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Streams of Memory:
Cultural Selection, Monumentalism, and the Collapse of History in the (re) Fashioning of
Amazonia.

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Doctor of
Philosophy

in

History

by

James C. Deavenport

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Professor Dana Murillo
Professor Nancy Postero
Professor Eric Van Young
Professor Matthew Vitz

2018

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Chair

University of California, San Diego

2018

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the memories and people of Amazonia, especially those whose names remain forgotten.

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Streams of Memory:
Cultural Selection, Monumentalism, and the Collapse of History in the (re) fashioning of
Amazonia.

by

James C. Deavenport

Doctor of Philosophy in History

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Professor Christine Hunefeldt, Chair

Today Amazonia faces two major threats: The first is ecocide in the form of deforestation, which contributes to global climate change and is adding to the list of organisms that are casualties of “the sixth great (and human caused) extinction” of flora and fauna in Earth’s history. Meanwhile the twin menace of ethnocide endangers the continuation of indigenous human cultures in the area as state-sanctioned so-called development encroaches on native territories and lifeways. In order to begin understanding how these threats have developed, this dissertation

is ultimately part of a broader conversation within the history of ideas that seeks to examine these questions: what and where is Amazonia, and how has Amazonia changed over time? This is explored through a process of *monumentalism* by cultural selection, or more directly, the privileging of certain ideas and memories rather than other competing (and indigenous) memories, conceptions, or visions. It is the central argument that the power to appropriate and refashion (the power to remember) these memories are central to the process of historical, ecological, and cultural change in Amazonia from thousands of years ago until 2017. Finally, it is hoped that by better understanding this process, that Amazonia and its people's rights may be better understood, respected, and continue to flourish.

Introduction

I. *General Argument, and Central Theoretical Threads*

This dissertation is situated within a recently growing body of scholarship¹ that questions the notion (within both popular and academic historical memory), which imagines Amazonia, starting centuries ago and lasting until the present, as a pristine region “without history.” Rather, research over the last 20 years in the sciences, humanities, and social sciences increasingly recognizes that humans have (at multiple periods across the Amazonian past), flourished (and at moments failed) in utilizing and refashioning the region’s environment without degrading both biological and cultural diversity on the present alarming scale. This dissertation seeks to explain some of the ways in which such conceptions have been altered and refracted through historical memories, which constantly refashion imaginations of Amazonian time and space. Therefore, the central point of this dissertation argues that in order to more fully understand the processes of ecocide, ethnocide, and historicide² which are concurrently responsible for the ongoing destruction of Amazonia’s human and natural diversity, the tangled roots of long and related historical struggle for human and ecological rights throughout the region must be more widely acknowledged. In order to examine multiple events within this history, my dissertation situates

¹ Earle, Rebecca. *The Return of the Native: Indians and Myth-Making in Spanish America, 1810–1930*. Duke University Press, 2007, Scott, James C. *Seeing like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998, Hobsbawm, E. J., and T. O. Ranger. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ Press, 2012, and Trouillot, Michel-Rolph, and Hazel V. Carby. *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2015.

² Historicide is understood here as the (attempted) destruction of historical memory. Another definition explains, “The power to control and define the historical past is perhaps the ultimate form of hegemony. Historicide, or the removal of peoples from their histories, is radically disempowering because it obscures [such] historical processes...” For more See: Hill, Jonathan David. *History, Power, and Identity: Ethnogenesis in the Americas, 1492-1992*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1996. Pg. 16

this process in a *longue durée*³ framework over the course of many centuries from pre-Columbian period (pre-1492) until the first decades of the 21st century.

The dissertation will be organized to present each chapter as a series of ‘moments’ to demonstrate some of the ways in which this struggle has transformed what we call *the Amazon* from the pre-colonial period to the present within a global context. This will be argued over the course of five chapters in addition to short introduction and conclusion sections. These will provide a basic background and historiography in addition to describing and situating the methodological and theoretical structures of the piece. Each chapter will be presented only as a ‘moment.’ They are therefore, by design limited in scope, but they ultimately build toward, and are vitally important to, understanding the history of Amazonia as they represent larger “collapses of history”⁴ that have greatly altered trajectories of the Amazonian past. This and other theoretical frameworks will be expanded upon in the third section of this introduction entitled: “*Methodology and Theoretical Framework.*” While the study will incorporate the work of many scholars from Agamben to Einstein, it is also especially influenced by the theory of *monumentalism* by cultural selection, along with the “collapse of history”⁵ to incorporate multiple temporalities that breakdown the narrow conception of linear time.

Monumentalism occurs when certain ideas, expressed through built environments, social traditions, individual lives, ontologies, or “ways of being” emerge from particular environments

³ For more on the notion of the Longue Durée, See: Lee, Richard E. *The Longue Durée and World-Systems Analysis*. New York: State University of New York Press, 2012.

⁴ This is in part formed from the notion of punctuated equilibria, one definition of which explains: “Punctuated equilibrium addresses the origin and deployment of species in geological time” Punctuational styles of change characterize other phenomena at other scales as well—catastrophic mass extinctions triggered by bolide impacts, for example.” Gould, Stephen Jay. *Punctuated Equilibrium*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap of Harvard UP, 2007. Print.

⁵ The notion is in part rooted in seeking to understand history taking into account new discoveries and notions of cosmology demonstrated (on at least my part) through *An Introduction to Big History*. Berkeley: University of California, 2004. Print. and Einstein’s theory of general relativity, Einstein, Albert. *Relativity: The Special and General Theory*. University of Michigan and Henry Holt and, 1920. Print.

and are imbued with significance. Over time, these “monuments” or traditions are selectively maintained, refashioned, or incorporated further into hegemonic historical narratives.⁶ Such constructions are variably adopted through affinity, circumstance and evangelizing, or are imposed through domination. Conversely, others are abandoned and lose significance, or are demolished.

The “collapse of history” as a theoretical concept is employed to describe how moments separated by centuries or millennia along more traditional (linear) conceptions of historical time can collapse around a “singularity” of time and space through historical consciousness and memory. For instance, recalling particular memories helps people to create a connection that cognitively constructs a link joining these two seemingly disparate periods into a singular historical moment. This concept is in part an attempt to understand history taking into account new discoveries and notions of cosmology. Finally, “Streams of Memory” is part of a larger scholarly and popular conversation discussing the ongoing struggle against “othering” and the striving for natural, civil, economic, human, and ecological rights in the region and some of the (often failed) quests for utopian Amazonian futures.⁷ While particular elements of this discussion have been included in many works and numerous histories of Amazonia, this dissertation presents three interventions:

1) It defines major ecological and cultural changes within a single narrative that describes and integrates Amazonia as a space connected to global, local, and regional histories;

⁶ For more on Gramsci and the concept of Hegemony, see: Adamson, Walter L. “Hegemony and Revolution.” *Google Books*, University of California Press, 1983, books.google.com/books/about/Hegemony_and_Revolution.html?id=AEP21CWWyqYC.

⁷ For more on the historical development of the notion of “human rights,” See: Ishay, Micheline. *The History of Human Rights: From Ancient times to the Globalization Era*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004 and Headley, John M. *The Europeanization of the World: On the Origins of Human Rights and Democracy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008.

2) It demonstrates how indigenous, Afro-Amazonian, and other peoples were intimately connected to colonial and state projects and the flows of global capital;

3) While presented as a chronological narrative, the work also seeks to critically engage with non-western notions of time, most centrally through “the collapse of history.” This concept is related to the “ethnographic present” and “deconstruction” in order to demonstrate how different historical layers and memories of Amazonia have contributed to shape the present. Many works, including *In Search of the Amazon*, *The Invention of Nature*, *With Broadax and Firebrand*, and *Indios Amazonicos* have inspired sections of this dissertation, which also acts as a synthesis of these and other sources of scholarship related to Amazonian historical memory.⁸

II. Dissertation Organization, Literature Review and Sources

Chapter 1 – Cultured Ground: The Intersections of Cultural and Natural Selection in the History of Amazonia: An Introduction to the Region’s Precolonial Ecological and Cultural Environments

The first chapter will begin by tracing the development of human memory including the intersection between cultural and natural selection to provide a basis for understanding some of the impacts of indigenous Amazonian societies upon the area we call “Amazonia” by presenting a synthesis of primary and secondary information about the cultural/historical ecology of the region. To do so, this chapter will also examine ethnographic, archaeological, and archival sources. Through these sources, it will attempt to describe potential pre-colonial conceptualizations and uses of Amazonian geographical space, while examining the consequences that result from the use of agroforestry techniques and landscape management by

⁸ Garfield, Seth. *In Search of the Amazon: Brazil, the United States, and the Nature of a Region*. Duke University Press, 2014, Wulf, Andrea. “The Invention of Nature.” *Google Books*, Vintage Books, 2016, books.google.com/books?id=kukrDQAAQBAJ, Dean, Warren. “With Broadax and Firebrand.” *Google Books*, University of California Press, 1997, books.google.com/books?id=MYL2Esiy-IMC, and Sierra De La Calle, Blas. *Indios Amazónicos : La Vida En La Selva Tropical*. Valladolid: Museo Oriental, 1992

indigenous Amazonian peoples. This use and influence will also be addressed in places where relatively large populations could (and are increasingly acknowledged to) have existed.

This section will also incorporate archaeological concepts that view the landscape itself as an archaeological “artifact.” by influential Amazonian archaeologists such as William Denevan along with: Marcus Heckenberger, Anna Roosevelt, as well as Clark Ericson and Betty Meggers.⁹ The first chapter will therefore trace the existence of anthropogenic soils such as *terras pretas* (dark/nutrient rich soils)¹⁰ that reveal evidence for intense agroforestry, in addition to ethnography and other forms of material/visual culture that will be used to provide a potential moment of Amazonian life before the Columbian arrival.

Finally, this chapter will also include potential archaeological surveys of sites related to the Chachapoyas culture in the Andean-Amazonian “cloud forests” along with data from the Caribbean in order to contextualize the greatest range of the region’s networks of ideas, communications, trade, etc. during the pre-colonial past. These will ultimately help to provide a sweeping look into the nature of Amazonian societies and greater understanding of how the region functioned as a “pre-colonial world system”¹¹ *before* it became known as the Amazon. While other scholars have noted some of these historiographic debates, this chapter is unique by presenting a synthesis of this regional space that represented an incredibly complex and more

⁹ For more on the notion of the forest as an anthropogenic landscape, See: Denevan, William M. *Cultivated Landscapes of Native Amazonia and the Andes: Triumph over the Soil*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2001 and Heckenberger, Michael. *The Ecology of Power: Culture, Place, and Personhood in the Southern Amazon, A.D. 1000-2000*. New York: Routledge, 2005 and Balée, William L., and Roosevelt, Anna Curtenius. *Amazonian Indians from Prehistory to the Present: Anthropological Perspectives*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1994, Clark L. Erickson. *Time and Complexity in Historical Ecology: Studies in the Neotropical Lowlands*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2006 and Meggers, Betty Jane. *Amazonia: Man and Culture in a Counterfeit Paradise*. Chicago: Aldine, Atherton, 1971.

¹⁰ For more on Terras Pretas, See: Woods, William I. *Amazonian Dark Earths: Wim Sombroek's Vision*. Dordrecht: Springer, 2009.

¹¹ For more on this notion, See: Wallerstein, Immanuel Maurice. *World-systems Analysis: An Introduction*. Durham: Duke UP, 2004. Print.

integrated area than is generally appreciated. Consequently, this chapter is vital to establishing a basis for understanding the intersecting webs of ecological and cultural change in later chapters following the “birth” of Amazonia.

Chapter 2 – Inventing the Amazon: Monumentalism and Imagined Space in Post- Columbian Amazonia

The second chapter will examine this process of memory and ecological/cultural¹² change within a broader process of human rights discourse linked to the debate(s) concerning the “humanity” of indigenous peoples by focusing on the moment of the naming of the Amazon, the early international scope of expeditions explored through chronicles and histories of the region. This chapter provides a critical account of the historiography of old world individuals who helped to conceptualize and name the region we call “the Amazon” as a geographically, socially, politically, and culturally constructed space within a global albeit western dominated, collective memory.¹³

Such works include those by (and concerning): Vicente Yáñez Pinzón, Columbus, Claudius Ptolemy, Francisco de Orellana/ Gaspar de Carvajal, Pedro de Ursúa /Lope de Aguirre’s search for the Omagua. Finally, the Klein Venedig/ Philipp von Hutten/Welser, along with Ottoman and Dutch interest in the region, the (forced) arrivals of people of African descent, as well as the expeditions of Sir Walter Raleigh in search of El Dorado will also be included. This section is important, as no works (known at present) have sought to historically situate

¹² While many different theoretical approaches, definitions, and conflicts concern the definition of “culture,” it is largely understood here that through “the evolution of cultural artefacts, for example, the critical objects of selection are not ‘primitive’ units of information but packages of ‘techno-memes’ (Stankiewicz 2000 : 230) assembled in a design space which generates the domain of possibilities open to innovators searching for locally optimal solutions.” Therefore, culture is understood as the selection of those artifacts (or artefacts).

¹³ Here scholars whose work deals with collective memory/space who will be looked to for methodological and theoretical guidance include: Koselleck, Reinhart, and Todd Samuel. Presner. *The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History, Spacing Concepts*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002, Nora, Pierre, and Lawrence D. Krizman. *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French past*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996,

initial impacts of the intrusion upon Amazonian societies, ecologies, and individuals in the attempts to establish imperial projects within Amazonian space from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries within such a transnational framework of collective memory and inter-imperial competition.

These views will also include critiques by examining some Amazonian conceptions of their homeland that contrast with the imaginations of outsiders along with evidence of the first Amazonian peoples to travel throughout the Atlantic world. Such information and accounts will largely be drawn from studies examining ethnolinguistic connections that have links to the pre-Columbian past along with descriptions gleaned from chronicles, archival texts, ethnobotanical, and ethnographic/oral accounts. Consequently, this section will be important to establish the initial views of old and new world peoples, their descriptions, impressions, prejudices, and imaginings of Amazonia in order to establish a comparison with the archaeological record from Chapter 1, the mission period in Chapter 3, as well as in later chapters of the dissertation.

Chapter 3 – Crossing Imaginary Lines: The Monumentalism of Forced Labor, Enslavement, Resistance, and Some of the Many Endeavors for Spiritual and Temporal Conquest in the Selvas of Amazonia

Chapter three will focus on the background to inter-imperial conflicts and the enslavement of Amazonian peoples that contributed toward the attempts of economic, spiritual, cultural, and ecological conquest represented by the Jesuit missions (more accurately, reducciones) of Maynas¹⁴ beginning with the arrival of encomenderos¹⁵ and the founding of San Francisco de Borja in 1618 and ending with the expulsion of La Compañía de Jesús, in 1767.

¹⁴ Maynas roughly stretched during this period from the Andean Amazon in Perú and Ecuador to the Rio Negro in Brazil

¹⁵ For brevity, here I adopt the short definition of encomienda here described as “a grant of [indigenous peoples] in trust,” which can be found in: Ramírez, Susan E. *The World Upside Down: Cross-cultural Contact and Conflict in Sixteenth-century Perú*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996. Pg. 1

This section will also chart the founding of the missions along with the negotiations with indigenous groups such as the Omaguas, Cocamas, and Xeveros, while also paying particular attention to the impact on notions of collective memory and ecological change throughout the period.

Examination of mission life will be a critical component of this study. This includes an assessment of the missions' ecological footprint along with structures they sought to impose particular memories through education, for instance by instructing "neophytes" in Quechua in the reducciones. Other methods of education include attempts to introduce old world flora and fauna through (ultimately unsuccessful) economic endeavors such as cattle ranching.¹⁶ This chapter will also look at the maintenance and refashioning of pre-colonial structures, networks, and traditions that survived and were altered by the mission experience. Importantly, forms of resistance and negotiation from initial contacts to major eruptions of violence that inhibited riverine travel along Amazonian tributaries in Maynas such as in the Huallaga river valley will also be discussed.

