

AN ETHNOARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION ON TUPI-GUARANI¹

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RESUMO - Nos últimos anos, a pesquisa em pré-história indígena tem crescido substancialmente na academia brasileira. Nesse quadro, o conceito de Etnoarqueologia tem sido cada vez mais usado. Assim, esta apresentação analisa as investigações arqueológicas a respeito dos povos Tupi-Guarani, no intuito de se construir a sua pré-história. Esta pré-história é marcada por migrações; por diferentes tradições; pela existência de rotas pré-históricas e por fenômenos de dominação cultural. Para tanto, parte-se de uma metodologia interdisciplinar, a qual se utiliza de conceitos e análises da História e da Antropologia. A partir daí, são apresentados elementos que possam nortear futuras investigações.

Palavras-chave: Etnoarqueologia, Tupi-Guarani, Pré-história.

ABSTRACT - In recent years, research on prehistoric native has grown substantially in the Brazilian academy. In this context, the concept of Ethnoarchaeology has been increasingly used. Thus, this presentation examines the archaeological research on Tupi-Guarani, in order to build its prehistory; it is marked by migration, by different traditions, by the existence of prehistoric routs and by the occurrence of cultural domination. For this purpose, I use an interdisciplinary approach, which makes use of concepts and analysis from History and Anthropology. Finally it presents elements that can guide future research.

Key-words: Ethnoarchaeology, Tupi-Guarani, Pre-history.

1 Archaeological Investigation on Tupi-Guarani

Modern chronology divides the prehistory of the South American lowlands into a number of consecutive categorized eras or periods, from the earliest evidence of human habitation through to the early Colonial period which followed the Portuguese/Spanish colonization. The first period or era, known as the Paleo-Indian, ranges from the first signs of human existence in the region to the establishment of agriculture and other activities such as pottery and also included permanent settlements (Heckenberger & Neves, 2009:251-253; 258-260; Fiedel, 1999:95-115).

Studies indicate that the first groups, termed Paleo-Indians, experienced these environmental changes and became adapted to them. At this point I intend to look for similarities, convergent and divergent points in archaeological researches. An understanding of pre-colonial Guarani occupation and of the relations among Guarani and other groups is taken by Rodrigues (2002:155-173). He analyzes the archaeologist and ethnographic data and the archaeological studies under way.

Keeping in mind that archaeology is not purely a theoretical endeavor, some further discussion of the discoveries of prehistoric archaeology is necessary in order to develop an understanding of the Tupi-Guarani history prior to the Portuguese conquest. Up to present day, the prehistoric archaeology regarding the Tupi-Guarani is a topic of ever-widening circles of inquiry. Certainly the study of artifacts is important to understand the material aspect of these cultures.

In southern Brazil, archaeologists have found the remains of a network of urban communities. In the upper Xingu region of the southern Amazon, Michael Heckenberger has discovered centuries-old remains of roads that appear to link a network of large villages. Archaeologists believed that the soil quality was too poor to support intensive agriculture. However, according to Heckenberger, the impression of native Amazonians is that *Stone Age* conditions have slightly changed. The problem is the lack of good physical evidence (Michael Heckenberger, 2009:258-260).

The first written record refers to the Kuikuro, a subgroup of the Xinguanos and dates back

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to 1884. According to the Kuikuro's oral history, the first Europeans they encountered were slave owners, around 1750. The population of the region numbered tens of thousands and decreased due to enslavement and disease epidemics. By the 1950s, there were around 500 Xinguanos. Heckenberger has found 19 settlements to date, built around large, circular plazas, with roads leading to and from them, at specific angles, repeated from one plaza to the next. Road directions and the orientation of other structures are directed towards the course of the sun and stars, an example of "ethno-cartography". Heckenberger reports that the roads in the ancient settlements were flanked by large curbs and measured up to 50 meters (165 feet) wide, the width of a modern-day four-lane highway. Researchers discovered remains of ancient bridges, moats and canals where the villages converged on wetlands (Bessa Freire, 1994:7-16; Hilbert, 1952:5-32; Meggers & Evans, 1957:26-32; Meggers, 1971:39-149, 157-168; 1977:287-303).

Archaeological evidence concerning the prehistory of Brazil dates to the period after the Asian migratory waves. Eduardo Galvão rejects the influence on American civilizations from Polynesian and Asian cultures. According to him, the migrations, [if occurred] occurred in a latest moment (Galvão, 1978:8-11). Brazilian natives, unlike those in Mesoamerica, did not keep written records or erect stone monuments and the humid climate and acidic soil have destroyed almost all traces of their material culture. Therefore, with small-scale archaeological evidence, such as pottery and stone arrowheads, one is able to start reconstruction of the region's history prior to 1500. The most conspicuous remains of early discovered societies are very large mounds of discarded shellfish (*sambaquís*) found in some coastal sites which were continuously inhabited for over 5,000 years and substantial "black earth" (*terra preta*) deposits in several places along the Amazon, which are believed to be ancient garbage dumps (Gaspar, 2008:319-338).

