

Jesuit spatialization and interiorization in the Upper Paraná River based on historiography combined with archaeological heritage testimony

Espacialização e interiorização jesuítica no Alto Rio Paraná a partir da historiografia combinada ao patrimônio arqueológico testemunho

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Abstract

National historiography related to black and indigenous issues is characterized by the historical concealment of many events and perspectives, resulting in the inexistence and/or inaccuracy of data about the past of relations and resistance throughout the national territory. When we came across the archaeological heritage that bears witness to the Jesuit presence in the Upper Paraná River in its São Paulo portion and the lack of documentary support for this presence, we were led to a targeted investigation that would provide us with an understanding (albeit partial) of the processes of advancement of the Jesuit missions in this region. To this end, we conducted a survey of various testimonies (material and documentary) that record the presence of Jesuits in the Upper Paraná River basin. These were associated with an analysis of the layout of the Alvim, Taquaruçu and Castelinho archaeological sites in the landscape. With this analysis, we identified correlations between the paths used by the European invaders, the archaeological sites analyzed and the areas reported in official documents as the domain of the Reductions of Santo Inácio (1610) and Nossa Senhora do Loreto (1610). As a product of this intense work, which was only possible collectively, we hope to encourage readers to join us in a partnership to continue uncovering the hidden aspects of the archaeological heritage of the vast Paraná River.

Keywords:

Guarani, Jesuits, Archaeological heritage, Landscape analysis.

Resumo

A historiografia nacional relacionada a temática negra e indígena tem por característica o ocultamento histórico de muitos acontecimentos e perspectivas, tendo como consequência a

inexistência e/ou imprecisão dos dados acerca do passado de relações e resistências em todo o território nacional. Ao nos depararmos com o patrimônio arqueológico testemunho da presença jesuítica no Alto Rio Paraná em sua porção paulista e a inexistência de suporte documental dessa presença, fomos conduzidos a um trabalho de investigação direcionada que nos aportasse a compreensão (ainda que parcial) dos processos de avanço das missões jesuíticas nesta região. Para isso, foi realizado um levantamento de diversos testemunhos (materiais e documentais) que registram a presença de jesuítas na bacia do Alto Rio Paraná. Os quais foram associados à análise da disposição na paisagem dos Sítios Arqueológicos Alvim, Taquaruçu e Castelinho. Com esta análise identificamos correlações entre os caminhos utilizados pelos invasores europeus, os sítios arqueológicos analisados e as áreas relatadas nos documentos oficiais como domínio das Reduções de Santo Inácio (1610) e Nossa Senhora do Loreto (1610). Como produto deste intenso trabalho que só foi possível na coletividade, esperamos instigar os leitores a unirem-se a nós em parceria para seguir desvelando os aspectos ocultos do patrimônio arqueológico do vasto Rio Paraná.

Palavras-chave:

Guarani, Jesuítas, Patrimônio arqueológico, Análise da paisagem.

I. INTRODUCTION

The Paraná River is the second largest river in South America and forms the Prata basin, which has been densely occupied by different peoples since the Holocene. Archaeological sites attest that this river and its tributaries were used during the pre-colonial period by the different indigenous peoples who inhabit and inhabited this region, such as the Jê and Tupi-Guarani peoples (Kashimoto, 1992; Faccio, 2019; Morais, 2011).

There are several documentary records that add to the archaeological records and testify to the use of the Paraná River and its tributaries, which can be identified in Taunay (1924; 1925; 1937), as well as in Montoya (1985), in addition to the process of interiorization of the European invasion¹ in South America, since the second quarter of the 16th century (Carvalho, 2023; Santos, 2022; Zuse, 2009; Thomaz, 1996; Faccio, 1992).

This process was structured around the Jesuit Reductions, established with the aim of the "spiritual salvation" of the indigenous people and the demarcation of the Spanish border territory, in an attempt to stop the expansion of the Portuguese into the Rio de la Plata region, as from the Treaty of Tordesillas, being recognized as one of the main testimonies of the European invasion process (Bogoni, 2009).

On the Upper Paraná River, the historical records of the Reductions of Santo Inácio Menor (1610) and Nossa Senhora do Loreto (1610), established on the Lower Paranapanema on the Paraná bank of the river, stand

¹ Based on the principles of research based on non-violence (Carvalho, 2021), we assume the importance of not reproducing historical violence and concealment. Throughout this work, therefore, we have adopted a language of accountability and denunciation of the violent processes that began in the 16th century in Latin American lands and which, unfortunately, continue to this day. As such, we will not reproduce adjectives that impute the status of pioneering heroes to invaders, agents of the death of so many ethnic groups.

out. These Reductions, according to Lugon (1968), Facchini and Neves (1998), were always built on the same plan: they had a central square, around 130 meters long, around which a church was built, as well as a house frequented by widows and orphans, as well as a school, which was attended by indigenous people up to the age of 12, where they studied Guarani, Spanish and Latin (Rios, 2019).

On the São Paulo bank of the Paranapanema River, Faccio (1992), Thomaz (1996) and Santos (2022) recorded three archaeological sites called Alvim, Taquaruçu and Castelinho, respectively, with ceramics that attest, according to the literature, to possible contact between the Jesuits and the indigenous people, with brushed plastic decoration, a flat lip, red engobe on the inside and outside, handles and a pedestal vase.

In an effort to understand how the Jesuit missions's spatialization and interiorization took place in this region, and considering the diversity of testimonies that record the presence of Jesuits in the Upper Paraná River basin, we analyzed the layout of the Alvim, Taquaruçu and Castelinho sites in the landscape, identifying possible correlations with the river routes and entrances used by the Europeans/invaders and whether these locations correspond to areas reported in official documents as the domain of the Reductions of Santo Inácio (1610) and Nossa Senhora do Loreto (1610) (Figure 1).