The Jesuits' shaping of among the largest global communication networks during the period will be included within the analysis to situate and continue the Amazon with global networks through time. This will help to counter the erroneous historical memory that Amazonia has remained "pristine" by demonstrating that the Amazon (at least in particular areas described in the dissertation) has been connected to broader networks through trade, language, life ways, religion, slavery, marriage, etc. This section will also seek to complicate the position of the Society of Jesus by understanding the missions as part of a "spiritual conquest." Therefore, this chapter additionally argues that the missions represented a situation parallel to Giorgio

¹⁶ Reátegui Chuquipiondo, Pedro Ricardo. *El Sistema Educativo Misional En Las Reducciones Jesuitas De Maynas: Una Experiencia Educativa En La Amazonia Peruana*. Iquitos, Perú: CRA, 2001.

Agamben's notion of "bare life,"¹⁷ by both striving to protect and deny the agency of indigenous peoples living within the reducciones of La *Compañía De Jesús*. Finally, the end of the chapter contains a short epilogue discussing the fate of the mission centers and assess the possibility that covert Jesuit activities continuing through Maynas after the criminalization and expulsion of the order in 1767.

Chapter 4 – Encountering the State and the Collapse of History: Resistance and the Impacts of State Formation upon Amazonian Ideas, Societies, and Life-ways

This chapter adopts a *longue dureé* perspective and will be divided into six parts that focus upon some of the numerous ways that the late colonial and national states increasingly inserted themselves into Amazonian spaces in and around the area that had been Jesuit Maynas during a long 19th century (1768-1900). Part I of the chapter examines Maynas in the decade following the expulsion of the Jesuits. Part II examines how ideas connected to justifying and maintaining the system of enslaving African peoples were "encountered" and embodied in Dutch Guiana (present-day Suriname) during the 1770s. Part III returns the narrative to the main channel of the Amazon River in order to understand events in the region until the late colonial period (roughly ending here in 1809), as part IV of the chapter describes Maynas during the independence (1809 -1830), especially discussing the intersection between local, regional, and South American interests. Part V of the chapter uses traveler accounts to demonstrate the evangelizing, appropriation, refashioning, and maintenance of particular ideas related to the state, along the main channel of the Amazon between 1830 and 1880. Finally, Part VI concludes by collapsing history in order to discuss the impact of these structures on the Asháninka people (who live in the Peruvian-Andean Amazon, as well as around the city of Chachapoyas).

¹⁷ For more on this notion, See: Agamben, Giorgio, and Daniel Heller-Roazen. *Homo Sacer*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998.

Some of the encounters explored include later expeditions on the part of Germans, the United States, and the United Kingdom. These neocolonial powers sought spiritual, economic, intellectual, and spatial conquest along with the expansion of networks, goods, and ideas that have all contributed to both integrating Amazonia with global networks, and which have divided the space. One brief example is the creation of urban environments around a grid pattern during this time.¹⁸ Specific urban spaces that will be examined include: Chachapoyas, Moyobamba, Laguna, and Yurimaguas in Perú and Leticia/Tabatinga and Manaus in Colombia/Brazil respectively.

This chapter is integral to the project for two reasons. 1) It acknowledges the collapse of history, representing simultaneously the major changes unleashed by state penetration of Amazonia. This can be seen through the expansion of urban spaces as well as the desire to maintain traditional lifeways, welcome, or resist such intrusions. 2) By seeking to represent one of the only accounts that centers upon indigenous or lesser shared points of view, where possible and appropriate (even within commonly cited works), this chapter seeks to denaturalize this process and incorporate greater appreciation of the impacts and agency of Amazonian peoples in relation to these state building projects.

To accomplish the task, chapter four will apply broader theories including world systems analysis¹⁹ and postmodern critiques of logocentrism²⁰ within the field that help with an

¹⁸ For just some examples of works dealing with such networks, See: Brown, Matthew, and Gabriel B. Paquette. *Connections after Colonialism: Europe and Latin America in the 1820s*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2013, Fisher, Andrew B., and Matthew D. O'Hara. *Imperial Subjects: Race and Identity in Colonial Latin America*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009, and Andrien, Kenneth J. *The Human Tradition in Colonial Latin America*. Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2002. The work, Masterson, Daniel M., and Sayaka Funada-Classen. *The Japanese in Latin America*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004 is another particularly interesting example of networks sustained and altered by diasporic/national identity.

¹⁹ For more on world system theory, See: Wallerstein, Immanuel Maurice. *World-systems Analysis: An Introduction*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2004.

²⁰ For more on the concept of logocentrism, see: Neel, Jasper P. *Plato, Derrida, and Writing*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1988.

understanding that such textual materials (especially in the Amazonian environment) make a chronologically belated (and usually fleeting) appearance. Consequently, this section will include examinations through multiple archives of historical materials including information obtained from oral histories. These all act as historical memory that preserves botanical knowledge of the forest. It will also examine how the creation and shifting of socio-political boundaries among viceroyalties, audiencias, bishoprics, post-independence states, and language networks along with changes in agriculture (monocropping), and more cultural/social transformations including modes of dress, belief structures, and notions of who/what represents “authentic Amazonia.”

Lastly, a variety of maps from the colonial period to the present will be assessed to demonstrate the constellations and webs of intersecting jurisdictions that individuals and groups created, navigated, and avoided throughout Amazonia’s long 19th century.²¹ These maps will be employed along with textual and ethnographic sources to describe how narratives that compete with western progressive historical memory or memories of ecological and cultural regression unleashed by such development. These will help to complicate our understanding of these processes upon the lives of groups and individuals who survived the mission period and the new era following the deconstruction of the Jesuit’s “spiritual state.”

Chapter 5 – Iquitos to Brasília: Nostalgia, Positivism, Urbanization, and Utopias in Amazonia from the Late 19th through Early 21st Centuries

During the Jesuit missionary period in Maynas and the long 19th century which saw increasing encounters first with the Iberian, and later with post-independence states, many of the descendants of the Omaguas, Cocamas, Xeveros and others moved (or were forced) increasingly

²¹ These will come from a variety of sources including the U.S. Library of Congress, The Archivo Historico de Limites, Lima, the Perthes Collection in Germany, and the Archivo General de Indias in Sevilla, Spain.

into the Andean Amazon or to places such as Belém near the river's estuary.²² This chapter continues this story by describing particular moments, monuments, and images of urbanization across Amazonia (particularly in urban spaces such as Iquitos and Belém), to examine how the growth of cities altered and refashioned Amazonian memories and spaces over time. It will thus help to introduce and deepen an understanding of events shaping the Amazonian present, which has reached an ecologically and historically critical juncture that will shape the region for many years, and likely centuries to come.²³

To accomplish its goals of demonstrating larger trends in urbanization, Chapter 5 represents a moment that charts the process of urbanization in the cities of Iquitos, Perú, along with Manaus and Belém in Brazil since the 1880s. While the chapter begins with a short introduction describing the foundations of these cities such as Belém's founding as a fort by the Portuguese in 1616, it will mostly focus upon the 19th and 20th centuries, and later on the ecological and cultural impacts of constructing Brazil's new Amazonian capital in Brasilia during the 1950s. The chapter will continue by describing some of Belém's early industries including logging and ship building, which intimately altered, culturally selected, and refashioned the indigenous ecology. Other examples include attempts at cattle ranching, the slave trade (rowers or human power for riverine transport) and the production of knowledge (especially through Jesuit networks). The section will expand by searching for greater detail concerning the region, revisiting, albeit briefly, the Cabanagem "Rebellion" that took place along the main channel of the Amazon between 1835-40, which helped tie the region to Brazil and the

²² For more on this process, see: Sweet, David Graham. *A Rich Realm of Nature Destroyed: The Middle Amazon Valley, 1640-1750*. Milwaukee, WI: University of Wisconsin, 1975.

²³ However, further detail concerning the region's precarious contemporary situation will be expanded upon in the final chapter.

region's subsequent change through the "rubber boom."²⁴ This period in the late 19th and early 20th centuries is uniquely important by representing a particular "threshold moment"²⁵ that began accelerating changes to the region's urban, cultural, and ecological landscape.

With a short connection to Amazonia's history of extractive industries from timber to oil that have been useful to generating power,²⁶ this section also describes the expansion of modern technology and urban planning in Iquitos, Perú along with Manaus and Belem in Brazil. It will specifically examine the expansion of urban railways such as Belém's electric streetcar system, Madeira-Mamoré Railroad, shipping, and "domesticated nature linked to privileged memories" in urban parks that sought to present a particular version of the Amazon to citizens of states governing Amazonia and to the outside world. It will also look at changing gender roles and sexuality throughout the modernization process, as greater global cultural and capital networks have become increasingly evident in the lives of the vast majority of Belem's people.

Ultimately, these will help to reconstruct a moment representing how people's relationships with one another have changed through periods of modernization and the disruptions, connections, etc., which this process of monumentalism by cultural selection has helped to bring about. This particular section of the chapter accounts for memories related to the collapse of history related to the expansion of modern Amazonian urbanism in cities such as Belém today. The chapter utilizes photography and other visual texts gathered through photographic surveys of the cities from various visual and textual archives in and around urban Amazonia.

²⁴ This assertion was notably made in the interesting work: Harris, Mark. *Rebellion on the Amazon: The Cabanagem, Race, and Popular Culture in the North of Brazil, 1798-1840*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

²⁵ This concept is further explained in: Christian, David. "The History of Our World in 18 Minutes." TED: Ideas worth Spreading. March 2011. Accessed January 09, 2018. https://www.ted.com/talks/david_christian_big_history.

²⁶ By this I mean fuel from timber to natural photosynthesis and petroleum products.

The chapter then concludes with an examination of the Brazilian state's expansion into the interior with the founding of Brasilia and major infrastructure projects representing another "punctuated equilibrium" that has brought forth the massive "development" of Amazonian space into what is described as part of the "*Selva Nueva*," or the emerging shape of the "new Amazonian forest." Such massive undertakings include the Belém to Brasilia highway and major dams such as the Belo Monte, which are reshaping Amazonian space in drastic ways through flooding and clear cutting as represented by individual and collective memories.²⁷ Therefore, the section will end with a brief overview of the major expansion of "modern" urban Amazonia during the early 21st century.

III. Methodology and Theoretical Framework

Methodology:

The principal methodologies derive from standards that have developed within historiography both specific to Amazonia and to the fields of history as well within the social sciences and humanities. In order to accomplish the tasks ahead in the dissertation, I call upon a number of different methodologies ranging from textual analysis within historiographic norms to considerations of ethnography and ethnobotany. The dissertation will also incorporate methods from the biological and geophysical sciences through examining the pharmacological impact of plants, discussions of "soil-science" (the chemical analysis of anthrosoils,²⁸ and GIS (geographic information systems) through Google Earth Pro. This is displayed here through a process called "chronography." In order to visualize this, the dissertation also incorporates digital mapping (GIS) along with 3D Scanning in order to discuss how these tools might be useful in preserving

²⁷ For more, See: Brunn, Stanley D. *Engineering Earth: The Impacts of Megaengineering Projects*. Dordrecht: Springer Verlag, 2011.

²⁸ Woods, William I. *Amazonian Dark Earths: Wim Sombroek's Vision*. Dordrecht: Springer, 2009.

Amazonian histories that are facing major ecological and human threats. This is primarily responsible for the longer nature of the dissertation. While, I am incorporating particular maps and to critically engage with the limitations of such technology, it is hoped that this type of platform can contribute to a broader conversation about the field of history and “the digital turn,” the social sciences, arts, and humanities and engaging actively in confronting problems facing our planet.

Finally, three-dimensional (3D) imaging of urban and forest environments along with particular objects and biological specimen that will be made accessible in the final digital version of the work so that natural and human environments, artifacts, and everyday parts of the “historical commons” can and should be viewed by the public. Where possible, historical data will be embedded within such imaging and photography so that the reader in further detail can examine these spaces and sources.

Most archival research took place over the course of four seasons of fieldwork conducted largely over the summers between 2012 and 2015 and the dissertation has been written over the period until early 2018. In 2012, with access to consult the Archivo General De la Nación Bogotá, Biblioteca Amazonica, Iquitos Perú, Biblioteca ILAP, Iquitos Perú, Biblioteca Universidad Nacional De La Amazonia Peruana, Iquitos in order to get some sense of local archival documents mostly concerning Maynas and the early colonial period, though some documents from the 1800s were also obtained. These are of course held in government/academic archives (especially as Lima and Bogotá were viceregal capitals and Quito the center of an Audiencia) and so are biased as preserving more institutional information. Rather than personal accounts and even where some of these have been obtained, the sources generally reflect elite

points of view though they also discuss Amazonian lifeways and ideas as well. However, some of the texts from Amazonian sources also describe more local histories and narratives.

This initial season was followed up in 2013, with generous funding from a CILAS (Center of Iberian and Latin American Studies) Travel Grant I was able to consult the Archivo de Limites, Lima, Archivo Historico de Limites Ecuador, Archivo Nacional de Ecuador, Archivo Nacional Del Perú, and the Biblioteca del Ministerio de la Cultura Del Perú. These followed up on initial findings in the previous summer and allowed for the gathering of more textual documents, and greater understanding between the colonial administrative centers with Maynas from the 16th through 21st centuries. Finally, the Mindalae – Museo Etnográfico de Artesanía de Ecuador was visited to research material culture from the Ecuadorian Amazon.

2014 Departmental funding as part of UC San Diego's "Amazonia Project" allowed for returning to Amazonian space in the Archaeological site of Kuélap, the Reserva Ecológica Tingana, as well as local administrative centers such as Chachapoyas, Moyobamba, and Tarapoto. These were useful in understanding trade in the Marañón Huallaga River valleys, while allowing for greater understanding of medicinal plants as well as ecological and cultural diversity in the Peruvian departments of San Martin and Amazonas. In 2015, meanwhile, generous research funding from the Tinker Foundation allowed me to return to the Archivo General de la Nación in Bogotá, and to consult the Mueseum Etnografico de Leticia, Sinchi, Archivo Histórico de Cartagena de Indias, and the Biblioteca Bartolome Calvo in Cartagena de Indias concerning the pre-colonial through 21st centuries.

Finally, 2016 a History Department Dissertation Writing Grant at the University of California San Diego allowed me to begin more fully writing, organizing, and editing the

chapters of the dissertation. Numerous digital sources, including the Internet Archive, Wikimedia, Google Books, and Spanish online archives including the Archivo General de Salamanca and the Archivo General de Indias, Archivos Estatales, Archivo General de Simancas, Archivo Histórico Nacional de España, and others have also been used particularly over the course of 2017. Consulting these in combination with secondary sources allowed for piecing together a multilingual conversation concerning how Amazonia has been understood and approached by different cultures since the pre-colonial period until today.

Theoretical Framework

This dissertation will make use of multiple theoretical frameworks and is thus, indebted to an ever-growing number of theorists. Perhaps the most critical theoretical tools, which tie the work together, include the notion of “*monumentalism* by cultural selection”²⁹ and the “collapse of history.”³⁰ Monumentalism is defined as a human process through which certain “monuments” or ideas, or memes expressed through physical structures, traditions, or ways of being emerge from particular environments and are selected or imbued with significance. Such constructions are variably adopted through affinity, circumstance and evangelizing, or are imposed through domination. Conversely, others are abandoned and lose significance, or are demolished.³¹ Over time, these “monuments”³² or traditions are selectively maintained, refashioned, or incorporated further into historical consciousness, thus shaping both the human and natural histories of areas

²⁹ For more on the notion of cultural selection, See: Taylor, Gary. *Cultural Selection*. New York: Basic Books, 1996 and Runciman, W. G. *The Theory of Cultural and Social Selection*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

³⁰ For more on this again, see Pg. 2 above

³¹ This is also partly informed by the notion of “ethnocide.” For more, again see: *Wade Davis on Endangered Cultures | Video on TED.com*. Dir. Wade Davis. Perf. Wade Davis. *TED: Ideas worth Spreading*. TED, Jan. 2007. Web. 11 May 2009. <http://www.ted.com/talks/lang/eng/wade_davis_on_endangered_cultures.html>.