Recent excavations of such deposits in the middle and upper course of the Amazon have uncovered remains of some very large settlements, containing tens of thousands of homes, indicating a complex social and economic structure. Information about civilizations in South America before the conquest of America is rare and difficult to find. The traditional theory of Paleoamerican origins stated that the first Americans crossed the ice from Siberia to Alaska some 12,000 years ago. There is now evidence of earlier human habitation in South America. Monte Verde, a well-studied site located along a river near southern central Chile, dates back 12,500 years. It suggests that people perhaps moved even earlier along the Pacific coast to North America in boats and eventually moved south to Peru and Chile.

Present-day study of prehistoric archaeology can clarify Tupi-Guarani history. Brazilian archaeology as a whole became a dynamic field in the 1960s as a result of programs introduced by the French archaeologist Annette Laming Emperaire and Betty Meggers and Clifford Evans from North America and systematic research began to be implemented, although these programs were essentially designed for prehistoric archaeology. Studies of material from the colonial period began in the states of Paraná and Rio Grande do Sul, with the discovery of 16th century ruins of Spanish villages and Jesuit congregations. The fortifications built along the northeastern coast in the Pernambuco State during the 16th-17th century Dutch invasion were investigated in the 1970s, along with Portuguese commercial and military bases. The Brazilian National Historical and Artistic Heritage Institute preferred material that reinforced the symbols of religious, military and civic power, this actually meant churches, convents, forts and palaces. States with higher numbers of investigations were Rio Grande do Sul, Pernambuco, São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais and Goiás. Research in Rio Grande do Sul currently focuses on urban archaeology and Jesuit congregations; in Pernambuco, on churches and convents, as well as forts and the coastal defense system; in Paraíba and in Rio Grande do Norte, Catholic missions and churches of different religious orders; in São Paulo, on sugar mills, households, churches, harbors, garbage dumps, public places and old roads; in Rio de Janeiro, colonial sugar mills, coffee plantations, households, industries and historic cemeteries; in Goiás, as a consequence of the construction of hydroelectric plants, ancient villages and mining areas threatened by floods; in Minas Gerais, the 18th century mines. As it has not yet fully developed as a discipline, historical archaeology up till now usually selects sites of religious, military and civic significance and produces descriptive results. More recent research programs, however, seem to promise a future of a more mature academic debate: amongst these are programs in Fernando de Noronha Island; Bahia - with a very rich historical patrimony - and Santa Catarina States - with a growing interest in its sugar mills and fortifications - and the statutory region of the Amazon - where forts, churches and sugar mills are

being studied (Meggers & Evans, 1979:39-60).

South American native populations did not acquire alphabetical script, but there are stone inscriptions. Petroglyphs and pictographs are different types of rock art. One argument is that lowland peoples lacked fully developed writing systems – they had an iconographic system rather than an alphabetic writing system. This section focuses on *systems* of pictographic script, which means, the structure and technology of primitive writing. In a very real way, the images represent the feelings of the people from the past in which the author is increasingly engrossed. These visual documents can present us with many insights. Between the end of the Pleistocene and the beginning of the Holocene eras, the areas that today constitute the Brazilian northeast were occupied by groups of hunters who had established themselves close to rivers and adapted themselves to the hinterland conditions. Such occupation consolidated some 12,000 years ago (Mello e Alvim, 1996:9-15). At that time, specimens of fauna that are extinct today, such as smilodon, mastodons and some kinds of ground sloths and armadillos were caught by means of traps or by ambush (Martin, 1999:24-39).

Rock lithography, developed by chipping or engraving, is one characteristic of prehistoric people. Writing was not developed, but the natives recorded events and feelings by way of carvings and paintings on rocks. A Petroglyph is an image that is carved on a rock. An example is the Continental *rupestre* art: *Praia da pinheira, palhoça*. Writings from the pre-conquest period include these techniques. Pictographs are merely a surface coating; they tend to be less durable than petroglyphs. The ones that survive are most often found in caves, rock shelters and areas with dry climates. A variety of pigments have been used to make pictographs. Examples of these pigments include: charcoal from a campfire; blood from hunted or sacrificed animals and mineral materials such as chalk, limonite or hematite. In *Serra da Copaoba*, the first archaeological site of Brazil, one Petroglyph was found in 1598 and registered in the book “Diálogo das grandezas do Brasil”, written in 1618 by the New-Christian Ambrósio Fernandes Brandão (Prous, 1984:71; 1992:112-126).

2 The Hypothesis for Tupi-Guarani Origins

Ethnoarchaeological researchers have identified the proto-Tupi-Guarani origin(s) in Central Amazon, from where their expansion to the south had started probably 5,000 years ago (Noelli, 2000:218-269; Brochado, 1980:47-60; Lathrop, 1970). The hypothesis that Tupi-Guarani origin would lie between Paraguay and south east Bolivia has been confirmed by recent archaeological and linguistic research. This hypothesis was developed between 1838 and 1946, based on historical and ethnographical data (Noelli, 1996:7-53).

