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**Title:** Archaeological investigations between Cayenne Island and the Maroni river: a cultural sequence of western coastal French Guiana from 5000 BP to present  
**Issue Date:** 2015-09-02
Chapter 11

The Historic Eva 2 site

A historic Amerindian occupation in the coastal savannah of Malmanoury

The historic Amerindian site of Eva 2, just as its Archaic predecessor (cf. Chapter 4), is located on the top of a white sand hill on the border of the Pleistocene savannah of Malmanoury. Only a small part of this hilltop (5100 m²) was excavated, revealing numerous features and artefacts belonging to an Amerindian village. Multiple postholes, various dump areas, and several graves were uncovered. The artefacts consist of handmade pottery and imported European ware (e.g. iron tools). Eight graves yielded large quantities of European glass beads. The majority hereof was produced after 1817 (van den Bel et al. 2006; cf. Annexe 1.1).

The data collected here allow us to draw a comparison not only with the historic sources, as introduced in Chapter 10, but also with modern Amerindian artefact collections housed in regional and European museums and tentatively with pre-Columbian ceramic assemblages. As we shall see, it is proposed, as least with regard to the coastal plains, to insert a historic archaeological complex between the modern Amerindian ceramic production and the pre-Columbian ceramic traditions, dubbed the “Malmanoury complex.”

11.1 Introduction

The present chapter will deal with the archaeological data in a similar way as in all preceding chapters. Here, prior to the the site’s general synthesis, we will also provide a local historic context of the region of Malmanoury, located between the Kourou and Sinnamary Rivers. The historic occupation of Eva 2 is situated on the same hilltop as the Archaic occupation (cf. Figs. 4.1 and 11.1). Nineteen mechanical survey trenches were dug around and on top of this hillock in order to delimit this site (Jérémie 2005). The mere presence of domesticated pineapples and other edible fruits confirmed recent human activities. During the mechanical survey, a black layer was detected in the topsoil of the hillock at a depth between 0 and 30 cm. It extended across the entire summit, probably representing the site’s habitation area. The mechanical survey of this dark layer yielded c.25 kg of ceramics and 10 kg of lithic material as well as several features, revealing possible spatial patterns, notably in Trench 19 and 26 (Jérémie 2005). One radiocarbon dating (KIA-26019, 3025 ± 20 BP), resulting from a charcoal sample taken from the black layer, suggested a possible ancient occupation. However, the imported

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319 A condensed version of the results of Level 1 at Eva 2 has been published in the Canadian journal Recherches amérindiennes au Québec (van den Bel et al. 2015). Recent archaeological surveys in 2014 and 2015 conducted in quarries for the Ariane 6 launchpath resulted in multiple archaeological sites similar to Eva 2, also yielding Historic and Archaic Age occupations.
colonial artefacts (e.g. glass fragments, iron tools, glass beads, clay pipes) contrasted with this early date. During the excavation of Eva 2 we found out that it was a stratified site: (a) a historic Amerindian occupation at surface level (Level 1) and, (b) at a deeper level (Level 2), a Late Archaic occupation.

As to the excavation, a grand total of nineteen pits or sectors (S) of varied dimensions were excavated mechanically. The archaeological material of the first archaeological level was hand-collected in rectangles measuring 2 x 3 m. Ceramic concentrations and iron tools were topographed by means of a theodolite. The borders of this occupation were not reached within the boundaries of the excavated area. However, we were able to distinguish various waste areas and house locations. Hence, the occupation was interpreted as an Amerindian habitation site. One must remember that the population of Eva 2 had dug into the much earlier Archaic layer by means of postholes and graves. They may have exhumed Archaic material which subsequently became mixed with the more recent artefacts.

11.2 The features

In total, 211 features were attributed to Level 1 or the historic site of which 106 remain unidentified or do not have an anthropogenic character. The anthropogenic features consist of postholes, iron objects, ceramic concentrations,
etc. (Table 11.1 and Fig. 11.2; cf. Annexes 8.1 and 2.9). On a deeper excavation level (Level 2) we encountered graves and large blocks (large postholes?) of which the former can most certainly be attributed to the historic occupation whereas the latter are presumably of Archaic origin (cf. Section 4.5.2).

The postholes

In total, 70 postholes were identified. They were filled with dark coloured sand probably representing the rotten (wooden) post. Now and again they contained bits of charcoal and ceramic fragments. Three postholes featured a voluntary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SM</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>N</th>
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<tr>
<td>1a</td>
<td>flat with straight profile</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1b</td>
<td>flat with convex profile</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>flat with concave profile</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>2a</td>
<td>convex</td>
<td>16</td>
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<tr>
<td>2b</td>
<td>convex and appendicular</td>
<td>23</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>dimpled</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>annular</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>unique</td>
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Table 11.1. The general feature count.
arrangement of potsherds in order to keep the post in a desired position. Diameters at excavation level varied between 10 and 45 cm with a mean value of 22 cm. The depths varied between 8 and 50 cm.

The small quantity of postholes (only 70 for 5100 m²) hampers the idea of a large village. However, the leaching of the sandy soil may have washed away any traces of (smaller) postholes and stakes. Nevertheless, in Pits 1, 2 and 6, we observed an alignment of postholes. This may represent either a wall or central axis of a wooden construction. Other possible constructions were not distinguished. The remainder must have been part of a construction as more or less evidenced by means of the distribution of the ceramic and iron artefacts (cf. Section 11.4.1). It has to be said that this site may have known several overlapping site plans throughout its life span measuring c.300 years.

The bone and bead concentrations

A number of artefact concentrations were found in the northeastern part of the excavated area: (a) several ceramic concentrations (with complete vessel profiles), notably in Pits 2, 8 and 14 and (b) two concentrations in Pit 1: a burned bone concentration (F 7) and a glass bead concentration (F 20). The calcinated bone fragments were found in a small heap measuring c.30 cm in diameter. Its sediment was dark brown, contrasting with the white sand matrix. The bone fragments were identified by Anne Rapp Py-Daniel (now at the Federal University of Western Pará) and Prof. Dr. Lévi Figuti (University of São Paulo) and attributed to a peccary or turtle. Once the bone was removed a posthole measuring c.40 cm deep was recorded next to the bone concentration. The other concentration in Pit 1 concerns a batch of glass beads (cf. Section 11.4.2). It may have been part of a cache in which at least two necklaces were deposited. The other abandoned objects (e.g. iron and stone objects, ceramic concentrations) will be discussed below.

The undetermined features and treefalls

The other excavated features were treefalls and features of which we were not able to characterise their nature, leaving them unidentified. However, they were most certainly part of the site, either during or after the Amerindian occupation, as the treefall F 39 in Pit 5 indicates which also contained a polished axe.

11.3 The burials

Other relevant features with regard to this site are the human graves. At least regarding French Guiana and perhaps the Neotropics in general, (human) bone has seldomly been found during archaeological excavations within a similar context. As mentioned, fragments of burned and unburned bone material were encountered in urn burials excavated on the Lower Oyapock and Maroni Rivers (Petitjean Roget 1983, 1995a; Cornette 1987; Coutet 2011, 2014b; Coutet et al. 2014). Conditions of bone preservation are often much better in the shell-packed ridges of coastal Suriname (Khudabux et al. 1991; Duijvenbode 2012).

At Eva 2 we came across eight burials positioned along the central axis of the summit (Fig. 11.2, Table 11.2, Annexe 8.2.1). In fact, we are able to “see” primary graves within an archaeological context for the first time in French Guiana. Their adverse preservation is probably linked to the less acidic white sand formation,
when compared to lateritic clays or Pleistocene ridges. More importantly, they are also quite recent, dating from the second half of the 19th century, as we shall see below. Thomas Romon (INRAP) carried out the anthropological research (in van den Bel et al. 2006:52–57).

### 11.3.1 The general description

The preservation of the bone material is unfavourable. The bones would have been better preserved if protected by an object (e.g. a ceramic vessel as with Burials 5 and 7). However, there is no solid explanation for the rather good preservation of the skull in Burial 1. The teeth are the best preserved parts of the skeleton. However, we often only retrieved the crown and not the root. In general, an individual is identified by means of a “phantom” or silhouette of the body, indicating the deceased’s final resting place. Burials 2 and 3 did not feature any bone material at all, only a body print in the sand. In nearly all cases they represent primary burials located in a more or less round to ovoid pit (N=6) or rectangular pit (N=1) serving as a tomb. The only exception is Burial 5: a secondary burial in a large, upright standing ceramic vessel placed vertically in a large pit and covered with another large ceramic vessel positioned upside down on top of the standing vessel.

The deposition of the body is a specific aspect of the mortuary practices recorded in the archaeological context. The primary burials were deposited with flexed legs, with the exception of Burial 6 in which the body lay in a stretched or extended position. The urn burial contains a single individual and is represented by means of the leg bones, i.e. femurs and tibias. If these bones belong to one and the same person is not known. These long bones were placed in a bundle against the vessel wall. Various teeth were found during the screening of the urn content and may well belong to this individual. The majority of the heads were orientated to the east. Burial 4 was orientated to the southeast and Burial 8 was orientated to the north.

The population at this site consists of adults. Dental use, if one accepts the fact that this may reflect a correlation with age, varies between “without usage” and “pronounced usage.” Burial 3, however, may have been an immature individual when observing general size. However, as mentioned above, this burial does not include any bone material at all in order to confirm this hypothesis. Due to the adverse preservation we were not able to determine the gender of each individual. Nor could we observe any pathology or other specific traits.
11.3.2 The inventory of the burials

Burial 1
The bone material preserved with regard to this burial concerns a skull and several axial skeleton fragments (cf. Fig. 1.3). The skull is relatively well-preserved. However, the temporal right and a part of the parietal right side were presumably destroyed during the mechanical decapage. The majority of the teeth were absent with the exception of two premolars. The root of one molar was not preserved. The wear of the teeth was rather pronounced. The rest of the skeleton is only represented by means of the humerus, both femurs and tibias.

This adult individual with undetermined gender rested on its back, the head orientated to the east. The legs are flexed at c. 45° and positioned to the left side. The arms are flexed with the right hand resting on the abdomen and the left hand on the thorax. The occipital/atlas and atlas/axis connections are weak. The movement of the body is limited to the body mass, i.e. sliding down in the pit, whereas the skull is still in primary position. This primary burial has a more or less round pit, measuring c. 1 m in diameter. It also contained a very small ceramic recipient and glass beads. An iron nail was found in the fill of the pit.

Burial 2
Not much tangible bone material had remained in this burial. Glass beads were present. The outline of the phantom did not allow us to determine the individual’s position.

Burial 3
Not much bone was left inside this burial. Glass beads were found. The outline of the phantom is similar to Burial 8, but was deposited in a much smaller pit, suggesting that this individual is immature. This individual probably rests to the right. The head is orientated to the east. The lower legs are flexed in front of the thorax.

Burial 4
The bone material found in this burial is represented by means of an occipital fragment, several rootless teeth and a heavily eroded, diaphysis femur fragment. The gender of this adult individual has been determined tentatively by Hayley Mickleburgh after dental analysis and estima an age of > 15 years (Annexe 8.2.2). He or she rests to the right side. The head is orientated to the southeast. The legs are flexed in front of the thorax. The arms are flexed, too, as are the hands positioned on the thorax. The teeth show a slight use-wear as well as a little tartar. This primary burial in an oval shaped pit measuring 110 x 80 cm does not contain any artefacts.

Burial 5
The bone material of this burial is represented by means of the diaphyses of the right femur, a fragment of the left femur diaphysis and a diaphysis of the right tibia. The two molars and one canine tooth include roots. The diaphyses of the two femurs are paired. The right tibia may belong to the same individual.
This is a secondary burial: the bone material was found in a bundle planked against the wall of a large, ceramic recipient together with more than 8000 glass beads, an iron axe, and fragments of a single imported grey-ware Rhenisch vessel (Fig. 11.3). The bundle was found in the west quadrant about halfway the vessel in an “unstable” position, suggesting that perishable material was present in this funerary vessel probably holding the long bones in place when they were deposited. Through time, the (perishable) material has deteriorated and the vessel filled up with sand. Another ceramic vessel served as a lid. Once it collapsed, the fragments slid into the standing vessel, hereby protecting the bones.

Several teeth were found in the fill of the vessel which may also have contained a skull and/or mandible which have not been preserved. Remarkably, while screening the sediment, sample bag IV presented us with a large quantity of calcined bone of which we were not able to determine any origin together with numerous glass beads (cf. Section 11.4.2.1).

Burial 6

The bone material of this feature is represented by means of a right parietal fragment, molars and premolars without roots, a proximal end of a femur fragment as well as coxal fragments. The adult individual with undetermined gender rests flat on his or her back. The head is orientated to the east. The extended legs and arms are in a stretched position. The teeth show heavy wear and a little tartar.
This primary burial in a trapezoidal pit was encountered in an E-W position. It measures 185 x 60 cm in the east (head) and 85 cm in width in the west (feet). More than 25,000 glass beads were counted and found in high concentrations at the ankles as well as the wrists, having perhaps served as adornments. Interestingly, Figure 11.5 portrays a rectangular pit revealing a remarkable similarity with Burial 6, suggesting the burial of a piai. Crevaux's description states:

J'apprends que Macouipy, en sa qualité de piai, c'est-à-dire de médecin, n'a pas été brûlé comme le reste des mortels. Conduit sur le lieu de la sépulture, je vois une petite butte au milieu de laquelle se trouve un large trou ayant deux mètres de profondeur ; au fond j'aperçois mon ancien hôte couché dans un hamac où il semble dormir. Le corps desséché, dur comme un parchemin, est complètement peint en rouge. La tête est parée de plumes aux couleurs les plus éclatantes, le front est ceint d'une couronne faite avec des écailles de caïman ; c'est l'emblème de la souveraineté. Au cou il porte une petite flûte en os et plusieurs sachets qui renferment des couleurs; c'est le signe que Macouipy avait un talent particulier pour la peinture. Je vois près de lui un grand vase, mais il est vide, les Roucouyennes ne donnent pas à manger à leurs morts. D'ailleurs le cadavre a sous la main un arc, des flèches et une massue qui pourront lui servir au besoin pour se défendre contre ses ennemis et pourvoir à sa nourriture. (Crevaux 1883:238)

Burial 7

The bone material is represented by means of the distal end of the left femur, diaphyseal fragments of both femur and tibia, fragments of meta-tars and tars as well as several rootless teeth. We were not able to determine the gender of this adult who rests on the back. The head points to the east. The legs are flexed perpendicularly to the thorax axis. The knees are positioned to the right. The arms are in an extended...
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position and the right hand is placed in front of the pubis. The left arm is slightly flexed. Its hand rests on the abdomen. The teeth display a slight use-wear and dental analysis suggest an age over 12 years (Annexe 8.2.2).