³² These are influenced by the notion of monuments as places of memory by Pierre Nora. For more, See: Nora, P., & Kritzman, L. D. (1996). *Realms of memory: Rethinking the French Past*. New York: Columbia University Press.

around the world. Monumentalism here is connected yet distinct from other forms of cultural and social selection as it concerns the process of fashioning and refashioning historical memory.

Another central theoretical tool, the collapse of history, is adapted from a version of Stephen Jay Gould's notion of *Punctuated equilibrium*, Albert Einstein's *theory of general relativity* as well as the notion of the "ethnographic present."³³ It is defined as: how memories, events, etc. that are separated by various time-frames, even by thousands of years, directly connect to, greatly influence, alter, impact, and/or preconfigure, another event, moment or "singularity" Such moments are shaped by not one, but rather *every* particular historical event or actor that led up to and prefigured it. I use this second term to note that many different variables influence an event in time. For instance, the construction of a highway is the product of many events, people, and ideas. This new road though not always directly responsible, allows for buildings to be built along it, and eventually more infrastructure like sewage and electric lines placed, according to these buildings and the street layout, etc. Obviously, such collapses of history vary in significance at various individual regional national and global levels given specific circumstances. This is especially true given the focus on memory within this dissertation as memories (like trauma) can exist long after an event and can be recalled by those who have never experienced a particular event "firsthand." In essence, one may not have lived *through* something but lives *with* the results of that event.

The selection is further indebted to scholars such as Michel-Rolph Trouillot's *Silencing the Past*, which played a role particularly in further considering how monumentalism is tied to

³³ For a quick reference to the ethnographic present, see: Fardon, Richard, Oliva Harris, and Trevor H J Marchand. "The SAGE Handbook of Social Anthropology." Google Books/SAGE. July 25, 2012. Accessed January 10, 2018. https://books.google.com/books?id=YylRCwAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false.

identity and shapes cultural knowledge.³⁴ Therefore, this notion of a “silenced past” is used throughout the text to describe how this phenomenon is demonstrated by the beginning of historical periods that represent major historical changes impacting Amazonian cultures and spaces. These concepts will be used to place the dissertation within a historiographical framework of *multiple temporalities*³⁵ and collective memory that argues against only privileging a narrower notion of direct causality. Instead this dissertation adopts a more “ecological” view of history similar to that described by John Gaddis.³⁶ Historiographically, the “moment” described in this dissertation is based on the idea of “snapshots” described in Sian Lazar’s work, *El Alto, Rebel City: Self and Citizenship in Andean Bolivia*.³⁷ This concept is also used to establish an understanding that this dissertation knowingly takes into account biases and limitations given time, money, and other factors, which bleed into the analysis of any work, and therefore tie this text (as well) into the intersecting and refracting webs of cultural selection, which this work is subject to also.

These concepts are further influenced by critiques of Euro/logocentrism along with the problem of solely linear time upon historical analysis within broader post-modernist historiographical literature,³⁸ and which take into account additional reflections of time again including Einstein’s *relativity* and recent quantum mechanical theories such as the *multiverse*,

³⁴ Trouillot, Michel-Rolph. "Silencing the Past." Beacon Press: *Silencing the Past*. 1995. Accessed January 14, 2018. https://books.google.com/books?id=qNkBDlueIxUC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false.

³⁵ For more on this concept, See: *Logics of History: Social Theory and Social Transformation* By William H. Sewell Jr. Pg. 273

³⁶ For more on this notion, See: Gaddis, John Lewis. *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002 and Gould, Stephen Jay. *Punctuated Equilibrium*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007.

³⁷ Lazar, Sian. *El Alto, Rebel City: Self and Citizenship in Andean Bolivia*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008

³⁸ For more on post-modernism, See: Harvey, David. *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*. Cambridge: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008.

which question the inevitability of historical events.³⁹ The importance here is that none of the events explored in this work *had* to happen but were brought into existence by complex combinations of human and ecological forces. These are especially important concerning monumentalism again by demonstrating and acknowledging the multiple dimensions of (complimentary and contradictory) memory that can be seen within Amazonia today.

Other important theories and works that are integral to the dissertation include Giorgio Agamben's notion of "bare-life and the state of exception."⁴⁰ Though this concept is most directly discussed during the Jesuit period (chapter 3) this question is embedded within the dissertation (as who counts as human?) All of these notions also act as threads that are tied between the chapters, though they will not always be specifically mentioned. Indeed, as indigenous groups such as the Omaguas, Shuara, and Asháninka, or individuals who have survived (sometimes thrived) through encounters with outside structures, this paper recognizes a recurring historical trend where individuals and groups have often been forced into bare life situations, which demand that Amazonian people (often through violence force, and/or paternalism) refashion their cultural norms, values, and ideas.

³⁹ For more on Einstein, See: Einstein, Albert. *Relativity: The Special and General Theory*. University of Michigan and Henry Holt, 1920. And for more on the Multiverse, See: Wallace, David. *The Emergent Multiverse: Quantum Theory According to the Everett Interpretation*. Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 2012.

⁴⁰ An definition/example of bare life from chapter 3 explains: "In Maynas especially, as indigenous peoples could be protected physically from the threats of enslavement, only if they became subject to the missionizing efforts of the Jesuits. Indeed, it was expected that indigenous Amazonians abandon much if not all previous lifeways, identities cosmological ideologies, and notions of the environment, and to adopt Old World lifeways based on particular ideas of land usage. The result was that while indigenous peoples may have been physically safe from the horrors of legal enslavement, many ideologies, rituals, or land tenure systems; essentially everything that shaped or might give life greater meaning, were disparaged by the Jesuits and other colonial authorities to the subordination of Old World lifeways. Once in the missions however, indigenous peoples were still placed into multiple "forced labor" situations including clearing the forest, constructing the mission and surrounding accommodations, engaging in trade and providing muscle power to row canoes for riverine transport. Those indigenous peoples who did not voluntarily submit to the church were placed into the "state of exception" and equated with the ultimate source of evil, the devil." And for more on the notion of bare life, See: Agamben, Giorgio, and Daniel Heller-Roazen. *Homo Sacer*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998.

Theoretical concerns are often addressed in footnotes throughout the text; this is done in order to provide further clarification while not detracting from the main narrative at hand. While this work does not purport to describe the *only* ways in which these processes have been occurring, it describes *some* of the ways in which such events have been influential in (pre-) configuring both static and changing dimensions of history within Amazonia today. It is ultimately my hope that the work represents part of a broader call to recognize the implications of the historical change, which has been occurring in the Amazon over the last century and the powerful impacts upon first, the people for whom the area is home, and ultimately for the potential survival of us all.

**Chapter 1 Cultured Ground: The Intersections of Cultural and Natural
Selection in the History of Amazonia: An Introduction to the Region's
Precolonial Ecological and Cultural Environments**



By

James Deavenport⁴¹

⁴¹ Deavenport, James C. *Outside Leticia Near the Borders of Colombia and Brazil*. 2012.

All human populations share the same raw human genius, the same intellectual acuity. And so whether that genius is placed into -- technological wizardry has been the great achievement of the West -- or by contrast, into unraveling the complex threads of memory inherent in a myth, is simply a matter of choice and cultural orientation. There is no progression of affairs in human experience. There is no trajectory of progress. There's no pyramid that conveniently places Victorian England at the apex and descends down the flanks to the so-called primitives of the world. All peoples are simply cultural options, different visions of life itself.

– Wade Davis⁴²

Introduction: Parallel Struggles for Survival

An intense struggle for survival is being waged across the contemporary world, just beneath the surface of the everyday interactions that are shaping the future of human and non-human life on this planet. Perhaps nowhere is this competition more apparent or the outcome more important than in the Amazonian basin of South America. As home to one of the greatest concentrations of fresh water and biological diversity on earth, the Amazon presents a uniquely important geo-cultural and ecological zone that is under the threat of increasing deforestation and pollution. Indeed, the intrusion of industry, farming, and corporate interests are seeking to capitalize on landscapes that have been evolving over millennia of natural and human selection. Along with the pressures that bear upon biodiversity, exists an intersecting threat to the great range of dynamic cultures constructing unique human environments in the Amazonian basin. As these cultures similarly come under the assault of such forces, they often fall under intense ethnocidal pressures. These are intimately related to expanded human settlement and

⁴² Davis, Wade. "The Worldwide Web of Belief and Ritual." *TED: Ideas worth Spreading*. N.p., n.d. Web. 17 June 2012. <http://www.ted.com/talks/wade_davis_on_the_worldwide_web_of_belief_and_ritual.html>.

deforestation, as the globalized world increasingly intrudes upon, and alters the environmental and cultural realities of life for Amazonian peoples.⁴³

This chapter seeks to partially analyze and explain this process as an example of monumentalism through cultural selection that is related to, but also distinct from, the process of natural selection described by Charles Darwin. Here, monumentalism is understood as a human process through which certain “monuments” or ideas, memes expressed through physical structures, traditions, or ways of being emerge from particular environments and are selected or imbued with significance. Such constructions are variably adopted through affinity, circumstance and evangelizing, or are imposed through domination. Conversely, others are abandoned and lose significance, or are demolished.⁴⁴ Over time, these “monuments”⁴⁵ or traditions are selectively maintained, refashioned, or incorporated further into historical consciousness, thus shaping both the human and natural histories of areas around the world.

It is my hope that a keener understanding of such processes may contribute to a greater awareness of this destruction and therefore lead to increased efforts that halt (or at least) mitigate and expose such devastation more broadly. To accomplish this task, the present chapter is divided into three sections. The first argues that cultural⁴⁶ selection is the product of natural selection among human beings. The middle section illustrates how cultural selection has

⁴³ For more on this notion of ethnocide see, *Wade Davis on Endangered Cultures | Video on TED.com*. Dir. Wade Davis. Perf. Wade Davis. *TED: Ideas worth Spreading*. TED, Jan. 2007. Web. 11 May 2009. <http://www.ted.com/talks/lang/eng/wade_davis_on_endangered_cultures.html>.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* This is also partly informed by the notion of “ethnocide.”

⁴⁵ These are influenced by the notion of monuments as places of memory by Pierre Nora. For more, See: Nora, P., & Kritzman, L. D. (1996). *Realms of memory: Rethinking the French Past*. New York: Columbia University Press.

⁴⁶ A useful definition of culture is: “Culture, here, heritage of learnings—that is, the constructs, propositions, beliefs, and techniques of doing things that people learn from each other and by which they adapt and adjust to the external world and to each other. Culture has two sides. One side consists of a variety of external physical manifestations, including actions, talk, gestures, pictures, and so on, which are understood to be signs. Source: D’Andrade, Roy. “Cultural Darwinism and Language.” *American Anthropologist* 104, no. 1 (2002): 223-32. doi:10.1525/aa.2002.104.1.223.

occurred amongst indigenous societies in the Amazon, thus influencing the ecological landscape within the basin. Finally, the last section describes some of the unique process of Amazonian cultural selection by providing visual examples of cultural “monuments.”

Part I: The Evolutionary Physical and Cognitive Background to Cultural Selection

Cultural Selection is intricately linked to the process of natural selection that has given rise to, and framed the contemporary success of, *Homo sapiens* on the planet. Indeed, the process of cultural selection is really only conceivable through an understanding of the evolutionary framework of natural selection. While the intricacies of natural selection are quite difficult to refine into a distinct definition, here it is roughly understood as the process by which certain traits among organisms (or among individuals within a species) become favorable over time within particular environments and are thus more likely to survive and reproduce.⁴⁷

Without delving into the entire natural history of human evolution back to the appearance of opposable thumbs, it is apparent that through natural and artificial or sexual selection,⁴⁸ human ancestors developed physical attributes and cognitive functions which distinguished them in particular ways from our earlier animal progenitors and which contribute to cultural selection. Indeed, Darwin explained the capacity for humans to influence the course of natural selection. Indeed, in his work Darwin argued:

⁴⁷ The idea of natural selection is somewhat difficult to completely define. However, here a strict definition could also be: “differential reproduction which is due to the adaptive superiority of those organisms leaving more offspring.” Brandon, R. N. (1996). *Concepts and methods in evolutionary biology*. Cambridge [England: Cambridge University Press. Pg. 37 For other definitions or descriptions of natural selection, See: Rosenberg, A., & Arp, R. (2010). *Philosophy of biology: An anthology*. Chichester, U.K.: Wiley-Blackwell. Or for *THE* source, See: Darwin, C. (1902). *The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or, The Preservation of Favored Races in the Struggle for Life*. P.F. Collier & Son.

⁴⁸ For more on Darwin’s thoughts on sexual selection, See: Darwin, C. (1902). *The Descent of Man: And Selection in Relation to Sex* (Vol. 1). American Home Library. And Darwin, C. (1871). *The Descent of Man: And Selection in Relation to Sex* (Vol. 2). J. Murray.

Although man does not cause variability and cannot even prevent it, he can select, preserve, and accumulate the variations given to him by the hand of nature almost in any way which he chooses; and thus he can certainly produce a great result. Selection may be followed either methodically and intentionally, or unconsciously and unintentionally. Man may select and preserve each successive variation, with the distinct intention of improving and altering a breed, in accordance with a preconceived idea; and by thus adding up variations, often so slight as to be imperceptible by an uneducated eye, he has effected wonderful changes and improvements. It can, also be clearly shown that man, without any intention or thought of improving the breed, by preserving in each successive generation of the individuals which he prizes most, and by destroying the worthless individuals, slowly, though surely, induces great changes. As the will of man thus comes into play, we can understand how it is that domesticated breeds show adaptation to his wants and pleasures. We can further understand how it is that domestic races of animals and cultivated races of plants often exhibit an abnormal character, as compared with natural species; for they have been modified not for their own benefit, but for that of man.⁴⁹

For the purpose of brevity, the present analysis examines such adaptations or characteristics narrowly within *Homo sapiens* themselves, by confining analysis to those related to physical and cognitive functions of the brain. Though evolutionary development of the brain has influenced human development in countless ways, this section will focus on examples that pertain to human memory and language, which ultimately contributed to the production, transmission, and selection of human culture over time.

Over eons of natural selection, specific physical changes to the unique evolution of the human brain began to occur that created,

[A] striking development of the cerebral cortex, especially the frontal and temporal regions. The cerebral cortex is a mantle of approximately 30 billion neurons interconnected by about 100,000 km of axons. The frontal and temporal lobes constitute 32 % and 23% of the cerebral cortex, respectively, reducing the

⁴⁹ Darwin, C., & Darwin, F. (1905). *The variation of animals & plants under domestication*. London: John Murray. Pp. 4 -5

somatosensory cortices that dominate lower mammalian brains to minority status in the human brain.⁵⁰

This incredibly complex mutation resulted in a distinctive reordering and expansion of these areas of the human brain, which integrally contributes to the creation of specific biological structures and increasingly complex forms of cognition that occur quite differently from our mammalian relatives. Ultimately, this contributed to the greater degrees of neural faculty needed to permit further cognitive developments such as complex memory and language and eventually the establishment of culture according to some well-respected theories (though this understanding will no doubt change as more discoveries are made).

As the scholar Michael S. Gazzaniga maintains in *The cognitive neurosciences*, “the expansion of the frontal regions in the human brain is largely responsible for the human capacity for reasoning, planning, and performing mental simulations, [along with] the human ability to reason, remember, and work together. [The temporal sections of the brain] in turn, play essential roles in social perception and communication.”⁵¹ This reveals the intimate relationship between physical evolution and the capacity for human memory.