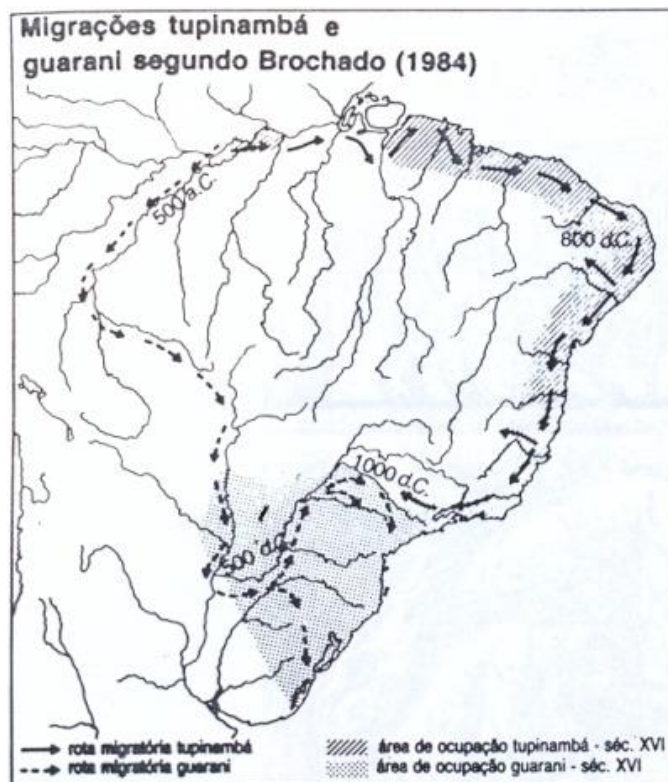
According to Francisco Noelli, the hypothesis of the Tupi-Guarani Amazonian is supported by linguist studies of the Tupi-Guarani family, which is composed of 41 languages, including Guarani. Also, compared studies of cultural material have found that there are correlations between Guarani and western Amazonian ceramics and between Tupinambá and the eastern Amazon ceramics (Noelli, 1996:7-53).

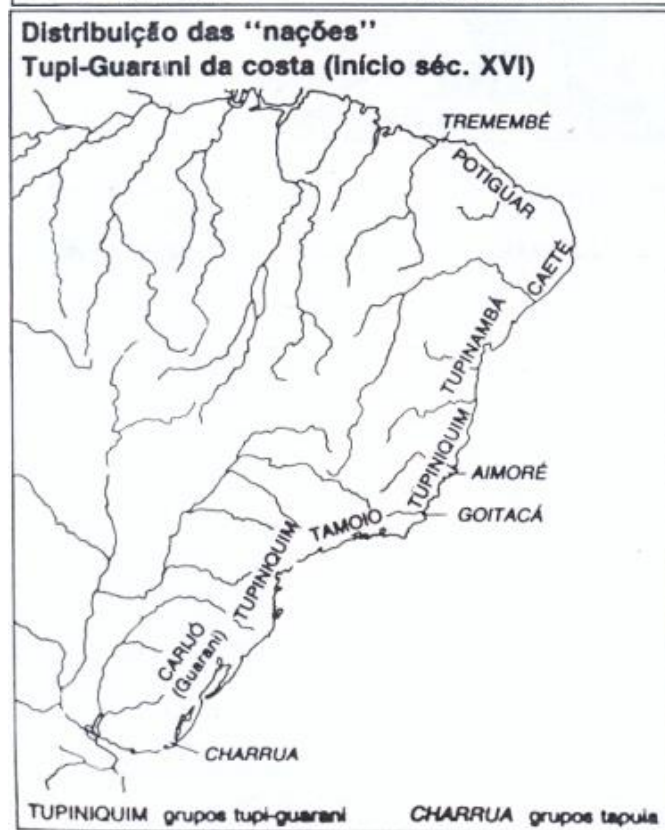
According to Andre Prous, Tupi consists of a set of languages of Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia and Peru origin. These are grouped in families and Tupi-Guarani is one of them. He draws together the Guarani groups of *Bacia do Prata* (valley of Uruguay and Paraná Rivers), the Tupian coastal groups of Rio de Janeiro and Maranhão (Tupiniquins and Tupinambás) and others located in the Amazonian basin. The main sources of transportation were rivers routes (Prous, 1984:112-126).

While the Tupinambá went from Central Amazon towards the east and reached the Northeast coast then moved to the Southeastern coast, in the current São Paulo State, the Guarani migrated in a southwestern direction, following the Madeira and Mamoré rivers, in the current Brazilian State of Roraima and then to the south following the Paraguay, Paraná, Uruguay rivers and their tributaries. 2,000 to 3,000 years ago the Guarani reached the regions of Bolivia, Paraguay, southern Brazil and Uruguay. Up to 1,000 years ago, they reached the southeastern and south coastal areas (from current São Paulo to Rio Grande do Sul Brazilian States) and Argentina (Noelli, 2008:662).

Until now, the archaeological sites cover eastern Paraguay, northeastern Argentina and Uruguay. In Brazil, the sites are located in southern Mato Grosso, western São Paulo, all Paraná, coastal Santa Catarina and the central-north border with Paraná. Data indicates that it was the last dominated region. In Rio Grande do Sul, except in the northeast, there are a large number of archaeological sites (Noelli & Funari, 2002:25-62). Noelli quotes Susnik's analysis of pre-Columbian migrations, who established that it was in the form of waves (Noelli, 1996:7-53). The most accepted hypothesis for these movements is the demographic increase in the Amazon area. Ethnoarchaeological studies indicate the high population density between the V and XV centuries. The route through the southwest and the south was slow and many areas display continuous Guarani occupation over a period of 1,500 years. Some reasons for the sedentary life are agro-forest handling and maintenance of their residential domains (Noelli & Funari, 2002:25-62).