This primary burial in an oval shaped pit measures 100 x 65 cm. Two small ceramic bowls, placed upside down, were found inside the tomb: one at the knees and the other at the ankles (EC 219, Fig. 11.12). Glass beads were encountered at the pelvis. Burial 8 dissects this grave. Both certainly form a pair (Fig. 11.4).

Burial 8

The bone material of this burial is only represented by means of several rootless teeth displaying common wear. This adult of undetermined gender rests to the right side and the head is orientated to the north. The legs are flexed in front of the thorax. This primary burial found in an oval shaped pit measures 48 x 72 cm. Numerous glass beads are associated with this burial. Age was tentatively determined between 4 and 9 years (Annexe 8.2.2).

11.3.3 Conclusions

Six out of eight burials share similar inhumation: a primary grave in a more or less round pit with flexed legs, to wit Burials 1-4 and 7-8. In several cases these burials are associated with small ceramic vessels and glass beads found at specific body parts (e.g. hip, wrists, ankles). Only two graves differ: Burials 5 and 6 located at c.1.5 m from each another are forming probably a pair. The former concerns a secondary burial in a large ceramic vessel or urn whereas the latter is a primary burial in a stretched position, suggesting the interred have a dissimilar social or religious status.
The urn burial also contains an iron axe, numerous glass beads and an imported grey-ware Beardman jurg, dating from the mid-17th century (cf. Section 11.4.3). The fact that this artefact is much earlier than the glass beads (predominantly the first quarter of the 19th century) may suggest the deposition of a heirloom (van den Bel 2011c). It is presumed that the above German stoneware jug was deposited in the grave of the village leader and/or during ceremonies or the abandonment of the village, but not necessarily at the moment of death. In order to test this hypothesis, the bones and this ceramic vessel should be dated. However, (AMS) radiocarbon dating would fall short as the presumed age probably lies within the range of modern radiocarbon range, i.e. from AD 1600 on. This is considered to no longer be in a natural equilibrium (Bowman 1990:14).

The stretched position and orientation of Burial 6 does indeed remind of Roman Catholic colonial graves. However, the deceased is adorned with glass beads according to Amerindian tradition, suggesting the adult is an Amerindian, perhaps of a certain rank (e.g. a piai) (cf. Fig. 11.5). This similarity may be accidental, but further taphonomic data are lacking with regard to the latter idea. We may distinguish three pairs of burials here: (a) Burials 2-3, (b) Burials 5-6 and (c) Burials 7-8. This pattern is believed to represent a voluntary act, perhaps evoking social memory of the deceased, i.e. kinship and/or slaves.

11.4 The imported artefacts

Considering all the artefacts found at this site, we will commence with the presentation of the European goods as they reflect the evident dissimilarity between pre and post-Columbian cultures from an archaeological point of view. Albeit not very abundant (with the exception of the glass beads) on site, these artefacts mark the cultural and economic transformation of Amerindian society during this era. Christian Vallet analysed these objects (in van den Bel et al. 2006:107–121).

11.4.1 The metal ware

Only 18 metal elements (M 01-18) were discovered at Eva 2 (Table 11.3). They consisted of iron tools, one copper element and one object made of lead. They were oxidized, with sandy crusts, but in a good condition nonetheless. Remarkably, only a small number of objects were still intact. Moreover, the majority consisted of metal tools almost all of which were heavily used and often related to wood working.

The hardware

The short nails here served to fit tool handles. The longer ones were utilised in carpentry. The pins were either square or rectangular shaped whereas the head was flat. Two flat iron elements show no evidence of wear. Their origin and function remain unclear. This also goes for a flattened iron tube (a tool handle?).

A round, slightly bombed brass button was found in the upper fill of the stretched Burial 6. The U-shape attachment point was welded to the button. This type of button has been utilised from the 15th century on. It was produced in 15th century on.
England where, towards the end of the 17th century, cloth buttons were forbidden. Thus metal buttons became more common (Whittemore 1993:9).

The Burial 5 yielded a small brass bell, M 11 (Fig. 11.6g). This object was crafted by means of welding two spheric halves together applying melted tin. A point of attachment is visible at the exterior of the bell’s upper part. Its interior holds an iron pin which is curved at the end and served as a clapper. It also features a rectangular cut and is finished at both ends with a rounded part. The above-described type of bell is known from North American colonial sites from AD 1800 on. In c.1860, they were replaced by bells of which the two halves were set. In c.1880, bells were cast in one piece (Hanson 1947:81).

Another interesting object is a small, handmade cross of lead, i.e. M 012 (Fig. 11.6h). It was created by cutting out a cross from a thin leaf of lead. The clearly visible cutting traces present a rather naïve appearance. A small hole is cut into this piece to provide suspension (necklace?). Both sides show “loose” or unorganised incisions which may or may not be voluntary.

The iron tools

The following iron tools (e.g. hooks or bills, knives, axes), are associated with wood cutting. They were predominantly found in Pit 15 (cf. Fig. 11.2). The first hook (M 03) has a bolster and curved blade ending in a small hook in the shape of a bird’s beak (Fig. 11.6a). A small bump marks the base of the cutting edge in order to protect the hand. The bolster is flat and has a triangular shape allowing it to forcefully be attached to a short handle. This tool either served to carve wood (Seymour 1985:53; MFAC, p. 427) or to cut sugar cane (Diderot 1762-1772: Economie rustique, Sucrerie, Plate 1, Fig. 3). A similar tool was found at the late 17th century plantation site of Poncel on Cayenne Island (Mestre 2005:19, Plate 9).

Another type of tool is the pruning hook (M 04a) represented by means of a large part of a rounded socket as well as the base of a blade. The socket is created by way of folding both sides together. The back of the blade is slightly curved. Its triangular section serves as a cutting edge. An iron pin was found next to this object and was probably part of the handle. This tool is also known as fauchard (Fr.): a pole weapon or polearm. Its blade often has a crescent shape, i.e. a hook with a socket and a very long handle in order to cut branches in high trees (Seymour 1985:53). A second pruner hook (M 05) included a small socket and a blade fragment.

A complete iron axe (M 06) was found next to the urn Burial 5, probably in the pit’s fill (Fig. 11.6b). This axe has a triangular shaped blade with a horizontal end. The cutting edge flares downwards and is double-bevelled. The circular head

with round neck has a round eye, or socket, providing a rectilinear shank. On the right side of the blade a blacksmith’s trademark is visible depicting a “crown.” This object was deposited intact (hardly used?) and probably represents a funerary gift.
for the deceased. This tool is interesting as it is crafted from one piece bent over a mandril. Because of this specific manufacturing technique, it can be assigned to 17th century production modes (Baldwin 1995:34–35; Hothem 2002:81–110; Boucard 1998; Hanson 1947:55).

Another iron axe (M 07) is complete, but heavily damaged and has a triangular blade with a flat back (Fig. 11.6d). The cutting edge flares down with double bevels. It has a triangular head with a flat neck and upward shanking eye. On the right side of the blade, a trademark is stamped: “MB.” This may refer to a Cayenne-based blacksmith known as ‘Borda dit Malouin’ in 1737 (Polderman 2004:469). The heel is modified towards the right. A fissure in the metal strap is presumably due to violent hammering of its heel. Interestingly, this object shows two different traces of use-wear at both opposite points at the edge of the blade. This sort of modification can be explained as follows. Once the axe is forced into a piece of wood and has become firmly lodged, one would probably use another heavy iron tool in order to remove the axe with force. Furthermore, one would also have to strike the socket in order to drive the axe into the wood before splitting it. A similar repetitive action will flatten the socket and eventually deform it entirely. This axe is again a characteristic product of the 17th century, considering its manufacturing mode. A similar tool was found at Poncel (Mestre 2005:20, Plate 8). And another example was found at Petit-Saut, which was also associated with artefacts dating from the 19th century. However, the latter axe has a triangular socket and a trapezoidal blade (Nowacki-Breczewski and Puaux 1991-92, Plate 7).

The final iron axe served as a wedge, or maul, in order to split wood (Fig. 11.6c). The blade has a rectilinear back and an everting cutting edge. The socket is completely destroyed and compacted due to relentless hammering with a heavy (iron) tool. This type of tool was also found at the Poncel habitation site (Mestre 2005:20, Plate 5).

The knives

Three knives were found at this site: two during the mechanical survey and one during the excavation. The first knife (M 08) has a slightly curved back and ends in a rounded point (Fig. 11.6e). The bolster is incomplete, but still has the riveting pin of the original (wooden?) handle. Another nail was found next to this blade. This type of knife with a rounded tip is often identified as a bread knife (Nouret 1992:91).

A second blade (M 09) consists of various rusty elements. It has a large blade with a rectilinear back and a rounded tip (Fig. 11.6f). The basal part, close to the handle, is lacking. The third knife (M 10) is also fractured and has a rusty blade. The distal end is absent. Its back is rectilinear. The incomplete bolster still features a riveting hole. The heel marks the junction between the blade and bolster.

Conclusion

The knives, axes and hooks represent objects traded with the Amerindians and shipped in large quantities to the Guianas (Polderman 2004:188–209; Hulsman 2009:335–339 for Dutch freight listings of the 17th century). Since the beginning of the 17th century, the Europeans traded iron tools, as Jean Mocquet stated when he arrived at the Oyapock River in April 1604: ‘Nous arrivâmes donc là le lundi au soir, puis le mardi au matin 10 d’avril, voulant savoir ce que nous pourrions profiter en cette terre, nous descendimes pour troquer serpes, haches, couteaux,
patinôtres [perles] de verre de diverses couleurs, et autres choses semblables’ (Mocquet 1617:80). In 1674, during the voyage of Jesuit Fathers Grillet and Bechamel into the interior of French Guiana via the Approuague River, metal tools were often presented as gifts to local captains (Grillet and Bechamel 1716:233, 249) as recorded in Father de la Mousse’s journals too (Collomb 2006). Knives are equally in demand with the Amerindiens. In 1750, for example, the inhabitants of Cayenne ordered 100 grosses of knives with bone handles riveted with five nails (Polderman 2004:461). In fact, they ordered as many as 14,400 knives (one grosse equals 12 dozen). Such large quantities were not for personal use only, but for exchange too. Another example: in 1723, the colony of Cayenne received a ship containing (amongst others) iron objects, to wit 200 axes, 200 (bill) hooks and 200 hoes (Polderman 2004:72).

The cross, perhaps manufactured locally, may have been part of a rosary and served as a gift from the Jesuits to the new Christians or perhaps in order to convert a captain. Brass bells and other metal trinkets were exchanged in large quantities. They may have played a role during the Amerindian ceremonies, when attached to their ankles or their garments. Father Jean de la Mousse provided the following description of the Galibi women:

Les femmes outre les grands tabliers de rassades ou de petite okayes qui vont jusqu’aux genoux, ont la nuque du col rehausé d’un demi pied par le grand nombre de tours de rassade et de petite okaye qui pendent sur la poitrine. Elles ont outre cela de grosses touffes de dés dont cousent les femmes, percés par le bout comme de petites clochettes sans battants; les cordes qui les suspendent sont d’un pied et demi de long et cachés sous des grains de petit cristal. Ces sonnettes jouant sur les épaules dans le mouvement de la danse, et leur tablier garnis de verre, font un bruit assez agréable. (Collomb 2006:193)

11.4.2 The glass beads

The Eva 2 site, and notably the burials, yielded a large quantity of glass beads (c.45,593 items) as well a small number of shell beads. The majority was found during the screening of the burial sediment. The Europeans utilised glass beads and iron tools as a means of exchange with the Amerindians during the entire colonial period. They were placed in numerous Late Aristé and Maracá urns (Goeldi 1900; Guapindaia 2001). As to iron tools, the Amerindians demanded not any kind but specifically coloured beads. For instance, the Arawak of the Berbice River preferred green and yellow examples (van Berkel 1695:20) whereas the Caribs of Cayenne demanded blue and white ones. Glass beads are an excellent means of obtaining absolute dates. Therefore a short introduction of its manufacturing history is presented here (after van der Sleen 1973; Kidd 1979; Deagan 1987:156-183; Dubin 1987).

Initially, beads were manufactured one by one. The craftsman would stretch a glass wire which he wired on an axis and cut on one side in order to produce “wired glass beads.” Later, beads were also produced by means of a hollow glass

322 Lettre de Férolles au Ministre, 30 juin 1694, Mémoire pour faire la guerre dans la rivière des Amazones (FR_NA_C14-1-3, f. 20) : ‘Pour les Indiens des rassades bleues et blanches, des couteaux de praisse [?] à manche blanc cloué, de la baouache [?] claire et brune. Des serpes à manches creuses de fer des haches à grosses têtes, des rasoirs et ciseaux de fer. Vingt vêtements de moyenne étoffe rouge pour les capitanes Indiens.’
cane, drawn to a desired diameter which was then cut into pieces in order to create beads. The latter examples are known as "drawn beads," or seed beads (Fr., *conterie*). Towards the end of the 17th century, the European bead market was controlled thanks to the production of Venice and Amsterdam. In 1817, Venetian craftsmen were finally able to produce not only perfectly round beads but also microbeads measuring less than 1 mm. It is only after AD 1840 that standardised fabrication techniques enabled the production of large quantities of 2 mm beads identical in size, shape and colour. This allows us to date the majority of the glass beads encountered at Eva 2. Other glass material is rare. We came across three glass fragments of which one black example may originate from an onion shaped glass bottle.

Table 11.4. The general glass bead count per burial. The diaphaneity of beads is described by means of the terms opaque, transluscent, and transparent. Opaque beads are impenetrable to light except on the thinnest edges. Transluscent specimens transmit, yet diffuse light so that objects viewed through them are indistinct. Items viewed through transparent beads are clearly visible (Karklins 1974:68).
11.4.2.1 The burials

Burial 1
This burial yielded 3009 beads. They were divided into five batches (Table 11.4). All their shapes are regular and manufactured correctly. The powdered blue beads were crafted according to the secret recipes of Établissements Salvadori in France and date from after AD 1850 (Fig. 11.7).

Burial 2
This burial contained a great variety of beads totalling 1017. Many were acquired during the decapage. The yellow beads were heavily damaged and together with the 5 mm ivory coloured beads most certainly constitute a single necklace. However, it was impossible to establish the use of the other beads or their possible colour combinations.

