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Women's Lineages and Their Territories: Long- and Short-Term Histories in the Ribeira De Iguape Valley, Brazil

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WOMEN'S LINEAGES AND THEIR TERRITORIES: LONG- AND SHORT-TERM HISTORIES IN THE RIBEIRA DE IGUAPE VALLEY, BRAZIL

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To the editor: Marina Gomes and Lúcia Rosa do not have ORCID identifiers, as they participate in this work as representatives of their community rather than as academic researchers, as stated in the article.

ABSTRACT: This article examines the genealogies and alliances of women potters from the Encapoeirado neighborhood, in the municipality of Apiaí, Ribeira Valley, State of São Paulo. It articulates memory, archaeology, and diverse documentary sources to trace ancestral relations among Indigenous, Black, and European peoples, some of which date back to the first half of the sixteenth century. The contemporary ceramicists—Lúcia Aparecida da Rosa, Marina Gomes da Rosa Cordeiro Custódia de Jesus da Cruz, and Ana de Andrade Rosa Gonçalves—descend from both long-standing and more recent lineages that share territorialities, kinship ties, knowledge systems, ceramic practices, and forest cultivation. The research revealed that these relationships began between *Tupiniquim* and Europeans and later, with non-*Tupiniquim* Indigenous peoples and individuals from the African Diaspora, generated descendants with diverse identities in the present, ensuring persistence in the face of slavery and the disruptions caused by colonialism.

This research contributes to the pursuit of justice and the recognition of ancestral territorialities by: (i) building foundations useful in land tenure recognition processes for families who have been settled in Apiaí for 150 years or more; and (ii) bringing together archaeological information about *Kaingang* territoriality in the middle-upper Ribeira Valley, a population erased in historiography but with numerous individuals and descendant families who continue to persist in the region.

Keywords: Persistence, Gender, Mapping, Colonialism.

TOWARD A HISTORY OF COMMUNITY PERSISTENCE IN THE RIBEIRA VALLEY

The women ceramicists of the "Encapoeirado" neighborhood, in the "Apiaí" county, have both long-standing and more recent ancestries in the region, and the recognition of their lineages and collective places is being constructed through a profound "work of memory" (Breunlin 2020:2). Our collaborative research is woven from memories and genealogical information recorded in diverse documents, with the intention of including all craftswomen and family farmers. It is an interdisciplinary project that will also map the residences of several generations, articulating memory, materialities, and written documents (Sallum 2022, 2024; Sallum, Gomes and Noelli 2025).

The goal is to demonstrate the longue durée of women's lineages and the transmission of knowledge and practices, and to support legal processes aimed at regularizing land tenure for descendants of centuries-old communities. It is also to recognize the centrality of "maintenance activities", the "basic tasks of everyday life that regulate and stabilize social life", which "encompass a set of practices involving the subsistence, well-being, and effective reproduction of all members of a social group" (González-Marcén, Montón-Subías, Picazo 2008:3), a perspective conceived "to correct the appalling absence of concepts that tap women's experience" (Conkey and Gero 1991:3). This is a difficult task, both in locating information, biographies, and practices, and in the need to depatriarchalize ways of reading sources, conceiving writing, and removing the many academic layers that have buried their presence.

The articulation of archaeological, historical, and genealogical information is fundamental to the histories of different places and times in post-1500 Brazil. It enables the recognition of diverse identities, practices, and community perspectives in their places, materialities, and

historically significant interactions, acknowledging people ignored within European cartographic logic (Beaulieu 2022). It involves deconstructing "blank spaces", considering that "cartographic silence" is an "active human performance" in the "intentional or unintentional suppression of knowledge in maps" (Harley 1988:58). Such deconstruction challenges the notion of "spatial transparency", since

> the environment is not an a priori set of features and properties to which humans adapt and transform; it is an emergent, relational assemblage that enmeshes variously situated human subjects of distinct orientations and intentions... that material and physical realities are directly perceived and easily understood through Cartesian representations… Instead, we acknowledge that the landscapes in which Black and Native lives are most salient are often rendered ungeographic (placeless and geographically invisible) through traditional geographic approaches (Dunnavant, Wernke and Kohut 2023:1296-1297).

Our article is dedicated to personifying and materializing elements of Indigenous and Black ancestral heritage in the Ribeira Valley to understand these situated narratives in their diverse configurations. We follow the perspective of Marinho and Simoni (2024:34) in situating the "in-between spaces" where women "undertook collective actions of mutual aid, mobilizing resources and intentional actions aimed at overcoming situations of oppression embedded in colonialities". The challenge, as proposed by Supernant (2024:398), is to mobilize theories, methods, and techniques from archaeology, history, anthropology, and genealogy for the "the benefit of community needs, as defined by that community, and the pursuit of justice".

Archaeological and Historical Contexts of the Ribeira Valley

The valley and its surrounding region have approximately 10,000 years of human presence (Plens 2007; Corrêa 2022; Araujo, Correa, Perez, Rasteiro and Miyazaki 2024). The general objective is to understand the territorialities of the communities that have occupied the Valley over the last 1,800 years, as well as the local histories of interaction with those who came from outside (Sallum, Noelli, Costa, Cordeiro and Rosa 2025). More specifically, this research seeks to recognize articulations between ancient and recent practices, as well as the new identities that emerge from alliances, kinship relations, and forced mobilities caused by slavery.

An interdisciplinary methodology is employed to expand the capacity to analyze written documentation produced since the sixteenth century. The cartography of archaeological sites is currently under construction to demonstrate regional contexts. The map in Figure 1 is unprecedented, bringing together archaeological and historical records that indicate, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries:

1. the lower and middle Valley as *Tupiniquim* territories—the site of the first European entry into what is now the Iguape county area;
2. the middle-upper Valley as *Kaingang* territories, a topic still entirely open to research;
3. the African Diaspora beginning in the seventeenth century, with descendants who today constitute the demographic majority throughout the Valley—although their presence may date back to the sixteenth century;
4. the presence of the *Guaraní* in the Valley from the sixteenth century onward, resulting from forced mobilities due to enslavement. It was only in the nineteenth century that *Guaraní* groups arrived voluntarily and established kinship relations with communities already living in the Valley (these mobilities have continued into the present).

These interactions resulted in distinct communities that nonetheless share similar practices of residence and forest cultivation, with differences in topographic insertion, materiality, and certain practices. Today, they identify themselves through the following self-designations: *Tupí, Kaingang, Guaraní, Nhandewa, Mbyá, Tupi- Guaraní, Quilombola, Caboclo, Caiçara*, and, without a specific self-designation, simply as *Paulista* or *Brazilian*.

The figure 1 presents *Guaraní*, *Tupiniquim*, and *Kaingang* archaeological sites in São Paulo, spanning a period of more than 1,500 years, systematized according to Noelli (2025). It also highlights the location of active *Quilombo* communities in the Ribeira Valley and the colonial routes leading to Apiaí. The archaeological map was compiled based on:

1. the analysis of public collections of whole and semi-whole ceramic vessels to define differences among Tupiniquim, Guaraní, and Kaingang ceramics;
2. a bibliographic review and consultation of the National Registry of Archaeological Sites, including sites in the states of São Paulo and Paraná (Scatamacchia 1981; Barreto 1988; Robrahn 1989, 1997; Scatamacchia et al. 1991; De Blasis 1996; Robrahn-González and De Blasis 1996; Chmyz et al. 1999; Noelli 1999, 2004; Araujo 2001, 2007, 2024; Araújo 2006; Moraes 2007; Silva-Méndes 2007; Morais 2011; Corrêa 2014; Bonomo et al. 2015, 2025; Noelli and Souza 2017; Perez 2018; Kozlowski and Corteletti 2020; Zenero 2023).

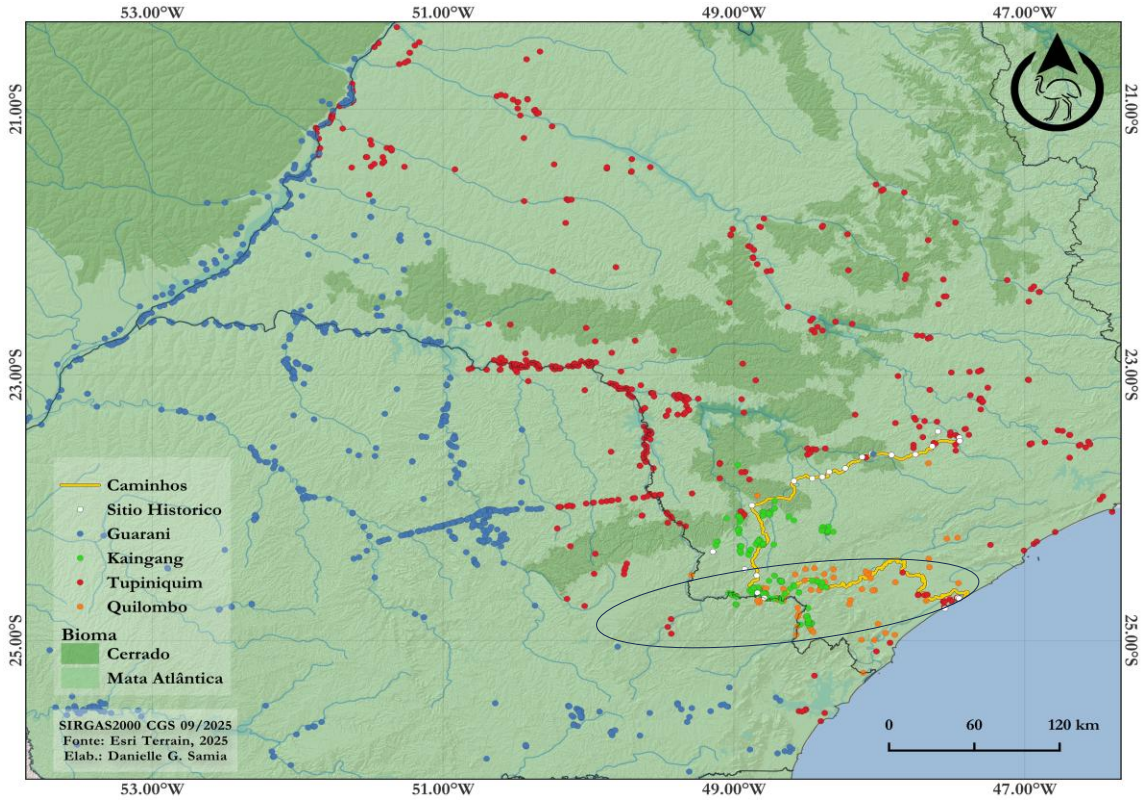

Figure 1 – Archaeological Map of the Ribeira Valley Context (Data mapping: FSNoelli & MSallum)