For other scholars like John Scott Allen in *The lives of the brain: Human evolution and the organ of mind*, this relationship is not so clearly correlated. Indeed, in this work Allen argues that within the sciences, probably too much has been made about the size of the brain relative to that of other primates or in animals such as rats. He explains, “There are lots of ideas about why brain size increased over the course of the last 2 million years”⁵² implying that none of them are particularly apparent. Allen continues with historical examples of individuals who had larger or

⁵⁰ Gazzaniga, M. S., & Bizzi, E. (1995). *The cognitive neurosciences*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. Pg. 978

⁵¹ *Ibid.* Pg. 978

⁵² Allen, J. S. (2009). *The lives of the brain: Human evolution and the organ of mind*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. Pg. 275

smaller brains.⁵³ However, while the exact faculty of individual brain sizes is subject to debate, it is probably safe to conclude that (at least at a species level) human brain size is a key determining factor in the present evolutionary fitness of *Homo sapiens*.

Due to the increasing size or capacity of the human brain, greater cognitive function, and languages, people have evolved a unique capacity for complex consciousness that enables humans to plan, respond, and adapt creatively to situations as they occur.⁵⁴ The relatively young field of modern cognitive neuroscience is still only just beginning to delve into the specific nature of brain functions related to perception, decision-making, memory, and language. Undoubtedly, new discoveries will continue to expand and refine our knowledge of specific cognitive functions.

Nevertheless, certain adaptations to the human brain over time like those described above, demonstrate a greater capacity to store memory required later for cultural selection of different monuments or traditions over time. Among *Homo sapiens*, these include what we have come to label “explicit memory.”

declarative memory, the ability to state a memory in words, intact procedural memory, the development of motor skills and responses...[While] explicit memory is [the] deliberate recall of information that one recognizes as a memory. It is tested by such questions as: ‘Who were the main characters in the last novel you read?’ Implicit memory is the influence of recent experience on behavior, without necessarily realizing that one is using memory. For example, you might be talking to someone about sports while other people nearby are carrying on a conversation about the latest movies. If asked, you could not say what the others were talking about, but suddenly you comment for no apparent reason, ‘I wonder what’s on at the movies?’⁵⁵

⁵³ Allen, J. S. (2009). *The lives of the brain: Human evolution and the organ of mind*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. Pg. 278

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* Pg. 278

⁵⁵ D'Andrade, R. (2002). Cultural Darwinism and Language. *American Anthropologist*, 104 (1), 223-232. doi: 10.1525/aa.2002.104.1.223 Pg. 392

Such functions allow individuals to express consciousness, personal histories, and to gain, expand, and ultimately share knowledge over the course of a human's lifespan in ways that have become integral to long-term survival. While an understanding of memory is often confined to cognitive projections of the past, scholars explain:

humans are also notable for their forward memories—that is, their ability to look forward to the future, to plan ahead, to anticipate what will happen, to predict and develop elaborate scenarios of what may be. This, too, seems to be a cognitive capacity that is distinctively human. It is not that other creatures do not do planning; they obviously do. *It is just that we do it ever so much more than other creatures.*⁵⁶

Thus, the capacity for human memory is therefore particular to humans but also *not* an evolutionary anomaly. Instead, this capacity is part of a broader process of natural selection. It is interesting that persons with extreme memory issues such as Alzheimer's, and Dementia, also often find it difficult to imagine the future. Instead, people with these medical issues “typically seem unable to conceive that the future will not be just like the present, and they are generally unable to plan beyond looking forward to already established routines.”⁵⁷ This reveals that memory is intricately linked through the evolution of the brain to our relationship with time; along with structuring the way we as individuals perceive and plan for events.

At this point then, we have glimpsed into the physical complexity that human brains have uniquely developed over time, and which provide the hardware necessary to maintain and compute complex memories along with cognitive functions related to perceiving the world. We have also seen how this allows individuals to perceive notions of time and to accumulate information over a person's lifespan that contributes to the development of consciousness.

⁵⁶ emphasis added by author

⁵⁷ Kalat, J. W. (1998). *Biological psychology*. Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole Pub. Pg. 230

Finally, the evolution of such structures also endowed humans with a unique ability that is one of the keys to our success: language.

Indeed, language may be so influential for our capacity for survival, that scholars understand that the cognitive capacity for communication has been sexually and artificially selected by humans throughout our evolution, essentially meaning that over millennia, those who had developed the capacity to communicate were more likely to reproduce and survive. This created a powerful co-evolutionary influence, which ultimately meant “the language-mediated, increasingly complex social and technological world occupied by members of the genus *Homo sapiens*, placed a premium on both storage capacity and flexibility [of the brain].”⁵⁸

Consequently, an understanding of selection on communication posits that cognitive functions structuring memory and language have likely evolved simultaneously in human beings and are therefore intricately related. However, another scholar and anthropologist Roy D'Andrade provides a more quantitative approach, stating,

vocabularies of nonhuman primates who have been taught either sign or token languages turn out to be very small, with a maximum of a few hundred words. The human capacity seems to be 100 times larger. Nagy and Anderson (1984) estimate that printed school English contains between 25,000 and 50,000 words. [Finally, another] review of the problem of estimating vocabulary size, is that the average US high school student has learned 60,000 words and superior students may know twice as many. Even more impressive than our word memory is our enormous memory for events, for what happened in our pasts, and for what other people have said to us.⁵⁹

Therefore, our ability to convey information is largely dependent upon the distinct ability of human memory. Nevertheless, communication through human language has radically altered our

⁵⁸ Allen, J. S. (2009). *The lives of the brain: Human evolution and the organ of mind*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. Pg. 275

⁵⁹ D'Andrade, Roy. "Cultural Darwinism and Language." *American Anthropologist* 104, no. 1 (2002): 223-32. doi:10.1525/aa.2002.104.1.223. Pp. 229 - 230

capacity for memory as well. “Big historians” such as David Christian similarly believe that language is intricately linked to human cognitive functions and our capacity for survival. Indeed, Christian explains that changes in DNA structure take place through genetic mutations that are selectively advantageous, so that DNA is in effect “learning.” However, he asserts that since these changes occur through generations, they are (at least on a human timeframe) “painfully slow” and therefore potentially less adaptable to dramatic change.

Expanding upon this, Christian argues that natural selection was ultimately so successful, that the process of natural selection

produced organisms with brains and those organisms [who] learn in real time. They accumulate information, they learn. The sad thing is, when they die, the information dies with them. Now what makes humans different is human language. We are blessed with a language, a system of communication, so powerful and so precise that we can share what we’ve learned with such precision that it can accumulate in the collective memory. And that means it can outlast the individuals who learned that information, and it can accumulate from generation to generation. And that’s why as a species we are so creative and so powerful.⁶⁰

This collective learning as Christian calls it, is what makes human beings truly remarkable. He maintains that this has allowed our species to cross an evolutionary “threshold,” ultimately enabling us to colonize the earth across regions from the Arctic and the Amazon. Such capacities for expression frames the human ability to communicate with one another and to confront a situation with knowledge beyond the immediate. However, memories additionally act as selective processes. Indeed, as Roy D’Andrade explains:

⁶⁰ Christian, D. (2011, April). Big history. *TED: Ideas worth Spreading*. Retrieved May 19, 2012, from http://www.ted.com/talks/lang/en/david_christian_big_history.html. The development of language over millions of years can further be explored in: , D'Andrade, Roy. "Cultural Darwinism and Language." *American Anthropologist* 104, no. 1 (2002): 223-32. doi:10.1525/aa.2002.104.1.223 Pg. 392

Once language capacities have developed, it becomes possible to share our stores of memory and become experts. This makes having relevant memories something of value—a resource that gives an individual selective advantage. And having this large memory makes it possible to remember the memories that other people have told one: the kinds of things there are in the world, how to do things, what is likely to happen, and the old stories—the myths, tales, family traditions, and local lore that people everywhere recount.⁶¹

These ways of speaking, remembering, and connecting with particular memories that developed through natural and artificial selection are thus a powerful component of monumentalism related to natural selection. These need not be distinct memories, but can be placed together in myths, stories, histories, etc. Indeed, as W.G. Runciman argues in the *Theory of Cultural and Social Selection*, “In the evolution of cultural artefacts, for example, the critical objects of selection are not ‘primitive’ units of information but packages of ‘techno-memes’ (Stankiewicz 2000 : 230) assembled in a design space which generates the domain of possibilities open to innovators searching for locally optimal solutions.”⁶² In other words, it is within “packages” of memories that cultural selection and the processes of monumentalism can be viewed more fully, and is in part why this study requires a long-term view. In such ways changes to environment and language may be perceived more fully.

As the anthropologist Wade Davis, who has spent a great deal of time researching ethnobotanical histories throughout the Amazonian region, explains, “A language is not just a body of vocabulary or a set of grammatical rules. A language is a flash of the human spirit. It is the vehicle through which the soul of each particular culture comes into the material world. Every language is an old growth forest of the mind, a watershed of thought, an ecosystem of

⁶¹ D'Andrade, Roy. "Cultural Darwinism and Language." *American Anthropologist* 104, no. 1 (2002): 223-32. doi:10.1525/aa.2002.104.1.223.

⁶² Runciman, W. G. *The Theory of Cultural and Social Selection*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009. Pg. 60-62

spiritual possibilities.”⁶³ By choosing what to remember and how to speak, societies construct different realities and visions of existence.

Today, humanity’s cultural heritage or “ethnosphere” is in the midst of a grave and dangerous crisis as nearly half of the accumulated wisdom of millennia is disappearing as languages die out across the world.⁶⁴ While cultural selection has constantly taken place throughout human history, this level of destruction that is largely unheard of, except during periods of major structural change through events such as wars or conquest. The following section will examine the influence of cultural selection on the pre-colonial Amazon to provide examples of how such selection has influenced this unique and vitally important environment. This discussion will also serve as a comparison of contemporary changes in the final section of this chapter. It is my hope that this may contribute to greater awareness of just what is being lost.

The ultimate significance for understanding the process of monumentalism by cultural selection is to better understand the many ways different people continue to define what it means to be human. Though many people may see these narratives as quaint, or backward, understanding the trajectories of Amazonian history is vitally important to our continued existence as a species. As Elizabeth Lindsey at the National Geographic argues, “the wisdom of these elders is not a mere collection of stories about old people in some remote spot. This is part of our collective narrative. It's humanity's DNA. We cannot afford to lose it.”⁶⁵

Part II: Indigenous Amazonian Cultural Selection and the Effect on the Natural and Cultural Histories of the Region

While the last section of this work has focused on the evolutionary link between natural selection, memory, and cultural selection, this section instead illustrates how monumentalism by

⁶³ Davis, Wade. "Dreams from Endangered Cultures." TED: Ideas worth Spreading. January 2007. Accessed May 19, 2012. http://www.ted.com/talks/lang/en/wade_davis_on_endangered_cultures.html.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* Davis

⁶⁵ Lindsey, E. (n.d.). Curating humanity's heritage. *TED: Ideas worth Spreading*. Retrieved June 17, 2012, from http://www.ted.com/talks/lang/en/elizabeth_lindsey_curating_humanity_s_heritage.html

cultural selection has occurred amongst indigenous societies in the Amazon over millennia of habitation, influencing the ecological landscape (and natural selection) within the basin by engaging with major archaeological and historiographical debates. This discussion engages with scholarly developments beginning in the mid-20th century and addresses the relationship between environment and demography. The pre-colonial population of Amazonia⁶⁶ has been a matter of profound historiographical debate since its European “discovery.” The result is that at times this space has been presented as a “green hell,” a beautiful yet dangerous and sparsely populated “pristine forest,” or alternatively as the home of fantastically wealthy and “advanced” societies. The colonial foundations of these confusing and paradoxical monumentalized ideas or visions of Amazonia will be expanded upon in greater detail in chapter two,⁶⁷ but in short, the remainder of this section will seek to explain what pre-colonial Amazonia might have looked like, what the cosmological conceptions of Amazonian peoples may have been, and upon what material bases were these societies formed and maintained.

However, the first task is to discuss and complicate what William Denevan (a historical ecologist and geographer) has called “the pristine myth.” This particular monumentalized memory continues to imagine the vast Amazonian basin as a primordial wilderness, incapable of supporting dense populations. This fictive trope often makes use of the myth of the “noble

⁶⁶ I use an expansive definition of Amazonia to correspond to the river systems of South America along with the Pre-Columbian circulation of cultural practices, goods, peoples, and ideas from the Caribbean to the Río de la Plata the Atlantic to the Pacific coasts, and thus exist beyond the ill-defined Amazonian Basin. For more on this see: Clearly, David. “Towards an Environmental History of the Amazon: From Prehistory to the Nineteenth Century.” *Latin American Research Review* 36, no. 2 (2001). <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2692088>.

⁶⁷ For more on this historiographical change, see: Cañizares-Esguerra, Jorge. *How to Write the History of the New World: Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-century Atlantic World*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001.

savage,"⁶⁸ a rendering of Amazonian people as timeless and passive dwellers of a dense and unchanging jungle.⁶⁹

A central argument of this chapter is that while many spaces across Amazonia do indeed retain much of their “natural” environments (or at least did so before the arrival of old world peoples), this region has also been home to numerous different peoples who actively fashioned distinct and “complex” societies across the Amazon based on monumentalized forms of agriculture (especially agroforestry) that had been culturally selected with regard to the very distinct Amazonian micro-environments.⁷⁰ Indeed, a growing body of evidence revealing larger human populations during the pre-colonial period is beginning to challenge such beliefs and demonstrating that Ancient Amazonians were uniquely fashioning the basin. In short, critiquing this “pristine myth” is vitally important to establishing that Amazonia was not an “empty” space largely devoid of humans and therefore human history. This reading of space as “empty” is thus part of a broader imperial project that has been discussed in numerous areas and in other important scholarship.⁷¹

Rather, it can be argued with some certainty that the region supported a larger number of people than the small groups of popular imagination. Still, the vital questions concern how many people this may have included, and what were the impacts of such populations both culturally and ecologically? *The Handbook of South American Archaeology*, representing a general

⁶⁸ For more on the myth of the noble savage, See: Cranston, M. (1991). *The noble savage: Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 1754-1762*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

⁶⁹ Denevan, William M. "The Pristine Myth: The Landscape of the Americas in 1492." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. 82.3 (1992): 369-85. Print.

⁷⁰ For more on South American Complex societies, See: Stanish, Charles. *Ancient Titicaca: the Evolution of Complex Society in Southern Peru and Northern Bolivia*. Berkeley, CA: University of California, 2003. Print. Pg. 18

⁷¹ Akerman, James R. *The Imperial Map: Cartography and the Mastery of Empire*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 2009 and Jacob, Christian, Edward H. Dahl. *The Sovereign Map: Theoretical Approaches in Cartography throughout History*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 2006, and Safier, Neil. *Measuring the New World: Enlightenment Science and South America*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 2008.

archaeological consensus, helps to explain that the oldest ceramic style actually recognized in Amazonia occurs at Taperinha, a sambaqui near Santarém [Brazil, in the central Amazon basin], dated ca. 5,700 – 4,300 BCE. It has plain pottery tempered with crushed shells that looks like pottery of the Early Alaka and Mina cultures (Roosevelt et al. 1991). Whether Early Alaka pottery of the Guyana coast (and Mina of the Amazon mouth area) has a similar ancient age remains unknown. Plant cultivation marks a new cultural step. The archaeological record shows several sedentary villages of hunter-farmers in various places of Amazonia from 2500 BC on. These first farmers cultivated bitter manioc (*Manihot esculenta* and *utilissima*) in small fields opened by the slash-and-burn system in the forest.⁷² Resource extraction such as this demonstrates that people in the Amazon were engaged in plant domestication and ceramic production (often associated with more sedentary cultures) for an incredible period of time.

