 251; 1820.3 – n= 440; 1825.6 – n= 140; 1836.2 – n= 535; 1840.0 – n= 1547; 1850.0 – n= 687; 1852.7 – n= 196; 1853.0 – n= 475; 1862.1 – n= 425; 1887.8 – n= 349; 1894.0 – n= 278; 1935 – n= 1020.
end of the 19th century. Therefore, the attribute decoration gradually lost its significance in the last third of the 19th century, as will be developed later in this discussion.

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The diachronic variation of decorated pottery is related with another identified aspect involving a correlation between decorative techniques and styles and particular groups of vessels, something that may be better understood through the examination of the seriated frequencies of decorated pottery and its correlation with particular functional categories (Figure 4-6). The earliest deposits, dated between 1797 and 1836.2, are all associated with the Taperão site (Engenho do Rio da Casca), and correspond to the period in which this site was occupied by the Portuguese Luis Monteiro Salgado, who died in 1808, and his widow, Rosa Cardoso de Lima, who died in 1841. The pottery decoration in these earliest Taperão’s deposits (m.d. 1797-1836.2) was less varied than that from later deposits and was mostly composed of designs produced by incisions, which consisted of geometric motifs, predominantly rectilinear, applied in the upper parts of the
Figure 4-6 Pottery seriation.
vessel. The most popular designs included diamonds, zigzags, and less frequently, waves (Figure 4-7). Deposits from this period present a high proportion of decorations produced by the deliberated exhibition of coils used in the construction of the vessel, which more frequently appear in combination with incisions, always in the upper part of the vessel (Figure 4-8). Less frequent techniques include red painting by dipping, and corrugated (Figure 4-8). Finally, punctured, digitated and nailed decorations, sometimes in combination with incisions, are present in minimum proportions. As can be seen in Figure 4-6, the most popular of these decorative techniques had specialized uses, being correlated with particular functional categories. These include the pottery presenting incisions or visible coils with superimposed incisions, which were used only for the processing or preparation of food, generally in the form of cooking pots. In these cooking pots, the incisions produced on the flat surface of the vessels present designs different from those made over visible coils. The red painting, in turn, is present only in vessels whose function was related to the service or consumption of food, although in later periods multifunctional vessels were also used, and the corrugated style is present only in those vessels used for processing food, particularly, the large manioc flour toasters, which are still in use in the region.

The corrugated decoration, exclusive of the manioc flour toasters, is evidence of the indigenous influence over the pottery of the region. This influence is also found on the use of an inclusion referred to as cariapé B, which is an organic temper produced by the burning of the bark of different types of trees. This temper is found in some Brazilian prehistoric sites, including those of Chapada dos Guimarães (Vianna 2001; Vianna and Barbosa, in press), and is rarely identified in historical contexts or contemporary pottery
in other regions of Brazil (for the Mato Grosso case, see Ataides 2001; Scheur 1982). In Mato Grosso, indigenous labor was employed in the activities of cattle raising, in the extraction of *poaia* – a native medicinal herb – and in domestic services in the cities, Figure 4-7. Schematic representation of the most common decorative motifs in contexts mean dated between 1797 and 1836.

Figure 4-8. Some of the decorative techniques used on the pottery of Chapada dos Guimarães. A) incised. B) visible coils with superimposed incisions. C) painted. D) corrugated.
while they were less common in plantations, where slave labor carried by Africans and African descents predominated (Aleixo 1984:63-66; Silva 1995:263). Indeed, there is little documentary evidence for an indigenous presence in the Chapada dos Guimarães’ plantations, although this region had been occupied in the historical period by the Bakairi and Bororo indigenous groups. Only two possible indigenous slaves were identified in the lists of slaves present in the planters’ probate-inventories - Francisco Cotocóxi, for the year of 1816, and Sebastião Mampuia, for the year of 1855. More indirect evidence for an indigenous presence in these plantations is the occurrence, in the slaveholdings lists, of a small proportion of slaves of mixed African and indigenous ascendance, referred to in Mato Grosso as caborés (Silva 1995:177). Caborés represent only 22 (1.21%) individuals in the total of 1810 slaves listed in probate-inventories. In addition, it must be taken into account the possibility that indigenous descent could also be present in another skin color category listed in these documents, the cabra, which was a designative for slaves of uncertain mixed ascendance (Karash 2000:39). Cabra slaves represent 178 (9.83%) individuals in these inventories of slaves.

With the exception of corrugated decorations, all other decorative techniques present in these assemblages may be found in sub-Saharan Africa’s archaeological assemblages from both the end of the Iron Age and the colonial period. In addition, designs such as waves, diamonds and zigzags are employed generically in pottery from Africa, appearing in a number of compositions.

While the correlation between the decoration and functional categories of ceramics is clear-cut early in the history of the region, it lost intensity in deposits with mean dates after 1836, when different types of decoration begun to be more indistinctly used (Figure
At the same time, the frequency of pottery vessels used in the service and consumption of food declined, simultaneously with the increase in the diversification of European refined-earthenware in slaves’ assemblages. After this period, red painting and vessels with visible coils and superimposed incisions also drastically dropped in popularity. Although incised designs in the form of zigzags, diamonds and waves kept their popularity, new decorative techniques – stamped and impressed with textiles and circles – and a diversity of new decorative motifs were introduced in the region. These motifs included a variety of compositions employing the combined use of incision and punctuated, nailed and digitated marks (Figure 4-9).

![Figure 4-9. Decorative techniques and designs common in post-1836 contexts.](image)

It is very significant that the major changes in the pottery assemblages happened in deposits after 1836, the same period in which the African composition of the slaveholdings was drastically changing within the region, with Mina and Benguela slaves giving way to Mozambique and Congo, who constituted the two major African “nations” after 1850 (Figure 4-2). Thus, the innovations on the pottery techniques of decoration in the post-1836 contexts can be explained by the cultural influence of new African groups.
of slaves. In this sense, the dropping in both the red painted and red slip vessels in contexts after 1825.6 and in vessels presenting visible coils plus incisions after 1850 strongly match, respectively, the population decline of the Minas, after 1830, and the Benguelas, after 1850. These correlations suggest that these two decorative categories could be related to the African regions of origin of these two “nations.”

As previously discussed, Mina was a generic term for slaves embarked from any port along of the Bight of Benin, in western Africa. The presence of both red painted and red slip decorated vessels in western African pottery assemblages from the late Iron Age and European contact period is a strong indicator that slaves coming from this region could be the main producers of this type of pottery in Chapada dos Guimarães (Figure 4-10). Although pottery in red painting and slip is also present in the coastal region of Congo (see Collections Ethnographics du Musée du Congo, 1907), the contexts of the height of popularity of this type in Chapada occur before the arrival of slaves from the Congo region, indicating that these groups were not responsible for the earlier production of this type. Souza (2002:70-80), working in the 18th century’s Central Brazilian mining village of Ouro Fino, documented locally-produced low-fired earthenware in which incised decoration was predominantly associated with cooking vessels and painted decoration to service/consumption vessels. Souza notes that during the period of occupation of this site, western Africans, represented by Mina and Nagôs, composed the overwhelming majority of the slave population of the region, supplanted only by central Africans at the turn of that century (see also Souza and Symanski, forthcoming).

In Western Africa, slip and red painted pottery is distributed in the region comprised by the hinterlands of Senegal (McIntosh and Bocoum 2000:21), and Nigeria
(Wesler 1999:256), as well as in Mali, in the old cities of Jenné-Jeno (McIntosh 1995:135, 137-138,156,212) and Gao (Insoll 1997:18). Connah (1987:114) and Frank (1998:20) agree that this type of decoration is associated with the northern Savanna regions from west Africa, even though they are also found, in less frequency, closer the coastal areas, as is the case with Benin, Nigeria (Connah 1975:121-133), and Kuulo Kaata, Ghana (Stahl 1999:23).

Figure 4-10. Painted and red slip pottery from Chapada dos Guimarães. A) fragment from the Tapera do Pingador site, m.d. – 1850. B) fragment from the Taperão site, m.d. – 1820.

In contrast to the Mina slaves, whose association with more geographically specific regions of west Africa is problematic, Benguela slaves, in general, came from a more geographical and culturally discrete region of central Africa, predominantly occupied by the Ovimbundu, as previously discussed. Most of the Ovimbundu designs used incised motifs on pottery and in ornaments like bracelets, and are very similar to those present on the Chapada dos Guimarães’ pottery assemblages (Figures 4.11,4.12, 4.13, and 4.15). On the other hand, the very popular pattern of visible coils with incisions, common in earlier Chapada dos Guimarães’ contexts, is not indicated in the literature on Ovimbundu ethnographical pottery (Gerdes 1995; Haeinstein 1964, 1988).

Figure 4-12. Incised designs common in contexts pre-1836 in Chapada dos Guimarães’ pottery.

Nevertheless, this pattern, sometimes presenting incised designs very similar to those from Chapada’s assemblages, is found in the Peoples Republic of Congo, on sites supposedly associated with the Iron Age in the Bushimaie Valley, Kasai, and in sites
from the Classic Kisalian tradition, from the 10th century A.D., in the Upemba Rift, Shaba (Maret 1982:85-86, 89-90). This pattern was also employed by the Luba people, who occupied the region between the Kasai and the Zaire rivers in the 18th century, as can be seen in one statuette from this group present in the ethnographic collection from the Metropolitan Museum of Natural History, New York (see Symanski and Souza 2001:139) (Figure 4-14). The region of these findings is located about 800 to 1000 kilometers northeast from the Central Plateau of Benguela, the land occupied by the Ovimbundu.

There are two hypotheses for explaining the presence of the vessels exhibiting visible coils with incised designs in the Chapada’s sites. The first is that this pottery may
correspond to a widespread tradition in central Africa, which extended from region between the Kasai and the Zaire rivers, to the southwestern central plateau occupied by the Ovimbundu. In this sense, the absence of this pottery pattern in the consulted references might be occasioned by the scarcity of archaeological research in the region of

Figure 4-14. Pottery presenting visible coils with superimposed incisions. A) Taperão site. B) detail of Luba statuette (collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Natural History, New York). C) Iron Age pottery from Kasay (Maret 1982).
Benguela. The second possibility is that slaves from the region between the Kasai and Zaire rivers were sent to Brazil through the port of Benguela. Indeed, Miller (1988:215-217) affirms that the Lunda kingdom, located in the eastern side of the Kasai, increasingly grew in importance as a producer of slaves to be traded with the Portuguese in the 18th century. After 1750, one of the Lunda slaving trade routes lead to Benguela, passing by Bihe and Caconda, in the Central Plateau occupied by the Ovimbundu (Miller 1988:216-218). Therefore, the possibility that some slaves labeled as Benguela in Mato Grosso came from regions far away from the central plateau of Benguela has to be taken into account. However, it should be remembered that in the end

![Figure 4-15. Decorative motif common in Chapada dos Guimarães and Benguela. A) vessel from the Tapera do Pingador site, m.d. – 1850; B) Ovimbundu motif, representation of a serpent in bracelet (Hauenstein 1988:48).](image)

of the 18th century the majority of the Benguela slaves sold to Brazil were really Ovimbundu from the Central Plateau (see Silva 2004), which, as discussed, was one of the most densely populated regions of central Africa (Miller 1988:17; see also Heywood 2000:05). Moreover, the Ovimbundu’s eastern neighbors are known as Nganguelas. Significantly, Nguangelas, or better Ganguelas, are present, in a very low number (Table
7), in the Chapada’s slaveholdings for the period between 1810 and 1849. This Ganguela presence in the region is indicative of two interrelated points: first, slaves embarking in Benguela received different culture or language group designations, rather than being homogenized under the name of this slaving port; second, this indicates, in turn, that Benguela was a more restricted designation, probably applied to peoples from one particular region, a fact that matches very well with the cohesion that this group attempted to maintain in Chapada, through the already discussed endogamic marriages.

**Pottery production and gender**

Gender is an important variable to be considered in this discussion about different African influences over Chapada dos Guimarães locally-made pottery, since women are the main producers of pottery throughout sub-Saharan Africa (Berns 1993; Gosselain 1999:214). The best way to approach the gender dimension is searching for correlations between the presence of African females from specific “nations” and the intra-site pottery variability.

Figure 4-16 presents the proportions of African females over time for the nine principal African “nations” of Chapada. The population curves of this graphic are different, in some crucial points, from those established for the total population of the four major African “nations” presented in Figure 4-2. First there is a very strong predominance of Benguelas (57%) over the female composition of the slaveholdings between 1790 and 1809, while in the total population for this period the Benguela are the second major African group, constituting 28% of the slaveholdings. In contrast, Mina slaves, who were the major “nation” during this period, constituted only 17% of the African female population. Nevertheless, Benguela and Mina were the most numerous African females on these slaveholdings throughout the first half of the 19th century. The
population curve for Congo females, in turn, matches very well with that defined for the whole Congo population over time. Between 1850 and 1869, Congo was strongly predominant in the female African population, composing 28.5% of the female slaveholdings. Mozambique females, on the other hand, never were numerically significant in the region, despite the fact that Mozambique became the second major African “nation” between 1850 and 1869. This low quantitative significance of Mozambique females could imply in a weaker cultural influence of this group over the pottery production.

Figure 4-16. African female composition in Chapada dos Guimarães’ slaveholdings: 1790-1809 – n= 30; 1810-1829 – n= 48; 1830-1849 – n= 37; 1850-1869 – n= 43.

The Mina’s female composition matches very well with the frequency of painted pottery over time (Figure 4-6). Both are present in a small proportion in the earliest period between 1790 and 1810, reaching their peak in the subsequent period between 1810 and 1830. In turn, the period in which Benguela women predominated in the female slaveholdings corresponds to the period of maximum popularity of the vessels exhibiting
visible coils with incisions, in the contexts mean-dated between 1797 and 1850 (Figure 4-6). For this case, the very strong preponderance of Benguela women in the earliest period is in complete accordance to the regular frequency of the referred vessels in the three earliest contexts, mean-dated between 1797 and 1810.9, dropping in the next two contexts (m.d. 1820.3 and 1825.6), which are referent to the period in which Mina females increase in numbers.

An intra-site scale of analysis can contribute important elements to this discussion. As previously affirmed, the six oldest deposits, mean-dated between 1797 and 1836.2, and the deposit mean-dated in 1850.5 are from the Taperão site (Engenho do Rio da Casca). In turn, the deposits presenting the mean dates 1840.0, 1852.7, and 1862.1 are from the Buritizinho site (Engenho Água Fria). As can be seen in Figure 4-6, the pottery assemblage mean-dated 1840.0 (Buritizinho site) presents several decorative techniques previously absent or minimally used in the region, which tend to become recurrent in the later deposits (Figure 4-9). This deposit, however, is very close temporally to the deposit from the Taperão site, mean-dated to 1836.2. In this regard, if only the chronological factor was considered, we might expect a stronger similarity between the pottery assemblages between these two deposits. Instead, there are remarkable differences between them. By the same token, the differences between the African composition of the slaveholdings of these two sites is also very strong. If we consider that African women, in both plantations, were responsible for the production of pottery, then this variability acquires another level of significance.

For the case of the Taperão site, there are three slaveholding lists available, two from the probate-inventory of Luiz Monteiro Salgado for the years of 1808 and 1826, and
one from the probate-inventory of his widow, Rosa Cardoso de Lima, for the year of 1841\(^1\) (Table 4-2).

Table 4-2. Composition of the slaveholdings of the Taperão site

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>African “nations”</th>
<th>1808</th>
<th>1826</th>
<th>1841</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angola</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benguela</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabinda</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cassange</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congo</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ganguela</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macumbe</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mina</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monjolo</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagô</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reboło</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazilian “nations”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabra</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caburé</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mulato</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criolo</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen in this table, for the year of 1808, six female Africans lived in the Taperão site: Nestante Benguela, 40 years of age, Rosa Benguela, 40 years of age, Mariana Benguela, 30 years of age, Catarina Angola, 50 years of age, Joana Cabinda, 50 years of age, and Eufrásia Nagô, 40 years of age. It is very significant that all three Benguela women of this slaveholding were married to Benguela men from the same slaveholding, as well as Catarina Angola, who was married to an Angolan slave.

Considering all the possible partners that these women could have chosen from the male slaveholding, this endogamy is very suggestive that the Benguelas from the Engenho Rio

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\(^1\) APMT, probate-inventory Rosa Cardoso de Lima (1841).
da Casca maintained a high level of intra-group cohesion. Moreover, with exception of the western African Eufrásia Nagô, all other African females were central African Bantu. For the year of 1826, Catarina Angola, Joana Cabinda, and Eufrasia Nagô were already dead, and Nestante Benguela is no longer cited. Nevertheless, Rosa Benguela and Mariana Benguela still lived in the *engo*, together with three other African women: Isabel Congo, 19 years of age, Maria Mina, 25 years of age, and Tereza Nagô, 18 years of age. In 1841, these three last African women still lived in the *engo*, but the Benguela women had probably died.

When these changes in the composition of the African females in the Taperão site is contrasted to the pottery seriation of the six deposits of this site, some very significant correlations emerge. At first, the painted pottery is present in a small proportion for the first two deposits (m.d.: 1797 and 1802.5), exactly at the time that there was only one western African female in this slaveholding. This proportion increases in the context dated 1810.9 and reaches its peak in that dated 1820.3, decreasing again in the following contexts. This increase in the painted pottery occurred at the same moment that two other western African women were added to this slaveholding, sometime between 1808 and 1826. It is probable that these two women still lived with Eufrásia Nagô, who died sometime during this period. Another very significant correlation is in regard to the vessels exhibiting visible coils with incisions, which composed, after the incised category, the most popular category in the three earliest contexts. The regularity of this category in these earliest contexts is in accordance with the period in which there were three Benguela women living in the site. Nestante Benguela, however, died or was sold sometime between 1808 and 1826, which could be reflected in the decline in this
decorative category in the 1820.3 and 1825.6 contexts. The context of 1836.2, however, does not correspond to these correlations between African females and pottery, since vessels presenting visible coils with incisions reached its peak, and the painted vessels began a strong decline, in the exact period in which Benguela women were no longer living in the *engenho*, but instead two Mina women were present in the slaveholding. In this case it is possible that the Benguela’s daughters could have kept the tradition of the pottery production, reproducing styles they learned from their mothers. Unfortunately, the slaveholding lists present on the probate-inventories are not very detailed about the filiations of the creole slaves, but at least one of the Benguela women, Mariana Benguela, had a daughter, Emerenciana Criola, who was born in 1812.²

An important issue to add in this discussion regards the pottery decorative variability in the four slaves’ areas of the Taperão site, the areas 1, 3, 4, and 15 (see figure 2-6) referent to the deposits mean-dated between 1797 and 1820 (Figure 4-6), which suggests that slaves with different cultural backgrounds could have been living in different areas of the site. The slaves’ contexts mean-dated 1797 (Figure 2-6, area 15) and 1802.5 (Figure 2-6, area 4) present some subtle differences, concerning the exclusive occurrence of vessels with decoration incised plus punctured in the former versus digitated plus fingernailed in the last. However, the most remarkable difference is in the inverse proportions between painted and visible coil plus incised vessels verified in the areas 1 (m.d. 1810.9) and 3 (m.d. 1820.3) (see Figure 4-6). The variability between these two contexts can be an indication that these areas were occupied by slaves with differentiated cultural backgrounds, with Mina slaves probably predominating in the area 3 and Benguela predominating in the area 1. Nevertheless, the data available does not

² APMT, probate-inventory Luiz Monteiro Salgado, 1808.
permit advance in this discussion about the possibility of a spatial segregation among slaves from different “nations” in these plantations. Further excavations in the biggest plantations of the region are necessary to approach this issue.

The most compelling evidence that these female slaves were responsible for the pottery production in the Taperão site is the radical absence, in the late context of 1850.5, of almost all of the previously existent decorative variability. As discussed in Chapter 2, this late context refers to a period in which this plantation was in the hands of another unidentified owner, not related to the original planter’s family. After the death of Rosa Cardoso, in 1841, this plantation was sold, and its slaveholding spread out, divided among the heirs and also used to pay old debts. Thus, the possible slaves who may have lived on this site after 1841 had nothing to do with the original slaveholding, a rupture that is very clear in this late pottery assemblage, characterized only by plain and exclusively incised pottery.

For the case of the Buritizinho site (Engenho Água Fria), there is only one slaveholding list, present in the 1848 probate-inventory of Ana Luiza da Silva. Ana Luiza was the widow of Domingos da Silva Barreiros, who acquired this property in 1809. Thus, the occupation of this site started at least 20 years later than that of the Taperão site. For the year of 1848 there were 58 slaves living in this site, of which 26 were Africans (Table 4-3).

Eight African females were identified in this site: Joaquina Benguela, 40 years of age, Ana Cassange, 25 years of age, Quirina Cassange, 25 years of age, Joana Congo, 60 years of age, Maria Congo, 50 years of age, Damiana Mina, 40 years of age, Quitéria Mina, 70 years of age, and Joana Nagô, 70 years of age. When the African composition
of this site is compared to that of the Taperão site, great differences of “nations” among the male slaves of these two sites can be noticed. However, the differences between the female composition is more discreet, as illustrated by the presence of one Angolan and one Cabinda female in the Taperão site and two Cassange females in the Buritizinho, while Benguela, Congo, Mina and Nagô women are present in both plantations.

Table 4-3. Composition of the slaveholding of the Buritizinho site

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>African “nations”</th>
<th>1848 Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Angola</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baca</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benguela</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beni</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cassange</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congo</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ganguela</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hausa</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mina</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mozambique</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagô</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Songo</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tapa</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Brazilian “nations”</th>
<th>1848 Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cabra</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mulato</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criolo</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Concurrently, painted pottery and pottery presenting visible coils with incisions are also present in the Buritizinho site assemblages, but in very little proportions when contrasted to the Taperão site.

While the low frequency of the pottery presenting visible coils with incisions in the Buritizinho site could be explained by the presence of only one Benguela female, if the hypothesis is accepted that Benguela females were the main parties responsible for the
production of this type of pottery, the low frequency of painted pottery in this site does not correlate to the presence of three western African females. Nevertheless, this kind of correlation can be consistently problematic, since it implies essentializing identities in specific material categories. After all, these women shared the same physical and social space on these plantations, where exchange and consequent assimilation of different cultural influences could, and likely did, occur. Thus, the predominance of certain ceramic types in determined contexts has to be understood in terms of a dialectic between the individual potter, the intra-plantation gendered slaveholding composition, and the regional slave demography, and all the variations over time in these three scales of analysis. In this sense, for the period between 1810 and 1849, which is related to the depositional interval of the mean dated 1840’s assemblage, the regional African female demography was characterized by a stronger western African, predominantly Mina and Nagô, presence in the region, although there is a strong Cassange presence for the more restrict period between 1830-1849. This African female regional composition is reflected in Buritizinho’s slaveholding, in which Mina, Nagô, and Cassange constituted, together, 62.5% of the African women in 1848. By the same token, for the period between 1790 and 1809 in the Taperão site, Benguela women composed 50% of the African female slaveholding, which is in agreement with the regional African female demography for this period, represented by 57% of Benguela females.

A closer look at the seriated sequences (Figure 4-6) demonstrates that the impressed decoration in both circles and in other motifs is exclusively present in the Buritizinho site, for the contexts of 1840 and 1862. The exclusivity of these two decorative types on this site could easily be explained by the specificities of its African
female slaveholding, principally if it is taken into account that this was the only site excavated whose slaveholding included female Cassanges.

In the case of the Engenho do Quilombo site, possible correlations between pottery and African females are more problematical because the slaveholdings on this site were smaller and highly varied over time. Unfortunately, no deposit that could be associated with its initial occupation by the Portuguese Domingos José de Azevedo, between the end of the 18th century and the early 1830s, was found. Domingos Azevedo kept 34 slaves in this plantation, 11 of them of African origin. Of these Africans, three were females: Josefa Angola, Laquena Benguela, and Josefa Mina. The deposit mean-dated to 1853 is predominantly associated with the period of occupation of Domingo’s son, Francisco Vieira de Azevedo. Francisco owned this plantation between the 1830s and 1861, keeping only two of his father’s slaves, Lousiana Criola and Cipriano Pardo. There are two slaveholding lists for Francisco Vieira’s household period, the first one from 1847, when his first wife, Ana Lutéria Filiz de Aquino, died, and the second one from 1861, when he died. In 1847 there were 21 slaves in the plantation, with only one African, Zacharias Mozambique. In 1861 this number dropped to 12, including six Africans. Of these Africans, five were males - three Mozambique, one Congo, and one not identified by “nation.” The only African female was Rosa Congo, 39 years of age. The last slaveholding list for the Engenho do Quilombo site is from 1872, and related to occupation of Antônio Bruno Borges. For this year it is shown that 32 slaves lived at the plantation, with only five Africans, all males, and none of them identified by “nation.”

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2 APMT, probate-inventory Ana Lutéria Filiz de Aquino, 1847.
3 APMT, probate-inventory Francisco Vieira de Azevedo, 1861.
4 APMT, probate-inventory Antônio Bruno Borges, 1878.
Delving deeper in the correlations of African females to pottery styles, it could be expected that females from a specific “nation,” who started to arrive in the region in great numbers after a definite date, and that could be present in the slaveholdings of the three plantations, might have left a specific archaeological signature that should be present in all these sites after their initial date of arrival. As can be seen in the graph of African female composition (Figure 4-16) Congo females appeared in the region after 1810, gradually increasing in number until they became the dominant group between 1850 and 1869.