These maps show the archaeological debate about Tupi-Guarani origins and migrations (Pontes, 1944:85):





Based on works of Susnik, the Tupi-Guarani center was located in the area of Madeira River, then the group scattered, about 1,500 years ago. In contrast, according to Lathrap, the Tupi had its origin in the basin of the Amazon River, between the Tapajos and the Madeira, much more to the north, as proposed by Susnik and Migliazza and Campbell. Lathrap assumes that the proto-Tupi-Guarani only began their migrations in 500 A.C. The Portuguese persecuted the Tupis in the southern and eastern portions of Brazil after which the language survived in the Amazônia (Corrêa & Samia, 2006:408-411).

This table serves to show the differences in the Tupi-Guarani archaeological tradition chronology (Corrêa & Samia, 2006:409):

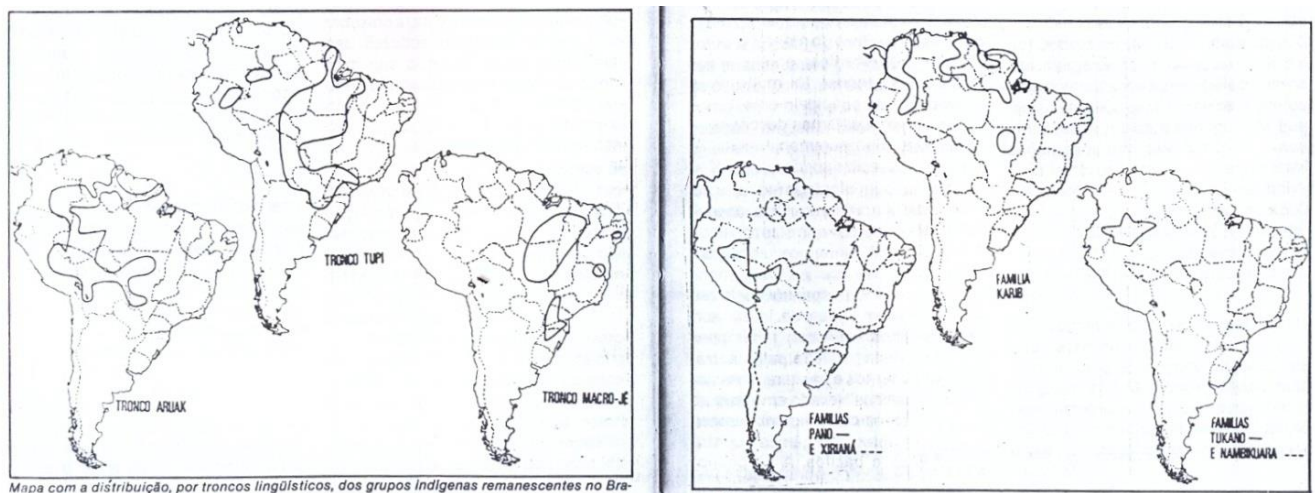
Table IV – Hypothesis of Tupi Center of Origin		
Author	Date	Center of Origin
Karl F. Ph. Von Martius	1838	Between Paraguay and southern Bolivia
D'Orbigny	1839	Between Paraguay and Brazil
Karl Von Den Steinen	1886	Headwaters of the Xingu
Paul Ehrenreich	1891	Paraguay
Wilhelm Schmidt	1913	Headwaters of the Amazon River
Affonso A. de Freitas	1914	Among the Madeira, Beni, Araguaia rivers and Lake Titicaca
Rodolfo Garcia	1922	Origins of the Paraguay and Paraná rivers
Fritz Krause	1925	Between the rivers Napo and the Jurua
Alfred Metraux	1928	Limited to the north by the Amazon River, the south by the Paraguay River, east of the Tocantins River and west by the Rio Madeira.
Branislava Susnik	1975	Plains Colombian
Betty Meggers	1972	Base of the Andes in the current territory of Bolivia
B. Meggers-Clifford Evans	1973	East of the Madeira
Peter I. Schmitz	1985	East of the Madeira
Joseph P. Brochado	1973	Limited to the north by the Amazon River, to the south by the Paraguay, to the east by the Tocantins and to the west by the Madeira
Donald Lathrap	1970	Central Amazon, between the Amazon and Madeira
Joseph P. Brochado	1984	Central Amazon
Ondemar Dias	1993	Southeastern Brazil, between the Paranapanema and Guaratiba rivers.
Francisco Noelli	1996	Central Amazon
Hechenberg et al	1998	Outside the Central Amazon

3 Primordial Groups and Their Migration

The anthropologists no longer term the native societies a tribal system. Its way of life has been distinct since the 16th century Portuguese occupation. The tribal organization was reestablished on consanguinity and was characterized by cooperation that existed between members of the same ancestry. Social organization was expressed in terms of kinship or common interests, forming peoples and nations. The groups lived in middle-sized hamlets, characterized by Long Houses. The people would relocate to different villages, usually situated close to rivers, at regular intervals. At that time, villages were marked by wars, as the Tupi, when arriving at the Atlantic coast, banished peoples living there. For this purpose, they built one or two very large wooden fences, inside which they built four to six houses, with a patio in the center. In this patio they held general village meetings and different kinds of important ceremonies (Reed, 1995:74-100).