Even today, at least between Anglophone and US scholars, a contentious debate persists, which questions the historical impacts of population within Amazonia. Indeed, one of the leading Amazonian archaeologists who, before passing away in 2012,⁷³ worked for decades at the Smithsonian Institution, named Betty J. Meggers, argued that given the region's poor soil fertility, Amazonia constituted a "counterfeit paradise." While it supported immense biodiversity, the soils could not have supported large populations in the past through intensive monocropping or by relying on swidden (slash and burn) agriculture.⁷⁴ Importantly, Meggers' affiliation with the prestigious Smithsonian Institution helped to culturally select this view among scholars.

⁷² Silverman, Helaine, and William Harris Isbell. *Handbook of South American Archaeology*. New York, NY: Springer, 2008. pp. 282-3

⁷³ "This Issue Is Dedicated to the Memory of Betty Jane Meggers." *Anthropolog, Newsletter of The Department of Anthropology National Museum of Natural History*, Summer 2012. Accessed May 12, 2013. <http://anthropology.si.edu/outreach/anthropolog/summer%202012.pdf>.

⁷⁴ For more on the supposed ecological restrictions of Amazonia, See: Meggers, Betty Jane. *Amazonia: Man and Culture in a Counterfeit Paradise*. Chicago: Aldine, Atherton, 1971.

Meggers' evidence presents quite a problem for those arguing that the Amazon might be capable of supporting societies with larger populations since these monumentalized swidden traditions were understood to provide the agrarian basis that allowed for the subsistence of large dense populations all around the world. Historiographically, these techniques had often been accepted for explaining the "relative poverty" of tropical societies, especially in development frameworks.⁷⁵

Meggers seems largely correct in her description of the "natural" soil infertility. Other scholars such as Crystal McMichael and Mark Bush working with the National Science Foundation in 2012 also argued that their new "Findings overturn idea that the Amazon had large populations of humans that transformed the landscape."⁷⁶ During the course of this project, the team gathered:

247 soil cores from 55 locations throughout the central and western Amazon, sampling sites that were likely disturbed by humans, such as river banks and other areas known from archaeological evidence to have been occupied by people. They used markers in the cores to track the histories of fire, vegetation and human alterations of the soil. The scientists conclude that people lived in small groups, with larger populations in the eastern Amazon--and most people lived near rivers. They did not live in large settlements throughout the basin as was previously thought. Even sites of supposedly large settlements did not show evidence of high population densities and large-scale agriculture. All the signs point to smaller, mobile populations before Europeans arrived. These small populations did not alter the forests substantially. "The amazing biodiversity of the Amazon is not a by-product of past human disturbance, We can't assume that these forests will be

⁷⁵ This part of a long history in which the 'tropics' were also endowed with a similar condition of 'otherness' which was ascribed to tropical peoples and sought to view the tropical as a twin to the temperate: the opposite of all that was civilized, modest and enlightened." Pg. For more, See: Power, M. (2003). *Rethinking development geographies*. London: Routledge. Pg. 46

⁷⁶ McMichael, Crystal, and Mark Bush. "National Science Foundation - Where Discoveries Begin." *Scientists Reconstruct Pre-Columbian Human Effects on the Amazon Basin*. National Science Foundation, 6 June 2012. Web. 13 July 2016. https://www.nsf.gov/news/news_summ.jsp?cntn_id=124287

resilient to disturbance, because most of them have, at most, been lightly disturbed in the past”.⁷⁷

Essentially the core data from probable sites in the region does not demonstrate major “urban” settlements, akin to say Teotihuacan or Rome. While McMichael and Bush do argue that the area (especially western Amazonia) was less populated than some of the higher estimates of large populations throughout the basin, it is vitally important to note that they do not seem to accept the “pristine myth” of the region as an empty space but rather present their findings as a qualification.

Nevertheless, other academics, including archaeologists Anna C. Roosevelt (whose perhaps most influential work centered on the island of Marajó at the Amazonian estuary) along with William M. Denevan and others such as Michael Heckenberger,⁷⁸ counter that despite such studies, there is ample archaeological evidence of both large and sparsely populated cultures throughout Amazonia’s pre-contact past.⁷⁹ In 2015, they directly challenged McMichael and Bush’s analysis by stating that the “view of a domesticated Amazonia is contested by some natural and social scientists. These critiques are based on small samples that are used to extrapolate across the region, often without engagement with the full breadth of scholarship on pre-Columbian Amazonia.”⁸⁰ In short, were this study alone, the full record available for analysis, it would not help (and perhaps fatally argue against) the argument for larger societies in the past.

⁷⁷ McMichael, Crystal, and Mark Bush. "National Science Foundation - Where Discoveries Begin." *Scientists Reconstruct Pre-Columbian Human Effects on the Amazon Basin*. National Science Foundation, 6 June 2012. Web. 13 July 2016. https://www.nsf.gov/news/news_summ.jsp?cntn_id=124287

⁷⁸ Heckenberger, Michael J. "Mapping Indigenous Histories: Collaboration, Cultural Heritage, and Conservation in the Amazon." *Collaborative Anthropologies* 2 (2009): 9-32. <http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/cla/summary/v002/2.heckenberger.html>.

⁷⁹ For more on the debate between Roosevelt and Meggers, see: Mann, Charles C. *1491: New Revelations of the Americas before Columbus*. New York: Knopf, 2005.

⁸⁰ Clement, Charles R., William M. Denevan, Michael J. Heckenberger, André Braga Junqueira, Eduardo G. Neves, Wenceslau G. Teixeira, and William I. Woods. "The Domestication of Amazonia before European Conquest." *Proceedings of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences Proc. R. Soc. B* 282.1812 (2015): 20150813. Web. Pg. 2

However, while many debates concern the interpretation of archaeological methodologies and extrapolations, the archaeological and ethno (historic) records across a larger “breadth of scholarship” demonstrate perhaps a more nuanced past.

For instance, Denevan’s most noted work analyzes anthropogenic landscapes as archaeological artifacts, especially in the Llanos de Mojos⁸¹ in Beni, Bolivia, has revealed evidence of intensive management of Amazonian spaces through large systems of canals, mounds, anthrosoils (*terras pretas*, *terras mulattas*), and roadways.⁸² Meanwhile, Heckenberger has found evidence of a network of what he calls “garden cities”⁸³ along the Xingu River basin that were linked by roads and individually may have supported up to 5,000 people.⁸⁴ Such spaces were not constructed on the monumental scale in the same ways as in ancient Rome or Nanjing in China. For one thing, stone is at a premium, while wood abounds. This in part accounts for different methods of architecture and densities. Nevertheless, it is important to remember many pre-industrial societies maintained generally small urban spaces as most of the population was engaged in agriculture. For instance, the largest of these in Western Europe was possibly imperial Rome at their zenith with one million people in the first century CE,⁸⁵ though large urban spaces were also created in Africa and Asia historically.⁸⁶ Moreover, when taken in full,

⁸¹ Also spelled Moxos

⁸² For more on the utilization of Amazonian ecology by indigenous peoples, see: Denevan, William M. *Cultivated Landscapes of Native Amazonia and the Andes: Triumph over the Soil*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2001.

⁸³ This is based on the “modern” notion of Garden Cities advocated by urban planners, especially in: Howard, Ebenezer. *Garden Cities of To-morrow (being the Second Edition of "To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform")*. London: S. Sonnenschein, 1902.

⁸⁴ For more on these, see: Heckenberger, Michael. *The Ecology of Power: Culture, Place, and Personhood in the Southern Amazon, A.D. 1000-2000*. New York: Routledge, 2005. And Heckenberger, Michael J. "Mapping Indigenous Histories: Collaboration, Cultural Heritage, and Conservation in the Amazon." *Collaborative Anthropologies* 2 (2009): 9-32. <http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/cla/summary/v002/2.heckenberger.html>.

⁸⁵ Harris, W. V. "Rome's Imperial Economy." Google Books. <https://books.google.com/books?id=iG8VDAAAQBAJ>. Pg. 288

⁸⁶ For example, the largest European population by state in 1500 was France with about 16.4 million inhabitants. For more on the history of European city populations over time, See: Vries, J. D. (2007). *European urbanization, 1500-1800*. London: Routledge. Table 3.6

the vast scope of modifications reveals intricate knowledge of the area and the populations needed to undertake hydrological engineering on this scope and for quite a long duration. The archaeological evidence presented by Meggers, McMichael, and Bush is compelling. However, despite the finding of Meggers, McMichael, and Bush there is also competing archaeological and ethnohistorical evidence of the capacity for and existence of large indigenous pre-Columbian populations. But given Meggers and others' conclusions, a viable explanation of how this was accomplished without relying solely on slash and burn techniques was demanded.

Indeed, perhaps better conceived as a “wet desert,” the soils of Amazonia are nutrient poor, and suffer exhaustion quite quickly when intensively exploited, compared to soils further from the equator.⁸⁷ This is why monocropping and deforestation are so detrimental to Amazonian ecology. Today, industrial clear-cutting is seriously threatening to turn the Amazon “jungle” into an Amazon desert, which may come to rival the Sahara in size within the space of a few generations.⁸⁸ However, what Meggers assessment perhaps did not adequately account for (but which many indigenous Amazonians have demonstrated to have intimately understood) is that the forest, the soil, the river, and Amazonian peoples themselves were intricately linked within the broader regional and even global ecological system. Indeed, worth quoting below at length John Hemming explains:

Despite their infertility, an exuberant forest stands on the Amazonian soils. At first glance, this seems a paradox and must be clarified. The answer is that the living part of that forest ecosystem, the forest vegetation itself, responds to that challenge by strictly closed circulation of nutrients within the living biomass... This constant recycling of the same nutrient molecules through

⁸⁷ For more on this, See: Mann, Charles C. *1491: New Revelations of the Americas before Columbus*. New York: Knopf, 2005. Pg. 332

⁸⁸ For more reading on the link between deforestation and desertification, See: Zdruli, P. *Land Degradation and Desertification: Assessment, Mitigation and Remediation*. Dordrecht: Springer, 2010.

generations of forest organisms must be understood as one of the basic principles in the functioning of the Amazonian forest system.⁸⁹

While the soil is uniformly quite nutrient poor, the chemical structures needed to sustain the most biologically diverse terrestrial region of the planet were contained in the plants themselves. The importance of this revelation, is that management by agroforestry meant Amazonians could utilize the forest without degrading the soil, while simultaneously contributing (with other practices) to sustaining larger populations of human beings than often acknowledged. Most importantly, such exploitation of the Amazonian forest by indigenous peoples, especially related to the use of medicinal plants would appear quite distinct from Old World methods of cultivation to the point where it could be mistaken as “natural” by those ignorant of this process.

Thus, perhaps the most broadly reaching impact of people on the region were of the ways Amazonians influenced their natural landscape through agroforestry. This method culturally selected certain plants for reproduction and dispersal throughout that may actually have contributed to biological diversity.⁹⁰ It is important to understand that while “slash-and-burn” or swidden agriculture, was at times practiced in ancient Amazonia, it was often not *solely* employed in part due to the general non-use of metal tools. This particular agricultural practice is therefore argued by many to be a more recent historical development that will be explored further in following chapters.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Hemming, John. *Change in the Amazon Basin: Man's Impact on Forests and Rivers*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985. Pg. 59

⁹⁰ For more on agroforestry see: MacEwan, C. (2001). *Unknown Amazon: Culture in nature in ancient Brazil*. London: British Museum Press.

⁹¹ Without devoting too much time to the subject, there were multiple reasons why Amazonians would not have used such tools. The most convincing is that they would be difficult to obtain and would deteriorate quickly in the environment, while also employing a disproportionate amount of time and labor. For more, see: Mann, C. C. (2005). *1491: New Revelations of the Americas Before Columbus*. New York: Knopf.

Instead of employing only⁹² “slash-and-burn” or western style mono-cropping techniques that arrange fields in linear replicating rows across an otherwise often quite barren landscape, agroforestry would seek to implant organisms that Amazonians viewed as generally advantageous within (and gradually transforming) the structure of the “pristine” forest. Through selective breeding of these plants and the intensification of such practices, people were also altering the genetic structures of such organisms or preserving particular varieties while protecting them against threats. In just one example, the power of this system becomes quite apparent when using only two trees near the areas of maize cultivation:

Nitrogen mineralization from *G. sepium* supplied 71% of the nitrogen needed for maize production, while *F. macrophylla* supplied only 26%. From a similar study in the Peruvian Amazon basin, Palm and Sanchez (1988) reported that leaves of *G. sepium* produced significantly higher levels of nitrogen mineralization than did the leaves of 10 other local tree species. At the same site, Palm (1988) found that the ration of soluble phenolics to nitrogen was a better indicator of nitrogen release. It was concluded from these studies that, on the highly acidic soils of the Peruvian Amazon basin, *G. sepium* and *Erythrina* species are suitable for nutrient enrichment use...⁹³

Tests for other species were not as helpful to nitrogen production. However, by managing the forest in various degrees, Amazonian peoples used their knowledge of plants to enrich agricultural spaces that might be more prone to nutrient breakdown by growing plants like corn (maize). Such Amazonian techniques of strategically co-managing many species of plants protected against ecological collapse than relying solely on monocropping or slash-and-burn methods.

⁹² I repeatedly state “only” to state that I am in agreement that this was somewhat used in spaces across Amazonia, and that utilizing this system alongside agroforestry was not necessarily mutually exclusive among various groups.

⁹³ Nair, P. K. (1993). *An introduction to agroforestry*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic in cooperation with International Centre for Research in Agroforestry. Pg. 126

Some of the culturally selected organisms that would be planted, grafted through cuttings or directly planted include: manioc, which could be made into an alcohol beverage called *masato* and fruit-bearing palms such as *Bactris gasipaes*. Other important plants that were cultivated in the Amazon were utilized for medicinal purposes including ritual-hallucinogens such as Coca and Ayahuasca. Maize also came to play an essential role in the pre-colonial Amazonian diet.

⁹⁴These became central to religious, social ideas as well as and cosmological identities and beliefs. While agroforestry can be detrimental to the continued existence of certain organisms, the “cultural monuments” fashioned through its use are considered to increase the viability of the natural environment and contribute to long-term ecological sustainability. Such techniques are noted to increase biodiversity, protect the soil from solar radiation, and return vital nutrients stored in different materials of plants back into the soils, which maintains and increases their productivity.⁹⁵

For instance, in the Llanos de Moxos of Bolivia, mounds constructed during the pre-colonial era have been found to possess similar biodiversity to the surrounding landscape and in some cases, greater biodiversity.⁹⁶ Indeed, from about 500 until 1400 C.E. the Beni region of Bolivia seems to have supported large populations through utilizing a combination of agroforestry and by incorporating additional agricultural technologies such as raised fields.⁹⁷

Archaeological/ecological studies examining the sustainability of similar raised field systems in

⁹⁴ For more on Ayahuasca, See: McKenna, D. J., Towers, G., & Abbott, F. (1984). Monoamine oxidase inhibitors in South American hallucinogenic plants: Tryptamine and β -carboline constituents of Ayahuasca. *Journal of Ethnopharmacology*, 10(2), 195-223. doi: 10.1016/0378-8741(84)90003-5

⁹⁵ Meggers, Betty Jane. *Amazonia: Man and Culture in a Counterfeit Paradise*. Arlington Heights: Harlan Davidson, 1971. Print. Pp 21-38 and Woods, W. I. (2009). *Amazonian dark earths: Wim Sombroek's vision*. Dordrecht: Springer.

