Pedro Paulo A. Funari
Charles E. Orser Jr. *Editors*

Current Perspectives on the Archaeology of African Slavery in Latin America

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Pedro Paulo A. Funari • Charles E. Orser Jr.
Editors

Current Perspectives on the Archaeology of African Slavery in Latin America

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Chapter 1
Archaeology, Slavery, and Marronage: A Complex Relationship

Pedro Paulo A. Funari and Charles E. Orser

Since its inception in the nineteenth century, archaeology has been associated with nationalist and imperialist endeavors. Its practitioners, both professional and avocational, have been prone to take part in the eulogy of the elites. Archaeology was born in an environment in which the ancient artworks of antiquity were valued for their beauty and uniqueness. The collection of rare works of art has been an aristocratic activity since the Renaissance. For many years, archaeologists were happy to supply museum galleries and the homes of the wealthy with beautiful objects from the past.

In the wake of the development of the modern university system, with its specialized, enlightened faculty, many of whom had a willingness and desire to serve the new bourgeois nation-state, archaeology was a side effect of philology and history. Archaeologists served the state in the search for the ancient roots of newly established nations, inside and outside of its territory, however defined. Napoleon is perhaps the best expression of this early phase, inventing the French heritage inside the country (the Gauls) and outside (starting with the ancient Egyptians). Champollion is a good example of archaeology's early association with nationalism, imperialism, and philology. In deciphering ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs, he supported the imperial conquest of Egypt and helped appropriate an ancient civilization for French imperial power.

In the quest to use archaeology in the service of the state, excavators and researchers ignored the vast majority of people who had lived in the past. Casting their eyes only on the elites of society, they had no room for the "lower orders," such as the slave builders of the pyramids.

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The elite view of history has always been challenged by outcasts. Emancipators, women, workers, anarchists, socialists, internationalists, pacifists, and a plethora of dissenters have struggled to change social conditions and scholarship. Archaeology, though for a long time a preserve of the military, was a tool for nationalist ambitions and imperial expansion. The twentieth century witnessed the desire of many scholars to distance themselves from reactionary tenets, particularly after the Second World War. The ongoing struggle against racism, war, and colonialism, and for indigenous, women's, human, and civil rights, leads to the introduction of new subjects and practices in academic disciplines worldwide. Racism became a key point of contention in the transition from a conservative to a progressive understanding of society, and some scholars took note. Soon after the end of the war, UNESCO asked anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss to produce a report on race and racism. His study became a landmark document for turning the tide against racial discrimination. As early as the 1950s, civil rights activists in the USA challenged racial separation, and similar movements had shaken South Africa and other countries as well. India witnessed a struggle against caste discrimination. In Latin America, it was a time of growing challenge to racial discrimination against people of African, Indian, and mixed descent. In recognition of the problem, laws against racial discrimination were enacted in several countries. For their part, many scholars developed sensitive measures for analyzing racial assignment and discrimination, and developed research methodologies open to inclusion. The process was not straightforward, however. The Cold War contributed to a backlash against individuals and organizations fighting discrimination, and attacked them for being communists, fellow travelers, or just misguided dupes. This was true for the USA during the McCarthy era, and elsewhere, particularly in Latin America during the heyday of dictatorships in the 1960s and 1970s. However, it is beyond dispute that even in the face of repression and even bodily danger, the struggle against racial discrimination continued. It is directly responsible for the scholarly interest in slavery and resistance against oppression in several disciplines, including archaeology. The interest in slavery first appeared in historical archaeology, a branch of the discipline established in the 1960s in the USA, but it quickly spread to other branches, such as classical archaeology. Ancient slavery, modern caste systems, and other racial divides remain fairly minor academic subjects, but interest in each field of study is increasing. Slavery remains a key subject for modern societies and thus for scholarly disciplines, including archaeology in particular. Historical archaeology took the lead in examining enslavement in the 1970s and early 1980s, studying plantations and post-emancipation tenant farms. These interests were soon compounded by studies of religiosity, resistance, and marronage. Racism and antiracism continued to be the root of these studies, and the election (and reelection) of an African American, Barack Obama, as president of the USA suggests that American society has changed within a short few decades. Despite the growth in racial hatred in the USA following Obama's victories and the explosion of white power organizations throughout the country, the situation in the early twenty-first century is far different from when President Kennedy and Martin Luther King were assassinated in the 1960s. Latin America was influenced by scholarly trends in the USA and faced changes in the same period (the 1960s onwards) with some

unique features. The Cold War affected Latin America, particularly since the Cuban revolution in 1959 and several countries faced dictatorial rule. Historical archaeology began as a eulogy to Latin American elites, but with time, many archaeologists started to challenge the conservative approach. Slave quarters were soon a subject in Latin America, following the lead of the American literature, but it soon became clear that maroons were a topic with even more appeal for both archaeologists and the public.

Several reasons may explain the huge interest in maroons, starting with the ubiquity of runaway settlements, something obvious considering the presence of place names referring to them. Terms such as quilombo, cimarrón, and Palenque make specific reference to fugitive communities. Runaway settlements were thus important during the centuries when slavery existed, and the importance continues today. Runaways witness the struggle for freedom and demonstrate that the horrors of slavery can be overcome. It is no coincidence that since the late 1980s the struggle for freedom and against slavery has been popular in several Latin American countries.

Archaeologists have interpreted the material of the enslaved and the free in different ways, according to a variety of interpretive perspectives. At least two issues are at the heart of the diverging views: the role of culture in shaping social life and the importance of capitalism to modern slave societies.

Cultural interpretations have been important for understanding social life since the inception of anthropology, attested by the major importance of Franz Boas, Claude Lévi-Strauss, and others who emphasized that social differences are not explained by economics alone. In Latin America, several scholars proposed that slave societies are mixed as a result of the secular process of transculturation, to use a concept coined by Cuban polymath Fernando Ortiz. Other social theorists used different terms to refer to culture as the key concept for understanding social life, including slavery and the struggle for freedom. The cultural understanding was accepted by several historical archaeologists, particularly by those prone to emphasizing the fact that local identities and issues have overall interpretive importance.

While some scholars pursued the cultural elements of enslavement, others preferred to study modern slavery as an economic consequence of the supremacy of worldwide capitalism. As such, the same interpretive tools would serve to study the USA, Cuba, Brazil, Argentina, or the many islands of the Caribbean. This understanding enables archaeologist not only to dialogue directly with scholars in the USA but also considers that exploitation is a structural feature of capitalism that affects all its people.

The differences in perspectives are not related to a critical assessment of slave exploitation, but simply stress various emphases of the local versus the global. In other words, the difference between the approaches is a matter of scale of analysis and not necessarily a distinction in theoretical outlook.

A different but related issue refers to the way anthropologists and archaeologists may interpret maroons. Those stressing specificities and autonomy consider that life away from the grip of slavery and capitalism has always meant a struggle for self-reliance. In a way, this interpretation is akin to the cultural approach, but it stresses economic independence and is perhaps to be related to a Maoist guerilla strategic

understanding of peasant struggle against dependence. Others dispute this view and search for the connections between runaway settlements and the surrounding society, including not only local but even international networks.

Divergent views about slave and maroon archaeology also appear because of other cleavages in interpretation. Again, the role of culture or subjective versus material or objective interests is at the center of the differences. From a global perspective, trying to see the forest and attempting to include the specific trees in the wider context, modern slavery is seen as an epiphenomenon of capitalism, so that its basic features are common from the Deep South of the USA to South America, including other areas, such as the Caribbean, the Andes, and beyond. This perspective has enabled scholars to understand how modern slavery cannot be disentangled from the capitalist accumulation of core economies. This view interprets material culture in all modern slave societies as sharing common features that can be explored by archaeologists.

Others prefer to see trees instead of forests. This perspective is not irrelevant because local identities play meaningful social roles. Several scholars split slavery in smaller cultural variants: the Anglo-Saxon in the USA, the Portuguese in Brazil, and the Hispanic throughout Central and South America. The main differences in these slave societies refer to the roles of individual within the various social hierarchies. The Anglo-Saxon variant may thus be classified as the prototype of capitalist slavery, with a clear separation between slave owners and the enslaved, whites and blacks, with no recognized mixing. Furthermore, slaves are also considered to be part of the capitalist project, with their own cabins and consuming capitalist material culture whenever possible. In Portuguese areas, continued mixing led to a most nuanced grade of relationships that enabled the crossing of ethnic and cultural frontiers. The Spanish form had a more rigid social classification not only of the enslaved, freedmen, and slave owners—as in every slave society— but included a plethora of other grades: born in Spain, born in the colony, Indian, and so forth. A couple of caveats must be mentioned, however. It is always possible to split even further those experiences or to coalesce others. Cuban and Brazilian societies may be much closer even if split by the Hispanic/Portuguese divide. On the other hand, it is possible to envision a series of other slave societies, such as the French, the Dutch, the British in the Caribbean, and even to distinguish Buenos Aires, Lima, Bogotá, and México slaveries.

Given the historical and cultural variability present in post-Columbian, New World slavery, the best interpretive model is difficult to select. In this volume, we have chosen to include a variety of approaches, recognizing the diverse contribution of each of them. The archaeological study of slavery is still in its infancy, even if it has grown exponentially since the late 1960s. This small volume will be a success if it fosters further archaeological studies of the subject.

Chapter 2
Maroon and Leftist Praxis in Historical Archaeology

Daniel O. Sayers

Not long ago, an editor told me that there was no need in my submitted manuscript to include discussions of how brutal and oppressive enslavement was for those African Diasporans who endured it. This editor thought that such language was mere hyperbole and that everyone is aware of how awful enslavement was because it has been so well discussed. I remember thinking that this was an interesting opinion. In my submission, I was writing about the Maroons and other Diasporans of the Great Dismal Swamp (ca. 1607–1860) in the mid-Atlantic USA and the sites I have been working on for about a decade. And I thought that if there was ever a context for which assessments of the quality of life people experienced under enslavement were requisite to any reasonable narrative, this was it: people inhabited the swamp permanently because of those very horrid conditions they faced in the enslaving world outside the swamp. Also, I surmised that there is always a need to remind ourselves of what these modern modes of production and systems that we collectively have created, transformed, and eliminated do to us while we live within them. Finally, and more personally, I simply wanted to discuss lived social history in evocative terms and, as the author, I thought I sort of had that right. But, alas, some opinions have more weight than others and most reviewers independently agreed with the editor's ideas; meanwhile, my analytical temperament was to be more or less dismissed, chided even. Apparently, this sort of episode is not uncommon (Schmidt 2009, pp. 4–5).

The racialized social and political-economic world enslaved Africans had to contend with was inhumane, brutal, and alienating. And while enslaved Africans, and Indigenes, did find ways to dream, hope, laugh, develop friendships and close family bonds, and any host of "positive" experiences and states of being, those phenomena stand in extremely stark relief to the brutal, violent, and existentially constraining political economy and social world they found themselves born into. Whether in Brazil, Suriname, Mexico, Cuba, the US Deep South, or New York City,

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the systemic enslavement of people was malicious and something we should all collectively regret as being part of our history, not cast it aside as a passé observation. And, I do not think that the books and essays that draw our attention directly to this part of the past are doing a disservice to the readers thereof, the people of the past, or our collective recognition of banality of our evils and the commonality of our potential for inhumanity. Rather, consistently realizing the awfulness of enslavement, describing it in evocative though accurate terms, and exploring how people negotiated the difficult contours of that world serve a wider political purpose: to anger us, inform us of the past, and possibly temper our own collective future.

Activist practitioners of historical archaeology have long recognized the implications of underscoring and discussing the brutal conditions people of all walks and backgrounds have faced in order to bring to light the human capacities to overcome, sidestep, and undermine systemic maltreatments and depravities. As many practitioners have observed, with political approaches in archaeology comes a range of decisions that we must make collectively and individually, perhaps more so the latter. Being an activist, or engaged practitioner, or advocate for a group is no small matter or one to take as simply being a given aspect of what needs to be done without much thought as to consequences and impacts of our decisions and actions. We must consider the impacts of our research on current groups of people, we must contemplate indigenous and human rights, we must develop politically and socially important insights through our work, and we must consider various issues of possession and dispossession pertaining to the very archaeological collections we develop through fieldwork (Agbe-Davies 2007; Blakey 1997; Duke and Saitta 1998; LaRoche and Blakey 1997; Leone et al. 1987; Little and Shackel 2007; McDavid 1997; McGuire 2008; Stahlgren 2010; Stottman 2010).

Within this kind of professional evaluation, there is one family of issues that is particularly germane here. For example, how and why do we choose the sites on which we choose to work? What are the analytical, political, or other motivations that drive us down certain avenues of research and historical inquiry? Of course, there are many instances where our employment or other conditions essentially pick the sites for us: a mitigation project, a site discovery on the government-owned land for whom we work, and any host of other scenarios where a site or sites come to us, or so it might seem. But, for those of us who choose the sites at which we are going to work, and probably many cases where the sites we work at come to us, this family of questions is pretty pressing because it is at once political and potentially ideologically driven. And, the choices we make with regard to sites at which we work must be key elements of our individual praxis.

For Marx, praxis meant far more than simply "practice" or even "best practice." By praxis, he described human action and activity that was driven or guided by sustained intellectual critique of the wider world ("the relentless criticism of all existing conditions"; Patterson 2009, p. 59; also, Gadsby and Barnes 2010, p. 49; McGuire et al. 2005; Patterson 2009, pp. 57–63). Intellectual critique without action is only partially baked as is action without intellectually driven critique. And, the specific contours and forms one's praxeological critique takes are not all created equal: some are off base, some too abstract, and some are just simply inaccurate.

In another way, truly effective praxis is driven by an appropriately powerful and effective intellectual critique rather than one that simply gets one through the day. Meanwhile, the praxes that emerge from misguided critique, like some that emerge among liberal and conservative activists, suffer accordingly.

Not long ago, during the fall semester of 2011, I taught an upper-level undergraduate and graduate anthropology course of my own invention called "Leftist Anthropological Archaeology." I made the point at the outset that really, for all practical purposes, leftist archaeology does not really exist as a movement in our profession; liberalist archaeology, yes, but leftist, no. And, a large part of the course was establishing what a leftist archaeological movement might look like, and how can we contribute to its emergence.[1] So, at the outset, I provided several key questions that I thought might help us in developing this vision of a possible leftist archaeology. One key question was: Do we need to be politico-intellectually strategic in choosing the sites (and historical actors) we study? Or, is the study of anyone who ever lived potentially germane to developing leftist praxes in the profession? Second, what would a leftist archaeology look like, in its details, in its productivities? I ended up providing my answers to these questions as follows. We must be politically and praxeologically strategic when choosing the sites and historical actors we are to explore and critically evaluate; while every human who has ever existed was or is important on many levels, as are all social formations, developing historical knowledge about anyone and/or everyone is not necessarily germane to fomenting systemic transformation of capitalism in the present and near future. In another way, some sites and associated historical groups are more important to effective leftist praxis than are others. A leftist archaeology would involve the development of an international group or contingent of archaeologists who envisioned the praxeological power of archaeology in similar ways, with generally congruent visions of the importance of specific kinds of social formations and political-economic developments in our understanding how to proceed into our future.[2]

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[1] I also pointed out that there are very few people practicing leftist archaeology today, which follows of course, more or less, the fact that there is no leftist movement in the profession. This position begs for a definition of "leftist" because one person's left is another's liberal or even, occasionally, right. I ended up suggesting a simple definition of leftism: acting with the intent to help entirely transform the capitalist system or mode of production in order to create an egalitarian and novel mode(s) of production in which human beings live minimally alienated lives (in the Marxian sense). Meanwhile, liberalism is more like doing something within the system to make some or all people's lives qualitatively better than they are at present. The remaining political positions (e.g., centrist, right) are simply about individuals staying as comfortable and minimally importuned by their society and economy as is possible or conceivable—to put it nicely.

[2] After writing this essay, I had the pleasure of talking at length with LuAnn Wurst of Western Michigan University in the fall of 2013. It became clear in the course of our conversation that LuAnn and I had been lately thinking along very similar lines about many aspects of leftist archaeology and specifically the need for our developing strong national and international connections through conferences, consortia, and other means. I am indebted to LuAnn for helping me to clarify my thoughts on many issues pertaining to the Left and for revitalizing my hope in seeing a truly leftist archaeology emerge in the future.

As I will suggest in the following few sections, the exploration and specific angles of analysis of Maroon communities and the process of marronage can emerge as vital to a leftist movement or momentum in the field of historical archaeology. I have been archaeologically and historiographically studying Maroons in the USA for well over a decade, and while I would certainly not suggest that Maroons and only Maroons are potentially significant to a truly leftist historical archaeology, they do stand as historically important liberationists and revolutionaries.

Historical Maroons and Marronage

Historical Maroons, in contrast to contemporary Maroons who are descendants of the former, have typically been defined and described by scholars in whole or in part as "runaways," "fugitives," and/or "escaped slaves" (Aptheker 1939; Franklin and Schweninger 1999; Lockley 2009, pp. vii–xxi; Price 1996, p. 1). I define Maroons as people of African descent who self-extricated from the conditions of enslavement on temporary or permanent bases; I define it this way in order to avoid using the descriptive terms enslavers used while at the same time placing the power of self-removal where it should be, with Maroons themselves (Sayers 2012). Richard Price (1996, p. 3) provides a basic distinction between *petit* marronage, or short term or temporary self-extrication, and grand marronage, the permanent or indefinite self-extrication from enslavement. Typically, scholars of Maroons are most interested in the grand forms and episodes of marronage throughout the globe, though short petit forms or instantiations are by no means ignored entirely. In any event, grand marronage has been a focus in such research because so often individuals or families of Maroons would collectivize in remote parts of the modern world, beyond the immediate reach of colonial or republic enslavers, forming communities thus. And, once we recognize the emergence and persistence of communities, we then are plainly dealing with social formations, behaviors, and organizations. Meanwhile, marronage, as commonly as it is used in scholarship, remains somewhat under-defined. Price (1996, p. 1) defines or describes marronage as "flight." But, it is also clear that to most scholars it means much more than the act of flight (or self-extrication in my terms) from enslavement conditions. Marronage, rather, is a complex process of a global and local nature even if individuals who participated in it were not aware of all others participating in the same process: the phenomenon of hundreds of thousands of individuals marooning around the globe between ca. 1500 and 1900 manifested very locally in swamps, mountains, cities, maritimes, and in various nation-states. The Maroons of Palmares, Rio Real, Camamu, and Cachoeira in Brazil shared something with the Maroons of Nanny Town and Moore Town in Jamaica, Suriname, Martinique, Cuba, Mexico, Colombia, Fort Mosé, Pilaklikaha, and the Great Dismal Swamp in the now USA, Canada, and West Africa. Part of that which they shared were similar ideas on how to go about eliminating the conditions of thralldom that each individual experienced, through self-extrication. Additionally, their decisions led to the formations of various social groups (e.g., communities)

in most cases of grand marronage. At the same time, each context of marronage was historically contingent in nature, unique in appearance, and situated in local conditions. Finally, it must be noted that in all cases of grand marronage, people made, acquired, and used material culture, and within cultural landscapes, they created in the course of marooning—hence, most Maroons, in theory, left behind archaeologically detectable presences.

Understandably, Maroons have been a consistently referenced group within historical archaeologies of the African Diaspora for well over a couple decades (e.g., Agorsah 1994; Allen 2001; Deagan and McMahon 1995; Funari 1999, 2003; Leone et al. 2005; Nichols 1988; Singleton 1999; Singleton and Bograd 1995; Orser 1994, 1996; Orser and Funari 2001; Weik 1997, 2007, p. 319, 2009, 2012; White 2009; Wilson 2007). In the overarching discussion, generally speaking, the importance of Maroons as historical actors emerges along several lines, most of which overlap with others in some way or ways. Chief among the perceived significances of Maroons is their representing sustained novel African cultural and ethnic traditions, lifeways, and customs, or, in the same culture-focused anthropological vein, sustained and novel multiethnic or pluralistic cultural and ethnic lifeways and customs. This kind of cultural focus has long persisted in Maroon studies in anthropology, notably in the works of Herskovits (1990), Richard Price and Sally Price (Mintz and Price 1983; Price 1984, 1990, 2002; Price and Price 1980, 1999), and Kenneth Bilby (1981, 1997, 2005). Usually, when historical archaeologists focus on the cultural and ethnic dimensions of Maroon communities, groups, and polities (e.g., Palmares), key grounding concepts tend to be creolization and ethnogenesis (Funari 2007, pp. 360–367; Weik 2002, 2007, 2009), concepts that are also deeply rooted in wider anthropological discussions (Bilby 1984; Mintz and Price 1983; Price 1979, pp. 24–30). Meanwhile, resistance also tends to follow discussions of Maroons, indeed forming another central theme of the overall discussion (Orser and Funari 2001; Sayers 2004, 2006a; Sayers et al. 2007; Ogundiran and Falola 2007, pp. 31–34). In a recent work by Maroon sites archaeologist Terry Weik, resistance is foregrounded as a defining characteristic of marronage while also combining that recognition with ethnogenesian concepts and frameworks. For Weik, explorations of "antislavery resistance" through archaeology connect very explicitly with issues, like racism, cultural survival, and inequality by evidencing how "people of African descent sought to protect their human rights, escape from bondage, and combat exploitation" (Weik 2012, p. 1). It is clear that most archaeologists examining marronage and related phenomena would agree, more or less, with Weik's assessment (Agorsah 2007; Armstrong and Wurst 2003; Funari 2007; Nichols 1988; Ngwenyama 2007; Sayers 2004, 2012; Wilson 2007). The final major theme in Maroon studies is nationalism. Kofi Agorsah (2007, p. 333) suggests, "Maroon societies or 'runaways,' wherever they were, formed colonies of core communities that preserved their freedom and identity as pioneers in freedom fighting, after escaping from bondage in the New World and becoming the symbol of a special type of nationalism." Agorsah (2007, pp. 333–334) elaborates his view of Maroons, using terms evocative of a nationalist positioning, to describe Maroons around the globe as living "a purely

guerilla lifestyle," risking "their lives for freedom" having achieved "respect for human dignity," and forging political and cultural "alliances." Meanwhile, Maroons and Maroon leaders or figures have long been symbolic of fights against oppression and subjugations in many nations. In Brazil, the last leader of Palmares, Zumbi, has just this kind of nationalist meaning as does the site itself (Funari 2007, p. 360). In Suriname, Maroon leaders Baron, Jolicoeur, and Boni are significant nationalist figures (Thompson 2006, p. 315). The idea that Maroons represent freedom fighters, were vanguard forces in the fight against the tyrannies of oppressive enslavement and colonialism, and were key people in the emergence of a revolutionary consciousness is very common in much Maroon literature in general and has certainly helped shape our general conceptualization of marronage and its agents (Leaming 1979; Sayers 2012; Thompson 2006, pp. 315–322).

Of course, such interests in and perspectives on Maroons and marronage are perfectly compelling, justified, anthropologically relevant, and politically resonant. There are other areas, though, that can be of interest to the archaeologist of Maroons and marronage especially, perhaps, among those who seek to do socially transformative research from the Left. In particular, there are a few aspects of marronage that merit closer attention than they typically attract in historical, archaeological, and wider discussions.

For all of the amazing cultural complexity, ethnic variety, and socio-identificatory diversity that has been discerned across the historical world of Maroons—the nation-scale complexity of Palmares (Davidson 1996; Funari 2007), the art and decorated calabashes of the Saramaka (Price 1983; Price and Price 1999, pp. 203–236), the kinship systems among the Cottica Djuka in Surinam (Köbben 1996), and the historically contingent and unique experiences of Jamaican Maroons (Bilby 2005), to name a few—there are some underlying aspects of marronage and Maroon life that are critical to this discussion. First, most scholars would agree that all Maroons developed a kind of consciousness that ran counter to the broader racialized enslaving world's insistence on obedience, acquiescence, and conformity (Ogundiran and Falola 2007, pp. 32–33; Thompson 2006). For example, Richard Price has suggested that Maroons demonstrate the historical existence of a "slave consciousness" that was resistant to "white" enslaver's efforts to undermine and/or manipulate it (Price 1990, p. 2; full quote in Sayers 2012, p. 137). Individual Maroons possessed it and lived by it, and marronage was a real process that emerged from it. That form of consciousness, or acute awareness, emerged from the lived experiences of the oppressive, violent, and alienating conditions in the world of racialized enslavement, and apparent possibilities for changing those conditions. While enslavement varied regionally and locally around the globe during the historical era, it was a mode of production with certain consistent qualities or aspects, and as a result, a consistent and fundamental form of consciousness developed among many of the enslaved—and, an appreciable number of those possessed of such consciousness acted upon it. This realization leads to the second key point: marronage was a process born of the actions of individuals all of whom (or most) developed a historically contingent form of consciousness that was a sustained critique of the social and economic world in which they lived. The act of marooning, and all subsequent life spent as a Maroon or Maroons, was a direct

result of that consciousness-based critique. That critique compelled the hundreds of thousands of individuals, and their offspring in Maroon settlements and collectivities, to permanently self-extricate from a mode of production that they abhorred and found to be existentially and socially malicious. And, common among Maroons was awareness that the entire slavery system needed to be overthrown and destroyed (Thompson 2006, pp. 316–317). So, we can be comfortable saying that marronage was a historically contingent process or mode of praxis. Through marronage-as-praxis, Maroons contributed to the transformation and dissolution of a pernicious mode of production through which millions were enslaved, and in some cases, to new noncapitalistic modes of production (Sayers n.d.). It is also important to note that in many cases, the sustained critique of the enslavement system compelled Maroons to conclude that effective action required their physical removal from the system itself rather than work from within it to transform it. The modern leftist must be impressed with this historical form of praxis that in fact was highly successful across most of the modern historical centuries.

One last point that must be made is at the surface nearly trite. And that is that Maroons were market-valued possessions to the enslaving classes and the individuals who claimed social and legal ownership of a given Maroon. And, given that a significant aspect of the social and legal fact of human ownership of other humans was the labor provided by the enslaved in perpetuity, the self-extrication of that human and her labor capacity (and potential) represented a multifaceted loss for the enslaver. Not only the initial investment necessary to own the Maroon but also the food, products, services, offspring, and other valued results of their labor were taken away from enslavers each time someone marooned. Now, surely, Maroons were very much aware of this fact or result of their action, and we must consider the likelihood that this basic observation fed the form of consciousness necessary for marooning and marronage and thus Maroon praxis. Scholars often speak of the desire for freedom, the resistance of oppression, and control of one's destiny as grounding causes behind each individual's marooning (Agorsah 2007; Thompson 2006)—and such thoughts and ideas were no doubt common among Maroons. But, I suspect, that the critique of the world of enslavement also very much included the recognition of the critical role their presence and labor played in its perpetuation. By marooning, they hurt the system and individual purveyors thereof, while also entirely transforming their own lives in the process—and Maroons knew this.

So, Maroon communities and settlements were loci of ethnogenesian developments, unique cultural traditions, rich identity systems, vibrant arts and modes of expression, and resistance. Additionally, though, they were social and economic formations wherein and whereby individuals acting through the Maroon mode of praxis operationalized their critique by creating real social and economic conditions and formations that were closer to their ideal or idea of what their world should be. Labor, now their own, was acted out in the world in ways quite different than the now-distant enslavement system had made compulsory. So, in literature on Maroons, it is common to read of community-based subsistence and manufacturing practices among Maroons as well as limited notions of private property or individual ownership (Hall 1992; La Rosa Corzo 2003; Sayers 2008a; Thompson 2006,

pp. 239–251; Weik 2004). And yet, there is a general tendency for historical archaeologists to demonstrate that virtually no one in the modern historical world, including Maroons, lived without connections and various kinds of reliance upon the wider capitalistic systems, its markets, money, commodities, and institutions—everyone lived in entangled global modernity, within webs or tissues of multiscalar connectivity. For example, Ogundiran and Falola (2007, p. 34), in summarizing most Maroon sites work in general, state that "Maroon sites shared intensely in the everyday material life of colonial America as evident in the presence of imported pipes, buttons, pharmaceutical bottles, ceramic bowls, plates, cups, buckles, iron nails, gunflints, fragments of gun barrel, and musket balls. All these show that the Maroons participated in the colonial economy of their respective regions."

And, referring to early expectations that Maroon settlements would be important kinds of sites to explore "pristine" African cultural traditions and material culture, they continue: "The initial expectation that Maroon sites will necessarily preserve pristine and whole African material culture has given way to a more constructive quest to understand the dynamic nature of cultural interactions and syncretism that sustained Maroon communities" (Ogundiran and Falola 2007 p. 34). While in general, such a conclusion may be warranted from evidence across several Maroon sites, the overarching theme in historical archaeology, prevalent since the 1990s, that, basically, one could not and cannot escape the wrath and grip of modern capitalism—even, apparently, if you are self-extricating from one of its modes of production—is a bit gloomy and ominous, for me at least. Probably more important, though, is to ask if any archaeologists are actively seeking evidence for people having successfully removed themselves from the daily grip of capitalism by whatever name (e.g., colonialism, enslavement, or modern world). Are researchers even asking the question, Did Maroons largely eliminate or at least severely limit their reliance on the capitalistic world, its commodities and labor, and its consumerism? Or, is it always presumed that people had to have some interconnections and that a Ball clay tobacco pipe fragment or musket ball is an obvious indication of direct reliance upon or immersion in that capitalist world? Perhaps the regular focus on cultural and ethnic traditions in the Maroon archaeological record is compelling researchers into this, arguably, "constructive" avenue of inquiry—because we wish to find out about Maroon culture, and we are finding mass-produced global market items at their sites, and we are forced to see European or Western cultural influences within this community (see Christensen 2010, pp. 23–24). For my part, I am in fact asking such questions of Maroon settlements in the Dismal Swamp of North Carolina and Virginia, and the results of my work to date are showing a very different archaeological signature than those commonly found elsewhere (Sayers 2006a, b, 2007, 2008a, b, 2010, 2011, 2012; Sayers et al. 2007). At one swamp interior site, where a thriving diasporic, predominantly Maroon community was present, we have recovered primarily swamp-available material culture (ca. 95 % of 1600–1860 site assemblage), while only a small number of items in the assemblage (ca. 5 %) originated in the world beyond the swamp (e.g., white clay tobacco pipe fragments, clear glass microshards, British gunflint chips, and lead shots). And, I have marshaled this kind of evidence along with much other information to make a case for nearly 250 years

of highly effective praxis among Diasporans and Maroons of the swamp, effective enough to lead to the development of a heretofore unrecognized mode of production that stood in direct contradiction with the capitalistic modes of production dominant in the immediate world beyond the swamp (Sayers n.d.). In any case, I think we can certainly begin to ask different kinds of questions from site assemblages given the known basic motivations behind sustained marronage; if we find appreciable quantities of mass-produced commodities at a given Maroon site, in some cases they very well may represent something other than reliance of the capitalistic world and its damnable unevadable grasp.