Archaeologists excavated the place of an old village and found some old structures. In sites of two other villages, namely *Regada Garcia* in SP State and *Queimada Nova* in PI State, archaeologists found vestiges of bonfires and remaining lined stakes that supported the nets where they slept and some objects of made of rocks and ceramics. The houses were constructed from wood and covered with palm leaves, which, according to written chronicles, lasted many years. In each house resided a family, consisting not just of parents and children but of the head of the family and all their descendants; up to 40 people would live in big houses. There was no internal division; each family had its space where the woman made the food and where the nets (*hamacas*, *redes*) to sleep were installed.

The map with the distribution, by linguistic categorization, of natives prior to the conquest is as follows (Ribeiro, 1983:26-27):



Use of the term Tupi-Guarani is ambiguous since the Tupi way of life was different from Guarani. By clarification, the two were very complex nations. In many subjects, the term Tupi-Guarani is used in a generalized way to refer to both nations and also to groups outside this context. For this reason, the subsequent study necessitates more than the examination of the history and prehistory of these peoples.

Moacyr Soares Pereira provides impressions of the arrival of Tupi-Guarani at Brazil and Paraguay before the conquest. According to him, the differences start with the consumption of food: the Guarani planted cassava, grass, beans, peanuts, cotton, tobacco, and mainly maize, as opposed to the Tupi, who mainly cultivated the cassava. Maize is also associated with Guarani mythology and festive ceremonies to celebrate the harvest of the grain with which they prepared pies and drinks (Pereira, 2000:35-40; 49-55; 77-80). Pereira returns to Metraux's argument that the Tupi migrated through the Atlantic Coast area *immediately* before the "discovery". He recognizes the fact that the Tupi-Guarani similarities and identities prove their division occurred at a later stage.

Prior to the conquest, there were (no less than) three ethnic populations dominating in South America: the Andeans in the west, the Arawaks in the north (of Brazil), and the Tupi-Guarani, who probably had a larger population than the other two and who had great territorial extension. Arawaks (Arawakan linguistic family) originally inhabited an area that stretched from present-day Florida down through the islands of the West Indies and the coastal area of South America. They were the first natives of the Americas encountered by the Columbus. The Arawak populations in the West Indies fell from a probable 2 to 3 million to a few thousand by the early 16th century. Today some 30,000 Arawak live in Guyana, in Suriname and in French Guiana. In "Made-from-Bone", Jonathan Hill provides a complete set of narratives about the mythic past from the Wakuénai of southernmost Venezuela. At the time of Columbus's first encounters with the Taíno and other indigenous peoples living in the Caribbean basin, Arawak was the most widespread language family in the Americas, extending for three thousand miles from the Taíno in the north all the way to the Chané and Terena in southern Brazil and for twenty-four hundred miles from the Yanésa in the west to the Palikur (Pa'ikwené) near the mouth of the Amazon River (Hill, 2009:1-4).

Apparently the proto-Tupi-Guarani had emigrated from Central America, the Tupi continuing eastward and north up the Amazon, where they further developed the Tupi branch of the language. The Guarani migrated further west and southward, occupying the river valleys of Parana, Paraguay and Uruguay. Since the two groups covered a great area, hundreds of dialects emerged among them, forming the overall Tupi-Guarani language family. While colonial languages such as Spanish and Portuguese became widespread, millions continued to speak their own languages, such as Tupi, Tupinambá, Tapajó, Guarani, Ache-Guayaki, Guarani-Ñandeva, Guarani-Kaiowa, Guarani-Mbya, Potiguar.

The name Tupi-Guarani goes back thousands of years. As I stated before, the origins are in Central America, from when the Tupi-Guarani invaded South America. During the division and differentiation the Tupi went to the Brazilian coast and the Guarani went through the Rio de la

Plata. Here they split up into many different peoples with different civilizations. The Tupi lived close to rivers or to the sea, as they were good swimmers, in contrast to some Jê groups, commonly perceived as lacking the knowledge of canoe construction (Lowie, 1941:188-196). The canoe was an important way of transportation and allowed them to spread throughout the entire territory. Tupi were also aggressive and warlike cannibals who invaded the coast prior to the Portuguese arrival and many other groups were constantly victimized by them (Robarchek & Robarchek, 1998:24; Ferguson, 1995:39-58).

There are different denominations for regional sub-groups and there is a large amount of distinct tribes. Guarani of Southern Brazil can be divided into three big groups: Nandéva (including the Apapokúva, which became notorious with Curt Nimuendajú's work), Mbüá and the Kayová (Schaden, 1974:1-16).

The peoples living on the northeast coast of Brazil identified themselves as Tupi and identified the peoples of the inlands who had different languages and customs, as Tapuia (Monteiro, 2007:19). The Potiguaras, anthropophagic, belonged to the Tupi branch (following the linguistic criteria of classification) and were distributed between the current States of Paraíba, Rio Grande do Norte and Ceará (Lopes, 1999:141-168). The Tarairiu, classified by some in the linguistic branch Macro-Jê, inhabited the hinterland (Monteiro, 2007:21).