Congo females were present in all of the three plantations excavated. For the case of the Taperão site, Isabel Congo appears in the slaveholding list of 1826, and is still present in that one from 1841. For the Buritizinho site, Joana Congo and Maria Congo are present in the list from 1848. Finally, for the Engenho do Quilombo site, Rosa Congo appears in the slaveholding list from 1861. In archaeological terms, the introduction of a very specific type of appliqué, omnipresent on the 19th century sites researched, starting in the Taperão’s context mean-dated 1836.2, is very suggestive of these specific Congo cultural influences in Chapada dos Guimarães. This type of appliqué, which is always placed in the upper bulge of the vessels, has a circular form and an average of 3 centimeters in diameter. In its interior, incised patterns form a cross and, less frequently, a design similar to an asterisk, produced by the addition of two more incised lines in the cross (Figure 4-17). Vessels with this sign were present in the following contexts: 1836.2, Taperão site (n=1), in the asterisk version; 1840, Buritizinho site (n=7); 1850, Tapera do Pingador site (n=2); 1850.5, Taperão site (n=1), in the asterisk version; 1852.7, Buritizinho site (n=1); 1853, Engenho do Quilombo site (n=1), in a stamped design
spread on the vessel’s surface; and 1894, Engenho do Quilombo site (n=1).

Figure 4-17. Cruciform representations on Chapada dos Guimarães’ pottery. A) Taperão site, m.d. – 1836. B) Buritizinho site, m. d. – 1840. C) Engenho do Quilombo site, m.d. – 1853. D) Tapera do Pingador site, m.d. – 1850.

The representation of a cross inscribed in circular appliqués is comparable to what a number of archaeologists have been associating with a Bakongo cosmogram (Ferguson 1992:110-116, 1999; Russel 1997:64; Sanford 1996:104-106; Wilkie 1999:274, 2000:20-21; Young 1997:22). According to Thompson (1984:109), among the Bakongo this sign represents the four moments of the sun, in which the supreme deity, Nzambi Mpungu, is referenced at the top, Kalunga, the world of the dead, at the bottom, and water in between. The circumference around the cross represents the reincarnation. This cosmogram also embraces derived sets of meanings, so the summit of the pattern symbolizes noon, maleness, north, and the peak of a person’s strength on earth, while the bottom equals midnight, femaleness, south, and the highest point of a person’s otherworldly strength (Thompson 1984:109). Although the representation of crosses in different material supports are not exclusive of this group, appearing in west Africa
(DeCorse 1999:139-140), East Africa (Pikirayi 1993:145), as well as in other regions from central Africa occupied by other groups, like the Chokwes and Luenas, from the regions of the high Zambeze and Lunda⁶ (Redinha 1948:74, 80). Its temporal correlation with the increasing of Congo slaves, however, in the case of Chapada dos Guimarães, not only suggests that individuals with a Bakongo background produced them, but also that these individuals were concerned with keeping at least some elements of their original system of beliefs, a discussion that will be further developed in Chapter 5.

**Pottery variability and creolization**

The increase in the ceramic decorative variability in post-1836 contexts is also in accordance to the progressive growth in the number of African nations in the region. For the earliest period, between 1790 and 1809, 12 nations were recorded. This number increased little throughout the first half of the 19th century, when only 14 African “nations” were recorded between 1830 and 1849. The peak of the African cultural diversity happened between 1850 and 1869, when 24 nations were documented (Table 4-1). This was also the period in which the number of Benguela and Mina females radically dropped in the region, from 51.34% of the African female population between 1830 and 1849 to only 12.24% between 1850 and 1869, having been replaced by females from a diverse range of “nations,” with Congo predominating (Figure 4-16). This increase in the number of African nations also matches the peak of the frequency of decorated pottery in the region, since the four 1850s mean dated contexts presented proportions of decorated pottery higher than 30% (Figure 4-5). This correspondence between the increase in the African diversity and the increase in both the decoration and decorative variability of the

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⁶ Redinha (1948:86) notices that this sign, in its both versions of cross and asterisk, is used in the regions of Zambeze and Lunda in tattoos and paintings, and as divinatory pieces by the Chokwes. In both cases this sign represents the sun, having, therefore, a meaning very close to that attributed to it by the Bakongo.
pottery strongly suggests that female potters with distinctive cultural backgrounds used pottery to expose their differences of origin and ethnicity. Although this active use of pottery to express differences of African origin, as previously discussed, has happened since the beginning of the historical occupation of the region, the high predominance of Benguela and Mina females throughout the first half of the 19th century probably gave more visibility to the pottery produced by these two groups in the earlier contexts.

The period starting in 1850 also marks the decline in the African population in general and the African female population in particular and, consequently, the intensification of the creolization process in the region. While the general African slave population dropped from 49% between 1830 and 1849 to 22% after 1870, African females went from a regular proportion of 11% to 12% between 1790 and 1849, to 8.75% between 1850 and 1869, and 2.55% after 1870. This decline in the African slave population corresponds to the decline in the frequency of decorated pottery in contexts post-1853, in which this category came to represent less than 10% of the pottery assemblages in the late 19th and early 20th century contexts. Thus, the decline in the decorated pottery was simultaneous to the intensification of the creolization of the slaveholdings, in which Brazilian born slaves numerically surpassed those of African origins. This process tended to dissipate the cultural differences among slaves, insofar as these Brazilian-born slaves, although not representing a cohesive group, tended to share, from birth, very similar conditions of existence. Particularly in the late 19th century contexts, which are associated with this highly creolized slave population, the decorated pottery, although still maintaining some of the popular 18th and 19th centuries’ motifs,
became, in the vast majority of the cases, roughly executed and lacking symmetry or creativity.

Therefore, when Africans from two major groups, Benguela and Mina, dominated the female slaveholding composition in the region, between 1790 and 1850, pottery presented a lower number of decorative techniques and variability of designs. After 1850, when the African population reached the peak of cultural diversity in the region, decorated pottery reached the peak of both frequency and decorative variability. Insofar as this African cultural diversity gave room to a more culturally homogeneous creole population, in the last third of the 19th century, decorated pottery declined and its motifs became more simplified. These correlations suggest that slaves with differentiated cultural backgrounds instrumentally used decorated pottery to express their differences. When this population became more culturally homogeneous, in the last third of the 19th century, decorated pottery lost most of its social function, thus declining in popularity.

These correlations between the African female composition of the Chapada’s slaveholdings and the diachronic variability of pottery strongly suggests that African females, despite the fact that they represented just one third of the female slaves between 1790 and 1850, were mainly responsible for the production of most of the decorated pottery of the region. Three sets of evidence supporting this African female pottery manufacturing complex have been discussed: 1) the similarities of the Chapada’s decorated pottery with stylistic traditions of the sub-Saharan Africa; 2) the innovations in decoration techniques and designs in contexts post-1836, which cannot be adequately explained by the female creole presence; and 3) the correlation between the decline in the
African population in general, the African female in particular, and the radical decline in the amount of decorated pottery in the second half of the 19th century.

This discussion has tried to demonstrate that Africans in Chapada dos Guimarães did not become a homogeneous group because they shared the same social and material conditions of existence. In this sense, the data presented challenges the traditional model of creolization proposed by Mintz and Price (1992). As previously discussed, these authors have emphasized the idea that Africans in the Americas succumbed to a quick process of creolization, due to factors such as the specificities of the new social and cultural environment and the culturally mixed composition of the slaveholdings, which did not permit the maintenance of culturally specific African practices and traditions. The case of Chapada dos Guimarães suggests, instead, that Africans were concerned with keeping and performing their different cultural backgrounds, as well as in forging alliances with those who were culturally more similar when the circumstances permitted. Although the creolization process did occur in the region, it exhibits a different rhythm than that proposed by Mintz and Price (1992), which only becomes more evident when the more culturally homogeneous Brazilian-born slave population surpasses the Africans, after 1850.
This chapter will focus on the intermediary social segment between the planters and slaves, constituted by the free laborers who carried out diversified activities in the space of the plantations. Although this group was predominantly composed of mulattoes (Aleixo 1984:62; Seckinger 1970:78), the presence of Europeans, European-descendants and Africans in the historical documents demonstrates the social-racial-cultural heterogeneity of this group. The main goal here is to discuss the extent to which free laborers were able to use material culture to affirm their social identity in the space of the plantations. To approach this issue a contextual study is required, since their material culture only acquires meaning when contrasted with that related to the planters and slaves. Such comparisons, in turn, highlight the power relations that characterized the plantation’s space, a topic that will be more deeply developed in the next chapter.

The Social Categorization of Free Laborers

Documentary references about the plantations’ free laborers are much more scarce than those that refer to the slaves, since they were not listed in probate-inventories, being only occasionally referred in the planter’s wills in recognition of their services. They are present, however, in the rare plantation’s account books and in criminal processes, in this last case generally as a result of tensions with slaves.

Seckinger (1970:78) categorizes the mass of individuals between the planters and merchants’ upper class and the slaves in Mato Grosso into four strata, gradually
decreasing in social status and economic standing: 1- minor ranchers, farmers and small merchants; 2- artisans, such as tailors, carpenters, boiler-makers, jewelers, masons, dress-makers and smiths; 3- sales clerks and tavern-keepers; and 4- a great mass of unskilled, illiterate propertyless poor, who existed at the subsistence level and to whom most of the mulattos and freedmen belonged. Most of the free laborers working in the plantations belonged to this last stratum.

Studying plantation accounts in Bahia, Schwartz (1985:314) classified the plantation’s salaried employs into four groups: 1- salaried professionals who provided skills, expertise, or services to the plantations on a recurring basis: attorneys, city craters, chaplains and health-care specialists; 2- employees engaged on an annual basis: sugar-making specialists, such as the sugar master, the crater at the mill, the purger, kettlemen, and overseers in field and factory; 3- artisans such as blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, shipwrights, and coppersmiths, who worked on a daily or piecework basis; 4- unskilled workers, often freedmen or their descendants, who also worked on a short term or occasional basis, generally in tasks unsuitable or too dangerous for slaves.

These same categories of salaried empleeys were also present in Chapada dos Guimarães’ plantations, according to information present in three plantation’s account books.¹ The difference concerns the category of the sugar-making specialists, which is absent in these documents, indicating the low level of specialization of the sugar production in the region. In Chapada dos Guimarães’ plantations the artisans were usually contracted for a short to middle term period that could last from several days to several months. The main artisans were the carpenters, followed by ironsmiths, masons

¹ APMT, probate-inventory Paulo da Silva Coelho, 1809; probate-inventory Valentim Martins da Cruz, Cartório do 5º Ofício, Caixa 24, Processo No 721, year: 1820; probate-inventory Apolinário de Oliveira Gago, 1816.
and kettlemen. Mule-drivers could be contracted on a temporary or annual basis. It is important to notice that in many plantations the handcraft and mule-driven works could also be carried out by specialized slaves. Managers and overseers are also present in these documents, and seem to be contracted on an annual basis. Finally, the last group listed is that of the unskilled free laborers, called in the region as camaradas, who could also be contracted on a temporary or annual basis.

The plantation’s accounts, however, did not mention the category of the tenant farmers, referred to in the region as aggregates. According to Volpato (1993:201), aggregates had their own clearing fields in the plantations, sharing their crop with the planters. They could live on the plantations with their family, a privilege that was denied to the camaradas. This was the case of a couple, Claudina Maria and Manoel de Sant’Ana Fogaça, aggregates in the Engenho Santo Antônio, in Chapada, where they lived in a house right behind the planter’s house. Manoel worked in his own clearing field in the plantation while Claudina worked as a dressmaker.²

The camaradas, in turn, many times worked side by side with slaves in the clearing fields, under the supervision of the overseers, being subjected to the same sort of physical punishments than the slaves. According to Volpato (1993:201), it was common for camaradas to try to run away from the plantations, to escape from the very rigid labor regimes to which they were subjected. Very low wages were another reason why they opted for breaking their contracts through escaping. For instance, in 1820 Manuel Rodrigues Tavares paid to the camaradas of the Engenho São Romão a yearly wage of 25,000 réis, and the mule-drivers 40,000 réis, while the carpenters, contracted for short

² APMT, Tribunal da Relação, Caixa 11, Doc. 57, No 255, year:1862.
term works, received an average of 11,250 réis a month. Overseers also received small wages for their work. In 1809 Manoel Pereira da Silva Coelho paid João Batista, overseer of the Engenho Santo Antônio das Palmeiras, a yearly wage of 40,000 réis. To gain a better understanding of these values requires taking into account that during this period a healthy male slave, between 18 and 25 years old, was valued at 168,000 réis. The very low wages paid to overseers could be justified because many times this function could be executed by a slave or ex-slave. This was the case of the slave Luiz, overseer of the Engenho Baguassú, and of João Crisóstemo de Couto, ex-slave, overseer of the Engenho Santo Antônio.6

For the case of the coffee production region of the Paraíba Valley, in Rio de Janeiro, McCann (1997:33) noted that most planters only employed one or two overseers, even if they had as many as 200 slaves. But in the plantations holding more than 50 slaves in the Paraíba Valley, overseers were joined by at least one auxiliary. Unfortunately, for the case of Chapada dos Guimarães plantations this kind of data was not available, due the scarcity of the plantation’s accounts books, but it is probable that the proportions between overseers and slaves could be similar to that of the Paraíba Valley.

The itinerant, unstable life of the camaradas in Mato Grosso is well exemplified by the case of João Paulo de Medeiros Rondon. He worked for two months as a camarada in the Plantation Sant’Ana, in the locality of Livramento. During this period he had an affair with Maria, one plantation’s slaves. Ending his work in the plantation, João Paulo

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3 APMT, probate-inventory Valentim Martins da Cruz, 1820.
4 APMT, probate-inventory Paulo da Silva Coelho, 1809.
5 APMT, processos de homicídio, Cartório do 6º Ofício, Caixa 1, Maço 70, year: 1853.
6 APMT, Tribunal da Relação, Caixa 11, Doc. 57, No 255, year: 1862.
7 APMT, Tribunal da Relação, Caixa 14, Doc. 926, No 323, year: 1875.
started to work in a mining field close to the plantation, being able to secretly visit Maria on a regular basis, since the planter prohibited their relationship. One night, when João slept with Maria in a hammock in the sugar-mill, he was attacked by one of the plantation’s slave, Pedro, who, jealous of his relationship with Maria, tried to kill him.

This account is a good example of how socially close camaradas could be with slaves, many times sharing with them the same affairs and social networks. Indeed, in Chapada dos Guimarães many camaradas were freedmen, sometimes Africans. This was the case of the African José Moçambique and the creole José da Costa, two freedmen who worked as camaradas in the Engenho Baguassú, the same engenho that kept as overseer the slave Luiz.8

**The Archaeology of the Free Laborers**

The material life of the free laborers in Chapada dos Guimarães’ plantations can be viewed via two contexts: Unit 14 of the Taperão site (see Figure 2.6) and Unit 2 of the Buritizinho site (see figure 2.7). As discussed in Chapter 2 (see also Chapter 5), these two units are closer to their respective planters’ houses than the rest of the areas related to the occupation of slaves, which is in accordance to the documentary references about the spatial location of this social category in the plantations of the region. In both cases the archaeological record pointed out to better material conditions in the life of this group than for that of the slave groups. While the Engenho do Quilombo site also presented a unit of occupation and deposition close to the planter’s house, which was occupied by free laborers in the early 20th century, there is no clear evidence that its previous 19th century occupation is related to slaves or free laborers, given the absence of more peripheral deposits in this site.

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8 APMT, processos de homicídio, Cartório do 6º Ofício, Caixa 1, Maço 70, year: 1853.
Although in both Taperão and Buritizinho sites, it is evident that the areas of habitation closer to the planter’s houses were occupied by individuals or groups in a hierarchical level intermediary between the planters and the slaves, there is no clear evidence pointing out which category of free laborers their occupants could pertain, whether managers, aggregates, artisans, or camaradas. However, in both cases, the archaeological record points to groups who lived in the plantation on a long term basis, so that there is little probability that these units are related to the itinerant artisans. By the same token the camaradas, although they could live in the plantations for periods longer than artisans, had a more itinerant way of life and did not constitute family in the plantations. The best possibility is that these units were occupied by aggregates, something that is suggested by some historical records, as related above. Aggregates could live in a plantation for a long period, sometimes their whole life, and could also constitute a family, which seems to be more in accordance with the composition of the archaeological record in these areas, and which also points to household activities. It is not clear the extent to which aggregates could also carry out the role of overseers or even managers in these plantations, but these possibilities should not be overlooked.

Unfortunately, no plantation account book referent to the Taperão and Buritizinho sites was found in the historical documents. Thus, there are very few references to the free laborers who occupied these sites. For the case of the Taperão site, the only reference is present in the planter Luis Monteiro Salgado’s will, dated 1808. In a passage of his will, Luis Monteiro asks his will maker to collect the plantation’s camarada José Pinto Gomes the amount of money that he owed, consistent with the plantation’s account book. No other reference is made in this document about other free laborers in the plantation.

9 APMT, probate-inventory Luiz Monteiro Salgado, 1808.
Nevertheless, this passage is very suggestive of the patron-client relationship in the Engenho Rio da Casca (Taperão site). The fact that one camarada was owing money to the planter indicates a strategy to maintain free laborers attached to the plantation through successive debts contracted with the planter, a strategy that was kept in the region until, at least, the beginning of the 20th century (Siqueira et al 1990:57). After Luis Monteiro’s death, his son, Antônio Monteiro, became the plantation’s manager, as indicated in the will of Rosa Cardoso, widow of Luiz Monteiro. But, although Antônio Monteiro could be considered a free laborer, he was also from the planter’s family, and very probably lived with his family in the planter’s house.

In the case of the Buritizinho site, the Engenho Água Fria, the only reference to free laborers is also present in a will, that of Antônia Pereira da Silva, dated 1870. In a passage of her will, Antônia Pereira leaves 500,000 réis to Maria Cecília, “as payment for the good services she has done in the administration of my sugar-mill,” and other 500,000 réis to Manuel Vicente Neves, for the same reason. Antônia Pereira still affirmed that, in the case of the death of Maria Cecilia, the payment should go to Maria Cecilia’s daughter, Quirina. Antônia Pereira’s recognition of the services of these managers, including her concern with guaranteeing the money to Maria Cecilia’s daughter in the case of her death, suggests a long term relationship between the planter and her managers, indicating that they probably lived in the plantation for quite a long time. Therefore, it is possible that Unit 2 of the Buritizinho site is related to the household of these managers, who probably formed a couple.

10 APMT, probate-inventory Rosa Cardoso de Lima, 1841.
11 APMT, probate-inventory Antônia Pereira da Silva, 1870.
In the Taperão site, the archaeological deposit of the free laborers area was represented by two layers, the lower layer mean dated, according to the mean ceramic date formula, to 1825.6, and the upper one to 1853.4. The lower layer, thus, is related to the period in which the Portuguese Luis Monteiro Salgado and his widow, Rosa Cardoso, owned the plantation, while the upper layer relates to the unidentified occupation subsequent to Luis Monteiro’s family. In the case of the Buritizinho site, the free laborers area was represented by only one layer, mean dated to 1852.7, encompassing, therefore, the occupation of Ana Luiza da Silva, who died in 1848, and of her daughter Antônia Pereira da Silva, who died in 1870.

Figure 5-1 presents the proportions of imported wares, glasses, and locally-made pottery for these three contexts. In regard to the Taperão site, the only significant variation concerns the decreased availability of locally-made pottery in the later period. This variation contrasts strongly with the frequency of locally-made pottery in the contemporary context of Buritizinho which was three times higher, pointing to significant differences in the material life of the free laborers between these two plantations. Indeed, a major distinction between the free laborers of these sites concerns the level of autonomy they had to choose the industrialized items they used. For the case of the Taperão site, the analysis of the imported wares demonstrated that all the types present in the free laborers unit, in both periods, were also present, in much higher numbers, in the planter’s area. This evidence strongly suggests that the groups who occupied this area received the imported wares from the planters, when these pieces were old and probably damaged. Schiffer (1987:28) refers to this process in which artifacts change owners and social units as lateral cycling. This practice has also been identified in the context of
North American plantations through cases in which the slaves were the receivers of the planters’ wares (Thomas 1998:540; Young 1997:28). For the earlier period of occupation of the Taperão site, this process of lateral cycling is also sustained by the mean date of the planter’s imported wares assemblage, 1836.2, almost eleven years newer than the wares used by the free laborers during the same period, mean dated to 1825.6, being that both contexts presented very close depositional intervals. This process of distribution of the imported wares by the planters in the Taperão site also included the slaves, as will be discussed in Chapter 6.

![Figure 5-1: Frequency of imported wares, glasses, and locally-made potteries in free-laborers’ contexts: Taperão 1825.6 – MNV: 56; Taperão 1852.4 – MNV: 29; Buritizinho 1852.7 – MNV: 80.](image)

On the other hand, the comparison of the planter’s and free laborer’s imported wares assemblages of the Buritizinho site demonstrated a low probability of the process of lateral cycling, since 47% of the types present in the free laborer’s area are absent in the planter’s area. Thus, in the Buritizinho site, free laborers had a higher degree of autonomy in choosing their items of consumption than the corresponding social units at
the Taperão site. A closer look at the imported wares assemblages of both sites indicates other specifics about the material behavior of the free laborers for each case. Figure 5-2 presents the frequency of the imported wares shapes in the context of the three free laborers’ deposits. In the case of the Taperão site, the variability relates to a very high frequency of plates in the earlier period, which drops in the later period while the frequency of cups increases, suggesting a more intense consumption of beverages like tea and coffee in this period. In both the late context of the Taperão site and in the

![Figure 5-2](image)

**Figure 5-2.** Frequency of imported wares’ functional categories in free-laborers’ contexts: Taperão 1825.6 – MNV: 35; Taperão 1852.4 – MNV: 20; Buritizinho 1852.7 – MNV: 51.

Buritizinho there is a strong disproportion between cups and saucers, which diverge based in the first case as cups predominate while in the last case bowls predominate the assemblage. These disproportions are a remarkable contrast to the patterns verified in the planter’s contexts (see figure 3.4), in which cups and saucers occurred in very close proportions, indicating their simultaneous use in the consumption of tea and/or coffee. In the context of free laborer’s, the disproportions verified suggest that these pieces had multiple functions.
Figure 5-3 presents the proportions of the refined earthenware decorative types according to Miller’s (1980, 1991) index. The inversion of proportions between the cheapest white, undecorated, refined earthenware and the most expensive transfer-printed wares between the two periods of the Taperão site is particularly noteworthy. This trend reflects what was verified in the planter’s refined earthenware, in both earlier and later assemblages, which were also characterized by the increase of white earthenware and the decrease of transfer-printed wares over time (see figure 3.6), and thus is related to the planters’ consumer choices, as discussed in Chapter 3.

Figure 5-3. Free-laborers’ refined earthenware classified according to Miller’s scale: Taperão 1825.6 – MNV: 30; Taperão 1852.4 – MNV: 17; Buritizinho 1852.7 – MNV: 39.

In the case of the Buritizinho site, free laborers had autonomy to choose many, if not most, of their imported wares, something that permits the exploration of some facets of their consumer behavior. As can be seen in Figure 5-3 this group had a higher proportion of transfer-printed wares than the cheaper decorative types. This group was also concerned with having service pieces, represented by one teapot, one terrine, and one
third piece that could be either a sugar bowl or a sauce bowl. The presence of these superfluous and higher economic value items demonstrates that this group was concerned with presenting the meals and segmenting the feeding process in a way more closely related to the material behavior of the planters than to the slaves, who did not have serving pieces.

The concept of emulation is useful to discuss the formal and decorative variability of this free-laborers’ imported wares assemblage. Emulation is the process in which the members of one class mimic the behavior and fashion of those from other, usually higher, class, forcing these last ones to search for new fashions by which to distinguish themselves. This process occurs in societies in which more than one class can have access to determined items of consumption and when the inter-classes relationship is not static (Praetzellis et al. 1988:194). Thus, it is possible that when this group opted for more expensive imported wares they tried to emulate the material behavior of the planters through the adoption of a similar aesthetic and of the concept of displaying a higher economic condition based on the acquisition of more expensive material items. As Gibb (1996:25) affirms, the constellation of artifacts owned by a household represents the view that this group has of itself, so that exceptional acquisitions can create the illusion that an ideal is being reached, and thus they represent an effort in the group’s redefinition of itself. In this sense, the most expensive imported wares kept by Buritzinho’s free laborers can represent, simultaneously, their aspirations for a higher social standard, represented in the region by the planter’s class, and the need for materially separating themselves from the lowest class of slaves.
Nevertheless, the patterns of use of the imported wares by this group presented some particularities that discern it from the planter’s class. This is the case for the above discussed disproportion between saucers and cups, with saucers being almost twice more frequent than cups, indicating multiple patterns of use of these pieces. Moreover, only one third of the cups exhibit decorations that match those of the saucers, indicating a low concern for this group in using matched pieces, a marked difference from the planters. Another difference is the absence of glass tableware (tumblers and wine glasses) in this assemblage (Figure 5-4) particularly since these items composed 26% of the planter’s glass assemblage. Therefore, the specific patterns of use of the imported wares by Buritizinho’s free laborers demonstrate that although this group recognized, accepted, and even manipulated to their own ends the social meanings attributed to these items by the planters, they did not recognize the rules of use of such items. Such rules, as affirmed by Bourdieu (1999:15), acted as the real distinction markers between social groups.

Figure 5-4. Frequency of glass’ functional categories in free-laborers’ contexts: Taperão 1825.6 – MNV: 11; Taperão 1852.4 – MNV: 07; Buritizinho 1852.7 – MNV: 11.
In summary, the archaeological record indicates that the free laborers of the Taperão and Buritizinho sites had differing degrees of autonomy in choosing their items of consumption. Taperão’s free laborers can be considered as passive consumers, insofar as the totality of their industrialized items were furnished by the planters. Thus, this material informs more about the planter’s perceptions and consumer choices than it does of the free laborer’s. Moreover, this practice of distribution of these items indicates the paternalist posture of the planters, who aimed to control the material life of the subordinated groups through the concession of these daily use items. According to Garman (1998:137), paternalism constituted one of the most humiliating forms of power relations, since it is based in the conception that adults must be treated as children, who need to be educated, watched, and punished in cases of insubordination. As previously discussed, a passage in Luiz Monteiro’s will suggests that this planter could have kept the camaradas in the plantation working under a system of successive contraction of debts. The archaeological data reinforces this possibility, since it demonstrates that free laborers depended on the planter to acquire industrialized items.