Some Implications of the Praxis Focus

I argue that focusing on Maroon praxis rather than culture, ethnicity, ethnogenesis, creolization, cultural syncretism, and even resistance, compels a researcher to develop a differently productive point of view in their analysis. Guided by this view, we can extrapolate, generally, that any given Maroon site was occupied by people who were driven to that exact location out of an intellectualized critique of the system of enslavement, and a compulsion to personally transform their daily lives in positive ways through development and participation in controllable social formations. As a result, we can be comfortable in thinking that Maroon communities (*quilombos, palenques, rancherias, mambises, cumbes,* etc.) as novel social formations emerged directly from praxis rather than, say, capital flow and investment, strategic economic location, or simple migration which played roles in the origins of many communities throughout the modern historical world. And, of course, any social formation that persists does so because of the people who comprise it and through their daily work, actions, and relationships. So, we then ask, if a specific critique of the enslavement system drove the praxeological action of Maroons, what kind of social and economic world did they (try to) create upon marooning? And, I think it is relatively safe to say that Maroons did not simply recreate the enslavement system, and they probably did not commit to a life of swamp, mountain, or jungle living *solely* to express their beliefs, spiritualities, and social customs in ways that they wanted. Rather, I think the critique of enslavement that drove Maroon praxis was equally focused on the violence of labor, the elimination of control over the products of one's labor, the limited control over one's body, family, and community, and the limited control over the food one ate. And, so, I think many Maroon communities would have been organized and structured in ways very different to those of the enslaving world—community subsistence, community self-reliance, limited degrees of social ranking, production of material culture for personal and community use, etc. Additionally, I suspect that many Maroons were perfectly capable of conceptually connecting the commodities of the wider world and the enslaved laborers that produced many of them. A common characteristic of Maroon communities would have been either eschewing the commodities of the outside world as much as was possible in a given context or, more complicated perhaps, outside world materials and commodities would have been

perceived and utilized in contemporarily unexpected ways if they made their way into a given Maroon community. So, the recovery of modern world commodities at Maroon sites may not simply speak to the entanglements of reliance on colonialism or the enslavement system among Maroons, and they certainly do not necessarily speak to continued Western, colonial, or European cultural influences on Maroons living within a community or other social formation. Maroons, in many cases, may not have found their "Achilles' heel" (Price 1990, p. 12) to have been the absolute need or reliance on the modern capitalistic world and its commodities, like firearms, as some scholars have argued (Lockley 2009, p. xxi; Thompson 2006, pp. 14–15). Perhaps, for example, Maroons acquired such modern materials well down the trade line—an indirect reliance at best and likely more an indication of trade convenience than anything else. Or, maybe some intentionally acquired such goods for symbolic reasons, to be used in community rituals (e.g., destroy the transfer-printed vessel and symbolically destroy exploitative labor regimes). Finally, acquisition of such commodities may have been strategic on the part of Maroons—they helped maintain strong trade relations with local indigenous populations, for example, who helped keep colonial enslavers away. In such scenarios, simply assuming the presence of commodities indicates Maroon reliance on the globalized market and its exploitative labor regimes, without any thought to how such an attitude on their part would be pretty contradictory to their critique that drove them to Maroon initially, may be problematic (see Christensen 2010, pp. 23–24; Little 1997).

Implications of Marronage for Leftist Archaeologies

From Marx down through to the present, leftists have characteristically sought ways to transform the capitalist mode of production or system or fundamental aspects of it (Baritz 1971, pp. vii–xiv; Marable 1983, pp. 255–263; Schecter 2007; Zinn 1980). Marx (1906, 1989, 1998) sought elucidation on how the future noncapitalist world would come to be and how it would appear through exploration of historical of modes of production as well as the relatively recent historical development of the capitalist mode of production. Historical archaeologists of the Left may seek to develop a praxis that can contribute to wider contemporary critiques of and transformative efforts within the modern capitalist mode of production (McGuire 2002, 2008). Following Marx's lead, we historical archaeologists can look for insight into how to proceed to our future through our explorations of the past. While one may wish to think that any site, any group of people, and any context could in theory help in such a project, I think we can refine our search, as it were, and seek out specific moments and groups in modern history who were successful, or even partially successful, in accomplishing the very thing we are trying to achieve for our future—systemic transformation. Though there may be other processes groups, and contexts through which to praxeologically engage our craft in this way, it is within the process of marronage, and among people we call Maroons, that we certainly can recognize many examples of highly successful praxis. In many instances, Maroons did not

so much work within the system to change it from within—though insurrections and wars involving Maroons often had this kind of flavor. Rather, Maroons left the modern capitalistic enslavement system altogether and developed their own new communities, economic systems, and, in some cases, like the Great Dismal Swamp Maroons, their own modes of production. This is a very important insight from the past: efforts at systemic transformation can be successful, though we need not solely look for social agents of systemically internal transformations.

We do not necessarily need to see an exact template for how to proceed in our future in Maroons and marronage. For example, we today do not need to necessarily physically self-extricate to swamps, jungles, and mountains in order to transform the system—or to create a new one. But, we can look for ideas on how to proceed through our detailed study of the daily lives of Maroons, their communities, and their labors. Their praxis can inform our own; in the most important sense, we can learn how to transform the modern world from them, though, like them, we live currently in a contingent social and political-economic world. So, perhaps we begin to recognize how *crucial* it is to take back the products of our own labor from capitalists who appropriate them from us via wages, systemic pressures, and/or coercion. Through Maroons, we can see how important it is to live in communities, to labor through our compulsions to maintain not just ourselves but the group with which we so strongly identify. Maybe some important ideas on how to transform our local social relations and groups can be derived from specific Maroon sites study. Also, self-reliance within our own groups may be quite significant in dramatically transforming the modern capitalistic world and our consumerism within it. There will be important insights, many probably not predictable, from Maroon- and marronage-related sites if we look for it and develop our praxis-driven research questions to ask of their praxis-derived archaeological record.

If we wish to get a glimpse of what a noncapitalist mode of production would look like, were it to eventuate, we can begin to examine closely the kinds of social and economic worlds that Maroons made for themselves, and we will likely find some solid examples. But, it is important to recognize that while all Maroons shared a similar critique, praxis, and type of consciousness, across the decades and generations, Maroon groups dealt with local conditions, individual personalities, differing kinds of landscapes and degrees of remoteness, and a variety of twists of fate that may very well have helped define the character of a given Maroon community or collective. In short, not all Maroon communities and formations appeared the same or had similar histories despite their common original praxes. Thus, depending on what our praxis suggests to us, some Maroon groups were more successful than others. Some Maroon societies did eventually develop strong ties with the very same enslaving and colonialist world whence they had self-extricated (Parris 1981; Thompson 2006, pp. 265–322). Or, in other cases, warfare and militaristic engagements with that wider enslaving world were defining characteristics (Price 1984, 1990, pp. 5–12). Still in others, individual leaders or figureheads, like Ball in Dominica, Gaspar Yanga of Cofre de Perote, and Grandy Nanny of Jamaica, emerged that strongly influenced the way the community or society was organized or structured, contributing to the unique histories of those settlements (Aptheker 1939; Bilby 2005; Thompson 2006,

pp. 194–195). Meanwhile, some Maroon societies and communities were relatively short-lived, while others, like those of the Great Dismal Swamp, persisted for generations and centuries (Sayers 2008a). But, whatever the specifics of a given Maroon society's historical trajectory, it is certain that within marronage and Maroon histories that we will locate examples of effective radical praxis.

Denouement

Two ideas can be laid out here at the outset of this concluding discussion. First, Henri Lefebvre (1991, p. 130, quoted in Schecter 2007, p. xi) stated that "The only real critique was and remains the critique of the left. Why? Because it alone is based upon knowledge." Second, left radicalism has had some successes, but it has had, likely, far many more failures as evidenced by the fact that capitalism is still here, alive, well, and as alienating and oppressive as it has ever been (see Baritz 1971). Lefebvre underscores the importance of praxis to left radicalism—the constant knowledge-based critique of everything being a driving force in leftist thought and action. And yet, we must recognize how many generations have provided only a minority of leftists who have carried on the praxeological tradition, some with local and immediate impacts but many more who failed to meet their transformative goals in spite of real action in their world.

Archaeologists who adopt a left agenda and constituting praxes are taking on what may appear to some as a quixotic mission: the odds are very much against, it would seem, the kind of world-transforming developments we seek occurring in our lifetimes. Many may think it is even more unlikely that our archaeological work could make substantial contributions to any such transformations. But, we must hope and, much more importantly, work hard at fomenting and contributing to such transformations through our chosen craft—Marx was as hopeful and effective as anyone has ever been, and so we must hope and work to make our praxis-driven efforts socially significant and transformational. But, again, the critical aspect of such possibilities is our paying very close attention to how we develop and make manifest our praxes throughout our lifetimes.

Praxis does come up, often enough at any rate, in historical archaeological discussions. But, most often, it is discussed in terms of our professional and "activist" capacities as archaeologists. Far less commonly discussed is the idea of searching for the archaeological evidence of past praxes. While nearly every other phenomenon under the historical sun has been a focal point of research in the decades since historical archaeology first emerged, the archaeological exploration of past social forms of praxis, *as such,* has seen limited interest in the profession (though see Christensen 2010, pp. 22–24). Even more glaringly problematic, few researchers have asked of social history, what examples are there of effective, world-transformational praxes? How did those people do it? How did they undermine this modern system, or critical aspects of it, through deliberate critique-based action? As a result of such questions not being asked, it is not common that archaeologists interrogate effective praxes of

the past in order to form our own contemporary and future praxes. I think the above suite of questions needs to be asked, and asked often. If these kinds of questions are asked of the past, then we realize that not all sites and historical actors are equally significant to the development of future transformational praxes among historical archaeologists. Why? Because, only a numerical minority of past people developed praxis-driven lifeways and actions in modern history.

Maroons are not important historical figures *solely* because they resisted oppressions, developed syncretic cultural traditions, maintained some elements of ancient African ideas and spiritualities, and/or formed culturally and ethnically pluralistic communities and societies. In addition to these kinds of qualities, I am convinced that they developed a historically contingent mode of praxis that was, in many instances, extremely effective in undermining and transforming the world in which they lived. And marronage, a process in modern world history that emerged directly from countless individual praxeological actors, was a most crucial process in the eradication of the modern capitalistic enslavement system. Maroons were definitive radicals, and the world, and some of its archaeological record, bears the imprint of their praxes (Sayers 2012). We historical archaeologists who decide to continue the likely quixotic leftist tradition of aiming radically to transform the capitalist system can learn from these incredible people, though not simply to tell their story to a world that has largely forgotten them or to make some people living today feel good and proud about their ancestors and themselves—though these are important results of work to be sure. Rather, by excavating the tools Maroons made and used, by mapping the residues of the cabins and palisades they created, by feeling in our own hands the soils they lived upon, and developing potentially consciousness-changing interpretations of their lives, we can surely make our praxes all the more effectively transformative tomorrow. We must learn from historical Maroons and other radical self-liberationists and community liberationists. From them, we just may find enlightenment on how to forge our world's future.

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Chapter 3
Archaeology of Slavery in the Province of Neiva, Colombia

María Angélica Suaza Español

This chapter is part of a research in historical archaeology that I started 15 years ago, with which I intend to know the contributions of Africans and their descendants who came as slaves to the province of Neiva. In Huila, a department located in the south of Colombia, South America, according to its historiography, the presence of black people in the colonial period and even more their contributions in shaping the society and culture of Huila was denied (García 1935, p. 315; Tovar 1998, p. 5). To document and demonstrate the presence of Africans and their descendants in the province of Neiva, I resorted to the review of files, mainly legal, and the archaeological work on two colonial haciendas, namely Bateas in the municipality of Villavieja and Tune in the municipality of Palermo. This was conducted as a master's degree thesis of history at the Universidad Nacional de Colombia and funded by the National Archaeological Research Foundation (Fundación de Investigaciones Arqueológicas Nacionales—FIAN).

Nueva Granada and the Province of Neiva

The territory of what is now the Republic of Colombia was known during the colonial period as the Viceroyalty of Nueva Granada: "It was independent of the great colonial economic systems [. . .] and emerged as a separate territory and distinct with its own personality" (McFarlane 1997, p. 17). From the time of conquest, Nueva Granada took shape as a mosaic of regions, "separated from the others by long distances and difficult terrain, and distinguished by cultural differences arisen on variations in the local mix of Europeans, Indians and Africans" (ibid., 62). One of them was the province of Neiva. Later in the colonial period when institutions had been

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Fig. 3.1 Province of Neiva.
S. XVIII. (Cited by Clavijo
2005, p. 425)

consolidated, a new stage of trade began with culturally and geographically separate
societies. These connections and trade links with Europe and Africa were part of an
economic system imposed by Europe, in such a way that "As part of the same overall
system, traditional societies (on the 'periphery') used their labor for the benefit of,
and sent valuable products to the modern societies (at the core). To make this system
work, Europeans (at the core) had to construct an ideology to rationalize it" (Orser
2002, p. 410). The province of Neiva was created in 1610, under the guidance of the
royal court in its colonizing strategy, and as peripheral zone, it was inserted to the
new conditions introduced by the Spanish crown in the great world trade, including
the slave trade (Fig. 3.1).

   Although the province of Neiva did not handle direct trade relations with Europe
and Africa, as peripheral territory was linked to other markets of the New Kingdom.
In fact, the trade was not only focused on markets to which Neiva provided meat,
skins, and fodder, such as Santa Fe, Popayan, and Quito, but its scope was broader.
So, cities such as Cartagena, villages such as Honda and Mariquita, and towns such as
La Mesa de Juan Diaz were important supplying and trading centers for this province
(Fig. 3.2).

Fig. 3.2 Map of Huila, former province of Neiva. (Taken from www.igac.gov. co/wps/portal/igac/raiz/iniciohome/mapasdecolombia)
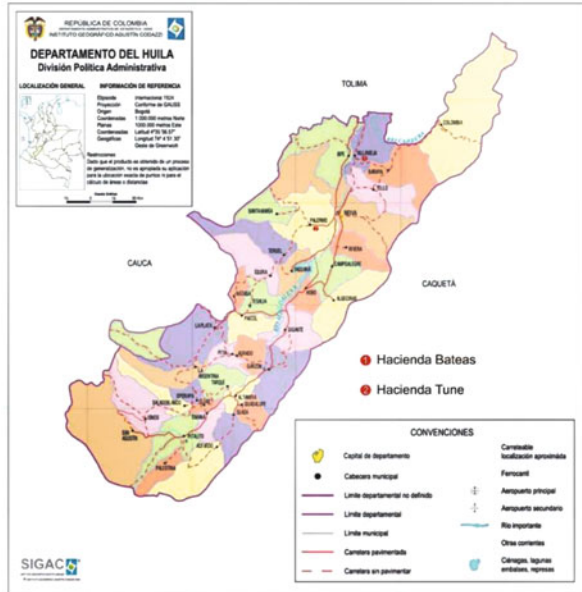
The trade with Quito and Popayan consisted not only of cattle, connected to this trade, but also other economic interests that hung, benefited, and produced extra income to the cattle traders: trade of goods, both from the kingdom (Spain) and *Productos de La Tierra*[1] around New Granada and Peru, also the gold of Popayan. With regard to the buying and selling of slaves, this commercial relationship between the province of Santa Fe Neiva, Popayan, and even cities like Cartagena was notorious (Suaza 2007, pp. 49–58).

Slaves in the Province of Neiva

As a result of the traumatic demographic decrease at the end of the sixteenth century and at the beginning of the seventeenth century and in view of the need of manpower for the hacienda, Indians from other regions are brought into this territory (Salas 1997, p. 35). Moreover, the owners of the haciendas throughout the colonial age used the slave labor in order to consolidate their business (Suaza 2007). The introduction of slaves into the province occurred gradually with the colonization of the territory, and although their number was not comparable in provinces like Cartagena and Popayan, there is evidence of their presence at least since 1544 (Tovar 2005, p. 237). Later, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, slaves came from the mining area of

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[1] Productos de La Tierra: Products and goods produced in the viceroyalties of Peru and New Granada, the latter that is at present as follows: Colombia, Venezuela, Panama, and Ecuador.

Remedios with Don Diego de Ospina, the founder of Neiva (Brugardt 1993, cited in Clavijo 2005, p. 329), and the consolidation of the hacienda quickly began to be brought in to work in several activities (Suaza 2007, p. 103).

A particular feature is that through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the slave population serving in the haciendas was constituted mainly by mulattoes; in fact, miscegenation was so dynamic in this province that at the end of the eighteenth century, there were "white" mulattoes (Suaza 2007, p. 210).

The Slaves in the Haciendas

In the province of Neiva in the eighteenth century, the hacienda was the dominant socioeconomic unit. There were two types of haciendas: farm and livestock. The enlargement of cocoa crops produced in the regions of Timaná and Neiva and the expansion of the demand for cattle in the extra-regional market, which was due to population growth throughout the New Kingdom, put pressure to expand the haciendas in number and size.

The hacienda became a contact zone between the Indians, Spanish, and blacks. So, paraphrasing the Mary Louise Pratt contact zone is:

> To the space of the colonial encounters, the space in Which geographically and historically separated peoples eat into contact With Each Other and Establish Ongoing relations, usually we Involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict. (Pratt 1992, p. 6)

The haciendas acted as sociocultural scenarios where blacks, whites, and Indians broke and rearranged their cultural symbols based on a new coding of representations through which cultures are understood (Borja 1998, p. 126), creating new cultures and identities.

The type of the hacienda population was made up of its white owners, tenants, *concertados,* and farm laborers; within this group, there were poor whites, Indians, mestizos, mulattoes, and slaves. As many slaves as Indians, mestizos, mulattoes, and other dependents of the hacienda carried out duties related to specific activities related to livestock and the cultivation of cacao. However, the slaves, besides being specialized in these activities, had to deal with and meet the needs of sugar mill, household chores, and, of course, handicrafts.

Slaves-Artisans in Farms

According to Roger Bastide (1979, p. 60), during the colonial period in the New World, "whites did not want to dirty their hands," leading to the handcraftsmanship remain in the hands of blacks. This idea is reinforced by Morner, who claimed that he is clear, "the repugnance of the Spanish to do manual labor necessarily lead to dark

Fig. 3.3 Brickworks in the Hacienda Tune. (Photography by Angélica Suaza; taken by Suaza 2007, p. 138)

skinned people to be put into guilds despite segregationist efforts [. . .] Sometimes only people with African Blood were excluded [. . .]"[2] (Morner 1969, p. 68).

In this way, the slaves in the haciendas carried out different tasks, among others, as shoemakers and hatters. A mulatto slave in 1769 was a shoemaker,[3] and the other mulatto, slave too, Juan de Escobar, in 1739, held the office of hatter officer.[4]

Work in Brickworks

Bricks, tiles, and floor tiles (according to the excavations done in Bateas and Tune) were manufactured in brickworks, which were raised and strategically embedded in the slopes or hillocks near rivers that were in the ownership of the haciendas (Magdalena in Bateas and Bache in Tune), since it allowed obtaining water faster and with less physical effort, which was essential for this work. Moreover, the clay and its degreaser were extracted within the same hacienda in areas designated for that purpose and located in the vicinity of the brickworks (Fig. 3.3).

In the excavation of the brickworks in the Hacienda Tune, it was determined that this was only used for baking bricks tiles and floor tiles of the house, and no archaeological evidence was found related to the firing of utilitarian pots, indicating that this work had to be done somewhere else.

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[2] Translation into English.
[3] Archivo Histórico del Huila, hereafter AHH, Book 24, 1768–1772, Fol. 22v a 24r.
[4] AHH, Book 100, 1733–1741, Fol. 51v a 54v.

Potters

Archaeological evidence found in the haciendas of Bateas and Tune reflects the cultural recombination between different groups that inhabited the hacienda. The information is obtained from written sources such as wills and inventories; the material culture related to the kitchen is fragmented and only pots are documented, to which the Spanish gave monetary and trading value. There is no doubt that, as Pratt (1992) states, within the image created by Europeans about America, the cultural aspects of blacks and Indians were subordinated too, and these aspects included the material culture.

In the haciendas of Bateas and Tune, most of the utilitarian pots were of local production. Based on these findings, it can be generalized that the inhabitants of the province of Neiva primarily used pots manufactured in their properties for cooking, storing, loading, and eating. For merchants, bringing pottery and crockery of European origin to the province of Neiva was too difficult. The tour was too strenuous and risky. From Cartagena, they set off by the Canal del Dique until the Magdalena River, which was navigable until the port of Honda. From this port, they took the way on mule trains, up to Santa Fe, and from there again on mule trains, and they followed the way south to the city of Neiva.

At the dawn of the seventeenth century, the area around the province was dangerous for the lying in wait of Pijaos, Andaquíes, and Paez Indians, and at the end of the century, and with the reduction and annihilation of Indians, this situation did not represent any setback for traders. But over the whole colony, the uneven and steep geography of Nueva Granada represented a major obstacle to trade. In fact, crossing rivers, some of them wide and dangerous as the Rio Grande de la Magdalena, caused the death of traders. This explains why few pottery shards were found coming from other places, and even the glazes were rare and only five earthenware jug fragments were found in both Bateas and Tune. The metal pots, and the ones that were usually included in wills, extended the household items and crockery, among others. There were copper pans, large dishes, bedpans, copper braziers, washbowls and Pastuso cups, among others.

The archaeological investigation determined that for the development of the pots related to eating, cooking, storing, and loading, slaves brought their knowledge and along with the Spanish and the Indians, adapted new pots emerged from cultural interaction. To establish the African contribution in pottery work, it was first defined by the type of Indian pottery present in the area before and during the conquest to be able to establish changes in the typologies. Second, the ceramic forms used by the Spanish in their homeland were established.

Galeano (1989) conducted an archaeological investigation in the area near the Hacienda Bateas on the mouth of the Tatacoa brook in the Magdalena River. The archaeologist identified an Indian tradition that handled globular forms (pots) and bowls, with a characteristic decoration based on triangular-shaped incisions, and incision of lines and points, and also pottery with black and red paint. This decorative tradition of the natives of this area (Totoyoes, Doches, and even Pijaos) limited not
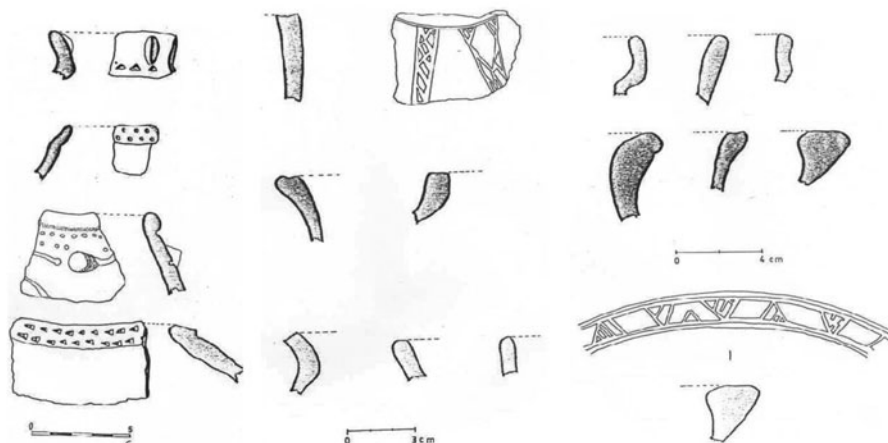
Fig. 3.4 Indian tradition. (Taken from Galeano 1989)

only to the incisions but also to applications with which various figures were shaped on the outside of the pot (Fig. 3.4).

The archaeological evidence, product of archaeological excavations carried out in Bateas and Tune, indicates that Indian styles of decoration on pottery almost disappeared. However, globular forms continue to be part of the material culture of the hacienda, together with new decorations and new forms. In fact, Indian knowledge of the habitats of the province must have provided an advantage in the domain of clays and techniques for making pottery, which is remarkable in the manufacturing technique; in both Bateas and Tune, it was mainly coiling and low-firing temperatures. This is a tradition of Indian communities that remained despite the contact (Therrien 2002, p. 38).

The archaeological record showed the presence of new forms and decorations for the colonial period. Pots were made with Spanish and Indian forms, and a new element emerged, absent in the pottery before the conquest, consisting of applications at the edges of the pots. This same feature has been found in archaeological investigations done in Cartagena (Crespo tradition; Therrien 2002, p. 49). Likewise, Meyers associates the applied decorations of the Crespo tradition pots with the pots from African Gold Coast and Port Royal Yabba (Jamaica):

> This is interpreted as evidence that the West African pottery traditions were not only unknown to the Caribbean colonies, but they were also related. According to the findings by Meyers, African designs present in the materials Crespo de Cartagena would be applied decoration, consisting of small rolls of wet clay applied to the surface with the thumb and forefinger, forming bumps or undulations in the ridge, and the printing or embossing stamp, which consists of a pressure seal on the soft and wet clay using a tool which can be carved in metal, stone or wood.[5] (Meyers 1999, cited by Therrien 2002, p. 49)

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[5] Translation into English.

Fig. 3.5 Pottery fragments with applications on the edges. Hacienda Bateas y Hacienda Tune. (Photograph by Angélica Suaza; taken by Suaza 2007, p. 169)

Now, according to the comparison between some ceramic evidence found in Cartagena and the province of Neiva (Bateas and Tune), the similarity found was not only on applications on the edges but also on the type of material used for manufacturing. This tradition is characterized by a sandy texture, with brown exposed inclusions and often with gray or black core with smoothed outer surface (Fig. 3.5).

As a conclusion, according to the tradition of pottery from Bateas and Tunes, black and mulatto potters and ceramicists made pots with Spanish, Indian, and possibly African forms, contributing with its particular stamp consisting of applications on the edges of the pots. This type of decoration was present in different pots that made up the dishes such as globular pots, bowls, basins, chamber pots, and pans. The decoration on the pans was not exclusive to this region, as mentioned by Therrien (2002) in Cartagena, "ceramic pans become ordinary, which are often added with an extra roll of clay stuck to the edge that is decorated pressing it with your fingers. Possibly, the most visible variations obey the African traditions influence" (Therrien 2002, p. 49) (Fig. 3.6).

The manufacturing process of pottery within the haciendas in the province of Neiva shows the cultural recombination process, indicating a cultural selection and use of two or more elements of two or more cultures within the same personal behavior to get more efficient social action (Fig. 3.7).

The adoption and lifestyles creation by the inhabitants of the hacienda are reflected in the material culture, and highlight the various negotiations that were due to the choice and preference of rules and behaviors. Archaeological evidence in regard to the group formed by blacks and mulattoes shows cultural resistance manifested in creative responses in the elaboration of pots. In this way, culture manifests as creative energy and as a force that acts both on their particular heritage, according to
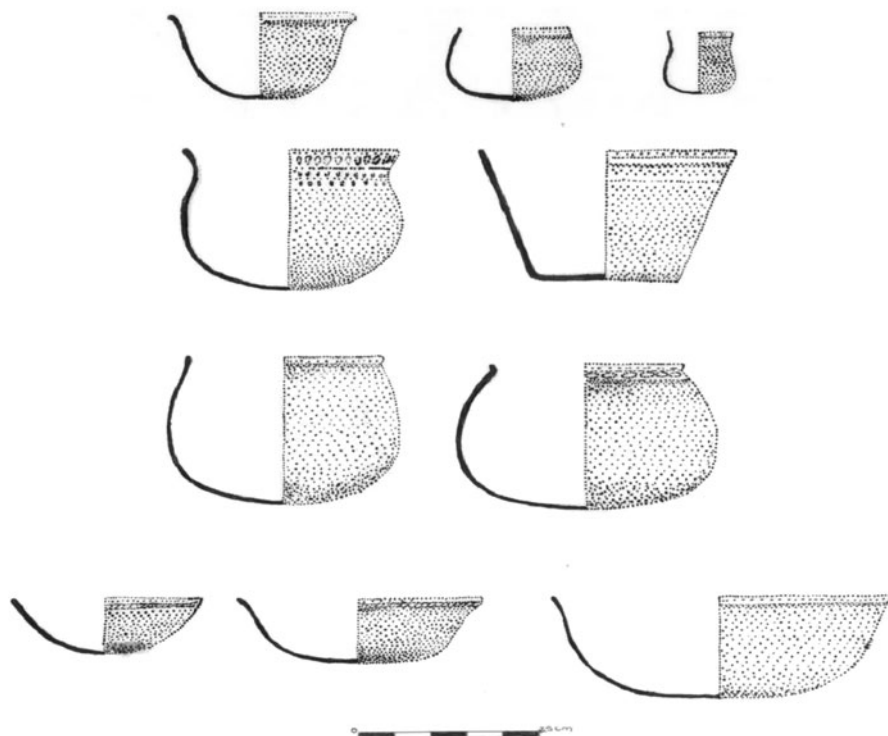
Fig. 3.6 Tune-style colonial period. (Taken by Suaza 2007, p. 167)

the conditions typical of its development, as well as the contributions from outside (Rama 1985, p. 34). Then, these applications on the edges of the pots suggest a strong identity component of blacks and mulattoes. Well, as stated by the anthropologist Gregory Bateson (1976, p. 7), "we create the world we perceive, not because there is a reality outside our heads, but because we select and remodel the reality we see to conform it to our beliefs about the kind of world we live in."[6]

Dwelling

In the archaeological excavation at Hacienda Bateas excavation unit 4 (EU-4), it was possible to find the foundation of the house of the slaves. The oral tradition of the location was preserved within the memory of workers and managers who lived in the hacienda for a long time, and so it was possible to find the place and foundations of the old house (see Figs. 3.8 and 3.9). The construction technique and style of the

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[6] Translation into English.