Burial 3
This burial contained 2315 glass beads. They were characterised by means of apple-green and emerald coloured beads as well as several yellow examples. The sole red bead with a bottle-green core measuring 4 mm is noteworthy. This specific colour is called “Aleppo cornelian red.” This type of bead was largely disseminated in North America since the late 17th century (Deagan 1987:168–169).

Burial 5
This urn burial yielded 8173 glass beads with two colours only: dark blue translucent (N=5419) and white opaque (N=2754) (Fig. 11.8). Their dimensions and diameters are regular. They were found during the screening of the urn.
sediment. The filling up of the urn, once the site was abandoned, had most certainly altered the original position of possible bead ornaments inside the urn. That explains why we found beads everywhere in the fill. The decomposition of other goods may have played an important role here, too, as pointed out above as to this specific burial (cf. Section 11.3.2).

Burial 6

This burial is of special interest as the stretched position may reveal information on the type of adornment the inhumated individual was wearing. However, one must remember that Burial 6 is the only one in this position and may have a unique status. This burial contained 25,342 glass beads of which the majority (N=18,030) was found in the pit fill during screening.

The pelvis yielded a number of interesting beads: one Aleppo cornelian red bead measuring 4 mm and two tube shaped emerald green beads (1 x 1.5 cm) measuring 4.5 mm in diameter. The cluster of discoidal beads, measuring c.4 mm, was possibly made of shell (Fig. 11.9).

This type of shell bead is commonly known as *quiripá* in Venezuela. It served as currency and prestigious objects among the historic Orinocan tribes (Morey 1975:113–124; Gassón 2000). Similar shell beads were found in an urn at Awala-Yalílimapo (Coutet 2011, 2014b; Coutet et al. 2014:28–30).

This individual apparently did not wear a necklace, but did adorn the forearms (near the elbow?). This person also carried a belt or a brodered *camisa*, or loincloth. Around the wrists, placed beside the pelvis, bracelets consisting of blue and white beads, were presumably worn. However, the position of the string of shell beads is uncertain, either around the waist (belt) or the wrists. These adornments are depicted in numerous 19th century drawings, engravings and

323 Father de la Mousse observed these shell bead strings among the Galibi who referred to them as *okays* (Collomb 2006:153). The Arawak of Berbice called them *orewebbe* (van Berkel 1695: 20).

324 Another example of shell (trade) objects in pre-Columbian times are the Venezuelan (decorated and undecorated) fresh mussel shells (*Unionoida*) which have been encountered in the Lesser Antilles during the entire Ceramic Age (Serrand and Cummings 2014).
photographs as well as in 20th century ethnographic monographs and other early anthropologic research.

Burial 8

This burial contained 574 beads positioned around the head of the individual, suggesting the presence of a small necklace consisting of maize-yellow coloured, small drawn beads dating from after 1817. Only 68 beads were found near the legs.

11.4.2.2 The other beads

Pit 1, F 20

This feature represents a concentration of various types of glass beads as well as a faceted pendant (N=2046). We distinguished several batches (Table 11.5). It has to be noted that the white beads were found together with the pendant. As much as 50% of the beads of Batch B were burnt. The translucent example with white veins (Batch G) is better known as a “gooseberry bead” (Fr., groseille à maquereau) and was produced in Venice between 1600 and 1800 (Dubin 1987:337). From its foundation in 1621 on, these beads had served the Dutch West Indian Company as a means of exchange (van der Sleen 1973). This type of bead was also found at the Poncel plantation (Mestre 2005:15, Photo 19).

Another remarkable bead is the translucent bi-tronconical bead (Batch H). Its surface has been grinded down in alternating, triangular facettes. These beads were produced between 1865 and 1875 in large quantities in view of the fabrication of chandeliers. The translucent pendant, associated with Batch A, is diamond shaped. It bears a perforation at its tip and resembles a chandelier’s crystal. Interestingly, this feature contains irregular (white) beads dating back to the start of the 18th century as well as more recent regularly shaped, blue coloured.
beads and faceted crystals dating from c.1865. Apparently the entire group spans at least two centuries. The earlier beads may have been exchanged with other ethnic groups or represent family heirlooms.

Pits 11 and 12

During the excavation of Pit 11 we came across a translucent, pinkish bead measuring 9 mm in diameter and 10 mm long. The hole’s orifice is square, then cylinder shaped and measures 3 mm. Its irregularly polished facets suggest it might be a biconical paternoster bead (Jargstorf 1995:48). A group of five similar beads was collected in Alaska and dated c.1800 (Hothem 2003:21).

All squares of Pit 12 (Level 2) were screened (cf. Section 4.2): (a) Square A3 yielded an oval bead measuring 6 x 4 mm in diameter consisting of white opaque glass and probably part of Burial 2, (b) Square B2 yielded another gooseberry bead. It measures 7 mm in diameter and 5 mm in length (F 20, Pit 1) and (c) Square E1 contained a dark blue translucent bead with a diameter measuring 3 mm. The presence of these beads at Level 2 in Pit 12 is believed to be the outcome of post-depositional processes.

Conclusion

Produced in large quantities in Europe, glass beads were probably the ultimate exchange objects with the Amerindians. In 1750, for instance, the inhabitants of Cayenne ordered 1000 rassades (Fr.) of beads, to wit 300 yellow, 200 green, 300 white and 200 black beads (Polderman 2004:461). Many historical documents and shipping listings can be cited here, but the latter shipment illustrates the colours found at Eva 2. Beads served the Amerindians to produce necklaces, armbands, bracelets, belts, loincloths, Father Raymond Breton reports on the Island Caribs:

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Batch</th>
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<th>Size</th>
<th>N</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>translucent</td>
<td>5 - 11 mm</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>white opaque</td>
<td>various</td>
<td>489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>white matt</td>
<td>3 mm</td>
<td>607</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>bleu lapis</td>
<td>3 mm</td>
<td>844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>yellow</td>
<td>3 mm</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>powdered bleu</td>
<td>1 mm</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>translucent with white veins</td>
<td>7 mm</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>faceted cristal bead</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>faceted cristal pendant</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11.5. The glass beads found in F 20.

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325 Glass beads (Fr., rassade) are referred to as kasuru in Kali’na, but is a Portuguese loanword casulo (Collomb and Renault-Lescure 2014:104). Father Biet (1664/427) noted that the Amerindian women were fond of these glass beads: ‘Rassade. Les Indiennes aiment grandement la Rassade, aädi Indiana ciponim éwardem casoure.’ According to Hulsman (2009:141, note 182), the Dutch sold glass beads in a bundle, tied into a small whip, called “kwispelgrein” in Dutch. See also Hulsman (2011a:189).
Further research on the value of these glass beads in French Guiana is necessary in order to reveal, for example, how many beads were given in exchange for one hammock, specific quantities of tobacco and annatto, or victuals. Nevertheless, the varying quantities of beads per burial, the possible type of adornments and the type of burial suggest the existence of social stratification and/or gender as to this burial assemblage.

11.4.3 The stone ware

Wheel-thrown ceramics are rare at the site. Only five fragments from four or five vessels, mainly stoneware, were found as were a small number of pipe fragments.

Pit 5

Square A 1: this rim fragment of a platter has a salmon-coloured paste and an orange-coloured glaze on the inside of the rim and its lip. This type can be assigned to the Albisola production centre in Liguria, Italy.

Pit 14

Square B 9 yielded a stoneware foot. Its paste is greyish white and covered in a light brown glaze with darker spots. This slightly flaring foot resembles the specimen found in Burial 5.

Pit 16

This pit yielded various stoneware sherds belonging to a single glazed stoneware jug of which most fragments were found in and around Burial 5 (Fig. 11.10). Its base and neck were found inside the urn. Its greyish white paste is covered in a reddish brown mottled glaze. On its neck, a barbed face was modelled. The shoulder displayed three roses in a pastillage of which one was stamped just under the barb. The other two were stamped slightly lower and spaced. The handle was attached under the rim and on the shoulder. Here it was fixed to the vessel where three finger indentations are visible. The rim included pronounced, parallel grooves which probably served to hold the stopping system. The base features consecutive grooves.

This type of vessel can easily be recognised as a Beardman jug (G., Bartmannkrüge) produced in the Lower Rhine area in northwestern Europe. Although this stoneware was manufactured in Cologne and Frechen from the 15th century on (Cushion et al. 1987:137, 207), the pointed nose of the face as well as the size of the beard suggests a date of c.1640 (van Hees et al. 2002). Interestingly, Square G3 yielded a small greyware fragment that fits perfectly with the other fragments found in Burial 5. It was discovered at a distance of c.25 meters from the burial! Furthermore, the refitting of this vessel indicated it was incomplete. It may have played a role in funerary practices (e.g. breaking or killing of personal belongings) and in the end only partly protected in the urn.
Square E 15 yielded a similar stoneware fragment which did not fit the German jug. Square A 2 yielded a stoneware foot belonging to a “pharmacy” vessel. Its base measured 9 cm in diameter, its paste had a white blueish colour and its shape was slightly appendicular.

The clay pipes

Two fragments of a pipe were excavated of which one presented the heel of the furnace. The hole of the stem was slightly off centre. Its diameter measured less than 2 mm, classifying this specimen to the 18th century (Villié 1987:38–40).

11.4.4 Conclusion

Considering all the imported ware (metal, glass, ceramics) we observe a chronology ranging from the mid-17th to the late 19th century. On the one hand, as to the metal tools (hooks, axes, knives) and ceramics as well as a part of the glass beads, these artefacts can be attributed to the second half of the 17th century and the early 18th century. On the other hand, the majority of the glass beads—often found in the burials—can be attributed to the period after 1817 or even to 1840, suggesting that the burials are much later. Burial 5 did indeed contain artefacts dating from both the early and late historic period, suggesting that the Beardman and possibly certain beads had served as heirlooms or objects of exchange from the 17th century on. Based on these data, one can hypothesize that the site was occupied during the 17th and 18th century and had been utilised as a burial ground in the 19th century.
If the village had been abandoned when the deceased were buried, or if the village remained occupied after the dead had been buried, is unclear. Both scenarios are tenable, knowing that abandoned villages are known to serve as burial grounds by succeeding populations, perhaps to honour their ancestors. Strikingly no burials were found dating from the 17th or 18th century. However, these may be either absent (leaching?) or present at other as yet (unexcavated) parts of the site.

11.5 The lithic material

The arrival of Europeans and the introduction of metal tools have certainly had significant effect on the usage of stone within Amerindian society. However, stone implements remained a true part of every day life as reflected by means of the remarkable presence of lithic material (N=84) within Level 1 of the site. It should, however, also be noted that compared to the 12,000 lithic fragments from the Archaic level, stone material has turned into a rare artefact category (Table 11.6). Furthermore it has to be realized that certain Archaic Age lithic artefacts may have become intermingled with the first level when the historic population was digging their postholes and burials through the buried earlier occupation Level 2.

This assemblage has been analysed by Sandrine Delpech (in van den Bel et al. 2006:92–106). It includes twenty flakes of which 16 were made of quartz, two of flint, one of granite and one from amphibolite (Fig. 11.11a). Fourteen specimens measure less than 1 cm, four between 4 and 10 cm, and one flake measures 11 cm in length. Only four artefacts show use-wear and three flakes have been exposed to heat.

Three quartz flake cores with various morphologies have been found as well. They all have just one striking platform. Five anvils can be added. They are represented by means of large unidentified blocks, measuring between 6 and 14 cm in length, with traces of hammering on one or two sides.

One of the flint flakes is a gunflint made of blond flint from Berry, a village situated to the north of Limoges in the French Departments of Cher et l’Indre. These flintlocks have been produced here since the 18th century (Schleicher 1927; Emy 1978:54–66).

The most important tool category, however, are hammerstones, represented by means of 33 specimens. These include 30 specimens made of quartz, with the exception of two pebbles. All feature use-wear traces. Among them, we also identified seven polishing stones made of small pebbles, measuring between 2.5 and 6.5 cm in diameter, with both sides flattenend by repetitive rubbing or polishing. Other tools include: (a) a pestle measuring 16 cm in length and 4.5 cm in width, with abrasive traces on one side, (b) a grinding stone, or quern, fragment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Quartz</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>6</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hammerstones</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cores</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anvils</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unidentified</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11.6. The general lithic count.
measuring 13.5 by 10 cm, with one concave side as well as hammering traces on the other, (c) a grooved grinding stone made of unidentified rock measuring 7.5 x 6 cm, featuring one abrasive groove in the middle of one of the sides (Fig. 11.11b) and (d) six fragments with traces of abrasion.

In addition to glass beads and stoneware, Burial 5 provided more interesting elements. The presence of a large quantity of stone fragments measuring less than 1 cm and made of an unidentified rock variety. This material has been found during the screening of the fill from Burial 5 (Fig. 11.11c). We were not able to distinguish if these fragments were intentionally broken or if they represent small natural rock fragments. Their angular morphology suggests the former option. This may imply that these small stones represent the contents of a (shamans) rattle, or maraca (A.), which may have been presented to the deceased interred in Burial 5 or the lithic remnants of a grater board (Fig. 11.11d).

The spatial distribution of the lithics indicates that the majority of the material was recovered from the central part of the excavation, similar to the location of the iron tools, burials and postholes. In conclusion, the absence of specific stone tools, notably stone axes, is remarkable and may indeed reflect changes, Amerindian society witnessed due to introduction of European metal tools.
11.6 The Amerindian ceramics

11.6.1 Introduction

The ceramic inventory of Eva 2 comprises c.6141 fragments, weighing over 206 kg (Table 11.7; Annexe 8.6). The entire collection consists of pottery retrieved at Levels 1 and 2 of the excavation –the 19th century graves were found at excavation Level 2, just below the Archaic layer, and thus intrusive– as well as the material found during the survey (Jérémie 2005), collected per trench, which was never studied. The ceramic material of the excavation was not only acquired by means of handpicking in 2 x 3 m rectangles, but also from features. The latter yielded very little material, but represented nearly 50% of the total weight of the ceramic assemblage, i.e. Burial 5 and F 8 in Pit 8.

The ceramic analysis presented here is based on 366 constituent elements (EC), comprising 284 rims, 73 bases, nine griddles and seven complete vessel shapes. On the one hand, the disparity between decorated and plain ware is low: only 5.3% of the total ceramic assemblage is decorated. On the other hand, the disparity of the rim-category is remarkably higher as to both the entire ceramic assemblage as well as the EC register, to wit 20%. However, this is rather low when compared to the LCA site of CPP (cf. Section 9.5.1).