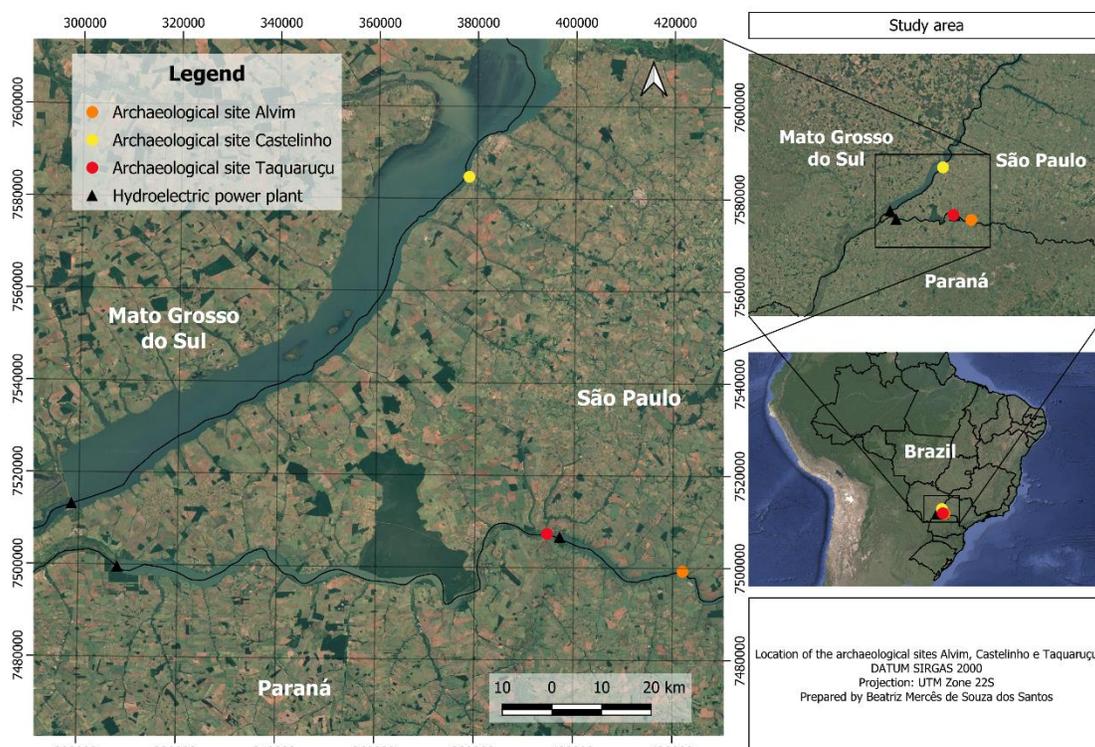


Figure 1 – Location of the Castelinho, Alvim and Taquaruçu Archaeological Sites (Presidente Epitácio - SP, Pirapozinho - SP and Sandovalina -SP)
 Source: SIRGAS DATUM (2000). Prepared by: Santos (2022).

The subject of the Jesuit Reductions is little studied in Geography, with more historical, archaeological and sociological references. For this reason, the geographical analysis of the Reductions, in addition to the archaeological sites, is important for understanding how the process of interiorization of the missions took place in the Upper Paraná River region, as well as the spatial relations established by the Jesuits with the indigenous Guarani.

It should also be pointed out that the subject of the Reductions has a bibliography with many contradictions, which also justifies the importance of this subject for science, in the face of a bibliography marked by the historical concealment of many events and perspectives, resulting in the inexistence and/or inaccuracy of data about the past of relations and resistance throughout the national territory.

Thus, research such as that presented here introduces to the academic scene the potential of the transversal debate of the sciences in search of a better contextualized scenario regarding territorial occupation during the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries (1610 to 1768) and which contributes to thinking about current tensions, as well as the cultural resistance and resilience experienced above all on the Upper Paraná River over time.

II. MATERIALS AND METHODS

In "The Nature of Space: Technique and Time", Milton Santos (2002) defines space as the unequal accumulation of time, which is to say that historicity is invariably manifested in space, geography's own object of study. Thus, there is a need to assume the interdisciplinarity and historicity of space and its landscape when debating the geographical configurations and contradictions observed in the present (Lourenço, 2005; Silva 2008, 2012).

With this as our guiding assumption, in our quest to understand Jesuit spatialization and interiorization on the Upper Paraná River, we used the following methodologies: archival analysis, which indicates the importance of constant attention to the interests inscribed in each documentary production that one has access to, leading us to pay special attention to the concealments and incompatibilities expressed in Brazilian documentation (Nacuzzi, 2002); analysis of the ceramic material from the archaeological sites in question, using the operative chain of La Salvia and Brochado (1989) and the technotypological analysis model of Faccio (1992), in addition to characterizing the landscape, according to Morais (2011).

In order to correlate the data obtained in the archival analysis and the results of the analysis of the archaeological sites, cartographic products were generated with the superimposition of these data, the result

of which was the mapping of the possible area of Reductions from the Paraná River and the delineation of the potential zone of influence of the Reductions of Santo Inácio and Nossa Senhora do Loreto.

Technical-typological and operative chain analysis

We analyzed the ceramic material of approximately 615 pieces, 255 pieces from the Alvim site, 153 pieces from the Castelinho site and 207 pieces from the Taquaruçu site, using the techno-typological analysis proposed by Faccio (1992; 1998; 2011; 2017; 2020), which aims to make the ceramic fragments as a whole.