Fig. 3.7 Bateas-styles colonial period. (Taken by Suaza 2007, p. 163)
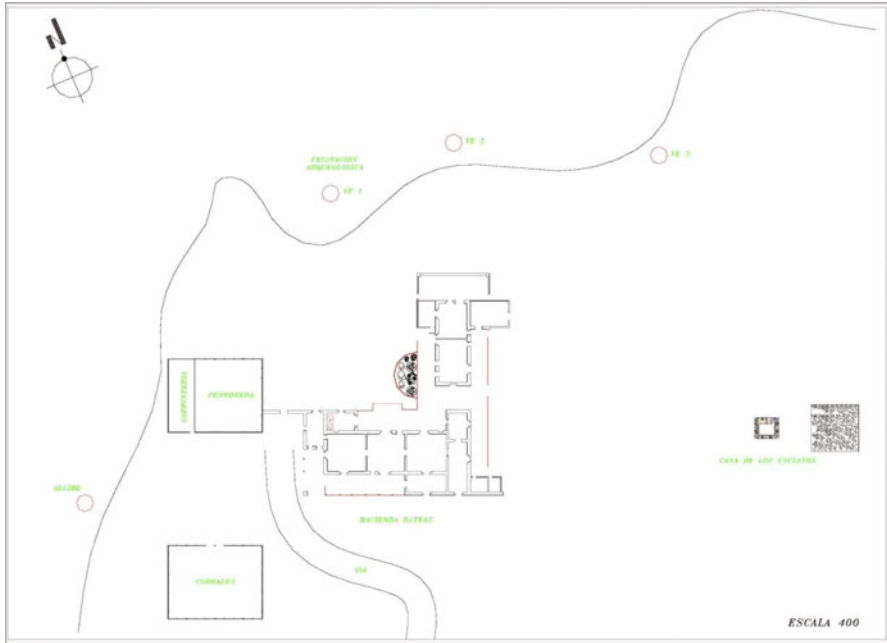
Fig. 3.8 Hacienda Bateas plan. **a** Jesuit houses plant. **b** Slaves house. **c** Stoned house slaves. **d** Manger. **e** Carpentry. **f** Farmyards. **g** Cistern. **h** Garbage dump (EU-1). **i** EU-2. **j** EU-3 drafting of the plans: Architect Julieth Rojas Villalba. EU, excavation unit. (Taken by Suaza 2007, p. 183)

Fig. 3.9 Foundations of the house of slaves and pavings. (Photograph by Angélica Suaza; taken by Suaza 2007, p. 182)

main house of the hacienda were designed in Spanish architectural patterns. Here the interaction between cultures should have been rich, if it is true that the construction technique was Spanish, and the Indians knew much better the goodness of the land in this province to obtain best clays in the manufacture of tiles, bricks, and floor tiles, as well as in the acquisition of reeds for mooring beams.

Fig. 3.10 Black family
house. Richmond, Virginia.
Second half, century XIX.
Cook collection, Valentine
Museum, Richmond. (Cited
by Kelso 1984, p. 32)

In the house of slaves, the archaeological remains such as pottery, metal, or other objects were minimal, possibly due to the custom still observed among the ladies in charge of housework of the hacienda houses to sweep yards constantly, and take out the trash to the place set aside for that use.

Eastward of the house of slaves, a paving was found. Unlike the Jesuit house, it was built not only with stones but with traces of bricks, which made it look not as uniform as the paving surrounding the main house. This house was probably the place used to dry corn of parcels owned by the black slaves in this hacienda.

Comparing the Jesuits' 'house with slaves', the last one was too small compared to the big house. According to archaeological studies from other countries, this type of construction was common among slaves. William (1984, p. 28) conducted a research in the Kingsmill Plantation in Virginia. This archaeologist suggests that some slaves implemented African designs and construction techniques in their houses. This claim is supported by comparing the size of the houses of slaves with African houses (Yoruba, Nigeria), just like with houses of black families that survived in the second half of the nineteenth century in Virginia, USA (Figs. 3.10 and 3.11).

Kelso (1984), based on the dimensions of the houses of slaves found in archaeological excavations, which were 10×10 m and 12×12 m, infers that this dimension is predominantly an African trait which would reflect the African cultural preference, although the design of the house was Anglo. "In other words. These small buildings with their tiny rooms were Peak Gust were in Africa, the culturally defined space beyond an African which would feel uncomfortable" (Kelso 1984, p. 28).

On the other hand, Roger Bastide (1979, p. 60) suggests that Maroon tradition of Recife (Brazil): The houses are rectangular in shape as opposed to the round houses of Indians living on the periphery of the fences; this preference for the rectangular form on the part of the black Maroons is evident in drafting of plans and maps of the houses found in the archaeological investigations conducted by Schwartz in the Quilombos de Palmares (1987; Fig. 3.12). Also De Queiros, referring to the slave

Fig. 3.11 Yoruba house in Nigeria. Century XX Vlach, 1978. (Cited by Kelso 1984, p. 29)

quarters of the slaves in colonial Brazil, reinforces the concept on the preference of the rectangle in the houses of the slaves.

> Of fundamental importance was the solidarity that stemmed from the slave's working life. Normally, 80–100 salves, mostly adult men, worked together on an engehno. All lived together in the senzala, a large, rectangular, one-story building along which ran a covered gallery. Each dormitory had a single window that opened onto the gallery; often this window was incorporated into the door, the upper part of which could be left open. The master's house, or "big house", dominated the senzala. (De Queiros 1986, p. 116)

In Bateas, the house that by oral tradition is associated with the slaves responds to the same parameter and even bears resemblance to the Yoruba house that appears in Fig. 3.11. The house of the slaves found in Bateas has measurements of 5.10 × 4.25 m, on the outside, having the paving as reference. In its inner part, it measures 3.55 × 2.65 m. Seen as a very small house, with dirt floors (see Fig. 3.13). Its walls should have been made of *bajareque* or board, and a thatched roof, a feature that may be common for Africans. This feature is repeated in places like South Carolina in the USA, where after archaeological studies, analyzing the development of housing of the slaves, the archaeologists argue that for:

> 1800 African American Houses Appear To Have evolved from African-style structures to houses With Some European features, nevertheless, continued to be small dwellings with most activities taking place in the yard-distinctive West African traits. (Ferguson 1992, p. 67)

Basically, the slaves adapted and developed new concepts based on African ancestral knowledge, "elaborated on what was already transforming an old system to assign a new function by combining different systems to build a new one"[7] (Jacob 1981, p. 72).

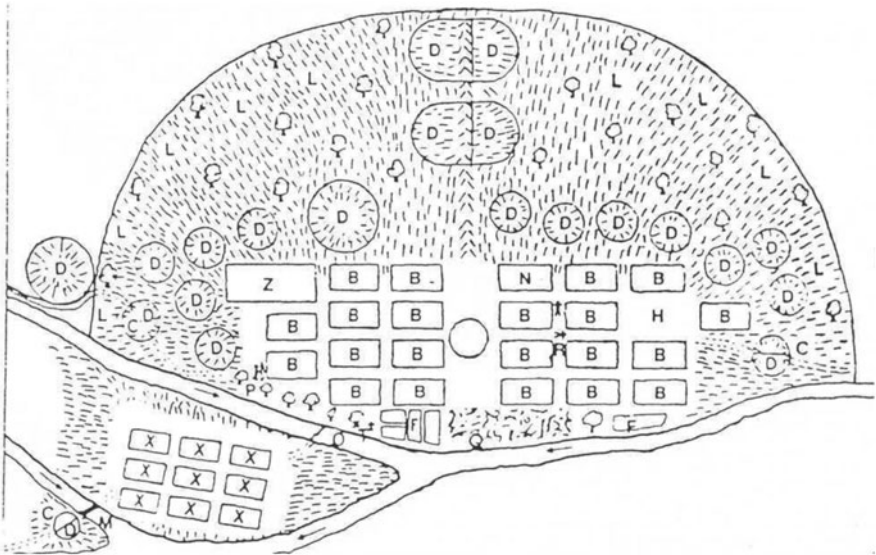[7] Translation into English.

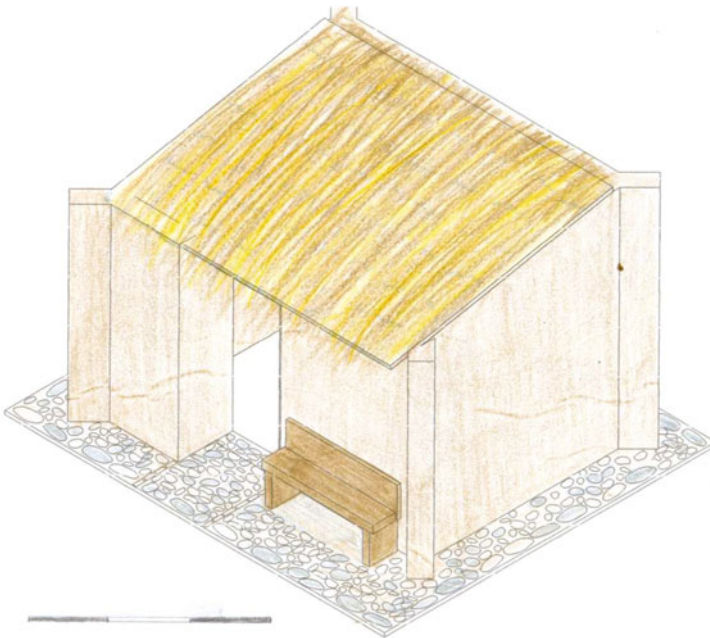**Fig. 3.12** Buraco de Tatu, 1763. (Taken from Schwartz 1987, p. 73)

Fig. 3.13 House of slaves. Drafting of the plans: architect Julieth Rojas Villalba. (Taken by Suaza 2007, p. 187)

Thus, it is likely that slaves may have made decisions in regard to the design of their houses in the province of Neiva.

The Hacienda Bateas consisted of the main house with its kitchen, oven, farm-yards, and *mangas*,[8] and from a distance of 200 m was the house of the slaves. Currently, northward, there is another house a little larger than the one described for slaves that was probably sometime the room for managers; today, the latter house is used to store the plant that provides electricity to the hacienda. Furthermore, in the colonial period, there were scattered houses of tenants and concertados around the hacienda.

Based on the size of the house of slaves in the Hacienda Bateas (EU-4), it can be inferred that the property was minimal. One might think that it would be limited to bed, and even some kind of wicker basket where you could keep clothes or nails on the wall to hang them. Now, since there are no documents related to the goods that the slaves owned that allow to prove their belongings and property, to get an idea of what they have at some point, the wills of free mulattoes were sampled.

Thus, for example, some elements of the material culture of mulattoes can be evident from the documents of the succession by inheritance and investigation of the death of Pedro Quesada, mulatto who was killed by Antonio, a black person.

Manuel Bran, a mulatto who laid on his bed on a *barbacoa* when he is told about the death of Pedro Quesada.[9] Moreover, Quesada had among his assets:

> One palm petaquita with some cotton within three ordinary wooden combs and a little aluzema, an atarraia with its six pound lead untinned plumb, a said petaquita with different trastecitos of low value, a little bag of green wool with two reales and a half.[10]

The barbacoa that is mentioned is a tissue of willows, canes, reeds, or guadua on stilts used to have a rest. At present, they are preferably in the yards of the haciendas, usually under a tree and, in some cases, inside the house.

Wardrobe

With the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, the hacienda of the Aposentos of Villavieja, belonging to this community and it covered almost half of the territory of the present department of Huila, happened to be administered by the board of temporalities, and divided into 16 haciendas, one of them was Bateas. The change of owners involved a different treatment for the slaves of this hacienda, which led to conflicts. One of the complaints that were presented was the failure of the administrator to keep the

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[8] Mangas: Areas close to stockyards where horses to be ridden next day, calves, and sick horses or cows are placed during the night.

[9] AHH, Book 11, Fol. 281v a 296r.

[10] Ibid. Original extract: "una petaquita de palma, con un poco de algodón dentro tres peines de palo ordinario y un poco de aluzema, una atarraia con su plomada de seis libras de plomo sin estañar, una petaquita dicha con diferente trastecitos de poco valor, una bolsita de lana verde con dos reales y medio."

promise to provide the necessary clothing. The slaves Ignacio de los Rios, Francisco de los Rios, and Baltasar de Oyola expressed: "[. . .] also after the slave is short of clothes, he will be given (clothing)."[11] The black slaves were right about their complaint; since the administrator Lagos deteriorated the provisioning that was given by the Jesuit priests to the slaves, in his defense the slaves argued:

> that the reason for the left over of two hundred and eighty-eight yards of linen: one hundred and fifty and one yards of homespun, it is in that to the most of the female slaves were not given more than a change of clothes, considering them more stocked than men.[12]

This situation is a reflection of poor management of which the hacienda was subject and which is demonstrated in the application submitted by the administrator to the fund of temporalities in 1773, asking for help to cover the cost of clothing of slaves. The response was forceful. The administrator is the one who should provide the costumes, "rather than precise costs of the hacienda, the administrator has to practice them using his products and means [. . .]".[13] Where upon Lagos reacted requesting for permission for livestock extraction.[14] Given the historical events, this problem of the supply of laundry was not solved, leading to the mutiny of the slaves of the hacienda.

In 1771, one of the clothing allocations made clothing for the slaves in the hacienda of the Aposentos of Villavieja and the 98 slaves from the hacienda of the Aposentos of Villavieja received, as part of their allocation in clothes, the following goods: linens, blankets, hats, shirts, *ruan,*[15] *bayeta*,[16] two pounds of cotton, and 12 pieces of ferret silk.[17]

In the archaeological excavation in Bateas, no material evidence was found related to needlework. Also in the allocation file document, there was no delivery of neither thread nor needles and scissors and even buttons, essential for making the costumes.

The needles, thread, and scissors were sold by merchants who traveled through the province. For example, the merchant Sebastian Rangel, in his merchandise around 1767, had "Some needles [. . .] one pound of butterfly yarn = and one pound three ounces of that number [. . .] a pair of large scissors and four small ones."[18]

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[11] AGNC (Archivo General de la Nación de Colombia hereafter AGNC) Negros y esclavos Tolima, Tomo 3, Fol. 996v a 1048v

[12] AGNC, Temporalidades, Tomo 8, Fol. 306 a 315. Original extract: "que el motivo de sobrar las doscientos y ochenta y ocho varas de lienso: ciento y sinquenta y un varas de manta; es por quanto a la mayor parte de las esclavas no se les dio más, que una muda, por considerarlas más surtidas que los hombres."

[13] AGNC, Negros y esclavos Tolima, Tomo 3, Fol. 996v a 1048v. Original Extract: "que como gastos precisos de la hacienda los practique el administrador valiéndose de sus productos y arbitrios [. . .]."

[14] AGNC, Negros y esclavos Tolima, Tomo 3, Fol. 996v a 1048v.

[15] Ruan: Fabrics of cotton.

[16] Bayeta: Fabric of thin wool.

[17] AGNC, Temporalidades, Tomo 8, Fol. 306–315.

[18] AHH, Varios, Libro 23, Fol. 1v a 80r. Original Extract: "unas aujas [. . .]una libra de hilo de mariposa = y una libra tres onzas de dicho de numero [. . .] unas tijeras grandes y cuatro pequeñas."

The hat was an essential garment not only for slaves but in general for people working in farmwork outdoors.[19] In Tune in 1787, each slave was given a hat as allocation, and also the owners of the haciendas provided them with blankets. So, Valentín, a slave mulatto, accompanied Francisco de Herrera, son of the owners of the hacienda, to the extractions of cattle to Santa Fe. In this journey back to Neiva, Valentín, in the location of La Mesa, had his hat to be fixed, and in this same trip, Francisco de Herrera bought two blankets for his brother and Valentín.[20]

Among the free mulattoes' goods, it can be seen the use and adoption of European-style clothing. So in the inventory of the mulatto Pedro Quesada, the following goods were included :

> A new blue cloth cowboy smock lined in red serge all of it taped with yellow ribbon, another brown one wrapped in bayeta of the same color already served, a kingdom Coarse black hat, a skirt of blue lamp with two bueltas of borselana served and burnt, a clothe, breeches of calamaco listed with colors lined in new ruana, new blue cloth breeches lined in linen, a briacui styled with green silk, silk stockings, one bayeta jacket yellow of old yellow Castilla, old fetched breeches, a fetched thin linen shirt, other old linen breeches, a new red wool senidor, a pair of boots, a pair of fetched antiparas [. . .].[21]

In that cultural contact meeting of three cultures, the black and mulatto in regard to dress took some fabrics and even some European-style clothing. Since there is no archaeological evidence, it is very difficult to determine the designs and colors used by slaves in their daily lives.

Feeding

In 1772, Francisca Reyes Verdugo lived in the hacienda of Bateas as a slave, with her children who were also slaves, Ignacio Gutierrez, Andrew, Juliana, Maria Nieves, and Nicolás,[22] also her husband, a free man who worked at the hacienda.[23] Francisca was to be one of those responsible for preparing food for all the people who lived in the hacienda: owners, servants, or workers, concertados, tenants, and slaves. Likewise, by 1798, Nicolasa, also a slave, in the hacienda of Tune, was to be the

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[19] AHH, Varios, Libro 30, Fol. 288v a 305r.

[20] AHH, Varios, Libro 30, Fol. 288v a 305r.

[21] AHH, Varios, Libro 11, Fol. 281v a 296r. Original extract: "un sayo vaquero de paño azul nuevo aforrado en sarga colorada sinteado de todo de liston amarillo, otro dicho pardo forrado en bayeta del mismo color ya servido, un sombrero negro basto del reyno, una saya de lamparilla azul con dos bueltas de borselana servida y quemada, un paño, unos calzones de calamaco listado de colores aforrados en ruan nuevos, unos calzones de paño azul nuevos aforrados en lienzo, un briacui labrado con seda verde, medias de seda, una chupa de bayeta de Castilla amarilla bieja, unos calzones de lienzo traidos, una camisa de lienzo delgada ya traida, otros calzones de lienzo ya servidos, un senidor de lana colorada nueva, unas botas, un par de antiparas ya traidas [. . .]."

[22] AGNC, Temporalidades, Tomo 19, Fol. 973 a 978.

[23] AGNC, Temporalidades, Tomo 8, Fol. 306 a 315.

one who performed these tasks. Possibly, both Nicolasa and Francisca shared these activities with other women living in these places.

To determine the nourishing diet of the inhabitants of the hacienda, the food prepared by Francisca and Nicolasa has been used. Both the records and the archaeological remains provided valuable information about it. In the archaeological excavations at Bateas and Tune in different units and in different strata, a large beef bone density was found. In Bateas, in EU-1 and EU-2, beef bones prevailed, and in order were followed by sheep, chicken, and pork.

A surprise in the excavations was the absence of fish bones, since both Bateas and Tune are bordered by rivers. Although, in some wills and inventories, cast nets were mentioned, it was certain that fishing was not a major activity in these haciendas which had plenty of beef, lamb, chicken, and even pork. Fishing, which takes time, and knowledge of the currents of rivers and even habits of fish must be an occasional activity, so fish could be a secondary source for the extraction of protein.

The slaves of the great hacienda of the Aposentos of Villavieja in time of the Jesuits had plots where they planted part of their food like bananas, intending Sundays and holidays for the care of their vegetable gardens.[24] In colonial times, some religious orders like the Jesuits "while accepting the institution of slavery, sought by many means humanitarian treatment from their masters, but the main concern was the Christianization and the salvation of the soul of the slave" (Palacios 1989, p. 165). In such a lucky way that the slaves who were in los Aposentos of Villavieja (Bateas) had some preferences over many slaves from other haciendas in the province, like the subsistence crops.

After the expulsion of the Jesuits, the conditions of the slaves of this hacienda became traumatic. Around 1773, there was a conflict of slaves and mulatto tenants with the property administrator José Antonio Lagos, because he had destroyed "some short crops we had done to support ourselves [. . .] taking away our animals that we raised for our costumes and our women's,"[25] those referred crops were planted according to testimony in holidays. Also, the slaves claimed that they had been given neither meat nor enough salt "because it is body work too, and therefore it needs the necessary food [. . .] food is scarce."[26] Thus, the slaves used to have their crops when the Jesuits were the owners of the hacienda, so their lifestyles suffered a sudden change when they became property of the Spanish crown. The fields referred to the slaves in their testimony possibly include bananas, cassava, and corn.

The relationship of goods of the son of the owners in Tune made in 1787 is a valuable document to know some of the purchases made on the farms. Among the establishments where they made the purchase of various grocery stores, it could be listed in the Pulpería de Juana (black), probably located in the town of Guagua (now

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[24] AGNC, Negros y esclavos, Tomo 3, Fol. 996v a 1048r.

[25] AGNC, Negros y esclavos, Tomo 3, Fol. 996v a 1048r. Original Extract: "unas cortas labranzas que habíamos hecho para mantenernos [...] quitándonos nuestros animalitos que criábamos para nuestro vestuario y de nuestra mujeres."

[26] Ibid. Original Extract: "porque el trabajo corporal lo es también, y por tanto necesita del necesario alimento [...] el alimento es escaso."

Palermo). Among others, salt, cocoa, honey, sugar, jars of wine, corn, cinnamon, cloves, cumin, bananas, oil, flour, chickpeas, garlic, and quinoa were sold. Other products that provided for the preparation of meals were eggs, beef, lamb, onions, peruvian parsnip, cassava, spices, liquor, cocoa, and bread.[27] These products were used by the mulatto slaves, Rafael, Vicente, and Rosa, in the place called La Corriente in the late eighteenth century.

As it can be seen in this relation of goods, the groceries that were consumed in the haciendas were diverse, from meats, grains, spices, wines, to what we now call perishable products like cassava and plantain.

In the market established by the Captain Don Manuel Ambrosio de Andrada, regular mayor of the Parish Santa Catarina de Carnicería by 1781, there is a distinction between the products of the land and the ones from Castilla which would be sold in this place. As land products, it included meat, salt, corn, sugar, fodder, butters, and soap; as seen, these would supply the hacienda with some of these. The products from Castilla were cinnamon, cloves, pepper, silk, iron, and steel.[28]

In this sense, the economic vocation of the hacienda conditioned the diet of slaves, and moreover, diet in this space was more stable and varied, and the slave should be well fed if an optimal benefit was expected from him (Rodríguez 1990, p. 16).

On the other hand, in the journal of the trip of Miguel de Santieseban (1992, p. 147) conducted between 1740 and 1741, and who was passing by the province of Neiva, meat and poultry, eggs, fish, bananas, and milk curd were mentioned as food. On his journey, he mentions beef and chicken, eggs, fish, bananas, and curdled milk as food. In his trip, he mentions that near the municipality of Yaguará, in the "caserías de gente de color," there were abundant cattle, poultry, eggs, milk, and bananas.

Gilberto (1975, p. 369), in his work Casa Grande y Senzala, when he refers to the contribution of black slaves in the shaping of Brazilian society, states ". . . the African slave dominated colonial cuisine, enriching it with a collection of new flavors."[29] One of the drinks that in some departments of Huila, Colombia, is typically included is aloja; Freyre mentioned it as a drink of African tradition in Brazil.

In regard to this, he says, "water made with honey and certain misturas[30] they call the aloá that serves as lemonade for blacks"[31] (Freyre 1975, p. 370). Moreover, Freyre refers to other foods of African tradition as the doughs usually served in banana leaves. In Huila, there is a strong tradition of making different types of wraps and even "blands" of corn and banana with sweet taste, which were wrapped in banana leaves and go with the traditional Asado Huilense.

Another typical dish from Huila is the guarruz, an easy dish to prepare: boil the water, add the rice, and stir with a wooden spoon until it thickens. Another variety is prepared with corn. The corn is cooked until it is smoothed, and then the corn is ground. Then, it's "desafrechado" in a colander. After, you put the chicha (maiz

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[27] AHH, Varios, Libro 35, Fol. 198v a 235r. Fol. 217v.

[28] AHH, Varios, Libro 27, Fol. 86v a 97r. Fol. 95v.

[29] Translation into English.

[30] Misturas: mixtures.

[31] Translation into English.

liquor) to boil and then pour the corn and stir with a wooden spoon until thickens.[32] There are other varieties such as putting brown sugar for cooking and adding one or two leaves of orange (Cabrera 2005, p. 409). For comparing with potential black home dishes, Freyre mentioned, within the African heritage food in Brazil, "haussa rice that is another Afro-Bahian dish that is prepared stirring with a wooden spoon until the rice is cooked in unsalted water"[33] (Freyre 1975, p. 372). This description of the Hausa of Brazil corresponds to the description of guarruz in its first variety.

An indispensable element in the kitchen of this province was certainly wood-based clay ovens, located in the yards next to the kitchen. Even today, in all the houses of hacienda in the department of Huila, the clay oven is present, which is essential to prepare the corn bizcochos and achiras, typical of this department. In the documents, there is evidence of the preparation of this delicacy in the eighteenth century, and also the use of clay ovens in the cooking labors.[34]

An important aspect that influenced the diet of the inhabitants of the province, including the slave population undoubtedly, was the trade relations that were between the residents of the province with other regions such as Santa Fe, Popayan, and Quito, which should have encouraged the introduction of products and groceries from other regions, expanding the diet of the inhabitants of the province. In this way, the ancestral African meals in a process of cultural interaction together with the Indians and Spanish enriched and fed the tastes and smells of seasoning that we now know as the cuisine from Huila.

Conclusions

As proposed, the presence of Africans and their descendants who arrived as slaves to the province of Neiva nourished the sociocultural component that was gradually cementing the current identity of Huila.

In the hacienda as contact area, the cultural exchanges that occurred in the everyday brought the creation of unique lifestyles and structure of new habits. In this regard, the statement "human beings are no strangers to the world in which we exist and that we bring to the hand with our everyday existence" (Maturana and Varela 1985, p. 87) takes more importance when we approach the interpretation of the past, through the archaeological record.

In the province of Neiva, the black man brought in as a slave, and then the Creole black and mulatto, despite the disadvantage situation which gave them a state of slavery, impressed their characteristic signature to the colonial society based on legendary knowledge inherited from African kingdoms which was expressed among other aspects in pottery and cuisine.

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[32] Interview with José Joaquín Suaza (November 6, 2006) and Anita Cumaco (September 20, 2006).
[33] Translation into English.
[34] AHH, Varios, Libro 28, Fol. 1v a 209r.

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Chapter 4
The Archeology of Slave Branding in Cuba

Lúcio Menezes Ferreira and Gabino La Rosa

Introduction

In recent years, the archeology of the African diaspora has widened its scope as well as broadened the avenues and methods to study African-American issues (Leone et al. 2005). It has included the study of the genesis and changes in cultural identity processes, as well as the different ways of resisting slavery in the Americas (Singleton and Souza 2009). Dealing with the processes of Africanization of the Americas, to use a term coined by Knight (2010), the main emphasis has been on the study of the material culture associated to the slave system (Ferreira 2010). The main goals are to understand how material culture, particularly architecture, was built for surveillance and oppression and how the very organization of space in plantations was geared to control slaves (Epperson 2004; Orser 1990).

This chapter addresses issues specifically relevant to Cuba. We will not explore architecture, settlement patterns, and other aspects of plantation life, considering that several seminal studies exist, such as those of Singleton (2001), Lara (2010), and Alvarez (2011). Instead, we focus on a much dimmer aspect of slavery, the branding system, or the way slaves were scarified and were thus controlled by slave owners and their acolytes. This chapter thus considers slave scarification, or branding, as a

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key part of the slave system in Cuba in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a major material culture aspect of slavery, even if often overlooked.

Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre published a seminal volume on slave scarifying, studying how newspapers in the nineteenth century published ads to recover slave fugitives. This study inspired others, including Cubans, to turn to the same subject, even if through a different approach: Instead of ads, they used scarifying marks as evidence. In the original study, Freyre (2010 [1961]) demonstrated how ads described the slaves, their physical traits and also their behaviors, skills, usual clothing, and deformities, such as wound scars. Spanish documents indicate that colonial authorities were concerned with registering everything, including the selling and buying of slaves, slave fugitives, brand marks, and a plethora of other details. The main subject of attention was Maroons, those individuals who dared to escape and live a free life as a cimarrón. Cimarrón in Spanish is a term originally referring to fugitive animals, those who escaped to live a free life in the jungle; so were the runaway people, those who preferred to run into the bush, instead of submitting themselves to lifelong bondage.

Freyre was mainly interested on the violence and the ethnic identification of fugitives. Our focus is on iron brands, not only as violent tools but also as ethnographic and archeological evidence. We address both sides of the problem, but emphasize how documents help us to understand iron branding as a technology to control slaves in Cuba, with lessons for other slave-owning societies too.

Freyre's original contribution has been the creative use of documents to understand how different social actors represented slaves. On a methodological level, his usage may contribute to historical archeology by challenging archeologists to explore aspects of the historical narrative often overlooked. Documents convey concepts regarding power structures, the agency of subjects, and even the so-called social life of artifacts (Galloway 2006). Historical archeologists may read the way documents describe artifacts in order to interpret agency and various aspects of social life (Gosden 2005). In the case of colonial Cuba (1492–1898), iron branding is reported in paperwork by the Spanish administration, representing both the authorities' goals and the mental templates of slave owners.

A Well-Established Practice

Iron branding is not a modern practice. It was common from the earliest times and it is well attested to in the Roman world in particular. It is as much a mark on the skin of the slave as it is a mark of a slave society (Mello 2006). In modern times, the increase in slave traffic introduced wide-scale branding of slaves early on, so much so that we can say that is coetaneous with the modern slave trade. In a way, iron branding was the first material feature of the slave trade, a body scar imposed by the slave system from the start. It was a rite of passage from freedom to enslavement. It is so constitutive of slavery that it continued in practice until emancipation, several decades after independence of several countries, even if, as in the case of Cuba, slavery and colonial rule were mostly coterminous (emancipation in1886 and end of

colonial rule in 1898). Elsewhere, branding continued until the end of the institution (Aguet 1971; Goulart 1971). Slavery has always been dependent on branding as a way of publicizing the social status of enslaved individuals, so that others could easily identify and discriminate between the enslaved and the free.

Nonetheless, several scholars—including Saignes (1984), Portuondo (1982), and more recently James (1997)—have argued that iron branding ceased with the official prohibition in 1784 by the Spanish Crown. Their main argument is that Spain was under the sway of the Enlightenment and that the harshness of slavery was under review. As such, iron branding was perceived as too barbarous, even if applied only to slaves. According to this interpretation, Enlightened Europeans, when looking at slave scars, had to condemn their own rule over slaves. The wounds of iron branding were as much impressed on the bodies of slaves as in the minds of European colonizers. This barbarous custom, out of place in Europe, would not be acceptable in the colonies either. A century later, Darwin (1871) would thus say that slavery was a renewal of ancient barbarian times, a primitive and even animal feature from the earliest times but still present in the most civilized, modern times. Still, even accepting some of these arguments, there was no true contradiction between Enlightenment ideals and slavery (Adorno and Horkheimer 1996). On the contrary, the Enlightenment comprised colonialism and slavery at its heart (Said 1995) and it contributed to naturalize slavery beyond the religious justifications of the previous centuries. The Enlightenment thus contributed to reinforce slavery, not to mitigate it, at least for several decades (Williams 2012).