The only manufacturing technique observed at this site is the coiling technique albeit that four possible wheel-thrown ceramics may have been recognized, i.e. EC 147-148, 168, 307. In general, paste, finishing techniques and firing modes were identified with the naked eye whereas four fragments were analysed in order to determine the paste’s mineral composition. Four general temper modes were distinguished after checking all ECs (Table 11.8). The mixed temper is the most important temper mode (Nos. 31 and 32) of which the latter ash variety dominates the EC register. The difference between mixed and grog temper was on occasion difficult to discern as the potsherds tempered with pounded potsherd or grog also contained low quantities of charcoal, ash or quartz. However, whenever grog was dominant, often breaking the potsherd multiple times, we opted for a grog classification (No. 41). Thus, mixed temper may also contain low quantities of grog, hereby suggesting that mixed temper sensu latissimo occurred very frequently. Further microscopic analysis is needed in order to determine the precise quantities of the various temper agents in the sherds (see microscopic analysis in Section 8.5.2).

The application of burned, siliceous tree bark particles as a temper, known as kwepi or caraipé, provides a paste with an alveolic structure, characterizing the appearance of this assemblage. Today, kwepi is the most frequent temper among the coastal Amerindians of the Guianas, notably among the Palikur and Kali’na (Ahlbrinck 1931:343; Delawarde 1967:342; Boomert 1986:117–118; Cornette 1988a, 1992:46; Rostain 1995:99–101; van den Bel 1995:76–78; van den Bel et

326 For the excavation report, Matthieu Hildebrand carried out the ceramic study (in van den Bel et al. 2006:57–76). However, the present author conducted another (second) study of the same material in June 2013. It is presented here and contains several differences, notably concerning the presence of potsherd temper.

327 Boomert (1985:118) has pointed out that the term caraipé, often erroneously spelled caraipé, is derived from the name of the Amerindian village in which the naturalist Richard Spruce (1817-1893) witnessed the use of caraipé as a temper during the late 19th century, according to Linné (1925:38–47). In Cariban, this temper is called kwepi and in Arawakan kauta (Boomert 1985:117, 1993:20).
The omnipresence of kwepi as a temper at Eva 2 is highly remarkable when compared with the LCA sites presented in the previous chapters, with the exception of Phase 3 of CSL and LPB, probably evoking a specific economic and/or political development during the (late) LCA and protohistoric times.

The sand-tempered ceramics are most often characterised by means of the presence of powdered mica which may have been pounded (together with the quartz particles?) and added to the paste. Mica is rarely found in the mixed pastes and may represent a different clay source or even a different production area (trade ware?). Interestingly, mica is also an important agent in the ceramic pastes of the Crique Sparouine site, situated in the hinterland of the Maroni River.

The mineral analysis of two sherds, i.e. 05-38-03-A (Pit 2, Square E), and 05-38-03-E (Pit 19, Square B 8), present us with an abundance of sand as a temper whereas the former contains higher levels of calcite, corresponding to the addition of crushed shell or (burnt) bone. The latter particles were observed in six ECs, possibly revealing another production area or day source, despite the fact that the concerned vessel shapes adhere to the general repertoire.

The macroscopic analysis of the firing modes was observed with all ECs and determined by means of making a fresh fracture, resulting in four principal colours: (a) red all over, (b) orange to brown all over, (c) dark grey core with lighter coloured walls and (d) dark colour all over. The firing modes (c) and (d) correspond to a reducing environment (51%), mode (b) to an oxidising environment (22%) whereas (a) corresponds to a combination of both firing techniques (27%).

The reducing firing technique in combination with a mixed and grog temper represents the most frequent ceramic ware at this site (45%) whereas sandy pastes are hardly fired in a reducing environment, but rather in an oxidising one.

The state of conservation of the ceramic material is mediocre and even worse as to the kwepi tempered ware, which is on occasion very crumbly. Any surface finishing and possible painting (if present) is difficult to identify. The mean weight of the ceramic material is 24 gr per shard (total weight vs. total sherds). This is slightly lower than, for example, the site of CPP.

328 This reducing firing corresponds to nos. 9 and 10 after Rye (1981:116, Fig. 104).
11.6.2 The constituent elements

The rims

The rim collection, with exception of the griddles, is represented by means of 290 elements enabling us to distinguish 24 morphological categories regrouped in ten modal series (SM). They are determined according to: (a) inclination, (b) morphology, (c) lip variation and (d) the presence of a collar and/or keel per element (Table 11.9). The most important series are SM I (33%) and SM III (15%) followed directly by SM IV (13%) and SM VII together with SM VIII, both accounting for 11% of the constituent total. The series SM VI (8%), SM V (5%), and SM II (1%) are less popular, but nevertheless relevant. The remaining series, i.e. SM IX and SM X, are anecdotic.

SM I

This most frequent series is represented by means of a straight or slightly convex rim profile inclined towards the exterior (N=96). It also comprises five complete vessel shapes, i.e. EC 216-217, EC 219, EC 229-230. The SM I series is subdivided according to the position and finishing of the lip of which the rounded (unmodified) lip (SM Ia) is the most important followed by flattened (square, SM Ib), bevelled (SM If) and lips flattened on the inside (SM Ic).

The wall thickness varies between 5 and 11 mm with an average of 7.8 mm. The diameter varies between 11 and 58 cm, revealing various types of spherical, tronconical and hemispherical bowls in several shapes (cups, bowls, platters and larger basins). Six ECs have diameters smaller than 15 cm and represent (small) conical cups, such as the one found in Burial 1, i.e. EC 217 (Fig. 11.12). Interestingly, the largest diameters measuring more than 50 cm were recorded for the rims consisting of broken keels, i.e. EC 27, EC 220, EC 248, illustrating the recycling of ceramic vessels. Here we may also add the presence of reparation or suspension holes in several rim and body fragments.

Excluding the latter elements (N=9), we acquire a diameter range measuring between 16 and 46 cm with a mean value of 27 cm. The mean diameter value for each subseries shows that each subseries, as a proper value, reveals a possible link between diameter and morphology. Only SM Ia and SM Ic have similar values (Table 11.10). However, the difference between these vessel shapes is evident when considering the lip modification paired to the application of red paint on its interior and, to a lesser extent, the presence of spaced notches on the lip. This entire series is dominated by means of red paint applied to the interior. It represents almost 40% of the SM I total, comprising one bifacial painted element, five notched rims and two small modelled applications. Notches or polylobed rim decoration is the second most popular in this series, representing c.15%. SM Id is another remarkable subseries because of its bevelled lip towards the interior, similar diameters and the application of red paint to its interior (100%). Albeit a statistical minority, the general features are striking with regard to this assemblage.

The distribution of temper agents and firing techniques of this series reflects the general tendency of the entire Eva 2 assemblage. The majority of the elements has a mixed temper (N=61) which is either fired in a reductive or oxidized environment. The grog tempered rims (N=22) are predominantly fired in a reductive environment as is the vegetal temper (N=10). Only a small number of rims in this series has a mineral temper (N=5).
The rims of this series are the second most frequent (N=44) and represented by means of concave and straight-keeled collars with predominantly tapered lips (SM IIIb-c). It comprises one complete vessel (EC 223) which sets a good example for this series (Fig. 11.12). It is presumed that the highly concave, tapered rims (SM IIIa) are in fact collars. This is the reason why they were introduced to this series. However, the latter open subseries shares similarities with the restricted subseries of SM VIIIa, constituting 8% (N=24) of the total rim register.

This series also accounts for small cups or miniatures (N=4). With the exception of these elements, the mean wall thickness measures 8 mm. Its diameter measures 28 cm. The diameters of this subseries vary between 16 and 44 cm, revealing keeled pots, bowls, shallow bowls, and basins. Of this carinated series only three elements are decorated: red paint or slip is applied on the inside. Again,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Shape</th>
<th>Profile</th>
<th>Lip</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>O</td>
<td>Straight or slightly convex</td>
<td>Rounded</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I b</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Straight or slightly convex</td>
<td>Flattened</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>O</td>
<td>Straight or slightly convex</td>
<td>Flattened on the inside</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>O</td>
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<td>Beveled towards inside</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I e</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Straight or slightly convex</td>
<td>Thickened</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I f</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Convex</td>
<td>Beveled towards outside</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Everted or ‘flaring’</td>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Concave</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>III b</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Concave or straight and keeled</td>
<td>Rounded and tapered</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III c</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Concave keeled collar</td>
<td>Rounded and tapered</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV a</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Straight or slightly concave collar</td>
<td>Beveled towards outside</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV b</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Straight or slightly concave keeled collar (toric)</td>
<td>Beveled towards outside</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V a</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Straight</td>
<td>Flattened</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V b</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Straight (keeled) collar</td>
<td>Flattened</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI a</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Convex</td>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI b</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Convex keeled collar or ‘eared’</td>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII a</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Straight</td>
<td>Beveled towards outside</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII b</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Convex</td>
<td>Beveled towards outside</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII c</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Keeled</td>
<td>Beveled towards outside</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII a</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Straight or slightly concave collar</td>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII b</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Straight keeled collar (toric)</td>
<td>Beveled towards outside</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII c</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Concave keeled collar</td>
<td>Slightly tapered</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Straight collar</td>
<td>Rounded</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>Unique</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11.9. The rim series SM I-X.

SM III The rims of this series are the second most frequent (N=44) and represented by means of concave and straight-keeled collars with predominantly tapered lips (SM IIIb-c). It comprises one complete vessel (EC 223) which sets a good example for this series (Fig. 11.12). It is presumed that the highly concave, tapered rims (SM IIIa) are in fact collars. This is the reason why they were introduced to this series. However, the latter open subseries shares similarities with the restricted subseries of SM VIIIa, constituting 8% (N=24) of the total rim register.

This series also accounts for small cups or miniatures (N=4). With the exception of these elements, the mean wall thickness measures 8 mm. Its diameter measures 28 cm. The diameters of this subseries vary between 16 and 44 cm, revealing keeled pots, bowls, shallow bowls, and basins. Of this carinated series only three elements are decorated: red paint or slip is applied on the inside. Again,
the general paste vs. firing mode is reflected here for grog (N=6), mixed (N=29), vegetal (N=6) and mineral (N=3) vs. R, R/O, R and O firing respectively.

**SM IV** The following relevant series is also a collared vessel and marked by means of straight or slightly concave rims with bevelled lips (N=37), but it does not comprise complete vessel shapes. These series was subdivided by means of a carination of the profile and a “bombed” body below the neck or toric pot (SM IVb).
This series also includes miniatures (N=3), ranging from 10 to 12 cm in diameter, stretching its range from 10 to 48 cm. It has a mean wall thickness of 8 cm. When the sum of the mean diameter (29 cm) and the frequency (N=2.4) is taken as characteristic element, one observes that orifices between 26 and 34 cm dominate with a high peak at 30 cm. This suggests a preference for this
carinated large pot (Fig. 11.15). Surprisingly, this series is completely without any decoration. Its firing methods resemble the previous series and the assemblage.

**SM VIII** The following series is just as relevant as SM VII (N=32). However, it is dealt with here first because it represents the restricted version of the previously discussed SM IV. Therefore, this series represent the straight or (slightly) concave, keeled collars (SM VIIIb-c) and the supposed “collared” rims (SM VIIIa), as mentioned previously regarding SM IIIa.

This series represents larger carinated vessels with a mean wall thickness of 8.4 mm. The orifice diameter peaks at 28 cm as to SM VIIIa and at 30 cm as to SM VIIIb of which the latter has a mean average of 36 cm. SM VIIIb peaks at 28 and at 18 cm, suggesting that smaller, notably toric pots are represented here too. Again, this series is entirely without any decoration and includes similar firing methods to the general assemblage.

**SM VII** This series represents rims inclined towards the inside with bevelled lips. A subdivision was established concerning straight (SM VIIa), convex (SM VIIb) and keeled (SM VIIc) rim profiles of which the convex profile is the most frequent. All series range between 15 and 48 cm with an impressive mean wall thickness of 9 mm. Only SM VIIb peaks at 24-25 cm and 30 cm, suggesting a certain preference for restricted, spheric vessels with outward bevelled lips. Again, this series is entirely without any decoration with the exception of one specimen with complex white-on-red painting on its exterior (EC 304). The distribution of firing methods and temper is similar to the above-described series.

**SM VI** The following restricted series is represented by means of convex rims with tapered or flattened lips (SM VIa). It also has a keeled collar (SM VIb) with predominantly flattened lips, dubbed “eared vessels.” These large vessels have diameters measuring up to 57 cm and a mean diameter of 38 cm whereas the wall thickness measures c.1 cm. When the sum of the mean diameter and its frequency (N=1.8) is taken as characteristic element, the orifices measuring between 30 and 32 cm occur frequently too, albeit to a lesser extent. Those even larger measure between 42 and 48 cm, suggesting very large composite vessels (Fig. 11.16). Again, this series is undecorated. The mixed temper is applied the most.
The following series (N=16) is similar to the previous series, as the profiles are straight with flattened lips. It was subdivided on account of a marked keel (SM Vb) making way to even larger bodies as confirmed by the mean wall thickness measuring 12 mm and the diameter measuring 43 cm. Diameters measuring 32 and 44 cm occurred most frequently in this series which is completely undecorated. Its principal temper is mixed.

**SM II** This minority series (N=4) is characterised by means of a flaring or everted rim with a flattened lip. The wall thickness measures c.8 mm and the diameters vary between 22 and 26 cm. Two rims are polylobed of which one has white slip applied on the inside covered with red painted fine-lined geometric designs. These bowls are fired in a reductive environment and have a grog to a mixed temper.

**SM IX** and **SM X** This pair contains two and three elements respectively, each representing closed forms. They were not ascribed to any category because of their rareness. Two elements include red painting.

The bases

We counted four times less bases (N=73) than rim elements. The former were divided into five series: flat bases (SM 1), convex bases (SM 2), concave bases (SM 3), annular bases (SM 4) and unique bases (SM 5). The convex bases occur most frequently: 52% (Table 11.11). The majority of the convex bases are characterised by means of an appendicular aspect. The mean thickness measures 12 cm and the diameter 5.6 cm, reflecting rather small pointed bases (Fig. 11.17). The other relevant series have flat bases (N=27) with a larger mean diameter measuring 7 cm and a thickness measuring 11 cm. The dimpled bases as well as the two fragments of annular bases are rare. Base EC 364 of the urn in Burial 5 is unique which can be related to its exceptional size (see Fig. 11.13). As to the base register, only three items have red paint on the inside. The temper is predominantly mixed (N=43).
The griddles

Remarkably, baking plates or griddles represent less than 1% of the total assemblage. We counted nine rim fragments with varied morphologies. Rounded rims appear to be the most common. The mean thickness measures 19 mm and diameter ranges between 28 and 50 cm.