The Tupi-Guarani had common denominators but they were also very different from one another. Tania Andrade Lima also focuses on the emerging complexity between litoranean hunters/fishermen (Lima, 2005:30-33; 2007:11-13). Discussion on the political structures and the sociopolitical order of the Tupi-Guarani should include their concepts of *tekoha* (earth) and *teko* (way to live), as well as the differences between the Guarani and Tupi. It is possible to analyze both the Tupi and the Guarani communities, including a description of how they integrated family, leadership and religion, political authority in a single kin leadership system. A political system existed in ancient Guarani culture, whereby the heads were chosen by votes, which they won by expressive oratory displays, this perhaps led to the language's poetic development. Communities were sometimes united by common interest and language and formed tribal groups according to dialect. It is estimated that they numbered at some 400,000 people when the Europeans first encountered them. The groups were sedentary and agricultural, subsisting largely on manioc, maize, wild game and honey (Reed, 1997:123-133).

Obviously, not all the natives had the same traditions. Some groups were nomadic, semi-nomadic or sedentary (Sánchez & Giraudó, 2003:200-206; Martínez, Crivos & Teves, 2004:347-357; Henrich et al., 2005:797-810). Generally, each tribe had different life-styles and architecture, influenced by the climate and many other different aspects (Ferree, 1890:147-158).

The Tupi-Guarani also built homes in a variety of ways. They lived in contrasting landscapes. Among the Tupi and the Guarani, the village or *taba* was composed of long huts made of straw, called *ocas* (tupi) and *ogas* (guarani) or *malocas* – "big house", sometimes also called *oguassu*, *maioca*. *Malocas* formed a circle around a square. The *ocas* were located at the *ocara*, which was encircled by a fence made out of punctured wooden boards (cob walls, wattle and daub). Other various tribes and nations had other architectural techniques.

In some cases the *maloca* sheltered several families and was commanded by a chief, as well as the Tupi tribe itself. There were many ways to obtain command: demonstration of bravery in combat, capacity to lead warriors, the number of captives he possessed, the amount of labor done by his many wives, his capacity to attract a great number of young men and relatives to follow him, his talents in speech or magic. However, the authority of chief in a village was very limited and there were no great hierarchic differences between him and the heads of the *malocas* (Almeida, 2003:48-53).

Community decisions were made by a council of elders, consisting of male members of over the age of forty, who assembled frequently. The decisions were made by means of a consensus after a long process of persuasion from the key members who spent hours lecturing the people until they acquired the support of the council of oldest and the *pajé* (Monteiro, 2009:17-28).

In some other cases the Tupi for example did not have a head of the community, but each village had a leader who represented them; he worked with the other men and his leadership power was exerted during the meetings and in periods of war. Tasks were divided between men, women and children. In tree-cutting, collecting, hunting, fishing, or when there was danger, all joined in (Coelho, 2006:117-128).

The tribes generally had their *caciques* and *pajés*. The head, called *cacique*, by the Portuguese, was the political leader of indigenous communities and his function was to advise the tribe. Cacique derived from the Taíno word for the pre-Columbian chiefs of tribes in the Bahamas and Antilles. The Spaniards used the word as a title for the leaders of the other indigenous tribes they encountered in the Southern Hemisphere (Oliver, 2009:1-7). *Mburovixá* is the term used by the Guarani to describe their heads, while the Tupi used *morubixaba*, *murumuxaua*, *muruxaua*, *tubixaba* and *tuxaua*. *Pajé* was one of the oldest in the tribe, its spiritual head. The *Pajé* supposedly had knowledge of medicinal plants and techniques for curing illnesses and was connected to supernatural powers (H. Clastres, 1995:25-30).

In relation to marriage, each native group had its customs and special marriage ceremonies. In some tribes, the newly married couple went to live with the fiancé's family; some native societies permitted polygamy (H. Clastres, 1995:25-30).

According to H  l  ne Clastres, according to the Guarani concept, the political structures (the sociopolitical order) represented evil and the religious domain represented the absence of evil. People referred to their position with a set of terms and names that represented multiple levels of identity and sociopolitical affiliation.

The concept of earth for the Guarani is linked with the concept of earth-without-lands. Without *tekoha* - place to live, earth - *teko* - way to live - does not exist (H. Clastres, 1995:79-94). The term *tekoh  * for village is common in the anthropological literature of Spanish America, in Portuguese America the term is *teko  *. According to Meli  , Guarani "way of life" (*teko*) is linked with the way they live in a geographic space. The author observes that *teko* is an identity that can be represented according to two main categories: spatiality and tradition (Meli  , 1990:33-37).

Pierre Clastres criticizes the view that South American indigenous societies are less culturally developed than societies arranged according to more hierarchical ranks, where the presence of state is more evident. He demonstrates that not all societies develop from tribal forms, with common property and an egalitarian system, to more hierarchical systems. The non-hierarchical systems have cultural mechanisms that avoid the appearance of "figures in command"; the chiefs, such as the *Paj  s*, are isolated and destitute of "power of command" - they just have power to give advice. Clastres also criticizes the evolutionist notion that the state is the ultimate destiny of all societies and the Rousseauian notion of man's natural state of innocence with the myth of the *noble savage*. Some societies rejected the state, as well as the coercion of political power. Those "primitive" societies actually reject the divisive and alienating political forms found in the west. "Stateless" displays ethnocentric thinking: as if "stateless" societies lack something that is essential to them. The natural state for humans wanting to preserve autonomy is a society structured by a set of customs which actively prevent the rise of tyrannical power; the state is seen as a specific constellation of hierarchical power peculiar to societies who have failed to maintain these preventive mechanisms (P. Clastres, 1974:7-24).