Cuba witnessed the practice of slave branding until the end of the nineteenth century, at the eve of the slave emancipation begun by the Spanish Crown. This practice in Cuba and in the other Spanish colonies had antecedents in Spain. Documents in the archives of Seville show the existence of slaves marked with fleur-de-lis or stars in 1500, and from 1520 with the slave masters' name branded on their foreheads (Ortiz 1985).

The technology of iron branding was introduced in the Spanish colonies immediately after the conquest. In fact, enslaved Amerindians were the first to endure the sufferings of branding, or "fire marking," as they were frequently called (Fernández 1976; Salmoral 1997).

Iron branding, used on most Africans regardless of gender and age (Soler 2002), was generally done on the slave's shoulders, breast, or back. The first instruments were fabricated in iron but silver brands also existed (Serrano 1990; Fig. 4.1). Their use was considered a therapy: After applying the hot iron branding instrument (called *carimba* in Spanish, from the verb *carimbar,* "to stamp"), oil, medicinal herbs, or even pepper were placed on the wound to hasten healing. The Crown *carimbas* or stamps in Cuba were kept at the Public Administration Office or *Intendencia,* and iron branding was officially the task of the officers at the Chamber of Accounts, which integrated the commercial control of slavery and included the check of slave population by the colonial administration.

During the first century of Cuban colonization, a host of illegal slave traffic occurred. Illegal slaving was a common practice in the Americas. Frequent landings of Africans in Cuba went unreported and thus fees due to the public coffers were avoided. During more than 200 years, the colonial authorities were constantly on

Fig. 4.1 Silver iron brand.
International Slavery
Museum, Liverpool, UK.
(Photo by Francisco Silva
Noelli)
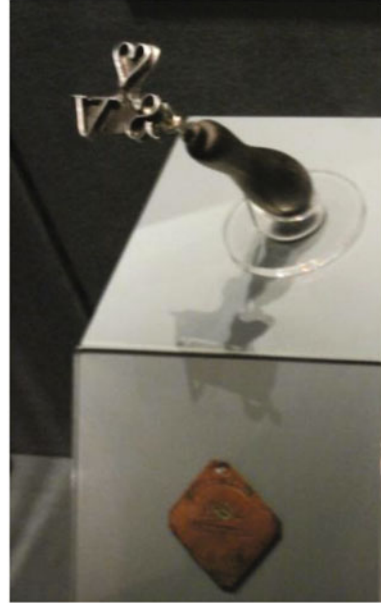
their guard against all illegal trade, which also included slave trafficking and illegal slave trade, known in Cuba as "*negros de mala entrada*" (AGI *Audiencia de Santo Domingo,* Legs. 358, 379, 380, 381, and 410). Illegal slave traffic in the Rio de la Plata region during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was called "*arribadas forzosas*" or "*maliciosas*." In 1594, the Spanish Crown determined that slaves could enter the Rio de la Plata only in boats sent by the "*Casa de Contratación*" of Seville (Ceballos 2007).

Typologies of iron branding of slaves may be established by studying documents relating to slaves and fugitives in the illegal trade. Three main categories of branding may be extracted from Cuba-related documents held in the Havana National Archives and the General Archives of the Indies in Seville. The categories are: branding as entry control, branding by permission, and owners' branding. Each one occurred in the Cuban slave trade from the eighteenth century until the end of the nineteenth century.

Entry Branding

Entry branding was the most frequent type used during the entire colonial period. In the Spanish colonies, branding was carried out by the *Reales Cédulas* that made slave branding an official mandatory procedure. Taxes due to registration varied during the period according to the characteristics and levels of the slave trade (Soler 2002). Branding designs were registered in various slave-selling and slave-buying contracts. The branding designs were shown in the margins of the documents and those most frequently used in Cuba are reproduced below.

Fig. 4.2 The *Real Asiento*
brand
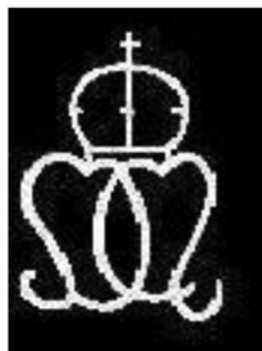
When fugitive slaves were recaptured in Cuba by the *cazadores de esclavos* (Corzo and Gonçález 2004), branding was an indispensable task. In fact, it controlled the fugitives, surrounded them, and provided information on their arrival and permanence on the island. This is the reason why descriptions on the *cimarrones* or Maroons were reported in the minutest detail: The iron brand design and the place marked on the body were registered. Coupled with the indelible iron branding, a thorough description of the slave's body informed other visible characteristics such as scars, tattoos, teeth condition, skin color, height, build, and physical deformities. In the opinion of colonial authorities, the slave's body had to be panoptically observed. Keeping an eye on him and registering the body, kept him or her within slave conditions, or rather, it was equivalent to maintaining the slave system. Besides warranting taxes for the Spanish Crown, the perpetual iron branding inscribed on the slave's body that he or she was a dispossessed person, somebody who did not belong to him or herself. The materiality of the iron branding underpinned the slave statute as a property.

An example of this brand type has been provided by a large sale of Africans on October 10, 1717, in Santiago de Cuba (AGI, *Audiencia de Santo Domingo,* Leg. 367). The British corvette, *Neptune,* placed on sale 86 African slaves after its first trans-Atlantic voyage of the slave trade. The human cargo was described as "pieces of the Indies": The strong young males were sold for 250 pesos each and the females for 240 pesos; the "moleques"—within the 4–14-year-old bracket—were sold for 180 pesos each. According to the contract, all the slaves were branded with the *Real Asiento* brand on the right side of their breasts. The symbol reproduced a royal crown topped by a small cross (Fig. 4.2).

Permission Branding

Permission branding was a strategy of the Spanish Crown to register slaves who were introduced illegally in Cuba. The colonial administrators called it "permission for negroes" and aimed it at collecting taxes from owners who had deceived the Crown

Fig. 4.3 Iron brands of the
Intendencia General de
Hacienda

**Fig. 4.4** Iron brands of the
Real Contaduría and *Real
Compaía*

by buying slaves from illegal slave traffickers, a rampant practice on the island's
coasts. It was a legal and economic issue by which offending owners were pardoned
and, at the same time, taxes were duly collected. Legality thus restored strengthened
the state's financial coffers. Similar to entry branding, it was also a form of slave
control: Slaves were registered and minutely identified.

The Spanish Crown, therefore, started to produce *Reales Cédulas* (e.g., 1713,
1718, 1726, 1729, 1733, and 1764) with certain regularity, permitting Cuban author-
ities to undertake enrolling processes for "*negros de mala entrada*" (ANC, *Reales
Cédulas,* Leg. 1, n°. 30 e 55; Leg. 3, n. 219). However, permissions were not given
only by royal order. From the mid-eighteenth century, owners on their own accord
asked for permission for slaves who had been illegally purchased. In the petition of
the November 24, 1760, the Crown calculated that illegal slaving brought liabilities
to the *Real Hacienda* and, therefore, authorized permissions at 40 pesos per slave
(ANC, *Miscelánea de Libros,* n. 12502). Ten years later, the *Compañía de Jesús de
La Habana* was conceded permission for 90 slaves bought on May 23, 1771. The
Intendencia General de Hacienda legalized the transaction and branded the Africans
with iron *carimbas* or stamps (ANC, *Intendencia General de Hacienda,* Leg. 536,
n. 8; Fig. 4.3).

On December 16, 1733, Diego Silveira, a plantation owner at Bayamo, wanted to
legalize some slaves, namely, the Congolese Antonio, 20 years old; Andrés Salvador,
30 years old; María Francisca, 11 years old; and the Nigerian Diego, 20 years old.
They were registered and their "*mala entrada*" confirmed. They were branded on the
right breast with the *carimba* of the *Real Contaduría,* and on the left back with that
of the *Real Compañía*. The symbols of the Crown and the Cross are salient on the
brands (Fig. 4.4). Tax paid by the owner reached 33 pesos per slave.

Why are these details of the permission-branding processes known? The processes
were actually an integral part of the machinery of the slave control system. Many
years later, when Diego Silveira became a *cimarrón* or Maroon and was later captured,

Fig. 4.5 Other types of iron brands by the *Real Contaduría* and the *Real Compaía*. They branded María de la Caridad
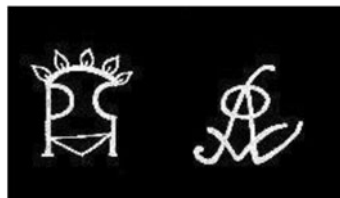
Diego's permission transaction and iron brand marks helped the owner to identify and claim him. The materiality of the brands' symbolism was corollary to the *cimarrón*'s capture and warranted his reintegration within the Cuban plantation slave system. The reason for such great numbers of permissions, required by the Crown and the slave owners, was to oil the machinery of the slave system in different and multitudinous instances. They provided the Crown with the payment of taxes and thus increased its coffers, whereas the owners conceived them as relative assets, since the legalization of a sale, even if they had to pay the state, meant lessening the liabilities when a slave fled the plantation. In fact, the permissions mainly made possible the control of the slave population, its demographic census, and the immediate acknowledgement of property through the materiality of the iron brands. Fleeing and becoming a *cimarrón* did not delete the brand.

Cuban documents are full of cases similar to that of the slave Diego Silveira. Thirteen *cimarrones* on the Sierra Maestra range, in the Cuban eastern region, were captured in 1747 (see Corzo (2003) for more details on the *cimarrones* of this region). One of the captured slaves was the Mina-born María de la Caridad, who declared that she had landed illegally in Cuba and that she had lived for 3 years on the mountainsides. She had arrived on a British ship on the southern coast of Port Prince (Camagüey). During the process, it became known that her last owner in Cuba was Juan Antonio Bosques, who forwarded the permission documents proving his ownership. When María de La Caridad was 20 years old, some 23 years thence, precisely on April 4, 1724, she was branded with two *carimbas* of the *Real Contaduría* and of the *Real Companía* respectively, on her back and breast (Fig. 4.5). When the marks of the iron brands were checked, she was returned to her owner, corroborating the regulatory nature of the slave system.

Marks of Ownership

The *cimarrón* María Antonia was captured in the eastern region of Cuba in 1747. According to her narrative given in the official report, she had lived 14 years as a fugitive slave, during which she gave birth to three children. Two of them, aged 2 and 3 years old, were also captured. She was registered as a Creole since her birthplace was Jamaica. She was illegally landed in Cuba on the Manzanillo coast, together with a great number of slaves brought on a British ship. During her trip through the Caribbean, María Antonia was the property of several owners, one of whom branded her. The officer sketched the brand in the transaction contract and thus identified

Fig. 4.6 Owner's brand of the
slave María Antonia

María Antonia. It was proved that she was an illegal slave and no permission process by any of her former owners had been performed. Her brand had been adulterated, or rather, a falsification of the Crown's *carimba* was branded on her body (Fig. 4.6). She was not returned to the plantation owner who claimed her. A new destination was imposed on her and she went on auction in August 1748 by means of ads on the doors of the *Real Contaduría* of Santiago de Cuba. Her two children suffered the same misfortune (AGI, *Audiencia de Santo Domingo,* Leg. 367).

In terms of modern social theory, María Antonia's permission process illustrates how the slave system (and any other social system) is not monolithic, unidirectional, and wholly flattening for the subjects involved. Recently, historical archeology has analyzed what Matthew Johnson (2006) had called "the historicity of agency," which means that social practices depend on the groups' cosmologies and the manner they are inserted within specific historical contexts. In Cuba, with its resented colonial context, the colonized and the settlers refused to passively accept the domination system imposed by the imperial power. The local people in Cuba actually built and were constructed by the imperial system at several levels (Given 2004). In the case of Cuban plantation owners, settlers to the marrow, royal permission was not always an asset. Spanish settlers made use of kickbacks and several rebates against the social control of slaves and the taxes due to the Spanish Crown. Besides taking advantage of the illegal slave trade and hiding slaves during permission periods, Cuban plantation owners appropriated themselves of false *carimbas,* similar to those that branded María Antonia. False branding marks were a strategy to escape the Crown's control with regard to the possession of slaves. Colonial documentation reveals that the production of false branding marks was a highly diffused practice. This ruse was demonstrated in a 1758 public proclamation which threatened with severe punishment the plantation owners who had adopted it (ANC, *Intendencia de Hacienda,* Leg. 908, n. 13). Three years after a new *Real Cédula* was published for the Matanzas province decreeing severe sanctions to owners who kept slaves without the Crown's *carimbas* (ANC, *Real Consulado,* Leg. 14, n. 98).

Nevertheless, in the last decades of the eighteenth century, the Spanish Crown changed its policy on tax control with regard to the selling and buying of slaves. New European economic policies favored different directions for the trans-Atlantic slave trade and colonial transactions. During this period, groups linked to the emergent Industrial Revolution in Britain were putting great pressure in favor of the abolition of the slave system and on the end of the West Indian monopoly (Fanola 2011; Rodrigues 1961). Since the Spanish Crown was in constant competition for international trade,

Fig. 4.7 Owner's iron brand

its response to the regime of British industrial expansion was liberal. In 1789, it made flexible the introduction of slaves in American ports and, as a consequence, the commercial liberality and the development of agricultural economy in the colonies increased Spain's profit and partially decreased taxes on the buying and selling of slaves. The new flexibility met the highly diversified interests of British enterprises associated with Bristol and Liverpool, whose ships regularly supplied the Spanish colonies with African slaves (Williams 2012).

The only revocation by the Spanish Crown was decreed by the *Cédula Real* on November 4, 1784, by which the mandatory *carimba* with the royal seal on all slaves that arrived at American ports was suspended (ANC, *Reales Cédulas,* Leg. 20, n. 103). The ideology of the *Cédula Real* that abolished taxes on the trans-Atlantic slave traffic and the subsequent prohibition of branding slaves might have had Enlightenment and humanistic inspiration. The Spanish Crown was thus in tune with British abolitionist discourse.

After several decades, branding slaves with hot iron was considered a violent act against "*humanity*" (ANC, *Reales Cédulas,* Leg. 20, n. 103). The same royal decree was also a petition to the *Ministerio de Indias* to send the boxes in which the royal iron brands were kept. The Royal Correspondence Administrator immediately acquiesced and sent to Spain 26 *carimbas* that had been maintained in the island's depots (ANC, *Reales Cédulas,* Leg. 22, n. 49).

In spite of the official prohibition, plantation owners still continued to brand their slaves (Fig. 4.7), which may be seen in the description of two captured *cimarrones* in 1805 and 1806, respectively. The Congolese Polonio was described as "38 years old, tall and thin, deep black colored, scanty beard, friendly eyes, filed teeth, with a *D* on his right breast, confessing he belonged to Don Pedro Diago" (ANC, *Real Consulado,* Book 104, n. 104). His companion had a similar brand. The two were returned to their owner. The documentation on *Calzada del Cerro,* where the captured *cimarrones* were imprisoned in Havana, is replete with reports on slaves such as Polonio, among which may be mentioned the Congolese Trinidad and Francisco, respectively 25 and 29 years old, with filed teeth and *X*-type brand marks on the left and right sides of their back (ANC, *Miscelánea de Libros,* n. 7787).

It would be exhausting to list all cases encountered in the *Calzada del Cerro* log books in which *cimarrones* were described with their owners' iron brands. It should be emphasized that these iron brandings should not be confused with tattoo or scarification marks reported in the documents as "*marcas de su tierra*" (Corzo

2011). With regard to statistics of slaves marked by owners throughout the nineteenth century, it is sufficient to remark (this is true for slavery in general in the Americas) that there were enough data to attend to Borges's claim: a thorough inventory of human horror. Slaves registered with their owners' iron brands for the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s were in the dozens (ANC, *Miscelánea de Libros,* n. 7787, 7789, 7793, and 7802).

Sovereignty and the Slave System

Numbers always have a political meaning. When Curtin (1969) estimated that the number of slaves brought from Africa to the Americas was approximately 9.5 million, subtracting the number of slaves who died in the Middle Passage, many saw such data as an attempt to minimize the impact of slave trafficking (see Fanola 2011 on the discussion). Statistics are one thing; their interpretation is another. Although the number of iron-branded slaves in Cuba did not reach millions, its interpretation was highly eloquent in the local slave system. For complex problems, simple questions are often enough: What is the difference between being branded by the hot irons of the Spanish Crown and by those of plantation owners? Who would actually be the slave's owner: the rich man who bought the slave or the Spanish Crown?

No difference existed for slaves who were iron or silver branded. Any hot iron brand, or royal *carimba,* counterfeited or legitimate, with an *X* or a *D* or a crown topped by a cross, put them within subalternity and classified them as another's property. The brands only provided small variations within the same horrible situation. If Maroons were recaptured and the brands were false, they would be auctioned once more and they would once again be submitted to another master. They may also have had the same fate as Polonio. Even after the 1784 prohibition, they would return, marked by the owner's brand, to the plantation they had fled. In the case of the slave buyer, the difference would be great, not in the sense that he would pay more or less taxes, although this was highly important when dealing with the "negro permission." It was an issue of political sovereignty.

The above brings us back to the idea of the historicity of agency. At this level of discussion, we should remember structural power as one of the power modalities conceived by Wolf (1999). It is a type of power that extends itself within the relationships among social groups and which does not function merely inside the contexts but organizes and controls them. It is power that distributes and posits social work. Wolf acknowledges that this power modality is similar to the term governmentality, defined by Foucault (1994). According to Foucault (2004), governmentality, similar to bio-power, inhabits the frontier between the mathematical sciences and social analysis. Its task is the minute description of individuals and, at the same time, their counting by means of demography and statistics. It is a technique for the control of populations. It also means action within an action. In less allegorical terms, it is the power of the state on individuals, or rather, it is the subalternity of individuals and

the ability that these have in structuring power according to their political interests. In other words, power engages the subjects in their struggle for political sovereignty.

This definition of power was not specifically elaborated to interpret colonial contexts and slave systems (Loomba 2000). However, it allows us to understand how the practice of branding slaves controlled the slave system and the disputes among Cuban plantation owners and the Spanish Crown for political sovereignty. Until 1784, when slave branding was prohibited, the Spanish Crown extensively used the instruments of governamentality and fulfilled the control prerogatives of the slave system. This was the reason why slave descriptions were central to the Spanish Crown's power institution. In fact, the descriptions were archives where the number of slaves on the island could be counted. The lists also provided the number of subjects governed by the Crown. They were subjects that did not pay any taxes but were the instrument of those who did. They were subjects in the full etymology of the word: *subiectum* means thrown under. Subjects were all those who were required to give full obedience to the sovereign and by whom they were placed at the lowest grade of the social hierarchy. Since slaves were considered subjects in the Spanish colonies, they should have had some right of appeal (Pétré-Grenouilleau 2009).

There were institutions in which the enslaved could be treated as individuals. This may be corroborated by the "dense description" that permeated the slave's body, comprising even his soul. Polonio's description is a witness to this fact. A description of his traits was not enough; neither were his physical deformities, nor his peculiarities, nor the tone of his skin color, nor the thickness of his beard, nor his filed teeth. The individual's ethnic origin and his or her religious ethnicity (Congolese, Ganga) were also important. Together with the body's description of "the marks from the country of origin," of the humors, the iron branding inscribed the slave with an everlasting materiality, which was, at the same time, unmistakable and indelible. It marked him or her with the symbol of property of the Spanish Crown. Iron branding fragmented the body of the slave into two parts. He or she belonged to the owner who bought him or her. Further, the slave was marked by the symbol of the Crown to remind his owner that he had to pay taxes and that both, master and slave, were subjects of the Crown.

The distribution of royal power was still extant in Cuba even after the branding prohibition. It is true that the Spanish Crown did not exempt itself completely from the exercise of governamentality. The centralizing institutions of police information on slaves were still efficient as the *Calzada del Cerro* testified in the nineteenth century. Within the context of power structuring, the owners cheated the law by buying slaves illegally and by not regularizing their entrance into the country so that they would not have to pay the taxes. The payment of fewer taxes, however, was not the only challenge that the Spanish Crown had to face. The main challenge was for political sovereignty. The owners' branding exemplified how Cuban plantation owners took a stand for their own sovereignty vis-à-vis the Spanish authorities. The brandings meant that if the slave was the subject of the Crown, he or she was still under the orders of his owner.

According to the owners, branding materialized ownership over the slaves. The owner was his or her master and could submit him or her to total submission. The

forged mark or the initials of the owner's name strongly expressed possession over the enslaved. There was no need for possession over the slave to be exercised in a totalitarian manner. In fact, sometimes it was not. Much has been written on patriarchy in the American slave system. There are other details in the concept of possession and the master–slave relationships. Sociologist Alain Testart (2001) writes that the slave, living or not under a paternalist bond and submerged under all rules, laws, codes, and humanitarian ideals, was largely included within the master's watchfulness and imperatives. This is actually the core where the dispute for sovereignty was waged: Although immersed within royal control, the slave was outside the immediate sphere of the imperial sovereignty. The sovereign could legislate and the slaves were somewhat "public," even though in daily life it was the master who effectively governed them.

The trait that actually distinguished the slave system was the fact that slavery strengthened the renewal and reproduction of the established elite regime. Pétré-Grenouilleau (2009) has stated that slavery was a production system and a way of seeing and representing the world. Even disputing political sovereignty, there was a coincidence between Cuban settlers and the Spanish Crown. Iron branding with the "signatures" of the Crown or of the owners materialized a way of representing the world. Brands were material components that controlled and guaranteed the perpetuation of the slave system. Slavery was more than an exploiting mode; above all, it was a form of social control.

The Symbol Not Chosen

What about the slaves' agency? Throughout the above narrative, our discussion of iron brands as technologies of the slave system was given priority since they were instruments in the hands of the owners and the Spanish Crown in their struggle for political sovereignty. We did not linger on the slaves' agency, but some discussion is worthwhile. As has been previously noted, the enslaved individual was indifferent whether his branding symbolized the Crown or a letter taken from the owner's name. The symbol of iron branding was not chosen by the slave. Within the context of diacritics, highly extant in the documents, the symbol written with hot iron was fixed as a form of subjugation and control. As an indelible symbol, it followed the slave, even the insubordinate and the *cimarrón*. It was with him or her everywhere. If he or she fled, the Crown's archives contained the branding mark. The comprising information divided his body, his agency, and his spirit.

The above may lead us to at least two conclusions. In the archeological investigation of the African diaspora, identities are not always self-referential. The archeology of the African diaspora has been showing the slaves' inventiveness in the formation and transformation processes of their cultural identities. However, if slavery was a type of Weltanschauung or worldview, it must be admitted that the technologies of governmentality of colonial power extensively fabricated the slaves' cultural identities. Slave branding was one of those technologies. The slaves did not choose these symbols; however, they were inscribed on their bodies, taking them along wherever they went. Even in the Maroons of *Sierra Maestra,* they would remind them of their

past life, or rather, that once they were someone else's slaves. Within the context of the frame of mind of a slave-built society, even the *cimarrones* were still property. If they were captured, they would be identified and returned to their former owners.

The second conclusion comprises the fact that the slaves, even though branded, were always resisting their lot. João José Reis and Flávio dos Santos Gomes (1996) remarked that where there was slavery, resistance was extant. It is not by chance that we only know the specificities of iron branding in Cuba due to the agency of people who experienced it. Without these people, the Spanish Crown's institutions would not have exposed their governmentality of what they most cherished, namely, the control of information on the slave, their individualization by detailed registration. If the slaves failed to resist the slave system, we would not have been aware that Polonio had lively eyes and filed teeth or that María Antonia had three children and passed a great deal of her diasporic life throughout the Caribbean. The modes of slave resistance in Cuba were certainly not restricted to the *cimarrones*. They occurred in the daily life of the plantation, as happened throughout the whole of the Americas (Singleton 2001). However, in Spanish America, including Cuba, colonial authorities were frequently required to admitthe political sovereignty of the *quilombos* (Domíguez and Porto 2009).

We end where we began. Reading documents as a historical archeologist provides a way of seeing how material culture boosts the control of individuals. In our case, we can interpret it from the archives of the Spanish colonial bureaucracy, namely how iron branding developed within the Cuban slave system. On the other hand, following Freyre's recommendation on slave advertisements in newspapers, we could arrive at the slaves' agency, at their bodies, at their "marks hailing from the countries of origin," and how they constructed their cultural identities and resisted colonial authorities.

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Chapter 5
Slavery, Conflicts, and Archaeology in Eighteenth-Century Minas Gerais, Brazil

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The perception of conflict as one of the integral elements in the dynamics of slave society has its starting point in the adoption of a dialectical method of reflection. This perspective refers to a perception of social structure as a historical totality divided into groups with antagonistic interests in permanent conflict, despite attempts by the state and the Church to lessen such conflicts (Fleischer 1978; Fontana 2004; Gebran 1978; Hindess and Hirst 1976; Wright et al. 1993).

The society of colonial Minas Gerais was divided into social categories with different economic status—including slaves, former slaves, and free people—and different ethnic groups—Africans, native Indians, and Europeans. Albeit these are objective indicators, the categories mentioned do not exhaust the range of social diversity. The free population was divided into two groups, characterized by being, or not being, slave owners. This division was, over time, also established in the group constituted by ex-slaves. The peasantry, which was a significant portion of the population, also embodied a heterogeneous community composed of free individuals and former slaves, many of whom were also small slave owners. Part of the peasant society, the quilombos, was composed of communities formed largely by runaway slaves who had rebelled against the slave order.

From the ethnic point of view, the diversity presented in the colonial society was not reduced to the three major groups mentioned. Each one of them was, in fact, a diversified set of identities. This applies specially to the native population and the numerous African peoples. That fact gave rise to conflicts involving different aspects of reality, such as religion, gender and parentage relations,

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Fig. 5.1 Brazil: current political boundaries and areas of colonial exploitation in Minas Gerais

participation in the different spheres of economic activity, and political articulation. In this context, it is important to underline that there was ongoing antagonism in the colonial state because its interests often conflicted with those of the settlers (Costa 1998; Florentino 2005; Gorender 1978; Luna et al. 2009). We have attempted to identify evidence for some of these conflicts using archaeological information and iconographic records.

The Brazilian Context

The colonization of Brazil began in the first half of the sixteenth century after the implementation of the so-called sugar agro-industry (Fig. 5.1). The status "colony" demanded the generation of wealth for the satisfaction of metropolitan needs and, as a result, large-scale production. The premise of this production involved large numbers of laborers, which in the context of colonial Brazil led inevitably to modern slavery.

Modern slavery, as developed from the fifteenth century through the movement that came to be called African Diaspora, involved a monumental amount of human and material resources for the displacement of millions of people from the African continent to different regions of the globe, notably to the Americas. Brazil, initially a Portuguese colony, was part of this process, receiving, from the first decades of the sixteenth century until the last years of the nineteenth century, huge numbers of Africans as slaves (Alencastro 2000; Costa 1966; Davis 2001; Florentino 1995; Lovejoy 2002; Meillassoux 1995; Novais 1979; Ogundiran and Falola 2010;

Salvador 1981; Thornton 1992; Tomich 2011). As a looting venture, slave trafficking was initially implanted on the coast of Africa and, with time, stretched to the interior of the continent, causing the destruction of societies and an unprecedented displacement of people. Its operational requirements, its dimensions, and its possibilities of material gain transformed, through time, the slave traffic into a highly specialized enterprise. Specialization affected not only its agents but also its own demands for technical resources and infrastructure.

Shipment outposts built along the African coast became, because of the importance they acquired in the context of such an enterprise, to be associated with the identification of slaves who were shipped from there. The fort of São Jorge da Costa da Mina provides a useful example.

Through time, evidence points to the specialization of oceangoing vessels in relation to the commodities they transported. And, it is relevant to establish that in modern slavery, perceived as an economic system, the slave was considered a commodity, and as such was submitted to an alienation process in the work process. Modern slavery was not about selling labor power but selling the subject, the laborer. It was about yanking them from their homeland and putting them on the market, through which they would be introduced to the society in the condition of slaves (Alencastro 2000; Florentino 1995, 2005; Klein 1978; Mannix and Cowley 1970; Moura 2000; Novais 1979; Salvador 1981; Silva 2003). These observations are relevant to understanding the iconographic record which interests us. It involves a scene from that trafficking.

Several nineteenth-century travelers passing through Rio de Janeiro visited the Valongo—a slave market—for the exotica it presented to Europeans' eyes. A drawing by J. M. Rugendas in 1835 represents a market of slaves located in Rio de Janeiro (Fig. 5.2). Rich in details, the scene shows almost tens of slaves—men, women, and children—waiting for buyers. In the middle of the scene stands an individual in a pose that allows us to identify him as a potential buyer who is evaluating the merchandise on display.

A detail in that scene calls our attention to interpretative possibilities and the possibility of making connections with archaeological remains (Fig. 5.3). On the left side of the picture, a slave draws on the wall a ship with three masts and furled sails.

It is immediately possible to develop two lines of interpretation of this image, considering the action that takes place in a slave market near a harbor. It is plausible to assume that the slave who is drawing wants to register a memory of the trafficking itself or of a harbor scene. In both cases, the circumstance of slavery is the universe of the action. It is impossible to ignore the fact that the drawer is a slave waiting for a buyer.

In the context of trafficking, slave ships were vessels that, on one hand, linked Africa to the Brazilian slave universe and, on the other hand, separated the enslaved from his or her world of origin. The same trip that unites is the one that separates. This separation was one of the many aspects that characterized the profound process of alienation to which the enslaved African was submitted. The slave ship was the place where the one-way journey from freedom to bondage took place, even though throughout the centuries of captivity many slaves were freed in Brazil and returned

Fig. 5.2 Market of blacks. (Rugendas 1835)

to Africa (Costa e Silva 2003, pp. 55, 61–62 e 78; 2004, pp. 9, 24, 26 e 31; Cunha 1985, pp. 14, 75–76, 79 e 101–151). Also, concerning the condition imposed by the trafficking to the African, we must take into account the background of violence and conflict that occurred from the moment of capture in Africa to their conversion into merchandise on display at the slave market. If, from one side, the scene represents a milieu of passivity, the reality of slave society was something else. The levels of violence and tension accumulated could develop at any time into the most variable forms of action. After the sale, the enslaved African was withdrawn from the market and inserted into the world of work. In the region of Minas Gerais during the eighteenth century, this meant insertion into gold and diamond mining.