11.6.3 The decoration modes

The decorated material represents only 5.4% of the total Eva 2 assemblage. The repertoire is scant and composed of red paint or slip, corresponding largely to “Dark red” (7.5 R 3.6) of the Munsell® code (77%). This red colouring is applied to the inside (87%), to the outside (11%) and to both sides (2%).

Other modes of decoration are less important. A series of spaced notches on the lip (6%) are associated with red paint, applied to the inside of the small bowls (SM I). Any modeling is rare and represented by means of small nubbins applied to the rim. Ten fragments included two or more colours applied to the outside of the wall: white-on-red, red-on-white or black-yellow-orange on white, revealing sparse polychrome painting.

A mineral analysis is recommended with regard to the determination of the products the Amerindians adopted in order to create these colours. Nowadays red colours are made of red clay (C., kuli; Ahlbrinck 1931:232) or vegetal matter, such as annatto or specific tree barks (P. Grenand and Prévost 1994:141–154; Coutet 2009:143–146). A large number of the potsherds (N=13 for the ECs) displayed a brownish coloured film. It had been applied to the vessel wall and may well be the result of a vegetal varnish which the contemporary Kali’na still use. A lump consisting of simili resin (Ahlbrinck 1931:234), predominantly extracted from Hymenaea courbaril, is heated and rubbed on the vessels in order to obtain this glaze (Delwarde 1967:343; Boomert 1995:27).

11.6.4 The spatial distribution

The ceramic material was found all over the excavated area which represents a former walking surface with abandoned artefacts as various ceramic concentrations suggest (Fig. 11.18a). We can observe four concentrations (Zones A-D): (a) a large concentration in Pits 14 and 15 (Zone A) and three secondary concentrations,
Table 11.11. The base series SM 1-5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SM</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1a</td>
<td>flat with straight profile</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1b</td>
<td>flat with convex profile</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>flat with concave profile</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a</td>
<td>convexe</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2b</td>
<td>convexe and appendicular</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>dimpled</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>annular</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>unique</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 11.18. The distribution of the principal temper modes. Although the vegetal particles have not been determined, they are thought to represent the pounded fraction of burnt bark, nowadays referred to as kwepi.
one to the north at the boundaries of Pits 5, 11 and 10 (Zone B), (c) one to the southeast in Pit 16 (Zone C) and (d) a minor zone to the southwest in Pit 6 (Zone D) (Fig. 11.18b). The principal concentration is probably a waste area created at the periphery of the houses during the most recent occupation. This hypothesis not only attested for by the means of diversity and the quantity of the artefacts (ceramics, iron tools), but also due to the lack of other features in this area, such as postholes (cf. Fig. 11.2). The other concentrations are less important considering the quantity of material. The northern concentration is positioned on top of numerous postholes, suggesting that this possible habitat was abandoned to then serve as a waste area. The other two areas contain even less ceramic material, do not exhibit postholes and may thus represent complementary waste areas.

11.6.5 The synthesis of the ceramic assemblage

The general characteristics

This typological synthesis is based on the study of 366 constituent elements as well as the decoration modes of the entire assemblage. The morphological register declines about three important forms: (a) small bowls (SM I and SM II), (b) keeled pots and basins (SM III-IV and SM VII-VIII) and (c) large collared vessels or jars (SM V-VI).

Only a small number of morphological and decoration combinations recur with regard to this assemblage. This may reflect a certain kind of standardisation regarding the Eva 2 pottery production. SM Ia-c are omnipresent at this site representing small, hemispherical bowls of which elements of the latter (SM Ic) are very often decorated with red paint on the inside, a flattened lip on the inside and regularly have spaced notches on the lip. Notably the red-painted, notched bowl (EC 219) found in Burial 7 is characteristic as to this series. In ethnographic studies, the colour red is most often associated to life and transformation in contemporary Amerindian society, stressing the symbolic connotation of this colour with death (de Goeje 1941:46; Chapuis 1998:141).

As to the undecorated ware, one must refer to the highly recognisable “eared” vessels (SM VI) and straight-collared, composite jars (SM V), but also to toric pots, notably SM IVb and SM VIIIb. Other series are marked by means of the bevelled lip towards the outside, notably SM VII, representing spheric and/or carinated restricted basins. Rounded and (rounded) appendicular bases (SM 2) for small bowls and keeled pots characterized this assemblage.

The cultural affiliation

The handmade ceramics of Eva 2 are rather simple with little elaboration as to the decorative aspects. However, the morphological repertoire reveals some originality in size, shape and lips of which the undecorated toric pots and eared jars are probably the best examples. These vessel shapes are considered important markers for stylistic comparison with other LCA and Historic Age ceramic assemblages. A LCA ceramic assemblage most resembling that of Eva 2 is probably the Koriabo site of Saut Saillat, located on the banks of Crique Serpent, an affluent of the Maroni River and excavated by the INRAP in 2006 (Hildebrand et al. 2008) (cf. Section 6.4.5). This site’s morphological register is attributed to the second half of the 15th century. It includes small hemispherical bowls (see SM Ia-c vs. C1–4,
D O1), white-painted flower bowls (SM II vs. D1), undecorated carinated pots (SM IIIc vs. G1–4), and undecorated toric pots (SM IVb and SM VIIIb vs. F3-4) amongst others (see Hildebrand et al. 2008, Fig. 24). However, when compared to Eva 2, plastic modeling is abundant at Saut Saillat whereas the importance of red painting of Eva 2 is equivalent to the white painting at Saut Saillat (ibid., p. 41).

The Petit-Saut excavations yielded numerous similar vessels shapes, notably undecorated, carinated and toric pots for LCA sites, such as BPS-13 (Vacher et al. 1998:225, Plate 9.159, 161), BPS-17 (ibid., p. 230, Plates 16.22, 25-26), BPS-172 (ibid., p.236, Plates 25.94, 97-98), BPS-260 (ibid., p. 263, Plates 66.132, 134, 140, 147) which may reveal a cultural link. Other LCA undecorated toric pots were found at CPP, i.e. EC 77 and EC 117, suggesting Koriabo affinities as to Poncel, too (cf. Fig. 9.18).

As we have mentioned before, the Eva 2 site has an ambiguous chronology because of: (a) the lack of radio carbon dates and (b) the large chronological range of European goods (e.g. axes, stoneware, glass beads), which can be dated between the mid-17th and late 19th century. Thus, it is assumed that the ceramics found at Eva 2 belong to this range of c.250 years (AD c.1650-1900). This is shorter than most previously discussed occupation spans of LCA sites in coastal French Guiana, but coincides partially with the protohistoric radiocarbon range of Saut Saillat and its ceramic assemblage.

In addition, the presence of European artefacts, the simplicity or sober style of the ceramics as well as the total lack of incisions evoke a more probable ascription to the Historic Age in the course of which the ceramic tradition is thought to have declined or changed because of European influences and the assimilation of indigenous coastal groups. The loss or change of ceramic, next to the loss of decoration, during this period is also demonstrated by means of the amount of ceramics found at the site: for instance, the LCA site of Katoury yielded 6.3 potsherds per m² whereas Eva 2 only 1.3 per m². Apparently, Amerindian villages produced less ceramics, but also spent less time on decoration. This can be considered as deterioration of the ceramic production in general as well as a diminuation of its general use in daily life.

Nonetheless, the ceramic assemblage of Eva 2 shares numerous links and stylistic traits with the immediate past or most recent LCA traditions on Cayenne Island and the western littoral, as the following indicates:

a. The presence of toric pots found at numerous sites in the Guianas is generally attributed to the LCA and the Koriabo ceramic complex (Boomert 1986, 1995, 2004; Rostain 194a; Vacher et al. 1998). However, the Eva 2 toric pots, albeit perhaps less “bombed” or toric, are entirely without decoration in contrast with the relatively large quantity of highly decorated examples from the LCA. In fact, only one small rim fragment with a Koriabo-style modeling and incision was found on site. It may be intrusive or perhaps a fragment of a heirloom. Thus, if Eva 2 is more recent than most pre-Columbian Koriabo sites, it reveals a shift from decorated to undecorated toric pots. This shift is also partially visible as to the Koriabo related Cayo complex of Saint Vincent (Boomert 1986; Boomert et al. 2013:120–124);

b. Another characteristic Koriabo vessel shape is the flower bowl. It is most often decorated with white slip on the inside and furnished with geometrical red-painted and/or polychrome designs. The latter bowls as well as their scraped
or incised counterparts often reveal regularly spaced notches, constituting a polylobed rim (cf. Fig. 6.21). At Eva 2, it may well be the case that the flaring rims of SM II represent flower bowls of which two are notched and one has white slip on the interior;

c. This notched rim trait is also found on Cayenne Island as pointed out for CPP. It is again associated with white-on-red painting, a common trait of the protohistoric Thémire complex and radiocarbon dated c.AD 1400-1600 (Rostain 2013:122) (cf. Fig. 9.13). This possibly suggests that the later phase of Thémire, i.e. Late Thémire, has strong Polychrome (Late Aristé?) or perhaps Koriabo influences –which is again affiliated to the Polychrome tradition, according to Boomert (2004:261);

d. Albeit encountered in very small quantities, the polychrome fragments –as with the Koriabo rim sherd– may represent the remnants of earlier pottery that ultimately abandoned on site whereas other fragments may have been pounded into temper. Of more relevance is that this polychrome ware is not only associated with very recent LCA sites (e.g. Saint-Agathe, Montabo Sud, Montagne à Colin), but also with Bigiston and Christiaankondre on the Lower Maroni River. All feature white-on-red and polychrome painting as well as highly decorated Koriabo ware (Samuelian 2009);

e. The small red painted bowls (SM Ia-c) are again found on Cayenne Island (e.g. CPP EC 36, EC 125, EC 205, EC 209, EC 233, EC 244), but also at AM 41 (e.g. EC 3, EC 17, EC 61). Yet again, at the latter site, EC 3 found in burial zone B displays striking similarities with Eva 2’s SM Id (cf. Fig. 7.14);

f. The earlier LCA ware of Cayenne Island as found at CPP and PK 11 features a large collared jar (e.g. CPP Form B; cf. EC 170 in Fig. 9.17) similar to SM Vb. However, the collar of this Cayenne jar often has alternating or oblique incisions which Eva 2 lacks. It can be suggested here that the abandonment of incisions may have occurred during the early or proto-historic period;

g. Eared jars are rather common along the Guiana littoral during the LCA and were found at Crique Sparouine (cf. Fig. 6.17, EC 65) and CPP (EC 176 and EC 179) in French Guiana and at Barbakoeba (Boomert 1993:208, Fig. 6.9) in Suriname (Boomert 1986:34, Fig. 14.2), or even further away at Cayo on the island of Saint Vincent in the Lesser Antilles (Boomert 1986:20, Fig. 4B3). Moreover, further on towards the eastern littoral, they were encountered among the Late Aristé funerary vessels where these rims are often furnished with a modelled face (Goeldi 1900; Rostain 1994a; Mestre and Hildebrand 2011);

h. Last, but not least, the dominant application of *kwepi* as a temper agent contrasts the grog-tempered LCA ware of AM 41, LPB and Cayenne Island. Perhaps present in earlier times –further research is needed at this level– the use of *kwepi* as a temper may have received more importance during the early Historic Age, representing a shift in pottery production from mainly grog to *kwepi*. The omnipresence of *kwepi* as a temper during the recent LCA has been pointed out in other regions along the Atlantic coast (Boomert 1985, 2000; Roosevelt 1997; Schaan 2004).
In conclusion, the ceramic assemblage of Eva 2 can be attributed to the 17th and 18th century. It was abandoned in the course of the 19th century as the burials demonstrated. The undecorated toric pots and large eared jars suggest a link with the Koriabo ceramic complex. However, the lack of incisions and their general quality suggest a second phase, or a later development, from pre-Columbian Koriabo to the Koriabo after the Colonial Event, dubbed Koriaban and Aristan Marajoaroid respectively by Boomert (2004:261). Thus, the former Koriabo ware transforms into a simpler ware without much attention to decoration. We will return to this matter after a short historic outline of the site location at Malmanoury and its surroundings.

11.7 A brief history of Malmanoury

Having presented the archaeological evidence we will now provide a more detailed description of the historic events that unfolded between the Sinnamary and Kourou Rivers in order to gain not only a better insight into the Amerindian presence in this particular region but also to evaluate the continuity or discontinuity of pre-Columbian and Historic ceramic traditions. Several important events are repeated from the introductory Chapter 10. However, more detailed information is added here in order to assess the interactions between Amerindians and Europeans.

11.7.1 The first encounters

Towards the end of the 16th century, the ‘Ipaios and Ch[aribes]’ inhabit Malmanoury or Manmanuri according to Lawrence Keymis, one of the first Europeans to explore this coast. Importantly, he reports that these continental Amerindians speak the same language as the Amerindians on the island of Dominica in the Lesser Antilles, evoking a linguistic and perhaps cultural link between both regions:

These speake the language of the Indians of Dominica. They are but few, but very cruel to thier enemies. For they bind, and eat them alive pecemeale. This torment is not comparable to the deadly paine that commeth of hurts, or wounders, made by those arrows that are invenomed with the juice of ye herbe Wapoto. These Indians because they eate them whome they kill, use no poysen. The sea coast is nowhere populous, for they have much wasted themselves, in mutuall warres. But now in all parts so farre as Orenoque, they live in league and peace. (Keymis 1596:F4v)

In addition to these Amerindians, the Dutch commissary Abraham Cabeliau encountered the ‘Geribus and Jau’ (Caribs and Yao) at large off Kourou, when his fleet watered at Devil Island in 1598 (in de Jong 1862:155). Harcourt (1628:132), too, noted the presence of ‘Charibs’ at Malmanoury who by now were residing between the Sinnamary and Approuague Rivers. As mentioned in Chapter 10, the Guiana Coast had been invested by fleeing Amerindians from Trinidad during the last quarter of the 16th century and notably by ‘Yayes, Arwalkes and Suppayes’ (Wilson 1625:1263). These incoming groups settled among the local groups of the eastern Guianas, especially the Charibes and Aricouros. The Yao, under command of Anacaiony, settled firmly along the Oyapock River, even taking
over the regional powers in the area by means of teaming up with the Aricoaros (Collomb and van den Bel 2014).\(^{329}\)

In the course of this indigenous turmoil on the Guiana Coast, the Europeans bartered goods with Amerindians and started outposts on river banks of notably the Oyapock, Cayenne, Maroni and Suriname Rivers, inhabited by various groups. After La Ravardière’s short visit off Cayenne in early 1604, the French, under instigation of Cardinal Richelieu, started to settle in the West Indies, notably on St. Kitts, but also on the banks of the Sinnamary River. In 1626, a private company from Rouen established a colony under the command of Sieur de Chantail and his Lieutenant Sieur Chambaut at the Lower Sinnamary River (Férolles [1688] in Mémoires de Malouet 1814:112; Henri 1989; Artur 2002; Coëta 1992; Nardeux 2001).\(^{330}\) In 1628, Captain Hautespine left fourteen colonists under the command of Captain Lafleur at the Counamama River. In 1630, this colony was reinforced with 50 colonists and among them several Capucins, who were taken there by Captain LeGrand (Polderman 2004). However, the majority fled to Cayenne in 1634 where a fortification was built (Ternaux-Compans 1843:39). In this light, the voyage of the Dutch Captain David Pietersz de Vries to Cayenne in 1634—he disembarked some 30 Dutch colonists at Cayenne— is noteworthy: he mentions stone remnants of a fortress which, according to him, had been built by the French (de Vries in Colenbrander 1911:192). Interestingly, de Vries and ‘Schanbon’ met at the Sinnamary River. Here, Sieur Chambaut maintained a small colony consisting of 12 men and had prepared a shipload of pepper awaiting the arrival of their boat. The Frenchman invited de Vries to dinner and to join him on a hunting party in the vicinity of their village (ibid., p. 203).