In the Guayaki tribes the leader only has a representational role, being his people's spokesperson opposite other tribes. If he abuses his authority, he may be removed by his people (P. Clastres, 1995:17-26). Clastres elaborates upon Lapierre's criterion, in order to understand the native political powers. Analyzing Lapierre's (1969) classifications on human societies, Clastres concludes that "the New World in its virtual entirety would fall into the pre-political sector, that is, into the last group of his typology which contains those societies where 'political power approaches zero'" (P. Clastres, 1995:11).

Concerning their migrations, for a variety of reasons the chronological migrations of Guarani and Tupi people remain relatively unknown and lack any form of summarization. It is essential to return to the anthropologists and historians in order to define the migrations of Tupinamb   and Guarani groups. A study of the 16th century Tupi-Guarani migrations was carried out by Alfred M  traux, Florestan Fernandes, Egon Schaden, Maria Isaura Pereira de Queiroz, H  l  ne Clastres and others. In the beginning of the 16th century, Guarani natives emigrated (during the time that rivers served as transportation instead of roads) from Paran   and Paraguay rivers to Guayayos and outermost valleys of the Andes towards the Gran Chaco. M  traux offers an overview of the migrations known from historical records (Noelli, 1999:123-166).

A major source of ethnographic information on how the journeys were carried out and how the participants conducted themselves comes from Curt Nimuendaju's study of the travels

undertaken by the Apapokuva and their neighbors, which began around 1820 and ended shortly before Nimuendaju's visit in 1912 (Nimuendajú, 1987). Métraux concluded that the centre of origin and expansion routes of Tupi was located somewhere in the basins of the Tapajos or Xingu rivers, or: in the area bound in the north by the Amazon river, in the south by the Paraguay river, in the east by the Tocantins and in the west by the Madeira river (Noelli, 1999:123-166). Métraux, supporting religious motivations, suggested that numerous migrations of Tupi-Guarani peoples in the direction of the Land-without-evil took place before the Europeans' arrival.

This approach is often used by anthropologists and historians to characterize the encounters: the existence of a messianic tradition. A discussion and analysis of the migrations can also be found in Hélène Clastres (1995:65-103). Clastres determined that Tupi-Guarani peoples migrated in search of the Land-without-Evil, incited by their prophets. During migrations that took place between 1539 and 1549, from the coast of Brazil to the headwaters of the Amazon River in Peru, out of some 10 to 12,000 people only about 300 survived. In 1562, 3,000 natives from Bahía followed two *pagés* that had attracted them, stopped by the Jesuits on several occasions by force (H. Clastres, 1995:65-103). Another religious movement was in 1609, when a prophet led some 40,000 to 60,000 Potiguara people from Pernambuco to Maranhão, a distance of more than 1,000 miles. However, Clastres refuses to consider the Tupi-Guarani's migration as messianic movement.

Maria Cristina Pompa does not consider the migrations as messianic movements either. According to her, investigators have evident intentions to develop *grand theories*. She observes that the first encounters in the 16th century formed the vision about the Tapuia natives (Pompa, 2003:94-104).

3.1 Three great traditions in the Brazilian Northeast

There are three great traditions in the Brazilian Northeast: *Tradição Nordeste*, *Tradição Agreste* and *Itaquatiara*. Defined as the outcome of the research of Niède Guidon, the Northeast Tradition has figures of small size, anthropomorphic, adorned with ornaments that characterize a rich social context: fights, hunting, dances and sex. The anthropomorphism always appears in a position that suggests movement and tumult; the ones that appear from profile seem to be crying out. The graphics are of delicate tracing that suggests they were painted with fine tools. The *Tradição Agreste* presents inferior graphical technique and no formation of scenes. While the peoples of the *Tradição Nordeste* had a rich geographical context, the hunters of the *Tradição Agreste* lived in a more modest environment, taking locations at the foot of mountain ranges, always next to water sources, which were filled by rain water. The chronology for this tradition is about 5,000 years old. A typical example of this tradition is the site *Lajêdo da Soledade*, in Apodi. The *Itaquatiara* Tradition – or Itaquatiaras – simple graphics and signals of circles, lines and squares appear in rocks aside waterways. Little is known regarding those human groups that created them. With the exception of the site *Letreiro do Sobrado* (Pernambuco State) that date back 1,200-6,000 years. Spread throughout Brazil, *Itaquatiaras* have their maximum exponent in the *Pedra do Ingá* (Paraíba State). These three main traditions of Brazilian Northeast prehistoric art strengthen the hypothesis that the territory was occupied by prehistoric peoples, at different times (Prous, 1984:71; 1992:112-126).