In the "Ribeira de Iguape" River basin, sites with Tupiniquim ceramics have been recorded only in the counties of Iguape and Adrianópolis, with no information available for the 215 km (134 mi) that separate them. In areas near the northern portion of the upper Valley, surveys are ongoing along the tributaries of the Paranapanema and Itapetininga rivers, revealing the potential for a high density of sites and integrating Tupiniquim territories through which the "Paulistas" traveled on their way to the Sertão dos Carijós (Guaraní backwoods) during the 16th-17th centuries.

Along the Ribeira River, there are no pre-colonial Guaraní archaeological records; only historical sources indicate that their presence resulted from forced mobility to the region in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the nineteenth century, records document small Guaraní groups who arrived voluntarily from outside São Paulo after 1830 (Rath 1856; Krone 1906; Sallum and Noelli 2022). They established kinship relations with Tupiniquim descendants who self-identified as Tupi, forming communities that defined themselves as *Tupí Guaraní* (Mainardi 2010; Bertapeli 2020; Dina et al. 2024; Tuxá et al. 2024).

The Kaingang information base was compiled through several archaeological projects in the middle-upper Ribeira Valley, at sites associated with the so-called "Itararé" ceramics in

Brazilian archaeology. The analysis of 87 sites along the middle Ribeira River shows that the ceramics "present the same techno-typological pattern" and were considered "extremely similar to that described for the Itararé tradition" at sites across various areas of Paraná and São Paulo (Robrahn 1989:61, 77, 146), serving as a reference for locating ancestral Kaingang villages. A complete Kaingang archaeological map, incorporating available information for São Paulo and Paraná, will be published soon – here, the objective is to highlight only the middle-upper Ribeira River area. These archaeological records bring to light a territoriality largely erased from regional historiography, yet their communities experienced varied histories of inclusion within Paulista communities, where Kaingang women engaged in family agriculture and ceramic production for generations in Bom Sucesso and other regional areas, such as Itapeva.

The Kaingang archaeological map helps to clarify the cartographic enigma imposed by historical sources, enabling the difficult task of locating the *Ibirajára* territory, ancestral to the Kaingang. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, "Igbirayara" was translated as "owner of the club", from *igbiraĩ* (VLB 2:142, "club") and *yara* (VLB 1:106, "owner of something…"), a name given by the Tupiniquim of Cananéia, while the Portuguese referred to them as "Bilreiros [club warriors]" (Monteiro [1611] 1949:396; Vasconcellos 1663:146, 148), because they "carried in their hands round clubs like spindles, with which they fight with great skill".

Information about Ibirajára communities dates to 1554/1555, from the journey of the Jesuit Pero Corrêa to find them, departing from "some Indigenous [Tupiniquim] villages along the sea… and, above all, if possible, to open a path to certain peoples whom [they] call Ibiraiaras", in order to "gain some knowledge" about them (Anchieta 1957a:117; 1957b:122). The Tupiniquim villages were in "Cananéia", along a "riverbank" (now the Mar de Dentro) and in neighboring "Çuparagay" (the area of Superagui Island), from where the Tupiniquim went to attack their "enemies" (Carijó Guaraní), inflicting "great slaughter among them" (Anchieta 1957b:122). Shortly thereafter, Corrêa traveled by canoe from Cananéia/Superagui to the back of Paranaguá Bay, ascending through a "passage of mountains" to reach the "territory of enemies", climbing the Serra de Morretes to the Curitiba plateau (Anchieta 1957c:198–199).

Vasconcellos (1663:148) adds that the Ibirajáras were "a people who inhabited beyond the Carijós". The term "beyond" indicates a location "further ahead" from the Curitiba plateau, extending to the navigable stretch of the upper Ribeira Valley. Vasconcellos (1663:148) also stated that Corrêa gave up proceeding to the Ibirajáras because he believed "there could be no entry to

them at that time—due, it seems, to the wars among the intervening nations", referring to Ibirajára/Kaingang territories situated between the Tupiniquim and the Guaraní lands.

Quilombola [Maroom] cartography is fundamental to the history of the Ribeira River, which currently includes 61 inhabited communities in the Valley and nearby areas (Figure 2). However, many historically marooned places still await recognition, and further research is needed on Afro-Indigenous relations. This context of mountainous landscapes within the dense Atlantic Forest biome can be analyzed through the perspective of Dunnavant and colleagues (2023:1296), revealing "remote, 'wild,' or unmanaged landscapes" and therefore spaces "beyond the colonial gaze".

Records of Black presence date to the seventeenth century—but may extend back to the sixteenth century (e.g., Andrade et al. 2000; ISA 2008; Giacomini 2010; Silva 2011; Marques 2012; Andrade and Tatto 2013; Damin 2015; Sousa 2015; Campos 2019; Marcucci 2023; Baptista 2024). Gomes's (2015:7) interpretation of Quilombo history allows us to consider that in the Valley they "produced complex histories of agrarian occupation, the creation of territories, and their own material and immaterial cultures based on kinship and the collective use and management of land".

This condition remains alive in the demographic and cultural history of Afro-descendant populations in the municipalities of the Valley, as reflected in the 2022 National Demographic Census self-declarations, categorized as Black and Brown (Table 1), whose ancestral ties to the region are highly significant.

Table 1: 2022 IBGE (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics) Counties Census Data in the Research Area.

Counties	Population Black	(%)	P. Brown	(%)	P. Asian	(%)	P. Indigenous	(%)	P. White	(%)
Apiaí	1.276	5,19	11.847	48,1	977	0,3	122	0,09	11.359	46,2
Barra do Chapéu	287	5,54	2.763	53,3	519	0,3	73	0,06	2.107	40,68
Barra do Turvo	514	7,48	3.479	50,6	26	0,3	828	0,41	2.829	41,14
Cajati	1.289	4,52	13.735	48,1	7156	0,5	523	0,08	13.312	46,68
Cananéia	760	6,18	4.682	38,1	93	0,7	6183	1,49	6.571	53,47
Eldorado	1.705	13,05	6.356	48,6	350	0,3	8111	0,85	4.847	37,09
Iguape	1.428	4,9	12.359	42,4	5335	1,1	5311	1,07	14.681	50,42
Ilha Comprida	867	6,46	4.939	36,8	1122	0,9	126	0,19	7.465	55,63
Iporanga	658	16,26	2.475	61,1	78	0,2	13	0,32	892	22,05

Itaoca	217	6,34	2.152	62,897	0,2	0	0,0	1.046	30,57
Itapirapuã Paulista	112	2,6	2.018	46,862	0,050		0,0	2.174	50,49
Itariri	1.126	7,25	7.216	46,47352	2,2784		0,54	6.750	43,47
Jacupiranga	665	4,13	7.128	44,2861	0,3814		0,09	8.229	51,12
Juquiá	1.012	5,9	8.081	47,11266	1,5527		0,16	7.767	45,28
Miracatu	1.102	5,94	8.432	45,45197	1,06144		0,78	8.678	46,77
Pariquera-Açu	1.017	5,29	7.854	40,84152	0,79148		0,77	10.062	52,32
Pedro de Toledo	688	6,1	4.411	39,1	143	1,2722	0,2	6.017	53,34
Registro	3.091	5,16	22.977	38,332.013	3,3675		0,13	31.790	53,03
Ribeira	138	4,41	1.619	51,692	0,060		0	1.373	43,84
Sete Barras	708	5,56	5.984	47,01129	1,01118		0,93	5.788	45,47