The Minas Gerais Context

The region of Minas Gerais saw, during the last years of the eighteenth century, an intense population inflow due to the discovery of first gold and, a few decades later, diamonds. Although not exclusive, the auriferous extraction was the focus around which a large part of central Brazil was occupied (Guimarães and Reis 2007; Luna et al. 2009). Numerous additional activities developed as an indispensable support for mining, although it was still considered the ultimate goal of the mercantilist approach that somehow guided the dynamics of colonial exploitation from the perspective of Portugal. At first, settlers were not technically prepared for mining, but they gradually
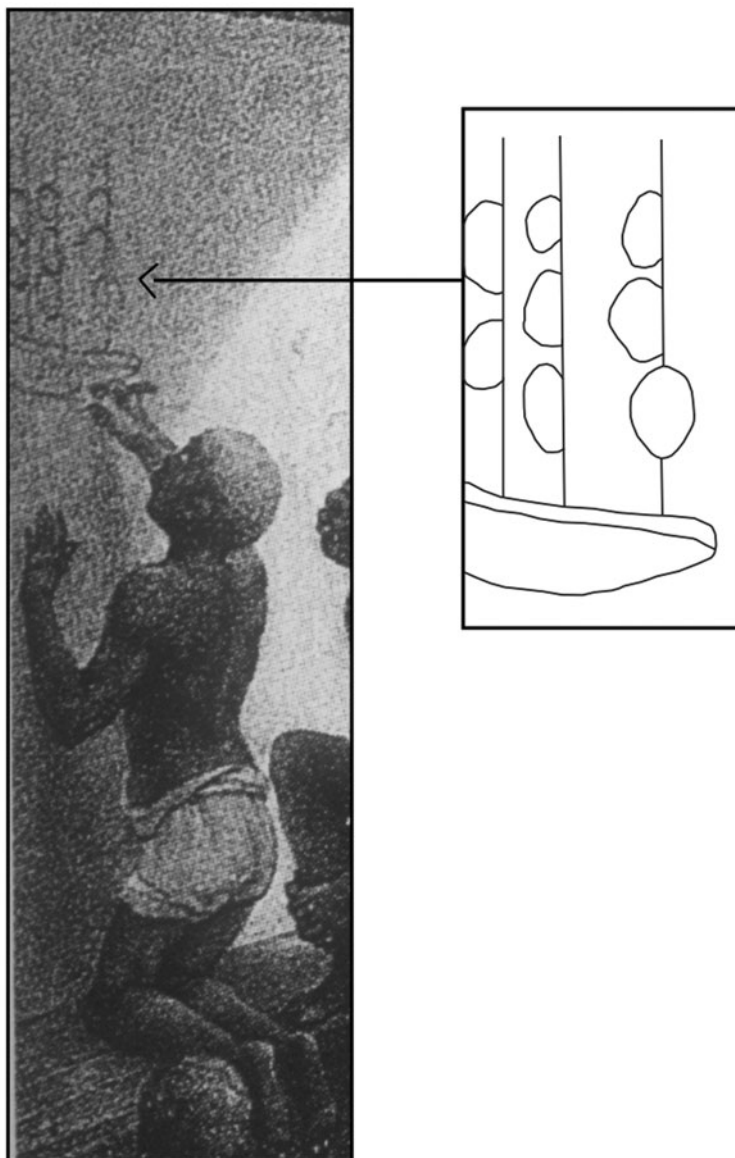
Fig. 5.3 Detail of market of blacks

gained knowledge of the region and mastered the extraction techniques (Moura 2000; Reis 2007).

The wealth generated during the first decades of the mining cycle built a large domestic market, which required an ever-increasing number of slaves. Gold and

Fig. 5.4 Mining diggings, Varginha do Lourenço, Minas Gerais. (Laboratório de Arqueologia da Fafich/UFMG 2012)

Fig. 5.5 Mining diggings, Varginha do Lourenço, Minas Gerais. (Laboratório de Arqueologia da Fafich/UFMG 2012)

diamonds funded the expansion of trafficking with the creation of the market of Minas Gerais (Luna et al. 2009). As noted above, the influx into the region supported the development of a diversified and turbulent social structure.

From an archaeological standpoint, the vestiges of the mining activity indicate the importance it acquired. The techniques employed were extremely harmful to the environment, for example. The presence of numerous mining sites, the disappearance and siltation of rivers and streams, and the erosion processes are still sometimes active to the present day. They represent the modus operandi of that colonial exploitation (Figs. 5.4 and 5.5).

Clearly, none of this can be thought of without regard to the presence of slavery. The five large worked areas and the volume of sediments moved accurately indicate the presence of large amount of slaves used as labor force.

Slave labor was present on a large scale since the beginning of the activities. It was often necessary to deforest the land, create an infrastructure of canals, dams, *mundéus* (a kind of decantation tank), galleries, the diversion of rivers, and so forth. As one can see, the slaves were utilized both in the implementation phase of the project and in its subsequent operation (Fig. 5.6).

Some iconographic representations of mining projects are enlightening for demonstrating the existing relations of domination and their resulting reactions (Fig. 5.7).The control of the slaves was designed to prevent breakouts, sabotage, thefts, and other acts against the slave regime. This aspect of that activity is an indication of the level of tension and the possibilities of conflict. Tension, violence, and conflict were inseparable from the mining activity and from those who gave it support through the use of slave labor.

The turbulence within the society of Minas Gerais over the first two decades of the eighteenth century was allegedly referred to by the then governor of Minas Gerais, Pedro de Almeida, Count Assumar:

> the earth seems to evaporate riots; the water exudes mutinies; the gold exchanges insults; the atmosphere distils freedom; the clouds vomit insolences; the stars influence disorder; the weather is a tomb for peace and cradle for rebellion; the nature is restless within itself and mutinous deep inside, it is like hell. (Mello e Souza 1994, p. 59)

Archaeological remains also bear witness to that reality. The robustness of the buildings erected with slave labor, the fortified sites, the strategic locations, and the defensive elements present in the architecture reinforce the idea of a turbulent society.

For some of its exceptional features, it is worth mentioning the archaeological site called Forte de Brumadinho. In an area of approximately 40 km^2, there are spread traces of mining activity, a fortress that was certainly used as the headquarters of the enterprise, and remnants of a farm that would give support to the aforementioned site (Fig. 5.8).

As to the nature of the main headquarters, there is no doubt that it was a fortified position. However, it cannot be overlooked that it was the site and head office of a private mining company. The features of the building, as well as the form of occupation and use of the area, reveal that it was built in the eighteenth century. Next to the fortress is a large excavation having the appearance of a mineral extraction site. Surely, the whole enterprise, from its implementation to its operation, was only possible with the use of a slave labor force.

On the other hand, the need for a defensive structure of such proportions shows a clear demand for defense. Even though an attack might have never occurred, the expectations which validated the construction of that kind of buildings point to a conflictive reality, where threats from gangs of looters, American natives, and quilombolas (people from the quilombos), among others, can be identified.

Along similar lines to the defensive architecture, fortified farms were also typical, many of which are archaeological sites. In such cases, the presence of embrasures is a strategic element and a heritage from Portuguese medieval architecture.

Considering the nature of the embrasures and the robustness of buildings, it is possible to believe in the permanence of conflict situations in Minas Gerais society
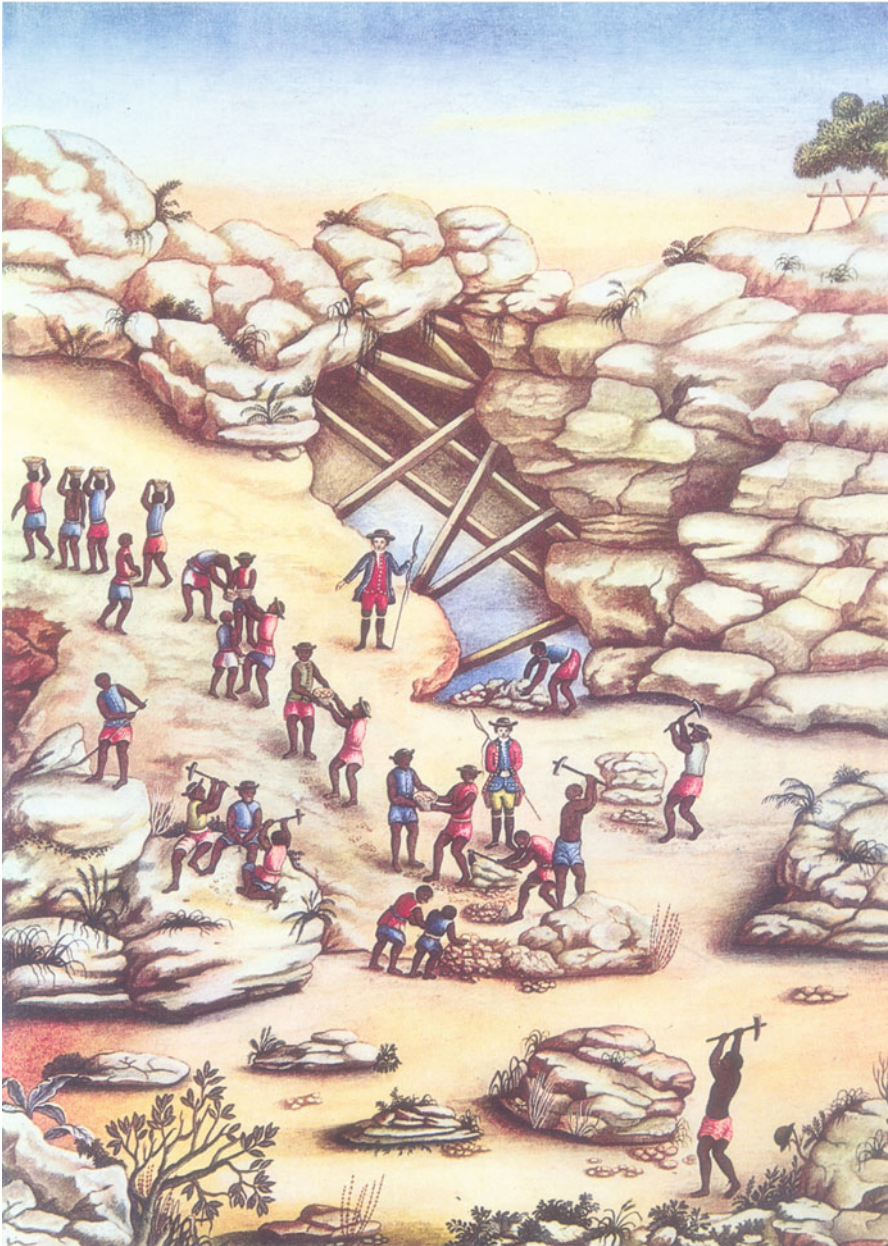
Fig. 5.6 Diamonds extraction. (Carlos Julião 1776)

studied. Given the systematic turbulence of social order, mechanisms and strategic actions were developed in order to soften the antagonisms. This can also be seen by the presence of certain types of remains (Figs. 5.9, 5.10 and 5.11).

Fig. 5.7 Way of mining and extracting diamonds, Minas Gerais, eighteenth century, anonymous (n.d.)

The Catholic Church and Christianity were both capital elements in the maintenance of slavery. The connection between the Church and the state can be considered one of the most efficient instruments for the preservation of order in the colonial slave society (Cehila—Comissão de Estudos 1987; Costa 1998; Davis 2001; Fonseca 1988; Gorender 1978; Gutman 1976; Stevenson 1996).

The presence of chapels in farms indicates their capacity to penetrate diverse and remote areas. Several aspects must be taken into consideration.

The Church worked to promote the conversion—forced, if necessary—of the slave population that was being continuously introduced into the colony. On the other hand, the institution took advantage in every possible circumstance of the exploitation of labor. The fact that clergymen and religious orders were slave owners is a consistent indicator of that reality.

The archaeological remains of a chapel should be approached from different angles, starting with the fact that most of the buildings were constructed using slave labor. The same process of exploitation used in other activities was applied to the construction of the infrastructure of the Church (Fig. 5.12).

From an operational standpoint, the use of the chapel was designed for religious practices that worked both for the maintenance of Christianity and for the nurturing of the slave society.

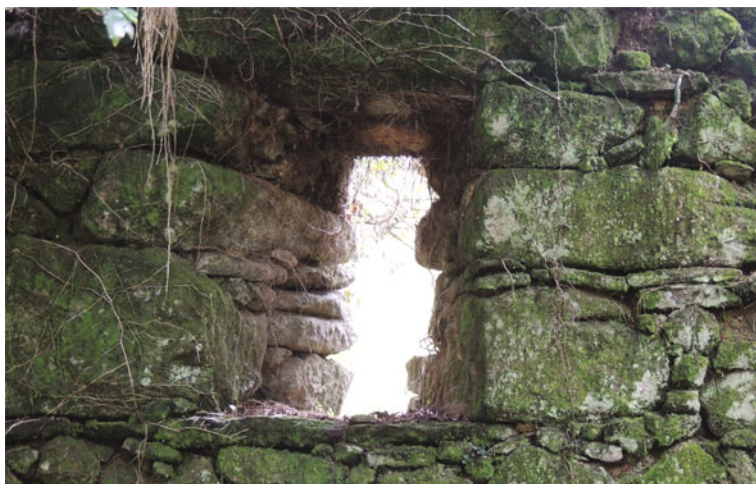**Fig. 5.8** Forte de Brumadinho (Brumadinho Fort), Minas Gerais. (Laboratório de Arqueologia da Fafich/UFMG 2012)

Fig. 5.9 Embrasure at Chacrinha dos Pretos, Minas Gerais. (Laboratório de Arqueologia da Fafich/UFMG 2013)

Fig. 5.10 Embrasure at Fazenda do Barão, Minas Gerais. (Laboratório de Arqueologia da Fafich/UFMG 2013)

Fig. 5.11 Embrasure at Capão do Lana, Minas Gerais. (Laboratório de Arqueologia da Fafich/UFMG 2008)

Accordingly, the efficacy of religion has always been associated with ideas of passivity and acceptance of suffering as a condition for reward after death. In this perspective, forced conversion, enslavement, and religious practices were part of the same context, allowing religion to act as an attenuating mechanism on the reactions caused by the first two factors.

Fig. 5.12 Ruins of the chapel at Chacrinha dos Pretos, Minas Gerais. (Laboratório de Arqueologia da Fafich/UFMG 2013)

An evaluation of slavery, over three and a half centuries, shows the efficiency of all the means created for its maintenance, including the actions of the Church and Christianity. However, this efficiency was not absolute when all forms of reaction implemented by the slaves along the whole period are considered. The breakouts, revolts, quilombos, aggressions, and other kinds of response confirm the turbulent reality of a society that had slavery as the prominent way of organizing work.

Quilombos

Throughout the eighteenth century, the communities formed by runaway slaves were a constant element in the dynamics of the society of Minas Gerais. Wherever slavery was adopted, the escaping of slaves and the formation of such communities became a fact of daily life.

Created from the most variable conditions and set in the most diverse environments, quilombos developed numerous activities in order to survive. The risk of being discovered, attacked, and destroyed was part of the everyday life in these communities (Arruti 2006; Costa 1998; Genovese 1983; Gorender 1978, 1990; Moura 2001). Configured as one of the structural contradictions of slave society, the fugitive slaves' communities were an expression of the declared conflict between its members and the dominant social order. By escaping the condition of slaves, the quilombolas originated the conflict situation that triggered all the means of repression against

Fig. 5.13 Representation of a ship at the Quilombo da Cabaça, Minas Gerais. (Laboratório de Arqueologia da Fafich/UFMG 1980)
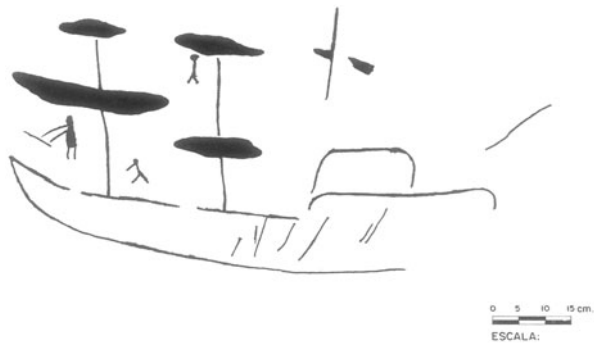
them. Although incipient in Brazil, the archaeology of quilombos shows promising results (Funari 1999; Guimarães 1988, 2002, 2007).

Returning to the issue of the slave ships, in the area of a road that linked two seventeenth-century urban settlements in the diamond region—Arraial do Tejuco and Vila do Príncipe—was a refuge of fugitive slave settlement identified as Quilombo da Cabaça. Along with surface vestiges, indicating that artifacts were brought to the quilombo, are drawings made with charcoal on the ceiling of one of the shelters, among which we highlight the depiction of a ship (Guimarães 1992; Fig. 5.13).

Even though made with simple lines, the illustration shows characteristics that permit us to identify the type of boat. An analysis points, in addition to the number of masts and sails, to its probably being an ocean vessel (Castro 2006). An interpretation should consider a number of variables. The starting point is its locale: a quilombo in continental Brazil, a few hundred miles inland from the coast. Considered the scene's context, it is essential to think about its further elements.

It is undeniable that the work is assembled with certain naivety that does not relate it, for instance, with the nature of a slave ship. The watercraft, one can observe, does not represent the structure required of an oceangoing vessel.

Our attempt at interpretation requires us to put the two cases side by side. Paying attention to context, the first ship is represented in a slave market, where the enslaved entered the colonial world as its workforce (compulsory). In the second case, the ship is in a quilombo, where slavery was denied in all aspects, except the legal one (property rights of the master over the slave).

Taking into account this difference in context, it is possible to imagine that context was reflected in the minds of the artists, since the conditions of both were determined by their insertion in each of the settings. Their situation is marked by a radical difference. As it has been said, in the first case, the author of the image was entering the world of slavery, and in the second case, he had left it behind. If there are grounds for this observation, it is possible to admit that the meaning of each vessel represented is guided by different memory content and expectation.

In preparing the first record, there would be the memory of the process of enslavement and transportation to the colony. In the second, the condition of the author implies a new reality where the conflicts and antagonisms have reached their limit, that is, to deny their status as slaves.

From an archaeological point of view, we should consider that all the remains found at a quilombo site express the permanence of runaway slaves there, who therefore denied the possibility of exploitation of their workforce, invalidating slavery itself as a system. Not surprisingly, whenever discovered, they were violently attacked and destroyed.

While there is a denial of the slave system, the quilombos afforded rebellious slaves possibilities of life in which even their return to Africa could be a potential prospect. This is one of the circumstances that can be taken into account in the interpretation of the ship drawn at the Quilombo da Cabaça. It would not be a fragment of memory from a previous reality, but a future perspective considered desirable, although it had not yet come to fruition.

Conclusion

By way of conclusion, it should be pointed out that despite the fragmentary nature of this presentation, it is necessary not to lose sight that each analyzed element was involved in one or more contexts. The perspective of totality is absolutely fundamental to understanding the different aspects of the scenarios explored. This observation is relevant because the vestige—only by its material or functional nature—is not enough to produce solid information about the social relations and conflicts in which it was involved.

It should also be said that the idea of conflict, as used here, is not restricted to situations where they manifest themselves openly: It is necessary to consider them in their latent form. The old colonial system, colonial Brazil, Minas Gerais, the mining enterprises and farms, and Quilombo da Cabaça are totalities that are expressed as we narrow or widen our focus. Defining the focus allows us to comprehend the different dynamics and conflicts inherent to the dominant social order. In this case, an order based on slavery.

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Chapter 6
When All Bases Are Flat: Central Africans and Situated Practices in the Eighteenth-Century Brazil

Marcos André T. Souza

Introduction

One of the most challenging endeavors in historical archaeology is to explain the cultural transformations that Africans and their descendants experienced in the Americas. A number of influential models of culture change (Mintz and Price 1992, p. 225; Herskovits 1941; Frazier 1949; Thornton 1998) and regional explanations for the emergence of African-influenced cultural practices (Freyre 1943; Ortiz 1947; Brathwaite 1971) have dominated academics for almost a century and contributed to the shaping of discussions involving slaves' related material culture and practices.

In this chapter, I discuss two aspects that I believe have been overlooked in archaeological studies involving culture change among African descendants. The first aspect involves the material practices of slaves beyond their African background. It is my opinion that most archaeologists—including myself—have tended to concentrate their efforts in identifying African retentions as a primary form to assess the cultural practices of these individuals, albeit there have been some relevant contributions in a different direction (Deagan 1996; Orser 1996; Armstrong 1998, 2003; Hauser 2008). Archaeologists have tended to overlook the incorporation of European references by slaves, especially those that did not parallel with African practices and worldviews. It is my perception that taking into account the ways in which both European and African practices intersect can allow us a more nuanced assessment of the slaves' cultural practices and their participation in society. As synthetized, Mintz and Price (1992, p. 39), "slaves and freemen remained at once profoundly intertwined yet clearly separate."

This approach does not imply analyzing one aspect in detriment of the other. It involves considering both aspects as inherently related.

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A second aspect underrepresented in archaeological studies involves the analysis of pottery shapes and its connection with slaves' material practices, which is particularly true in the Brazilian case. In order to explain cultural practices among slaves, we have strongly relied on the examination of pottery decoration (Agostini 1998; Dias 1988; Souza 2002, 2010; Symanski 2007, 2010, 2012; Souza and Symanski 2009; Symanski and Zanettini 2010; Souza and Agostini 2012; Tedesco 2012) as well as its context of production and commercialization (Jacobus 1996; Zanettini and Wichers 2009; Agostini 2010). In considering other aspects of these vessels, such as their shape, we can significantly expand discussions on this topic.

In my analysis, I take advantage of recent developments in historical archaeology that adopt the Atlantic perspective as a heuristic tool (Ogundiran and Falola 2007; Singleton and Souza 2009; Singleton 2010; Fennell 2011; Gijanto and Horlings 2012). In considering the Atlantic and Diaspora as a single unit of analysis, the impacts and consequences of the dispersion of Africans in the Americas can be better understood. Methodologically, I assume a comparative view of both Brazil and Africa in order to assess the changes that Africans endured in Brazil.

In my analysis, I strongly rely on the patterns of slave trade, a procedure used by some Brazilian scholars (Symanski 2007, 2010, 2012; Souza and Symanski, 2009; Symanski and Zanettini 2010; Souza and Agostini 2012). The significance of this approach particularly lies in the high rates of Africanity that existed among Brazilian slaves, especially during the eighteenth century (Klein and Luna 2010, pp. 35–73). Among the slaves who arrived in this country, there were the central Africans, who were ubiquitous in all Brazilian regions. These individuals comprised nearly 45 % of the 11 million Africans who were imported as slaves into the Americas from Africa between 1519 and 1867 and who had Brazil as a major destiny (Heywood 2002, p. 8).

Taking into account the standpoints briefly outlined above, it is my intention to discuss a particular shape of cooking pots found in both central Africa and Brazil. Thinking comparatively, I intend to discuss some of the transformations in the material practices of Brazilian slaves, as well as some of the implications of these transformations. I intend to focus on the shaping of new cultural and social practices among these individuals.

A Type of African Pottery

Figure 6.1 was taken by Elmano Cunha e Costa between 1935 and 1939. Cunha, who defined himself as *um curioso das coisas mentais que a África seduziu e prendeu* (a person who is curious of the mental things that Africa seduced and captivated; Costa 1943, p. 93), produced a photographic documentary with around 8000 images that cover 58 ethnic groups who occupied a vast area located between Cabinda and the southern region of Angola. His work was made in collaboration with Carlos Estermann, a missionary and ethnographer who studied groups from the south and southwest of Angola (Estermann 1960; for a critical reading of his work, see Fiorotti 2012). Through a partnership with the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, the Instituto
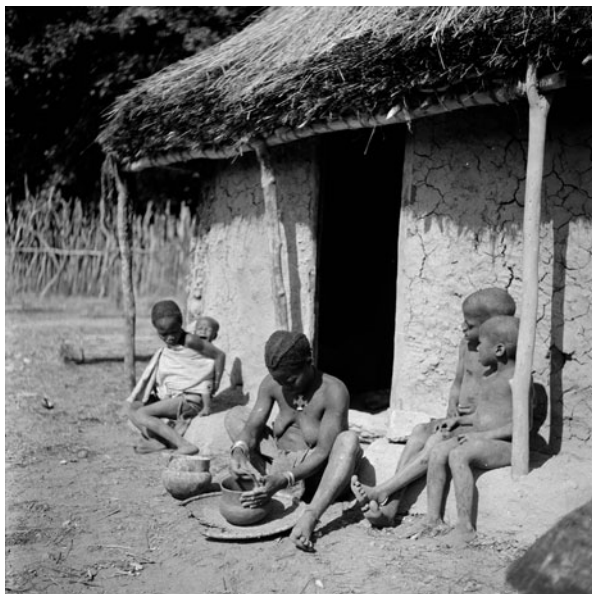
Fig. 6.1 "Olaria Indígena" (Costa 1935–1939). This picture portrays pottery production among the Engondeiros, Bié province, Angola. (Courtesy of Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Portugal)

de Investigação Científica Tropical, Portugal, the collection was digitalized and made available on the Internet (<http://actd.iict.pt>).

Costa's pictures clearly follow a plan, possibly scripted by Estermann. He portrayed aspects of each groups' life, including their social and economic activities, religious practices, and artistic manifestations. Among them, there is the conspicuous presence of pottery vessels, which appear either as the central subject of the pictures or as an incidental element. In a close examination of these vessels, it came to my attention that there is a familiar vessel shape (see Fig. 6.1). This type of vessel sometimes appears in scenes that portray pottery production. More frequently, they appear in everyday activities. Considering its recurrent appearance in hearth areas, it became clear to me that this type of vessel was used as a cooking pot, even though the possible agency for other uses cannot be ignored.

Its shape has a composite contour, formed by a round base, an inverted ovoid body, and a very distinctive cylindrical neck. It presents slight stylistic variations, having profiles that range from direct to insloping, and lips that range from direct to extroverted. The distinctive shape of the neck of this cooking pot can easily catch the attention of the archaeologist since, as we have learned from ethnoarchaeological examples, necked recipients are more frequently used in transportation or storage vessels, especially because of its elongated shape, which allows the accurate pouring of liquid and prevents the spillage of liquids during transportation (Arnold 1985). Conversely, its use in cooking pots makes the cleaning trickier. It also hinders access to its content, making it more difficult to put in materials or to mix or stir contents (Rice 1987, pp. 225, 241).

Despite this apparent inadequacy, a close look at this shape shows that it was, in fact, functionally suited. The elongated and insloped neck prevents spills during the cooking and serving process and retards evaporation of the contents (Rice 1987, p. 241), which makes this type of vessel perfectly suitable for the preparing of meals that demand lengthened periods of heating, such as beans. For instance, in describing the Ovimbundu, Hambly (1934, p. 146) mentioned a meal in which pounded corn and beans were added to boiling water, and in which cooking went from early morning to sunset over a slow fire. He also described a variety of dishes in which manioc and potatoes were added to boiling water (Hambly 1934, pp. 146–148).

The vessel resting beside the potter in Fig. 6.1 is slightly tumbled, which is probably due to its instability when placed away from the hearth area. When settled on flat surfaces, its round base makes it difficult for it to rest in an upright position. The combination of an elongated neck and an ovoid body does not contribute to its stability, since these features makes the vessel taller and consequently more unstable (Shepard 1956, p. 237). The ability of ceramic vessels to stand in a firm position is an important attribute, since pottery has little mechanical resistance when compared to other materials and is easily subject to break. Again, this inconvenience seems compensated by some clear advantages: round bases create a larger surface of contact with the hearth area and allow a better distribution of heat and avoidance of thermal stress. Since bases with sharp changes of direction, such as carinations, and especially flat bases, join the vessel wall at an angle, they may not be most efficient for cooking because of thermal differentials, which can cause cracking or spalling during the cooking process (Rye 1976, pp. 113–114). The round base also has an important function. In different regions of Angola, cooking pots are placed in three hearth supports that can be made by either stones or old inverted pottery vessels that are full of clay, or "três morros de salalé"—three arranged blocks of white ants nests (Monteiro 1875, p. 278; Capelo et al. 1882, p. 31; Malheiro 1903, p. 111; Diniz 1918, pp. 36, 196, 405; Hambly 1934, p. 150; Cabrita 1954, pp. 464–465; Reis and Costa 1961). More direct ethnographic work from South and central Africa indicates that some groups preferred cooking pots with round bases, since they adapt to these types of support and make the placement of the vessel more secure (Stewart 2005, p. 7), which was the case of the vessel shape considered here (Cabrita 1954, p. 168). In short, although this vessel does not sit well on flat surfaces, it is perfectly suitable for a specific type of hearth area and cooking support.

An important attribute of cooking pots involves its "graspability." It is noticeable that the vessel shown in Fig. 6.1 does not have flanges, handles, or lugs in order to provide some grip and protect its user against high temperatures when holding the vessel. It also does not have any other device for holding or suspension, as with the vast majority of cooking pots surveyed. In the Cunha collection, the handling of the vessels and their contents was done in different ways. The stirring was done with the use of wooden spoons and paddles (see about these utensils Carvalho 1890, p. 274), small sticks, or just a raw piece of wood. For transporting the vessel and the manipulation of the contents, they could use their hands and feet directly. The practice of holding the vessel with the feet is interesting, since it involves a particular kind of operation. This procedure did not pass unnoticed by Carvalho

(1890, p. 277) in his ethnographic study of the people from the Lunda region in northeast Angola. He described the preparing of a corn meal by the gradual addition of pounded corn to water and its constant stirring; when the right cooking point was reached, the cook removed the cooking pot from the fire, attached the vessel between her feet, and continued the stirring process until it reached the appropriate consistency. Some pictures took by Cunha exemplify this process (e.g., "Cena caseira"; <http://actd.iict.pt/view/actd:AHUD14473>).

Overall, the suitability of this type of vessel was obtained by practical decisions that involved a number of compensations. Although its long neck made it difficult to access to the vessel, it also prevented the spillage of its contents and retarded the evaporation when long cooking processes were demanded. Its round base did not have stability when away from the fire, but had a better fit when accommodated in the hearth area. In addition, it created a larger surface of contact, allowing a better distribution of heat and the avoidance of thermal stress. The appropriateness of this type of vessel was related to the type of food and the diet adopted by several groups from Angola, which heavily relied on the consumption of corn, manioc, and different types of beans and pumpkins, which were ordinarily added to boiling water in different combinations and usually intended for the preparing of paps (Diniz 1918; Statham 1922, p. 219; Hambly 1934, pp. 146–147).

Cooking vessels portrayed by Cunha could vary in size, the most common being the one portrayed in Fig. 6.1. A rough estimate of its capacity would be about 3.0 L, suggesting that this type of vessel was used for small groups of individuals. As indicated by some pictures taken by Cunha, as well as different ethnographic studies, decorations were placed on the necks and, occasionally, the upper body of these vessels (Fig. 6.2). These decorations were made by the production of incisions with small sticks or by stamping. A complementary aspect of its decoration involves the display of motifs in decorated zones. As shown in Fig. 6.2, the vessel on the left has three decorated zones, while the one on the right has five decorated zones, which is a common feature of most of the decorated vessels found in different central African regions.