On the other hand, free laborers at the Buritizinho site were subjected to more subtle strategies of domination, since they had autonomy to choose their items of consumption. In this sense, they were able to use the material culture as a form of self-expression, buying items that had more to do with the planter’s aesthetics and systems of values than with the slave’s. As argues Bourdieu (1984:41), “the working class aesthetic is a dominated aesthetic which is constantly obliged to define itself in terms of the dominant aesthetics”. The planters’ values, in turn, were related to the consumer culture of industrial capitalism, emphasizing socio-economic display through material items, as
opposed to a folk culture, common among the slave groups, as will be discussed in the
next chapter.

In general terms, the material patterns established for the free laborers occupy the
middle ground between the planters and slave’s material patterns, demonstrating the
social ambiguity of this group. The European descendants, mulattoes, and Africans who
worked in the plantations whether as managers, overseers or aggregates, constituted, in
all instances, an indispensable element for the maintenance of the slaving system in their
varied roles of watching the slaves, enforcing production, and guarding against rebellion.
On the other side, and similarly to the slaves, these individuals were also subjected to the
planter’s exploitation, although this exploitation was manifested more through the
economic domination than through the open coercion applied to the slaves.
CHAPTER 6
THE LANDSCAPES OF POWER IN CHAPADA DOS GUIMARÃES

The material structure of the plantations of Chapada dos Guimarães were characterized in Chapter 2, in which it was demonstrated that these spaces were fundamentally hierarchical, with planters, free-laborers, and slaves living in different units. In this chapter the focus will be on the ways in which these different groups appropriated these spaces according to their differentiated systems of references, and the implications of this process in terms of power relations. This analysis will be based on the spatial distribution of structures and portable artifacts in a diachronic perspective.

Space, Place, Practices, Representations, and Artifacts: Some Theoretical Remarks

The fundamental feature of the plantations of Chapada dos Guimarães is that they constituted places occupied by peoples of distinct social and cultural backgrounds, whose relationships were founded on a strictly hierarchical structure. Although these groups occupied differentiated living spaces within the plantation, they shared the same place, the plantation, and, many times, the same spaces for activities. Thus, the study of the material manifestations of these groups and their distribution on the plantations requires the use of a theory of space, a theory that can take account for not only the social standing of each group, but also their differentiated cultural backgrounds. The ideas of three authors concerning space, Lefebvre (2002 [1974]), DeCerteau (1994), and Hirsch (1995), will be the basis of this analysis. While Lefebvre (2002 [1974]) furnishes a more general theory of social space, viewing the materiality of the space simultaneously as the
medium and the result of social relations, DeCerteau (1994) and Hirsch (1995) emphasize different aspects of this recursive relationship.

According to Lefebvre (2002 [1974]:73), social space, rather than a thing or product, is the outcome of a set of operations, subsuming the things produced and encompassing their interrelationships in their coexistence and simultaneity. In this sense, it is concurrently the result of past actions and the generator of new actions, an idea that corresponds to Bourdieu’s (1977) notion of habitus as structures that simultaneously produce (structuring) the human action and are re-produced (structured) by the human action. Lefebvre’s (2002 [1974]:77) idea of social space as containing a diversity of objects that are simultaneously things and relations is fundamental to understand the distribution of the material items on the space of the plantations, since it permits the evaluation of this material culture as the evidence of the practices of these different groups, and, therefore, as a subject to be differently appropriated by each group. In this sense perception, here defined as the ways in which different groups appropriate the material world, attributing to it meanings that can simultaneously legitimate and subvert social relations, is an important dimension to be considered.

DeCerteau (1984) adds other elements to this discussion. According to him, society is composed of two basic groups, producers and consumers. Producers are the subjects of will and power and consumers are the dominated elements. To DeCerteau (1984: XIX), place is the domain of the producers, being the locus of strategies developed by them with the purpose of control the consumers. Place is defined as an instantaneous configuration of positions, in which each element is situated in its own proper and distinct location, a location which it defines. In other words, place is characteristically
static. However, when used by the consumers, place becomes space. Space is defined as a practiced place, which exists in terms of vectors of direction, velocities, and time variables (DeCerteau 1984: 117). Hence, space is fundamentally dynamic, being composed of intersections of mobile elements.

DeCerteau (1984:XIII-XIV) argues that consumers have the ability to use the products imposed by a dominant economic order with respect to ends and references foreign to the system that is being imposed. In this way they can deflect the power of this order which they lack the means to challenge. Consumers do that through practices of reappropriation of the space organized by the strategies of the producers. Such practices are referred to as tactics. Differing from strategies, tactics are fragmentary, have no base at their disposal, and depend on time, being constantly on the watch for opportunities in which to be carried out. DeCerteau observes that many everyday practices, such as reading, talking, dwelling, and cooking, are tactical in character (DeCerteau 1984:XIX).

In this work, I will adopt DeCerteau’s conceptions of place and space, and their derived notions of strategy and tactic, viewing the plantations as both a planter’s place and also as predominantly the space of slaves. Conversely, his qualification of society as composed of the two basic groups of producers and consumers will be avoided. Although this dual conception is relativistic, since DeCerteau also sees the producers as consumers, it is more productive to approach the social universe of the plantations considering the hierarchical landscape of these environments, which was composed of the three basic social categories: planters, free laborers and slaves. Indeed, planters can be, to a great extent, considered as DeCerteau’s producers, insofar as they controlled the space of the plantation and a large amount of aspects of the subordinated groups’ lives. Nevertheless,
the relations that planters kept with free laborers were based on parameters different than those they kept with slaves, since free laborers constituted the human repressor apparatus which controlled the slaves. Thus, to label these subordinated groups under the general categorization of ‘consumers’ is oversimplifying the complexity of the social relationships within the plantations’ spaces. These different groups carried out different practices on the plantations’ spaces. Some of these practices had ends and references foreign to the system imposed by the planters, composing, therefore, spatial tactics.

The interaction among these socio-cultural groups on the plantation’s spaces was marked by strong tensions, in which differentiated cultural practices and systems of beliefs were repressed by the hegemonic culture imposed by the planters. Planters and slaves tried to orientate their daily lives through very distinct references, related with their differentiated cultural backgrounds. The model of landscape proposed by Hirsh (1995) is adequate to explore the ways in which the daily lives of these groups were guided by their different backgrounds. Hirsh argues that landscape is a process which relates a foreground of everyday social life to a background of potential existence. The foreground constitutes the concrete actuality of the everyday life, embracing the concepts of place, inside, and image. On the other hand, the background constitutes an idealized potential world, which embraces the concepts of space, outside, and representation (Hirsh 1995:3-4). These two poles of human experience exist in a process of mutual implication, in which human beings attempt to realize in the foreground what can only be potentiality in the background (Hirsh 1995:22).

The concept of habitus, proposed by Bourdieu (1977), embraces both notions of background and foreground. Foreground can be seen as the structure of actuality, as the
material and the social world, being, to some extent, shared by all the social groups which occupy a physical space; background is the structure of representation, of memories, of systems of beliefs, being, therefore, differentiated according to socio-culturally specific groups. To Bourdieu (1977:72) habitus concerns the internalization of the structure, and its reproduction through practice. Thus it involves practices as well as representations. In this sense the practice emerges as a dialectic between the foreground and the background.

The foreground, as it involves the materiality of the existence and, consequently, the notion of place, is related to the domain of strategy. In the case of the plantations, the planter organized the distribution of the material structures, the built environment, aiming to control the use of the space and to determine the set of practices that could be carried out in this space. But, the fact is that individuals are not passive subjects, rather, though their daily practices, they can assign different uses to these spaces and even, on some occasions, subvert the original purposes and consequent meanings associated with these spaces. Portable artifacts are items which are used in the carrying out of these practices, having, therefore, a more dynamic character than the built structures. Moreover, as will be discussed below, portable artifacts, like structures, not only inform about the domain of the practice, but also about the domain of the representation. Hence, whereas the analysis of structures and their spatial distribution can inform about the original purposes by which the space was organized - the strategies of the producers - the analysis of portable artifacts can inform about alternative, tactical ways in which the space was used by different groups in the carrying out of their daily practices.

Portable artifacts are significant in three dimensions, economic or utilitarian, social, and representational, which parallel the three levels of functions proposed by Binford
as technoeconomic, sociotechnic, and ideotechnic. What is being considered here is that, in the plantations space, most of the artifacts were simultaneously imbued with these three dimensions. While the social and economic dimensions can be associated with the foreground, the representational dimension concerns the background. The economic and social dimensions of the artifacts are present in the notion of artifacts as commodities (Orser 1992). Commodities can be defined as goods and services produced for a market, which can be compared and exchanged without reference to the social matrix in which they were produced (Wolf 1982:310). In the capitalist system, commodities are made into measures of the worth of people, being, therefore, central elements to the maintenance of the ideology of class, which supports and reproduces inequalities (Plattner 1989:387). Orser’s (1992) view of artifacts as commodities is based in Appadurai’s reflections about commodities and the politics of value (Appadurai, 1986). Appadurai is concerned with the circulation of commodities in social life, arguing that their value is created through exchange. The link between exchange and value is created by the domain of politics, politics being defined in the broad sense of relations, assumptions, and contests pertaining to power (Appadurai 1986:56-57).

The change of focus from the process of exchange to the things that are exchanged permits a glimpse into the dynamic nature of things, in which the same thing can be treated as a commodity at one time and not at another, and can be seen as a commodity by a person and as something else by another (Kopytoff 1986:64). Thus, the cultural biography and the life history of things become central to the understanding of the ways in which objects were used in the structuring of inter-groups social relationships. Whereas the life history of an object is related with the cultural changes that it
experienced throughout its existence (Kopytoff 1986:64), the cultural biography is related with the study of the changes of context of a particular object through time (Appadurai 1986:34).

Throughout this study, three major classes of artifacts are being discussed: imported wares, glass artifacts, and locally-produced pottery. Although all these classes can be considered as commodities, they had different economic and social values. The Aristotle concepts of use value and exchange value are useful to characterize the significance of each one of these classes. Use value is “…the ability of an object to satisfy a human want” (Orser 1992:97), while exchange value refers to “…the number of objects or services a single object can command in an exchange situation.” (Orser 1992:97) But, although the concepts of use and exchange values can be analytically useful to discuss the processes of distribution of the artifacts, they take into little account the representational dimension of the artifacts. What must be considered is that, in determined contexts, some artifacts or categories of artifacts have a “sign value,” which can be determinant to the affirmation of identities and the shaping of consciousness (Kearney 1995:158). As Kearney argues (1995: 168-169), such value-saturated signs, when consumed, “nurture the class based identity of the consuming subject who so consumes value in accord with strategies of resistance – resistance that is often integral to the reproduction of class differences.”

**The Planters’ Place: Strategies and Distribution of Material Items in the Space of the Plantation**

The study of the distribution of structures and artifacts and their implications in terms of power relations in the space of the plantations requires contexts that have been carefully spatially and chronologically delimited, and which may then be associated with
specific socio-cultural units. The Taperão (Engenho Rio da Casca) and Buritizinho (Engenho Água Fria) sites represent the best contexts for this study, since they have deposits spatial and temporally discrete which can be associated, with a good margin of confidence, to the three social categories treated here: planters, free-laborers, and slaves. The plantation Engenho do Quilombo, on the other hand, presented only one socially defined context which related to the planters. The social identities of the occupants of the other unit excavated in this site are more nebulous, and they could even have changed their status from slaves to free laborers over time, given that its occupation extended into the beginning of the 20th century. The Tapera do Pingador site, in turn, is a non-plantation context, probably occupied by runaway or freed slaves, and later by freedmen. Only one area of occupation was identified in this site, so that no spatially evident hierarchical structure could be identified. Consequently, most of this analysis will concentrate on the Taperão and Buritizinho cases, using the contexts of the Engenho do Quilombo and Tapera do Pingador sites as complementary data when this is required. The archaeological research on these sites, including site plans, mean-dates, and quantification of materials, was presented in Chapter 2.

This study will consider the intra-site distribution of artifacts in these sites for three periods: the end of the 18th century, the first half of the 19th century and the second half of that century, discussing the continuities and changes in the practices related to slaves and planters. The Taperão site presented contexts dated to these three periods, defined according to the chronological information furnished by the refined earthenware and glasses, with the period between 1790 and 1890 constituting the general interval of occupation for this site. The contexts of occupation of the Buritizinho, in turn, refer to the
first and second half of the 19th century, and its general period of occupation was between 1809 and 1890.

The Taperão Site

Although the Taperão site presented deposits dating to three periods of occupation between 1790 and 1890, the intermediary period, referent to the first half of the 19th century, presents the best context for understanding the distribution of the material items on the plantation space. This period is represented by the lower archaeological layer of all the central area’s deposits (planter’s household – m.d. 1836.2), by the lower layer of the area 14 (free-laborers – m.d. 1825.6), by area 1 (slaves – m.d. 1810.9), and by one intermediate layer of area 3 (slaves – m.d. 1820.3). Thus, the three basic social groups who occupied the plantation are archaeologically represented in this period. The earliest period of occupation, in turn, presented only two deposits, areas 4 (m.d. 1802.5) and 15 (m.d. 1797), both related to the slave’s units of habitation. Although the planters and free-laborers’ areas were also occupied during this first period, the depositional interval of their assemblages was wider, and it was not possible to isolate more temporally discrete deposits specifically related with this first period, with exception of a small assemblage of refined earthenware concentrated in the first trench of area 7, in the interior of the planter’s house. The late period is represented by the upper layers of both the central area (m.d. 1850.5) and area 14 (m.d. 1852.4), and one small assemblage in area 3, which was not quantitatively significant.

As informed in Chapters 2 and 3, at the beginning of the 19th century the Taperão site was headed by the Portuguese captain Luis Monteiro Salgado, who, in 1808, kept 63 slaves on this plantation, 35 being African, plus eight in his urban residence in Cuiabá. In 1826, under his son Antônio Salgado’s administration, there were 71 slaves, 21 Africans
and 50 Brazilians, living in the plantation. In 1841, year of Luis Monteiro’s widow’s wife, Rosa Cardoso, death, 33 slaves lived in the plantation, nine being African.

Figure 6-1. Plan of the Taperão site indicating the living spaces of the different social groups.

Luis Monteiro organized the layout and distribution of the structures inside the plantation with the purpose of highlighting a hierarchical arrangement, defined according to the greater or lesser proximity of his house, aiming to impose order and visual control over this space and over the subordinated groups (Figure 6-1). As discussed in Chapter 2, the center of activities on the Chapada’s plantations was the sugar-mill, strategically placed next to the planter’s house, where the planters and their managers could easily supervise the work of the slaves. Therefore, the planter’s house represented the
surveillance center, being a material expression of the power of the planter. In the case of the Taperão site, this was the only house built with stone and tiles, in contrast with the slaves’ houses, built with clay and straw. The durable material used to construct the planter’s house gave it a character of temporal continuity, serving to legitimize and reproduce hierarchical social relationships through time. The area of the free-laborers is located 30 meters to the north from the farmer’s house (Figure 6-1, area 14), in a direction opposite to the slaves’ houses. Finally, the slaves’ deposits are located an average distance of 60 meters to the east and southeast of the planter’s’ house (Figure 6-1, areas 1, 3, 4, and 15).

The strategic distribution of units of habitation in the plantation space was further enhanced by the redistribution of the industrialized artifacts, refined earthenware and glasses, by the planters. As discussed in Chapter 3, refined earthenware had a high socio-economic significance for the planters because these items displayed the superior status of this group not only in the structure of the plantation, but also in front of other planters of the region. Locally-made pottery, in turn, had an economic value so low that this category is not present in the probate-inventories, with only one exception, the ‘inventory of poorness’ of the freed slave Joaquina Mina¹ murdered in Cuiabá in 1832. The police authorities who investigated her murder listed all the material items present in her house, including the locally-made pottery, represented by six cooking pots, ten plates, and the impressive number of 22 smoking pipes. The cooking pots were valued at 50 réis each, while undecorated refined earthenware plates in the same list were valued at 200 réis per unit. As can be seen in Figure 6-2, in the Taperão site locally-made pottery presented a

¹ APMT, probate-inventory, Joaquina Mina. do 5º Ofício, Caixa 33, Processo No. 655, year: 1832.
distribution inverse to that of refined earthenware, being present in high proportions in the slave’s areas, decreasing in the free-laborers areas, and reaching its lowest proportions in the planter’s areas.

Due to the higher economic value of the refined earthenware, the planters redistributed these pieces with the purpose of underlining the social hierarchy within the plantation space, keeping the most expensive pieces and giving to the free-laborers decorated, used pieces of higher value. The slaves received only the least expensive pieces (see Figure 6-3). In terms of glass items (Figure 6-4), there is a much higher diversity of specialized shapes, related to tablewares, medicinal flasks, decorative items, cosmetic and perfume flasks in the planter’s areas, while a gradual increase in the frequency of the purely utilitarian beverage bottles from the free-laborers to the slave’s units is noted.
Figure 6-3. Taperão site – refined earthenware classified according to Miller’s scale in planters’, free-laborers’, and slaves’ contexts: central area – 1836.2 – MNV: 128; area 14 – 1825.6 – MNV: 30; area 3 – 1820.3 - MNV: 25; area 1 – 1810.9 – MNV: 11.

Figure 6-4. Taperão site – frequency of glass’ functional categories in planters’, free-laborers’ and slaves’ contexts: central area – 1836.2 – MNV: 41; area 14 – 1825.6 – MNV: 11; area 3 – 1820.3 - MNV: 07; area 1 – 1810.9 – MNV: 04.

Therefore, through the control over the distribution of the industrialized items the planters openly revealed their hegemony in the spaces of the plantation. This was a strategy of domination which had the purpose of reproducing, on a daily basis, the strong
social inequalities already marked by the material composition and spatial distribution of the structures of inhabitation. Moreover, refined earthenware were strongly associated with the background of the planters, not only in terms of social significance, but also in terms of identification with a European bourgeois ideal of urban life, which was spreading in the Brazilian urban centers concurrently with the massive importation of European industrialized items during the 19th century (see Lima 1999; Symanski 2002), as discussed in Chapter 3.

One important aspect of this distribution of refined earthenware is that whereas the planters maintained the newest pieces for themselves, they gave the oldest pieces to the slaves. In general terms, the overseers received pieces newer than that given to the slaves but older than that retained by the farmers. This situation is well illustrated by the mean ceramic dates (South 1972) associated with each assemblage: Central area – 1836.2, area 14 – 1825.6, area 3 – 1820.3, and area 1 – 1810.9. Therefore, when distributing these pieces, the planters were concerned not only with emphasizing the social hierarchy inside the plantation, but also with a temporality imbued in the refined earthenware that highlighted these differences. In this sense, they equalized social distance not only with spatial but also with temporal distance. The group socially closer to them, the overseers, lived nearer to their house and received refined earthenware not as old as those ones given to the slaves, who lived farther from their house. This hierarchical and ‘diachronic’

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2 The application of South’s Mean ceramic date formula to the assemblages had the purpose of quantitatively demonstrating the popularity of older vs. newer refined earthenware in the referred assemblages rather than to establish a chronology. The mean dates of specific types in each assemblage presented very close ranges, indicating the contemporarity of these areas: central area – from 1790 (creamware) to 1850 (transfer printed blue, linear rim); area 14 – from 1790 (creamware) to 1850 (transfer-printed blue, linear rim); area 3 – from 1790 (creamware) to 1850 (transfer-printed blue, linear rim); area 1 – from 1790 (creamware) to 1847 (transfer printed black).
distribution of refined earthenware was further reinforced by the distribution of the cheapest category of the locally-made pottery (Figure 6.2).

At this point it is important to consider the two discourses that the upper classes used to justify African slavery in Brazil in the 19th century: religion and race. These discourses were joined together, with one reaffirming the other. The most traditional was the religious discourse that professed that the slaving of Africans was important to transform those pagan peoples into Christians (Alencastro, 1997:82; Vainfas 1986). Racist discourses preached the disjunction between the world of the white and the world of the black, justifying the hierarchical relationships between these two groups (Vainfas 1986:42). After 1850, these discourses acquired a pseudo-scientific basis, which affirmed that dark skin-color people had a brain deficiency that made them lazy and sensuous creatures (Alencastro, 1997:80). Seeing slaves as pagans, racially inferior, and primitive, the planters probably treated the material manifestations of that group, such as its pottery, as primitive objects that were unworthy for a planter’s house, a place where modern objects represented the age of industrial capitalism and the bourgeois way of life. With these prejudices in mind, the planter organized the material universe of the plantation following a diachronic model: the planter’s house represented modernity; the slaves houses, filled with very out-of-fashion refined earthenware and rough and ‘primitive’ pottery, represented a ‘primitive’ time, being therefore not only spatially, but also temporally far from the planter’s house. On the middle ground, between the modern and the primitive, was the ambiguous space of the free-laborers, an intermediary social group that was concurrently oppressor and oppressed as well as modern and ‘primitive’.
The planters’ manipulation of the physical and social space can be defined as a set of oppositions: white European-descent planter/black African or African-descent slave, planter’s stone and tile house/slaves’ wattle and daub cabins, center (planter’s house)/periphery (slaves’ cabins), European white-refined earthenware/locally made black pottery, European modernity/African ‘primitivism’. These oppositions have as their central element the dichotomy nature/culture, which was promoted by the planters’ view of the social space of the plantation. Thus, from the planters’ perspective, this social space could be seen as a gradation of a set of spheres from the domain of culture, whose core was the planters’ house, outward to the domain of nature. The free-laborers’ adjacent house, probably occupied by physically mixed persons, mulattoes or creoles, with its hybrid material culture, represented a lower sphere of culture. The slaves’ houses, farthest from the planter’s core, located on the borders of the living space of the plantation, represented an even lower sphere of culture, closer to the domain of nature. Indeed, the slaves, as well as the agricultural products planted around the living space of the plantation, needed to be ‘domesticated’ by the planters. Thus, following the slaves’ sphere, the lowest sphere of culture was the crop fields around the plantation’s living space. Involving this sphere was the domain of nature, represented by the dangerous forest, the space of the beasts, savage animals, and uncivilized Indians.

The Buritizinho site (Engenho Água Fria)

While study of the use of the space by different social groups on the Taperão site is limited to the first half of the 19th century, when planters, free-laborers and slaves are archaeologically represented, the Buritizinho site adds a diachronic dimension to this analysis, since, in this site, the same social groups are represented by archaeological deposits that date to the second half of the 19th century. Although the occupation of the
Buritizinho site started in 1809 (see Chapter 2), only one assemblage, from the planter’s household (Figure 6-5, area 1 - m.d. 1841), is representative of the first half of the 19th century. The other assemblages, even though representing depositional intervals initiated before 1850, principally date to the second half of the 19th century. Three deposits are representative of this period: area 1 (planter’s household – m.d. 1863.4), area 2 (free-laborers house – m.d. 1852.7), and area 3 (slave cabin – m.d. 1862.1) (Figure 6-5).

Figure 6-5. Plan of the Buritizinho site indicating the living spaces of the different social groups.

The Buritizinho site, as informed in Chapters 2 and 3, was initially headed by Domingos da Silva Barreiros, who died in 1818. His widow, Ana Luiza da Silva, headed the engheno until her death, in 1848, when the property passed into the hands of her
daughter, Antônia Pereira da Silva, who died in 1870, leaving no descendants. The only slaveholding list available for this plantation is for the year of 1848, when there were 58 slaves living in this site, 26 being African.

This site presented a hierarchical spatial organization analogous to the Taperão site in which free-laborers were housed closer to the planter’s house and slaves farther from it (Figure 6-5).

The same hierarchy of access to the industrialized resources – wares and glasses - is also evident in this site, demonstrating that, like in the case of the Taperão, the intra-site social hierarchy was reinforced by the material culture. This unequal access to the industrialized resources is particularly evident in the distribution of the three major material categories, industrialized wares, glasses, and locally-made pottery (Figure 6-6) and in the functional variability of the items of glass (Figure 6-7).

![Diagram](image.png)

As can be seen in Figure 6-6 the distributions of industrialized wares and pottery present the same pattern verified for the Taperão site (see Figure 6-2), in which the highest proportions of industrialized wares are present in the planter’s area (area 1) gradually declining towards the free-laborer’s and the slave’s areas, insofar as locally-made pottery increases in frequency in these last two areas.

![Frequency chart](image)


By the same token, the functional variability of the glass items strongly resembles the pattern identified for the Taperão site, with planters having a higher frequency of tablewares, cosmetics and decorative objects and a lower proportion of purely utilitarian bottles, which gradually increase in frequency towards the free-laborers and slaves units. On the other hand, the variability of industrialized wares in this site suggests that both slaves and free-laborers had autonomy to choose these items, differing from the Taperão site, in which the planters distributed this material, pointing out significant changes in the strategies of social negotiation in the region in the second half of the 19th century. In this sense, the free-laborers and slave’s industrialized wares present specificities in terms of
functional and decorative variability that make these assemblages different from those in the correspondent subordinated groups of the Taperão site, as will be discussed later.

The Slaves’ Space

Since African Religion belongs to the people, when Africans migrate in large numbers from one part of the continent to another, or from Africa to other continents, they take religion with them. They can only know how to live within their religious context. Even if they are converted to another religion like Christianity or Islam, they do not completely abandon their traditional religion immediately: it remains with them for several generations and sometimes centuries. (Mbiti 1991:14-15)

As DeCerteau (1984:XIX) argues, a tactic insinuates itself into the other’s place, having no base at its disposal, being therefore dependent on time, and on the opportunities to be carried out. Hercules Florence (cited in Brazil 2002:37), visiting one plantation of Chapada dos Guimarães in 1827, described a baptism celebration in the planter’s family. At a certain moment of the festivities the slaves started to dance their typical dance, the *batuque*. The French traveler got so shocked by the supposed immorality of the dance that, in respect for his “lovely hostesses,” he refused to describe it. The regional dominant society had a dubious attitude with relation to such practices of African origin. At the same time that governmental authorities and planters repressed these practices, they also permitted them, fearing that their total suppression could incite slave rebellions (Volpato 1993).