Source: IBGE Census 2022

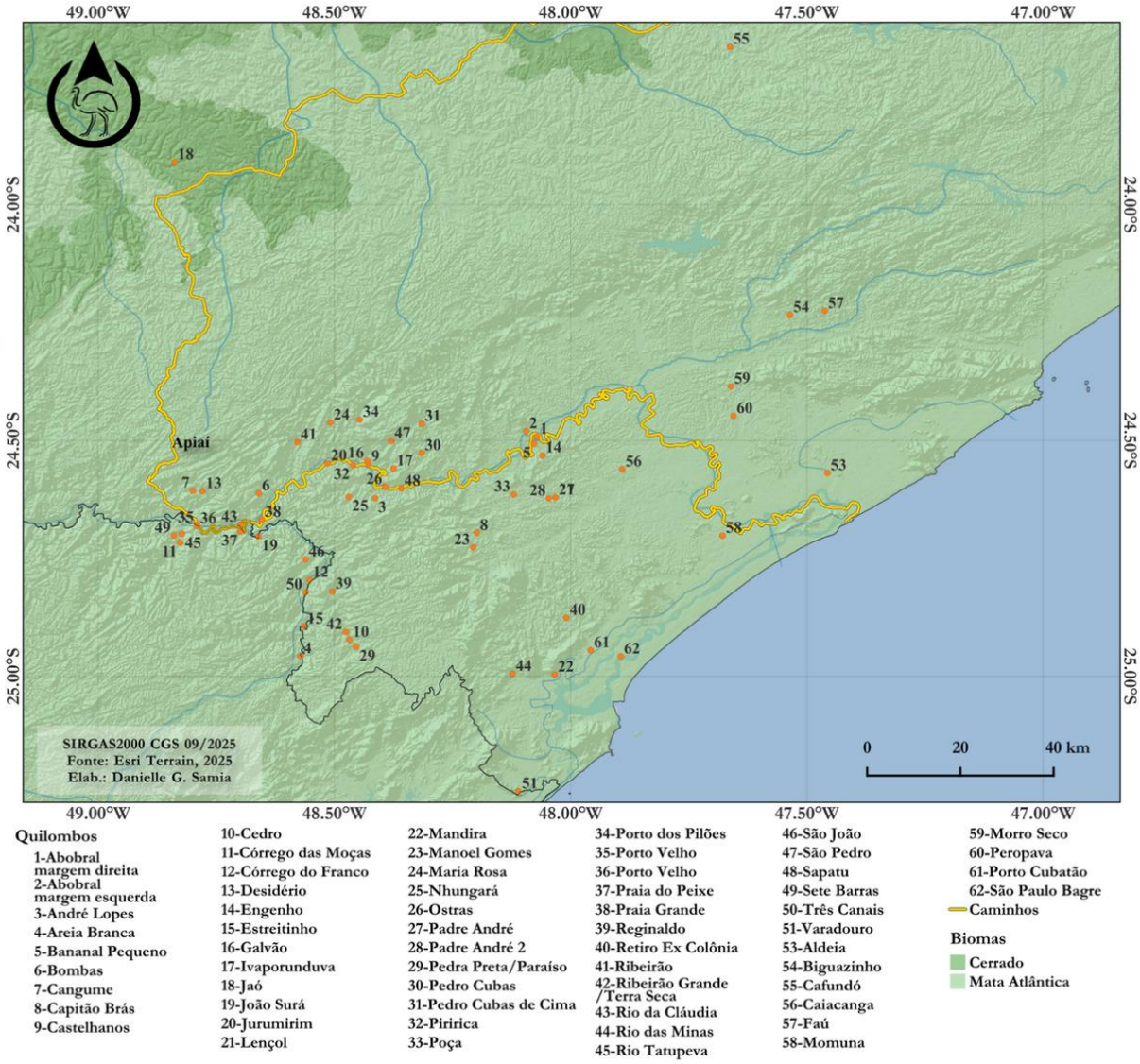

Figure 2 – Location of Quilombos in the Ribeira Valley (Data mapping: FSNoelli & MSallum).

The Two Routes to Apiaí (Figure 3)

The Iguape route followed the Ribeira de Iguape River, a colonial name that replaced the Tupiniquim name, recorded as *Uvuay* [1530], *Ubay* [1552], and *Hubay* [1561] (Santa Cruz 1920, plate 119; Vizcaya 1946:310; Nóbrega 1958:354), and *Yguabe* [1585] (ACSP 1914:279). Until roads were opened in the twentieth century, the 210 km (131 mi) river route between Iguape and the so-called "Porto Velho" [Old Port] (Itaóca county) was traveled by canoe. In the mid-nineteenth century, the round trip by rowing reportedly took "always one month" (Rath 1856:70).

The Sorocaba route was established in the 1730s as part of the overland route toward Rio Grande do Sul and Colônia do Sacramento. The distance between Sorocaba and Itapeva was estimated at 32 leagues (c. 212 km/132 mi) in the 1820s (Saint-Hilaire 1940:266, 279), plus another 15 leagues (c. 100 km/62 mi) to Apiaí. As the eighteenth-century routes remain unknown, the alternative for detailing this path relies on accounts by nineteenth-century naturalists who described the vegetation and recorded the overland routes, stopping places, and landscapes characterized by open grasslands of the Cerrado biome, which allowed travel without the need to clear trails through dense forest.

Spix and Martius (2017 [1823–1831], v. 1:218–219) reported hearing in Sorocaba that "from the regions of the Ipanema River, grasslands extend, interrupted only by a few forests, southward as far as Curitiba". Likewise, Saint-Hilaire (1940:335) testified during his journey:

> from Sorocaba to the [I]tararé River, notable for its various peculiarities, the land is rolling and consists only of pasturelands interspersed with patches of woodland. The inhabitants are generally engaged in cattle raising; however, the principal owners of the ranches reside in São Paulo, and the great majority of those who live in the region endure a level of poverty for which there are few parallels in other parts of Brazil.

In a note, he mentioned that in 1820 there existed "a point of communication [with the sea], through Apiaí; but this route offers few facilities to be frequently used" (Saint-Hilaire 1940:337). Based on Saint-Hilaire's report (1940:247–298), we propose a route between the stopping points (*pousos*) from Sorocaba to Apiaí, to be further detailed in the future with the support of additional sources.

The characterization of indigence must be relativized, as the naturalist viewed self-determined and sustainable communities through a prejudiced lens, almost always referring to them as descendants of Indigenous peoples.

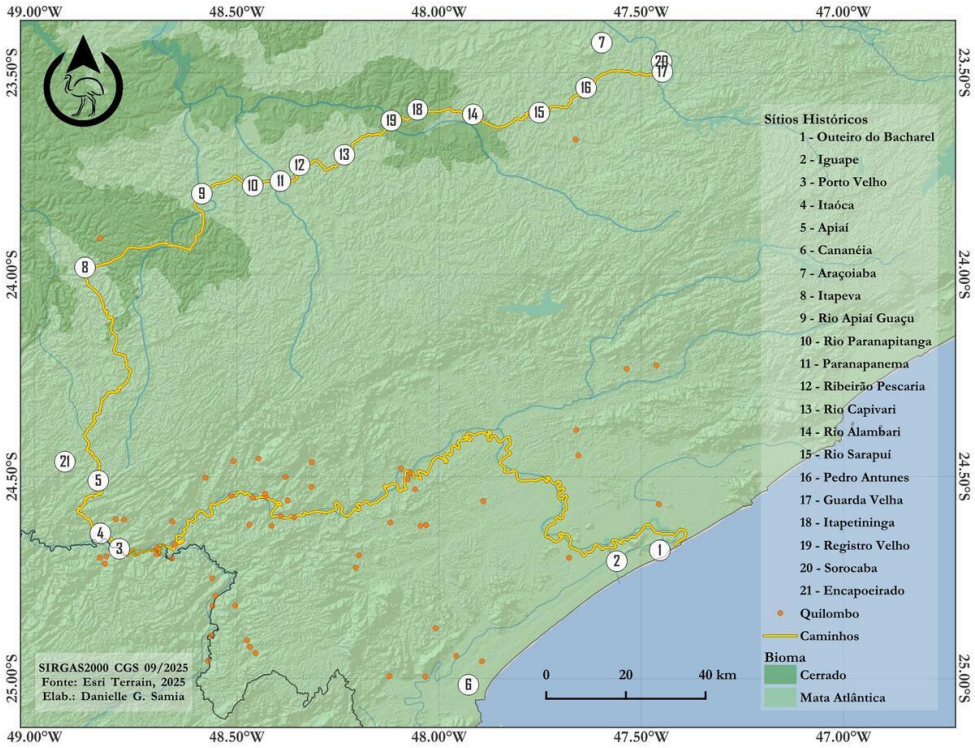

Figure 3: Historical Sites Along the Iguape and Sorocaba Routes to Apiaí (Data mapping: FSNoelli & MSallum).

Social Interactions

According to Juliana Barr (2017:204–205), we consider that "time was not interrupted upon European arrival, nor did it stop (and then begin again). Rather, Europeans arrived and became caught up in the tide of Native events and processes, the currents of Native history". Tupiniquim and Kaingang social history in the lower Ribeira Valley had already endured for several centuries when Europeans arrived, finding the river basin and its surroundings already occupied. Given the circumstances of the sixteenth century, Europeans were a minority and needed to adapt and be authorized to remain within Indigenous communities.

Kinship relations constituted the organizing axis of interactions among Indigenous, European, and African peoples. As observed by Barr (2009) for Indigenous peoples of North America, gender structured social, economic, and political domains anchored in kinship. The gendered grammar of relationships shaped strategic alliances, networks of reciprocity, practices, and ways of life, as well as guiding processes for incorporating outsiders. In this context, the circulation of women through marriage became one of the central mechanisms for creating kinship ties and integrating different groups into social and political networks. Men and women, therefore,

acted as “makers of kinship”. As Barr (2009:10) summarizes, for Indigenous peoples “the prism of kinship thereby defined political as well as social and economic relationships within the terms and expectations of male and female behavior”.