For the analysis, we considered the manufacturing technique; the antiplastic; the thickness of the vessel walls; the type of decoration and the shape of the vessels.

We also covered La Salvia and Brochado's (1989) chain of operations, which consists of obtaining the raw material, the processing technique for the paste, the antiplastic, manufacture, surface finishing, firing, barbotining, decoration, use, which can be utilitarian, special or exclusive, reuse and, finally, disposal. All these stages consist of investigating Jesuit influence/interference in the material culture of the three archaeological sites.

Characterization of the landscape and layout of archaeological sites

It is admitted in the literature that the systematic recognition of the spatial patterns (how the distribution of sites and artifacts is found) of archaeological sites - the identification of a settlement pattern - can help to understand the possible socio-spatial strategies of ancient communities, which influenced the distribution of settlement across geographical space (Morais, 2011).

With this spatial analysis, we can even recognize a Regional Occupation System, which is the coordination between sites or groups of sites in a certain region, which can show concomitant relationships due to **contemporaneity, similarity or complementarity**.

In this sense, in order to investigate a possible correlation between the sites characterized as Jesuit-influenced in the state of São Paulo and the reductions recognized in the state of Paraná, we considered the layout of the archaeological sites in the landscape, taking into account mainly the geomorphological and hydrographic context associated with the sites analyzed, the dating and characteristics of the archaeological materials.

Document analysis

Documentary analysis is research that uses primary sources of information and has three stages: pre-analysis, document organization and results.

The first stage, categorized as pre-analysis or prior analysis, searches for all bibliographic material relating to the topic in focus. In this stage, the primary sources of information are filtered from the bibliographic references and the reliability of the data is verified. The second stage consists of organizing documents, selecting the primary sources to be worked on and analyzing each element individually. The third stage consists of analyzing the results, a joint analysis of all the material gathered, producing a careful synthesis of the data obtained. Finally, the final material is checked in order to minimize biased writing (Carvalho, 2021, *apud* Ludke; André, 1986).

Data systematization

The synthesis of data was produced from the systematization of analytical tables that grouped together the data from the documentary, geomorphological and material analyses of the archaeological collections studied, in order to produce a scenario favourable to verifying patterns of territorial interiorization by the Jesuits, as well as possible strategies for relating to and attracting native peoples.

Spatial models were applied in GIS based on historiographical data that presented descriptions of the area of influence of the Jesuit Reductions. These models were maintained or not, based on a joint analysis of the territorial morphology and the existing dates among the available archaeological collections. Finally, the analytical limitations were listed and a weighted analysis of the regional scenarios was produced in order to enhance future research.

Image products

The imagery products were created from the data filtered in the bibliographic survey and documentary analysis stages, using the bodies of water in and around the state of São Paulo identified in the literature relating to the Jesuit presence in the period between the 17th and 19th centuries, as well as the watersheds corresponding to them. In addition, we selected two archaeological sites known to be Jesuit as a basis for comparative analysis between the archaeological sites we analyzed and historiographical data referring to the allocation patterns of Jesuit enterprises, as well as geospatial landmarks agreed upon as the imaginary route of the Treaty of Tordesillas.

The localities documented in the bibliography consulted used the following units of measurement: braça and légua. Both the documents produced by the Portuguese crown and those produced by the Spanish Jesuit missionary movement used both units of measurement, with the earliest documents written in braças and those written from the second quarter of the 18th century onwards in leguas. In order to standardize the imagery in this article, we have converted 545 fathoms to 1 kilometer and 1 legua to 4.2 kilometers.

In addition, we considered the Paranapanema River as the main river, generating two influence scenarios. For the first, we considered the 96.5 km of the main river and for the second, 36.5 km from the recognized reduction (N.^a Sr.^a do Loreto and Santo Inácio Mini) to check the potential for interiorization.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Jesuit Reductions

According to Blasi, La Pastina Filho and Pontes Filho (1989), during the invasion of South America by the Portuguese and Spanish between the 16th and early 17th centuries, the province of Guairá was established. This region can be understood as the significant territorial portion of the state of Paraná and left its mark on the geopolitical conformation of the southern portion of South America, such as the attempts to urbanize the region, through the establishment of towns and nuclei of conversion and reductions, practiced by Spaniards and religious of the Society of Jesus and the incisive reaction of the Portuguese to these purposes with the São Paulo *bandeiras*², which caused the death and enslavement of indigenous people in the face of Portuguese territorial expansion.

This reaction caused the Spaniards to abandon the region completely, also displacing countless indigenous people out of Guairá, which was practically abandoned from 1632 onwards (Rios, 2019).

Some of these remnants have been located:

[...] such as Cidade Real do Guairá, at the mouth of the Piriquire River in Paraná; Vila Rica do Espírito Santo, at the mouth of the Corumbataí River in Ivaí and the Reduções de Nossa Senhora do Loreto, at the mouth of the Pirapó River in Paranapanema, and Santo Inácio Mini, at the mouth of the Santo Inácio River, also in Paranapanema. Other settlements, due to numerous factors, particularly as a result of the expansion of the agricultural frontiers, have so far not been located (Blasi; La Pastina Filho; Pontes Filho, 1989, p. 236).

The Reductions of Santo Inácio (1610) and Nossa Senhora do Loreto (1610), established on the Lower Paranapanema River (PR), were characterized as longitudinal missions established up to 20 leagues (approx. 96.5 km) from the main river and which could extend inland for 8 leagues (approx. 38.6 km). 38.6 km) by means of its tributaries, with the aim of reducing the area in which the ethnic groups gathered there had to move, reserving enough area to maintain their daily lives; as well as guaranteeing the interiorization of the missions in

² The Portuguese word *bandeiras* refers to the expeditions or incursions, often involving Portuguese settlers and indigenous allies from São Paulo state, mainly for slaving and prospecting.

order to establish potential Spanish towns closer to the limits defined by the Treaty of Tordesillas (Taunay, 1924; 1937).