Thus, although slaves performed most of their practices in accordance to the hierarchical system imposed by the planters, they also took advantage of the circumstances available to subvert this space, using it according to their African-derived practices and representations. Thus, they reappropriated the plantation’s spaces according
to their own perceptions, perceptions guided by their differentiated backgrounds. In this sense, there is little probability that they ascribed to the refined earthenware the same social significance that planters ascribed to these items. The locally-made pottery, in turn, even though it had only a minimum exchange value for the wider society, was invested with very strong sign-values by the slaves. As discussed in Chapter 4, many of these pieces were decorated with incised decorative designs typical of several traditions of sub-Saharan Africa, being, therefore, impregnated with values that had as their intent enhancing identities based on cultural references completely distinct from the planter’s hegemonic culture. This representational dimension of the slave’s pottery will be explored later. For now, the focus will be on the functional variability of this material and what information it can provide about the slaves daily practices.

The Slaves’ Daily Practices: Foodways and Risk Management

For the case of the Taperão site, there is very little diachronic variation in the form and function of the slave’s pottery assemblages between the end of the 18th and the first half of the 19th century. These assemblages are characterized by a great diversity of forms, including cooking pots, pieces of service and consumption (plates, small plates, bowls, jars and tumblers), storage vessels, and multifunctional pieces, in contrast to the planters and free-laborers’ pottery assemblages, almost exclusively limited to cooking pots (Figures 6.8 and 6.9).

Howson (1990:80) calls attention to the domain of the slave’s foodways, which constituted one of the most intimate aspects of their life, and was therefore less susceptible to the coercion of the dominant group. In this sense, bowls represented the highest frequency among the pieces of service and consumption of food in the slaves pottery
Figure 6-8. Forms of pottery identified in the Chapada dos Guimarães’ assemblages. Preparation and processing of food: cooking pots (1-13), manioc flour toasters (14-15), domestic melting pots (16-17); service and consumption of food: bowls (18-20), plates (21-22), small plates (23), mug (24), jar (25); storage: jug (26), water jug (27-28), n.d. (29); multifunctional vessels: 30-35.
Figure 6-9. Taperão site – frequency of locally-made pottery functional categories in contexts from the first half of the 19th century: central area – MNV: 14; area 14 – MNV: 10; areas 3 + 1 – MNV: 32.

Assemblage, composing 68% of this category (see Figure 6-8, numbers 18-20). In terms of the slave’s industrialized wares assemblages, although bowls are present in proportions lower than plates, cups and saucers, their frequency is higher than that verified for these pieces in the planters and free-laborers assemblages (see Figure 6-10). The high frequency of this functional category indicates the slaves emphasized the consumption of stews and soups (see Figure 6-11), which correlates with traditional western African foodways described by DeCorse (1999:150), in which the food is served in bowls and the bones are cracked for marrow extraction.

This preponderance of bowls has also been verified in some slaving contexts in the United States (see, for example, Adams and Boling 1989; Baker 1980; Otto 1984; Singleton 1996:153). For the case of the Buritizinho site, the slaves’ locally-made pottery assemblage is represented almost exclusively by cooking pots, with the exception of one
bowl. Nevertheless, bowls constituted the most popular form in the industrialized wares assemblage of this group, representing 47% of the pieces in this material category (Figure 6-12). This evidence suggests that the slaves of the region kept their African-influenced foodways in the second half of the 19th century. Currently, a traditional dish of the peasant population of the region is a stew of beef with manioc (Lima Filho 2001:118).

Other significant characteristic of the pottery assemblage of the slaves from the Taperão site is the high percentage of storage vessels (see Figure 6-8, pieces 26-28), when compared with the planter’s and free-laborers’ assemblages (see Figure 6-9). These vessels suggest that the slaves were more concerned with food storage than the other two groups. Moreover, the volume capacity of the peripheral storage vessels ranged between eight to more than thirty liters, whereas those from the central area presented much lower capacities, ranging between one and four liters. Several travelers that visited Brazil during the 19th century described the supplying of food furnished by the planters to their

Figure 6-10. Taperão site – frequency of imported wares’ functional categories in planters’, free-laborers’, and slaves’ contexts: central area – 1836.2 – MNV: 140; area 14 – 1825.6 – MNV: 35; area 3 – 1820.3 – MNV: 25; area 1 – 1810.9 – MNV: 11.
Figure 6-11. Slaves preparing and consuming some kind of soup or stew in bowls (Debret 1978).

slaves as miserable and the slaves as undernourished, like Langsdorff, when he visited the plantation Engenho do Quilombo in 1827 (Langsdorff 1997:111-112). Therefore, hunger was a constant risk in the life of many slaves. In this sense, high proportion of storage vessels in the slaves assemblages of the Taperão site may be related with possible risk management strategies of this group, focused on the storage of food to attenuate the effects of an inconstant and inadequate feeding. As argued by Plattner (1989a:13), aversion to risk seems to be a constant in the human life, so that people try to design their lives in ways that bad outcomes and surprises are minimized. This was, probably, a generalized practice among the slaves from Brazilian rural areas, as suggested by the painting from the interior of the country of a slave family in which a storage vessel is present (Figure 6-13).

Although the highest proportion of beverage bottles in the slave areas of the Taperão and Buritizinho sites can be indicative of a high consumption of alcoholic beverages, principally sugar-cane liquor, among this group, these items could also have
been used for the storage of foodstuffs and other products, like water, spices, condiments, seasonings, eatable oils, and home made medicines, as has been verified among the contemporary peasant population of the region. According to Posnanski (1999:33), this process of reutilization of beverage bottles is a practice still common in western Africa. Storage ceramic vessels, in turn, are absent in the slave’s pottery assemblage at the Buritizinho site, pointing to changes in the slave’s risk management strategies in the second half of the 19th century, and perhaps related with a more regular supply of foodstuffs, as will be discussed in more depth later.

**The Domain of Representation: Pottery Symbolism and Slaves’ Backgrounds**

While in Chapter 4 the focus was on specific African ethnic-regional influences over the pottery of Chapada dos Guimarães, now attention will be turned to more general perceptions about pottery shared among different peoples throughout sub-Saharan Africa. I will defend the idea that the African-influenced designs and signs present on the pottery of Chapada dos Guimarães can be considered as representations of the slave’s African background(s), serving to reproduce African-derived memories and identities.

Gosselain (1999), comparing data collected in 102 sub-Saharan African societies, concluded that there are some underlying principles regarding pottery symbolism common to a great number of these societies. He calls the attention to the widely shared ‘thermodynamic philosophy’ and its relations with pottery making. This philosophy is based on the idea that the universe and human actions have to be kept at a low and constant temperature. Concurrently, in pottery making, regulating temperature is fundamental, since excessive heating or cooling affect the clay workability, drying and firing (Gosselain 1999:215). According to Gosselain (1999:212), most of these peoples associate pottery with human beings, so that the pottery ornamentation parallels body
scarifications and tattoos, wherein parts of the vessel are designated after body parts, and specific human body parts may be symbolized on the vessel to specify its gender. Indeed, this conceptual identification of pottery with human bodies among African peoples has been discussed by several authors, including David et al (1988) and Posnanski (1999:27-28), for western Africa, Pikirayi (1993:145-146), for eastern Africa, and Danish (1990:11-12) for central Africa. Moreover, in many African myths of origin, human beings were created from pottery. There are, therefore, strong analogies between the pottery process of production and life cycle and the transformational processes which peoples are subjected throughout their life-cycle, so that the pottery or parts of its manufacturing process may serve “as an instrument or a model in the course of cultural transformations or even as a metaphor for explaining certain physiological or mythical transformations.” (Gosselain 1999:214) Considering these analogies about pottery and the life cycle of human beings, the female connotation of this craft in the great majority of these societies becomes clear, given the role of the female in the biological reproduction of the society, through the conception and nurturing of children (Gosselain 1999:214).

The association of pottery with women, who are mainly responsible for cultivating the earth and preparing the food, is particularly strong among the Bantu groups of central Africa (Angola – Culturas Tradicionais 1976:20). As discussed in Chapter 4, the great majority of the African slaves in Chapada came from central Africa, a strongly predominant Bantu region. For instance, among the Zulu, one Bantu people from southern Africa, gender divisions are cosmologically underpinned, with the supreme-being, the Sky-Lord (Mveliangangi), being perceived as a masculine entity, and the earth
as feminine. In this sense the earth is the provider of nourishment for the people, while the Sky-Lord is the “father,” the reproducer. Thus, in the Zulu division of labor, women work the earth, cultivating, preparing the food, and using and molding the clay taken from the female entity, the “mother-earth,” to make pottery (Reush 1998:19). The earth is also seen by the Zulu as the place of the ancestors, something that makes pottery appropriate vessels to be used in communion with the spiritual world (Reusch 1998:18), an association also common among Bantu groups from central Africa (Danish 1990:11). In Mato Grosso, there is some evidence that this cosmological underpinning of gender functions was maintained in Afro-Brazilian communities, like Vila Bela. Vila Bela was capital of the Province of Mato Grosso between 1752 and 1835, when most of the white dominant population abandoned the city, which passed into control of the African and African-descent population. According to accounts collected by Bandeira (1988:158), the women of the community were responsible for the planting and harvesting of agricultural products.

For the case of Chapada dos Guimarães, there is some clear evidence that the slaves kept the African anthropomorphic conception of ceramic vessels, since all the sites studied presented ceramic pieces whose decoration mimics scarification marks of groups from western (Figures 6.14 and 6.15), central (Figure 6-16), and eastern (Figure 6-17) Africa. Scarifications in Africa, as well as in Brazil, were ethnically specific marks of identification. Visiting Bahia in 1850s, James Wheterell (1860, cited in Nishida 2003:35-36) observed that Africans from each “nation” had their peculiar scarification marks. He
described the Nagôs’ “national mark” as three small cuts in the centre of forehead, while
the Benguela had “five, seven, or eleven small nodules of flesh in the centre of the
forehead, forming a line of warts from the roots of the hair to the nose.” Scarification
marks were the most evident physical distinction between Africans and creoles in Brazil.
and constituted signs through which Africans from the same ethnicity could easily identify each other and being identified by those ones from other groups. Creole slaves, in turn, did not have scarifications, and probably were not interested in reproducing this practice because it could make them more physically similar to the Africans, who had a lower social status.

Figure 6-15. Examples of pottery of Chapada dos Guimarães mimicking Mina scarifications. A) Buritizinho site (m.d. 1852.7). B) Buritizinho site (m.d. 1862.1). C) Taperão site (m.d. 1820.3).
Although African slaves were unable to reproduce these signs in the body of their descendents, they were able do this in the bodies of their ceramic vessels. Therefore, when the slaves of Chapada dos Guimarães applied African-influenced designs on the pottery, they not only reproduced African-originated aesthetics and systems of beliefs, but also an ideal African body which could no longer be reproduced in their new environment. Ashmore and Knapp (1999:14) notice that mythical or cosmological concepts are embedded in the collective memory of a group and in the individual memory
of its members. Such memories are often the means of organizing, using, and living in the landscape. In this sense, the pottery and its decorative elements had the purpose of maintaining and reproducing African-originated memories, representations, and system of beliefs: the background of the slaves.

Planters and slaves, therefore, perceived the space of the plantations very differently. Planters, as discussed, organized these spaces following a strictly hierarchical model. They distributed industrialized wares and glasses in an effort to reinforce this model, thus highlighting the economic value of these items, a kind of value attributed to the capitalist system within which this group was completely immersed. On the other hand, the capitalist culture of consumption was foreign to the slave’s systems of references, so that they may not have recognized the social significance that the planters attributed to this material. Conversely, they impregnated the lowest economically valued material category, the pottery that they produced, with a different set of values, values that referenced their African background. Through the widespread distribution of their pottery on the plantations’ space, not only as vessels that were constantly manipulated but also as fragments spread throughout the surface, the slaves reappropriated the plantation space in accordance to their own perceptions, impregnating this space with African memories and representations. Maybe not coincidently, among the Ovimbundu, who constituted, under the name of Benguela, the major African group in Chapada throughout the first half of the 19th century (see Chapter 4), the decorative designs on pottery are called *oku-taleka*, an expression that derives from the verb *tala*, which means to look, or see (Estermann 1960 cited in Gerdes 1995:30). Thus the female potters, whether in the Ovimbundu’s plateau of Benguela or in the plantations of Chapada dos Guimarães, make
these drawings to be seen, to be looked at, to be perceived and understood by those ones
who kept their same background.

The data from the Buritizinho site adds an important element to this discussion,
insofar as they indicate that this representational dimension of the pottery was also
present in the slave’s industrialized wares. The comparison between the types of
industrialized ware present in the slave cabin (Figure 6-5 - area 3) and the planter’s and
free-laborers’ areas (Figure 6-5 – areas 1 and 2) demonstrated that 47.3% of the slaves’
assemblage is composed of decorative types exclusive of this area, indicating that the
slaves had a reasonable degree of autonomy in choosing these pieces. These evidences
are significant since they suggest that these slaves were able to participate as active
consumers in the market, which, in turn, indicates that they could make some money
through their productive activities. In Mato Grosso, like in other regions of Brazil (see
Barickman 1994; Reis and Silva 1989), the planters sometimes permitted to the slaves
their own provision grounds, where they cultivated, among other vegetables, corn, beans
and manioc (Aleixo 1984:48; Assis 1988:38). Thus, it is probable that the slaves of the
Buritizinho had their own provision grounds and could commercialize their surplus in the
marketplace, generating earnings that permitted them, at least, to become more active
consumers.

Having the possibility of choosing their own industrialized wares, this group
privileged the bowls, which, as previously discussed, are related to their African-
imfluenced foodways, constituting 48% of this assemblage. In terms of decoration, this
group preferred the minimally decorated pieces, which represented 37.5% of this
assemblage, followed by undecorated and transfer-printed in the same proportions of
25%. Significantly, the majority of the bowls are minimally-decorated, in the cut sponge technique, with abstract motifs that present strong similarities with the incised decorations present in the locally-made pottery of the region (see Figure 6-18) and in traditional African designs found in textiles and pottery. For example, the figure of concentric lozenges, present in one of these pieces, is a widespread decorative motif in western and central Africa (see Figure 6-19). Among the Ovimbundu this design is called “ongombo yosay,” a representation of the moon (Haenstein 1988:36, 72). Therefore, when the slaves of the Buritizinho site had the opportunity to choose their own industrialized earthenware, they founded their choices in referents very distinct from those of the planters, valuing bowls decorated with designs that had more to do with African aesthetics than with the European aesthetics typical from the more expensive transfer-printed pieces.

Figure 6-18. Buritizinho site – refined earthenware from the slave cabin (area 3).
Figure 6-19. Design in concentric lozenges. A) refined earthenware from the slaves’ cabin, Buritizinho site (m.d. 1862.1). B) typical beer mug from the Ambos, an Ovimbundu group (Estermann and Gibson 1976). C) traditional textile from Angola (Angola – Culturas Tradicionais 1976). D) Wolof textile, Senegal (Thompson 1983:211).

Thus, differently from the Taperão site, in which planters distributed refined earthenware aiming to strengthen the hierarchical order current in the plantation, in the slave’s area of the Buritizinho site, the slaves charged most of these items with the same values they imposed over the locally-produced pottery, values that referenced their African background. Hence, these two groups expressed different sets of values through the consumption of refined earthenware. The planters highlighted the exchange value of these items, related to the exhibition of status and representation of their economic power. The slaves, in turn, attributed sign values to these items, values which emphasized
their different backgrounds and, consequently, their resistance to the cultural hegemony of the planters.

**Social Tensions and Change in Chapada dos Guimarães**

In the period between the end of the 18th century and the middle of the 19th century, as represented by the Taperão site, the distribution of the industrialized items was symptomatic of the rigid control maintained over the life of the subordinated groups. Slaves and even free laborers did not have an active participation in the market place, passively receiving products chosen by the planters. Through the distribution of commodities the planters expressed their view of the social hierarchy within the plantation. During the second half of the 19th century, as represented by the Buritizinho site, this situation changed, with the slaves entering into the market place, and acquiring the liberty to choose their own consumer items.

Although the different postures adopted by the planters of the Taperão and Buritizinho sites could be related to idiosyncratic factors, referent to the personal and moral conduct of each planter, it is more coherent to evaluate these changes in negotiation strategies among these groups in a diachronic perspective, considering wider social forces acting in the regional, national and even international levels. Thus, documentary sources point to the intensification of social tensions between planters and slaves in the region of Chapada dos Guimarães during the second half of the 19th century. Between 1865 and 1870, Brazil, supported by Uruguay and Argentina, fought against Paraguay in a war related to frontier issues. This war brought about serious problems for the commerce in Mato Grosso, due the prohibition of navigation of the Prata River. During this period all the government military efforts were concentrated on the war, a condition that stimulated the proliferation and expansion of settlements of runaway slaves.
(quilombos) in Mato Grosso. It is important to notice that one of the biggest quilombos of Mato Grosso, the quilombo of the Manso River, which came to comport, during the peak of its occupation, a population higher than six hundred inhabitants, was located in the region of Chapada dos Guimarães (Volpato, 1993:186). The first references to this quilombo are from 1859. After this date, these spaces of resistance proliferated, and there exist documentary references to at least five other quilombos in the region (Volpato, 1993:186; Siqueira, 2001:87-95). Due to the absence of military repression, the quilombolas became more and more daring, continuously attacking the plantations of the region. Moreover, these plantations were also subjected to the attack of Amerindians (Volpato 1993:62-64). Thus, this region became extremely insecure for the planters and their families, who depended on the slave labor to maintain the productive activities of their plantations. This situation increased the economic instability in the region, leading the planters to invest less in the production and even, in some cases, to abandon their plantations. This process may be responsible for the archaeologically documented economic decadence of the Taperão during this period (see Chapter 3).

Thus, it is probable that this pressure coming from below, from the slaves to the planters, that led to the archaeologically documented changes in the planter’s strategies of domination in the second half of the 19th century. Fearful of the slave’s reprisals, the planters decreased the degree of control over their material life, no longer distributing to them the industrialized items. Rather, they conceded to the slaves some degree of economic autonomy that permitted to them become, at the very least, more active consumers, as suggested by the refined earthenware of the slave’s cabins in the Buritizinho site. Such changes may have also occasioned the alterations in the slave’s risk
management strategies, due to a higher regularity and stability in the distribution of foodstuffs to this group, as suggested by the absence of storage vessels in the slave cabin of the Buritizinho site the pieces that had been very popular in the slaves’ areas of the Taperão site in the previous periods.

**The Domain of Tactic: African-Derived Religious Practices in the Plantations’ Space**

In Brazil, planters tried to discipline the slaves through both physical punishment and the imposition of ideologies. While physical punishments were the immediate answer to any deviation of what was considered the right behavior or attitude in a given setting, having, therefore, a tactical character, ideologies had to be inculcated into the slave’s worldview. In this sense ideologies had to be constantly referred to through specific practices and the material world. The previous analysis of the planter’s strategies has demonstrated the ideological role of the material world in justifying and legitimizing the hierarchical order that characterized the plantations of the region. In addition, the imposition of the ideology of the Catholic church over the slaves was another important element of this system of domination. This ideology was aimed at inculcating the slaves with the importance of the Christian passivity before God’s will. Thus, as good Christians, slaves should passively accept their fate, their condition of servitude. In this sense, slavery acquired meaning as a necessary penance to reach the reign of God (Vainfas 1986:101, 127).

In the plantations of Chapada dos Guimarães the imposition of the Catholic religion over the slaves was a rule among the planters, as evidenced by the presence of chapels in many of these properties (see Chapter 2), and by the planter’s concern with marrying the slaves couples within the Catholic church (see Crivelente 2001). Moreover, the slaves
were obliged to gather to pray Catholic prayers under the supervision of overseers every morning before the labor began, and were physically punished if they did not do so (Volpato 1993:149). Florence (n.d.:118), when visiting the plantation Engenho do Quilombo in 1827, affirmed that its owner, the planter Domingos José de Azevedo, gathered all the slaves in front of his house every night to pray right after dinner. Nevertheless, it is probable that, many times, the adoption of elements of Christian religiosity by African slaves had a tactical character of social negotiation with the dominant society, not altering the core of their African-derived systems of beliefs. As Karasch (2000:361-362) notes in the case of Rio de Janeiro, central Africans worshiped the images of Catholic divinities as powerful charms that could be related to their specific systems of beliefs. For the case of Chapada dos Guimarães, some evidences from the Taperão and Buritizinho sites suggest that slaves could also have kept their own African-derived systems of beliefs.

Although there is a great variation in religious systems in Africa, there are some core principles that are shared throughout sub-Saharan Africa. These principles include the belief in a universal energy, which is placed at the center of the natural order of the things, the ability to incorporate new elements into their traditional structure, and the overwhelming concern with human beings, since the spiritual is seen as contained not only in the systems of belief but also within the physicality of experience (Harding 2000:39-41; Mbiti 1990, 1991). In this sense, the dialogue between the spiritual and the material worlds is constant, explaining temporal conditions and dictating codes of behavior, including responses to misfortunes (Sweet 2003:6). It is interesting to note that in Mato Grosso the Afro-Brazilian community of Vila Bela still keeps this worldview,
dividing the universe in two antagonistic but complementary worlds: the material world of the living and the supernatural world of the dead and gods (Bandeira 1988:184).

According to Bandeira, there is a permanent tension between these two worlds, so that control over the supernatural, through rites and magical practices, is considered essential for the maintenance of the community’s life. (Bandeira 1988:184-185)

In terms of the Chapada dos Guimarães’ sites, the clearest evidence of the maintenance of African-derived systems of beliefs is the already discussed cruciform sign, omnipresent in these sites as appliqués in ceramic vessels (see Figure 6-16). As noted previously, several scholars have associated this sign with the Bakongo cosmogram, although it is also used by other peoples of northeastern Angola, like the Tchokwe, and carryies meanings analogous to that of the Bakongo. As discussed in Chapter 4, this sign started to appear in the pottery assemblages of the region at the same period in which slaves from the Congo “nation” became a numerically dominant group in 1830s. This strong correlation is evidence that Congo slaves introduced this sign in the region, probably attributing to it the same religious significance given by peoples from their native land.

As discussed in Chapter 4, vessels with this sign are present in several contexts, starting in the deposit mean-dated to 1836.2, associated with the planter’s area of the Taperão site. For the case of the Buritizinho and Engenho do Quilombo sites, these vessels are present in the deposits associated with the three social groups, slaves, free-laborers, and planters. In contrast, at the Taperão site there are only two pieces, both found in deposits associated with the planter’s household, including one piece found inside the planter’s house (Figure 6-20). The omnipresence of vessels presenting a
traditional African religious sign in the planter’s houses demonstrates a situation of symbolic confrontation, in which slaves challenged the planter’s Catholic religion through the exposition of their own religious signs right in the center of radiation of the planter’s power. In this sense, the slaves confronted the norms and authority of the planters, but in such a way that the planters did not identify the contesting character of these expressions.

In the Taperão site, the sampling of 50% of the interior space of the planter’s house, through the opening of parallel trenches, permitted the discovery of some other possible evidence of magic-religious practices probably associated with the slaves, which point to a remarkable subversion of the planter’s place. During the excavation, in the corner of a room settled on the house’s foundation, a coarse earthenware plate with a copper coin in its center, stamped in 1869, was found in a situation of de-facto refuse (Figure 6-20). The stratigraphy indicated that these pieces were intentionally placed under the original floor of the house. The African-oriented ritual dimension of this material is suggested by a historical description furnished by Sweet (2003:130), about a Mina slave jailed in João Pessoa, captaincy of Paraíba, Brazil, in 1799, who, aiming to predict his future, took a coin and laid it in a plate with water. In Mato Grosso, similar divinatory practices were registered among the Africans accused of witchcraft on occasion of the Diocesan visitation, between 1785 and 1787. These individuals told the fortune and indicated the location of lost or stolen objects through different methods. One used a plate filled with water in which was placed a package of taffeta, another used a small pot of coarse earthenware containing cooking oil, and the third used a doll (Rosa 1996:213).
In addition, the practice of burying ritual objects under the house floor has been archaeologically documented in Africa for the settlements of Elmina, Ghana, where the Portuguese established, in 1482, the main slaving port of western Africa, the fortress of São Jorge da Mina (DeCorse 2001:123), which gave origin to the name of the Mina “nation” in Brazil. In Elmina, the ritual paraphernalia found beneath living floors included ritual pots containing chicken bones and terracotta figurines. Hiding conjure items in the house of the enemy is also a common practice among the Bantu groups of Angola, with such magical objects being hidden close to the door, on the roof, or in the holes in the walls of the victim’s house (Capelo and Ivens n.d. [1886]:134-136; Figueira 1938:201). In the case of Mato Grosso, Rosa (1996:215) refers to the case of the African Manuel Quiçama, who, during the same Diocesan visitation to Cuiabá, was accused of burying conjure items in the door of a white man. This practice has also been recorded more recently in the African-Brazilian community of Vila Bela, in Mato Grosso (Bandeira 1988:188). Finally, the placement of ritual objects under the floor is a traditional practice still maintained in the candomblé houses in Bahia (Harding 2000:36). Invading a house of calundu – an African-Brazilian religion antecedent to candomblé - in Cachoeira, captaincy of Bahia, in 1785, the police authorities described small metal objects placed under the house’s floor (Reis 1988:57-58). According to Harding (2000:36), this practice is essential in the establishment of the candomblé houses, and it indicates “a more or less permanent connection between the place, the spirits of the place, and the people encharged with the ritual care of both.”

Copper coins, in turn, were part of the paraphernalia ritual commonly described in the 19th century candomblé houses of Bahia as well as in their antecedent 18th century
*calundu* houses (Harding 2000:75-76; Reis and Silva 1989:128). Among African peoples copper is generally imbued with amuletic or magical properties, encouraging fertility and warding off danger (Herbert 1983:81). Several western African peoples, like the Dogon, Bambara, Senufo, Bozo, and Sorko, cosmologically associate copper with water (Herbert 1983:190-191). African-Americans also attributed magical and curative power to copper coins, which were used to protect the wearer from harm and in essence prevent death (Davidson 2004:23; Wilkie 1995:144).