⁹⁶ For more on this, See: Balée, W. L., & Erickson, C. L. (2006). *Time and complexity in historical ecology: Studies in the neotropical lowlands*. New York: Columbia University Press

⁹⁷ Lombardo, Umberto, Elisa Canal-Beeby, Seraina Fehr, and Heinz Veit. "Raised Fields in the Bolivian Amazonia: a Prehistoric Green Revolution or a Flood Risk Mitigation Strategy?" *Journal of Archaeological Science* (2010). Print. Pg. 502

the Andes have demonstrated greater sustainability over long periods of time than current slash-and-burn methods and a greater capacity to cope with disasters or times of intense flooding.⁹⁸ Across Amazonia in areas like Beni there is a dramatic change during the shift from wet to dry seasons. Indeed, during the wet season, the melting of Andean snows and rains covers nearly the entire region in shallow slow-moving water up to about 100 cm in depth. As the dry season approaches, water in the area increasingly evaporates revealing arid (somewhat anthropogenic) savannas. Archaeological excavations continue to yield evidence that along with relying on raised fields, ancient people in Beni were moving increasingly large amounts of the earth to construct canals to divert water along with causeways and mounds or *islas* of earth for habitation, ritual purposes, or for specialized crops that needed to remain above average annual flood levels. Though many of these mounds were relatively small in scope, some have large footprints and could reach around 18 meters in height.⁹⁹

Nearby, the Fazenda Atlântica geoglyph in the Arcre region of Brazil is 250 meters on one side and reveals the ability to greatly alter the land than had previously been viewed as capable by pre-colonial societies.¹⁰⁰ Though these examples reveal the increasing likelihood that larger numbers of people than previously imagined were engaging in these strategies of survival, more work is needed to establish more refined estimates of population size, as some scholars, such as Betty Meggers, point out that “a large labor force would be required to construct the earthworks is invalidated by evidence in northwestern Bolivia, where 15 to 30 people working

⁹⁸ For more on the sustainability and nature of raised field agriculture: see Janusek, J., and A. Kolata. "Top-down or Bottom-up: Rural Settlement and Raised Field Agriculture in the Lake Titicaca Basin, Bolivia." *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 23.4 (2004): 404-30. Print. and Erikson, Clark L. "Neo-environmental Determinism and Agrarian 'collapse' in Andean Prehistory." *Antiquity* 281 (1999). University of Pennsylvania. Web. 6 Dec. 2011. <www.sas.upenn.edu/~cerickso/articles/EricksonAntiquity1999b.pdf>.

⁹⁹ Mann, Charles. C. "Archaeology: Ancient Earthmovers of the Amazon." *Science* 321.5893 (2008): 1148-152. Print. Pg. 1150

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* Pg. 1149

sporadically without supervision during two weeks constructed a causeway 1 km long, 4 m wide, and 5 m high.¹⁰¹

Nevertheless, such adaptive strategies reveal a great deal of coordination and sustained work, at least at the local level, over perhaps generations. Downriver, near the ancient site of Santarem which has been interpreted as a major ritual-political center (if not the capital) of the Tapajo, many areas of habitation were linked by causeways, and display large amounts of *terras pretas*, which provide greater evidence of the anthropogenic origin and sustainability of these dark earths described previously. The ubiquity of these soils demonstrate that the methods used to fashion anthropogenic soils were not abandoned as populations rose to ever greater levels, but instead that these methods were employed with greater frequencies as populations grew. Moreover, the high density of ceramics has led to comparisons of the site to Mississippian societies in pre-colonial North America, but with a much larger population of perhaps 200,000 to 400,000 inhabitants, or roughly the same size as the Mexica capital Tenochtitlan. This artificial and cultural selection is not unique to Amazonia but can be seen with the expanding number dog breeds, or with the artificial and cultural selection of teosinte to produce maize (zea mays, or corn) in Mesoamerica that today feeds billions, yet looks very little like its "natural" predecessor.¹⁰²

Consequently, contrary to Eurocentric preconceptions of what constitutes resource management, throughout the millennia between the arrival of humans in South America and

¹⁰¹ Meggers, B. J. "Revisiting Amazonia Circa 1492." *Science* 302.5653 (2003): 2067b-070. Print.

Pg. 2067 For More on Meggers's argument, see: B. Meggers, *Amazonia: Man and Culture in a Counterfeit Paradise* (Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, 1996).

¹⁰² For more on evolution of zea mays, see: Genetic Science Learning Center. "Evolution of Corn." Learn.Genetics July 1, 2013. Accessed October 3, 2016 <http://learn.genetics.utah.edu/content/selection/corn/>. and Doebley, J. Stec, A., Wendel, J., & Edwards, M. (1990). Genetic and morphological analysis of a maize-teosinte F2 population: Implications for the origin of maize. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 87, 9888-9892.

contact with the old world indigenous Amazonians did not passively receive Amazonia's bounty nor did they simply burn or cut down the forest. Indeed, the lack of access to metal goods might have taken place through trade networks with the Andes, since the production and circulation of metal goods has been noted throughout numerous areas of Amazonia. Rather, through varying degrees of purposeful and unconscious cultural selection of particular plants and animals,¹⁰³ Amazonian peoples contributed to natural biodiversity, while concurrently *improving* the environment for human use, maintaining complex systems of management by selecting and planting trees for cultivation within the "natural" forest ecosystem. Therefore, many (if not the majority) of the ancestors of today's Amazonian peoples were vitally contributing to the environmental sustainability of Amazonian ecological systems. For example, by selecting more productive fruit trees for cultivation over time, groups could ideally support not just larger populations of humans, but of animals from fish in the rivers to insects, mammals and birds living in the vibrant chorus of life supported in the canopies of Amazonian forests.

One particular form of evidence for agroforestry is called *terras pretas*. Though this paper briefly mentioned cultural selection of different plants and *terras pretas*, this section briefly describes how peoples throughout the region tackled the limitations of soil infertility, by creating the technology that is now called Amazonian Dark Earths (*terras pretas and terras mulattas*).¹⁰⁴ In order to spare the reader a long and drawn out description of soil chemical composition, suffice it to say that by a combination of cool burning, the introduction of refuse (think of modern composting) and ceramics, Amazonians created an astonishingly productive fertile soil that helped to solve some of the environmental factors limiting soil fertility noted by

¹⁰³ For more on this, see: Mann, C. C. "Archaeology: Ancient Earthmovers of the Amazon." *Science* 321.5893 (2008): 1148-152. Print. Pg. 1149 and Nair, P. K. (1993). *An introduction to agroforestry*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic in cooperation with International Centre for Research in Agroforestry.

¹⁰⁴ Interestingly, these names reproduce colonial era Portuguest-Brazilian Racial categories, racializing the soil but obscuring its indigenous past.

Betty Meggers and others above.¹⁰⁵ Coincidentally, the richer the soil the darker it is generally, which gives the soils their respective names according to categories of “blackness.”¹⁰⁶ These techniques far from being unimportant could – if adopted widely- become a technology that helps humans mitigate climate change. According to Wim Sombroek, an influential scholar who spent decades studying Amazonian dark earths, ““manufacturing large swathes of *terras pretas* would require so much biochar that these regions would act as enormous carbon sinks, counteracting global warming.’ In theory, the potential for carbon storage is huge: according to a 2006 estimate in the journal *Mitigation and Adaptation Strategies for Global Change*, more carbon could be stored in *terra preta nova* [contemporary Dark Earths] every year than is released by the entire world’s fossil-fuel use, at least at current levels of consumption.”¹⁰⁷ In order to have such an impact however, the amount of biomass burned must be re-grown in order to make the system complete, meaning that likely much of the flora in areas where *terras pretas* have been found can be interpreted to have been heavily (if not completely) influenced by human agency.¹⁰⁸

The relatively recent acknowledgement of such discoveries generates profound questions as to the legal and intellectual management, ownership, and rights over these lands, including the immense biological diversity supported by such systems, which can be found across the Amazon. Ultimately, this still underappreciated knowledge alters our perception of the forest as “pristine” and instead accurately realizes that such knowledge has been selected and passed down over thousands of years of human management. If these technologies are replicated on a wider scale throughout Amazonia today, they could contribute to future sustainable growth while protecting

¹⁰⁵ Lehmann, Johannes. *Amazonian Dark Earths: Origin Properties Management*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2003. Pg. 364

¹⁰⁶ Chapters 3-5 discuss racial formation and blackness more fully

¹⁰⁷ Woods, William I. *Amazonian Dark Earths: Wim Sombroek's Vision*. Dordrecht: Springer, 2009. pp xi-xii

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* Woods. Pg. 482

biological diversity across the entire planet. More research must undoubtedly be carried out across disciplines to refine scientific knowledge of this remarkable discovery and to examine the implications of these indigenous technological, biological, and chemical breakthroughs that with deceptive simplicity are known today as *terras pretas*.

Amazonian peoples did not only utilize and sustain their communities on plants however. Indeed, while not only relying on fencing to corral species into confined spaces such as ranches or farms, Amazonian have been widely known to manage multiple populations of animals, even creating cages for birds and mammals that could be transported by boat over quite long distances. For instance, indigenous peoples utilized fish weirs, poisons derived from Amazonian medicinal plant knowledge, cages, and nets to catch and transport fish populations often in concert with other agroforestry practices. This included using aquaculture such as artificial ponds that would flood and retreat throughout the year's wet and dry periods. The fish would fertilize the ponds, attract fowl for catching/obtaining eggs, and could help to support surrounding managed forest.

The combination of intensive agroforestry, controlled burns, fallows, and anthrosoils fashioned through the accumulation of waste, along with protein gained through fauna such as turtles or fish (including Paiches, one of the largest freshwater fish on the planet and quite tasty)¹⁰⁹ if managed in fish weirs could have helped to sustain settlements that could potentially number in the tens of thousands, though such settlements were unlikely "urban," as urban dwellers might imagine today. Indeed, a major academic text published on *terras pretas* explains, "Physical and chemical soil signatures at the Hatahara site show a long period of ADE [Amazonian Dark Earths] genesis in disposal/waste areas. As a result, a few hundred years after the initial occupation a valuable resource, a rich anthrosoil that was extremely fertile for

¹⁰⁹ Genus, *Arapaima*

agricultural use developed in the former disposal areas of the settlement and began to be utilized.”¹¹⁰

Surrounding the present city of Iquitos, groups such as the Omaguas throughout the mission period (and most likely earlier) utilized a vast array of additional riverine sources as well, influencing and trading populations of turtles for meat, eggs, and oil, along with manatees.¹¹¹ The meat and eggs could be eaten, but the eggs also seemed to function as pitch for canoes, oil for fire, or cooking. It was also an important trade commodity that helped to make the Omagua quite powerful in central Amazonia.¹¹² Meanwhile, manatees (often referred to as sea cows) could be thought of as the Amazonian equivalent of beef or pork. Managed populations of these relatively docile, easily available and reportedly tasty riverine meat existed during the pre-colonial period with larger (sometimes managed) populations over many of the major and smaller tributaries. In other words, indigenous populations managed an “Amazonian archipelago” of flora and fauna that could provide a wealth of resources to support quite large populations without degrading the environment (though undoubtedly disasters occurred along the way), but instead contributed to making it more diverse and resilient for human use over time.¹¹³

Thus, rather than being a green hell, Balée and Erikson argue further that such anthropogenic landscape demonstrates that Amazonians management qualifies the Amazonian basin as a largely independent area of domestication, and potentially a “cultural hearth” or center

¹¹⁰ Woods, W. I. (2009). *Amazonian dark earths: Wim Sombroek's vision*. Dordrecht: Springer. Pp. 20-21

¹¹¹ Reeve, Mary-Elizabeth. "Regional Interaction in the Western Amazon: The Early Colonial Encounter and the Jesuit Years: 1538-1767." *Ethnohistory* 41, no. 1 (1993): 106-38. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3536980>. Pg. 127

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ For more on the concept of the “Amazonian Archipelago” and its link to the “Vertical Artipelago Model,” See: Silverman, Helaine, and William Harris Isbell. *Handbook of South American Archaeology*. New York, NY: Springer, 2008. Pg. 189. For the original source of this idea, see: Murra, John V. *The Economic Organization of the Inca State*. University of Chicago, 1956.

of plant and animal “domestication”.¹¹⁴ In their 2015 work “The Domestication of Amazonia before the European Conquest”¹¹⁵ a host of scholars including Denevan and Heckenberger voiced what I believe to be the most well stated summary of the position of pre-colonial Amazonia and have quoted at length below: They explain that

By European contact, at least 83 native species were domesticated to some degree, including manioc, sweet potato, cacao, tobacco, pineapple, and hot peppers, as well as numerous fruit trees and palms, and at least another 55 imported neotropical species were cultivated. Plant domestication is a long-term process in which natural selection interacts with human selection driving changes that improve usefulness to humans and adaptations to domesticated landscapes. Hence, there is a continuum from incipient change to fully domesticated status, where the plants depend upon humans for their survival. In Amazonia, plant management was a particularly important part of subsistence strategies including 3000-5000 exploited non-domesticated species, following the expectations of cultural niche construction theory.¹¹⁶

The utilization of many of these floral species over millennia was gathered, privileged, and shared (under certain circumstances, depending on the group). This makes sense, of course, since a wider knowledge by these societies might provide an increased chance to benefit from their potential to be used as tools, medicines, or food, even if only as a secondary choice should primary crops fail or if settlements were raided. One need only look to the Irish potato blight to see evidence of cultural selection processes among largely British elite that can place populations in vulnerable positions.¹¹⁷ Thus, this memory reveals that through cultural selection by monumentalism, the teaching and passing of memories associated with such “domestication,”

¹¹⁴ For more on Cultural Hearths, See: Fellmann, J., Getis, A., & Getis, J. (1997). *Human geography: Landscapes of human activities*. Boston, MA: WCB/McGraw-Hill. Pg. 47

¹¹⁵ Clement, Charles R., William M. Denevan, Michael J. Heckenberger, André Braga Junqueira, Eduardo G. Neves, Wenceslau G. Teixeira, and William I. Woods. "The Domestication of Amazonia before European Conquest." *Proceedings of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences Proc. R. Soc. B* 282.1812 (2015): 20150813. Web. Pg. 2

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.* Pg. 2

¹¹⁷ Ronald Takaki explains that the reliance on the potato was in part preconditioned by a decision by the British upper class to enclose more land for ranching, forcing Irish farmers to have less space for cultivation and self-subsistence. Takaki, R. T. (1993). *A different mirror: A history of multicultural America*. Boston: Little, Brown.

Amazonians had a major impact on the space we have come to call and think of as the Amazon.

To borrow yet again from Clement and Heckenberger:

Most commentators agree that Amazonia was occupied by societies with different levels of complexity and each had different impacts on their landscapes. There were dense populations along some resource-rich sections of major rivers, less dense populations along minor rivers and sparse populations between rivers. Given the antiquity and intensity of these impacts, few—if any—pristine landscapes remained in 1492. There were anthropogenic forests throughout the basin, and an overall population and landscape footprint far greater than argued recently. Resolving these views has obvious implications for indigenous cultural heritage.¹¹⁸

One implication is that Amazonia's environments were as limiting as any tropical environment.

However, one can point to numerous “complex tropical societies” such as the Maya, or the Khmer empire in what is now Cambodia (which was home to one of the largest pre-modern cities in history).¹¹⁹ This of course is not to say that giant ancient “cities” lay buried under Amazonia, but perhaps that our thinking of urban space, and “complex” societies that has been monumentalized under Eurocentric notions needs some reframing, at the very least to understand what Amazonian people were doing here in the past.

Other scholars like Balée and Erickson explain, “the domestication of landscape encompasses all nongenetic, intentional, and unintentional practices and activities of humans that transform local and regional environments into productive, physically patterned, cultural

¹¹⁸ Clement, Charles R., William M. Denevan, Michael J. Heckenberger, André Braga Junqueira, Eduardo G. Neves, Wenceslau G. Teixeira, and William I. Woods. "The Domestication of Amazonia before European Conquest." *Proceedings of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences Proc. R. Soc. B* 282.1812 (2015): 20150813. Web.