In 1502, a Portuguese exiled was disembarked on the coast of São Paulo, and a brief digression about him is necessary. As the first European to be incorporated into regional communities, he revealed to other Europeans details of Tupiniquim political and social practices - an essential factor in establishing alliances and kinship relations (Noelli and Sallum 2019; Sallum and Noelli 2021). His name was Cosme Fernandes, a laywer mentioned in sixteenth/seventeenth-centuries documents from the São Vicente town and Iguape town council (Termo 1903:298; Young 1905:8, 12; García 1908:237; Sousa 2001:163; Confirmação 1956:460–461);

The sources indicate that Cosme Fernandes was residing in São Vicente until 1527. However, before 1531, he moved with his family to Iguape, where he settled and left descendants who petitioned for land in the seventeenth century (Young 1905). From Iguape, over generations, his descendants and other inhabitants traveled up the Ribeira Valley to explore and settle the interior, including Apiaí. There is sufficient documentary evidence to consider that the laywer was possibly a fourteenth great-grandfather (14th-generation ancestor) of Lúcia Aparecida da Rosa, a ceramicist currently residing in the Encapoeirado (see Part 2 of this article) and one of the authors of this paper. Lúcia’s genealogy sheds light on women-centered networks of kinship and connection, offering an example for constructing a genealogical line of research from the sixteenth century to the present.

To conclude, as observed by Young (1905), we suggest that, in 1531, Cosme Fernandes was not residing in Cananéia, but in Iguape. On August 12 of that year, Pero Lopes de Sousa (2001:163) sent from Ilha do Bom Abrigo, through the Mar de Dentro, toward “a very large river on the mainland”, and “up this river” dispatched the interpreter Pedro Eanes as an emissary “to go and hear the speech of the Indigenous”. Eanes returned on August 17, accompanied by the laywer, his son-in-law Francisco de Chaves, and five or six other “Castilians”. We argue these descriptions as evidence of Eanes’s encounter with the Tupiniquim, who likely transported him in their canoes for 68 km to Iguape, covering approximately 136 km (85 mi) round trip in five days.

With information provided by the residents of Iguape, on September 1 Martim Afonso de Sousa organized an expedition of 80 men to “discover inland” and to return “with four hundred slaves laden with silver and gold”, including Francisco de Chaves, described as “very great in the

language of the land" [*mui grande lingoa da terra*] (Sousa 2001:163–164). This may have been a precursor expedition to colonial settlement and the search for precious metals in the Ribeira Valley, "officially" discovered only in the seventeenth century. It may also have been related to the continuation in South Brazil gold prospecting, initiated between 1521 and 1524 (Mello 2005:202–227). The expedition never returned, and its fate was revealed in January 1542: near the mouth of the Iguaçu River, according to Cabeza de Vaca (Hernández 1555, fol. lxviii v.), "between this Paraná River and the Iguaçu River the Indigenous [Guaraní] killed the Portuguese whom Martín Alfonso de Sosa had sent to discover that land". Thus, it may be inferred that Martim Afonso's expedition ascended the Ribeira River Valley to the Curitiba plateau and descended the Iguaçu River to its confluence with the Paraná River.

Genealogies of Apiaí

Genealogical research with women ceramicists from the Encapoeirado reveals longstanding relationships among people, territories, and materialities, enabling the recognition of the transmission of knowledge across generations, interactions among peoples from different places, and their descendants today.

Through memories and documentary records, we initiated the investigation of four lineages—singular trajectories traced from the present into the past—resulting from relationships among Indigenous, African, and European peoples, some spanning fourteen or fifteen generations in the Ribeira Valley. This represents the first outcome of a methodology currently under development, which will be employed in the continuation of this research.

We work with genealogies in the plural, considering Indigenous and Black epistemologies in the construction of kinship networks and expanded sociabilities that include godmothers/godfathers, sisters/brothers, neighbors, adjacent landholders, and support networks that formed communities of practice. These communities transmitted knowledge and sustained territorialities (Wendrich 2012; Xakriabá 2021; Costa 2023; Oyěwùmí 2023), remaining connected to places, mobilities, and ways of life. As Rosezelle (1995:139) points out regarding kinship relations among Black populations:

> The experience of enslavement is the origin of the terms "sister" and "brother." When people are brutalized, raped, and torn from their families, they must create a family. Thus, it is a political act to call those who are not of your blood, but who belong to your people, "sister" and "brother".

We follow the methodology adopted by Supernant (2024:360):

> a different way of understanding Métis lifeways in the past, centering threads of relations woven together, each of which connects to different forms of archaeological and historical evidence. Instead of centering the mixedness and hybridity of Métis history, I consider the inter-connected webs of kinship between Métis people, other humans, and other-than-human beings, including lands, waters, plants, and animals.

To this end, a participatory genealogical approach allows for a critical analysis of ecclesiastical and public archives, as well as genealogical, historiographical, anthropological, and related bibliographies addressing "kinship relations". However, we encountered limitations in locating primary sources:(1) archives dispersed across Brazil and abroad; (2) limited systematization and scarce detail regarding Indigenous and Black women; and (3) restricted access to certain parish collections. Nevertheless, after reading thousands of pages, we gathered sufficient evidence to map local networks of ceramic knowledge transmission in the upper Ribeira Valley.

We organized the results into five tables and five genealogical diagrams. To test possibilities and define the methodology, the sample includes two active ceramicists and two deceased ones, all descendants of families with at least two centuries of presence in the Ribeira River Valley. In the first stage, we worked together with two co-authors of this article—Marina Gomes da Rosa Cordeiro and Lúcia Aparecida da Rosa—at the headquarters of the "Apiaí Women Artisans Association – Custodia Jesus da Cruz", in the Encapoeirado. We began with a bibliographic survey from the 1960s onward (Sallum, Cordeiro and Noelli 2025) to select two influential ceramicists who have since passed away: Custódia Jesus da Cruz and Ana de Andrade Rosa Gonçalves (Cerávolo 1988; Lima 2007; Magrini 2019). The bibliographic and archival research aims to identify as many ceramicists as possible and to gather information on place/date of birth and death, individual and family histories, and the location of the lands where they lived.

The following tables present three themes: kinship relation, name, and research source. The kinship diagrams include names, places and dates of birth/death, along with lines indicating direct filiation, hypothesized connection, aggregative relationship, and enslavement relationship. Direct filiation corresponds to publicly recognized maternal or paternal relations, generally supported by documentary evidence. A hypothesized connection refers to links not yet fully documented but supported by circumstantial evidence. An aggregative relationship represents ties that may or may not involve consanguineous kinship, occasionally recorded in documents. An enslavement relationship indicates diverse forms of linkage and two distinct public situations: acknowledged or unacknowledged descent.

Genealogies of Custódia de Jesus da Cruz (Table 2)

The ceramicist Custódia de Jesus da Cruz (1942–2002), also known as Custódia de Pontes, gives her name to the Artisans' Association in the Encapoeirado. At this stage of the research, four generations of women were identified in her maternal lineage, reaching back to Paula da Rosa (1830–1890), born in Apiaí and descended from members of the Oliveira Rosa family who had come from São Paulo. On the paternal side, the lineage reaches her great-grandfather Manoel de Pontes (1811–1871), also born in Apiaí.

Local population registers document the surname Pontes in the region prior to 1772, associated with the family of João de Pontes Maciel, who had come from Iguape. He was the owner of enslaved individuals in a cultivated rural property, and adjacent areas connected to mining activities. His descendants owned portions of the "Site of the Encapoeirados" (present-day Encapoeirado neighborhood), where Custódia and four generations of her ancestors were born and lived their lives. This suggests the hypothesis of coexistence within the same residential nucleus and, consequently, the sharing of practices for two centuries or more.

Thus far, no documentary proof has been found that Custódia directly descends from João Pontes's household. However, the use of a specific surname may indicate two possible forms of linkage: symmetrical relations or relations of subordination - yet to be determined (Figure 4). The evidence suggests the presence of Black women among her ancestors.

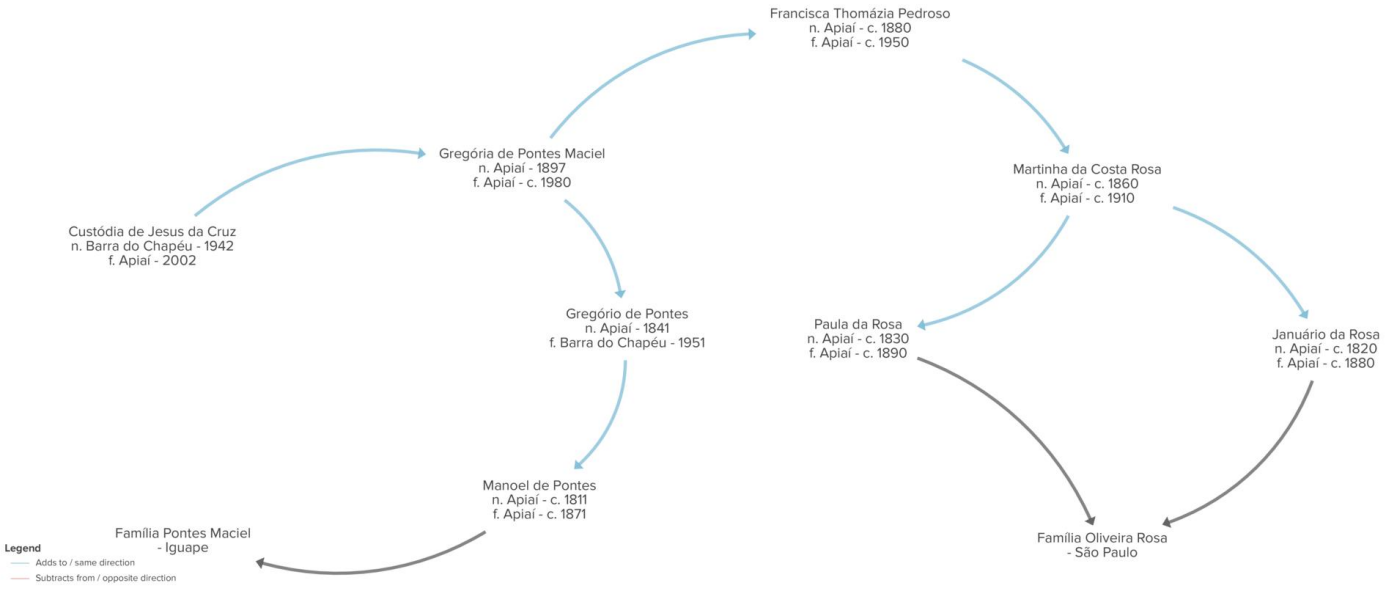

Figure 4:Genealogy of Custódia de Jesus da Cruz. Credit: Prepared by the authors based on archival and bibliographic research.