The context of the find at the Taperão site, under the floor, in the corner of a room, parallels those described by Leone and Fry (2001) for African-American caches – gatherings of artifacts of ritual usually related to spirit management – found in domestic sites of Annapolis. Leone and Fry (2001:147) describe these caches as generally composed of nails, pins, bits of glass, buttons, bones, beads, coins – mostly pierced – and potsherds, being generally placed under chimney bases or hearths, under a room’s northeast corner, and around doorways.

Among the Bakongo the caches are called *minkisi* (*nkisi* in the singular), and it is believed that their components have a soul and a life of their own. These components have metonymic and metaphoric meanings related to the referred Bakongo cosmogram (Fennell 2003:13; Thompson 1983:117-121). The *nkisi* container can be a bag, a ceramic vessel, a wooden statue, and a cloth bundle among other things (Thompson 1983:117). Fennell (2003:13) notices that items with reflective surfaces, such as quartz crystals, sea shells, mica and mirror fragments are common components of the *minkisi*, because they are metaphoric for the water boundary of the living and the world of the spirits, and thus communicate the invocation of spiritual forces into the world of the living (see also Jones
In central Africa, the attributing of magical properties to materials with reflective surfaces was not limited to the Bakongo, since the Tchokwe from northeastern Angola also used such items in divinatory practices (Redinha 1953:76). According to Jones (2000:7), quartz crystals have been found in several North-American sites associated with African Americans, but not on sites associated exclusively with European Americans. She cites the case of the Carrol House, in Annapolis, where several caches of quartz crystals were found, the largest group being composed of 12 crystals grouped in an area 6 inches in diameter, accompanied by a tiny faceted glass bead and a smooth black stone. This group of items was covered with a refined earthenware bowl hand-painted in a blue-on-white design similar to a large asterisk, resembling the Bakongo cosmogram (see also Galke 2000).

It is very significant that most of the items believed to compose a nkisi in the Carrol House are also present in the planter’s house of the Taperão site. This is the case of quartz crystals numbering eleven, a pottery vessel presenting a circular appliqué with an asterisk sign incised on it, which is a possible representation of the Bakongo cosmogram, and a black shiny stone (Figures 6.20 and 6.21). But, differently from the caches described in North American contexts, these items were not concentrated in a single spot within the planter’s house. The quartz crystals were neither randomly spread within the house, rather they were always placed close as possible to other crystals. It is also significant to note that the three coarse earthenware pipes found in the house were deposited close to three quartz crystals (Figure 6-20), near to the house’s southwestern wall, close to what was probably the house’s backdoor. Among African Americans thresholds have an important role for ritual practices, being one of the places where
conjure items are buried (Galke 2000:22). The practice of hiding magical objects close to the house’s door was also reported in the 19th century among the Ovimbundu of Benguela (Capelo and Ivens n.d.[1886]:134-136). Regarding the coarse earthenware pipes, the use of these items was widespread among Africans and African-descendants in Brazil (Agostini 1998), being also widely used in Africa (Philips 1983). In Brazil, there are references that indicate that these items could also have had a magic-religious connotation, being found in altars in Afro-Brazilian religious houses, together with other sacred items, such as hand-charms, beads, and so on (Sampaio 2001:162). It is also
important to note that only three other crystals were found in the Taperão site, one in the slave’s area 15, and the other two in the planter’s area of refuse deposition located 15 meters northwestern of the house (area 12). Moreover, quartz crystals were not found in any area of the three other historical sites excavated in the region.

Regarding the black stone, it is a hematite which presents a very shiny surface (Figure 6-21). Unfortunately, the reference for the specific context of deposition inside the planter’s house was lost. Like the crystals, it is possible that this stone, due to its very reflective surface, could also be charged with magic-religious meanings. Visiting the region occupied by the Tchokwe, in Angola, Redinha (1953:103), described a dark shiny stone displayed in the chief’s (soba) prayer house, which was used by one of his ancestors in magical practices. Stones also have an important role in Western African religions, particularly in the Dahomean Gbe cults. In Afro-Brazilian religions particular stones are still kept in altars and are worshiped as representations of specific orixas (Bastide 1960:192, 207).

Figure 6-21. Taperão site – hematite found inside the planter’s house.

However, the possibility that these items could have been collected by members of the planter’s family without any direct relationship to African-derived religious beliefs
and practices has to be taken into account, since, as Fennell (2000:282) cautions, much of
the material culture of African American folk religion traditions was likely meaningful
within the conjuring of traditions of many European Americans. In this sense, Fennell
(2000:286) notes that 19th century texts in England report the practice of keeping
different types of distinctive stones, including crystals, on one’s person or in one’s house
to ward off ‘fiends’ and acts of sorcery. In Portugal it is usual, among the peasant people,
to use different kinds of amulets and charms, including thunderstones (archaeological
lithic artifacts) and rock crystals, to protect against harm (Gallop 1961:60). The use of
coins, especially pierced coins, as charms has also been reported in western Europe,
including Portugal (see Davidson 2004; Gallop 1961:60).

Other findings that can be indicative of the possible maintenance of Afro-Brazilian
systems of beliefs by the slaves are two complete bottles, one of black glass and the other
of white stoneware, buried close to the interior corner of the slave’s house at the
Buritizinho site (area 3, m.d. 1862.1) (Figure 6-22). These bottles, although produced
with different materials, have very similar dimensions and shapes. Similar findings of
bottles, always numbering two, have been recovered in African-American contexts in the
Caribbean (Jamaica) and United States (Wilkie 1997:88-89), and have been identified as
research about folk beliefs of Southern African-Americans, describes the use of such
bottles, which are filled with magically meaningful ingredients and buried near doorsteps
or houses, or in paths and crossroads. Bottles also were a common item in the
Figure 6-22. Buritizinho site – context of deposition of the unbroken bottles in the slave cabin (area 3).

paraphernalia ritual of the 19th century Bahian candomblés (Harding 2000:75-76) as well as used in divinatory practices carried out by Angolan slaves in Brazil in the 18th century (Sweet 2003:126). Sweet (2003:126) notes that these practices were carried out by the Congolese and their descendents during the diaspora, who used the bottles to lure and trap evil spirits, a point also affirmed by Thompson (1983:142-145). Nevertheless, the use of bottles in Western European folk religious traditions as protection against witches has also been recorded (Fennell 2000:300). The victim of a supposed act of witchcraft should fill the bottle with pins and the witch’s nails and urine, and bury it close to the hearth of his house. Fennell (2000:300) notes that dozens of such witch-bottles have been uncovered archaeologically at sites in England dating from the 17th century to up to the 20th century. In the context of the slave’s of the Buritizinho site, however, it is more
logical to consider that these findings are more directly related to African-derived systems of beliefs than to those of western-European folk beliefs.

In the case of the possible ritual objects found in the planter’s house at the Taperão site, the probability that these findings are related to African and African-Brazilian religious practices seems also to be stronger than their possible western-European origin, since, as described, all these items are common in African and Afro-Brazilian religions. In this sense, the subversive, tactical character of the practices that involved the hiding and burying of these objects is notorious, since the slaves, and more probably the domestic slaves who lived or worked most of the time in the house, had to watch for opportunities to do these things, taking advantage of those moments in which the vigilance over them by the planter’s family and overseers was weakened. On the other hand, if these objects were deposited by the members of the planter’s family, they are indicative of the maintenance of traditional Portuguese folk beliefs, probably also influenced by the African systems of beliefs. After all, the children of the planter’s were raised mainly by the domestic female slaves who introduced, in the planter’s house, their beliefs (see Freyre 1992:326-331). Thus, the Catholic faith of the planter’s children could have been subjected to a syncretism, containing elements of both African and western-European folk traditions.

The existence of systems of beliefs parallel to Catholicism between both the dominant, European-descent, society and the African-descent slaves is evidenced in Mato Grosso by the use of hand charms, known as figas, by both groups. The figa is a charm, possibly of European origin, since it was used by the Romans and Etruscans, which represents a hand gesture in which the thumb is thrust between the curled index and
middle fingers in obvious imitation of heterosexual intercourse. In Western Europe, including Portugal, it is used for magical protection against the evil eye (Gallop 1961:60).

For Mato Grosso, *figas*, generally made in gold and/or coral, are described principally in probate-inventories of females of African and uncertain descent. *Figas* are also commonly described in 18th century freed female slaves’ probate-inventories of the captaincy of Minas Gerais (Paiva 2001:220-221). The British traveler Thomas Ewbank (cited in Karasch 2000:305) noticed that *figas* were the main charm used by all classes in Rio de Janeiro, having a special appeal among the slaves, who spent the first money that they could make buying one of these charms.

In Mato Grosso, as in other regions of Brazil, *figas* could be used individually or gathered in a chain, usually a rosary, with other charms and Catholic signs. In the Joaquina Mina’s probate-inventory, a set of religious portable items is described, including two rosaries, one in gold and another in silver, one saint spirit, probably a dove in silver, another rosary containing a gold bead and two *figas*, two *bentinhos* - small cloth squares sewed with pictures of Our Lady and Jesus Christ - which were worn on the breast and back under the clothing, and one image of Saint Anthony. Among items more closely related to African-derived aesthetics and practices is described in several blue beads, probably used by the ex-slave to make necklaces and other ornaments, necklaces of coral, and 22 pipes, probably produced by her for sale. *Figas* and doves in gold, rosaries, coral necklaces and sacred hearts are also described in the probate-inventory of another freed female slave, Joaquina Leite, dated 1878, as well as in the probate-inventories of poor women of unknown descent, like Benta Maria Pera, dated 1844, Maria da Lapa Correa da Costa, dated 1862, and Maria Eugênia, dated 1867. As argued

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3 APMT, probate-inventory, Joaquina Mina, 1832.
by Sweet (2003:207), slaves could have adopted rosaries as power objects that functioned like so many other African talismans.

When these charms and religious figures were gathered in a chain, they were referred to as *penca de balangandãs*, and were commonly associated with female slaves, who carried them displayed at the waist with the intent of being protected by their power (Paiva 2001:220-221). Although most of these items referred to the Catholic faith, they could have a special appeal for the slaves as charms, being thus imbued with values that had more to do with their African-derived systems of beliefs than with the more apparent catholic religion, since the belief in the protective power of charms was widespread in sub-Saharan Africa (see Figueira 1938:200; Karasch 2000:353, 361-362; Mbiti 1991:24).

Coincidently, the only planter’s probate-inventory describing *figas* and other elements common in the *pencas of balangandãs* is that of Antônia Pereira da Silva, owner of the Engenho Água Fria, the original name of the Buritizinho site. This document describes a possible *penca de balangandãs* composed of a “*figa*, heart, key, etc,” in addition to a thick necklace of gold containing a large *figa*, one heart made of gold, and two other *figas* made of coral and gold. On the other hand, like the majority of the planters of the region, she kept in her plantation house one altar containing two images, one of Our Lord Crucified and the other of Our Lady, and several religious objects related “to the celebration of the Sacred Sacrifice of Mass.” These items suggest that the religious worldview of Antônia Pereira was a syncretic Catholicism, in which elements of a Portuguese traditional folk culture, perhaps mixed with African-Brazilian beliefs, represented by the belief in the protective power of the charms, was kept in
conjunction with the more traditional elements of the Catholic faith, represented by the altar of Catholic images for mass celebration that were present in her house.

The presence of archaeological material indicative of African-derived religious beliefs in both Taperão and Buritizinho sites indicates that the imposition of the Catholic religion over the slaves was less effective than the planters probably realized. These findings suggest that slaves not only rejected the Catholic religion, at least in the traditional form that it was preached by the dominant society, but also used their own religions expressions as weapons to mitigate the violence against them and the power of the planters over them. Conversely, it has to be taken into consideration that the planter’s religiosity was also imbued with non-Catholic elements, which had their origin in traditional Portuguese folk beliefs and that could also have been influenced by African-derived religiosity. Thus, in some sense, both groups could have practiced systems of beliefs parallels to Catholicism. The slaves, although obliged to adopt, at least superficially, the Catholic faith and its rites and practices, simultaneously kept African-derived systems of beliefs, as pointed out by the presence of the Bakongo cosmogram in pottery vessels, by the use of protective charms, and by the possible manipulation of caches aiming to control the supernatural world. The planters, in turn, professed the Catholic faith, but at the same time believed in the protective power of non-Catholic charms like *figas*. In essence, this belief in the forces of a supernatural world that could be captured in specific objects was a facet of both systems of beliefs and could have acted as a common denominator between worldviews otherwise disparate.

At present time the peasant population of Chapada dos Guimarães seems, at least in some sense, to have lost the memory of the African gods and supernatural entities.
Nevertheless, they keep traditional religious celebrations with clear African influences. These celebrations are referred to as feasts of saints. Once a year, specific families organize a big feast for their patron saint, to which the whole community is invited. The image of the patron saint is kept in a domestic altar in the living room, together with images of other saints (Figure 6-23). In the region of Chapada dos Guimarães the principal feasts of saints are those of Saint Benedict, the black saint worshipped by the slaves, Saint Francisco, Saint John and Saint Rita de Cássia. Several weeks before the beginning of the feast, the family organizes the flag of the saint (bandeira do santo), which displays a painting of the specific saint. Some members of the family, followed by a group of devotees of the saint, carry the flag in a procession down a very well established route (Figure 6-24). This procession lasts weeks, visiting all the villages of the region, being received in the houses, where they eat, sing, play accordion, and pray. In each house visited the heads of the flag ask for money and provisions to be used in the feast, like chickens, pigs, muttons, rice, manioc, etc. When the flag of the saint gets back to the feast giver’s house the celebration starts, which includes prayers in front of the saint’s altar, followed by a communal meal and dances that extend through the whole night. The feast is finalized with the ritual washing of the patron saint images in the river (Figure 6-25). During this ceremony, the elder women of the family carry the images of the saints to the river, followed by the procession. Then they enter into the river and bless its water with the saint’s images, making in the water three signs in the form of cross. After the water is blessed these women drink it and all the members of the procession enter into the water to be blessed (Lima Filho 2001:40-42). The saints are then returned to their domestic altar.
Figure 6-23. Chapada dos Guimarães – domestic altar of Saint Benedict. Photography: Silvio Bragato.

Figure 6-24. Chapada dos Guimarães – banner of Saint John Baptist. Photography: Silvio Bragato.
The similarity between the feasts of saints of Chapada dos Guimarães and some Ovimbundu’s festivities involving processions, particularly the feast of *hela* and the procession of the sacred ox is remarkable. The feast of *hela* is the celebration of the sorghum beer described by Capelo and Ivens (n.d. [1886]:157-158) in 1884, recorded when crossing the southern part of the central plateau of Benguela. According to Capelo and Ivens, this feast was celebrated in June in several villages (senzalas) of the region. As part of the preparation for the celebration, two of the most important individuals in a village assumed the role of the feast givers and, followed by several members of their village, traveled around the region over several days, paying visits to several *senzalas* to ask for provisions for the feast, an occasion in which they played musical instruments and sang songs. Returning to the village, the celebration ended in dancing and festivity. The Nyaneca’s procession of the sacred ox pays homage to the ancient Nyaneka kings, who are represented by the sacred ox. This procession also extends for several weeks, visiting several farms of the region, before returning to its village of origin (Estermann and Gibson 1976:158-159).
Concerning the ritual washing of the saint it must be remembered that although bodies of water are significant in Christian protestant religions, they do not have a ritual importance in the Catholic religion which is, into the present time, the most popular religion of Brazil. On the other hand, bodies of water have a strong significance in several religions from western and central Africa, being seen as places inhabited by supernatural entities, like gods, goddesses, and spirits (see Mbiti 1991:152; Thompson 1983). Afro-Brazilian religions also give a strong meaning to the water (Bastide 1978:160), being common to the realization of rituals and deposition of gifts to the entities at the margin of rivers, lakes, and sea. The belief in supernatural water entities is still common in the Afro-Brazilian community of Vila Bela, in Mato Grosso, where the population leaves offerings, like mirrors, beads, and combs, at a sacred stone located in the middle of a lake, to the female entity known as mãe da água (Bandeira 1988:206-207). In addition, the similarities between the Afro-Brazilian cults of the Catholic saints and the central African’s cults of ancestral spirits have been noted by Sweet (2003:206). It is important to remember that in the Bakongo cosmology, the water separates the world of the living from the kingdom of the dead (Thompson 1983:109). In this sense, the ritual washing of the saint in Chapada dos Guimarães can be seem as an adjustment of both catholic and African beliefs within a single structure. When the elder woman makes the sign of the cross on the river’s water, she is simultaneously referring to the Christian cross and to the meanings related to the Bakongo cross. When she dives the image of the saint, as an ancestor spirit, into the water, she is establishing a contact between the natural and supernatural worlds, and thus renewing the power of the saint as an intermediary between both worlds. In summary, this contemporary ritual constitutes a synthesis of
references, in which elements of diversified origins, the Catholic religion, African-derived religious beliefs, processions, crosses, black and white saints, and the spirits of the ancestors, were all aggregated into a single practice. This practice is, therefore, the final result of the composition, through time, of different backgrounds into a shared foreground.
CHAPTER 7
CONCLUSION

In a broader sense, this work sought to demonstrate that the study of slave’s cultural practices and their material manifestations in specific contexts requires a very wide scale of analysis: the Atlantic World. The study of the Atlantic World has received renewed attention since Thornton (1998 [1992]) published his seminal book on this subject, although historians of slavery in Brazil have long had a similar interest in the diversified African origins of the slave population (see Ramos 1971 [1941]; Rodrigues 2004 [1933]; Viana Filho 1988 [1944]). On the other hand, in terms of African-American archaeology, few archaeologists have taken into account Posnansky’s (1999:22) view that the knowledge of the geographic origins of the African populations transplanted to the New World is fundamental for understanding the cultural practices of these groups. Indeed, the study of the slave’s origins should be a necessary first step in any archaeological research focused on the slave experience in the Americas.

In this dissertation the careful study of the regional origin of the enslaved Africans in Chapada dos Guimarães permitted close examination of these groups and consideration of their more specific cultural matrixes, rather than just assuming the existence a priori of either an African homogeneous culture or of a general African deep structure among them. As discussed in the first chapter, the idea of a cultural homogeneity between western and central Africa, which was great enough to classify these two regions as a single cultural zone, was defended by Herskovits (1941:295), and resulted in the search for Africanisms in the Americas, under the paradigm of
acculturation. The idea of an African general grammar, or deep structure, in turn, was defended by Mintz and Price (1992 [1976]), and resulted in the abandonment of the search for a specific African material culture to focus on the African-oriented ways that slaves used material culture, under the paradigm of creolization. Actually acculturation and creolization are opposing models for approaching the issue of the enslaved African’s socio-cultural adaptation in the New World. While the former was concerned with the inventory of African cultural traits maintained in the Americas, the latter took for granted the existence of general African grammatical principles orientating the slave’s experience. Thus, these paradigms represent the two sides of the opposition between practice (the cultural traits) and structure (the grammatical principles).

But, the experience of Africans and their descendants in the New World was more complex than the extremes represented by these models. As many recent studies have demonstrated, Africans in Brazil were able to rebuild their identities and form more discrete groups based on cultural elements that were characteristic of specific regions of Africa, like language and religion. These cultural elements were, therefore, neither a general African deep structure nor something shared throughout Africa. Along these lines, I have defended in this dissertation the idea that creolization in Chapada dos Guimarães was not a fast and linear process, but a segmented one in which peoples sharing cultural affinities formed more exclusive groups within the wider slave’s community and, in some extent, used the material culture to expose their differences. The cultural differences among slaves only decreased when the composition of slaveholdings began to be dominated by Afro-Brazilians, due to the sharp decrease of Africans entering the region after the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade.
On the other hand, some pan-African cultural principles appear to have indeed been important for the establishment of a basic mutual understanding among Africans with very differentiated cultural backgrounds. Based on this issue, this study emphasized the cultural perceptions about pottery that are common throughout sub-Saharan Africa, principally the anthropomorphic conception of the vessels and the role of women in their production, which is sustained by a cosmology that associates women with the earth. As discussed in the Chapter 6, Africans in Chapada maintained these more general perceptions about pottery, and thus were able to symbolically reappropriate the plantation’s spaces through the distribution of this material. In this sense, the distribution of pottery across the space of the plantations constituted an alternative discourse to that imposed by the planters who organized these spaces according to a hierarchical model which was reinforced by the distribution of industrialized items such as imported wares, items that the planters imbued with Western European systems of value.

Although these more general African cultural principles were important in the establishment of relations among Africans with very different cultural backgrounds, in no way were they enough to meld the slaves into a homogenized culture. The case of the plantations of the Chapada dos Guimarães demonstrates that 1- Africans clearly preferred to marry other Africans rather than Afro-Brazilians, and also preferred to marry those from the same nation over potential partners from other nations; 2- the African demography changed over time, with the major groups of Mina and Benguela gradually loosing their numeric predominance to groups from Congo and Mozambique; 3- these changes in the demography of the nations were accompanied by the introduction of new designs and decorative techniques in the pottery; 4- the most popular decorative
techniques and designs from earlier periods radically dropped in popularity when Mina and Benguela slaves were numerically surpassed by Congo and Mozambique; 5- finally, when an Afro-Brazilian generation became numerically dominant after 1870, decorated pottery radically dropped in popularity.

In more specific terms, the following correlations between the diachronic pottery variability and the variability in the origins of the Africans have been revealed: 1- visible coil with incisions was the most popular pottery type when Benguela slaves predominated, noting that many designs on this pottery are very similar to those used by the Ovimbundu of the region of Benguela; 2- red painted pottery was more popular when Mina slaves, principally females, predominated, it is also noted that red painting typical of this pottery had a long tradition in western Africa, the area from which the Mina slaves originated; 3- the sign of the cross inside a circle only appeared in the region when Congo slaves significantly increased in numbers; 4- decorated vessels radically dropped in popularity in the last third of the 19th century, when an African-Brazilian generation strongly dominated the demographic setting in the region.

Thus, these correlations suggest that Africans used pottery to express their differences in the plantations of Chapada dos Guimarães, exhibiting designs and signs that referred to their differentiated cultural backgrounds. On the other hand, Afro-Brazilian slaves apparently did not ascribe the same cultural significance to this material as did the Africans, and probably did not use them as a vehicle to display and embody cultural differences.

In terms of future directions of research one important point to approach is the issue of the indigenous presence in the region of Chapada dos Guimarães and its
influence over the locally-made pottery. As discussed in chapter 4, the indigenous influence over this material is noticed in the widespread use of the temper *cariapé* and in the corrugated decoration, the latter exclusively present on the manioc flour toasters. The historical documents, in turn, inform very little about the presence of Amerindians in the plantations of the region. Although the almost complete absence of references to this group in probate-inventories is justifiable, since these documents only listed the possessions of the planters, which included Africans and African-Brazilian slaves but not Amerindians, whose slavery had been prohibited in the early 18th century, it was expected that other documents, like criminal processes, could indicate their presence on the plantations. Although criminal processes presented very rich pictures of the social dynamics on these plantations, characterizing the tensions among their occupants, as well as describing their activities and social networks, none of these documents cited the presence of Amerindians in these establishments. Nonetheless, the existence, in many slaveholdings of the region, of small numbers of *cabra* and *caburé* slaves, both designations that refer to individuals of mixed African and Amerindian ascendance, indicate that some of the slaves had close relationships with Amerindians. Thus, the study of the interactions between slaves and Amerindians in the plantations of the region is a very fruitful avenue of inquiry to be explored in the future.

It is important to note that the correlations established here between pottery variability and specific groups of slaves, were mainly of a diachronic order. Unfortunately, the scarcity of archaeological deposits related to slaves that present temporally close depositional intervals in the intra-site scale did not permit the exploration of all of the implications of the synchronic pottery variability. In this sense, if
this segmentation of the slaves according to cultural affinities was also spatially demarked, with more discrete groups of slaves occupying specific spaces of the plantations, a synchronic intra-site decorative variability in the ceramic assemblages, with vessels presenting determined decorative techniques and designs being more frequent in discrete areas of each site could be expected. There is, indeed, some evidence that this process could have occurred in the Taperão site, as discussed in Chapter 4, but to advance this discussion would require a higher number of contexts related to the spaces occupied by slaves. In this regard, the ideal situation would be to excavate one of the plantations of the region that held the highest number of slaves. Additional research in probate-inventories and parochial books could provide information about marriage patterns among the slaves within this plantation, possibly indicating the level of maintenance of alliances between those of the same “nations” through consensual unions. The excavation of several distinct areas occupied by slaves in this site could permit the recovery of pottery assemblages temporally close to each other, whose variability could be indicative of the extent to which slaves from different origins and cultural backgrounds were able to spatially segregate themselves in this setting, and the role of the material culture in the maintenance of these intra-group cultural boundaries.

Another strategy is studying the synchronic variability at the inter-site scale, searching for plantations that had slaveholdings predominantly from a specific nation and contrasting with others in which groups from other nations were the majority. In this dissertation a first step in this direction has been achieved, demonstrating that the very temporally close deposits from the Taperão site, mean dated to 1836.2, and from the Buritizinho site, mean dated to 1840, presented very different types of pottery, in
accordance with the differences illustrated in the African composition of individual slaveholdings.

In the wider context of Brazil, it is equally expected that contexts from Bahia, the state that received the highest number of western Africans, will exhibit pottery assemblages of a different nature than those from Rio de Janeiro, state that received the majority of central Africans. Nonetheless, the analysis of pottery variability at the local, regional, and national scales should not be confused with an appeal to return to a culture-historical approach, using ceramic types as passive indicators of identity. Rather, if there is significant variation in the pottery produced by the slaves, and if this variation can be related to distinct African cultural influences, as the results of this research have indicated, the question then becomes one of understanding the role of this material in the processes by which Africans and African-Brazilians built, reproduced, rebuilt, hybridized, and, finally, creolized their identities in Brazil. Accomplishing that means, indeed, making a history of culture of these people, but in the wider sense attributed to this term, it implies the study of the totality of the dimensions of their cultural practices, including their African origins, the possible ways in which they were recontextualized and hybridized in Brazil, and their contemporary composition.