How long the Sinnamary colony prospered remains unknown. However, its (former) presence probably convinced the French to built a fort at the Sinnamary River in 1667 after they had taken Cayenne over from the Dutch (Lefebvre de la Barre 1666:41).\(^{331}\) Between 1633 and 1652, the French aimed at establishing a colony at Cayenne, however, these efforts failed miserably. Nevertheless, they provided interesting journals written by: (a) Paul Boyer Sieur du Petit Puy (1654) describing the disaster concerning Poncet de Brétigny in 1643 and (b) Father Antoine Biet (1664) on the attempt made by Sieur de Royville in 1652. Both journals deliver firsthand information on the Galibi or Carib, as the French population of Cayenne and its surroundings say (see Hoff 1995:51–52 regarding this difference). Whatever happened to the other nations is unclear. Perhaps they

\(^{329}\) Remarkably, the movement of the Yao from Trinidad to the Oyapock Basin in order to encroach in another (cultural) region, under the command of a warleader, resembles the historic march and implantation of the 18th century Wayana movement under the command of Kailawa from the Lower Amazon River towards the headwaters of the Maroni basin. Wandering profetic war-leaders (T. caraíba) appear to be common phenomena in Amerindian society during (early) contact in Lowland Amazonia (Métraux 1927).

\(^{330}\) See note 259. Artur (2002:137–138) stated merchants from Rouen (Lord Henri de Chantail) had founded a colony of twenty-six men upon the Senamary River in 1624. It was reinforced two years later with another expedition of twenty colonists at the adjacent Counamama River. This colony further attracts more colonists who spread along the coast, such as Clément Bargau who left the crowded island of Saint Christophe governed by Poincy in order to try his luck in French Guiana. Interestingly, Puaux and Philippe (1997:67, note 1) claim that Chamail and Chambault also ‘constructed a fort with five pieces and 80 men’ according to documents kept at the National Archives (FR_ANOM_C14_91).

\(^{331}\) See note 260. Artur (2002:137–138) stated merchants from Rouen (Lord Henri de Chantail) had founded a colony of twenty-six men upon the Senamary River in 1624. It was reinforced two years later with another expedition of twenty colonists at the adjacent Counamama River. This colony further attracts more colonists who spread along the coast, such as Clément Bargau who left the crowded island of Saint Christophe governed by Poincy in order to try his luck in French Guiana. Interestingly, Puaux and Philippe (1997:67, note 1) claim that Chamail and Chambault also ‘constructed a fort with five pieces and 80 men’ according to documents kept at the National Archives (FR_ANOM_C14_91).
had become extinct or had merged with the Carib population, which by now occupied the entire coastal region located between the Cayenne and Suriname Rivers (Biet 1664:149–150, 152).

11.7.2 The Jesuit missions in the West

When Lefèbvre de la Barre and his cousin Chevalier de Lézy landed at Cayenne in 1664, they introduced the first Jesuits to French Guiana. The Jesuit order, founded by the Castillian Inigo de Loyola and François Xavier and recognized by Pope Paul III in 1540, had set as their principal goal to convert the infidels (e.g. the native population of South America and the Caribbean) inhabiting remote areas. The Jesuits recruited mainly among the middle and higher educated classes. These men were influential fieldworkers, excelling especially in linguistics and adaptation in harsh conditions, hereby baptizing and preaching among indigenous populations by setting the example (Ouellet in Pelleprat 2009:3–4). From 1639 on, the Compagnie des îles d’Amérique allows the secularisation of the private colonies of Guadeloupe and Martinique, commanded by Charles Hoüel du Petit-Pré and Jacques Dyel du Parquet, respectively. In fact, numerous religious orders were accepted (e.g. the Carmelites, Franciscans, Capuchins, Dominicans, Jesuits) who settled in the Lesser Antilles (e.g. Saint-Kitts, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Grenada, the Orinoco delta).

With the exception of the Capuchins taken to Counamama by Le Grand in 1630 and the settlers in Caourou (Kourou) brought by Poncet de Brézigny in 1643 (Artur 2002:140), the Jesuit order obtains its first acres of land in Arémire (Anse de Rémine) in 1666 from the Amsterdam-based Jewish Drago family (Le Roux et al. 2009:49). Rapidly, they built their principal headquarters, named their plantation Loyola (situated in the vicinity of the Quincy and Drago plantations), located at the southwestern foothills of the Mont Mahury (Auger 2012). From Cayenne, the Jesuits undertook numerous journeys to remote Amerindian villages in order to preach and baptise the Amerindians. This is recorded in the journals and letters written by Jean Grillet and François Béchamel, Jean de la Mousse, Pierre-Aimée Lombard, Pierre Labat, etc., who describe many Amerindian villages during their journeys. During the first quarter of the 18th century the Jesuits decided to construct outposts or missions in the western coastal plain at the Karouabao, Kourou and Sinnamary Rivers and, in the course of the second quarter of the 18th century, along the Oyapock River too (Fig. 11.19).

In 1709, the Fathers Lombard and Ramette founded the first mission at Icaroua (Karoubao) which was relocated at the mouth of the Kourou River in 1713 (Froideveaux 1901). In 1735, the Jesuits also built a (sugar) plantation at the foot of Mont Xavier (now Montagnes des Pères) as well as an indigo plantation (Guatémala) on the right bank of Kourou River. The majority of the Amerindians in the Kourou mission is Galibi. However, it also housed other Amerindian populations which had escaped the Portuguese missions and/or fled from slave raiders operating on the Lower Amazon River and the coast of Amapá. Of course, the Jesuits welcomed them:

\[ J’ai de quatre sortes de nations Indiennes, toutes différentes, partagées en quatre grands carbets avec leurs Chefs. La nation principale & la plus nombreuse, c’est celle des Galibis, dont c’est ici proprement le pays, qui s’étend depuis Cayenne jusqu’à l’Orenoque, au de-dela mêmes ; quoiqu’il y ait quelques aures nation mêlées. \]
J’en ai ici deux carbetts nombreux, qui ont chacun leur Capitaine, nommés par Mr. Le Gouverneur, & avec brevet de lui. Le plus ancien de ces deux Capitaines, s’appelle Louis Remi Tourappo, celui-là même dont je vous ai déjà parlé. L’autre est tout jeune, & s’appelle Valentin. Il a été mon élève & a succédé à son oncle, qui mourut, il y a quatre ans dans un voyage qu’il fit aux Amazones. Ces deux carbetts peuvent faire peut-être le nombre de deux cens cinquante personnes, & davantage. Un autre carbet est d’une nation qu’on appelle Coussaris, dont le pays est delà d’Yapoc, & qui étant venus ici pour danser, il y a environ huit ans, s’y établirent, & se font chrétiens. Ils sont à peu près trente à quarante personnes. Leur langue approche fort de celle des Galibis ; ainsi ils ont eu bientôt appris celle-ci, & la parlent fort bien actuellement. Une autre nation venue de la rivière des Amazones, s’est encore établie ici par mes soins. On les appelle Maraones. Ils se font aussi tout faits[es] chrétiens. Leur langue est presque aussi la même que celle des Galibis : ils sont environ trente personnes. Mais la plus nombreuse de toutes les nations que j’ai assemblé ici & sans contredit la meilleure, est celle des Arouas. J’en ai plus de cinquante, & j’en ramasse tous les jours. Ce sont les débris d’une Mission Portugaise, qui se sont dispersés çà & là. Ils sont presque tous bapthisés & bien instruits. Les vexations continues des Portugais les ont obligés à quitter. Ils se sont venus refugier à Cayenne, où Mr. notre Gouverneur qui a beaucoup de bonté pour toutes sortes d’Indiens, les a reçus faubrable & leur a assigné des terres. J’en attire tous les jours quelques uns. Peu à peu j’espère de les avoir tous. Leur langue est assez difficile & n’a nul rapport avec celle des Galibis. Il m’a fallu l’apprendre & je commence à l’entendre passablement : je les ai mis dans l’ordre ; j’ai marié selon la forme de l’Eglise ceux qui ne l’étoient pas, &
After Kourou, the Jesuits made their way farther towards the west. Father Matthieu Carenave founded a new mission in 1734 on the right bank of the Lower Sinnamary River (Artur in Polderman 2004:244). By now, the colony of Cayenne supported more plantations, notably on the affluents of the Upper Mahury River (e.g. Oyac and Orapu Rivers), the Cayenne and Monsinéry Rivers as well as in the coastal plain between Kourou and Cayenne, as the map drawn by Sieur d’Anville in 1729 illustrates (Rio Branco 1900, Map 19). Interestingly, this map mentions only three Amerindian villages located between Kourou and Sinnamary, to wit the carbet of Avaiou on the Malmanoury River and two carbets near Sinnamary of Malet and Aroipo, or Sarabia.

Figure 11.20. A detail of the Brûletout de Prévostaine map after his voyage in 1763 drawn by P. Boulogne in 1764 featuring the Malmanoury Creek with numerous habitations (FR_CAOM_FMSM_F3_289_22).
In 1747, the Amerindian captain Germain Mayakue (Mayac or Mayac), chief of the Tounoyennes, marries Lucine Mo, a daughter of Gilbert Limousimbo, the captain of Malmanoury (Puaux and Philippe 1997:58–60). Mathias Onouteri is the brother of this captain’s father-in-law and was born in Kourou. Finally, the son of Gilbert Wayakue inherits the position of chief of Malmanoury and marries Jeanne (or Anne) Marie Tonaronne in 1756. Several names in this summary are not Cariban and demonstrate the ethnic mingling in this region, as desired by the Jesuits (ibid., p. 35).

The Sinnamary mission was relocated towards the sea and continued to exist until 1769, hereby continuing after the expulsion of the Jesuits from French Guiana. The map entitled Carte des Rivières de Kourou et de Sinnamari drawn by Philippe Boulogne in 1763 –the very year of the Jesuit expulsion– still depicts this Jesuit mission. It also features further colonial progress to the west with numerous plantations positioned between Kourou and Sinnamary and beyond (Fig. 11.20).

The degree of influence of these missions is difficult to evaluate by means of the archives. The majority of this documentation is written by the Jesuits themselves and therefore “coloured.” In general, it can be stated that, when compared with other regions in South America, these missionaries played an important role among Amerindian groups and most certainly amidst the local Galibi and incoming groups. On the one hand, the Jesuits fought colonial society in order to “protect” the infidels –albeit future Catholics– against the horrors of the plantation economy. On the other hand, by means of centralising their efforts and applying an European model of socio-political hierarchy to their missions –resembling their own hierarchy–, the Jesuits selected absolute Amerindian leaders (both captains and shamans) in order to control the varied indigenous communities. In contrast, the Amerindian organisational model differs, even deemed absent or dissimilar, according to many historical sources. The Jesuits (ab) used their power by imposing another captain or shaman if the present person was too obstinate or subversive, thereby often revealing the former leader’s devilish character. In my opinion, it is evident that such imposed rules have profoundly restructured Amerindian political systems (Collomb 2010).

The Portuguese havoc on the Lower Amazon River rendered French Guiana a safe haven for numerous Amerindians fleeing to the Approuague River and Cayenne Island where they had lived together or alongside the local and/or endemic population in the forest and later inside the Jesuit missions (Wack 1991; P. Grenand 2006). For example, the Aruã arrived at Cayenne as early as 1686 to be later relocated in the mission of Kourou where eventually many ethnic groups were gathered (see the quotation above). Existing Amerindian alliances were discontinued by means of a dispersal of various groups to distant missions, thereby increasing the dependency on and the control of the Jesuits. The concentration of large numbers of Amerindians inside these missions exposed its residents to incurable diseases causing many to succomb in dreadful conditions. Others escaped or fled these missions setting off towards the west (Mana and Maroni) or into the interior and/or perhaps mingled with the colonial society once the Jesuits had left the region in 1763.

332 The Tounoyennes or Tunayenne is a general name for the Amerindians from the interior given by the coastal population: ‘Les Tonayennes habitent au de-là du Fleuve de Coupename, bien avant dans les Montagnes. Ces Sauvages n’ont jamais sur le bord de la mer, parce qu’ils en sont empeschez par les Galibis, contre qui ils ont vue guerre mortelle’ (Boyer 1651:245–246).
11.7.3 The Mission of Kourou and its aftermath

In 1763, too, France signed a treaty with the English Crown, thereby losing many colonies in the Americas. It was therefore confronted with important logistic problems concerning the provisioning of their Antillean colonies (Michel 1989). The minister Choiseul conceived a plan to solve this problem by means of appointing the colony of Guyane to deliver such resources. This project is better known as the “Mission of Kourou.” In addition to providing the Antilles with victuals, it also aimed at creating a stable local colony capable of assembling an army of patriots in case of any armed conflict with their European rivals.

Choiseul’s plan was to build a new colony based on a massive and voluntary migration of white Europeans. The majority hereof was recruited from outside France (notably Germany and Canada). Not much later c.12,000 colonists disembarked at Kourou and Sinnamary, a region where previously only a small number of Jesuits had wandered about. This project turned into a human catastrophe: soon more than half the colonists died due to a lack of food and hygiene and various diseases (e.g. dysentery, typhoid, yellow fever, malaria). The survivors were shipped home in 1765. Only a small number of colonists decided, against the warnings of the colonial administration, to remain in French Guiana. At around that time the region of Sinnamary accounted for c.340 white colonists, the first settlers in this area (Coëta 1992) (Fig. 11.20).