From Africa to Brazil

A survey of the Cunha collection indicated that vessels with the shape similar to the one shown in Fig. 6.1 were scattered in a relatively broad area (Fig. 6.3). Nevertheless, it is noticeable that these vessels do not appear in the northern region of Angola, which roughly corresponds to the area of influence of the Bakongo speakers, as well as the area of influence of the Kongo kingdom during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Other ethnographic information dating from the early twentieth century confirms the dispersion of this type of cooking pot as limited to the southern half of Angola. In the northern region of this country, cooking pots portrayed by Cunha usually include short and bulgy vessels with low necks. Ethnographic work also shows this same tendency (Redinha 1967, p. 19). An exception comes from quite
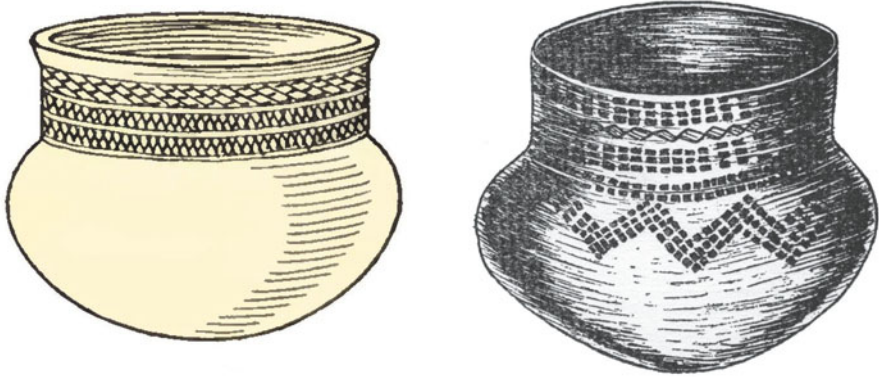
Fig. 6.2 Cooking pots from different regions of Angola. At *left,* Ovimbundu pottery, Elende region; at *right,* Luena pottery, Moxico region. (After Hambly 1934: plates XIV and XXXV, Estermann 1960, p. 190)

a vast survey of ceramic types from the Congo area, in which this shape appears to be represented (Musée 1907, p. 244, plate XVII). This evidence indicates that the separation observed cannot be considered monolithically, especially because some cultural exchanges occurred between these two regions (Hambly 1934, pp. 186–187), including the commerce of pottery (Birmingham 1975, p. 382). Yet, an important aspect related to this type of vessel comes from the few Iron Age sites investigated in Angola. Data from these investigations suggest a long-term tendency in the production of cooking pots with long necks and inverted ovoid shapes, in northern, central (Ervedosa 1980, pp. 199–202, est. LX), and southern frontiers of its area of distribution (Stewart 2005).

The dispersion area of this pottery corresponds to two slave trade areas: Luanda (or Angola) and Benguela (Fig. 6.4). During the slave trade period, Luanda was the most significant slaves' embarkation area of central Africa. Founded in 1571, this port had a variety of trade connections with the interior, mostly from Kassange, located southwest from Luanda, and sent slaves captured in its surroundings (Birmingham 1976, p. 239; Vansina 1992, p. 587). Due to commercial connections with indigenous groups, as well as their own initiative for creating trading posts, the Portuguese were able to send slaves captured in the far interior to Luanda. By 1760, trade areas outreached the Kwanza river and, by the first decades of the nineteenth century, brought the slave frontier beyond the limits of today's Angola at the west (Miller 1988, pp. 146, 151, 260; Vansina 1992, p. 587; Rodrigues 2005, p. 104).

Although slaves were sent from Benguela through the entire eighteenth century, this port only assumed significance after 1770, although it was never comparable to the volumes from Luanda (Miller 2002, p. 34). The growing exports of slaves from this region after the 1770s is related with the emergence of Ovimbundo Kingdoms located in the Benguela Plateau and beyond, west from Benguela. These kingdoms grew as trading societies. As in the case of Luanda, slave trade in this region was
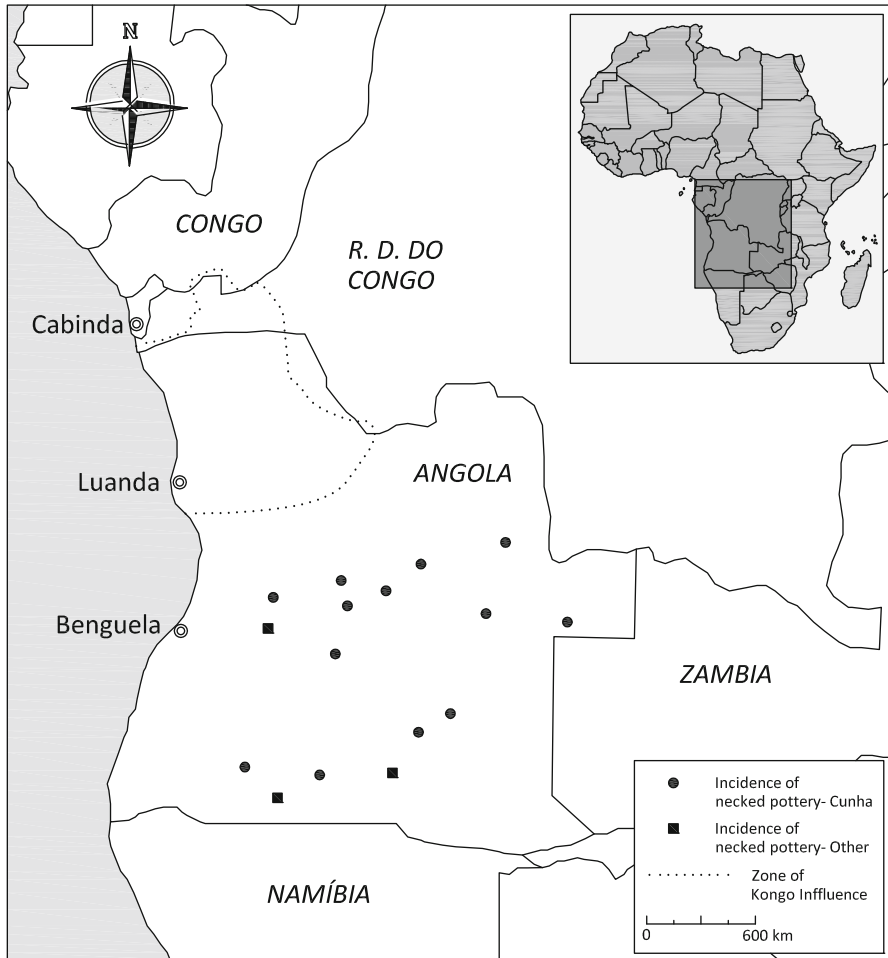
Fig. 6.3 The areas of incidence of the necked pottery discussed in this text. Groups portrayed by Cunha include Ambundo (Mbundo), Bailundo, Caluchaze, Calunda, Camaxi, Cuanhama, Engondeiro, Ganguela, Humbe, Luena, Luimbe, Quioco, and Bihé nd. Other groups include Elende (after Hambly 1934, plate XXXIV), Dimba, and Herero (after Redinha 1967, p. 18). The zone of Kongo influence was defined after Vansina (1992, p. 551). (Map by Marcos A. T. de Souza)

favored by the gradual penetration of the Portuguese in its territory and by the foundation of trade posts and *presidios* (fortified cities). At the turn of the eighteenth century, slave raids reached the western slave frontier, located at the Upper Zambezi River, East Zambia, as well as the fringes of the Namibian desert, in the present-day frontier between Angola and Namibia (Birmingham 1975, pp. 359–262, 1976, p. 231; Miller 1988, p. 218).

Both the Luanda and Benguela areas were controlled by the Portuguese who were, according to Curtin (1969, p. 210) estimates, responsible for 63.5 % of the
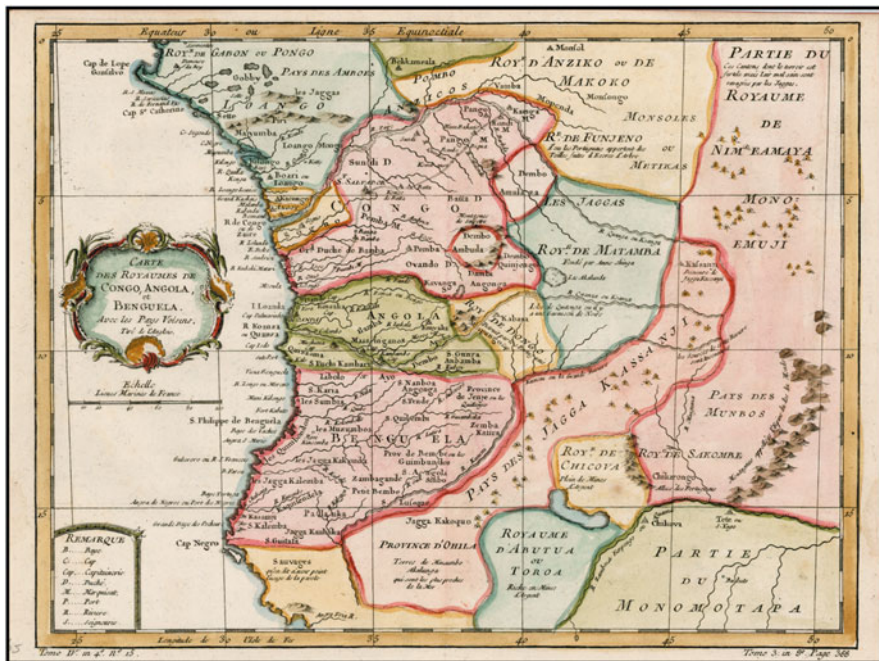
Fig. 6.4 "Carte des Royaumes de Congo, Angola et Benguela Avec les Pays Voisns," Jacques (Bellin, Paris, 1754)

slave exports in central Africa during the eighteenth century. What is more important for the discussion here addressed is the fact that the majority of the slave exports made by the Portuguese in central Africa had Brazil as the destination (Alencastro 2000; Florentino and Góes 1997; Rodrigues 2005). Among the most preeminent ports of arrival of slave ships in Brazil were Salvador, the colony's capital until 1763, and Rio de Janeiro, which had a particular connection with Luanda. For the most part of the eighteenth century, Rio de Janeiro answered for about 51 % of the slave imports from Luanda and Salvador for about 27 % (Klein 1972, p. 901). A similar situation happened with Benguela, which had traders who had close commercial ties to Rio de Janeiro, especially towards the end of that century (Silva 2003, pp. 253–254; Bezerra 2010).

The trade between Brazil and Angola during the eighteenth century was fueled by the discovery of extensive gold deposits located in the inland provinces of Minas Gerais, Goiás, and Mato Grosso (Fig. 6.5). Considering the significance of Luanda and Benguela for the Portuguese sector, slaves from these regions were ubiquitous in the mining areas, although represented by different demographic figures (Luna and Cano 1983; Bergard 1994; Silva 1995; Karasch 2002; Loiola 2009).

During most part of the eighteenth century, Brazil did not receive slaves from the ports of Congo. Trade with this region began only at the turn of the nineteenth century. Tensions between the Portuguese and the Kongo kingdom erupted in the seventeenth

Fig. 6.5 The approximate Brazilian mining areas of the eighteenth century and the sites mentioned in this text. (Map by Marcos A. T. de Souza)

century, which made the Portuguese shift their attention to Luanda and Benguela. These tensions echoed during the eighteenth century and were responsible for the creation of a clear cleavage that separated the Luanda and Benguela trade, carried out by the Portuguese ships, and the Congo trade, carried out by other European nations (Vansina 1992). This picture would only change in the early nineteenth century. It was only after the disintegration of the Kongo kingdom and the banning of slave trade by the English and other nations that the trade of the Portuguese resumed in this region, vastly stimulated by its geography. As pointed out by Birmingham (1976, p. 261, see also Herlin 2003), the many creeks and islands in the estuaries located

Fig. 6.6 Cooking pot from Ouro Fino, Goiás, Brazil. (Courtesy of Instituto Goiano de Pré-História e Antropologia, Pontifícia Universidade Católica de Goiás; drawing by Valéria Aparecida Oliveira)
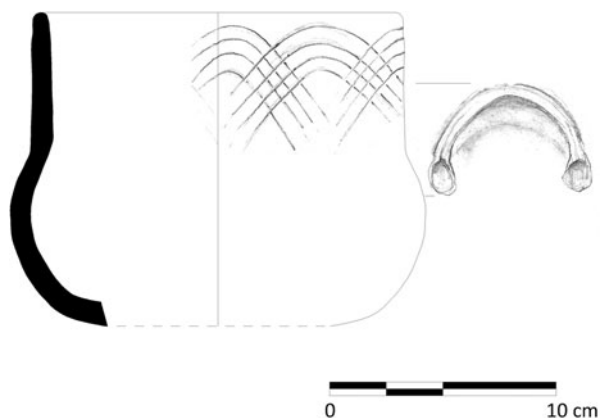
close to the mouth of the Congo river made clandestine traffic easier than on the open coast, which attracted the interest of the Portuguese.

This picture obviously does not exclude the possibility that peoples from Congo had arrived in Brazil during the eighteenth century. Captives were obtained in central Africa by multiple and interlocking sources. For this reason, some of the captives sent through Luanda could have been captured in regions occupied by the Kongo peoples or under their influence (Miller 1988, pp. 216, 225). What this evidence actually indicates is a tendency of the Portuguese sector to obtain slaves from Luanda and Benguela, which was implicated in a denser slave population from these regions in the Brazilian context. More important for the discussion here addressed is the possibility that individuals who were familiar with the vessel type discussed above were made captive in significant numbers and sent to Brazil, as indicated by the slave trade patterns of the eighteenth century.

A Type of Brazilian Pottery

Figure 6.6 presents a vessel with shape characteristics that resemble the one presented in Fig. 6.1 and that can be potentially related with people who embarked from Luanda and Benguela. This vessel comes from archaeological excavations in Ouro Fino (Souza 2000, 2002), an eighteenth-century gold mining village located close to the city of Vila Boa, Goiás. In this site, a minimum number of 77 vessels dating from the eighteenth century were recovered and, among them, at least seven were examples of the type shown in Fig. 6.6.

Just as the African cooking pot from Figs. 6.1 and 6.2, this type of vessel presents a composite contour, having an inverted ovoid body and a cylindrical neck. Overall, this type has slight stylistic variations, especially in its neck, which can present profiles that are direct or insloping. Sometimes, the lips can be extroverted and have an internal reinforcement. Its base is flat, as are all types of vessels from this site,

Fig. 6.7 Cooking pot from
Quilombo da Cabaça, Minas
Gerais, Brazil. (Courtesy of
Carlos Magno Guimarães,
Laboratório de Arqueologia
da FAFICH, Universidade
Federal de Minas Gerais;
photography by Marcos A. T.
de Souza)

and Brazil in general. The vessel shown in Fig. 6.6 was used as a cooking pot, as indicated by the evidence of soot in the exterior surface of its body and base. Four of the seven vessels identified in Ouro Fino with this shape indicated that this was its major intended function, if not its exclusive function. This vessel was of small size, having the capacity of 2.3 L. Overall, this type of vessel was small to medium, with its capacity ranging from 2.3 to 4.9 L, which is the tendency of most of the vessels found in Ouro Fino (Souza 2000, pp. 99–100). A distinctive aspect of this type of vessel—as well as others from the eighteenth-century mining sites—is the presence of lugs. The vessel shown in Fig. 6.6 is a good example. It has a lug applied to the junction of the body and neck and with a depression made by the action of a thumb in its terminations. In Ouro Fino, another three vessels with this shape had lugs, including another with thumb impressions, one with incised lines in its extremity, and one undecorated. As evidence from less fragmented vessels suggest, they ordinarily had two lugs located on opposite sides.

The formation of these vessels was done by coiling and had the characteristic of having triturated quartz or fine sand as tempers, which is a tendency of the eighteenth-century pottery from Goiás. Its firing was quite variable. Examination of the different colors throughout cross sections of the vessel wall indicates that their firing could be by oxidizing, reducing, or could be incomplete, which is not the tendency of other cooking pots from Ouro Fino, in which firing was more frequently reducing, a procedure that makes them more resistant to thermal stress. A characteristic feature of this and other vessels from Ouro Fino is its external surface, which is mostly smoothed in the neck and upper body, and scrapped in the lower body, forming a series of striations produced by a corncob or similar tools. The decoration present in Fig. 6.6 is composed by intersected arcs, a common type of motif from the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Brazilian sites. This decoration is observed even in cooking pots dated from the early twentieth century (Souza and Symanski 2009, p. 542). Other decorative patterns include intersected zigzags, diagonal lines, and diamonds, all of them produced by incisions.

A second example of this type of vessel comes from Quilombo da Cabaça (Fig. 6.7), an eighteenth-century runaway slave settlement located in a rock shelter in the mining region of Diamantina, Minas Gerais (Guimarães 1992, 2001). Its shape is similar to the ones found in Ouro Fino, having the same composite contour. In this case, its neck presents a slight inslope and an extroverted lip. Soot deposits on its external body indicate its use as a cooking pot. Its capacity can be estimated at 2.2 L, which makes it a small vessel. Its lug is similar to the one found in Ouro Fino, having the same shape and thumb impressions in its extremity. The vessel had its lower body formed by molding and the upper body and neck by modeling. It was tempered with minerals and burned in an open fire. Its decoration is striking. It occupies the neck and is composed by jointed incised triangles, filled with three small parallel lines.

Situated Practices

The distinctive shape of the type of cooking pot here discussed, and the historical connection between the regions in which they appear in central Africa and Brazil, makes possible the influence of one region to another. In this case, I consider at least two possibilities. A first possibility includes the introduction of this type of vessel by slaves captured in the southern half of Angola, an area in which this type of vessel was commonly used, as historical and archaeological sources indicate. A second possibility includes its introduction by other groups of individuals and its appropriation by central Africans, who could recognize it as familiar and potentially useful for some specific purposes. Both cases would involve material remembrances that could be instrumentalized in Brazil. The assumption that there is a connection between the vessels produced in both sides of the Atlantic Ocean is strengthened by the fact that they were probably produced and used by individuals with strong ethnic and cultural ties. Documentary and archaeological evidence indicates that slaves were the workforce responsible for carrying out the work in the kitchens, as well as producing utilitarian objects, including pottery (Mott 1976; Jacobus 1996), even though other agents could also be involved in its production (Agostini 2010).

Regardless of the existence of an African influence in the shape of vessels found in both Goiás and Minas Gerais, it is my understating that a comparative look of two similar types of cooking pots that were used by culturally related agents may be methodologically useful. This procedure would allow some glimpses into the material transformations that African cultures endured in the New World, and the meanings attached to them.

The relationship of this shape with its function is a good way for approaching this issue. As I argued in an earlier section of this chapter, this vessel was suited for the cooking of staple foods common in central Africa, such as corn, manioc, and different types of beans, all of them prepared in boiling water. The ability of this vessel to prevent spilling and to minimize evaporation when long cooking processes were demanded made this type of vessel appropriate for such use. In Brazil, food

preferences were not too different, and this type of vessel would have a similar application. For the case of the mining region of Goiás, historical accounts indicate that similar items were used as food staples. For instance, in a letter dated from 1735, Manoel Caetano related the principal food items commercialized in the region were corn, manioc flour, beans, bacon, and chicken (Palacin et al. 1995, p. 210). In a different document, in which local production of goods is described, corn appears at the top of local production, followed by manioc flour, sugarcane by-products, and beans. More occasionally, wheat, vegetables, and rice appear (Bertran 1997). Just as significant as the similarities of the consumed items is the way in which they were prepared. In Brazil, although pounded corn was disparaged by the free population as unpalatable, it was particularly appreciated by slaves (Holanda 1994, pp. 181–182). Pounded corn was known as *fubá,* a term that derives from the Kikongo *mfuba* (Lopes 2003, p. 102), and was mostly cooked by boiling water (Holanda 1994, p. 182). In Diamantina, the region in which the Quilombo da Cabaça was located, George Gardner described, in the early nineteenth century, the diet of slaves, mentioning the significance of the *fubá* for these individuals. According to him, "Their diet, which is not of the most nutritious nature, consists mainly of boiled beans and *fubá,* which, with the addition of hot water, is made into a thick paste called *angú*" (Gardner and Pinheiro 1942, p. 389). In this sense, the appropriateness of this type of vessel matches with the maintenance of some food preferences inherited from a previous African experience. Interestingly, some of these items went back and forth, as was the case of manioc and corn, which originated in the Americas and were introduced by the Europeans in their early contacts with Africans (Alencastro 2000).

While some practices were maintained, this did not happen without relevant and substantive changes. One of them is implied with the adoption of flat-bottomed vessels that, as I discussed earlier in this text, had some disadvantages and advantages over other types of bases. Flat bases made vessels less resistant to thermal stress and less suited for use in hearth areas with three supports. It was however suited for their use on flat surfaces. Beyond the strict functional aspect of this feature, one could argue that it actually involved culturally structured decisions. For central Africans, the appropriateness of the round base was related to the significance that hearth areas have in many societies from this region. The fire used for cooking is the one used for cultural and social interactions, and it is not casual that this very fire was laden with symbolic meanings. For some groups from north and south of Angola, this fire was involved in a nuptial rite, when the bride's parents give the "três morros de salalé" to the groom prior to marriage (Estermann 1960, p. 97; Vaz 1970, 1:251). Among the Ovimbundu, the making of fire is sacred and is made ceremonially in connection with rituals and sacrifices by medicine men, as it is among other peoples from Angola (Hambly 1934, pp. 151, 308–309). It is in this direction that Slenes (1999, p. 68) points out that the fire kept permanently burning in the inner areas of the Brazilian slave quarters could have a symbolic meaning, capable of sparking an African memory. Elsewhere, I argue that reunions around fires were of vital significance for the reproduction of cultural and social life among slaves. Through the analysis of artifacts from a well-preserved floor from a slave quarter located in a

nineteenth-century Brazilian plantation, I identified evidence that suggests that slaves who lived in this place gathered around the fire to carry out their daily activities. Based on this evidence, I argue that the situations of copresence created in the inner areas of these spaces made possible the creation and reproduction of reciprocal relationships among slaves and particular material practices (Souza forthcoming).

Despite the significance of hearth areas and the activities performed around them among slaves, a substantial change occurred in the base of the cooking pots used by them, which became flat and consequently less suited for use in the hearth areas. This change was motivated by the needs of colonial society, which adopted a number of elevated devices for the storage, processing, preparing, serving, and consuming of food, and that included items such as shelves, chests, cupboards, and, especially, tables. This last item was ordinarily used by the colonial society for the preparing and consumption of meals. Most importantly, tables were connected with a European logic and different rules of sociability. The adoption of elevated devices for the performance of daily activities, along with the cultural and social needs derived from it, made the issue of vessel stability critical and demanded the adoption of flat bases. The pervasiveness of this demand by Europeans went far beyond the Brazilian context. As archaeological evidence indicates, flat bases were conspicuous in many other European colonies, such as the USA (Ferguson 1980).

Considering other attributes of this particular type of pottery allows us to further this discussion. In comparing the Brazilian and African cooking pots previously described, the improvements made in the Brazilian ones regarding their "graspability" are quite evident.

Contrary to the African ones, these vessels invariably present lugs, which allow easier handling, especially when the vessel is filled with hot contents. The flat base provides an additional support for handling the vessel, offering a better grip, for instance, for stirring operations when the vessel is away from the fire, eliminating the need to hold it with the feet, as many groups from central Africa did. An additional feature comes from the production of a scrapped surface in the lower bottom of the vessel, which provides a better grip. These improvements allowed easier and safer handling of the cooking pot, which probably relates to a demand from colonial society.

The adoption of particular vessel features by the slaves who did not correlate with their material practices—including those laden with social and symbolic meanings—was made in order to heed a demand from the colonial society. Slaves from Ouro Fino—as many others in the colonial world—developed a relationship of interdependence with their masters in the constitution of daily practices, which had significant impacts. Some specific features in these vessels suggest that slaves—the ones directly responsible for cooking—engaged in a number of negotiations, in the terms of what Garman (1998) defined as "Resistant Accommodation," which considers that power relations involving masters and slaves stem from a number of daily interactions that are beyond the schisms of resistance–domination relationships. In dealing with their masters, slaves sought to fulfill some practical needs in order, for instance, to acquire a better status as workers, to obtain rewards for good services or to overcome vulnerabilities, such as the threat of punishment for work not performed accordingly.

To deal with masters certainly involved significant concessions and sacrifices of the self, as DuBois (1903, pp. 3–5) recognized. This kind of experience was an integral and significant part of the slaves' lives.

Adjusting to the colonial logic was an important part of the slaves' experience, as is indicated by some features of the cooking pots used by them. In this discussion, it is important to consider that the kitchen of the Great house was one of those places in which slaves and masters had closer contact and, consequently, were more actively involved in exchanges of choice (Mintz and Price 1992, p. 33). In mining villages such as Ouro Fino, there was a predominance of small domestic groups, generally composed by male masters and a few domestic servants, usually females (Souza 2000, pp. 96–100). In this context, it must be considered that it was these individuals who more actively engaged in negotiating their practices with free society.

In considering the decoration of these vessels, new elements come to the scene. In the vessel type here considered, a diverse array of motifs is displayed. They could range from colonial types, as the one present in Fig. 6.6, to motifs that have been categorized in Brazilian archaeology as African-inspired, such as zigzags, diamonds, and successive triangles (Agostini 1998; Souza 2002, 2010; Souza and Symanski, 2009; Symanski 2012, pp. 135–136). These last examples appear in both Ouro Fino and Quilombo da Cabaça, which has a vessel with a motif of triangles filled with small parallel lines (Fig. 6.7). Although at first glance some of these decorations seem to correlate with decorations found in Africa, one could argue that dissimilarities are equally evident. For instance, the production of bands of decorated zones in the vessel, which is one of the most recurrent features of pottery from central Africa (see Fig. 6.2), is totally absent in Brazilian sites. In the eighteenth-century mining contexts, techniques such as stamping, rouletting, and pointing, which were common in central African pottery, were extremely rare. Instead, incised motifs dominated most of the decorated vessels, as well as single decorated zones. Changes found in pottery from Brazilian sites indicate the emergence of a new way of producing decorations. Overall, decorations from sites such as Ouro Fino and Quilombo da Cabaça range from a more colonial style of decoration to a more "African" style. In this last case, it must be noticed that instead of being "African" in essence, these motifs seem to suggest that their intended purpose was primarily of being non-European by the evocation of loose African references, such as zigzags, diamonds, and filled triangles.

The connection of these vessels with their surrounding world is evident. This can be better explained if different lines of evidence from Quilombo da Cabaça are considered. For instance, this site was strategically located in a sloped area. However, it was placed in close proximity to a road that connected two important mining villages. The location of this site indicates that this community intended, as paradoxically as it may seem, to both hide and connect with the colonial world. The practice of locating quilombos in close proximity to roads was not new and allowed an easier interaction with the colonial society by the use of different strategies, including clandestine commerce, assaults, and the creation of information and affective networks (Guimarães 1992, p. 214). Another interesting example of the connection of this site with the wider society comes from a number of representations painted with

charcoal in the rock ceiling of this shelter. These paintings include a ship, which according the analysis of Castro (2006) was of an oceanic ship—and it is interesting to note that Diamantina was located more than 700 km from the coast—a *banguê,* a device for transporting a person, composed of a net and suspended by a tree branch held by two men, and a battle scene showing two opposing groups, the first being armed with objects that can represent firearms or swords, and the second with the same type of guns, besides bows and arrows. In the analysis of Guimarães (1992, 2001), these scenes may be understood as a process of overcoming enslavement. He interpreted them as the succession of phases in the life cycle of an enslaved person: capture/enslavement, the middle passage, slave work (expressed in transporting slaveholders in a *banguê*), running away, and, finally, repression. Again, this site—which was occupied by a self-emancipated community—was profoundly imbricated with its surrounding world. A more comprehensive archaeological approach of this issue comes from Orser and his collaborators (Orser 1996; Orser and Funari 2001), who identified the Quilombo dos Palmares as profoundly imbricated with the Portuguese sector and the Atlantic World at large.

The connection of the Quilombo da Cabaça with the colonial society is perfectly visible through the cooking pot shown in Fig. 6.7. Although coming from a self-emancipated community, this cooking pot did not differ in substance from other Brazilian contexts. The vessel had a lung similar to the ones found in different mining regions; its shape suggests the presence of a flat base, and its decoration had a pattern similar in appearance to others found in Brazilian contexts.

As evidence of cooking pots from mining contexts seems to indicate, the imbrication of both enslaved and self-emancipated individuals with the colonial context arose in a coherent and articulated manner. If the case of Ouro Fino is considered, a similar picture emerges. As I argued elsewhere, pottery from this site existed in relation to others, functioning as either a contrastive or an alikeness category (Souza 2002, 2010). Although having very characteristic features, the type of cooking pot here discussed coheres in many instances with others from this assemblage. Besides the lugs and flat bases, of which the shape and aspect match with the ones present in other types of cooking pots, some of the technological attributes of this type are consistent with others. For instance, the only types of temper used in this and other cooking pots from eighteenth-century Goiás were triturated quartz and fine sand, what makes this assemblage different from other mining regions, such as Mato Grosso, where pottery had a highly diversified array of tempers, including minerals (mostly triturated quartz and fine sand), Cariapé B—an organic temper produced by the burning of the bark of different species of trees—triturated pottery and charcoal (Souza and Symanski 2009, p. 529). The existence of specific features in pottery from Ouro Fino indicates regional preferences. More important for the current discussion is the fact that slaves who produced and used this type of vessel engaged in the creation of different regional styles. This engagement was probably the product of colonial encounters and involved negotiations not only with the freemen but also with Africans from different regions and with different cultural backgrounds.

Conclusion

The comparative analysis of a type of cooking pot found both in central Africa and Brazil suggests that some of the slaves' material practices were actually drawn from a variety of sources from both Africa and Europe. They also involved the emergence of entirely new practices that were diasporic in nature, and that included both borrowing and lending, and continuity and change, as influential authors have long assumed (Mintz and Price 1992; Thornton 1998, pp. 56–59).

The type of vessel discussed in this text is related with the cooking of a specific type of food. Chances are that slaves embarked from Luanda and Benguela probably recognized this type of vessel as more efficient for a specific type of cooking than others. The individuals who potentially picked this type of vessel for cooking assumed some commonalities and, at the same time, established preferences that were different from others, as the Congo slaves who, as I mentioned earlier in this text, preferred to cook in different types of vessels. When a particular group of slaves adopted this vessel, they engaged in the building of a specific set of practices, possibly through social interaction. They did not exist alone and neither was excused from negotiating their preferences in different levels and with different goals.