In this research archaeological and documentary evidence were approached as two interdependent data sets which could be contrasted searching for correlations, complementarities and ambiguities. The main goal of the historical research was identifying the sites and the social groups who occupied them, with the purpose of correlating the archaeological deposits with these social groups. The most significant correlation verified was between the changes in the African composition of the
slaveholdings over time and the diachronic variability of the locally-made pottery, which indicated that the differentiated groups of African slaves who occupied these plantations were able to keep important cultural elements of their regions of origin, expressed in the pottery that they produced. In addition, the characterization of the material life of the slaves is only possible through the archaeology. Although some sources such as probate-inventories of freed slaves and travelers accounts can give some clues about the slaves’ material life, these sources will not reflect the reality of the daily life of the slaves. In the case of the former, it will describe, rather, the exception, since freed slaves not only were a minority but also probably had a material life different from the slaves. Traveler accounts, on the other side, although sometimes rich in details, represent the biased perceptions that the white, dominant class, had from the slaves. The archaeological data, in turn, permitted not only to characterize the slaves’ material life but also its changes over time. Moreover, the study of the distribution of the pottery produced by these groups over the plantations space furnished insights about the ways that the slaves reappropriated these settings according to their own perceptions, perceptions that were based on system of values differentiated from those ones that the planters tried to impose over them. In this sense, the archaeological data provided an alternative reading to that presented by the documentary sources, demonstrating that the plantations’ landscape was fundamentally contested, subjected to differentiated sets of discourses by the different social actors who occupied these spaces.
APPENDIX A
GLASSES – IDENTIFICATION AND QUANTITATIVE DATA

Taperão site
Area 7

Total of sherds: 195.
Minimum number of vessels: 21.

Layer 2
1. Ampoule, hinged mold. MNV: 01.
2. Fruit bowl, colorless. MNV: 01.
4. Lamp glass, aqua-green. MNV: 01.
5. Liquor bottle, cylindrical, aqua green. MNV: 01.
7. Liquor bottle, cylindrical, dark green. MNV: 01.
8. Liquor case bottle, dark green. MNV: 01.
9. Liquor case bottle, green. MNV: 01.
10. Medicinal flask for ointment, aqua marine. MNV: 01.
15. Mirror. MNV: 01.

Layer 1
2. Liquor bottle, cylindrical, dark green. MNV: 01.
3. Medicinal flask, produced in three piece hinged, chilled iron, mold, with the use of lipping tool and snape case. Period of production: 1870-1925. MNV: 01.

**Area 8**
Number of sherds: 92.
Minimum number of pieces: 12

**Layer 2**

1. Flask of ointment, colorless, made with lipping tool. MNV: 01.
2. Flask of ointment, colorless, two piece hinged mold with separated base. Use of snape case. MNV: 01.
3. Flask of perfum, colorless. MNV: 01.
5. Liquor bottle, cylindrical, aqua-green, turn mold. MNV: 01.
7. Liquor, case bottle, dark green. MNV: 01.
8. Unidentified piece, colorless. MNV: 01.

**Layer 1**

1. Water glass, colorless, pressed glass mold. MNV: 01.
2. Wine glass, colorless, pressed glass mold. MNV: 01.

**Area 9**
Total of sherds: 170.
Minimum number of pieces: 10.

**Layer 2**

1. Large bottle, green. MNV: 01.
2. Liquor bottle, cylindrical, dark green. MNV: 01.
3. Liquor bottle, cylindrical, made with snape case. MNV: 01.
4. Liquor case bottle, green. MNV: 01.
5. Medicinal flask, colorless. MNV: 01.
6. Unidentified piece, colorless. MNV: 01.
7. Wine bottle, pressed glass mold. MNV: 01.

**Layer 1**

2. Medicinal flask, lettered panel. MNV: 01.
3. Medicinal flask. MNV: 01.
Area 12
Total of sherds: 80.
Minimum number of pieces: 12.

Layer 2
1- Liquor, case bottle, green. MNV: 01.
2- Liquor bottle, cylindrical, dark green. MNV: 01.
3- Liquor bottles, olive green. MNV: 02.
4- Medicinal flask, colorless. MNV: 01.
5- Medicinal flask, lettered panel. MNV: 01.
6- Tableware, colorless, unidentified, pressed glass mold. MNV: 01.

Layer 1
1- Liquor bottle, cylindrical, amber, turn mold. MNV: 01.
2- Liquor case bottle, olive green. MNV: 01.
3- Medicinal flask, colorless. MNV: 01.
4- Perfume flask, two piece hinged mold. MNV: 01.
5- Water glass, colorless, pressed glass mold. MNV: 01.

Area 14
Total of sherds: 279
Minimum number of pieces: 18.

Layer 2
1- Liquor bottle, cylindrical, olive green, mold Ricketts. MNV: 01.
2- Liquor bottles, cylindrical, dark green. MNV: 03.
3- Liquor bottle, cylindrical, dark green. MNV: 01.
4- Liquor case bottle, olive green. MNV: 01.
5- Liquor case bottle, dark green. MNV: 01.
6- Medicinal flask, colorless, two piece hinged mold with separated base. MNV: 01.
7- Medicinal flask, colorless. MNV: 01.
8- Medicinal flask, colorless, two pieces hinged mold with separated base. MNV: 01.
9- Water glass, colorless. MNV: 01.

Layer 1
1- Liquor bottle, cylindrical, light green, turn mold. MNV: 01.
2- Liquor bottle, cylindrical. MNV: 01.
3- Liquor bottle, cylindrical, aqua green. MNV: 01.
4- Liquor bottle, cylindrical, aqua green. MNV: 01.
5- Medicinal flask, two pieces hinged mold. MNV: 01.
6- Water glasses, colorless, paneled, pressed glass mold. MNV: 02.

Area 3
Number of sherds: 325.
Minimum number of pieces: 17.

**Layer 3**
1- Liquor case bottle, dark green. MNV: 01.
2- Liquor bottle, cylindrical, dark green. MNV: 05.

**Layer 2**
1. Large liquor bottle, dark green, turn mold. MNV: 01.
2. Liquor bottle, cylindrical, dark green. MNV: 01.
3. Liquor bottle, cylindrical, olive green, mold Ricketts. MNV: 01.
4. Liquor bottles cylindrical, dark green. MNV: 02.
5. Medicinal flask, colorless, two pieces hinged mold. MNV: 01.

**Layer 1**
1- Liquor bottle, cylindrical, light green. MNV: 01.
2- Liquor bottle, cylindrical, dark green, presenting push-up in conical shape, common between 1825 and 1875 (Jones 1971). MNV: 01.

**Area 4**
Number of sherds: 13.
Minimum number of pieces: 03.
1- Liquor case bottle, dark green. MNV: 01.
2- Liquor case bottle, olive green. MNV: 01.
3- Liquor bottle, cylindrical, olive green. MNV: 01.

**Area 1**
Number of sherds: 32.
Minimum number of pieces: 05.
1- Lamp fragment. MNV: 01.
2- Liquor bottle, cylindrical, olive green. MNV: 01.
3- Liquor case bottle, dark green. MNV: 01.
4- Liquor bottle, cylindrical, dark green. MNV: 02.

**Area 15**
Number of sherds: 13.
Minimum number of pieces: 04.
1- Liquor case bottle, dark green. MNV: 01.
2- Liquor case bottle, olive green. MNV: 01.
3- Liquor cylindrical bottles, dark green. MNV: 02.
Buritizinho Site
Area 1
Layer 1

Number of sherds: 25.
Minimum number of pieces: 05.

1. Liquor bottle, cylindrical, dark green. MNV: 01.
2. Liquor bottle, cylindrical, light green. MNV: 01.
3. Medicinal flask, colorless, made with lipping tool. MNV: 01.
4. Unidentified pieces, colorless. MNV: 02.

Layer 2
Number of sherds: 43.
Minimum number of pieces: 08.

1. Flat glass. MNV: 01.
2. Liquor bottle, cylindrical, amber, turn mold. MNV: 01.
3. Liquor bottle, cylindrical, aqua green. MNV: 01.
4. Liquor bottle, cylindrical, dark green, top type champagne. MNV: 01.
5. Medicinal flask, wide mouth. MNV: 01.
6. Unidentified piece, blue. MNV: 01.
7. Water glass, colorless, paneled, pressed glass mold. MNV: 01.
8. Wine glass, colorless, pressed glass mold. MNV: 01.

Layer 3
Number of sherds: 14.
Minimum number of pieces: 04.

1. Flat glass, colorless. MNV: 01.
2. Liquor bottle, cylindrical, amber, turn mold. MNV: 01.
3. Liquor bottle, cylindrical, colorless. MNV: 01.
4. Liquor bottle, cylindrical, olive green. MNV: 01.

Layer 4
Number of sherds: 334.
Minimum number of pieces: 31.

1. Flat glass, colorless. MNV: 01.
2. Liquor bottle, cylindrical, amber. MNV: 01.
3. Liquor bottle, cylindrical, aqua green. MNV: 01.
4. Liquor bottle, cylindrical, colorless. MNV: 01.
5. Liquor bottle, cylindrical, dark green, dipped mold. MNV: 01.
7. Liquor bottle, cylindrical, olive green, mold Ricketts. MNV: 01.
8. Liquor bottle, cylindrical, olive green. MNV: 01.
9. Liquor bottle, cylindrical. MNV: 03.
10. Medicinal flask, aqua green, lettered panel. MNV: 01.
11. Medicinal flask, aqua green, lettered panel. MNV: 01.
12. Medicinal flask, aqua green, lettered panel. MNV: 01.
13. Medicinal flask, aqua green. MNV: 01.
15. Medicinal flask, wide mouth. MNV: 03.
16. Medicinal flask. MNV: 01.
17. Medicinal flask. MNV: 01.
19. Unidentified piece, colorless. MNV: 01.
20. Unidentified piece, probably ornamental. MNV: 01.
22. Water glass, pressed glass mold. MNV: 01.
23. Water glass. MNV: 01.
24. Water glasses, paneled, pressed glass mold. MNV: 02.
25. Wine glass. MNV: 01.

Layer 5
Number of sherds: 37.
Minimum number of pieces: 04.

1- Liquor bottle, cylindrical, dark green. MNV: 01.
2- Liquor bottle, cylindrical, olive green. MNV: 01.
3- Liquor bottle, cylindrical, amber. MNV: 01.
4- Water glass, paneled. MNV: 01.

Area 2
Number of sherds: 90.
Minimum number of pieces: 11.

1. Liquor bottle, cylindrical, aqua green. MNV: 01.
2. Liquor bottle, cylindrical, dark green, made with lipping tool. MNV: 01.
3. Liquor bottle, cylindrical, light green. MNV: 01.
4. Liquor bottle, cylindrical, mold Ricketts. MNV: 01.
5. Liquor bottle, cylindrical, olive green, made with lipping tool. MNV: 01.
6. Medicinal flask, colorless. MNV: 01.
7. Medicinal flask, colorless. MNV: 01.
8. Unidentified piece, blue. MNV: 01.
10. Unidentified pieces, colorless. MNV: 02.
Area 3  
Number of sherds: 170.  
Minimum number of pieces: 10.  
1- Flat glass. MNV: 01.  
2- Liquor bottle, cylindrical, dark green, mold Ricketts. MNV: 01.  
3- Liquor bottle, cylindrical, dark green, mold Ricketts. MNV: 01.  
4- Liquor bottle, cylindrical, dark green. MNV: 01.  
5- Liquor case bottle, dark green. MNV: 01.  
6- Liquor bottle, cylindrical, dipped mold. MNV: 01.  
7- Liquor bottle, cylindrical, aqua green. MNV: 01.  
8- Medicinal flask, colorless, two pieces mold with separated base. MNV: 01.  
9- Small square bottle, olive green. MNV: 01.  
10- Unidentified piece, colorless. MNV: 01.

Site Engenho do Quilombo  
Area 1  
Layer 2  
Number of sherds: 365.  
Minimum number of pieces: 39.  
1. Lamp. MNV: 01.  
2. Large bottle, olive green. MNV: 01.  
3. Liquor bottle, cylindrical. MNV: 02.  
5. Liquor bottle, cylindrical, amber. MNV: 01.  
7. Liquor bottle, cylindrical, champagne top, light green. MNV: 01.  
8. Liquor bottle, cylindrical, dark green. MNV: 01.  
10. Liquor bottle, cylindrical, light green, made with lipping tool. MNV: 01.  
11. Liquor bottle, cylindrical, olive green. MNV: 01.  
12. Liquor case bottle, green. MNV: 01.  
13. Liquor case bottle, light green. MNV: 01.  
14. Liquor case bottle, olive green. MNV: 01.  
15. Medicinal flask, amber. MNV: 01.  
16. Medicinal flask, aqua green. MNV: 01.  
17. Medicinal flask, colorless. MNV: 05.  
18. Medicinal flask, colorless, lettered panel. MNV: 02.  
19. Medicinal flask, light green. MNV: 01.  
20. Recycled piece, 2cm diameter, circular, polished. MNV: 01.  
22. Unidentified piece, colorless. MNV: 01.  
23. Unidentified piece, milk color. MNV: 01.
24. Unidentified piece, pressed glass mold. MNV: 01.
25. Unidentified pieces, colorless. MNV: 05.
27. Water glass. MNV: 01.

Area 2
Number of sherds: 487.
Minimum number of pieces: 36.

1. Bottle of mineral water, green, semi-automatic mold, Santa Marina. MNV: 01.
2. Large bottle, dark green. MNV: 01.
3. Liquor bottle, aqua green, Santa Marina. MNV: 01.
4. Liquor bottle, cylindrical, amber. MNV: 01.
5. Liquor bottle, cylindrical, aqua green, semi-automatic mold, Santa Marina. MNV: 01.
8. Liquor bottle, cylindrical, colorless, use of lipping tool. MNV: 01.
10. Liquor bottle, cylindrical, dark green. MNV: 02.
11. Liquor bottle, cylindrical, green. MNV: 01.
12. Liquor bottle, cylindrical, light green, use of snape case and lipping tool. MNV: 01.
13. Liquor bottle, cylindrical, mold Ricketts. MNV: 01.
15. Liquor bottle, cylindrical, yellow, automatic mold. MNV: 01.
16. Liquor bottle, cylindrical, yellow, snape case. MNV: 02.
17. Liquor case bottle, green. MNV: 01.
18. Liquor case bottle, olive green, use of snape case. MNV: 02.
19. Medicinal flask, colorless. MNV: 01.
20. Medicinal flask, lettered panel. MNV: 01.
21. Unidentified pieces, colorless. MNV: 01.
22. Water glass, paneled, pressed glass mold. MNV: 01.
23. Water glass, paneled. MNV: 01.
24. Wine glass. MNV: 01.
Tapera do Pingador Site
Layer 1
Number of sherds: 1283.
Minimum number of pieces: 33.

1- Flask of creolin. End of 19th century. MNV: 01.
2- Large bottle, aqua green. MNV: 01.
3- Liquor bottle, cylindrical, light green, turn mold. MNV: 02.
4- Liquor bottle, cylindrical, dark green, mold Ricketts. MNV: 01.
5- Liquor bottle, cylindrical, dark green, use of snape case. MNV: 01.
6- Liquor bottle, cylindrical, three pieces hinged mold. MNV: 01.
7- Liquor bottle, cylindrical, dark green, turn mold. MNV: 01.
8- Liquor bottles, cylindrical, light green, snape case. MNV: 02.
9- Liquor bottle, cylindrical, light green. MNV: 01.
10- Liquor bottle, cylindrical, dark green. MNV: 02.
11- Liquor bottle, cylindrical, colorless, lipping tool. MNV: 01.
12- Liquor bottle, cylindrical, colorless, top champagne, lipping tool. MNV: 01.
13- Medicinal flask, aqua green, lettered panel. MNV: 01.
14- Medicinal flask, aqua green, lettered panel. MNV: 01.
15- Medicinal flask, aqua green, two pieces hinged mold, snape case. MNV: 01.
16- Medicinal flask, syrup, aqua green, two pieces hinged mold with separated base, snape case. MNV: 01.
17- Medicinal flask of ointment, purple, two pieces hinged mold with separated base, snape case, lipping tool. MNV: 01.
18- Medicinal flask of syrup, purple. MNV: 01.
19- Medicinal flask, purple. MNV: 01.
20- Medicinal flask, purple, Jamaica Ginger, common in the last quarter of the 19th century (Fike 1991). MNV: 01.
21- Medicinal glass, colorless. MNV: 01.
22- Perfume flask, colorless. MNV: 01.
23- Unidentified bottles, purple. MNV: 02.
24- Unidentified piece, purple. MNV: 01.

Layer 2 plus clay pit
1- Liquor bottle, cylindrical, light green. MNV: 01.
2- Unidentified pieces. MNV: 02.
APPENDIX B
IMPORTED WARES – IDENTIFICATION, QUANTITATIVE DATA AND DATING

Taperão Site
Area 7
Layer 2
Total of sherds: 336
Minimum number of vessels: 57

Refined earthenware

   Peak of production: 1831-1851 (Samford 1997: 06). MNV: 01.
4. Cup, transfer-printed green. Period of production: 1828-1859. Peak of popularity:
10. Plate, decorated in cut sponge. Period of production: 1845-1920 (Majewski and
     MNV:01.
12. Plate, Queen’s Shape pattern, creamware. Beginning of production: 1762 (Hume
13. Plate, Royal Rim pattern, creamware. Beginning of production: 1762 (Hume
     MNV: 01.
14. Plate, transfer-printed blue, Flow Blue, chinoiserie design. Period of production:
16. Plates, Royal Rim, unidentified. MNV:05.
18. Plates, transfer-printed blue, Willow pattern. Beginning of production: 1790
22. Saucer, transfer-printed blue. Period of production: undetermined. MNV: 01

Porcelain

1- Plate, Chinese porcelain. Period of production: before 1850. MNV 01.
2- Plate, Chinese porcelain, hand painted. Period of production: before 1850. MNV: 01.

Ironstone (white granite)


Others

1. Cup, color brow. Period of production: undetermined. MNV: 01.
Table B-1. Mean ceramic date formula, area 7, layer 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ware</th>
<th>Mean date</th>
<th>MNV</th>
<th>Product</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Royal Rim, creamware</td>
<td>1791</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1791</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queen’s Shape, creamware</td>
<td>1791</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1791</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearlware</td>
<td>1815</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>5545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creamware</td>
<td>1790</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>3580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flow Blue – chinoiserie</td>
<td>1847.5</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1847.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transfer-printed blue – pastoral</td>
<td>1827.5</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1827.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transfer-printed blue – romantic</td>
<td>1841</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transfer-printed blue – classic</td>
<td>1840.5</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1840.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transfer-printed green</td>
<td>1838</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1838</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green Edged</td>
<td>1810</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue Edged</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>7280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cut sponge</td>
<td>1872.5</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>5617.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peasant Style</td>
<td>1845</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>7380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spongeware</td>
<td>1880</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ironstone</td>
<td>1872.5</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1872.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Product</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
<td>47741.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean date: 47741.5:26 = 1836.2

Area 7
Layer 1
Total of sherds: 44.
Minimum number of vessels: 23.
Refined earthenware
3. NV: 02.

Ironstone (white granite)

Porcelain

Table B-2. Mean ceramic date formula , area 7, layer 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ware</th>
<th>Mean date</th>
<th>MNV</th>
<th>Product</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Royal Rim, pearlware</td>
<td>1815</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1815</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gotic</td>
<td>1850</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transfer-printed blue, linear rim</td>
<td>1855.5</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1855.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transfer-printed pink</td>
<td>1846</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue Edged</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ironstone</td>
<td>1872.5</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>5617.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cut sponge</td>
<td>1872.5</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1872.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Product</td>
<td>09</td>
<td></td>
<td>16676.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean date: 16676.5:9 = 1852.9

Areas 8 and 9
Layer 2
Number of sherds: 263
Minimum number of vessels: 60
Refined earthenware
1. Bowl, cut sponge plus Peasant Style. MNV: 01.
2. Bowl, cut sponge. MNV: 01.
4. Bowl, pearlware . MNV: 01.
5. Bowl, Spongeware. MNV: 01.
8. Cup, blue stripes. MNV: 01.
9. Cup, Gothic pattern. MNV: 01.
10. Cup, Peasant Style. MNV: 02.
11. Cup, transfer-printed blue, classic design, impressed in negative. Peak of production: 1833-1848. MNV: 01.
13. Cup, transfer-printed blue. MNV: 01.
15. Cups, undecorated. MNV: 02.
18. Plate, pearlware. MNV: 02.
19. Plate, Royal Rim pattern, creamware. MNV: 01.
20. Plate, transfer-printed blue, Flow Blue, chinoiserie design. MNV: 01.
21. Plate, transfer-printed blue, linear rim. MNV: 01.
23. Plate, undecorated. MNV: 01.
24. Plate, unidentified decoration. MNV: 01.
25. Plates, Blue Edge. MNV: 06.
27. Platter, transfer-printed blue, Willow pattern. MNV: 02.
28. Plates, transfer-printed blue, Willow pattern, pearlware. MNV: 03.
29. Saucer, decorated with polychromic stripes. MNV: 01.
31. Saucer, Peasant Style. MNV: 01.
32. Saucer, transfer-printed blue, chinoiserie design. MNV: 01.
33. Saucer, transfer-printed blue, pearlware. MNV: 01.
34. Saucer, transfer-printed blue. MNV: 01.
35. Saucers, undecorated. MNV: 02.
36. Service piece, transfer-printed blue, Flow Blue, chinoiserie design. MNV: 01.
38. Tureen, transfer-printed blue, Flow Blue, floral design. MNV: 01
39. Tureen, transfer-printed blue, linear rim. MNV: 01.
40. Unidentified piece, brow color. MNV: 01.
41. Unidentified piece, transfer-printed blue, Flow Blue. MNV: 01.

Ironstone
1. Saucer. MNV: 01.
Table B-3. Mean ceramic date formula, areas 8 and 9, layer 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ware</th>
<th>Mean date</th>
<th>MNV</th>
<th>Product</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>transfer-printed medium blue</td>
<td>1840.5</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1840.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flow Blue, chinoiserie</td>
<td>1851</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flow Blue – floral</td>
<td>1881.5</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willow - pearlware</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>5460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transfer-printed black</td>
<td>1847</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>3694</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cut sponge/Peasant</td>
<td>1852.5</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1852.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peasant Style</td>
<td>1845</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>7380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearlware</td>
<td>1815</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>5445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue Edged</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>10920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spongeware</td>
<td>1880</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creamware - Paris</td>
<td>1805</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1805</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gotic</td>
<td>1850</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ironstone</td>
<td>1872.5</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1872.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creamware, Royal Rim</td>
<td>1791</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1791</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transfer-printed blue, pearlware</td>
<td>1817</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1817</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cut sponge</td>
<td>1872.5</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1872.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sprig</td>
<td>1845</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>7380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transfer-printed blue, linear rim</td>
<td>1855.5</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>3711</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Product</td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>73558</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean date: \[73558:40 = 1838.9\]

**Areas 8 and 9**

**Layer 1**

Number of sherds: 125
Minimum number of vessels: 42
Refined earthenware

1. Bowl, cut sponge. MNV: 01.
2. Bowl, decorated with stripes. MNV: 01.
3. Bowl, Peasant Style. MNV: 01.
5. Cup, Flow Blue. MNV: 02.
8. Cup, undecorated, pearlware. MNV: 01.
9. Cup, undecorated, whiteware. MNV: 02.
12. Plate, cut sponge. MNV: 01.
13. Plate, Flow Blue, floral rim. MNV: 01.
14. Plate, Royal Rim Pattern, unidentified. MNV: 01.
15. Plate, transfer-printed blue, Flow Blue, chinoiserie design. MNV: 02.
16. Plate, transfer-printed blue, linear rim. MNV: 01.
17. Plates, transfer-printed blue, Willow pattern, pearlware. MNV: 02.
18. Plates, transfer-printed blue, Willow pattern. MNV: 02.
19. Plates, undecorated, whiteware. MNV: 08.
20. Saucer, decorated with stripes. MNV: 01.
22. Saucer, Gothic pattern. MNV: 01.
25. Unidentified piece, transfer-printed blue. MNV: 01.

Ironstone
1- Plates, ironstone. MNV: 03.
2- Cup, ironstone, presenting blue stripes. MNV: 01.

Table B-4. Mean ceramic date formula, areas 8 and 9, layer 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ware</th>
<th>Mean date</th>
<th>MNV</th>
<th>Product</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>transfer-printed light blue</td>
<td>1842.5</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1842.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transfer-printed dark blue</td>
<td>1824</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1824</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flow Blue – chinoiserie</td>
<td>1851</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>3702</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flow Blue – Floral</td>
<td>1881.5</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>3763</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willow – pearlware</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>3640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peasant Style</td>
<td>1845</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearlware</td>
<td>1815</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>3630</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gothic</td>
<td>1850</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cut sponge</td>
<td>1872.5</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>3745</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peasant Style</td>
<td>1845</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transfer-printed blue, linear rim</td>
<td>1855.5</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1855.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davenport, pearlware</td>
<td>1822.5</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1822.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ironstone</td>
<td>1872.5</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>7490</td>
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<tr>
<td>Product</td>
<td>21</td>
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<td>38854.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean date: 38854.5:21=1850.21
**Area 12**

**Layer 2**

Number of sherds: 52  
Minimum number of vessels: 23.

Refined earthenware

1. Cup, cut sponge. MNV: 01.
2. Cup, Sprig, pearlware. MNV: 01.
3. Cup, transfer-printed, Flow Blue, chinoiserie design. MNV: 01.
5. Cup, undecorated. MNV: 01.
7. Plate, Green Edge Pattern. MNV: 01.
9. Plate, transfer-printed blue, linear rim. MNV: 01.
11. Saucer, transfer-printed blue. MNV: 01.
12. Unidentified piece, decorated with stripes. MNV: 01.
13. Unidentified piece, Spongeware. MNV: 01.
15. Unidentified piece, undecorated. MNV: 01.

Ironstone

1- Saucer. MNV: 02.
2- Unidentified piece. MNV: 01.

Porcelain

1- Cup, undecorated. MNV: 01.
2- Saucer, undecorated. MNV: 01.