Table 2: Historical and archival data on Custódia de Jesus da Cruz

Kinship relationship	Name	Sources
	Custódia de Jesus da Cruz	RCPN bith of Custódia de Jesus. Barra do Chapéu, may/9/1942
Mother	Gregória de Pontes Maciel	RCPN bith of Custódia de Jesus. Barra do Chapéu, may/9/1942; Livro de Casamento da Igreja de Santo Antônio, 1916-1922
Grandfather	Gregório de Pontes	RCPN bith of Custódia de Jesus. Barra do Chapéu, may/9/1942; ADI 1896-1905:19v
Great-grandfather	Manoel de Pontes	RCPN death of Gregório de Pontes. Barra do Chapéu, oct/25/1951
Great-grandmother	Francisca Thomázia Pedroso	ADI 1896-1905:19
3th Great-grandmother	Martinha da Costa Rosa	ADI 1896-1905:22; ADI 1908-1916:138v-139
4th Great-grandfather	Januário da Rosa	ADI 1896-1905:22
4th Great-grandmother	Paula da Rosa	ADI 1896-1905:22
no data	João de Pontes Maciel	ANTT 1772, Family 9:3.

Source: the authors of the article

Genealogy of Lúcia Aparecida da Rosa: Ibirapuera (Table 3.1)

The ceramicist Lúcia Aparecida da Rosa was born in the Encapoeirado and has longstanding ancestry in Iguape and Ibirapuera, beginning in the sixteenth century with Tupiniquim women. Her Ibirapuera lineage includes fourteen documented generations, constituting the longest genealogical sequence identified at this stage of the research (Figure 5, Tables 3.1). This lineage dates to the earliest interactions between the Tupiniquim and the Portuguese in the first half of the sixteenth century and presents the possibility of direct ancestral connections with the families of Custódia (Table 2) and her cousin Marina (Table 4), both mentioned in this article.

The lands where Lúcia Aparecida da Rosa was born and has lived have sheltered at least seven generations of her female ancestors since the late eighteenth century. These lands belonged to her grandfather, João Pedro de Oliveira Rosa, and previously to her fourth great-grandfather, Alberto de Oliveira Rosa, who married Petronilha de Pontes Maciel in 1820. Alberto was born into enslavement and was manumitted in childhood, together with his mother and siblings, by his father, Antônio de Oliveira Rosa, one of the largest slaveholders in Apiaí, according to the document from august/1803:

> I, ensign Antônio de Oliveira Roza, declare that among the property I possess there is also a "mulatta" woman named Izabel with four children:Alberto, Francisco, Anna, and Josefa, whom I hereby grant freedom of my own free will and without any coercion. Thus, the said mulatta may live or reside wherever she sees fit, as mistress

of herself, which she becomes from this day forward and forevermore… Aphiay (Luz 1996:178).

In January 1830, possession of the "Site of the Encapoeirados" was transferred to the twelve heirs of Antônio de Oliveira Rosa along with five formerly enslaved Black women, "all of whom I acknowledge as my children as if they were legitimate by marriage, and as such I raised them" (inventory of 01/06/1830, apud Valentin 2001:250). In 1856, Alberto de Oliveira Rosa was still listed as a landowner in the parish land register of Apiaí.

Understanding the figure of Antônio de Oliveira Rosa (born in 1768) is fundamental when placed within the broader lineage that began in the sixteenth century. Antônio was the son of Maria da Anunciação de Oliveira, a seventh-generation descendant of the Tupiniquim woman baptized as Margarida Fernandes, who married the Portuguese Brás Gonçalves in 1569 (Leme 1903, vol. 1:22; Moura 1952:377). Margarida was the daughter of the Tupiniquim "Fernão Álvares", the *tubixaba* (chief) of the *tába* (village) of Ibirapuera, located near the Jurubatiba River (present-day Pinheiros River; VLB 1:66 and 30; Tombo, 1967:108; Coelho, 2010:131). Margarida is the thirteenth great-grandmother of Lúcia Aparecida da Rosa and was possibly a ceramicist who produced Paulista Ceramics in the surroundings of Piratininga - a Tupiniquim practice brought from the Baixada Santista before 1550 (Noelli et al., 2023). In 1569, Brás Gonçalves sold the hilltop lands in Santos that he had inherited from his father, Domingos Gonçalves, known as Master Bartolomeu, a blacksmith who had disembarked in 1532 (Cordeiro 1949:263–264).

When the family of Maria da Anunciação de Oliveira migrated to Apiaí, they belonged to a lineage that had been consolidated for approximately two centuries within Paulista territory. Maria was born in 1730 in Cotia and later moved to Apiaí. She married Manoel da Rosa Luiz, an Azorean, and from 1749 onward the baptisms of their children and enslaved individuals were documented in the Parish Church of Santo Antônio das Minas de Apiaí.

The discovery of new genealogical intersections may connect Lúcia with other ceramicists in Apiaí, highlighting lineages of Indigenous, African, and Afro-Indigenous women to be situated in time and space. Despite documentary gaps, it is evident that the decline of mining in the eighteenth century contributed to strategies adopted by women under enslavement to obtain freedom and preserve family ties (Motta and Valentin 2000:17), including endogamous marriages. Lúcia's great-great-grandparents, Rita de Oliveira Rosa and João de Oliveira Rosa, were cousins married in 1856 in Apiaí, paternal grandchildren of the formerly enslaved/liberated women Izabel and Bárbara with Antônio de Oliveira Rosa.

At this point, the lineage of Lúcia Aparecida da Rosa reveals a "relational arrangement" among people situated in "diverse ways, with distinct orientations and intentions" (Dunnavant et al., 2023). Within this lineage, the history of two African women intertwines with the social dynamics of the Tupiniquim/Portuguese-descended Oliveira family, as occurred in other Traditional and Quilombola communities of the Ribeira Valley. These were women who made "(...) pragmatic choices to resist, accommodate, or avoid various colonial impositions" (Panich, 2020), transmitting knowledge across generations.

Table 3.1: Historical and archival data on Lúcia Aparecida da Rosa: Ibirapuera

Kinship relationship	**Name**	**Sources**
	Lúcia Aparecida da Rosa	Statement of Lúcia A. Rosa, june/2025
Father	José Maria de Oliveira Rosa	RCPN, Araçaíba civil registry office, marriage of José Maria de Oliveira Rosa and Aurora de Lima Tavares, Apiaí, set/28/1968
Grandfather	João Pedro de Oliveira Rosa	RCPN, Araçaíba civil registry office, birth of Oscar de Oliveira Rosa, Apiaí, feb/10/1956
Great-grandfather	Sérvulo de Oliveira Rosa	ADI 1890–1895:6
3th Great-grandfather	João de Oliveira Rosa	ADI 1854:14
3th Great-grandmother	Rita de Oliveira Rosa	ADI 1854:14
4th Great-grandfather	Alberto de Oliveira Rosa	ADI 1820:s.n.; Valentin 2001:250, 256, 317.
4th Great-grandfather	Manoel de Oliveira Rosa	AESP 1836:44
5th Great-grandfather	Antônio de Oliveira Rosa	AHU, 1772:344
5th Great-grandmother	Isabel Rodrigues	AESP 1836:41
5th Great-grandmother	Bárbara	ADI 1816:s.n.
Sister of the 5th Great-grandmother	Escolástica de Oliveira Rosa	ADI 1816:s.n.; Valentin 2001 :156
6th Great-grandmother	Maria da Anunciação de Oliveira	AHU 1772:344; ADI 1736-1779
7th Great- grandmother	Margarida Pereira da Silva	AESP Probate Inventoy of Maria Vaz Ferreira 1718; AESP Probate Inventoy of Ignácio Moreira 1720
8th Great-grandfather	Ignácio Moreira	AESP Probate Inventoy of Maria Vaz Ferreira 1718
9th Great-grandmother	Maria Vaz Ferreira	AESP Probate Inventoy of Antônio Ferreira 1683; AESP Probate Inventoy of Maria Vaz Ferreira 1718; Leme 1903 1:26
10th Great-grandmother	Catarina de Burgos	AESP Probate Inventoy of Antônio Ferreira 1683; AESP Probate Inventoy of Maria Vaz Ferreira 1718; I & T, 9:173-186; Leme 1903 1:26;
11th Great-grandfather	Gabriel Rodrigues	ADRJ 1616–1657:17; I & T, 9 p. 173-186, 275-290; I & T, 26:6, 11; Leme 1903 1:22, 26
12th Great-grandfather	Brás Gonçalves, *the younger*	I & T, 26:3, 11, 39; Leme 1903 1:22; Cordeiro 1949:263
13th Great-grandmother	Margarida Fernandes	I & T, 26:11; Leme 1903 1:22; Cordeiro 1949:263; Moura 1952:377
13th Great-grandfather	Brás Gonçalves, *the older*	Leme 1903 1:22; I & T, 26:11; Cordeiro 1949:263; Moura 1952:377