The success of these ventures caught the attention of the *bandeirantes*³ who, from 1618 onwards, began to invest heavily in campaigns to raid these Jesuit Reductions, since they represented countless indigenous people reduced to the same place, 'tamed' by the catechization underway, already introduced to the general language and relatively accustomed to agriculture. These elements made such expeditions very interesting because of the potential gains derived from capturing and trading these indigenous individuals as an enslaved workforce (Taunay, 1924; 1925; Rios, 2019).

Similarly, when we consult the documentary literature of the 18th century, we see that, following the news of the successful installation of the Reduções de Nossa Senhora do Loreto and Santo Inácio Menor, the São Paulo *bandeirantes* began to have more funding for incursions to destroy and kidnap indigenous people.

At the time of these encounters (from 1628 to 1638), the literature does not describe the existence of Jesuit structures in the current territory of São Paulo that were contiguous with those in the north of the current state of Paraná; This absence, however, may have been deliberate in order to increase the gains derived from the flag (well, the territory of São Paulo was so well protected that the Jesuits never set foot here), not least because there are records of the presence of Jesuits on mission for the Spanish Crown in the town of São Vicente in 1616 (Taunay, 1924; Carvalho, 2023).

Another element that leads us to consider the possibility of Jesuit domains entering present-day São Paulo territory is found in the description of the paths used by the *bandeirantes* to reach the Reductions, in addition to the paths adopted as an escape route by the Jesuits with the remaining native people (**Figure 2**).

³ *Bandeirantes* were the individuals who carried out those expeditions.

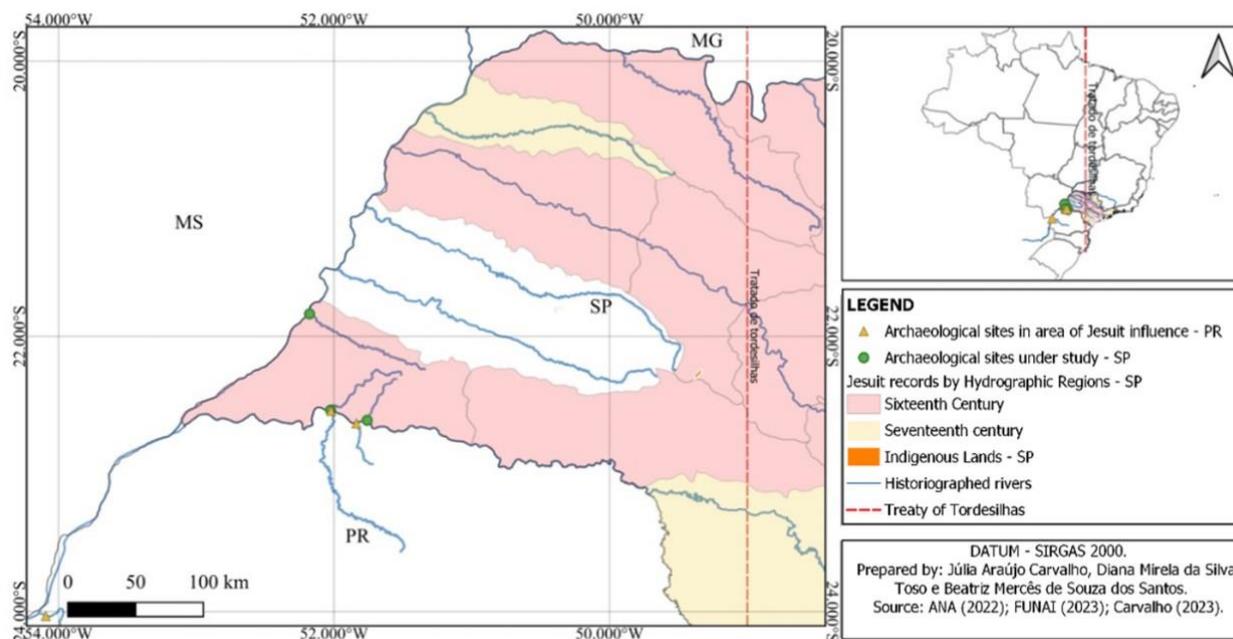


Figure 2 – River paths known to the Jesuits in the current state of São Paulo and corresponding period of use.

Among the main routes used by the Paulistas, we have the route that left São Vicente in land convoys (muladas) heading for the Paranapanema, which became a river route at the point of the current municipality of Ourinhos, entering the territory of Paraná via the Tibagi and, later, the Pirapó (Reduções de Nossa Senhora do Loreto and Santo Inácio Menor) or even the Tibagi (Guairá); As for the escape route, it is recorded that the Serra do Diabo and refuges in the Ivinheima were used, until it was possible to descend along the paths already established by the Ivaí and Tibagi rivers, towards Rio Grande (RS) (Taunay, 1925, 1937).

Therefore, in order to understand how the Jesuits were present on the left bank of the Paraná River (the São Paulo bank), we approached the reductions of Nossa Senhora do Loreto and Santo Inácio Menor as a reference point for thinking about the extent and expansion of the Jesuits' area of influence in the reduction of the indigenous peoples who inhabited the Upper Paraná River at that time.

Through archival analysis, we also identified that an important factor in the advance of the missions in the territory was the navigability of the rivers. There are direct mentions of the difficulty of advancing inland using only the Paraná River, so its tributaries were continually used to ensure that the Hispanic boundaries were strengthened in the face of the Portuguese advance. Historical records report the strategic use of the Tibagi, Guairá and Paranapanema rivers, the latter being a river frontier and a potential path of expansion, which soon had to fall into disuse due to São Paulo people's reactions.