Slaves' material practices were fluid and situational. They involved relevant negotiations with other slaves, as well as with masters, which inevitably incurred the incorporation of European references. As I tried to demonstrate in this chapter, this was a significant part of the slaves' experiences and, consequently, must be taken into account by archaeologists. I do not dispute the discussions that African-influenced practices are significant for our understanding of the experiences of the enslaved peoples in the Americas. However, I believe that when we solely consider this aspect of the slaves' material world, or consider them without an equal assessment of practices taken from colonial society, we miss an opportunity for a more nuanced interpretation of these experiences.

Elsewhere, I argued that a vital component of the slave experience in Brazil was the flexible and creative use of resources. This expedience is particularly visible if we consider the mechanisms used by slaves in order to cope with slavery and to deal with the colonial society. As I pointed out, the presence of the "new" in archaeological contexts related with slaves is recurrent, to the point of making differences much more salient than similarities regarding their African heritage. Even in those material categories that were produced by slaves, such as pottery and metal adornments, differences from African contexts are quite evident. Considering this evidence, it seems relevant to consider this facet of the slave experience in Brazil and other countries (Souza 2013).

As significant as the understanding of the emergence of these new practices is the understanding of how they were used in order to shape particular forms of social interaction. Mintz and Price (1992, p. 47) argued that "All slaves must have found themselves accepting, albeit out of necessity, countless 'foreign' cultural practices, and this implied a gradual remodeling of their own traditional ways of doing many things." The active engagement in the shaping of new forms of social and cultural

interactions was a significant part of the existence of these individuals as captives and the vessel type discussed in this chapter may be a case in point. Beyond the maintenance of African references, this type of vessel indicates a more complex set of situated practices that were deeply involved with maintenances and acceptances.

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Chapter 7
Cultural Creativity, Rebellions, and Comparative Questions for Afro-Brazilian Archaeology

Christopher C. Fennell

Introduction

The studies presented in this edited volume address subjects of increasing vitality and prominence in the global field of African diaspora studies and archaeology. Archaeological studies of Afro-Brazilian history have expanded significantly in recent years. Such projects promise to yield exciting new discoveries of the facets of cultural creativity, perseverance, and audacious efforts in self-determination (e.g., Funari 2003; Funari and Oliveira 2010; Orser 1994; Symanski 2006, 2012). Detailed studies of Brazilian societies by our colleagues in history and African diaspora analysis have expanded even more dramatically (e.g., Barcia 2013; Curto and Lovejoy 2004; Domingues da Silva and Eltis 2008; Florentino 2008; Hawthorne 2010; Kananoja 2013; Matory 2005; Naro 2003; Oliveira 2003; Reis 1993, 2003, 2011; Ribeiro 2008; Seigel 2009; Sweet 2006).

The rebellions that formed *quilombos* in Brazil, such as the remarkable domain of Palmares, were paralleled by smaller-scale, quotidian acts of resistance and social creativity. The self-liberating process called *marronage* involved "historically important loci of cultural, ideational, aesthetic, and politicoeconomic developments" (Sayers 2012, p. 135). Recent and future archaeological studies will help us understand the spectrum of Afro-Brazilians' innovations, determination to undertake resistance against colonial oppression, and constant fight for freedom. This edited volume presents highly valuable considerations of what is now known and what questions may best frame future investigations of such a continuum of social rebellions.

This chapter first provides a brief consideration of a sample of Afro-Brazilian cultural innovations uncovered in archaeological and historical analyses. I then review recent archaeological studies of escape sites and rebellion communities in North

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America to provide suggestions of interpretative frameworks and methodological strategies that could inform new projects in Brazil. I close with observations of potential research questions and the prominence of Afro-Brazilian sites within current heritage politics in Brazil. Studies illuminating the detailed histories of quilombos are particularly poignant today, as the Brazilian government has created strong incentives that have focused Brazilians on their African heritage (French 2004, 2009).

Social Innovations in Afro-Brazil

Studies of escape communities, called *palenques* in Cuba and quilombos in Brazil, offer significant opportunities to detect contexts in which profound cultural creativity was facilitated by free territories carved out of colonial landscapes. This is particularly true for Brazil, where archaeological and historical studies show such innovations even within sites of enslavement (Fennell 2007). Brazil's history is notable for examples of profound cultural developments during the period of slavery. In part, these developments occurred due to the context of the way European Brazilians managed their plantations. Rather than engage in the constant surveillance of enslaved laborers that was undertaken in the so-called "gang" system of slavery prominent at North American sites, many European Brazilians conducted a form of "task" labor management. In this latter approach, enslaved laborers were given particular tasks to complete in the plantation's operations and were threatened with violent retribution if those tasks were not undertaken in a prompt and effective manner (Fennell 2007; Morgan 1979). In turn, the European-Brazilian plantation managers tended not to conduct constant surveillance of the labor force. They instead relied upon the threat and performance of brutal punishments to compel and control their workforce. This created contexts of social spaces and times in which Afro-Brazilians could engage in their own creativity, even within settings of enslavement.

In an earlier, larger-scale study, I outlined a process of cultural and social innovations that I called "ethnogenic bricolage" (Fennell 2007), and I draw from that analysis for the following discussion. Ethnogenic bricolage represents a particular form of "ethnogenesis" and "creolization," which in turn comprise broader labels for the myriad ways in which new cultures and sodalities are formed. In that earlier study, I explore how core symbols within particular cultures were impacted by diasporic movements across the Atlantic. Core symbols serve within a culture to express fundamental elements of a group's cosmology and sense of identity within the world. Core symbols can be communicated through spoken words and ritual performances and are often depicted in tangible, graphic form through renderings in material culture (e.g., Ortner 1973; Turner 1967, 1973).

Such graphic renderings of core symbols span a continuum of expressive modes within each culture. This spectrum extends from what I refer to as "emblematic" communications, on one end of the continuum, to more "instrumental" versions at the other end (see, e.g., Firth 1973; Ortner 1973; Turner 1967, 1973). Emblematic versions serve to summarize the identity of a culture group as a cohesive order and

are illustrated by symbols such as a national flag, the crucifix of Christianity, or the Star of David for Judaism. Instrumental expressions of the same core symbol are more abbreviated in their compositions and are used for more individual purposes (Fennell 2007).

Core symbols within stable culture groups were deployed in such a broad spectrum of expressive modes. Emblematic expressions of social group identities were typically employed in settings that involved public ceremonies that celebrated group solidarity. More abbreviated and instrumental expressions of those symbols were often utilized in private settings and for individual purposes. These cultural processes played out in divergent ways among populations at sites in North America, the Caribbean, and South America in the fifteenth through nineteenth centuries (Fennell 2007).

In locations such as Brazil, new, embellished symbolism was developed out of the blending of diverse African cosmologies. These symbols were often displayed publicly and in ways intended to signal the formation of new culture groups and communication of their sense of solidarity and collective cultural identity. Some anthropologists refer to this development as a general process of "cultural admixture." Others use the term creolization to communicate a similar idea of indefinable cultural blending. Such analysts essentially contend that we can see evidence of the shape of diverse antecedent cultures, and we can define the patterns and contours of the new culture, but we cannot discern much of what happened in between. I propose a more specific definition of one of the primary mechanisms of ethnogenesis as observed in the histories of places like Brazil and Haiti. I call this process ethnogenic bricolage to distinguish it from broader concepts offered previously by historians and anthropologists (Fennell 2007).

Ethnogenic bricolage entails a creative process in which individuals raised in different cultures interact in new settings, often at the geographic crossroads of multiple diasporas. In these new locations, individuals tend to desist from displaying emblematic expressions of the core symbols of the former culture groups from which they were abducted. Yet, instrumental expressions of those same core symbols continue with rigor and are employed in private, individual spaces as part of invocations for healing, self-protection, and prayers for the vitality of loved ones (Fennell 2007).

The abbreviated composition of such instrumental symbols gives them a prosaic appearance that can be recognized by members of other cultures for the basic meaning of efforts in self-determination and perseverance. Such instrumental expressions can therefore play an important role in communications across cultures and in the formation of new social relationships among individuals brought together by intersecting diasporas. In time, these social relationships can solidify into new, cohesive culture groups that articulate their own shared meaning system. From the disparate elements of varied instrumental symbols, new core symbols and emblematic designs are configured to communicate the new culture's sense of identity (Fennell 2007).

I refer to this process as ethnogenic bricolage to emphasize the creative combination of diverse cultural elements into new configurations. The word bricolage is derived from its use by anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss (1966) to indicate this creative combination of elements from existing cultural systems. Theory paradigms

in anthropology and sociology have moved beyond the limitations of Lévi-Strauss's structuralist framework (e.g., Geertz 1973; Giddens 1979). However, his concept of bricolage incorporates very useful facets that can be applied in new ways (Dumont 1985; Hebdige 1999, pp. 102–106). When moved to a setting of intercultural negotiation, one can conceive of multiple bricoleurs confronting open sets of cultural materials from various interacting cultural groups. In a process of ethnogenic bricolage, individuals of different cultural heritage interact over time to formulate new social networks with new repertoires of key symbols, communicative domains, and cultural practices. Those new symbols are created and developed over time in large part through engagements with the multiple elements of abbreviated, multivalent symbols from each of the contributing cultural groups (Fennell 2007).

The cultural group called *Macumba* provides an excellent illustration of the operations of ethnogenic bricolage. This dynamic unfolded among the enslaved Africans and Native Americans in plantations of Brazil. Portuguese colonial efforts promoted the establishment and operation of large-scale plantations in this region, focused primarily on sugar production, from the early sixteenth century onward. The first captive Africans imported into Brazil were abducted primarily from the areas of Senegal and Sierra Leone. However, from the late sixteenth century onward, the Portuguese obtained most enslaved people for import into Brazil from the area of Angola and Kongo (Eltis 2000, pp. 189; Orser 1996, pp. 42, 51–52; Sturm 1977, p. 218).

Plantation owners of Brazil typically ran large-scale operations with less consistent control and surveillance of their work force than occurred at locations in North America. As a result, greater opportunities were available to enslaved persons to engage in social interactions within their communities over time. Moreover, many rebelled and won their freedom from the plantations, creating communities of escaped slaves (Orser and Funari 2001, p. 66). Nonetheless, slavery persisted in Brazil until the late nineteenth century, and nearly 2 million newly enslaved persons were imported into the region between 1811 and 1870 (Wolf 1982, pp. 316, 373).

Historic-period documents record cultural practices among enslaved Africans in Brazil that can be related to particular African societies from which individuals were abducted. For example, a colonial report from 1721 described divination practices and beliefs that strongly corresponded with BaKongo rituals. The term BaKongo refers to the people and culture that spoke the KiKongo language, were governed by the Kingdom of Kongo, and became ensnared in the brutality of the trans-Atlantic slave trade starting in the late fifteenth century. An enslaved man named Domingos was described as an Angolan and was known as a talented diviner in the area of a city in Bahia. He began his divination ritual "by drawing a cross in the dirt with his finger" (Sweet 2004, p. 144). Domingos then conducted divination inquiries along those drawn axes with a composition similar to the material culture that the BaKongo referred to as "minkisi" (Sweet 2004, pp. 144–145).

Over time, communities within Brazil developed a new set of beliefs and practices, later to be called *Macumba ,* through a blending of different African religions, Catholicism, and Native American religions. The concepts of BaKongo minkisi, Dahomean vodun, Yoruba orishas, and the intercessionary saints of Catholicism were

Fig. 7.1 Dikenga dia Kongo, a key symbol of the BaKongo culture of West Central Africa. (Image by author)
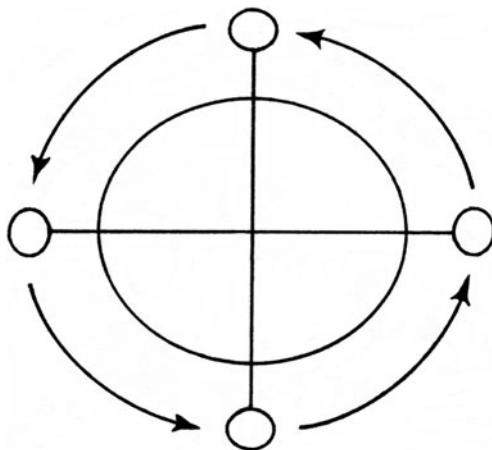
creatively integrated using the complementary elements of those religions (Genovese 1976, pp. 179–180; Thompson 1983, p. 113, 1990, p. 156). Similarly, the indigenous Tupi–Guarani people of Brazil, called Tupinambá by the Europeans, possessed religious beliefs concerning ancestor spirits that blended readily with ancestor beliefs of the BaKongo and the Yoruba concepts of orishas (Genovese 1976, p. 180; Orser 1996, pp. 48–49; Sturm 1977, p. 219).

This articulation of religious concepts included a careful combination of abbreviated symbols from the contributing cultures. Ground blazons, called *pontos riscados* (for "marked points" of invocation), developed in this Brazilian tradition as well. These pontos were typically rendered in chalk or sand on the floors of shrines and other public, ritual spaces (Bastide 1978, p. 298; Thompson 1983, pp. 113–115, 1990, pp. 155–156). Each intercessionary spirit was often characterized with the combined names and attributes of a saint, ancestor, Yoruba and Dahomean orisha, or BaKongo simbi. Each such spirit possessed a ponto which would summon a manifestation of that spirit to render aid. These pontos were rendered both in transient forms at particular rituals and as permanent expressions in publicly visible locations (Thompson 1983, pp. 115–116).

For example, the crossed lines of the BaKongo core symbol called the *dikenga dia Kongo* (Fig. 7.1) were combined with the concept of Eshu Elegba as the mediator of the crossroads between the spirit world and the land of the living. Elegba was viewed as being unpredictable and inclined to punish those who trifled with the spirit world. In turn, Elegba's attributes were merged selectively with symbols for the Satan figure of Catholicism, with Elegba challenging and testing the righteousness of individuals, but not representing an opponent to the Godhead (Thompson 1983, p. 114, 1990, p. 156). Figure 7.2 depicts an example of a ponto for Elegba within the Macumba tradition. This idiographic rendering blends the intersecting lines of the dikenga dia Kongo with the pitchfork motifs of Elegba, and a spinning pinwheel design suggestive of the dynamism and unpredictability of that guardian of the crossroads (Thompson 1983, p. 114, 1990, p. 156).

Fig. 7.2 Example of a ponto
riscado of the Macumba
culture of Brazil. (Image by
author)

This blending of elements from different African religions, as well as facets of
European and Native American beliefs, developed in Brazil and Haiti with "a depth
and visibility virtually unknown in the United States" (Genovese 1976, p. 179). This
creative combination of elements was also evident in facets of Palo Monte Mayombe,
with its selective incorporation of orisha and related symbolism by BaKongo heritage
groups in Cuba (Olmos and Paravisini-Gebert 2003, pp. 82–83). Palo Monte May-
ombe also developed complex *firma* blazons that were similar in character to *vèvè*
symbols in Haitian Vodoun and the pontos riscados of Macumba (e.g., Ballard 2005,
p. 131; Matibag 1996, p. 161). These religious systems developed in Brazil, Cuba,
and Haiti, and the associated material expressions of key symbols were deployed
as part of larger-scale processes of social organization and the consolidation of new
group identities. Central elements of a variety of African religions were combined
and developed for continuing observance, not just in the private rituals of households
and covert meetings, but in public displays that signaled an evolving group cohesion
to anyone within view (Fennell 2007).

The rich beliefs, practices, and material culture of captive Africans in Brazil are
also evident in the archaeological remains of the Valongo Wharf site in Rio de Janeiro.
The Valongo Wharf was the port location in Rio de Janeiro in which hundreds of thou-
sands of captives disembarked from slave vessels in the period of 1821 through the
1840s. Many captives were held in the port area for some length of time before being
sold and transported to plantations. Extensive archaeological investigations are being
conducted at the Valongo site in advance of the 2016 Olympic Games scheduled to
convene in Rio de Janeiro. Project leader Tania Andrade Lima has reported volumi-
nous finds of artifacts that were seized or lost from the hands of captive Africans.
Small clay figurines appear to depict images of spirits and subdeities within par-
ticular African cultures from which slaves were abducted. Handmade earthenware
pottery vessels have what appear to be religious symbols etched into their bases.

Anthropomorphic forms of smoking pipes, beads, and various forms of protective amulets have also been recovered (Banyasz 2013; Barbassa 2012). These artifacts from Valongo Wharf promise to provide poignant comparative data relative to the earthenware on Brazilian plantations analyzed by Luís Cláudio Symanski and others, the etched colonoware pottery bases studied by Ferguson in North America, and the pipes uncovered at Palmares.

Recent archaeological investigations in Brazil have revealed new evidence of cultural creativity among Afro-Brazilians in bondage. For example, Symanski (2006, 2012) examines social dynamics on sugar plantations of the Chapada dos Guimarães region in Mato Grosso in western Brazil. Documentary evidence indicates a significant proportion of the laborers were abducted into slavery from cultures located in West Central Africa. Portuguese plantation owners arranged their operations with a sense of hierarchical space radiating out from the location of their main houses. The spaces of the enslaved laborers on those sugar plantations included notable distributions of low-fired earthenwares, similar to the colonoware pottery of North American plantations. These earthenwares uncovered in the work spaces of enslaved laborers on the Brazilian plantations were often decorated with incised line configurations that recalled the scarification patterns with which members of West Central African cultures exhibited their social statuses and cultural affiliations (Symanski 2012). Similar studies by Marcos André Torres de Souza and Camilla Agostini (2012) propose that both ceramics and locally made pipes were decorated with motifs that entailed creative adaptations of previous symbolic communications into new forms within the contexts of enslavement.

These studies in Brazil of possible correlations of pottery decoration with social symbolism of previous scarification practices raise intriguing interpretative debates familiar to researchers in North America. For example, approximately 26 colonoware bowls with marks etched into their bases have been recovered from rivers along the coastal plantation sites of South Carolina. Leland Ferguson (1992) has interpreted these vessels as likely components of riverside observances by enslaved African Americans. In personal rituals related to the BaKongo culture of West Central Africa, for example, one could make supplication for aid by ancestors and spirits by creating a material composition with cross-line symbolism within a surrounding circle, invoking elements of the dikenga dia Kongo. Casting this composition into the river waters with accompanying prayers may have connoted symbolic meanings of a boundary between the spirits and the living that was to be crossed (Fennell 2007). J. W. Joseph (2007) has raised the intriguing observation that "Dave the Potter," an enslaved artisan who worked in the stoneware potteries of Edgefield, South Carolina, from 1830 onward, apparently inscribed his market goods with similar cross marks (Joseph 2007).

In addition to the articulation of these more detailed questions in studies within North America, an expanding body of studies of African diaspora communities in South America and the Caribbean is now providing valuable comparative data concerning particular African-influenced pottery traditions that developed in those locations (e.g., Hauser and DeCorse 2003; Symanski 2006). Studies in the Caribbean have also started to expand beyond questions of the potters' cultural affiliations to

analysis of differences in production procedures due to consumer demands for market trading or personal use (Hauser 2007, 2008; Ogundiran and Falola 2007, p. 25). A growing array of historical archaeology investigations in West African locations may also provide data for such comparative studies. Examinations of the pottery traditions in the period of the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries within the societies targeted by the trans-Atlantic slave trade may provide suggestive data when analyzing the characteristics of colonoware in the Americas (Hauser and DeCorse 2003; Kelly 2004). However, analysts must proceed carefully in such comparisons, in view of the highly disruptive character of the slave trade and its impacts on the social contexts in which material culture was produced in each location and time period (Ogundiran and Falola 2007, pp. 14–15).

Comparative Studies of North American Escape Community Sites

As archaeologists increasingly turn their attention to quilombo sites in Brazil, they can consider insights from archaeological studies in North America when formulating research questions. Archaeological research of African-descendant populations in North America has expanded dramatically in scope and in the diversity of research questions over the past several decades. I recently conducted a study of published reports of such projects, and the following discussion is drawn from that survey (Fennell 2011). In North America, many enslaved Africans, African Americans, and Native Americans escaped from plantations through routes traversing the countryside and waterways in both open and clandestine paths (Aptheker 1939; Thompson 2006). Many attempted to find family members who had been sold to distant plantations, while others traveled to the relative safety of Canada to escape bounty hunters. Many obtained freedom by escaping plantations to join communities of self-liberated individuals in Virginia, North Carolina, and Florida (Blight 2004).

This self-liberating process has been referred to by analysts as forms of marronage and resulting settlements have been called Maroon communities. The English term maroon and the French word marronage are both derived from the Spanish word "cimarrón" which denoted escaped livestock and connoted runaway property (Price 1996, pp. 1–2; Weik 2007, pp. 316–317). Thus, these labels used today by analysts are derived from a demeaning Spanish term. Nonetheless, these analytic labels have been promoted with good intentions to define themes of research concerning a broad spectrum of self-liberating individuals and their communities (e.g., Sayers 2012).

These self-liberating processes of marronage occurred on multiple scales and in varying contexts. Shorter-term and often individualized liberation from enslavement has been referred to as acts of "petit marronage." Longer-term efforts of liberation by multiple individuals working in coordination and often forming rebellion settlements, such as quilombos in Brazil, can be referred to as acts of "grand marronage" (e.g., Price 1996, p. 3; Sayers 2012, p. 136). This array of marronage efforts spurred the development of innovative "communities, social enclaves, settlement networks,

cultural traditions, and political economies" (Sayers 2012, p. 136). The economic networks of such interactions by self-liberating groups extended to neighboring settlements of free populations of European, Indigenous, and African heritage peoples. The exchanges of goods and information with neighboring groups often resulted in complex economic and social entanglements within shifting colonial contexts (e.g., Agorsah 1994; La Rosa Corzo 2003; Orser and Funari 2001).

Traces of Petit Marronage in North America

It is usually very difficult to find archaeological remains of isolated or individual escape routes as events of petit marronage in North America. Many escaping persons avoided houses and settlements, and traveled across the landscape and waterways at night (Ginsburg 2007). In time, networks of persons formed to assist runaways and maintained safe houses and transportation routes in what became called the "Underground Railroad" to freedom. Even in the time period of the Underground Railroad, however, archaeologists find very few remains that can be directly associated with such activities, likely due to the secretive character of those efforts (Vlach 2004). Ongoing research efforts are providing greater appreciation for the work of African Americans and their church networks in assisting escapees, as well as for the ingenuity and self-reliance of individuals (LaRoche 2004; Sayers 2012; Thompson 2006). Alvin Thompson (2006, p. 104) estimates that approximately 3200 individuals assisted up to 100,000 people to seek freedom in these acts of petit marronage in North America in the period of slavery. Researchers have examined such dynamics of self-determination, the operations of escape networks combating slavery, and the development of Maroon communities of escaped laborers and their families in the regions of the USA and Canada (Delle 2008; LaRoche 2004; Weik 2004, 2007, 2009).

For example, some limited archaeological work on Africans in Canada has been undertaken. Overall, African-descendant people moved into Canada during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in two principal waves. The first involved the migration of approximately 3500 free, indentured, and enslaved Africans and African Americans to the area of Nova Scotia with British Loyalists after the American Revolutionary War (Niven 1994; Smardz Frost 2007, pp. 207–208). The free African Americans included some who had purchased their freedom and many others who had fought for the British during the Revolutionary War in exchange for their freedom. These "Black Loyalists" were forced to leave the newly formed USA after the defeat of the British. The principal archaeological work on Black Loyalists in Nova Scotia has focused on the settlement of Birchtown, which reached a peak population of approximately 1500 in 1784 (Niven 1994, 1999). Excavations over several years revealed a diversity of housing for residents of Birchtown, from temporary construction to residences with substantial cellar spaces (Niven 1999). Unfortunately, racism erupted in Birchtown as well, and a race riot in 1784 followed by famine conditions in 1789 led to the settlement's demise and an exodus of the African heritage

population to Sierra Leone in West Africa in 1791 (Niven 1999). In a second wave, approximately 2000 free African Americans who had fought for the British in the War of 1812 settled in Nova Scotia after the end of that conflict (Whitfield 2006).

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, approximately 35,000 enslaved and free African Americans fled from the USA to Canada to escape the institution of slavery and accompanying social structures of racism in America (Smardz Frost 2007, pp. 207–208). Smardz Frost (2007) and her colleagues undertook the most in-depth archaeological and historical study of African-Canadian heritage to date, conducting investigations of the home and business sites of Thornton and Lucie Blackburn in Toronto. The Blackburns were born into slavery and lived in Kentucky in the early 1800s. They undertook a daring escape to Canada as a married couple in 1831 to prevent Lucie's sale to a new, distant slave owner. Rather than escaping under the cover of night, they started their journey by boarding the steamboat *Versailles,* walking through the dockside crowds along the Ohio River in the broad daylight of Louisville, Kentucky. Apprehended for a short time in Detroit, Michigan, the Blackburns made legal history in the course of their escape, as reflected in decisions by courts in the USA and Canada as to the exact scope of federal fugitive slave laws and the grounds for extradition of escapees. Settling in Toronto in 1834, the Blackburns again made history in 1837 by starting the city's first horse-drawn taxi service and exercising their skills as businesspeople and entrepreneurs (Smardz Frost 2007).

Excavations of the Blackburn house site in Toronto uncovered material culture dating to their residence there, and the remains of a root cellar, an outlying horse barn, and the overall footprint of their small "shotgun"-style house. Artifacts included cutlery, transfer-printed plates, clay smoking pipes, and fragments of wine bottles and preserve jars. This house design included a linear arrangement of three rooms that was popular in African-American vernacular architecture forms in North America during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Smardz Frost 2007, pp. 264–267). The term "shotgun" was likely derived from the Yoruba term "togun" which denoted a place of gathering. The Yoruba peoples of West Africa were among those most heavily targeted by the trans-Atlantic slave trade. This terminology and domestic building tradition in the Americas likely developed early in plantation locations in the Caribbean and soon thereafter in the regions of the USA and Canada impacted by slavery and the movement of African diaspora populations (Vlach 1990). The Blackburns were likely familiar with this house design due to its popularity in Louisville, Kentucky (Jones 1985, p. 205). Researchers working on sites in Brazil can consider similar questions concerning the influences of vernacular architecture traditions and proxemics from particular African cultures.

Legacies of Rebellion Communities in North America

Settlements of African Americans who defied slavery in North America include those referred to as Maroon communities and events of grand marronage. Such communities often included persons from diverse cultural backgrounds of societies

in West Africa, West Central Africa, Southeast Africa, as well as Native Americans, all of whom escaped from area plantations. Some analogous communities in other regions, such as the palenques of Cuba, were organized along the lines of a common cultural heritage, and thus tended to consist, for example, of persons primarily of Yoruba or BaKongo heritage (Fennell 2007).

A number of Maroon communities in North America have been the focus of archaeological research projects. Daniel Sayers and his colleagues have recently undertaken the challenging task of investigating the remains of escape settlements in the Great Dismal Swamp, which straddles the tidewater areas of southeastern Virginia and the northeastern portion of North Carolina (Sayers 2012; Sayers et al. 2007). Documentary evidence indicates that thousands of African Americans escaping bondage created long-term settlements in this swamp region in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Genovese 1979, pp. 68–69; Morgan 1979). Native Americans maintained settlements in interior portions of the swamp. Encampments of enslaved laborers also occupied parts of the region from 1765 through 1865 as part of canal construction projects (Sayers et al. 2007, p. 75). Survey and excavation work uncovered structural and artifact remains of African-American settlements on "mesic islands," which consisted of portions of the landscape that rose higher above the water level of the swamp (Sayers et al. 2007, pp. 80–81). While some African-American settlements along the swamp perimeter engaged in exchanges of goods with outsiders, interior "scission" communities were marked by an absence of such interactions (Sayers et al. 2007, pp. 85–87).

The example of these hidden settlements within the Great Dismal Swamp provides intriguing questions for analogous research in Brazil. Were grand marronage efforts in Brazil at times hidden deep in the backcountry? If so, did such communities engage in any long-distance interactions with outsiders or exist mostly in isolation? In contrast, Palmares and Canudos in Brazil were more open and obtrusive settlements of rebellious societies engaging variably in trade relations and open conflict with colonial neighbors and governmental entities (Funari 2007).

Prominent examples of Maroon communities in North America were also established at "Pilaklikaha" in central Florida and the "Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose" military compound (or "Fort Mose") and adjoining settlement just north of St. Augustine (Landers 1990; Mulroy 1993; Weik 2004, 2007, 2009). As Europeans sought to colonize the New World, the southeastern region of North America became a contested area for Spain, England, and France. After 1776, the USA also joined the colonial struggle for control of the region. The Florida peninsula, in particular, was much sought after by colonial governments attempting to control the rich and strategic shipping routes in the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico. As early as 1687, the Spanish government had unofficially offered asylum to enslaved persons escaping from British plantations, in an attempt to break Britain's economic stronghold in the borderlands around Spanish Florida. In 1693, that asylum was made official when the Spanish crown offered limited freedom to any enslaved person escaping to Spanish Florida who would accept Catholicism. When the English established the border colony of Georgia in 1733, the Spanish Crown made it known once again that runaways would find freedom in Spanish Florida, in return for Catholic conversion

and a term of 4 years in service to the crown (Deagan and MacMahon 1995; Mulroy 1993; Weik 2004, 2007).

Incoming freedom seekers were recognized as emancipated, mustered into the Spanish militia, and placed into service at Fort Mose, which was established in 1738. Their leader, who had fled from British slavery in Carolina, was known to the Spaniards as Francisco Menendez. Once in Florida, African Americans encountered the Creek and Seminole Native Americans who had established settlements there at the invitation of the Spanish government (Deagan and MacMahon 1995). Those who chose to make their lives among the Creeks and Seminoles were welcomed into those Native American societies, and were later referred to as "Black Seminoles" or "African Seminoles" (Mulroy 1993; Weik 2007). Fort Mose was a diverse community made up of African heritage individuals with varied backgrounds and ethnic group names in the Americas such as the Araras, Carabalis, Congos, Gambas, Gangas, Guineans, Lecumis, Mandingos, Minas, and Sambas (Landers 1990, p. 27; Weik 2007, pp. 323–326). Excavations at the site of Fort Mose have revealed artifacts of the daily lives of the occupants. Designated a National Historic Landmark in 1994, Fort Mose is now a premier site on the "Florida Black Heritage Trail," and a tangible commemoration of the lives of these freedom fighters.