Majolica

1. Unidentified piece. MNV: 01.
Table B-5. Mean ceramic date formula, area 12, layer 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ware</th>
<th>Mean date</th>
<th>MNV</th>
<th>Product</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Royal Rim, creamware</td>
<td>1791</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1791</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flow Blue, chinoserie</td>
<td>1851</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transfer-printed blue, linear rim</td>
<td>1855.5</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1855.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transfer-printed blue dark and light</td>
<td>1838.5</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1838.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>°transfer-printed blue, pearlware</td>
<td>1817</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1817</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue Edged</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green Edged</td>
<td>1810</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spongware</td>
<td>1880</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sprig, pearlware</td>
<td>1840</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Product</td>
<td></td>
<td>09</td>
<td>16503</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean date: 16503:9 = 1833.6

**Area 12**

**Layer 1**

Total of sherds: 108

Minimum number of vessels: 32

Refined earthenware

1. Basin, undecorated, whiteware. MNV: 01.
2. Mug, decorated in transfer printing green, with a sequence of scrolls limited to the rim. Period of production: probably final of 19th century. MNV: 01.
3. Cup, Gotic pattern. MNV: 01.
4. Cup, undecorated. MNV: 01.
5. Saucer, undecorated. MNV: 01.
6. Plate, Royal Rim, creamware. MNV: 01.
7. Plate, cut sponge. MNV: 01.
8. Plate, Blue Edged. MNV: 01.
9. Plate, transfer-printed blue, Willow pattern. NV: 01.
10. Cup, transfer-printed Flow Blue. MNV: 01.
11. Plate, transfer-printed blue, linear rim. MNV: 01.
12. Cover of service piece, undecorated. MNV: 01.
13. Bowl, cut sponge. MNV: 01.
15. Bowl, Peasant Style. MNV: 01.
16. Bowl, decorated with stripes. MNV: 01.
17. Plate, decorated with a blue stripe. MNV: 01.
18. Plate, decoration unidentified. MNV: 01.
20. Plate, undecorated, whiteware. MNV: 02.

Ironstone
1- Plate. MNV: 01.
2- Cup. MNV: 01.

Chinese Porcelain
1. Plate, hand-painted. MNV: 01.

Table B-6. Mean ceramic date formula, area 12, layer 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ware</th>
<th>Mean date</th>
<th>MNV</th>
<th>Product</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Creamware, Royal Rim</td>
<td>1791</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1791</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gótico</td>
<td>1850</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ironstone</td>
<td>1872.5</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>3745</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transfer-printed blue, linear rim</td>
<td>1855.5</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cut sponge</td>
<td>1872.5</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>3745</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearlware</td>
<td>1815</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1815</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sprig, earth tones</td>
<td>1835</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peasant Style</td>
<td>1845</td>
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<td>1845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Product</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18481.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean date: 18481.5:10 = 1848.15

Area 14
Layer 2
Total of sherds: 232.
Minimum number of vessels: 35

Refined earthenware
1. Bowl, decoration unidentified. MNV: 01.
2. Bowl, Peasant Style. MNV: 01.
3. Bowl, undecorated. MNV: 01.
4. Cover of pot, creamware . MNV: 01.
5. Cover of tureen, transfer-printed blue, classic design, pearlware . MNV: 01.
6. Cup, transfer-printed, Flow Blue. MNV: 01.
7. Cup, transfer-printed, Flow Blue. MNV: 01.
8. Mug, undecorated, pearlware . MNV: 01.
10. Plate, Queen’s Shape, creamware . MNV: 01.
11. Plate, Royal Rim, pearlware . MNV: 04.
12. Plate, transfer-printed blue, linear rim. MNV: 01.
13. Plate, transfer-printed blue. MNV: 02.
14. Plate, transfer-printed, Flow Blue, chinoiserie design. MNV: 01.
15. Plate, transfer-printed, Flow Blue, floral design. MNV: 01.
16. Plates, transfer-printed blue, Willow pattern. MNV: 03.
17. Plates, transfer-printed blue, Willow pattern, pearlware. MNV: 03.
18. Small plate, transfer-printed, Flow Blue, chinoiserie design. MNV: 01.
19. Unidentified piece, transfer-printed blue, central floral. MNV: 01.
20. Unidentified piece, transfer-printed pink. MNV: 01.

Chinese porcelain
1. Plate, hand-painted. MNV: 01.

Table B-7. Mean ceramic date formula, area 14, layer 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ware</th>
<th>Mean date</th>
<th>MNV</th>
<th>Product</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Willow, pearlware</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>5460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transfer-printed blue, classic design</td>
<td>1837</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transfer-printed blue, linear rim</td>
<td>1850</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flow Blue, chinoiserie</td>
<td>1847.5</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>3695</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flow Blue, floral</td>
<td>1881.5</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1881.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transfer-printed pink</td>
<td>1835</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transfer-printed blue, floral central</td>
<td>1841</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue Edged</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>12740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peasant Style</td>
<td>1845</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queen’s Shape, creamware</td>
<td>1791</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1791</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearlware</td>
<td>1815</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>9075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creamware</td>
<td>1790</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Product</td>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean date: 45640.5:25 = 1825.6

Area 14
Layer 1
Total of sherds: 62.
Minimum number of vessels: 20.

Refined earthenware
1. Bowl, decorated with stripes. MNV: 01.
2. Bowl, undecorated, whiteware. MNV: 01.
3. Cup, Gotic pattern. MNV: 01.
4. Cup, Peasant Style. MNV: 01.
5. Cup, transfer-printed green. MNV: 01.
6. Cup, undecorated. MNV: 02.
7. Plate, cut sponge. MNV: 01.
8. Plate, Royal Rim, pearlware. MNV: 01.
10. Plate, transfer-printed blue, Willow pattern. MNV: 01.
Plate, undecorated, whiteware. MNV: 02.

Ironstone
1. Unidentified piece. MNV: 01.
2. Plate. MNV: 01.
3. Cup. MNV: 01.

Table B-8. Mean ceramic date formula, area 14, layer 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ware</th>
<th>Mean date</th>
<th>MNV</th>
<th>Product</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Willow, J.M &amp; S</td>
<td>1867</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flow Blue, floral</td>
<td>1881.5</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1881.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transfer-printed</td>
<td>1838</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1838</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>green</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peasant Style</td>
<td>1845</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cut sponge</td>
<td>1872.5</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1872.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal Rim, Pearlware</td>
<td>1815</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1815</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creamware</td>
<td>1790</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gotic</td>
<td>1850</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ironstone</td>
<td>1872.5</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>5617.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Product</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>20376.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean date: 20376.5:11 = 1852.4

Area 3
Layer 2
Total of sherds: 60.
Minimum number of vessels: 25.

Refined earthenware
1. Bowl, decorated with pink stripes. MNV: 01.
2. Bowl, undecorated. MNV: 01.
3. Cup, Peasant Style, earth tones. MNV: 01.
4. Cup, Peasant Style. MNV: 01.
5. Cup, undecorated, creamware. MNV: 01.
6. Cup, undecorated. MNV: 01.
8. Mug, undecorated, pearlware. MNV: 01.
9. Plate, Blue Edged. MNV: 01.
10. Plate, Royal Rim, creamware. MNV: 02.
12. Plate, transfer-printed, linear rim. MNV: 01.
13. Plate, undecorated, creamware. MNV: 01.
14. Plate, Willow pattern, pearlware. MNV: 01.
15. Saucer, hand-painted over the glaze glaze, creamware. MNV: 01.
16. Saucer, Peasant Style, earth tones. MNV: 01.
18. Saucer, undecorated, pearlware. MNV: 01.
19. Small plate, undecorated. MNV: 01.
20. Unidentified piece, transfer-printed black. MNV: 01.
22. Unidentified piece, transfer-printed blue, floral design. MNV: 01.

Chinese porcelain
1- Cup, Swaton pattern. MNV: 01.
2- Bowl, hand-painted in blue. MNV: 01.

| Table B-9. Mean ceramic date formula, area 3, layer 2 |
|-----------------|-----------|---------|----------|
| **Ware**        | **Mean date** | **MNV** | **Product** |
| Royal Rim, creamware | 1791 | 02 | 3582 |
| Pearlware       | 1815     | 02 | 3630 |
| Creamware, others | 1790 | 03 | 5370 |
| Willow, pearlware | 1820 | 01 | 1820 |
| transfer-printed blue, linear rim | 1850 | 01 | 1850 |
| Blue Edged      | 1820     | 01 | 1820 |
| Peasant Style   | 1845     | 02 | 3690 |
| Peasant Style, earth tones | 1835 | 02 | 3670 |
| transfer-printed black | 1847 | 01 | 1847 |
| transfer-printed blue, W.A. & S | 1841.5 | 01 | 1841.5 |
| Product         |          | 16 | 29120.5 |

Mean date: 29120.5:16 = 1820.03

**Area 4**
Number of sherds: 64
Minimum number of vessels: 16.
Refined earthenware
1. Bowl, dipped ware, Banded design. MNV: 01.
2. Bowl, dipped ware. MNV: 01.
4. Cup, Peasant Style, earth tones, pearlware. MNV: 01.
5. Cup, undecorated, pearlware. MNV: 01.
6. Plate, Blue Edged. MNV: 01.
7. Plate, Green Edged. MNV: 01.
9. Plate, Queen’s Shape, creamware. MNV: 01.

Majolica
1. Bowl. MNV: 01.
2. Plate. MNV: 01.

Table B-10. Mean ceramic date formula, area 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ware</th>
<th>Mean date</th>
<th>MNV</th>
<th>Product</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Green Edged</td>
<td>1810</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue Edged</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peasant Style- earth tones</td>
<td>1835</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal rim, creamware</td>
<td>1791</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>7164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queen’s Shape, creamware</td>
<td>1791</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1791</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearlware</td>
<td>1815</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1815</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creamware</td>
<td>1790</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>3580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dipped Ware</td>
<td>1815</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1815</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Product</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>21630</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean date: $28794 : 16 = 1802.5$

Area 15

Number of sherds: 63
Minimum number of vessels: 13

Refined earthenware
1. Bowls, undecorated, creamware. MNV: 02.
2. Cup, undecorated. MNV: 01.
3. Plate, Blue Edged, pearlware. MNV: 01.
4. Plate, Green Edged. MNV: 01.
5. Plate, Paris pattern, creamware. MNV: 01.
6. Plates, Queen’s Shape, creamware. MNV: 02.
7. Plates, Royal Rim, creamware. MNV: 03.

Chinese porcelain
1. Unidentified piece, Chinese porcelain. MNV: 01.

Majolica
1. Unidentified piece. MNV: 01.
Table B-11. Mean ceramic date formula, area 15

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ware</th>
<th>Mean date</th>
<th>MNV</th>
<th>Product</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blue Edged</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green Edged</td>
<td>1810</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal rim, creamware</td>
<td>1791</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>5373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queen’s Shape, creamware</td>
<td>1791</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>3582</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris Pattern, creamware</td>
<td>1805</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1805</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creamware</td>
<td>1790</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>3580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Product</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17970</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean date: 17970:10 = 1797

Buritizinho Site

Area 1

Layer 1

Number of sherds: 40.
Minimum number of vessels: 17.

Refined earthenware

1. Bowl, undecorated. MNV: 01.
3. Plate, Blue Edged. MNV: 01.
4. Plate, decorated with a silver stripe. MNV: 01.
5. Plate, decorated with stripes. MNV: 01.
6. Plate, hand-painted. MNV: 01.
11. Unidentified piece, cut sponge. MNV: 01.
12. Unidentified piece, transfer-printed blue, floral design. MNV: 01.

Table B-12. Mean ceramic date formula, area 1, layer 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ware</th>
<th>Mean date</th>
<th>MNV</th>
<th>Product</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>transfer-printed purple</td>
<td>1849</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue Edged</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cut sponge</td>
<td>1872.5</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1872.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transfer-printed black</td>
<td>1847</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transfer-printed pink, revival</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flow Blue</td>
<td>1868</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Product</td>
<td></td>
<td>06</td>
<td>11156.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mean date: 11156.5:06 = 1859.4

**Area 1**

**Layer 2**

Total of sherds: 94

Minimum number of vessels: 28

Refined earthenware

1. Basin, undecorated. MNV: 01.
2. Bowl, cut sponge. MNV: 01.
3. Bowl, dipped ware, Banded design, policromic stripes. MNV: 01.
4. Bowl, dipped ware, brow, geometric design. MNV: 01.
5. Cup, decorated with stripes over the glaze. MNV: 01.
6. Cup, transfer-printed light blue. MNV: 01.
7. Cup, undecorated. MNV: 01.
8. Plate, decorated with blue stripes. MNV: 01.
10. Plate, transfer-printed blue, Willow pattern. MNV: 01.
11. Plate, transfer-printed purple. MNV: 01.
12. Plate, undecorated. MNV: 01.
13. Plates, Royal Rim. MNV: 02.
15. Plates, undecorated. MNV: 02.
16. Saucer, decorated with stripes over the glaze. Fabricant mark: Villeroy and Boch.
    Period of production: starting in 1874. MNV: 01.
18. Saucer, undecorated. MNV: 01.
    Period of production: starting in 1875.

Ironstone

1. Plate. MNV: 01.
2. Cover of teapot. MNV: 01.
3. Cup. MNV: 01.
4. Saucer. MNV: 02.
Table B-13. Mean ceramic date formula, Area 1, layer 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ware</th>
<th>Mean date</th>
<th>MNV</th>
<th>Product</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Flow Blue, não identificado</td>
<td>1868</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>3736</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transfer-printed violentsa</td>
<td>1849</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cut sponge</td>
<td>1872.5</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1872.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transfer-printed blue claro</td>
<td>1840.5</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1840.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marca Villeroy &amp; Boch</td>
<td>1887</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1887</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bell Tracery</td>
<td>1867.5</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1867.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marca Opaque de Sarreguines</td>
<td>1887.5</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1887.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Product  08  14940

Mean date: 14940:08 = 1867.5

Area 1
Layer 3
Total of sherds: 60.
Minimum number of vessels: 17.
Refined earthenware
1. Bowl, dipped ware, geometric designs. MNV: 01.
2. Cup, Gotic pattern. MNV: 01.
3. Cup, hand-painted. MNV: 01.
4. Cup, undecorated. MNV: 01.
5. Plate, decorated with blue stripes. MNV: 01.
6. Plate, decorated with silver stripe. MNV: 01.
7. Plate, transfer-printed blue. MNV: 01.
9. Plates, undecorated. MNV: 03.
10. Saucer, decorated with stripes over the glaze. Fabricant mark: Villeroy and Boch. MNV: 01.
11. Saucer, decorated with stripes over the glaze. MNV: 01.
12. Saucer, Gothic patterns. MNV: 01.
Ironstone
1. Unidentified piece. MNV: 01.

Area 1
Layer 4
Number of sherds: 1256.
Minimum number of pieces: 149.
Refined earthenware
1. Basin, cut sponge. MNV: 01.
2. Basin, pink strip. MNV: 01.
3. Bowl, cut sponge. MNV: 01.
4. Bowl, cut sponge. MNV: 01.
5. Bowl, decorated with a green stripe. MNV: 01.
7. Bowl, dipped ware, geometric design, brow. MNV: 01.
8. Bowl, polychromic stripes, whiteware. MNV: 01.
13. Bowls, undecorated, pearlware. MNV: 03.
15. Cup, Gothic pattern. Fabricant mark: Opaque de Sarreguemine. MNV: 01.
16. Cup, green stripes. MNV: 01.
17. Cup, hand painted floral. MNV: 01.
18. Cup, Peasant Style, earth tones. MNV: 01.
19. Cup, spongeware. MNV: 01.
20. Cup, transfer-printed brow, Sheet pattern. MNV: 01.
21. Cup, transfer-printed green. MNV: 01.
22. Cup, transfer-printed pink. MNV: 01.
23. Cup, transfer-printed, Flow Blue, chinoiserie design. MNV: 01.
24. Cup, transfer-printed, Flow Blue, chinoiserie design. MNV: 01.
25. Cup, undecorated, pearlware. MNV: 01.
26. Cup, undecorated. MNV: 01.
27. Cup, undecorated. MNV: 01.
29. Mug, Peasant Style. MNV: 01.
30. Plate, blue stripes. MNV: 01.
31. Plate, cut sponge. MNV: 01.
32. Plate, Gothic pattern with blue stripes. MNV: 01.
33. Plate, hand painted floral. MNV: 01.
34. Plate, Pink Edged. MNV: 01.
35. Plate, silver stripes. MNV: 01.
36. Plate, transfer-printed black, floral designs. MNV: 01.
37. Plate, transfer-printed black, floral designs. MNV: 01.
38. Plate, transfer-printed blue, chinoiserie design. MNV: 01.
39. Plate, transfer-printed blue. MNV: 01.
40. Plate, transfer-printed brow, negative impression. MNV: 01.
41. Plate, transfer-printed Flow Blue, floral design. MNV: 01.
42. Plate, transfer-printed Flow Blue, no central design. MNV: 01.
43. Plate, transfer-printed purple, exotic design. MNV: 01.
44. Plate, transfer-printed, dark blue, floral rim. MNV: 01.
45. Plate, transfer-printed, Flow Blue, floral rim. MNV: 01.
Plate, undecorated. Fabricant mark: Holland and Green. MNV: 01.
49. Plate, wavy stripe. MNV: 01.
52. Plates, Green Edged. MNV: 02.
53. Plates, Queen’s Shape, creamware. MNV: 02.
54. Plates, rim decorated in molded relief, Bell Tracery pattern. MNV: 03.
55. Plates, Royal Rim, creamware. MNV: 06.
56. Plates, Royal Rim, pearlware. MNV: 02.
57. Plates, Royal Rim. MNV: 08.
58. Plates, transfer-printed blue, Willow pattern. MNV: 03.
59. Plates, transfer-printed purple, chinoiserie design. MNV: 02.
60. Plates, transfer-printed, Flow Blue, romantic design. MNV: 03.
61. Plates, undecorated. MNV: 07.
62. Platter, undecorated, square shape. MNV: 01.
63. Platters, transfer-printed, Flow Blue, floral design. MNV: 02.
64. Saucer, blue and pink stripes. MNV: 01.
65. Saucer, Gothic pattern. MNV: 01.
66. Saucer, Peasant Style, cobalt blue. MNV: 01.
67. Saucer, Sprig, cobalt blue, pearlware. MNV: 01.
68. Saucer, transfer-printed brow, Sheet pattern. MNV: 01.
69. Saucers, Peasant Style, pearlware. MNV: 01.
70. Saucers, Peasant Style. MNV: 03.
71. Saucers, Sprig. MNV: 01.
72. Saucers, transfer-printed, Flow Blue, chinoiserie design. MNV: 02.
73. Saucers, undecorated. MNV: 03.
74. Small plates, undecorated, creamware. MNV: 02.
75. Unidentified piece, Peasant Style, cobalt blue. MNV: 01.
76. Unidentified piece, transfer-printed light blue. MNV: 01.

Ironstone
1- Cup, Gothic pattern. MNV: 01.
2- Saucer, Gothic pattern. MNV: 01.
3- Saucer. MNV: 01.
4- Saucer, decorated with stripes over the glaze. MNV: 01.
5- Plates. MNV: 02.
6- Unidentified piece. MNV: 01.

Chinese porcelain
1- Plate, Macau. MNV: 01.
2- Plate, hand-painted. MNV: 01.

Majolica
1. Unidentifed pieces. MNV: 03.
Table B-14. Mean ceramic date formula, area 1, layer 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ware</th>
<th>Mean date</th>
<th>MNV</th>
<th>Product</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>transfer-printed purple,</td>
<td>1849</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>5547</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chinoiserie design</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>transfer-printed blue,</td>
<td>1826</td>
<td>01</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>chinoiserie design</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transfer-printed black</td>
<td>1847</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>5541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transfer-printed brow</td>
<td>1848.5</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>5545.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transfer-printed green</td>
<td>1843.5</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1843.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transfer-printed pink</td>
<td>1846</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transfer-printed light blue</td>
<td>1840.5</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1840.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transfer-printed blue,</td>
<td>1837</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1837</td>
</tr>
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<td>classic design</td>
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<tr>
<td>Flow Blue, no central design</td>
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<tr>
<td>Flow Blue, central floral</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flow Blue, romantic design</td>
<td>1856</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>5568</td>
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<tr>
<td>Flow Blue, chinoiserie</td>
<td>1847.5</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>7390</td>
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<td>design</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cut sponge</td>
<td>1872.5</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>16852.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal Rim, creamware</td>
<td>1791</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>10746</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queen’s Shape, creamware</td>
<td>1791</td>
<td>02</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Mark Opaque de Sarreguemines</td>
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<td>1887.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Blue Edged</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>32760</td>
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<td>Blue Edged, pearlware</td>
<td>1815</td>
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<tr>
<td>Green Edged</td>
<td>1810</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>3620</td>
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<td>1845</td>
<td>01</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sprig, blue cobalto</td>
<td>1835</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peasant Style, blue</td>
<td>1835</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>3670</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cobalto</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1872.5</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>3745</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Product</td>
<td>92</td>
<td></td>
<td>169045.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean date: 169045.5:92 = 1837.4
**Area 1**

**Layer 5**

Number of sherds: 52.
Minimum number of vessels: 14.

**Refined earthenware**

1. Bowl, cut sponge. MNV: 01.
2. Bowl, cut sponge. MNV: 01.
3. Cup, transfer-printed blue. MNV: 01.
4. Cup, transfer-printed, Flow Blue, chinoiserie design. MNV: 01.
5. Plate, decorated with blue stripes. MNV: 01.
6. Plate, decorated with silver stripes. MNV: 01.
7. Plate, Pink Edge. MNV: 01.
8. Plate, Royal Rim. MNV: 01.
9. Plate, Royal Rim, creamware. MNV: 01.
11. Plate, undecorated, creamware. MNV: 01.
13. Saucer, undecorated. MNV: 01.

**Ironstone**

1. Plate. MNV: 01.

**Chinese porcelain**

1. Unidentified piece. MNV: 01.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table B-15. Mean ceramic date formula, area 1, layer 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ware</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flow Blue, não identificado</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flow Blue, chinoiserie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cut sponge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal Rim, creamware</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creamware</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearlware</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ironstone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Product</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean date: 16601.5:9 = 1844.6

**Area 2**

Number of sherds: 173
Minimum number of vessels: 51.

**Refined earthenware**

1. Bowl, dipped ware, Banded. MNV: 01.
2. Bowl, hand painted. MNV: 01.
3. Bowl, Peasant Style. MNV: 01.
5. Bowl, undecorated. MNV: 01.
7. Cup, cut sponge. MNV: 01.
8. Cup, Sprig. MNV: 01.
9. Cup, transfer-printed, Flow Blue, floral design. MNV: 01.
10. Cup, unidentified decoration in molded relieve. MNV: 01.
11. Mug, decoration unidentified. MNV: 01.
12. Plate, cut sponge. MNV: 01.
13. Plate, molded relieve, Bell’s Tracery. MNV: 02.
14. Plate, Royal Rim, pearlware. MNV: 01.
15. Plate, transfer-printed blue. MNV: 01.
16. Plate, transfer-printed blue. MNV: 01.
17. Plate, transfer-printed purple, exotic design. MNV: 01.
18. Plate, transfer-printed, Flow Blue, chinoiserie design. MNV: 01.
19. Plates, Blue Edged. MNV: 05.
20. Plates, Royal Rim. MNV: 02.
22. Saucer, Bell’s Tracery. MNV: 01.
23. Saucer, Peasant Style plus spatter. MNV: 01.
25. Saucer, transfer-printed brow. MNV: 01.
27. Saucer, undecorated. MNV: 01.
28. Saucers, undecorated. MNV: 02.
29. Teapot undecorated. MNV: 01.
30. Tureen with cover, transfer-printed blue, Willow. MNV: 01.
31. Unidentified piece, cut sponge. MNV: 01.
32. Unidentified piece, spongeware bicolor. MNV: 01.
33. Unidentified piece, spongeware. MNV: 01.
34. Unidentified piece. MNV: 01.

Ironstone
1. Cup. MNV: 01.
2. Plate, decorated with blue stripes over the glaze. MNV: 02.
3. Plate. MNV: 01.
4. Saucer, Gothic style. MNV: 01.
5. Sugar bowl. MNV: 01.
Table B-16. Mean ceramic date formula, area 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ware</th>
<th>Mean date</th>
<th>MNV</th>
<th>Product</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Flow Blue</td>
<td>1868</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flow Blue, <em>chinaiserie</em></td>
<td>1851</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>3702</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Flow Blue, floral</em></td>
<td>1881.5</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1881.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>transfer-printed purple</em></td>
<td>1849</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>transfer-printed brow</em></td>
<td>1848.5</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1848.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ironstone</td>
<td>1872.5</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1872.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cut sponge</td>
<td>1872.5</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>5617.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spongeware</td>
<td>1880</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>3760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearlware</td>
<td>1815</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1815</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bell’s Tracery</td>
<td>1867.5</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>5602.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sprig</td>
<td>1845</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue Edged</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>9100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Product</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td>40761.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean date: 40761.5:22=1852.79

**Area 3**

Number of sherds: 162.
Minimum number of vessels: 19.

**Refined earthenware**

1. Bowl, decorated with polychromic bands. MNV:01
2. Bowl, Peasant Style. MNV:01
3. Bowl, spongeware, bicolor. MNV:01
4. Bowl, transfer-printed, Flow Blue, Floral design. MNV:01
5. Bowl, undecorated, whiteware. MNV:01
6. Bowls, cut sponge. MNV: 03.
7. Plate, Blue Edged. MNV:01
8. Plate, Royal Rim. MNV:01
10. Plate, undecorated. MNV:01
11. Saucer, Peasant Style. MNV:01
13. Saucer, transfer-printed, Flow Blue, floral design. MNV:01
14. Saucer, unidentified decoration. MNV:01
15. Unidentified piece. MNV:01

**Ironstone**

1. Cup, Gothic style. MNV:01

**Chinese porcelain**

1. Bowl, Macau, floral design over the glaze. MNV: 01.
Table B-17. Mean ceramic date formula, area 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ware</th>
<th>Mean date</th>
<th>MNV</th>
<th>Product</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Flow Blue, chinoiserie</td>
<td>1851</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flow Blue</td>
<td>1868</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flow Blue, floral</td>
<td>1881.5</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1881.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cut sponge</td>
<td>1872.5</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>5617.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spongeware</td>
<td>1880</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue Edged</td>
<td>1815</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1815</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peasant Style</td>
<td>1845</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>3690</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Product</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18621</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean date: 18621:10=1862.1

Engenho do Quilombo Site

Area 1
Layer 2

Number of sherds: 410.
Minimum number of vessels: 112.