Below we present a systematization of the river routes used and/or known, both by agents of Spanish colonization and by the combination of agents of Spanish and Portuguese colonization, in the period from 1492, with the pseudo-discovery of the Americas, to 1759, with the expulsion of the Jesuit orders from Brazil and all the Portuguese colonies.

Table 1– River paths used in the Jesuit context in Brazil and sources of description.

Registration period	Source	River/Stretch
CENTURY XVI	TAUNAY (1937); MONTOYA (1985); RIOS (2019)	1. Tietê River 2. Paraná River 3. Paraguay River 4. Prata River 5. Uruguay River 6. Pardo Tiver 7. Pirapó River
CENTURY XVII	TAUNAY (1924, 1925)	1. Avanhandava 2. Do Peixe River 3. Turvo River 4. Grande River 5. Pardo River 6. Upper Tietê River 7. Panema River 8. Paranapanema River
CENTURY XVIII	MONTOYA (1985) TAUNAY (1937, 1943)	1. Paraguay River 2. Prata River 3. Pardo River 4. Grande River 5. Serra do Diabo

Source: Carvalho (2023). Organization: The authors.

In addition to recording the routes of interiorization of the Jesuit missions, Taunay (1924; 1937), as well as Rios (2019), retrieve archives on the settling strategies of the Jesuit Reductions in the territory, providing us with elements to elaborate models of inference of what we call the "potential area of influence of the Jesuit Reductions", as well as models of the settlement pattern of Jesuit enterprises in a local context.

Taunay's records also provide us with two pieces of information about the implementation of architectural structures in the space-time context analyzed, one about the interiorization incursions of the São Paulo *bandeirantes* and the other about the mechanisms for arranging the reductions in the territory (Taunay 1925, 1927).

With regard to the movement of *bandeiras*, it is pointed out that "at spots that were difficult to navigate, it was recommended that supply posts be established between 300 fathoms and 20,000 fathoms from the main body" (Taunay, 1927, p.86.); a similar strategy was adopted by the Jesuit missionaries, who should preferably establish the reductions parallel to the reference body of water "in such a way that the chapel occupied the center of the nuclear structure and, from there, it was possible to see the mouth of the river" (Taunay, 1925, p.127) and be seen by groups living in the vicinity, in order to encourage them to approach, exchange and join the Jesuit reduction system. The records say that each reduction should not have been more than 1,000 fathoms long initially, but should have expanded up to 20,000 longitudinal fathoms inland (Taunay, 1925, p. 123 - 156).

Based on this data on the potential interiorization of the reductions, we produced the models shown in **Figure 3**, defining areas of influence of 96.5 km from the recognized reductions.

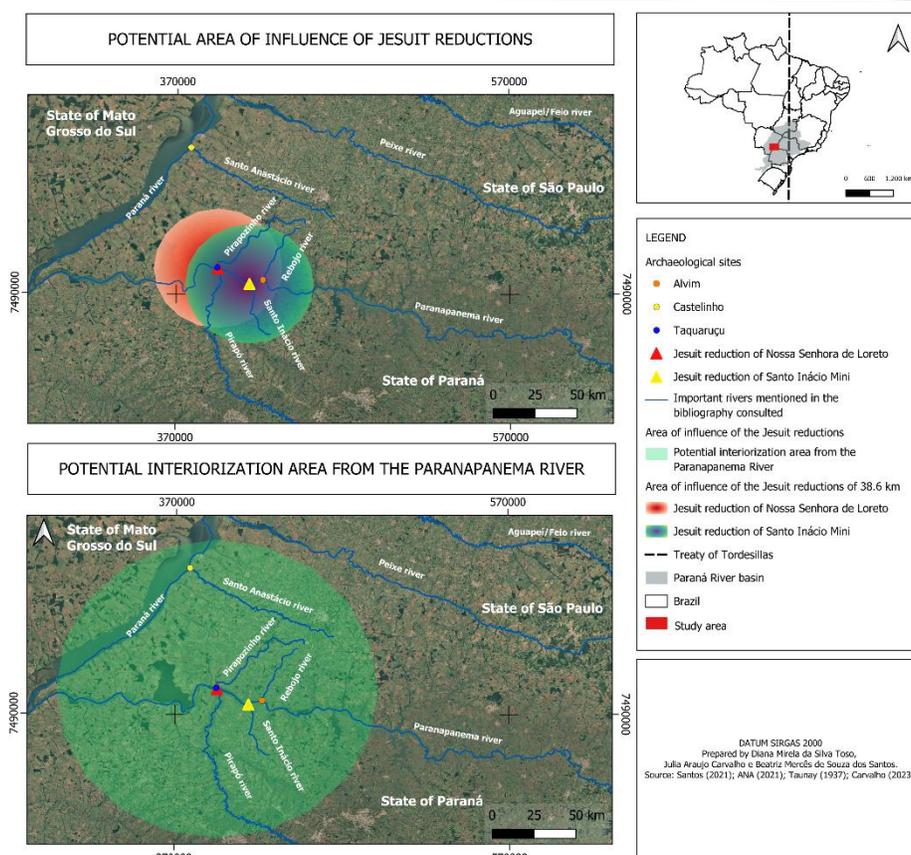


Figure 3 – Areas of influence of the Jesuit reductions of Nossa Senhora de Loreto and Santo Inácio Mini, considering the radius of influence of 38.6 km and the area of interiorization from the Paranapanema River.