These settlers chose the littoral and notably the sandy ridges in order to found their plantations where the (still existing) Jesuit mission at Sinnamary served as the central point of this western frontier. In 1767, this village included a general store, a hospital, a church and various public buildings, being developed according to an urban plan. As does the Sinnnamary and Kourou Rivers, the Crique Malmanoury features plantations on its upper banks in the savannahs (e.g. Duprés, Cimer, Duchêne, Hebert, Saussirot, Mergle). These plantations represent rather modest socio-economic units based on the herding of cattle for personal consumption and the local market. Only a small number of plantations produce annatto and cotton. Others caught turtles, notably the leatherback sea turtle for its meat, eggs and fat (Coëta 1992).

In 1789 the French Revolution quickly ruins this rather flourishing picture. That event marked the end of the Ancien Régime as well as the first abolition of slavery in the French colonies in 1794. Many settlers now left for Cayenne, leaving Sinnamary in utter misery:

Sinnamary n’a jamais été qu’un petit hameau, composé d’une douzaine de cases et de quelques petites habitations réparties sur le bord de la mer, distantes l’une de l’autre de cinq, six, et quelques fois huit lieues. Les êtres malheureux qui erraient dans ce désert, se réduisaient à six ou huit, y compris le chirurgien et le garde-magazin : les autres étaient de pauvres colons, vivant du produit de leur chasse et de leur pêche. L’impossibilité de trouver des ressources ailleurs les retenait dans ce misérable pays, sur lequel je ne donne aucun détail [...] (Freytag 1824 ii:23)

The following major event, the second abolition of slavery in 1848, most certainly changed French Guiana society again, releasing c.12,000 black slaves of which 462 were accounted for in the quarter of Sinnamary. At that time, the two flourishing plantations, Saint-Léon and Bel-air, were led by Jean-François Martinet, the General Commander of Sinnamary (Coëta 1992:85). These cattle farms were located to the east of the bridge across the Malmanoury Creek and
employed respectively 13 and 33 slaves. Significant in this respect were Beau-Séjour at Anse Renner, under the command of the royal notaire Raimond Bosquet with 20 slaves and Belle-Etoile at Anse Paracou of the Rémy family with 36 slaves (Fig. 11.21). After the abolition, the freed slaves settled along the main road between the villages of Kourou and Sinnamary. Some remained in the vicinity of their former Masters whereas others left these quarters for good. This pattern provided the base for the rural Créole society in the western savannahs, consisting of dispersed family clusters living in quasi-autarcy (Jolivet 1982:448–449). For instance, members of the Torvic family inhabited the quarters surrounding the hamlet of Malmanoury, occupying a dozen houses built along the RN 1 until their relocation to Sinnamary on order of the French government when the European Space Center (CNES) was established in the savannahs located between Kourou and Malmanoury during the 1950s.

Malmanoury and the Kali’na

The maps discussed above do not feature any Amerindian villages, suggesting that the Amerindian population had entirely abandoned this coastal region. Remarkably, commander Jean-Antoine Brûletout de Préfontaine expressed specific interest in omitting Amerindian villages when prospecting the savannahs in order to bring about the success of the Kourou mission. Despite this possible bias, Amerindian villages were still to be found at Kourou in 1785:

> [...] entre Caux et Courou ne se trouve plus d’établissement d’indiens. Le premier qu’on rencontre est placé sur la rivièr de Courou, ou il y avait eu autrefois une mission nombreuse, célèbre par le nom du père Lombard. Il n’existe plus aujourd’hui dans ce canton, en y comprenant Carouabo, que 50 personnes de tous âges et sexes, dont 16 hommes faits et trois capitanes. [...] Les indiens de Sinnamari, où autrefois ils avaient été nombreux et rassemblés en mission, ont également beaucoup diminué. On n’y trouve plus dans les carbet de trois capitanes que 20 hommes en état de porter les armes, en tout 52 personnes de tous âges. Depuis l’arrivée des Blancs dans ce canton les indines se sont éloignés de la mission qui était placée à l’endroit appelé le poste. Elle avait d’ailleurs longtemps demeuré sans missionnaire, et ceux qu’on y a fait passer par la suite ont été changé trop fréquemment pour qu’ils eussent pu captiver la confiance des indiens et les faire revenir auprès d’eux. (Bessner quoted in Collomb and Tiouka 2000:60)

At present any similar information on Malmanoury is unavailable. However, it may be clear that several Amerindian villages were still present in the vicinity of Malmanoury at the end of the 18th century. Whereas certain Amerindians had left the region of Sinnamary for Iracoubo or beyond, others felt either attracted to this region or had established firm relationships with the colony and the emerging village of Sinnamary, dwelling in its vicinity in a village called Simapo (Barbé-Marbois 1834 i:177; Coëta 1992:25; Puaux and Philippe 1997:62).333 Exactly who inhabited these villages, situated upriver or in the interior immediately behind the littoral, remains unclear considering the myriad of ethnic groups gathered during the Jesuit missions and after a continuous evangelisation, enslavement, general demographic decline, etc.

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333 The geological and geographical map of Poirson (1814) after Leblond clearly reveals several Indian villages upon the Lower Sinnamary River (Rio Branco 1899, Map 59).
Barbé-Marbois (1834 i:205) counted 69 Galibi in 1797. A decade earlier, they were estimated to number c.400 in the vicinity of Sinnamary. It can be assumed that the endemic and generally better settled Galibi had (again) absorbed these exotic populations according to their own indigenous assimilation processes either as families (clans) or as slaves or poito in Cariban (to be sold again?). This new situation certainly favours various levels of cultural mixing, creolisation or hybridization (Fr., métisage)\textsuperscript{334}, often referred to in the Guianas as socio-political recomposition or ethnogenesis (Dreyfus 1992; Whitehead 1993) representing the foundation of the modern Kali’na society and identity. It is better known as the ‘The Time of Epa’kano’ (Collomb 2000:155). This historic myth tells the founding of the current Kali’na families or founding fathers (Collomb and Tiouka 2000:69–74).

Ultimately, during the course of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, the last Amerindians may have left Kourou and Sinnamary for Mana, leaving only a small number behind. They wished to stay, having assimilated with the local white and black population, residing in villages on the Middle Sinnamary River. Interestingly, in 1882, several Amerindians from the village of Terre Blanche on the Lower Sinnamary are presented in Paris at an exhibition in the Jardin d’Acclimatation (Collomb 1992) (Fig. 11.22). According to senior inhabitants of Malmanoury (M. Torvic, personal communication 2005), the Kali’na of Terre Blanche were nomads and, before settling at Terre Blanche, they had lived at the Montagne Blanche in the savannah of Malmanoury (Eva 2?). To the south of the said hill, an ‘Indian Trail’ had once led to the Sinnamary River, just opposite to Crique Blanche. In sum, the historic site of Eva 2 was probably inhabited by Galibi, according to local oral tradition. They constituted a mixture of numerous, immigrated Amerindian groups that eventually had merged with the local Caribs or Galibi, who had absorbed other incoming groups from Trinidad several centuries earlier (F. Grenand and P. Grenand 1987).

\textsuperscript{334} Considering the term “hybridity” see Silliman (2015).
11.8. The site synthesis

The historic and archaeological data presented here confirms that Level 1 of Eva 2 is a historic Amerindian habitation site with good quantities of handmade ceramics, postholes, eight burials and imported European ware (e.g. iron tools, stone ware, glass beads). The site is situated at a low, white sand hilltop on the border of the Pleistocene savannahs and the Precambrian Shield. Two relevant questions are raised here regarding the archaeological and historic data obtained for this site. Firstly concerning its chronology: Are the burials contemporaneous with the rest of the artefacts? Secondly concerning its culture: Are the burials indeed Kali’na burials? Both issues evoke complex subjects, such as ethnic identity and cultural continuity. We shall try to answer them in the following synthesis by means of crossing the archaeological data with the brief description of the historical developments presented above. It is important to point out that historic Amerindian sites have rarely been excavated in French Guiana or the Guianas in general. Although colonial sites may have yielded Amerindian artefacts, Amerindian sites from this period are generally only known from historic sources. As a general reference, we will first introduce historic sites investigated during the archaeological rescue project of Petit-Saut on the Sinnamary River (Puaux and Philippe 1997:35–63).

During pedestrian surveys and by means of checking maps as to geographical correlations (notably Boulogne/Brûletout de Préfontaine 1774) various 18th century sites were located in the Sinnamary basin: Poudoupoudouli (BPS 20), Nouvelle habitation de Maya (BPS 20), Habitation de Maya, Capitaine Indien (BPS 207), Habitation de Marcelin Indien (PBS 208), a part of BPS 230 and...
Habitation de Michel Maya Indien (BPS 275). BPS 20 is located on the left bank of the Sinnamary River. Its artefact assemblage resembles that of Eva 2. Six test pits (12 m²) and numerous surface finds yielded 1150 handmade potsherds, three fragments of wheel-thrown ceramic ware, and approximately 30 glass bottles (dated to the beginning of the 19th century), many iron nails, an iron axe and various gunflints.

The anthropogenic features and their spatial distribution

The large scale excavation at Eva 2 enabled us to reveal mainly postholes and burials as well as waste areas (Zones A-D), specific artefact locations and caches, constituting the main elements of an archaeological Amerindian village. Again, we were not able to recognise a house plan, as we had not been able to do at many earlier sites discussed before in the present study. This aspect evidently recurs in French Guiana archaeology: the acid Neotropical soils, the construction of houses utilising perishable materials and the fluidity of the habitat area (reconstruction and superimposition of houses) over a short (or long) period of time, makes it difficult to advance on this matter.

However, a possible house location can be narrowed down by means of matching and crossing the above-mentioned data as seen in Figure 11.23. Numerous hypothetical house locations are visible corresponding to either postholes or burials spatially separated from waste areas, i.e. ceramic and iron tool concentrations. Together these reflect a NE-SW axis with “empty zones” to which the flank of the hill towards the north also belongs. This interpretation indicates dispersed housing and various middens in its vicinity, reflecting an alignment of small carbets measuring between c.40 and 60 m² as to the surface on the summit of the hillock. The burials are probably located within the houses and mark the interior of a house location, according to the many historic sources (cf. Appendix 4). Thus, we can hypothesize that the village was abandoned after the capitain of the village had died, transforming the habitation site into a burial ground or funerary site.

The burials

Seven of the eight identified graves were preserved as a “phantom” representing primary inhumations of the deceased. They included dark brown imprints, reflecting the body after decomposition and revealing the body’s position. A secondary urn burial contained an individual represented by means of the deposition of a bundle of long bones (Burial 5). Six of the phantom burials concern individuals with legs in a flexed position, placed in a more or less circular grave, placed against the wall and probably wrapped in a hammock. Only one phantom inhumation was placed in a stretched position in a trapezoid shaped pit (Burial 6). In four of the primary burials the head was placed in the east. Nearly the entire population was adult, but no gender diagnosis could be carried out.

The position of glass bead concentrations on specific parts of the bodies reveals that the deceased wore Amerindian adornments (e.g. bracelets, necklaces, belts), comparable to many 19th century sources. In addition, the flexed position and

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335 This site was initially nameless. The Petit-Saut member Sandra Kayamaré (personal communication 2012) named it poudoupoudouli, meaning iron nail in Kali’na.
the glass beads, the presence of burial gifts, i.e. Burials 1, 5 and 7, also reveal Amerindian funerary practices as described in historic sources (Appendix 4). They are commonly performed within the village (cf. Section 6.2.3 as to de la Mousse’s quotation).

Three burial pairs were pointed out of which two pairs are similar in deposition and one is clearly dissimilar. Burials 5 and 6 possibly reveal a different social status of the deceased in Amerindian society. The rectangular/trapezoidal pit of Burial 6 may refer to Roman Catholic influences, but may also indicate the burial of a
shaman (C., piai) (cf. Fig. 11.5). The large urn burial containing a bundle of long bones, an iron axe, half a Beardman jug, many glass beads and a brass bell, may indeed reflect the burial of an important person such as the village captain (C., yopoto) (Fig. 11.24). According to Father Ahlbrinck (1931:423), the Kali’na buried their dead in the samaku or large cashiri vessel, which actually resembles the jar of Burial 5, but he did not refer to the status of the interred individual.

The site chronology

The imported artefacts evidenced two relevant moments: (a) an early colonial occupation during the second half of the 17th and 18th century and (b) a more recent occupation during the 19th century. The smaller glass beads (2 mm) provide us with a reliable date for the majority of the graves which represent the end of the Amerindian occupation at this site during the second half of the 19th century. The majority of the iron tools, several glass beads and the Beardman jug refer to an earlier colonial episode. This duality appears to be characteristic of the Historic Age in which the Amerindian society is confronted with European influence and ultimately dominance. On the one hand, absolute dates are unreliable from the 17th century on and cannot provide any decisive data in order to propose two occupations. However, it certainly could exclude a pre-Columbian occupation, but this needs verification. On the other hand, the preservation of 17th century objects, as transmitted for example within the family and finally presented to the deceased, suggests that the earliest objects of this occupation may have been heirlooms.
The ceramic study shows a homogeneous production of: (a) small, painted bowls, (b) keeled and necked pots and (c) large collared vessels, closely related to the second half of the LCA and in particular to the Koriabo complex, but in a somewhat later, early Historic period, recalling affinities with the Cayo complex of the Leeward Lesser Antilles (Boomert 1986, 1995, 2004).

The ambiguity forwarded by means of the imported objects is not evident as to the entire ceramic assemblage as such. Similar vessel shapes were found in the burials as well as the waste area, i.e. eared jars and red painted/notched bowls, stressing the longer occupation of 250 years and subsequent material and cultural continuity. In fact, the Eva 2 ceramic assemblage shares striking (technical) similarities with the Galibi pottery production as described by the Jesuit Jean de la Mouse describes (in Collomb 2006:52–53; cf. Appendix 3a). Even the sparse adding of pounded potsherds mentioned in his report is comparable to our observations and ceramic data: the use of burnt vegetal matter as non-plastics, conical or appendicular shaped bases (for functional purposes), featuring red, black, yellow and white clay for colouring as well as the use of internal decoration and of a vegetal glaze.