¹¹⁹ For more on these large settlements, see: Dunston, L. (2016, June 10). Revealed: Cambodia's vast medieval cities hidden beneath the jungle. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jun/11/lost-city-medieval-discovered-hidden-beneath-cambodian-jungle>

landscapes for humans and other species.”¹²⁰ Thus, indigenous knowledge was used to fashion everything from the Amazonian landscape itself from baskets to cooking oil. These were ultimately transformed into *terras pretas do indio*¹²¹ as anthrosoils by indigenous Amazonians, that would further enrich the same system of land management.¹²²

As Charles C. Mann explains in his review of Denevan’s work, following the arrival of Europeans (and in some ways the Inka as well), this indigenous system began to change dramatically. However, Inka hegemony, while still little understood is likely to have been quite shaky (and relatively brief) where it existed.¹²³ Eventually, many native Amazonians fleeing the swift outbreak of diseases like smallpox and the human miseries of slavery, were often dislodged from their homes, instead traveling between previously cultivated areas that came to exist on a spectrum between cultivated and “natural.” Thus, foraging “patch-to-patch [and through] movement from old fallow field to old fallow field, [Amazonians continued] living off the landscape domesticated by their predecessors.”¹²⁴ In such ways, the present state of the Amazon is akin to the ruins of a culturally selected landscape that has unfortunately still been subject to threats that seek to replace this biological and ecological wonder of natural and cultural selection with a Neo-European model imposed through colonization and the international market economy. This is the overall process the remainder of this work shall seek to describe, along with how

¹²⁰ Balée, W. L., & Erickson, C. L. (2006). *Time and complexity in historical ecology: Studies in the neotropical lowlands*. New York: Columbia University Press. Pg. 241

¹²¹ This is what *terras pretas* are named in Brazilian Portuguese

¹²² For more on fashioned Amazonian landscapes, See: Denevan, W. M. (2002). *Cultivated landscapes of native Amazonia and the Andes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Especially, the chapter of PreEuropean Riverine Cultivation

¹²³ While this study will not go into great deal concerning the interaction between Amazonians and the Inka aside from a brief description of links between the Region and the capital city of Cusco, see: Martins, C. B. (2007). *Antisyu: An investigation of Inca attitudes to their Western Amazonian territories* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, 2007). University of Essex.

¹²⁴ For more on this, See: MANN, C. C. (2007). Humanized Landscapes Time and Complexity in Historical Ecology: Studies in the Neotropical Lowlands by William Balée; Clark L Erickson. *BioScience*, 57(9), october, 787-788. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4141570> .

people have continued the struggle to protect Amazonia, especially for the indigenous groups who have literally shaped it over millennia.

Part III: What Might Pre-Colonial Amazonia Have Looked Like? A Chronographical Mapping

This section is based on a compilation of numerous sources and seeks to explain and visualize different dimensions of historical data to provide a broad image of what Amazonia may have appeared like prior to 1492. These visualizations should be viewed as representations of particular monumentalized visions of Amazonia based on their individual origins. However, though they are visual representations of memory, they can provide us with a way to view and spatially understand events between individual, micro, and macro scales. As more research is conducted, these visualizations will be refined and shared. It is my hope that they may help to create more conversations about the history of Amazonia and most importantly the people who call it home.

I was personally confronted with this question on my first research trip to the Amazon region of Leticia in the summer of 2012. Staying at the Universidad Nacional de Colombia in Leticia, I accompanied a guide from the local Tikuna [also Ticuna] nation to a region of native forest outside the city. While sitting on a short break in the late morning, he began to recount an origin story about the Amazon. It went something like this: Many years ago, a spiritual force visited a woman during the night. She became pregnant and eventually gave birth to a seed. This grew into a massive tree larger than any that had ever existed. It was so big, that parts of it appeared as separate trees and even bared different fruit. With care and respect for the wonder, it was able to provide for everyone across Amazonia. However, one day a certain people began to take more than their share and overuse the tree. Eventually, they cut it down. Ravaging the tree,

and taking all they could carry before moving on, they left the fallen trunk to rot and eventually disintegrate like all organic material in the Amazonian environment. Eventually, the Amazon River and its tributaries formed from the imprint of the trunk and branches of this great tree as it came crashing down forever.

I asked my guide more about this story, how people felt about it, which people had taken beyond their responsible share, and what happened after this catastrophe. He looked for a bit, and then explained that while that tree had been destroyed, it left behind traces, seeds, etc. that could be used and that it created the river which tied them all together into a shared past, present, and future. In short, he went on to explain, the Amazon can be understood as the imprint of this great tree that was still providing the basis for their lives, and at least some indigenous groups may have understood their cosmologies in such ways and oriented their self-perceptions accordingly.

Thinking about this made sense. In a world surrounded by trees, it would be easy to envision your world as some larger version of the same to this organism that was central and essential to life. Also, it would be a good way to orient one's self when traveling over distances, especially if lost. Something I thought about when my guide left me to do some research for half an hour and I thought about how I would ever get out of this place if needed and back to town or anywhere else in the future. A tree could be followed to the central trunk (channel) and thus link up with ever-greater numbers of tributaries, the branches of a large network. Still, even though this made sense conceptually, I struggled to imagine how this might look. Then one day when visualizing multiple forms of data geospatially and thinking about how the flow of the river would orient this world system, I began to understand how this might look and be understood by the ancestors of my guide on that sweltering 2012 day.

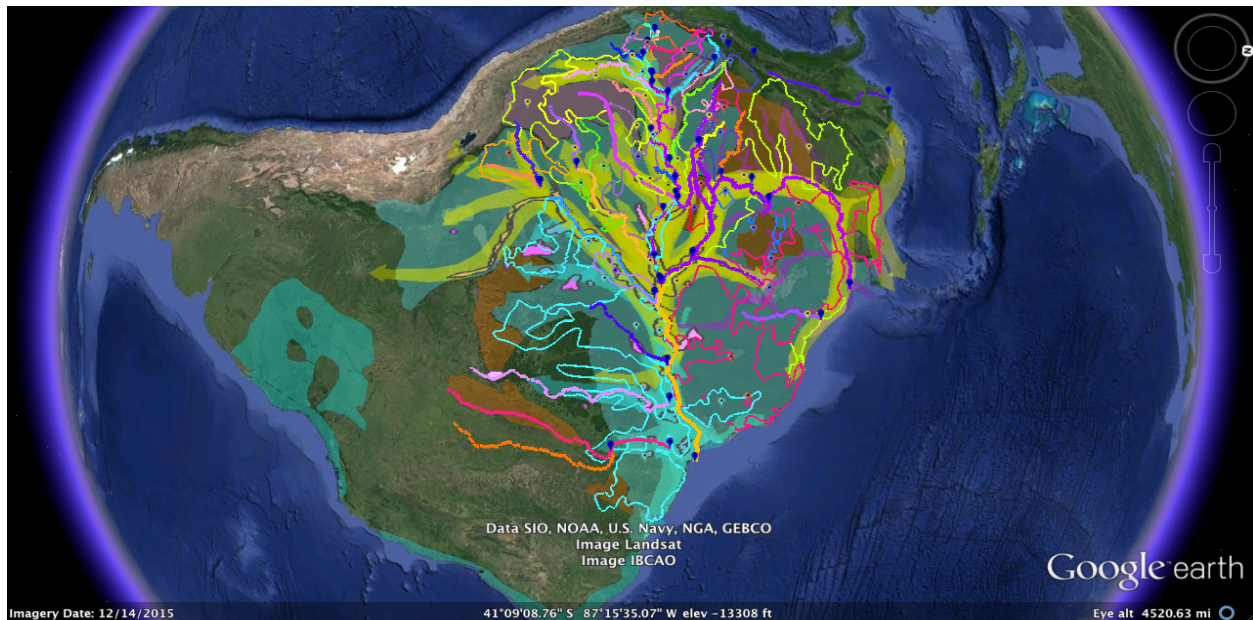


Figure 1.0: Pre-Colonial Amazonia Reflecting “Tree” Cosmology, compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., 2016

The image above visualizes multiple pre-colonial Amazonian realities and reveals the “tree” shape that may have informed some cosmologies. Here the Amazonian estuary representing the roots of the main channel of the basin, the “trunk” and the river systems, trade networks, languages, and other information representing the “canopy.”¹²⁵ Much of the rest of this section will be spent decoding and explaining some of the other layers represented by this image. It is my hope that the reader here will understand here how this is representative of what we have seen of Amazonian systems of monumentalized thought. Namely, systemic, long-term,

¹²⁵ Deavenport, James and various sources, September 2016. These include: Wolf, J. J. (2004). Whitehead, Neil L. (ed.). 2003. *Histories and historicities in Amazonia*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press. xxxiv 236 pp. Hb.: \$55.00. ISBN: 0 8032 4805 9. Pb.: \$25.00. ISBN: 0 8032 9817 X. *Social Anthropology*, 12(3), 393-394. doi:10.1017/s0964028204400834, Lathrap, D. W. (1970). *The Upper Amazon*. London: Thames & Hudson, "Ethnolinguistic Distribution of South American Indians". Map. In Compiled by Cestmír Loukota and Published by The Institute for Ethnology and Folklore Czechoslovakian Academy of Sciences, Prague. "Prepared under the Direction of Johannes Wilbert, Professor of Anthropology, University of California, Los Angeles. Editorial Assistance concerning Tribal Nomenclature by Janre R. Trapnell. Cartography by John I. Wolfe, Jr. and E. Elaine Erlandson, Cartographic Laboratory, Department of Geography, University of California, Los Angeles-From Work, *Classification of South American Indian Languages*, Los Angeles, 1967, and "Amazon Ecology: Footprints in the Forest." *Nature News*. August 14, 2014. Accessed July 07, 2017. <http://www.nature.com/news/amazon-ecology-footprints-in-the-forest-1.13902>.

and responsive to short term change. By systematic, I mean that it shows an understanding, or interest (at the very least) beyond the immediate area of occupation. It also reveals a fluidity of time by revealing how events are connected over different periods. Finally, this story and the visualization associated with it reveal that Amazonians could quickly respond to major changes in circumstances and catastrophes that might literally uproot their entire cosmology.

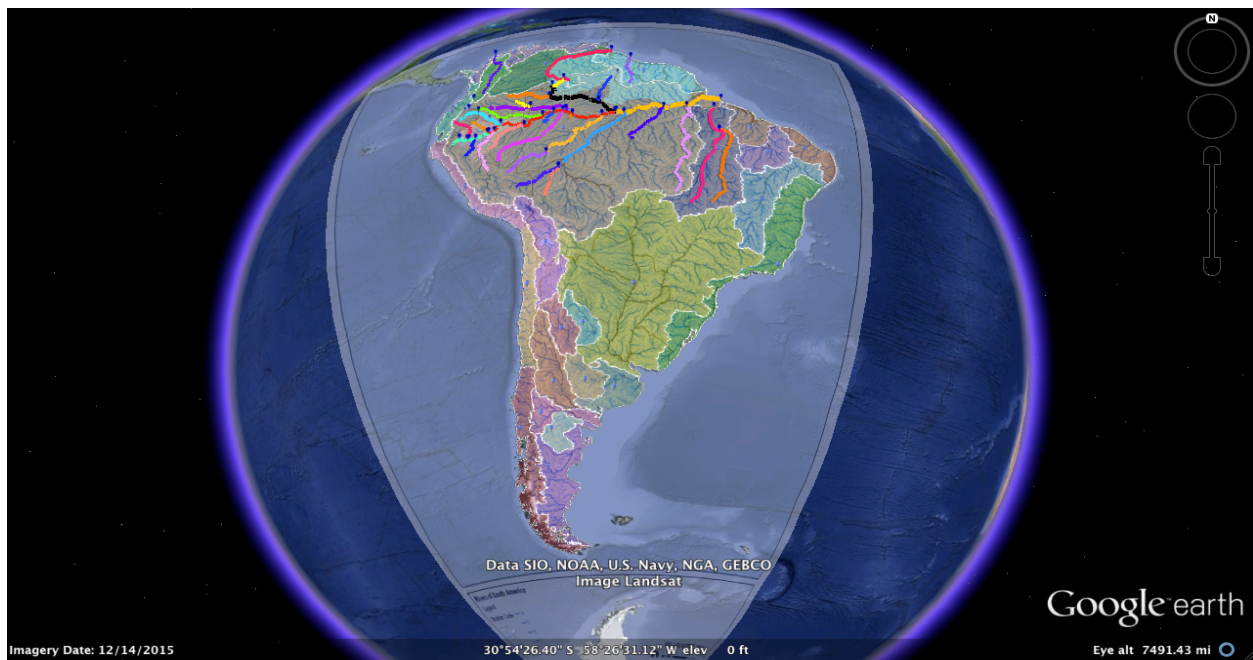


Figure 1.1: South American and Amazonian Hydrology, compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., 2016

The figure above reveals most of Amazonia's interconnected hydrological systems within South America that will be of importance in this work.¹²⁶ Highlighted lines represent principal river systems associated with the Amazon basin (in brown). Blue and darker lines represent additional connected South American systems. These also indicate principal means of transport

¹²⁶ This visualization is in part based on: Loreto: Cuencas Hidrográficas (Loreto's Amazonian River basins) Placemarks from Atlas Departamental Del Perú: Loreto San Martín Imagen Geográfica, Estadística, Histórica Y Cultural. Lima, Perú: PEISA, 2003. Print. Pg. 15 and Group, B. (n.d.). GeoNetwork opensource portal to spatial data and information. Retrieved September 29, 2016, from <http://www.fao.org/geonetwork/srv/en/metadata.show?id=37330>, "South America River Systems." Map. Rivers In South America (Derived From Hydrosheds). <http://www.fao.org/geonetwork/srv/en/metadata.show?id=37330>.

and therefore vital arteries of trade, warfare, communication, language, and culture. Therefore, this area (and the missing Caribbean Sea) together represent the principal spaces in which Amazonian peoples traveled, seem to have understood, interacted and created their world-system. These are also important as they tie us into a geographical base (though of course this will change over time).

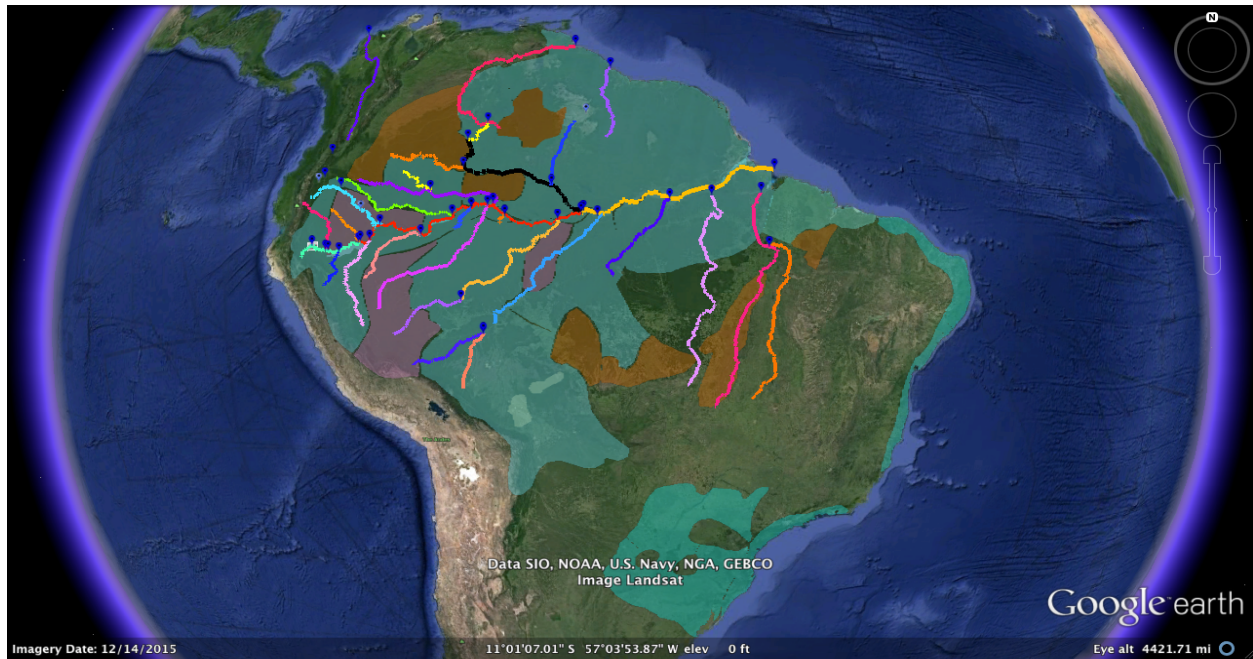


Figure 1.2: Agricultural Exploitation and Major River Systems in the Amazon Basin, compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., 2016

The image above is largely based on the “Agriculturalist Divisions Across Amazonia Application of the Biological Model of Diversification to Cultural Distributions in Tropical Lowland South America,” which in original form was created by Betty J Meggers.¹²⁷ This reveals the potential use of agroforestry (including maize and manioc) systems throughout wider Amazonia in the blue as well as other divisions such as the “hunter gatherer” in orange and

¹²⁷ Meggers, Betty J. "Application of the Biological Model of Diversification to Cultural Distributions in Tropical Lowland South America." *JSTOR*. Biotropica, n.d. Web., and "South American Hydrological Basin Systems." [Http://www.fao.org/nr/water/aquastat/maps/SouthAmericaBasins.png](http://www.fao.org/nr/water/aquastat/maps/SouthAmericaBasins.png). <http://www.fao.org/nr/water/aquastat/maps/index.stm>.