Refined earthenware
1. Bowl, cut sponge plus floral hand painted. MNV: 01.
2. Bowl, dipped ware, banded. MNV: 01.
4. Bowl, dipped ware, geometric design. MNV: 01.
5. Bowl, Peasant Style. MNV: 01.
7. Bowl, undecorated, pearlware. MNV: 01.
8. Bowls, cut sponge. MNV: 08.
11. Cover of service piece, undecorated. MNV: 01.
12. Cup, decorated with an orange stripe. MNV: 01.
13. Cup, Sprig. MNV: 01.
14. Cup, transfer-printed blue. MNV: 01.
15. Cup, transfer-printed blue. MNV: 01.
16. Cup, transfer-printed pink, Sheet patterns, revival. MNV: 01.
17. Cup, transfer-printed purple. MNV: 01.
18. Cup, transfer-printed, Flow Blue. MNV: 01.
22. Hollowware unidentified, Peasant Style. MNV: 01.
23. Mug, creamware. MNV: 01.
24. Mug, undecorated. MNV: 01.
26. Plate, molded relieve. Period of production: the indscription England indicates that it was made after 1880. MNV: 01.
28. Plate, Royal Rim, pearlware. MNV: 01.
29. Plate, Shell Edged, no painted. MNV: 01.
31. Plate, transfer-printed, Flow Blue, no central design. MNV: 01.
32. Plates, Blue Edged. MNV: 04.
33. Plates, cut sponge. MNV: 03.
34. Plates, decorated with stripes. MNV: 06.
35. Plates, Green Edged. MNV: 02.
36. Plates, Royal Rim, creamware. MNV: 04.
37. Plates, Royal Rim. MNV: 05.
38. Plates, transfer-printed blue, Willow. MNV: 05.
40. Platter, transfer-printed blue, Willow. MNV: 01.
41. Saucer, decorated with an orange stripe. MNV: 01.
42. Saucer, decorated with green stripes. MNV: 01.
43. Saucer, Peasant Style. MNV: 01.
44. Saucer, Sprig. MNV: 01.
45. Saucer, transfer-printed black, late. MNV: 01.
46. Saucer, transfer-printed brow, late. MNV: 01.
47. Saucer, transfer-printed pink, late. MNV: 01.
48. Saucer, transfer-printed pink, Sheet Pattern, revival. MNV: 01.
49. Saucer, transfer-printed pink, Sheet pattern. MNV: 01.
50. Saucer, transfer-printed purple. MNV: 01.
52. Saucer, undecorated, pearlware. MNV: 01.
53. Service piece unidentified, transfer-printed blue. MNV: 01.
54. Unidentified piece, undecorated. MNV: 01.
55. Unidentified piece, spatterware. MNV: 01.
56. Unidentified piece, transfer-printed Flow Blue. MNV: 01.
57. Unidentified piece, transfer-printed purple. MNV: 01.
58. Unidentified piece. MNV: 01.

Ironstone
1. Plates. MNV: 02.
2. Saucers. MNV: 02.

Porcelain
1. Cup, decorated with golden stripes over the glaze. MNV: 01.
2. Saucer, decorated with golden stripes over the glaze. MNV: 01.

Chinese porcelain
1. Plate, porcelain of Makau. MNV: 01.
Table B-18. Mean ceramic date formula, area 1, layer 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ware</th>
<th>Mean date</th>
<th>MNV</th>
<th>Product</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transfer-printed pink, Sheet Pattern, late</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>5700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transfer-printed purple</td>
<td>1849</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>5547</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transfer-printed brow, late</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transfer-printed black, late</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transfer-printed pink, late</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flow Blue, no central design</td>
<td>1889.5</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1889.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flow Blue</td>
<td>1868</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>5604</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flow Blue, golden stripes</td>
<td>1880.5</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1880.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cut sponge</td>
<td>1872.5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>22470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peasant Style</td>
<td>1845</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>5535</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sprig</td>
<td>1845</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>3690</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dipped Ware, Blue Banded</td>
<td>1865</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue Edged</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>7280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green Edged</td>
<td>1810</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>3620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pink Edged</td>
<td>1840</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ironstone</td>
<td>1872.5</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>3745</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheat and Daisy</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spatterware</td>
<td>1840</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal Rim, creamware</td>
<td>1791</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>7164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearlware</td>
<td>1815</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>5445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creamware</td>
<td>1790</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Product</td>
<td></td>
<td>51</td>
<td>94505</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean date: 94505:51=1853.03

**Area 2**

Number of sherds: 177.
Minimum number of vessels: 48.

Refined earthenware
1. Bowl, cut sponge. MNV: 01.
2. Bowl, decorated with blue stripes. MNV: 01.
3. Bowl, dipped ware, banded. MNV: 01.
4. Bowl, Sprig. MNV: 01.
5. Bowl, transfer-printed green. MNV: 01.
7. Cup, transfer-printed blue, floral design, pearlware. MNV: 01.
8. Cup, transfer-printed blue, romantic or pastoral design. MNV: 01.
9. Cup, transfer-printed pink, Sheet pattern, late. MNV: 01.
10. Cup, transfer-printed, Flow Blue. MNV: 01.
11. Cup, undecorated. MNV: 01.
13. Mug, decorated with stripes over the glaze. MNV: 01.
14. Mug, dipped ware, blue, geometric design. MNV: 01.
15. Pate, transfer-printed blue. MNV: 01.
16. Plate, Blue Edged. MNV: 01.
17. Plate, molded relieve. MNV: 01.
18. Plate, Royal Rim. MNV: 01.
19. Plate, transfer-printed blue. MNV: 01.
20. Plate, transfer-printed, Flow Blue, floral design, pearlware. MNV: 01.
21. Plate, undecorated, pearlware. MNV: 01.
23. Plates, transfer-printed blue, Willow pattern. MNV: 02.
25. Saucer, Sprig, pearlware. MNV: 01.
26. Saucer, transfer-printed blue, chinoiserie design. MNV: 01.
27. Saucer, transfer-printed pink, Sheet pattern, late. MNV: 01.
28. Saucer, undecorated. MNV: 01.
30. Unidentified piece, Sprig. MNV: 01.
31. Unidentified, undecorated pieces. MNV: 03.

Ironstone
1. Plate. MNV: 01.
3- Saucer. MNV: 01.
2. Cup. MNV: 01.

Chinese porcelain
1- Saucer, hand-painted floral polychromic decoration. MNV: 01.
2- Unidentified pieces, Macau porcelain. MNV: 02.
3- Plate, Macau porcelain, presenting the design of a butterfly over the glaze. MNV: 01.
Table B-19. Mean ceramic date formula, area 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ware</th>
<th>Mean date</th>
<th>MNV</th>
<th>Product</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transfer-printed pink, <em>Sheet Pattern</em>, late</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>3800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transfer-printed blue, floral, <em>pearlware</em></td>
<td>1817</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1817</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transfer-printed blue, exotic design</td>
<td>1831</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>3662</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transfer-printed blue, gothic design</td>
<td>1834</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transfer-printed light blue</td>
<td>1842.5</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1842.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flow Blue, design <em>chinoiserie</em></td>
<td>1851</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flow Blue, sem identificação</td>
<td>1868</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flow Blue, floral, <em>pearlware</em></td>
<td>1842.5</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1842.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cut sponge</td>
<td>1872.5</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1872.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sprig, pearlware</td>
<td>1840</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sprig</td>
<td>1845</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>3690</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dipped Ware, Blue Banded</td>
<td>1865</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue Edged</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Ironstone</em></td>
<td>1872.5</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1872.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearlware</td>
<td>1815</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1815</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Product</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>33292</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean date: 33292:18=1849.5

**Site Tapera do Pingador**

**Layer 1**

Number of sherds: 157
Minimum number of vessels: 21.

Refined earthenware

1- Plates, undecorated. MNV: 02.
2- Plates, undecorated, Royal Rim. MNV: 04.
3- Plate, Gothic style, decorated with blue stripes. MNV: 01.
4- Plate, Gothic style, decorated with pink stripes. MNV: 01.
5- Plate, Blue Edged. MNV: 01.
6- Plate, Blue Edged, pearlware. MNV: 01.
7- Cup, cut sponge. MNV: 01.
8- Saucer, cut sponge. MNV: 01.
9- Unidentified service piece, transfer-printed black, chinoiserie design. MNV: 01.
10- Plates, transfer-printed Flow Blue. MNV: 02.
11- Cup, decorated with blue stripe. MNV: 01.
12- Bowl, undecorated, pearlware. MNV: 01.
13- Cup, undecorated, pearlware. MNV: 01.
14- Cup, undecorated. MNV: 01.
15- Bowl, undecorated. MNV: 01.
16- Unidentified piece, undecorated. MNV: 01.

**Feature filled with dark soil**

Number of sherds: 22.
Minimum number of vessels: 07.
Refined earthenware

1. Plate, transfer-printed blue, floral rim, pearlware. MNV: 01.
2. Plates, Royal Rim. MNV: 04.
3. Plate, Blue Edged. MNV: 01.
4. Bowl, Sprig. MNV: 01.
APPENDIX C
POTTERY – TOTAL PERCENTAGES BY SITE

The Tables present the percentage of the attributes considered in the analysis, according to the site, area, and stratigraphy.

Min. = mineral
Car. = cariapé
Veg. = vegetal
Charc. = charcoal
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Buritzin Ho</td>
<td>1.66</td>
<td>3.51</td>
<td>2.16</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>2.52</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>4.14</td>
<td>752</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eng. Quil.</td>
<td>4.62</td>
<td>4.62</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td>1.89</td>
<td>3.20</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>5.09</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taperao</td>
<td>21.89</td>
<td>2.63</td>
<td>0.39</td>
<td>3.39</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>60</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pingado R.</td>
<td>6.93</td>
<td>1.37</td>
<td>2.83</td>
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<td>0.73</td>
<td>6.02</td>
<td>4721</td>
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<td>Mean %</td>
<td>10.80</td>
<td>3.04</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td>3.17</td>
<td>1.45</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>2.91</td>
<td>204</td>
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<tr>
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<td>752</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>100</td>
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<td>201</td>
<td>15</td>
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Table C-2. Firing

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<th>Reducing</th>
<th>Oxidizing / reducing</th>
<th>Und</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>38.13</td>
<td>40.69</td>
<td>21.03</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENG. QUILOMBO</td>
<td>54.44</td>
<td>28.87</td>
<td>16.58</td>
<td>0.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAPERÃO</td>
<td>35.53</td>
<td>47.65</td>
<td>16.42</td>
<td>0.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PINGADOR</td>
<td>29.81</td>
<td>50.05</td>
<td>20.05</td>
<td>0.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MEAN%</strong></td>
<td>37.78</td>
<td>43.50</td>
<td>18.51</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>N</strong></td>
<td>2609</td>
<td>3004</td>
<td>1278</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table C-3. Manufacture technique

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Coiled</th>
<th>Modeling</th>
<th>Slab building</th>
<th>Coiled + modeling</th>
<th>Und</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BURITIZINHO</td>
<td>94.24</td>
<td>3.10</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>2.52</td>
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<tr>
<td>ENG. QUILOMBO</td>
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<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>6.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAPERÃO</td>
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<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>4.05</td>
</tr>
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<td>PINGADOR</td>
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<td>5.74</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>7.38</td>
<td>6.56</td>
</tr>
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<td><strong>MEAN%</strong></td>
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<td>Burnishing striation</td>
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<td>19.64</td>
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</tr>
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<td>TAPERÃO</td>
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</tr>
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### Table C- 6. Diameter of the orifice

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<th>30-44</th>
<th>45-59</th>
<th>Und</th>
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<td>23.06</td>
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<td>0.00</td>
<td>74.36</td>
</tr>
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<td>0.00</td>
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<td>70.79</td>
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Diameter em mm.
The percentages refer to the sherds totalized in the minimum number of vessels (MNV) classified as rims.

### Table C- 7. Base

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<th>Flat</th>
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<th>Pedestal</th>
<th>Ring</th>
<th>Und</th>
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The percentages refer to the sherds totalized in the minimum number of vessels (MNV) classified as bases.
### Table C-8. Diameter of base

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<tr>
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<th>1-4</th>
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<th>13-16</th>
<th>17-20</th>
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Diameter em mm.

The percentages refer to the sherds totalized in the minimum number of vessels (MNV) classified as bases.

### Table C-9. Decoration

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<td>0.00</td>
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304
Table C-10. Decoration – location

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<th>Upper body</th>
<th>Neck+Upper body</th>
<th>Upper body</th>
<th>Complete vessel</th>
<th>Neck+Upper body</th>
<th>Und</th>
<th>Rim+Neck+Upper body</th>
<th>Lip+Rim+Nec</th>
<th>Upper body</th>
<th>Neck+Upper body</th>
<th>Und</th>
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Table C-11. Shapes

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<th>multifunctional</th>
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<td>16,17,20</td>
</tr>
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<td>2,5,6,7,8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>11,13,14</td>
<td>15,16,17,18,19</td>
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<tr>
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The shapes are presented in the Figure 6-8.
### Taperão Site

#### Table C-12. Temper

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### Table C-13. Firing

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<th>Und</th>
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### Table C-14. Manufacture technique

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<th>Molding</th>
<th>slab building</th>
<th>Coiled modeling + Und</th>
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<th>Und</th>
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**Table C-20. Decoration**

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<th>Incision</th>
<th>Punctuated</th>
<th>Stamped</th>
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310
Table C-21. Decoration – location

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</tbody>
</table>

Notes: A1/C1+2
A3/C2
A4/C1+2
A7+8/8/C1
A7+8/8/C2
A14/C2
A15C1+2
# Buritizinho Site

## Table C-22. Temper

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1</td>
<td>2.1 1.75 0.39 74.08 0.26 2.59 4.07 0.19 0.00 2.71 4.20 2.33 0.06 0.06 0.00 4.65 0.50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2</td>
<td>1.5 0.51 1.53 68.27 0.00 1.02 12.76 0.00 0.00 0.51 7.14 0.00 0.00 0.00 2.55 0.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A3</td>
<td>0.0 0.71 0.47 69.41 0.00 8.24 12.71 0.00 0.00 1.18 1.88 2.12 0.00 0.00 0.00 2.82 0.48</td>
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<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

## Table C-23. Firing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Oxidant</th>
<th>Reducing</th>
<th>Oxidizing / reducing</th>
<th>Und</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1</td>
<td>36.20</td>
<td>42.15</td>
<td>21.52 0.13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2</td>
<td>37.75</td>
<td>44.39</td>
<td>17.85 0.00</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>A3</td>
<td>46.11</td>
<td>33.65</td>
<td>20.24 0.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Table C-24. Manufacture technique

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Coiled</th>
<th>Modeling</th>
<th>Molding</th>
<th>Slab building</th>
<th>Coiled + modeling</th>
<th>Und</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1</td>
<td>93.79</td>
<td>3.49</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.13 2.52</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2</td>
<td>92.35</td>
<td>2.04</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00 5.61</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A3</td>
<td>98.12</td>
<td>1.65</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00 0.24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table C-25. External finishing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Smoothing</th>
<th>Burnishing</th>
<th>Burnishing striation</th>
<th>Brushing</th>
<th>No finishing</th>
<th>Smoothing Neck.+ brushing body</th>
<th>Worn</th>
<th>Und</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1</td>
<td>75.50</td>
<td>8.02</td>
<td>2.13</td>
<td>13.38</td>
<td>0.58</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2</td>
<td>70.92</td>
<td>12.76</td>
<td>2.55</td>
<td>12.76</td>
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<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.51</td>
<td>0.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A3</td>
<td>81.88</td>
<td>5.65</td>
<td>4.71</td>
<td>7.76</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table C-26. Internal finishing

<table>
<thead>
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<th></th>
<th>Smoothing</th>
<th>Burnishing</th>
<th>Burnishing striation</th>
<th>Brushing</th>
<th>No finishing</th>
<th>Worn</th>
<th>Und</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1</td>
<td>58.18</td>
<td>38.98</td>
<td>1.94</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2</td>
<td>38.78</td>
<td>57.14</td>
<td>2.55</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>1.53</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A3</td>
<td>54.82</td>
<td>40.94</td>
<td>4.24</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Table C-27. Diameter of the orifice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1-14</th>
<th>15-29</th>
<th>30-44</th>
<th>45-59</th>
<th>Und</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1</td>
<td>2.60</td>
<td>15.59</td>
<td>1.30</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>80.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>38.90</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>61.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A3</td>
<td>7.14</td>
<td>7.14</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>85.71</td>
</tr>
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### Table C-28. Base

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Flat</th>
<th>Concave</th>
<th>Pedestal</th>
<th>Ring</th>
<th>Und</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1</td>
<td>82.35</td>
<td>5.88</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>11.76</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A3</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table C-29. Diameter of base

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1-4</th>
<th>5-8</th>
<th>9-12</th>
<th>13-16</th>
<th>17-20</th>
<th>und</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>35.29</td>
<td>35.29</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>29.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A3</td>
<td>33.33</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>66.66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table C-30. Decoration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Absent</th>
<th>Impressed textile</th>
<th>Corrugated</th>
<th>Digi tated</th>
<th>Digi tated</th>
<th>Figer nailed</th>
<th>Incision</th>
<th>Incision</th>
<th>Incision</th>
<th>Incision</th>
<th>Incision</th>
<th>Incision</th>
<th>Incision</th>
<th>Impressed</th>
<th>Incision</th>
<th>Incision</th>
<th>Incision</th>
<th>Unpressed+Figernailed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1</td>
<td>77.76</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td>18.49</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>0.52</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.65</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.38</td>
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<tr>
<td>A2</td>
<td>68.37</td>
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<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>26.02</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>1.02</td>
<td>0.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>A3</td>
<td>81.41</td>
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<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
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<td>17.42</td>
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<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>0.00</td>
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<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
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### Table C-31. Decoration – location

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Lip</th>
<th>Rim</th>
<th>Neck</th>
<th>Upper body</th>
<th>Lip+rim</th>
<th>Lip+Rim+Neck</th>
<th>Lip+neck+Upper body</th>
<th>Lip+neck+Upper body</th>
<th>Rim+neck+Upper body</th>
<th>Neck. + Upper body</th>
<th>Upper body</th>
<th>Complet e vessel</th>
<th>Rim x neck+Upper body</th>
<th>Neck x Upper body</th>
<th>Und</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.39</td>
<td>1.29</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>19.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2</td>
<td>0.51</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
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<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>19.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A3</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
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<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>16.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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### Engenho do Quilombo Site

#### Table C-32. Temper

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1/ C2</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>0.42</td>
<td>0.42</td>
<td>74.68</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>6.54</td>
<td>1.48</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>1.05</td>
<td>1.05</td>
<td>3.38</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2/ C1+ 8</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>1.08</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>83.81</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>1.08</td>
<td>1.44</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>3.24</td>
<td>1.44</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
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</tbody>
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#### Table C-33. Firing

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Oxidizing</th>
<th>Reducing</th>
<th>Oxidizing / reducing</th>
<th>Und</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1/C2</td>
<td>63.71</td>
<td>22.99</td>
<td>13.08</td>
<td>0.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2/C1+2</td>
<td>42.44</td>
<td>36.33</td>
<td>21.22</td>
<td>0.00</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

#### Table C-34. Manufacture technique

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Coiled</th>
<th>Modeling</th>
<th>Molding</th>
<th>Slab building</th>
<th>Coiled + modeling</th>
<th>Und</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1/C2</td>
<td>93.46</td>
<td>2.53</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>4.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2/C1+2</td>
<td>83.45</td>
<td>4.68</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>11.87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Table C-35. External surface finishing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Smoothing</th>
<th>Burnishing</th>
<th>Burnishing striation</th>
<th>Brushing</th>
<th>No finishing</th>
<th>Smoothing Neck. + brushing body</th>
<th>Worn</th>
<th>Und</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1/C2</td>
<td>71.94</td>
<td>4.01</td>
<td>1.48</td>
<td>22.15</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2/C1+2</td>
<td>81.29</td>
<td>1.44</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>15.47</td>
<td>0.72</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>1.08</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table C-36. Internal finishing

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Smoothing</th>
<th>Burnishing</th>
<th>Burnishing striation</th>
<th>Brushing</th>
<th>No finishing</th>
<th>Worn</th>
<th>Und</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1/C2</td>
<td>64.98</td>
<td>31.22</td>
<td>2.95</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.42</td>
<td>0.42</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2/C1+2</td>
<td>73.38</td>
<td>23.38</td>
<td>0.72</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.72</td>
<td>1.80</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table C-37. Diameter of the orifice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1-14</th>
<th>15-29</th>
<th>30-44</th>
<th>45-59</th>
<th>Und</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1/C2</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>25.92</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>74.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2/C1+2</td>
<td>11.11</td>
<td>22.22</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>66.67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table C-38. Base

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Flat</th>
<th>Concave</th>
<th>Pedestal</th>
<th>Ring</th>
<th>Und</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1/C2</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2/C1+2</td>
<td>50.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>50.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table C-39. Diameter da base

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1-4</th>
<th>5-8</th>
<th>9-12</th>
<th>13-16</th>
<th>17-20</th>
<th>Und</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1/C2</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2/C1+2</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>50.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Diameter in mm.
### Table C- 40. Decoration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1/C2</td>
<td>61.6</td>
<td>1.48</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
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<td>0.63</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2/C1+2</td>
<td>89.9</td>
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<td>6.4</td>
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<td>0.36</td>
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<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>1.08</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Table C- 41. Decoration – location

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lip</th>
<th>Rim</th>
<th>Neck</th>
<th>Up. Body</th>
<th>Lip + Rim</th>
<th>Lip + Neck</th>
<th>Lip + bo + neck + body</th>
<th>La + bo + neck + bo + bi</th>
<th>Rim + neck + bo + o upper</th>
<th>Neck + Upper</th>
<th>Body sup + bo</th>
<th>Body lower</th>
<th>Complete vessel</th>
<th>Rim x neck + bo</th>
<th>Neck x Sup</th>
<th>Und</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1/C2</td>
<td>1.27</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>2.95</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.42</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2/C1+2</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Pingador Site

#### Table C-42. Temper

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1/C1</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>4.87</td>
<td>0.57</td>
<td>49.2</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A1/C1+3</td>
<td>4.44</td>
<td>3.78</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>62.4</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>1.89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Table C-43. Firing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Oxidizing</th>
<th>Reducing</th>
<th>Oxidizing / Reducing</th>
<th>Und</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1/C1</td>
<td>18.62</td>
<td>53.01</td>
<td>28.08</td>
<td>0.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A1/C2+3</td>
<td>34.21</td>
<td>48.72</td>
<td>17.03</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Table C-44. Manufacture technique

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Coiled Modeling</th>
<th>Molding Slab building</th>
<th>Coiled + Modeling</th>
<th>Und</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1/C1</td>
<td>71.92</td>
<td>8.31</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>19.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A1/C2+3</td>
<td>82.82</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>11.79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Table C-45. External surface finishing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Smoothing</th>
<th>Burnishing</th>
<th>Burnishing striation</th>
<th>Brushing No finishing</th>
<th>Smoothing Neck + brushing body</th>
<th>Worn</th>
<th>Und</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1/C1</td>
<td>69.05</td>
<td>1.72</td>
<td>0.57</td>
<td>6.02</td>
<td>20.06</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>2.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A1/C2+3</td>
<td>86.17</td>
<td>3.35</td>
<td>2.62</td>
<td>4.80</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>3.06</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Table C-46. Internal finishing**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Smoothing</th>
<th>Burnishing</th>
<th>Burnishing striation</th>
<th>Brushing</th>
<th>No finishing</th>
<th>Worn</th>
<th>Und</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1/C1</td>
<td>68.48</td>
<td>10.89</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>20.06</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A1/C2+3</td>
<td>73.80</td>
<td>11.06</td>
<td>12.08</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>3.06</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table C-47. Diameter of the orifice**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1-14</th>
<th>15-29</th>
<th>30-44</th>
<th>45-59</th>
<th>Und</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1/C1</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>10.00</td>
<td>30.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>60.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A1/C2+3</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>31.05</td>
<td>3.45</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>65.52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Diameter in mm.

**Table C-48. Base**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Flat</th>
<th>Concave</th>
<th>Pedestal</th>
<th>Ring</th>
<th>Und</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1/C1</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A1/C2+3</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table C-49. Diameter of base**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1-4</th>
<th>5-8</th>
<th>9-12</th>
<th>13-16</th>
<th>17-20</th>
<th>Und</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1/C1</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A1/C2+3</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>50.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>50.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Diameter in mm.
### Table C-50. Decoration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Absent</th>
<th>Impressed</th>
<th>Corrugated</th>
<th>Digi-scribed</th>
<th>Fingerprinted</th>
<th>Incisioned</th>
<th>Punctuated</th>
<th>Painted</th>
<th>Visibly Coiled</th>
<th>Impressed + Designated</th>
<th>Incision + Fingermarked</th>
<th>Incision + Impressed</th>
<th>Impression + Carved</th>
<th>Visible coil + Incision + Fingermarked</th>
<th>Undecorated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1/ C1</td>
<td>82.8</td>
<td>1.43</td>
<td>1.72</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.86</td>
<td>0.57</td>
<td>1.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A1/ C2+ 3</td>
<td>65.0</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.58</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>1.02</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>7.71</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>4.37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table C-51. Decoration – location

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1/ C1</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>1.15</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A1/ C2+ 3</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>3.20</td>
<td>1.31</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
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<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>7.57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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