3.2 Caminho de Peabiru

The Guarani historical sources start with Portuguese and Spanish historiography, as well as with the literature of chroniclers, travelers, missionaries and cartographers of the colonial period. Guarani migrations, under a systemic perspective, have innumerable converging factors, demographic expansion, internal or external political conflicts such as the quarrels over areas, the European Conquest with its alliances, wars and the use of native work – slavery in Portuguese America and the system of *encomienda* in Spanish America. The migrations show us the increasing dispersion caused by the Conquest. Did the coastal Guarani leave the coast to the interior – through ways like the Peabirú? The Peabiru Way was apparently an important road of

pre-Columbian South America, formed by a series of branches, forming a net (Gabardo, 2004:20-23).

In accordance with Rosana Bond, in 1555, Álvaro Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, crossed it from *Ilha de Santa Catarina* (today Florianópolis) to Asunción. In 1612 the Ruy Díaz de Guzmán mentioned Peabiru as a well-marked way. The priest Ruiz de Montoya, architect of Guairá Jesuit *Congregation* wrote about it, in 1639 (Chmyz, 1976:66-70).

The word Peabiru acquired its origin from the Tupi-Guarani language. According to Maack, it has a variety of translations and origins: 1) the Guarani left Paraguay and migrated through the coastal Santa Catarina area between the years 1000-1300. The objective of this migration was the search for the Land without Evil – or *Yvy marã ey*. 2) The Incas, whose purpose was an expansionist conception of the road net, opened the Peabiru. In *Itacoatiara, uma pré-história da arte no Brasil e Peabiru – Os Incas no Brasil*, the author supports the Incas' cultural influence: the months of the year are related to the moon (*Jassy* in Tupi-Guarani and *killa* in Quechua). The liana lace Guarani *Ainhé* is similar to *quipu* (lace used by Incas for counting). Guarani groups had the same flute of *pã* (*siku* in Aymará, *antara* in Quechua and *zampoña* in Spanish), originally from the Andes. *Macaná* Guarani is very similar to the *maqana* Inca. The author listed equivalent words in both languages (Chmyz, 1976:66-70).

3.3 Pedra Furada

Pedra Furada, the third case in this section, is a site in Brazil's northeastern state of Piauí (Mott, 1981:16-32; Branco Filho, 1984:9-17). The excavator Niède Guidon started digging in 1978; nearly 5 meters down the archaeologist identified distinct periods of prehistoric human occupation (Meltzer, Adovasio & Dillehay, 1994:695-714).

One is the *Serra Talhada* Period – 6,000-10,400 years ago; the artifacts were well-made knives and tools; extensive rock art panels were painted on shelter walls during this time. The second is *Pedra Furada*; it represents a culture long before people were first thought to have emerged in America: the Clovis people, also known as Paleo-Indians, who had lived a little more than 11,000 years ago, discovered by Edgar Haward. The Clovis People is known as the first humans in Americas, but recent archaeological evidences revive the debate about who first originally populated Americas (Handwerk, 2005; Lovgren, 2007). The Pedra Furada Phase dates back to 50,000 years ago (Meltzer, 1995:31-35).

3.4 Tupinization

No document that relates facts prior to the conquest gives us sufficient indications for establishing precise contact amongst all pre-Columbian nations Tupi, Guarani, Gê, Aruak, Carib and others, such as the Inca that explored the Amazon regions several times and were inhabited by other peoples. During the first Spaniard explorations, informants and guides of Quechua origin denominated rivers and tribes with similar characteristics or replaced the local word by its translation into Quechua (Lelong, 1972; Chaumeil, 1981:7-32).

Another similar phenomenon was the *tupinization*. The constitution of the colonial world in the Amazon rearranged an embryonic ethnogeny process that started before the arrival of the Portuguese. Robin Wright argues that Tupinambá of the Tapajós River in their first historical relationships established a process of *tupinization* of the Mundurucu and of the Mawé. However, the Tupinambá and Tapajós of this region fled from the Portuguese or integrated into the colonial society as vassals or slaves. Later, around 1690, thirty years after the beginning of the Christian congregations in this area, a small number of Tapajós that inhabited those populous villages persisted in the area (Carvalho Jr., 2005:145-150).

The people subjugated by them started to occupy the area they had previously lived in as those people disappeared or congregated and the referential system (cultural and linguistic) of Tupi base was sustained. *Tupinization* opened a wide group of movement of identity redefinition that characterized those ethnic groups that had contact with the European settlers (Carvalho Jr., 2005:145-150).

Up to this point, the remarks are intended to challenge the traditional form in which the problematic form of ethnoarchaeological investigation on South American Lowland is posed. The indigenous peoples did not live in small, isolated villages in the forest. They were not backward and stuck in their ways. The indigenous peoples who inhabit South America are descendants of migrants who arrived and occupied the length and breadth of the continent tens of thousands of years ago.

Conclusion

In this work I carried out an analysis of the archaeological investigations on Tupi-Guarani, of the hypothesis for their origins and their primordial groups and migrations, placing emphasis on the difference between the various groups.

One assumption of my work was to consider the ethnoarchaeology as being the result of a process of development in which other isolated disciplines play an important role. Understanding the prehistorical society demands a perception of interrelated disciplines.

All the enclosed interdisciplinary discussions serve to prove that considerable things will be discovered. Until today and after so much studying, the prehistory of the indigenous peoples is still practically unknown; however, when different disciplines, such as Archaeology, History, and Anthropology join forces to study these findings, archaeology is enriched and parts of the puzzle are put into place.

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