Source: the authors of the article

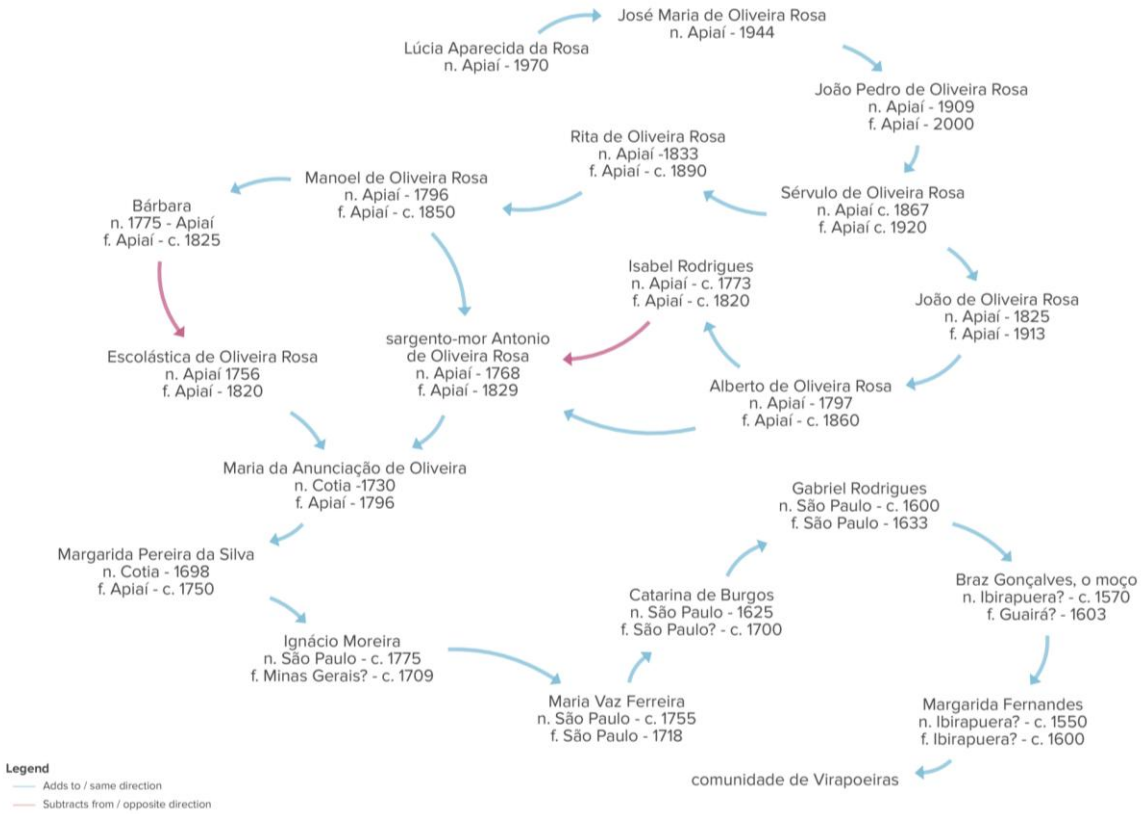

Figure 5. Genealogy on Lúcia Aparecida da Rosa: Ibirapuera.
Credit: Prepared by the authors from archival and bibliographic research and oral testimonies provided by Marina Gomes da Rosa Cordeiro and Lúcia Aparecida da Rosa.

Genealogies of Lúcia Aparecida da Rosa: Iguape (Table 3.2)

The Iguape branch of Lúcia's lineage is still under investigation, with gaps in both her female and male lines. Nevertheless, it points to ancestors involved in the earliest Tupiniquim-European interactions and, subsequently, to the inclusion of Black individuals.

Her genealogical tree reveals two names associated with early seventeenth-century interactions: Salvador de Pontes Maciel and Severino de Veras, both seventh great-grandfathers of Lúcia. Based on his surname and social position, Salvador de Pontes was likely a descendant of Francisco de Pontes Vidal, the first individual with that surname recorded in the region, when he requested a *sesmaria* (land grant) in Iguape in 1637. Severino, under similar circumstances, presumably descends from Paulo de Veras (Paulus Wernaerts), who had been leasing land in Iguape since 1602. Ernesto Young (1905:12) published excerpts from documents revealing the marriage of Paulo de Veras to a Tupiniquim woman, the great-granddaughter of Cosme Fernandes and granddaughter of Francisco de Chaves.

Therefore, the analysis of two branches of Lúcia's genealogical tree—and, it appears, of other ceramicists as well—indicates that, regardless of whether the settlement of Apiaí is understood as having occurred via Santos/São Paulo/Sorocaba or via Iguape (Figure 6), their lineages begin with Tupiniquim women. Most likely, from the second half of the seventeenth century onward, these lineages came to include ancestors from the African Diaspora.

Table 3.2: Historical and archival data on Lúcia Aparecida da Rosa

Kinship relationship	**Name**	**Sources**
	Lúcia Aparecida da Rosa	Statement of Lúcia A. Rosa, june/2025
4th Great-grandmother	Petronilha de Pontes Maciel	AESP 1836:43
5th Great-grandfather	Joaquim de Pontes Maciel	AESP 1798:19
6th Great-grandfather	João de Pontes Maciel	ADI 1773-1783:134
6th Great-grandmother	Ana Furtado	ADI 1773-1783:134
7th Great-grandfather	Salvador de Pontes Maciel	ADI 1773-1783:134
7th Great-grandfather	Severino de Veras, o moço	ADI 1773-1783:134; Young, 1905:18
8th Great-grandfather	Severino de Veras	ACMSP 1763:31
	Francisco de Pontes Vidal	Young, 1905:8
10th Great-grandfather	Paulo de Veras / Paulus Wernaerts	Young, 1905:8, 28; Stols, 1973:23
11th Great-grandfather	Felipe Pereira Nunes	Young, 1905:12
12th Great-grandfather	Nuno Chaves	Young, 1905:12
13th Great-grandfather	Francisco de Chaves	Young, 1905:12
14th Great-grandfather	Cosme Fernandes	Young, 1905:8, 9, 12

Source: the authors of the article

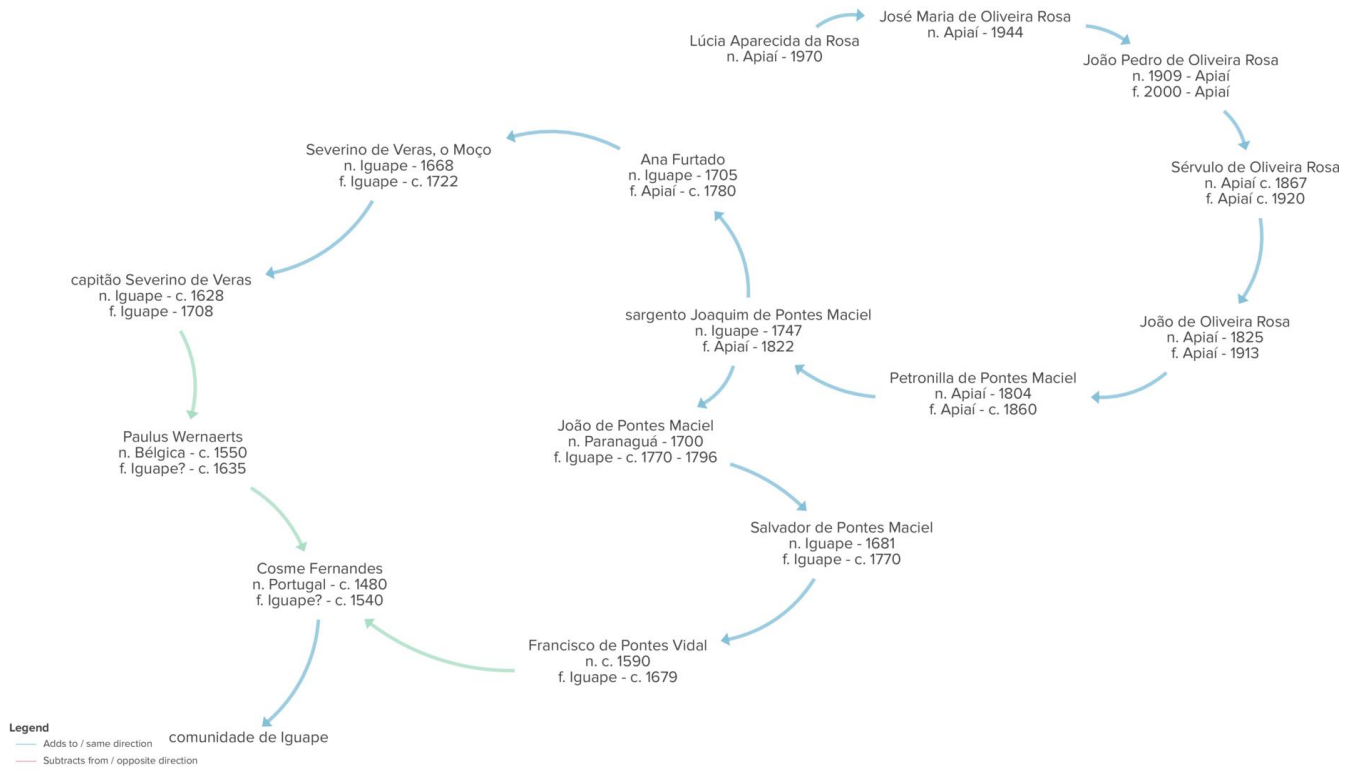

Figure 6. Genealogy on Lúcia Aparecida da Rosa: Iguape. *Prepared by the authors from archival and bibliographic research and oral testimonies provided by Marina Gomes da Rosa Cordeiro and Lúcia Aparecida da Rosa.*

Genealogies of Marina Gomes da Rosa Cordeiro (Table 4)

The genealogy of the ceramicist Marina Gomes da Rosa Cordeiro is still under construction, but it shows a potential antiquity similar to that of her cousin Lúcia Aparecida da Rosa. Marina was an apprentice of Custódia de Jesus da Cruz and works with clay extracted from the property where she lives, inherited from her paternal grandfather.