These paths overlap the area of the Alvim and Taquaruçu Archaeological Sites, located on the São Paulo bank of the Paranapanema River, identified by Faccio (1992) and Thomaz (1996) as sites with characteristics of Jesuit influence in their material culture, as well as the historical records shown by Chmyz (1976). This area of influence also includes the region of the Castelinho Archaeological Site, which, although it has no historical record of Jesuit presence in the region, shows these characteristics in its material culture, being very similar to the Alvim and Taquaruçu sites (Santos, 2024).

Archaeological sites

It is precisely in the area corresponding to these reductions and their areas of potential expansion that the three archaeological sites analyzed in this work are found - Alvim, Castelinho and Taquaruçu Archaeological Sites - all classified as Tupiguarani Tradition, a Guarani indigenous group with characteristics of Jesuit influence/interference.

The missionaries arrived in Peru in 1568, in Mexico in 1572 and in Asunción, Paraguay, in 1587. The Province of the Society of Jesus in the State of Brazil was created in 1553 and the Jesuits opted for the south,

where they founded the town of São Paulo de Piratininga in 1554. The official start of Jesuit activity was between 1598 and 1621, with the foundation of the Guarani Reductions (Zuse, 2009).

In 1639, the Vice Province of Grão-Pará and Maranhão was established, as well as the north of Paraná. In this region, the first province created was that of Paraguay, with its headquarters in Asunción, thus beginning the installation of indigenous reductions (Bogoni, 2009). In this way, the Religious Missions were established in Paraguay and, subsequently, the Jesuits spread throughout the Guarani area.

Based on colonial policy, the Province of Paraguay was divided into the regions of the foundations of the Missionary Front of Guairá, the Missionary Front of Paraguay, the Missionary Front of Itatim, the Missionary Front of Uruguay and the Missionary Front of Tape (Zuse, 2009).

According to Bogoni (2008), if for the Jesuits the Reductions were part of the plan of conquest, for the indigenous people it meant changes in their way of life, since, with the displacement of their territory to the Reduction, the Guarani lost their freedom of movement, subjected to a colonial, Christian and still restricted territory. Thus, a new organization of space affected the Guarani way of life: with a view to establishing the monogamous family, "the missionaries replaced the large communal house that housed the extensive Guarani household, the fundamental unit of their society, with nuclear dwellings, where only one family lived, the father, mother and children" (Zuse, 2009, p. 21).

According to Zuse (2009), the social space for dancing, feasting and drinking was also changed and banned. The center of the village is now represented by the church, which boasts beauty and the priests' house, and burials are now made in shallow graves and no longer in funerary urns. The large-scale production of crops and different types of vegetables began, no longer in line with the Guarani's needs and also affecting their material culture.

According to Faccio (1992), an example of these changes in Guarani material culture artifacts after contact is the presence of appendages - or handles - and brushed decoration on the ceramics. Zuse (2009) reports the Jesuit missionaries' preference for a smooth ceramic surface finish, with red engobe and finer antiplastic granulometry, resulting in a smooth, homogeneous paste. This interference can be seen in the material culture of the sites analyzed in the area of interest in this work.

In the Paranapanema River Valley, the Alvim and Taquaruçu Archaeological Sites were also studied by Faccio (1992) and Thomaz (1996), respectively. On the Paraná River, the Castelinho Archaeological Site also has material culture that attests to Jesuit influence. Although the sites have characteristics in their material culture

that represent Jesuit influence/interference, so far it has not been possible to associate the location of these sites as being Reductions, considering only the analysis of the ceramics (Santos, 2022).

The Castelinho Archaeological Site is located in the municipality of Presidente Epitácio-SP, on the upper reaches of the Paraná River, near the mouth of the Santo Anastácio River and was impacted by the formation of the Engenheiro Sérgio Motta Hydroelectric Power Plant lake. As a result, most of the archaeological site's fragments are submerged.

The Alvim Archaeological Site is located in the municipality of Pirapozinho-SP, on the bank of the Paranapanema River, near the mouth of the Ribeirão Rebojo and was impacted by the Taquaruçu Hydroelectric Power Plant. The Taquaruçu Archaeological Site is located in the municipality of Sandovalina-SP, on the bank of the Paranapanema River, near the mouth of the Pirapozinho stream and was also impacted by the Taquaruçu Hydroelectric Power Station.

For this article, we analyzed a total of 655 pieces, which can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2 – Classes analyzed at the Castelinho, Alvim and Taquaruçu Archaeological Sites.

Archaeological Classes/Sites	Castelinho	Alvim	Taquaruçu
Edge	42	177	22
Edge with lid support	0	1	0
Border and wall	3	0	0
Edge, wall and base	6	12	0
Base	21	17	2
Wall	69	43	166
Wall and base	2	0	0
Angled wall	7	5	17
Pan holder	1	0	0
Pedestal vase	1	0	0
Vase with cable holder	1	0	0

Source: Santos (2022). Organization: the authors.

Based on the table, we can see that the archaeological sites have a large number of edges, which makes it possible to graphically reconstruct the possible shape of the pots. In addition, the Castelinho site has a pot with a pedestal, a pot holder and a pot with a handle holder.

The archaeological sites in question, as already mentioned, have characteristics that, according to the bibliography by Chmyz (1985), Faccio (1992), Thomaz (1996) and Zuse (2009) denote Jesuit influence/interference in their material culture, which can be seen in table 3.

Table 3 – Characteristics of Jesuit influence/interference in the ceramics from the Castelinho, Alvim and Taquaruçu Archaeological Sites.

Characteristics/Archaeological Sites	Castelinho	Alvim	Taquaruçu
Brushed plastic decoration	19	1	39
Red engobe decoration on the inside and outside	17	1	1
Pedestal vase	1	0	0
Vase with cable holder	1	0	0
Flat lips	0	17	2
Appendices	0	2	1
Roof tiles	0	0	26

Source: Santos (2022). Organization: the authors.