Unfortunately, we have very little detailed information on the morphology of the vessels, although some linguistic and, even less, morphological information has been discussed by scholars during the last decades (Allaire 1980, 1984; Boomert 1986, 2000; Collomb 2003). Nonetheless, that has caused a hiatus between archaeology and history (Boomert 1995). This bias remains difficult to surpass. However, temper and technological aspects may provide further food for thought (see also Coutet 2009 on the latter aspects). Indeed, later descriptions reveal a very similar production pattern. In it glazing and ash temper (notably kwepi) appear to be late LCA or protohistoric innovations regarding LCA sites as discussed above. These consistent elements revealed the manifestation of a steady pottery tradition (Ahlbrinck 1931; Delawarde 1967; Cornette 1992; Collomb 2000; Vredenburg 2002; de Tricornot 2007; Coutet 2009).

Interestingly, despite the suspected simplification of the LCA morphological register and possible incipient modifications during early historic times, the Eva 2 ceramic material hardly includes any stylistic resemblances with the ceramic objects acquired during the 19th century as encountered in the collections of regional and European museums, notably in Leiden and Paris, but also in Paramaribo and Cayenne (Wack 1988; Cornette 1988a, 1992; Hagen 1991; Ignace 1997). This comparison, however, is only possible if we suppose, based on its geographical and chronological situation, that the site of Eva 2 was part of the Kali’na realm, as the majority of this museum material is labelled as Kali’na. It represents highly decorated European imitations or modelled animals with duotone and/or polychrome painting. This kind of polychrome pottery is rare in the Eva 2 assemblage and is rather a relict of the most recent pre-Columbian tradition. However, modelled animals and other similar objects have not been found at all at Eva 2. The majority of the museum objects were produced by Amerindian potters in order to sell to tourists or government personnel. Thus, the chronological ambiguity identified as to the European objects in an Amerindian context is also present among the Amerindian ceramic material due to the bias between the Eva 2 and museum ceramic material.
In order to assess this ambiguity, a chrono-cultural tripartition is proposed concerning the historic evolution of the Amerindian ceramic production: (a) during the 16th and 17th century, the late LCA ceramic development slowly stagnated. We also see a simplification of the decorated register due to the abandonment of incision and polychrome painting in favour of red painting, (b) this altered Amerindian register is enlarged with innovative vessel shapes according to European economic demand, for instance, the *watrakan* (St.) imitation (D., *waterkan*; E., water can) of the late 17th century onion glass bottle, as pointed out by Gérard Collomb (2003:155) and (c) later, during the late 18th and 19th century, the previous register is enlarged again with highly decorated ceramic objects made especially for tourists and eventually for museums. It has to be noted that the production of domestic ware runs continuously parallel with the tourist ware, but does slowly lose ground through the centuries during which common or household ware is replaced by means of European ware. However, the coastal Amerindians still produce the former ware, albeit to a lesser extent, notably as ceremonial ware when feasting. Thus, this evolution is first marked by means of stagnation and secondly by the ultimate abandonment of the domestic pottery production for the Amerindian households. It is subsequently enlarged, initially on a parallel level as to the production of local and imitation pottery for the local market. In due course it is taken over by the tourist production of the 20th century.

Interestingly, imitation material nor tourist painting was found during the Eva 2 excavations, leaving us with the following issues: (a) the bulk of the Eva 2 assemblage is earlier than the graves meaning that the double occupation is difficult to distinguish and (b) the local ceramic material for the European market was not utilised nor produced on site and (c) the population of this particular village situated out of the European scope or did it avoid (daily) contact in general? I have opted here for a combination of these issues, focussing on a relatively autonomous village at the periphery of the coastal plantations, but in retreat of the colonial power, only allowing a small number of desired exchange goods to enter their community, hereby favouring perhaps nomadism.

The level of cultural conservation and/or (dis) continuity can be assessed when comparing the Eva 2 material with the late 19th and early 20th century Kali’na utilitarian ware, as classified by Alain Cornette (1992). Figure 11.25 presents the three most important groups of Eva 2 and the selected equivalents in Cornette’s classification. We may observe two important elements regarding continuity: (a) the presence and resemblance of the small hemispherical bowls (*C.*, *sapela*) of which several were notched too and (b) morphological differences as to the upper parts of the keeled pots and large jars (*C.*, *samaku*). The necks are longer and more everted whereas the (shoulder) transition of the toric shaped vessels is smoother. In addition to the examples in this figure, we also point out the morphological resemblances between the Kali’na round pots No. 51.1.21.11.2 (Cornette 1992:58) and the ones of SM VII, i.e. globular jars with bevelled lips. We must also note that *kwepi* is by now highly favoured among the Kali’na potters whereas grog has been abandoned (ibid., p. 46). In my opinion, this comparison illustrates a certain degree of continuity and evolution regarding the production of Amerindian pottery along the French Guiana littoral between AD 1650 and 1900, as they belong to the same cultural sphere of interaction (Silliman 2009).
Conclusion

The site of Eva 2 consists of an Amerindian village inhabited during the post-Columbian period between c.AD 1650 and 1900. Several graves contain glass beads strongly suggesting that it was abandoned during the second half of the 19th century when the bodies were buried. Although this part of the Guiana littoral was inhabited by many Amerindian groups during early historic times, the Galibi eventually managed to predominate the region between Cayenne and Maroni after being pushed farther away towards the west throughout the colonial era (Turenne and Grenand 1979:5, Plate 17; Cornette 1988a:13–17; Collomb 2000). This remote area, beyond the Counamama River, was often called “Indian Country.” It was inhabited by Galibi who preferred to stay away from colonisation but nevertheless wished to keep in touch for economic reasons.336 This western

336 Here we can possibly also refer to the concept of the “Middle Ground” as proposed by Richard White (1991) for common ground between Amerindian and Colonist territory in northeastern North America, knowing that several Amerindian villages were still present within the colonist territory in French Guiana.
part of modern French Guiana was colonised during the second quarter of the 19th century whereas the village of Mana was founded first during the 1820s. The village of Saint-Laurent du Maroni in followed in 1856.

The hamlet of Malmanoury, situated halfway between Kourou and Sinnamary, belonged to a colonial frontier during the first half of the 18th century. It was entirely integrated into the western part of the expanding French colony of Cayenne or Guyane c.100 years later. The earliest dates of Eva 2 can be attributed to this first “frontier” part whereas the youngest dates (graves) can be attributed to the second “integrated” part of the colonial era. Thus, this site is situated on the verge of the old and the new, i.e. the transition from the archaeological LCA and Early Historic Age to modern Amerindian society, spanning c.300 years. The artefact assemblage at Eva 2 reflects this transition and modification of society. We deduced the abandonment of stone tools in favour of metal tools. Only grinding activities carried out with stone tools, materialised the presence of a (sporadic) grinding stone and a large number of hammer stones. The quasi-absence of any griddles (less than 1%) may reveal the adoption of the metal griddle although we did not find the latter.

Furthermore, despite the possibility that rectangular pits may have pre-Columbian origins (cf. Chapter 9) and/or reveal status, the Eva 2 rectangular pit may also include traces of Roman Catholic burial practices. If so, both the Catholic and “classic” Amerindian burial modes are present at the site of which six burials were found in a paired position (three pairs), revealing social memory of the dead, possibly represented by means of family and/or ancestors. Another change can be seen as to the ceramic production if we accept that Eva 2 pottery is made by (ancestors of) the Kali’na. However, in this case we can observe that the archaeological assemblage does not resemble the ceramic collections in museums at all. On the one hand, the vessel shapes and decorative motifs of the latter collections were not found at Eva 2. This reveals discontinuity but, on the other hand, the comparison with Cornette’s classification indicated it is very likely that the characteristic household Kali’na ware might indeed represent slightly modified equivalents of various Eva 2 modal series. This analysis permits us to hypothesize that the majority of the objects stored in museum collections are ceramics produced on demand for the local market which eventually developed into tourist production during the late 19th century. Presumably, this economic demand of European imitations and tourist ware represents an influence hailing from the neighbouring Dutch colony of Suriname. Here, from the second half of the 17th century on, the colonial society was much larger than in French Guiana.

This demand in exchange for European goods alters the Amerindian ceramic production. Innovation was now also coming from outside: the imitation of European vessels as well as the production of specific vessel shapes on a larger scale meant for a colonial society. The manufacture of pottery shifted from a local/regional production for domestic purposes to a production as a means of exchange. Producing their own domestic ware was subsequently less important because of the incoming metal pots and pans, as we have noted with regard to the griddles. However, specific vessels shapes persisted, notably the samaku and waresa. It is presumed that the persistence of the latter pottery—although the vessel shape changed slightly—is related to their function as recipients during ceremonies (e.g. rites of passage, funerary rites). Here
the consumption of cashiri was of vital significance during these rites, stressing the cultural identity and continuity (Fig. 10.11).

The gathering of Amerindian groups in the Jesuit missions of French Guiana from the beginning of the 18th century generated a process of ethnic recomposition. This favoured a cultural homogenisation debouching in the present-day culture of the Kali’na or Tílewuyu in western French Guiana. This cultural rebirth is still narrated among the Kali’na as the story of Epa’kano (Collomb and Tiouka 2000:73).

The declining Amerindian population, population dispersion, ethnic recomposition, and the growing colonial demand caused a restyling of the historic pottery tradition along the Guiana littoral, generating a ceramic uniformity among the various new nations of the late 19th century, as Collomb has correctly pointed out (2003:134). Similarities between regional pottery productions can be observed when comparing the Kali’na and Palikur pottery production, i.e. the exclusive use of kwepi as a temper, the morphology of large cashiri jars, the twin vessels, etc. Interestingly, both populations apply similar words for various aspects related to pottery production, evoking (frequent) contact between those groups. Moreover, basketry forms and decoration motifs are also shared among the same present-day Amerindian groups in French Guiana. This conforms to an apparent uniformity in the Kali’na and Palikur material culture (Davy 2007:185–194) as do various tales and myths (L. Green and D. Green 2010:40).

We conclude that the Eva 2 ceramic assemblage is of a rather early colonial date. It still displays many pre-Columbian traits. Therefore the Eva 2 ceramic assemblage can best be compared to the description presented by Jean de le Mousse [c.1680]. During the following centuries, the imitation of European vessels and the production for the regional colonial market set innovative standards for the Amerindian potters whereas the domestic production stagnated. It was replaced by iron tools, with the exception of the surviving ceremonial ceramic recipients.

In other words, we wish to class this assemblage as the Malmanoury ceramic complex. This historic ceramic complex is situated between pre-Columbian and modern times and affiliated to the historic Carib, or Galibi, in French Guiana. The link with the Galibi is evident as described in the historic résumé of the present chapter (cf. Section 11.7). It stresses the historic affinity to this predominant Amerindian population of the western coastal plains of French Guiana from the second half of the 17th century on. Without doubt, this complex finds its roots in the pre-Columbian period. However, it had been influenced by means of the introduction of European goods, hereby deteriorating its daily use. At the same time, the production turns more towards the incoming economic power in their (former) territory. Eventually, it develops a parallel production based on

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337 For example, the anonymous journal of Carpentras signals that drinking feasts or caouynages among the Island Caribs, notably with cashiri drink, are organised between villages for all sorts of occasions: ‘Et puis une infinité d’autres, qui ne durent qu’environ un jour ou un jour et demi, comme à la naissance de leurs enfants, et au bout du mois qu’il est né, qu’un lui perce le nez, au premier degré d’honneur qu’ils passent, qui est en l’âge de 9 ou 10 ans’ (Anonyme de Carpentras 2013 :58-59).

338 Despite the uniformity of basketry shapes in French Guiana, each group has its own style. Davy further concluded that each group (e.g. Kali’na, Palikur, Wayana, Teko, Mayapal) shared at least three similar objects, to wit tipiti (manioc press), matutu, pamakai (footed manioc basket) and samatu or pagara (boxes). The latter, in particular, serve as recipients for goods that had to be carried over long distances in networks of exchange within the Guianas, as Lucia van Velthem (2006) reports on basketry. Finally, it must be said here that material culture is a strong identity marker and concerns a group’s ethos, confirming its identity.
the economic demand featuring a variety of imitations, fantasy objects, adapted decoration motifs and finally a competitive tourist ware. It is noteworthy to add an interesting observation made by Peter Kloos (1971:259–260) concerning the present-day Kali’na culture: ‘Reading early sources on the Caribs I was usually struck by two, quite opposed, facts. It appeared that certain sociocultural elements had changed enormously, while other had remained remarkably stable.’

If we wish to ascribe the Malmanoury complex to an existing archaeological framework, it would be Koriabo (Koriaban Marajoaroid) or even the predominantly historic Cayo complex considering the Lesser Antilles. If we wish to ascribe this complex to a contemporary Amerindian population, it would be the (various) ancestors of modern Kali’na. It may be clear that the last 300 years have modified Amerindian society. Nevertheless it has also generated another local and/or regional complex making it difficult to compare them.

However, according to Boomert, modern Kali’na and Palikur pottery can be attributed to the Aristan subseries of the Amazonian Polychrome Tradition (Boomert 1995:30, 2004:260–261). For the record, this presents us with delicate matter: Late Aristé and Koriabo are both affiliated to the Polychrome Tradition, share many stylistic and morphological similarities and coexisted along the eastern Guiana littoral. In fact, the polychrome elements, ascribed to both Koriabo and Late Aristé ceramic complexes, found at Eva 2 are extremely rare. The absence of characteristic incision modes cannot serve in order to ascribe them to one of the Marajoaroid or Polychrome subseries. This leaves us with toric vessel shapes, red paint and notched rims to confort the existing chrono-cultural framework. This appears too coarse for the Eva 2 ceramic assemblage. Hence, the proposition of a Malmanoury ceramic complex. Indeed, Boomert’s attribution is probably too bold as it does not account for the many changes and indigenous complexity of the colonial era. The mere existence of pottery production among these populations is no proof of any regional continuity, but rather the result of a surviving population undergoing numerous alterations in their society from the 16th century on. This view also stresses the fact that linguistic affiliation between prehistoric ceramic complexes and historic (or modern) indigenous languages are difficult to demonstrate, especially regarding the homogenisation of ceramic traditions. For this matter, using style instead of language is more appropriate when distinguishing a Kal’ina or Palikur vessel, as Collomb proposed (2003:146).

339 Interestingly, in the same BAR publication, Rostain and Versteeg (2004:238) attribute certain contemporaneous characteristics of Palikur pottery to the Arauquinoïd Tradition hereby opposing Boomert’s analysis, who completely ignores the former hypothesis (Boomert 2004:258, note 10).

340 It may be clear that further archaeological research is needed in order to untangle the Late Aristé and Koriabo stylistic similarities. This is probably beyond the scope of the present study. This future research should be conducted in eastern French Guiana or northern Amapá where both ceramic complexes coexist, focussing on the regional diversity based on a consequent ceramic study of funerary and habitation sites.