Among Marina's ancestors (Figure 7) are Bibiana de Oliveira Rosa (whose ancestors have not yet been identified) and Sérvulo de Oliveira Rosa. The recurrence of the surname Oliveira Rosa in Apiaí appears to begin in the mid-eighteenth century among individuals in conditions of enslavement belonging to the aforementioned couple Maria da Anunciação de Oliveira and Manoel da Rosa Luiz, heirs of the "Site of the Encapoeirados".

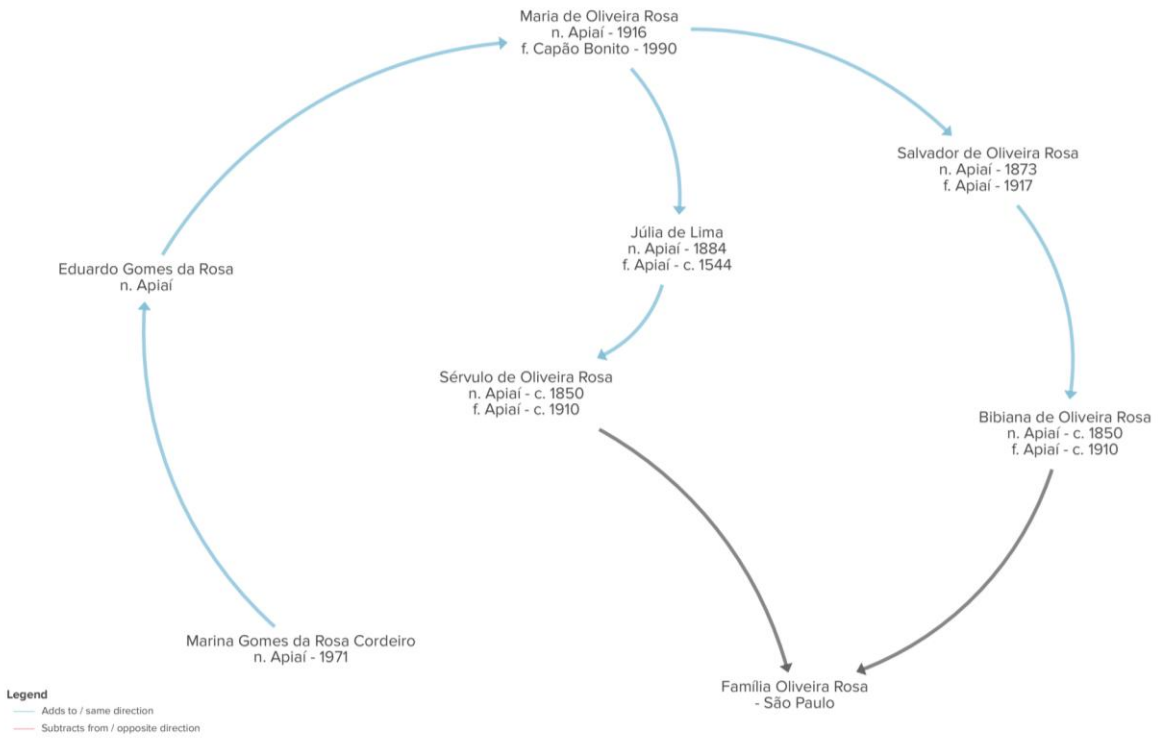

Figure 7. Genealogy on Marina Gomes da Rosa Cordeiro. *Prepared by the authors from archival and bibliographic research and oral testimonies provided by Marina Gomes da Rosa Cordeiro and Lúcia Aparecida da Rosa.*

Table 4: Historical and Archival Data on Marina Gomes da Rosa Cordeiro

Kinship relationship	**Name**	**Sources**
	Marina Gomes da Rosa Cordeiro	RCPN, birth of Marina Gomes da Rosa. Araçaíba, set/13/1971
Father	Eduardo Gomes da Rosa	RCPN, birth of Marina Gomes da Rosa. Araçaíba, set/13/1971
Grandmother	Maria de Oliveira Rosa	RCPN, birth of Manoel Gomes. Apiaí, jun/19/1939; death of de Maria de Oliveira Rosa. Capão Bonito, apr/12/1990
Great-grandfather	Salvador de Oliveira Rosa	RCPN, birth of Maria de Oliveira Rosa. Apiaí, feb/2/1915; ADI 896-1905:107
Great-grandmother	Júlia de Lima	RCPN, birth of Manoel Gomes. Apiaí, jun/19/1939; ADI 1896-1905:107
3th Great-grandfather	Sérvulo de Oliveira Rosa	RCPN, birth of Maria de Oliveira Rosa. Apiaí, feb/2/1915
3th Great-grandmother	Bibiana de Oliveira Rosa	RCPN, birth of Maria de Oliveira Rosa. Apiaí, feb/2/1915; ADI 1896-1905:107

Source: the authors of the article

Genealogies of Ana de Andrade Rosa Gonçalves (Table 5)

With an ancestral lineage like that of Lúcia Aparecida da Rosa, we highlight the trajectory of Ana de Andrade Rosa Gonçalves, known as Sinhana. She likely had Tupiniquim and Portuguese ancestors in the Baixada Santista, Iguape, and on the Piratininga plateau.

Sinhana was born in Itaóca (1928–2022). She found in her grandmother, Benedita Maciel de Pontes (Cerávolo, 1988:20-A), the first reference to working with clay (Lima, 2007:58). We verified that her grandfather, Antônio Gonçalves Maciel, Benedita's husband, was the grandson of Africans/Afro-descendants who had been enslaved and dependents of the couple Joaquim de Pontes Maciel and Ana Xavier da Rocha, who were also ancestors of Lúcia Aparecida da Rosa. Thus, we have two ceramicists connected to the same ancestral family.

Ana Xavier's family had kinship ties with Francisco Xavier da Rocha, the first major enslaver in the region (Luz1996:52, 200; Valentin 2001:68, 97), who was married to Ana de Oliveira Rosa, from the Paulista Oliveira family. Established in Apiaí around 1735, Francisco Xavier died in January 1780. Reconstructing his trajectory, as well as that of the free and enslaved people connected to him, is fundamental to understanding the presence and history of part of the African and Indigenous families in the region.

Contrary to the unfounded claim by Azevedo Marques (1879:35), the founding of the "povoado das Capoeiras" did not begin with Xavier's arrival and some 150 enslaved individuals after he fled Minas Gerais due to involvement in a crime, when he was Captain General. We located Francisco Xavier's death certificate, which records him as a native of Santos around 1692, son of Captain Ignácio de Lima Filgueira and Mariana da Rocha. His mother was the great-granddaughter of Jerônimo Leitão, captain-donatário of São Vicente between 1572 and 1592, known for leading expeditions against the Carijó people in what is now the state of Paraná.

In tracing Sinhana's family trajectory, we find that at least since 1794 (Figure 8), Brízida, her great-great-grandmother, appears in the Apiaí population rolls as an aggregate in the household of Ana Xavier, married to Clemente Xavier da Rocha, one of the men enslaved by the family who, after being freed, adopted the surname of the family that had held him captive. When Florinda, the couple's daughter, was born around 1805, her father had not yet been manumitted; this would occur only years later. Florinda, in turn, married Jacintho de Carvalho, also a freedman and formerly enslaved by Captain João Manoel de Carvalho Dantas. The couple, descendants of Africans, settled around 1848 in the place known as Sítio Pinheiro, which they occupied in

“peaceful possession,” according to Jacintho’s own statement in 1856. They were Sinhana’s great-grandparents and the parents-in-law of her grandmother Benedita Maciel de Pontes.

Thus, the neighborhood of Pinheiro Alto consolidated itself as a territory of African resistance and sociability, including interactions with old Paulista families, and as a space of autonomy in relation to Portuguese power. Evidence of this is the formation of the Quilombo do Cangume in Itaóca, a community to which Sinhana had kinship ties. The name “Camgumbe” appears in the 1856 Apiaí land registry, suggesting a connection with “Kangumbe,” a region in Angola, revealing that Apiaí and its surroundings constituted Afro-Indigenous territories.