The Castelinho Archaeological Site has brushed plastic decoration, red engobe on the inside and outside, a vase with a pedestal and a vase with a handle holder. The Alvim site has brushed plastic decoration, red engobe on the inside and outside, flat lips and appendages. The Taquaruçu site has brushed plastic decoration, red engobe on the inside and outside, flat lips, appendages and roof tiles.

It is from the convergence of the data attested to in this work that we can corroborate the hypothesis that the Alvim and Taquaruçu sites were, in fact, at least extensions of the Santo Inácio and Nossa Senhora do Loreto Reductions

The Castelinho Archaeological Site, on the other hand, lies above the official limit established by historiography as the area where the Jesuits arrived on the Paranapanema River. However, the site's material culture includes elements that are markedly characteristic of the Jesuit presence (pedestal base, appendages/handles and brushed plastic decoration) and the absence of tiles, bricks and nails, which denoted a different type of construction to the Guarani houses. These elements, together with the specificities of the material culture, lead us to postulate the Castelinho site as the main inquiry and key to understanding the processes and exchanges between groups in western São Paulo state.

The Alvim and Taquaruçu archaeological sites are located on the lower reaches of the Paranapanema River, which, based on the interpretations of the reports, was the most used stretch of the river (Taunay, 1924;

1927). The three archaeological sites, Castelinho, Taquaruçu and Alvim, are located in floodplain areas, close to the meeting of tributaries with the Paraná River (Sítio Castelinho) and the Paranapanema River (Sítio Taquaruçu and Alvim). This settlement pattern is repeated in other areas of Jesuit reductions on the left bank of the Paraná river, such as the Spanish town of Ciudad Real del Guairá.

Table 4 – Settlement pattern of related sites.

Archaeological site	Hydrographic context	Geomorphological compartment	Altitude
Castelinho	Mouth of the Santo Anastácio River with the Paraná River	Floodplain/Earth	270 m
Taquaruçu	Paranapanema River 625 m from the mouth of the Pirapozinho River	Paranapanema River floodplain	270 m
Alvim	Mouth of the Ribeirão Rebojo with the Paranapanema River	Floodplain/Earth	270 m
Nossa Senhora do Loreto	Paranapanema River 680 m from the mouth of the Pirapó River	Paranapanema River Terrace	273 m
Santo Inácio Mini	Mouth of the Santo Inácio Stream with the Paranapanema River	Floodplain/Earth	309 m

Source: The authors.

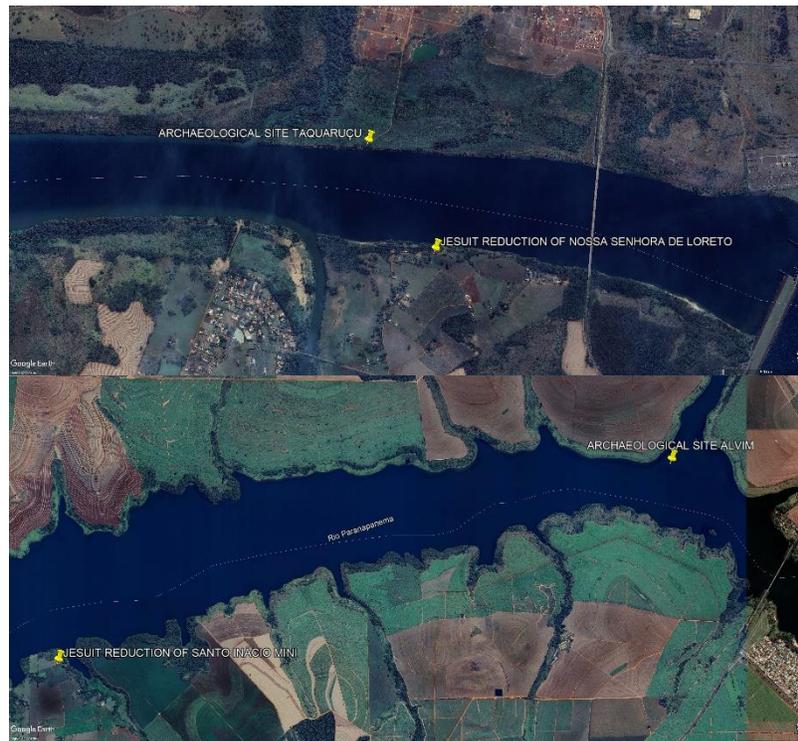


Figure 4 – Comparison between the settlement pattern of the Nossa Senhora do Loreto Jesuit Reduction and the Taquaruçu Archaeological Site, as well as the Alvim Archaeological Site and the Santo Inácio Mini Jesuit Reduction, respectively Source: The authors, organized from Google Earth Pro (2022).