Pilaklikaha was occupied by African Seminoles primarily from 1813 through 1836, when the settlement was destroyed by the US military. Archaeological investigations of the settlement site have uncovered ceramics, pipe fragments, bottle glass, wrought and cut nails, and brick fragments. Artifact assemblages at such African Seminole communities in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Florida were similar to the material culture uncovered at other European-American occupation sites in the colonial setting (Weik 2007, pp. 325–326). Rather than create some unique and isolated form of material culture for their households, "Maroons took part in the wider global economic and social systems of the Americas" through "trade, raids, barter, gift giving, and local production" (Weik 2007, p. 327). A number of other African Seminole settlements were established over time across the southern USA and in Mexico (Weik 2008).

Conclusion: Potential Research Questions and Heritage Politics

From this range of examples in North America, one can begin to formulate an array of research questions for the facets of marronage in Brazil. Sayers (2012, p. 145) proposes that researchers of marronage dynamics examine factors such as: "variability in site types associated with marronage; the probable landscapes that were used and culturally developed under marronage systems; and the ranges of material culture that were used under varying conditions." Research agendas for marronage can also include basic dynamics for most historical archaeology projects. What variations are found in landscape choices, modifications, and environmental vagaries and adaptive strategies? What evidence can be uncovered of the everyday lifeways, health,

and dietary practices? How did dynamics of gender, ethnic and social affiliations, and economic status play out in Maroon communities? What patterns of material culture production and consumption are discernable, such as in pottery, tools, and weapons? Are there patterned elements of architectural designs, building techniques, and spatial proxemics? Are there lines of evidence of particular beliefs and practices in religion, social stratification, and political organization? What economic networks are discernable and what trade and exchange strategies were pursued?

Researchers can also explore the degree of "exceptionalism" in Maroon communities. Did the social spaces of quilombos exhibit different degrees of cultural creativity than those spaces enveloped within the system of plantation slavery? Did Maroon communities provide greater opportunities for continuing developments of facets of particular African cultures from which individuals were abducted and brought to Brazil? If so, did this dynamic vary across time and space? Some Maroon communities likely included persons of diverse cultural backgrounds from West Africa, West Central Africa, Southeast Africa, and Indigenous American societies. In other examples, such as several palenques in Cuba, the Maroon communities were organized along lines of shared cultural heritage (Fennell 2007).

Other challenges in archaeological investigations of Maroon occupations in more remote locations of Brazil may include the similarities of such sites to indigenous population settlements in those regions. Maroon communities in remote locations will likely exhibit handmade, low-fired earthenware ceramics and implements made of stone, wood, bone, and reworked materials. Residential structures in more remote settings may similarly employ construction methods analogous to those used by indigenous people in those areas (e.g., Orser and Funari 2001).

An increased focus by archaeologists on Maroon communities in Brazil will also confront fascinating dynamics of modern-day heritage politics. Brazil's 1988 Constitution created an initiative for legal recognition and related land and resource allocations for local populations who demonstrate their connections to a past quilombo community as part of their geographic and cultural heritage. This legal and economic initiative of recognizing heritage claims and allocating related economic resources has led to distortions in which quilombo heritage claims are rapidly invented for strategic purposes. Past trends of a greater emphasis on indigenous heritage have been displaced by a more recent popularity of Afro-Brazilian and quilombo pride (French 2004, 2009). Historians and archaeologists researching Afro-Brazilian histories will need to navigate carefully these complex social and political contexts of active heritage construction.

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Chapter 8
Marronage and the Dialectics of Spatial Sovereignty in Colonial Jamaica

Kristen R. Fellows and James A. Delle

One of the most vexing problems facing slave-owning planters in the colonial era was the question of how to control their vast enslaved populations. Social and physical control of the enslaved was crucial for the planters, who defined their net worth both by the value attached to the enslaved as capital assets and the value of the products of labor they co-opted from the enslaved. In many places, such as in the case of Jamaica, which we explore here, the ability of planters to make capital investments to improve existing estates, purchase and develop new estates, acquire manufactured and luxury goods on credit from merchant houses, and to acquire and exploit enslaved labor gangs was dependent on their ability to demonstrate their financial solidity; no asset was valued as highly as what was rather crassly defined in Jamaica as a "gang of prime negroes." Steps were taken at many levels to ensure the stability of these assets, from the imperial center through colonial laws like the amelioration acts which sought to lengthen the lifespan of the enslaved, to local legislation like the deficiency acts that aimed to balance the black/white population ratios in remote corners of the island, to local acts of vicious repression, generally on the part of overseers, whose goal was to coerce and terrify people into obedience.

Such measures were necessary because Jamaica was a predominantly black landscape nominally controlled by a white minority. The overall population of the island was primarily black, with the affluent, minority white population concentrated in the urban centers of Kingston and Spanish Town. By the end of the eighteenth century, many, if not most, of the plantation proprietors lived only sporadically on their estates, leaving their management to itinerant overseers and attorneys. Within the

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larger plantations, much of the landscape was under the direct control of the en-slaved; estate maps from this time clearly indicate that hundreds of acres on average estates were defined as "negro grounds" or "ruinate," the former characterized by small provision farms worked by the enslaved population, the latter areas defined as wasteland by the planters with no particular economic value to their estate. The land-scapes of Jamaica were simultaneously multivalent; movement by the white planters and their employees was largely restricted to roads and the areas surrounding the immediate residential and industrial core of the plantation, particularly on remote coffee plantations located in the highland periphery of the plantation world.

How this landscape was negotiated is the focus of this chapter. We explore three dialectical phenomena that emerged from the conflict to control the plantation land-scapes of Jamaica. Marronage, or more properly, *grand marronage*, was a process by which some members of the enslaved community managed to separate them-selves from the plantation world. In Jamaica, this process of marronage resulted in armed struggle between those who would be free and those who would enslave, culminating in a series of treaties that guaranteed social and spatial sovereignty to Jamaica's Maroons, provided they agreed to collaborate with the colonial powers to limit future self-emancipation by enslaved Jamaicans; some archaeology has been done on the homesites of several Maroon groups and we review that literature here. The second phenomenon, sometimes referred to as *petit marronage*, was a strategy through which enslaved members of a plantation community would absent them-selves for a limited time, often returning on their own volition to the plantation from which they absconded. Finally, we explore the nature of the multivalent landscape of the plantation as materially expressed in the existence of field houses: impermanent structures dotting the plantation landscape, often far from the central slave villages and the gaze of the white overseers and black drivers who managed the work lives of enslaved workers.

The Maroons of Jamaica

Most of the archaeological work done on African diaspora sites has focused on the plantation complex in the US South and the Anglophone Caribbean, though there is a small set of studies concerned with Maroon settlements. Maroons, or runaway slaves, were able to form communities, some of which consisted of thousands of people, isolated from the dominant European culture throughout the American colonies. Interestingly, the majority of research on Maroon sites has taken place in Latin America and the Caribbean (Singleton 2010; Weik 2004). Weik (1997, 2004) offers a thorough overview of the work done in the former Spanish colonies, Agorsah (2007) presents a more general summary of the archaeological work done on Maroon sites, and Sayers (2012) provides a rather recent review of the limited number of studies performed in the USA. Archaeological studies have included sites in Brazil (Funari 2003, 2007; Orser 1994; Orser and Funari 2001), the Dominican Republic (Weik 2004), Suriname (Goucher and Agorsah 2011; Hoogbergen 1990), Jamaica (Agorsah 1993, 1994, 1999, 2007; Groucher and Agorsah 2011), and the US South (Deagan and Landers 1999; Sayers 2006; Sayers et al. 2007; Weik 2007) among others.

The relative dearth of studies centered on sites associated with Maroons may be explained, at least in part, by the nature in which such sites were selected and used by the runaway slaves. As others have acknowledged, the settlements established by the Maroons were often situated in remote, liminal spaces that were hard to reach, hard to find by outsiders, and easily defended (Agorsah 2007; Goucher and Agorsah 2011; Orser and Funari 2001; Price 1996). These protective measures kept colonial forces at bay, and, unfortunately, seem to have at least contributed to keeping modern archaeologists at bay as well. Based on work done in Suriname and Jamaica, Agorsah (2006, p. 196) suggests that "Maroon sites could be ranked on a scale from more permanent strongholds to temporary hideouts or less permanent rest stops." He goes on to point out that it would be, "senseless to categorize Maroon lifestyles into 'sedentary' and 'non-sedentary,' because Maroons were essentially always on the move, living guerilla style between sites with some sites more permanent than others for logistic reasons" (Agorsah 2006, p. 196; citing Guevara (1969)). Unlike permanent colonial towns and agricultural estates, not all Maroon settlements were continuously occupied for long periods of time, which presents difficulties for archaeologists in terms of site identification. As many of the sites associated with the Maroons were used intermittently, local, ephemeral building materials[1] would have been used leaving little to no structural evidence for modern archaeologists (Orser and Funari 2001). In addition to short occupations, low population densities also put researchers at a disadvantage. Even if sites are successfully located, the lack of material traces left behind is an issue for the study of Maroon communities (e.g., Accompong Town, see Agorsah 1993). Tellingly, many of the Maroon sites studied to date are focused on settlements which lasted decades and even centuries (e.g., Nanny Town and Palmares). Whether or not this is due to the oftentimes short-lived nature of these settlements, the limited accessibility of such sites, the limited historical knowledge which would allow for the location of such sites, or the overemphasis on the plantation complex within the archaeology of the African diaspora is hard to say. Regardless, the relative lack of research performed on Maroon sites illustrates that logistics play a role in the success of such archaeological endeavors. As Goucher and Agorsah (2011, p. 149) state, "Maroon archaeology of these remote and nearly inaccessible sites has itself been a struggle to find even the most meager clues to the elusive Maroon past."

Some archaeologists have discussed Maroons and marronage in terms of resistance. As Charles Orser (1994, p. 69) has pointed out, "In the often-overwhelming abundance of research on slavery, there is something refreshingly bold about examining men and women who threw off the shackles of slavery and demanded freedom on their own terms" (see also Orser and Funari 2001). Perhaps in response to early notions of the complete cultural stripping of Africans during the Middle Passage, resistance has spurred on the search of African continuities within these communities of runaway African slaves. Ethnographic and ethnohistoric research has shown the

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[1] Of course, the Maroons were also dealing with limited resources and logistical difficulties as regards building with more permanent materials (i.e., stone and brick).

continued identification with particular West African cultural groups as Maroons and their descendants refer to themselves as, for example, "Kromanti," "Dokosi," and "Asante" (Agorsah 1993, p. 177; see also Kopytoff 1976; Price 1996). And though limited, there has been some evidence of "African-influenced material culture" at Latin American sites (Weik 2004, p. 35; citing Arrom and García Arévalo 1986, p. 64; Guimarães 1990; Orser 1996). As will become apparent later, Agorsah's (1999) ethnoarchaeological work comparing sites in Ghana and Jamaica has also shown evidence of the continuation of African practices of familial-based spatial patterning in Old Accompong Town.

More recently, there have been calls to move beyond the resistance/African continuities focus in favor of a broader, more inclusive African diasporic approach. Stemming from a Marxist framework, Sayers (2012) advocates for a shift to a diasporic perspective. He believes that this would broaden the scope of what could be included in studies of marronage and would bring the scholarship of resistance activities, such as the Underground Railroad, into greater dialogue with studies on Maroon communities. Weik (2004) argues that a diasporic approach would allow scholars to move beyond the clean slate versus continuity models of New World slavery. He advises that this would enable a shift in focus to processes of ethnogenesis among the Maroon communities, with a special emphasis being placed on the interactions between the African and black Maroons and their Amerindian counterparts. The various Amerindian groups were the first to be enslaved by the Spanish settlers, and their flight from the mines and plantations led them to form the first Maroon communities (Agorsah 1994, 2007; Kopytoff 1976; Weik 2004). While Weik has advocated for a more in-depth look into processes of ethnogenesis and particularly interactions between indigenous groups and the African Maroons, some of that work has already begun. Barbara Kopytoff's ethnohistorical work has shown that the original bands of Jamaican Maroons consisted of individuals coming from diverse African backgrounds, which created tensions and the need to develop an overarching Maroon culture and ethnicity. She also discusses the processes behind the integration of the Arawak Maroons who had fled the Spanish prior to 1655, with African slaves fleeing the British post 1655. This amalgamation of peoples would serve as the basis for the Windward Maroons based out of the Blue Mountains (Kopytoff 1976; see also Kopytoff 1978, 1979, 1987). Weik (2007), himself, has explored ethnogenesis among the Black Seminoles of Florida at the site of Pilaklikaha. Agorsah, who has focused on resistance and has routinely referred to the Maroons as the "pioneer freedom fighters of the Americas" (see, for example, Agorsah 2007), has also long called for an examination of the interactions between African and African American Maroons and their Amerindian counterparts, even if he has not specifically called for the application of an ethnogenetic approach (Agrosah 1994, 2007; Goucher and Agorsah 2011). As we will come to see, archaeological research in Jamaica has shown that researchers cannot ignore the role of Amerindians at and around Maroon sites.

The history of marronage on Jamaica is striking and has been shown to be significant for the development of the colonial society on the island. Two major bands of Maroons, using guerilla warfare tactics, managed to disrupt the British colonial rule

to such a degree that treaties were signed with each group in 1739. The Windward Maroons were located in the Blue Mountains region in the east of the island, and the Leeward Maroons were situated in what is known as the Cockpit Country in the west. There has been a great deal written about the Maroons of Jamaica (see, for examples, Bilby 2005; Campbell 1990; Kopytoff 1976, 1978, 1979, 1987; Sheridan 1985). One noteworthy volume edited by Agorsah (1994) includes anthropological as well as historical contributions and includes authors from the extant Maroon communities. And still, the vast majority of the archaeological research performed at Maroon sites has come from Agorsah and the Maroon Heritage Research Project (MHRP) at the University of the West Indies.[2] Sites thus far identified and/or explored include Nanny Town, Old Accompong Town, Seaman's Valley, Gun Barrel, Marshall's Hall, Brownsfield, and Reeder's Pen (Agorsah 1994, 2007; Goucher and Agorsah 2011, this book chapter provides a nice overview of the work done at some of these sites). Nanny town, the primary settlement for the Windward Maroons, and Old Accompong, the main seat of power for the Leeward Maroons led by Colonel Kojo, are the two most significant sites studied on Jamaica to date (Agorsah 1994, 2007).

The excavations at Nanny Town produced a substantial artifact assemblage coming from three distinct periods of time: the pre-Maroon indigenous occupation, the Maroon era (1655–1734), and a brief occupation by British troops (Agorsah 1993, 1994, 2007). For the Maroon occupation, the assemblage indicates that materials were coming from both local and European sources; interestingly, there was a higher-than-expected percentage of locally made ceramics (Agorsah 1994). Unfortunately, the only structural evidence coming from Nanny Town was the remnants of a British military fort dating to after 1734, though at least one structure may have been built atop a Maroon-era floor feature (Agorsah 1993, 1994, 2007). The material assemblage offers evidence for the existence of Arawak Maroons dating to the Spanish occupation of the island. Given the high percentage of locally made earthenwares, they also speak to the possibility of a material record resulting from interactions between the Amerindians and African Maroons. Of course, more work needs to be done on comparative sites before scholars can gain a better understanding of what is being represented by the artifacts (Agorsah 1993, 1994; Goucher and Agorsah 2011). Nanny Town is an example of a Maroon settlement which was occupied for a relatively long period of time (1655–1734). Furthermore, it shows evidence of the various social networks in which the Maroons were engaged (Agorsah 2007). Nanny Town also illustrates the potential for Maroon sites to be misidentified as sites of indigenous occupation, which would stem from the locally produced ceramics and the fact that any structures have left little to no visible traces (Agorsah 1993, 1994, 2007). This site is not the first to demonstrate this particular pitfall of the archaeology of Maroon communities (e.g., Palmares, see Orser and Funari 2001).

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[2] Agorsah (1994) cites two previous attempts at the archaeological study of Nanny Town, though they do not appear to be entirely successful (Bonner 1974; Teulon 1967). The MHRP and Agorsah began excavations in 1990, and the project has also supported archaeological work on the Maroons in Surinam (Agorsah 2007; Goucher and Agorsah 2011).

The settlement of Accompong is still in existence, but the modern town has shifted southwest of the original occupation (Agorsah 1993, 1994, 2007). Obviously, it is one of the Maroon settlements which has been occupied for centuries. Despite excavations in multiple areas of Old Accompong, little has been recovered from this site (Agorsah 1993, 1994, 2007; Goucher and Agorsah 2011). There was only one clear cultural level identified in the excavations at Accompong and the material culture found dated mostly to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; however, it is interesting to note that three cowrie shells, originating from West Africa, were recovered (Agorsah 1994; Groucher and Agorsah 2011). Although the excavations at Accompong have not yielded as much information as one might hope, Agorsah's (1999) comparative work in Africa and ethnoarchaeological techniques have offered some insights into the spatial patterning of the town. Using the clan-based settlement patterns in the northern Volta basin in Ghana as a point of comparison, Agorsah has found similar living arrangements in Accompong. In Accompong, it seems that different quarters within the town were arranged, in large part, based on familial relationships. "These town quarters appear to represent the congregation of related families clustering as units of the town" (Agorsah 1999, p. 48). He does not argue that this spatial model was knowingly and consciously reproduced by the African Maroons, but he finds support for his argument of continuity in slave villages which have been studied by Armstrong (1985, 1990) at Drax Hall and Seville and Higman (1974) at Montpelier. Both scholars found spatial organization within the slave villages which reflected the importance of family units and arrangements involving shared yard spaces and compound-like setups (Agorsah 1999). Similar spatial patterns have also been seen in the slave village at Marshall's Pen, a coffee estate (Delle 2011). And so, while the study of the material culture at Accompong was not as fruitful as hoped, Agorsah has been able to explore African continuities within the town using an ethnoarchaeological approach.

Goucher and Agorsah (2011, p. 152) describe the current state of the study of the Maroons thusly: "Although the excavations in Jamaica helped reconstruct some aspects of Maroon cultural behavior and confirmed partnership of enslaved Africans and Amerindians in freedom fighting, questions concerning sociospatial relationships and formative and transformative processes of Maroon settlements and culture remained unanswered." It seems obvious that more work needs to be done on Maroon sites throughout the Americas in order to gain a more complete understanding of the Maroons, their communities, and the processes of ethnogenesis occurring in the New World during the colonial era.

Temporary Freedoms: The Concept of Petit Marronage

The primary focus of Maroon archaeology has taken place at major settlement sites with long periods of occupation by Maroon communities. Running away with the end goal of joining/establishing a separate community is commonly referred to as *grand marronage* (Price 1996). What has yet to be studied archaeologically, and for good

and obvious reasons, are less permanent forms of marronage. Richard Price (1996, p. 3) referred to this as *petit marronage* and defined it as, "repetitive or periodic truancy with temporary goals such as visiting a relative or lover on a neighboring plantation." Such temporary freedoms would leave a light trace in the archaeological record, but should not be overlooked.

In Jamaica, such acts of repetitive, temporary absence may have been more common on coffee plantations in the remote interior, where what Delle (1998, 2000) has defined as the intermediate spaces between the white-controlled plantation works and elite housing and black-controlled provision grounds and forests were in greater abundance. The example of Radnor, a coffee plantation in the Blue Mountains of Jamaica, located just a few days' walk from the Windward Maroon settlements, serves to illustrate this phenomenon.

Radnor was among the largest of Jamaica's pre-emancipation coffee plantations; in March of 1822, the estate was taxed on 226 slaves and 987 acres of land, both of which made it an exceptionally large coffee plantation by Jamaican standards. A fragmentary daybook, documenting the daily activities for the estate in the early 1820s, records, among other things, absences from work on the part of the enslaved. These absences are alternatively defined by the bookkeepers who kept the journal as people absconding, being absent, or running away. The accounts record the names of those workers who left the plantation, the dates they left, and the dates they returned. In some cases, the plantation book records short remarks about the circumstances of their return (Radnor Plantation Book).

The Radnor Plantation Book covers the period from January 1822 through February of 1826, save the period January 4–July 5, 1823, the pages for which are missing from the book. During these 42 months, 25 different people—about 11 % of the total population or 16 % of the adult population of Radnor—absconded from the plantation a total of 33 times; 8 escaped twice, 17 once. The dates of escape and return for all but eight of these incidents were recorded. Of the 25 people who managed to escape, 11 were women and 14 were men. Of these, all but one, Phoebe, eventually returned to the plantation. Of the incidents with recorded dates of escape and return, the average time away from the plantation was 18 days. Besides Phoebe, only Trim (79 days), Flora (21 days), Little Quomin (55 days), Murray (36 days), and Matthew (43 days) were gone for a longer period than the mean. The journal records several additional instances that cannot be quantified, as the date the people returned and/or the number of days they were absent from the plantation does not appear in the journal. It also distinguishes between those who the plantation officially designated as runaways, individuals whose names would be stricken from the plantation list and thus were not taxable (Radnor Plantation Book).

A similar plantation book exists for New Forest, a contemporary coffee plantation located in the parish of Manchester, several days' walk from the Leeward Maroon site of Accompong.

Although in terms of land New Forest was significantly larger than Radnor, the population in 1828 was less, only 150, of which eight were defined as children. The plantation managers kept track of absences in 1828 and 1829. In total, 17 different people—five women and 12 men—or 11 % of the plantation population, absconded

a total of 21 times, with four people escaping twice. Three episodes lasted for more than 100 days, and the time away was not recorded for six. The average time absent for the additional 11 events was 43 days, considerably longer than at Radnor. With the exception of two men, all of the runaways returned, apparently of their own volition, to the estate. Dublin, one of the recidivists, was a notable exception. In August of 1829, he had been incarcerated in the Manchester Parish Workhouse, a penal building used primarily to hold and punish runaways who had been apprehended within the parish boundaries. Of particular significance was his earlier return, in October of 1828, when he had been brought back to New Forest by a group of Maroons who collected a reward for his return (New Forest Plantation Book).

This latter incident is revelatory of the difficulty some would-be runaways had in joining the existing Maroon communities. Throughout the nineteenth century, at least on some occasions such as this, the Maroons stayed true to the promises they made to the colonial government of Jamaica, that they would return any escaped slaves that might seek refuge in their communities. Absent the possibility of joining existing Maroon communities, many escapees likely chose the path of petit marronage, escaping for a limited amount of time. If the entries in the New Forest plantation book can be believed, those escapees who voluntarily returned to the estate were not punished for their time away, but were, as the entries suggest, "forgiven" upon their return. It would seem to be the opposite case for those who were apprehended while they were away from the estate. Dublin was punished upon both of his returns, although the nature of that punishment is not recorded in the book. George Palmer was similarly punished upon his return to New Forest. A third escapee, Robert, died the day after his return, although it is unclear whether he was punished so severely as to cause death, or whether he returned to the estate knowing that he was quite ill and likely to die. The former seems a more plausible explanation.

Freedom in Full Site: Field Houses and Spatial Sovereignty

Both grand and petit marronage are manifestations of a similar phenomenon, made possible by the multivalent nature of Jamaica's plantation landscape. The nature of the plantation system in Jamaica was such that many plantations, including New Forest and Radnor, contained thousands of acres of lands, most of which was not developed for use by the plantation management. A cursory glance at the cartographic record of Jamaica indicates that the majority of plantations for which we have such records were spatially divided; well over half of the land claimed as private property by the estates was, in fact, undeveloped woodland or ruinate, or was held for the use of the enslaved population as what was commonly called "Negro Grounds" or "Provision Grounds." The landscape of Jamaica, particularly in the interior, was thus characterized by hundreds of thousands of acres of land that was not in the direct control of the plantation elite. It was to these spaces that the Maroons first removed to establish their sovereignty, and to which, once their communities were closed to any incoming escapees, the petit Maroons fled to find their temporary refuges.

Fig. 8.1 A field house occupied in the early 1990s near St. Ann's Bay, Jamaica. (Photograph by James A. Delle)

Such intermediate spaces existed not only between plantations but within them. In Jamaica, possibly built on West African antecedents, there is a spatial tradition of occupying temporary field houses. Such small, temporary shelters are often located near pieces of land cultivated by farmers, who may or may not have clear title to the land they are working. During the nineteenth century, prior to emancipation, it was common practice for those enslaved on plantations to be allocated land within the estate boundaries upon which they would grow foodstuffs, which would then either be consumed by the worker and his or her family, sold back to the estate for the use of the white plantation staff, or else exchanged in local markets. In the latter two cases, any surplus value generated through the sale of provisions would be kept by the enslaved worker who had grown and sold the produce, and not the plantation that claimed ownership of both the land and the laborers (Delle 1998, 2009, 2014; Hauser 2008).

Figure 8.1 depicts a field house that was occupied in the late 1980s and early 1990s by a day laborer who was squatting on land owned by the Jamaica government. The small 10-ft-by-10-ft structure was constructed by sinking pimento-wood posts into the ground, and using these as a frame to support corrugated zinc walls. The resident of this house grew provisions in the yard surrounding the house, pirated electricity from a nearby water department pump house, and used that same pump house as a source of freshwater, apparently with permission from the local water department supervisor. This structure was occupied for a short time, and then abandoned, virtually disappearing from the visible landscape and retreating into the archaeological record by 1999 (Fig. 8.2).

Field houses such as these may occasionally serve as a primary residence. However, many Jamaican farmers maintain smaller houses in their fields that serve as a secondary residence or expedient shelter. Figure 8.3 depicts such a small field house occupied by a farmer who has been granted permission by his employer to grow crops on a plot of land at the periphery of her property. The house is barely large enough to hold a single mattress, but it provides shelter from sudden storms, and a place for the farmer to rest and guard his crops should he be concerned about theft or vandalism. As can be seen from the figure, he also collects rainwater in a barrel which he uses both to water seedlings and for his personal use.

Fig. 8.2 The location of the field house depicted in Fig. 8.1, in 1999, several years after its abandonment. (Photograph by James A. Delle)

Fig. 8.3 A field house occupied in the early 2010s near Mandeville, Jamaica. (Photograph by James A. Delle)

The archaeological record of a former coffee plantation known as Marshall's Pen suggests that the use of such field houses predates emancipation in Jamaica. A plat of the estate drawn in the early 1820s to depict landmarks and boundaries for a lawsuit between the owner of Marshall's Pen and his neighbor, clearly indicates that a number of small structures, alternately referred to on the maps as "huts" or "negro houses,"

Fig. 8.4 The ruins of a slavery-period field house under excavation, located within 100 m of the house depicted in Fig. 8.3. (Photograph by James A. Delle)

were scattered around the estate, including in areas defined as provision grounds. Archaeological field testing conducted in 2012 resulted in the location of five of these field houses. One of these (Fig. 8.4) produced an archaeological signature very similar to contemporary houses located in the slave village attached to the plantation. This suggests that this field house was likely a full-time residence, much like the first field house described above. Two additional field houses (Figs. 8.5 and 8.6) produced only a very light scatter of artifacts, suggesting that these two structures were likely expedient houses occupied sporadically to provide shelter from sudden storms, much like the second, small field house described above. Artifacts recovered from a fourth field house (Fig. 8.7) date primarily to the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, suggesting that this structure was either constructed later or was heavily reoccupied at the turn of the nineteenth century. A final field house remains to be tested in future field seasons.

Testing of locations of field houses at Marshall's Pen indicates that the settlement of the plantation was far more complex than a dichotomous division of space into white/black, overseer/slave, owner/worker. Although the majority of the population likely lived in one of two villages known to exist on the site, the number of field houses so far identified indicates that enslaved workers lived throughout the plantation. Although we know of no other similar maps indicating the locations of field houses for other plantations in Jamaica, it seems unlikely that Marshall's Pen was unique in this settlement pattern. The landscape of Jamaica would likely have featured hundreds if not thousands of these small, expedient, temporary houses. Workers on

Fig. 8.5 The ruins of two slavery-period field houses located on Marshall's Pen, a coffee plantation near Mandeville, Jamaica. (Photograph by James A. Delle)

Fig. 8.6 A nineteenth-century field house at Marshalls' Pen, prior to excavation. This is the same house seen in the background in Fig. 8.5. (Photograph by James A. Delle)

Fig. 8.7 The ruins of a field house at Marshalls' Pen, during excavation. Recovered material culture suggests this structure was occupied, or reoccupied, during the first half of the twentieth century

a given estate would have had the opportunity, whether sanctioned or not, to find some measure of privacy in these kinds of houses, located far from the bustle of the cramped plantation village, and the watchful gaze of the plantation overseer. More significantly, perhaps because some of these field houses are clearly associated with provision grounds, it seems more than likely that provision gardens located in the margins of estates and carved out of the forests between the industrial and residential cores of plantations would have featured houses like this; houses to which men and women could flee, either to escape conditions in which they found themselves enslaved or else to create temporary sovereignty over their own movement, through their ability to extract a living from the land of Jamaica in places in the landscape unknown to the white planters and their estate staffs.

Conclusion

The process of marronage in Jamaica should be considered part of a continuum through which members of the African diaspora expressed sovereignty over the movement of their bodies through the island's landscape. The planters were always concerned with controlling if not limiting that movement. As Delle argued elsewhere (Delle 1998), many of the punishments inflicted on enslaved populations were focused on curtailing movement, including the use of stocks and pillories, jail cells,

ankle shackles, neck collars, and other devices designed to simultaneously humiliate a person while also controlling their ability to move. Grand marronage was dialectically opposed to these efforts; by completely removing themselves from the worlds the planters made, Maroons were able to exert maximum control over their own movements, provided they did not challenge the authority of the slaveholders. Jamaican Maroons held this sovereignty so dear that they were willing to collaborate with those they opposed by, for example, returning escaped slaves who had hoped to join the Maroon communities.

Joining the sovereign communities of Maroons became an exceptionally difficult challenge after the turn of the nineteenth century. As we saw in the example of New Forest, Maroons were willing to return escapees back to the planters, and were rewarded for their efforts. The process of petit marronage, by which people fled their captivity for a few days, weeks, or months at a time, was for many a much more reasonable option. This too was part of the continuum of spatial sovereignty, as the petit Maroons would fade into the wilderness, perhaps engaging in social or material activities beyond the control of those who claimed them as property.

A related phenomenon, the landscape of Jamaica appears to have been dotted by field houses, places of refuge neither part of the established plantation world nor that of the Grand Maroons. Such houses existed within the boundaries of estates, and it seems more than reasonable to conclude that such temporary houses existed in the undeveloped wilderness between and beyond the plantation communities of Jamaica.

Each of these phenomena clearly indicates that the landscape of Jamaica was multivalent and complex, and only in understanding the spaces in between can we fully understand the sociospatial dynamics of plantation Jamaica.

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