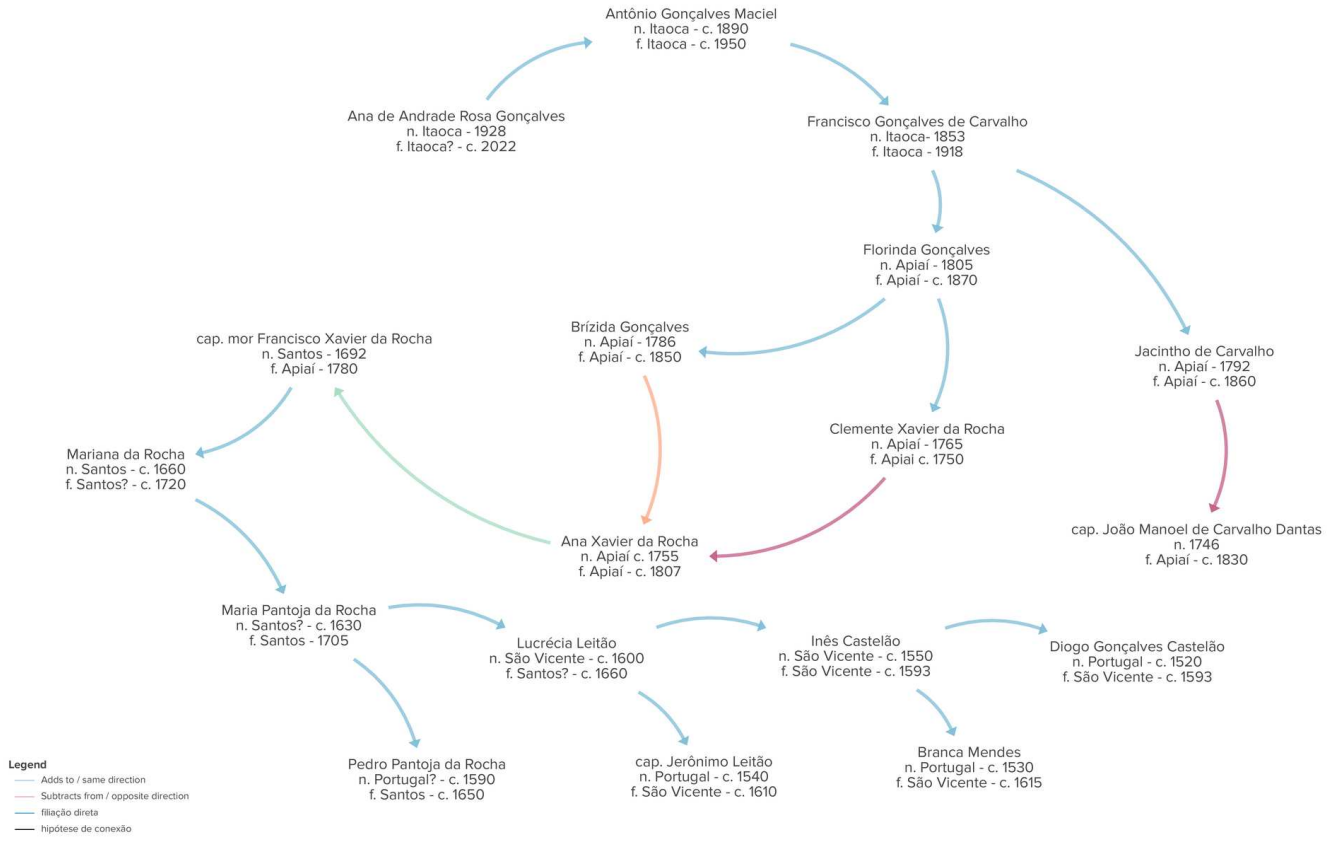

Figure 8: Genealogy on Ana de Andrade Rosa Gonçalves.
Prepared by the authors from archival and bibliographic research.

Table 5: Historical and Archival Data on Ana de Andrade Rosa Gonçalves

Kinship relationship	**Name**	**Sources**
	Ana de Andrade Rosa Gonçalves	RCPN, Ana's de Andrade Rosa marriage, and Clemente Gonçalves. Itaóca 1947:37v, 38
Father	Antônio Gonçalves Maciel	RCPN, birth of Maria. Iporanga 1920:107
Grandfather	Francisco Gonçalves de Carvalho	RCPN, birth of Maria. Iporanga 1920:107
Great-grandfather	Jacintho de Carvalho	AESP 1855-1857:52, 156v.; RCPN, birth of Antônio Gonçalves de Carvalho. Itaóca 1919; AESP 1798:8; 1816:2; 1836:14
Great-grandmother	Florinda Gonçalves	AESP 1816:35; 1836:14
3th Grand-grandfather	Clemente Xavier da Rocha	AESP 1798:20; 1836:9
3th Grand-grandmother	Brízida Gonçalves	AESP 1798:20; 1816:35; 1836:9
	João Manoel de Carvalho Dantas	AESP 1798:7; 1816:2
	Ana Xavier da Rocha	Luz 1996:62; AESP 1798:19
	Francisco Xavier da Rocha	ACMSP 1781:17
	Mariana da Rocha	ACMSP 1781:17; AESP 1707:2
	Ignácio de Lima Filgueira	ACMSP 1781:17
	Maria Pantoja da Rocha	AESP 1707:2
	Lucrécia Leitão	AESP 1707:2; ACMSP Inquiry into Amaro de Mendonça. São Paulo 1701:23-23v.; Bogaciovas 2006:65

	Pedro Pantoja da Rocha	AESP 1707:2; ACMSP Inquiry into Amaro de Mendonça. São Paulo1701:23-23v.; Bogaciovas 2006:65
	Inês Castelão	ACMSP Inquiry into Amaro de Mendonça. São Paulo1701:23-23v.; Bogaciovas 2006:65
	Jerônimo Leitão	ACMSP Inquiry into Amaro de Mendonça, São Paulo 1701:23-23v.; Bogaciovas 2006:65
	Branca Mendes	ACMSP Inquiry into Amaro de Mendonça, São Paulo 1701:23-23v.; Bogaciovas 2006:64
	Diogo Gonçalves Castelão	ACMSP Inquiry into Amaro de Mendonça, São Paulo 1701:23-23v.; Bogaciovas 2006:64

Source: the authors of the article

Final Considerations

There are many obstacles to mapping the long-term history of territorialities in the Ribeira Valley and to completing the ancestral lineages of the women ceramicists. On the one hand, the genealogical survey and the women's memories are still under construction, and there are many gaps in family records. On the other hand, regional archaeological research is progressing slowly, and there are few available dates for archaeological sites, making it difficult to draw consistent conclusions about historical processes and contemporaneity's among territorialities.

Nonetheless, the cartography reveals Indigenous and Black territorialities from the sixteenth century onward:(1) the middle-lower Ribeira Valley constituted a Tupiniquim domain; (2) the middle-upper Valley was disputed with Kaingang populations, who are thought to have dominated the region until the early seventeenth century, when mineral exploitation began—a likely cause of the conflicts that may have driven the Kaingang people from the Valley (a topic that requires further investigation); (3) the mapping of former Quilombo areas and mining zones still needs to be undertaken.

Forest occupation practices reveal structural continuities over the longue durée, even as they show variations in strategies of spatial occupation, housing systems, and the species cultivated and consumed. In general, the communities that inhabited the region collectively developed and transmitted the knowledge necessary to live in this Atlantic Forest environment—knowledge that would later be termed family farming—and shared it with newcomers (Sallum et al. 2025). Sambaqui populations cultivated the forest between 8,000- and 3,000-years BP, establishing themselves in clearings near their shell mounds (Figuti et al. 2013). Part of today's botanical repertoire—composed of endemic and introduced species—constitutes an inheritance of the ancestral knowledge of these groups.

From around 1400 BP onward, groups speaking languages of the Jê family expanded from the Central-West into the Southeast (Araujo 2024; Noelli; Souza 2017), and their Kaingang descendants cultivated hundreds of botanical species, including hyperdominant plants such as araucarias and arecaceae. Subsequently, the Tupiniquim occupied the Ribeira Valley, introducing new intensive crops and building large longhouses (Noelli 2025). From the sixteenth century onward, various botanical and zoological species brought from Europe, Africa, and Asia were introduced. The combination of these practices contributed to the biodiversity of useful plants in the Atlantic Forest and the Cerrado of the Southeast Region, which continue to be used by present-day communities: Quilombola, Caiçara, Nhandewa, Mbyá, and Tupi Guarani.

Women played a central role in preservation and innovation (Flores-Muñoz et al., 2024), articulating botanical and zoological knowledge with everyday practices and ensuring the transmission of knowledge across generations. At the same time, libraries, museums, and institutions safeguard documentary records and the material legacies left by women of the past, which are fundamental aspects of life in the forest.

Recognizing the genealogy and history of women's lineages is essential, and each individual biography functions as a methodological portal for mapping the constellations of practices and materialities circulating across time and space (Figure 9). Sinhana, Custódia, Lúcia, and Marina descend from lineages of Indigenous and Afro-descendant women whose histories connect with the Tupiniquim who, in the sixteenth century, appropriated and transformed "Common Portuguese Ware" in the colonial settlements of São Vicente—a practice that persists to this day in Apiaí and elsewhere (Noelli and Sallum 2019:703). These lineages extend beyond blood ties, expressing forms of persistence and the articulation of identities and materialities in the face of new social and political realities. In the present, and individually, the descendants of various alliances express diverse senses of belonging: Indigenous, Afro-descendant, Afro-Indigenous, or none of these.

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Declarations.

M. Sallum: Conceptualization, writing, and overall revision of the manuscript; participated in data collection and interviews; developed and coordinated the project.

F. S. Noelli: Conceptualization, writing, overall revision of the manuscript and maps; participated in data and genealogy collection, and map preparation.

W. A. D. Costa: Conceptualization, interviews, data collection, and writing of the genealogy section and aspects of the history of the Ribeira Valley.

M. Gomes R. C.: Contributed to aspects of the project conception and shared knowledge regarding ceramic practices and genealogy.

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Abbreviations

ACMSP = Archives of the Metropolitan Curia of São Paulo.
ADI = Archives of the Diocese of Itapeva.
ADRJ = Archives of the Diocese of Rio de Janeiro.
AESP = Public Archive of the State of São Paulo.
AHU = Overseas Historical Archive, Portugal.
ANTT = Torre do Tombo National Archive, Portugal.
RCPN = Civil Registry of Natural Persons

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