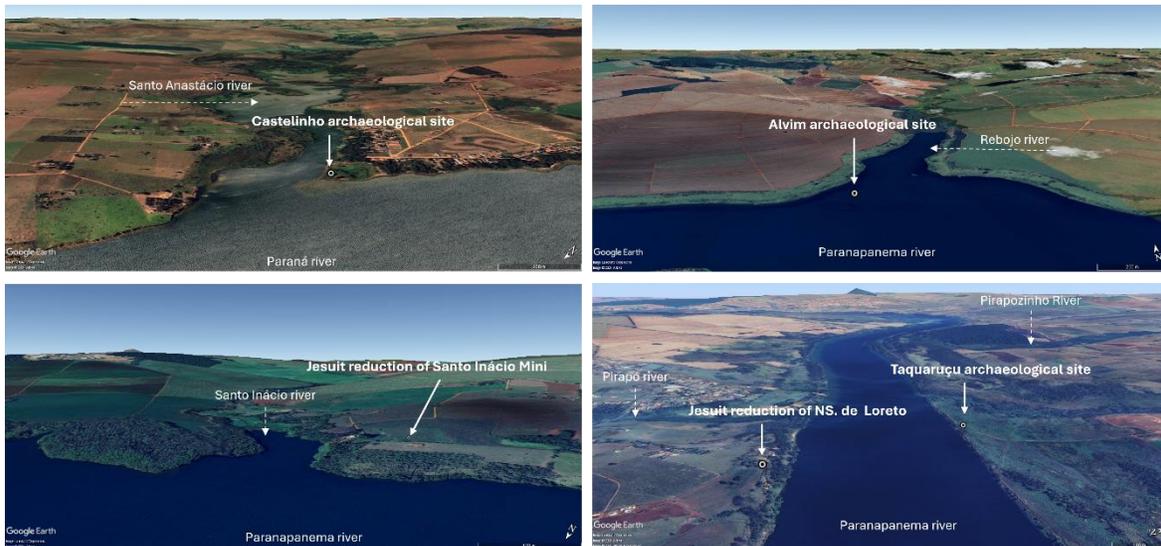


Figure 5 – Archaeological site layout Source: The authors, organized from Google Earth Pro (2022).

IV. CONCLUSIONS

At the end of our reflective process about the Alvim, Taquaruçu and Casteloilho archaeological sites, more questions were raised than actual answers.

It is also necessary to consider a number of elements:

- Omission of data;
- Intra-site management process and time;
- Presence of conflicting data;
- Loss of analysis data due to processes beyond our control, such as poor conservation of documentary records or archaeological assets;
- There is a lack of research that considers the memory of the region's remaining indigenous peoples in order to build an alternative and/or complementary narrative to the available documentary data.
- No studies correlating current conflicts and uses of geographical space with past uses and conflicts, so there is no historical-political overview of the Upper Paraná River in São Paulo.

Even so, with regard to the past, it was possible to observe the existence of a pattern of Jesuit settlements on the Upper Paraná and Lower Paranapanema rivers, hydrographic regions which, according to official historiography, were widely used by the Spanish Jesuits between the third quarter of the 16th century and the second quarter of the 17th century.

We also found that the Alvim and Taquaruçu sites - archaeological sites that have all the diagnostic characteristics of Jesuit influence - are in the direct vicinity of the Jesuit Reductions of Santo Inácio and Nossa

Senhora do Loreto, leading us to consider them at least extensions of the Jesuit Reductions in question, since our collective reading sees the rivers as a possibility and not as a limit, the rivers present themselves as a potential for the expansion of political relations and Jesuit activity at an early stage, and can later become a natural path for the expansion of the original Reduction's dominion.

We use the term "at least" because our analysis is localized and for greater precision we would need a larger sample of Jesuit occupations to verify the settlement pattern in areas of Jesuit influence; as well as the recurrence of archaeological material on both banks of the river, strengthening the reading of the river as an extension of the reductions' domains.

The Castelinho Archaeological Site, on the other hand, has no roof tiles or nails and lies above the boundary line of Jesuit advancement provided by official data, so at the moment we do not have enough elements to classify it as part of the same analytical block as the Alvim and Taquaruçu sites. However, the thermoluminescence dating of the ceramics from this site has revealed that it was occupied between 345 and 350 AP (years before the present), so it can be classified as a site contemporary with the installation and operation of the Reductions of Santo Inácio Menor and Nossa Senhora do Loreto. We still need to understand the type and level of (bilateral) interaction and/or influence witnessed by this site.

In addition, further reading and contact with documents from the imperial period added to the Castelinho Archaeological Site's potential as an archaeological site of *bandeirante* remnants, based on the Imperial Decrees of January 31, 1849 and April 25, 1857, which "founded eight indigenous colonies to facilitate navigation in the Paraná and Paranapanema river basin and others for the route from São Paulo to Mato Grosso (May 21, 1850)" (Cunha, 1982, p. 29).

When considering the current composition of the analytical territorial cut-off, it was possible to reaffirm Carvalho's (2023, p.71) definition of "the territorial strip made up of the Paranapanema, Aguapeí and Peixe Rivers", as well as the Paraná River between these stretches, as "a large ancestral territory of original resistance that currently continues to be one of the fronts of greatest resistance (in the rural sphere) in the state of São Paulo".

In view of the above and admitting the material limitations of this research, we claim that it is necessary to shorten the distances between us and gain a better understanding of the dynamics established in the past between the people who lived, composed and, above all, produced relations and territorialities on a daily basis; so there is an urgent need to:

1. value the use of different interfaces to analyze the same phenomenon, as in this case, where data from material culture are enriched by historiographical analysis and analysis of the layout of archaeological sites;
2. value rivers and canals in sociocultural studies, since water is a vital element and access to and relationship with it is a determining factor in the composition and organization of all communities;
3. assume the centrality of the Upper Paraná River, especially in its São Paulo portion, for studies of socio-territorial resistance, evidenced by the diversity of archaeological sites that bear witness to the complex historical process of occupation and resistance, by the place of regional ostracism derived from diverse ethnic groups in continuous resistance, added to unfavorable conditions for territorial penetration, in short, it is necessary to value and explore the west of São Paulo, by the different areas of knowledge.

Finally, we argue that, in addition to documentary records, archaeological heritage is an important source of data, especially considering the partiality of official records and their silencing, and should be more valued by geographical studies, especially in times of the offensive of agrarian capital on original territorial logics.

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