“incipient agriculture” in light purple, which for our purposes may be considered to be associated with varying degrees of agroforestry. The figure also demonstrates the potential capacity for areas that historically could (and likely did) sustain larger human populations, and that created networks with one another. In short, they represent the material bases upon which Amazonian monumentalized ideas and traditions that have been selected and refashioned through time.



Figure 1.3: Amazonian Polychrome Tradition and Major Amazonian River Systems, compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., 2016

The map above details one network through the use of a particular culturally selected ceramic style that is now called Amazonian polychrome tradition.¹²⁸ This distinct style depicts Amazonian species such as frogs, turtles, caiman, snakes, and humanistic representations as well. Finds are often associated with every day and ritual use and have been encountered at burial sites. This style most associated with ceramics spans the blue area visualized above, which consisted of the main channel of the Amazon River. This tradition traveled beyond the main channel

¹²⁸ For more on this, See: McEwan, Colin. *Unknown Amazon: Culture in Nature in Ancient Brazil*. London: British Museum, 2001. Print.

however and has been found in the Amazonian estuary as well as within the Rio, Japurá, Marañón, Napo, Negro and Ucayali Basins. This tradition represents the spread of knowledge across an area of 199,804 sq. miles or 571,491 sq. kilometers, which is no small size, but instead reflects sustained networks of travel in which culturally selected memories; mythologies, ideas, and cosmologies were shared and reproduced.



Figure 1.3a: Lowland Amazonian Polychrome Ceramics From Marajó and Other Sites, compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., 2016

The assemblage of ceramics in figure 1.3a reveals “examples of Ceramics from Marajo and other Lowland Amazonian Sites.”¹²⁹ These include anthropomorphic and animal figures such as the seated humans (likely associated with burials) and the turtle vessel (bottom left) as well as the “frog” motif (upper right), which are argued by some to represent deities or

¹²⁹ McEwan, Colin, Christiana Barreto, and Eduardo Neves, eds. Photographs and Drawing. *Unknown Amazon: Culture in Nature in Ancient Brazil*. London: British Museum, 2001. 22-23. Print.

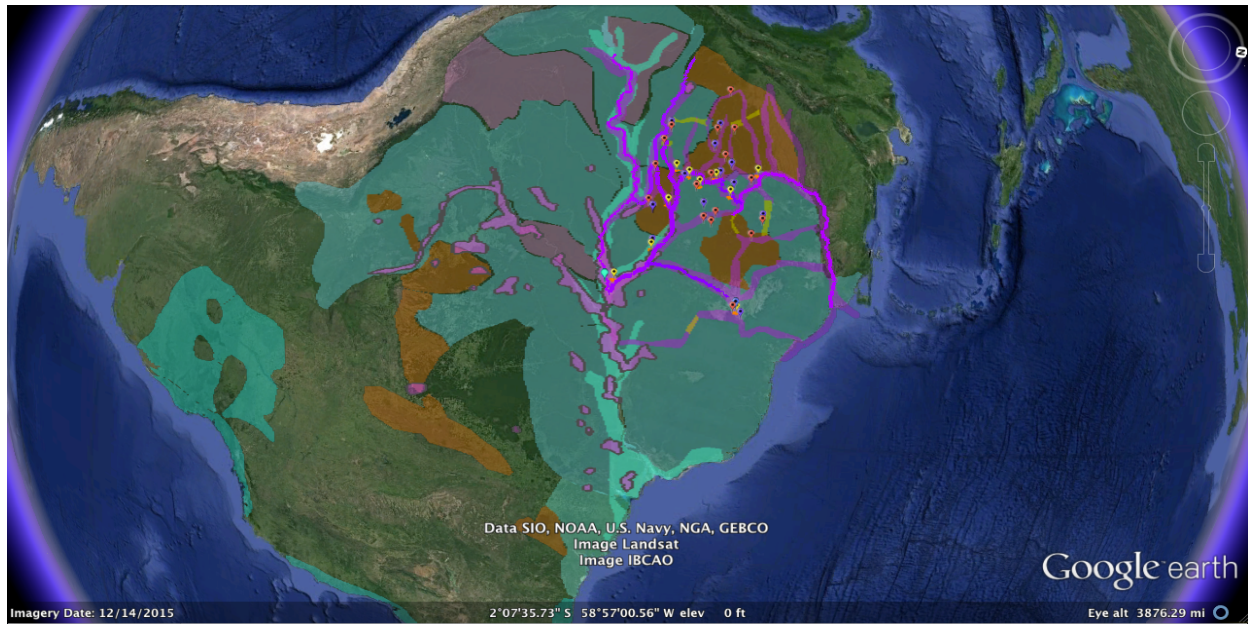


Figure 1.6: Amazonian Agriculture, Polychrome Tradition, and Trade Routes of the Kuwaí, compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., 2016

The above image depicts known trade routes inferred through oral histories in Neil Whitehead’s book *Histories and Historicities in Amazonia*. The purple layers depict riverine routes while the golden yellow layers follow land routes.¹³² In the upper right, the geo-referenced points represent “Amerindian” urban spaces, ceremonial centers, and centers of strategic or natural importance.¹³³ These reveal associations by a single (albeit large) group that moved between areas lower to higher intensive management of Amazonian space. If such trade was occurring the transmission of ideas could take on related and potentially recognizable forms. For instance, shared language might be indicative of such networks as well, as historically this could bind groups together into fictive kin networks and facilitate trade, intermarriage, and cooperation, or potentials for conflict.

¹³² For more, see: Wolf, Jan J. De. "Whitehead, Neil L. (ed.). 2003. *Histories and Historicities in Amazonia*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press. Xxxiv 236 Pp. Hb.: \$55.00. ISBN: 0 8032 4805 9. Pb.: \$25.00. ISBN: 0 8032 9817 X." *Social Anthropology* 12, no. 3 (2004): 393-94. doi:10.1017/s0964028204400834.

¹³³ Whitehead, Neil L. *Histories and Historicities in Amazonia*. Lincoln: U of Nebraska, 2003. Print

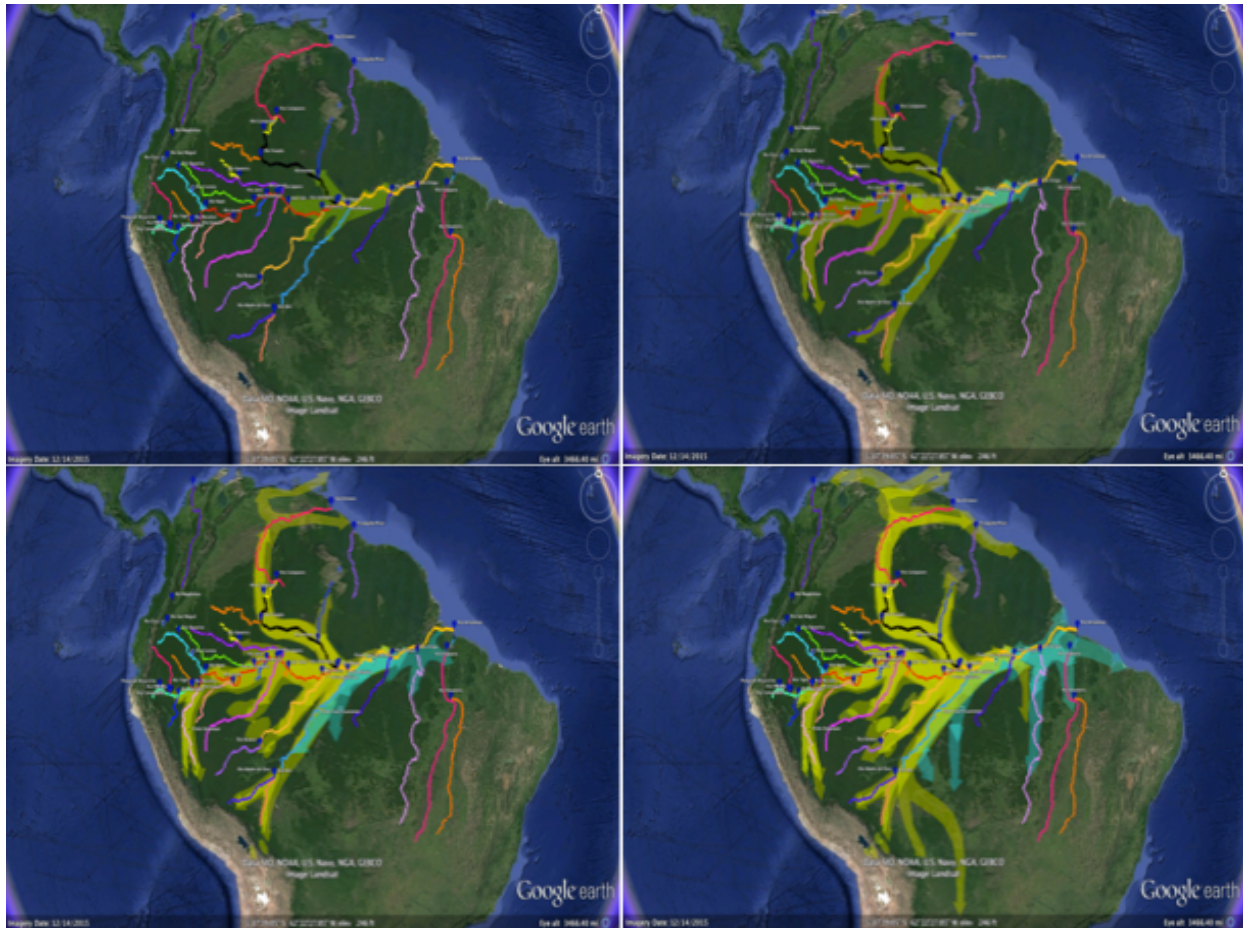


Figure 1.7: The Spread of Proto Arawak and Proto Tupí-Guaraní, compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., 2016

The sequence of four images (starting at the top and left to right), based off research by Donald W. Lathrap should be viewed in sequence and reveals the spread of proto Arawakan and Proto Tupí-Guaranian languages across the Amazonian basin and beyond.¹³⁴ As I hope is clear to the reader (despite these layers not being shown above in figure 7), these networks exist in the very same spaces that have been included in the previous figures. These diasporas represent shared material, visual, and ritual culture, shared cosmological conceptions, shared knowledge concerning geographies, medicinal qualities of plants, and additional information or discoveries as they became known. They have also been argued to be connected with both the use of terras

¹³⁴ The original source can be found in Lathrap, Donald W. *The Upper Amazon*. New York: Praeger, 1970. pp 76-77

pretas and Amazonian polychrome tradition. Hopefully, these provide a sense of the regional scope of this imagined space.

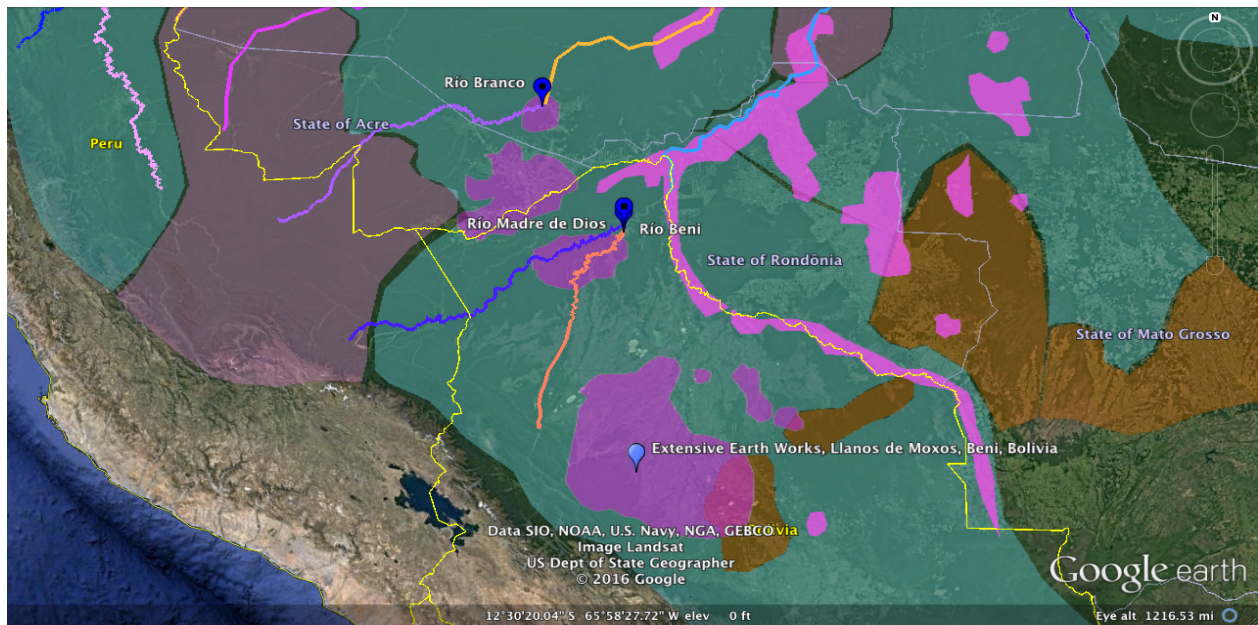


Figure 1.8: Amazonian Agriculture, Terras Pretas, and Mound building Societies, compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., 2016

The area depicted above shifts focus from the macro to regional scope, narrowing in on a particular area (the Mojos of Beni, Bolivia) to demonstrate the relationship between known earthen works, terras pretas, and mapping of “agricultural utilization at a regional scale that was near to and across the border from Tawantinsuyu (the Inka empire, not shown here).¹³⁵ Interestingly, a few orange areas from the agricultural division layer based on Meggers’ work describe these as “hunter gatherer” societies but contain both terras pretas and earth-works. Of course, to be fair, such evidence has come to light only recently. Ultimately, the layering of such information may be helpful to visualizing these variations and therefore may be, somewhat instructive for our own understanding of the changes to Amazonian archaeology and

¹³⁵ Source: Tollefson, Jeffrey. "Amazon Ecology: Footprints in the Forest Researchers Are Tracking Just How Much Impact Ancient Peoples Had on the Amazon." Nature.com. October 14, 2013. Accessed July 14, 2014. <http://www.nature.com/news/amazon-ecology-footprints-in-the-forest-1.13902>.

historiography over the centuries and over the last few decades in particular. These also may lead scholars to further question the definitions and assumptions concerning what it means to live in “complex societies” in the first place.

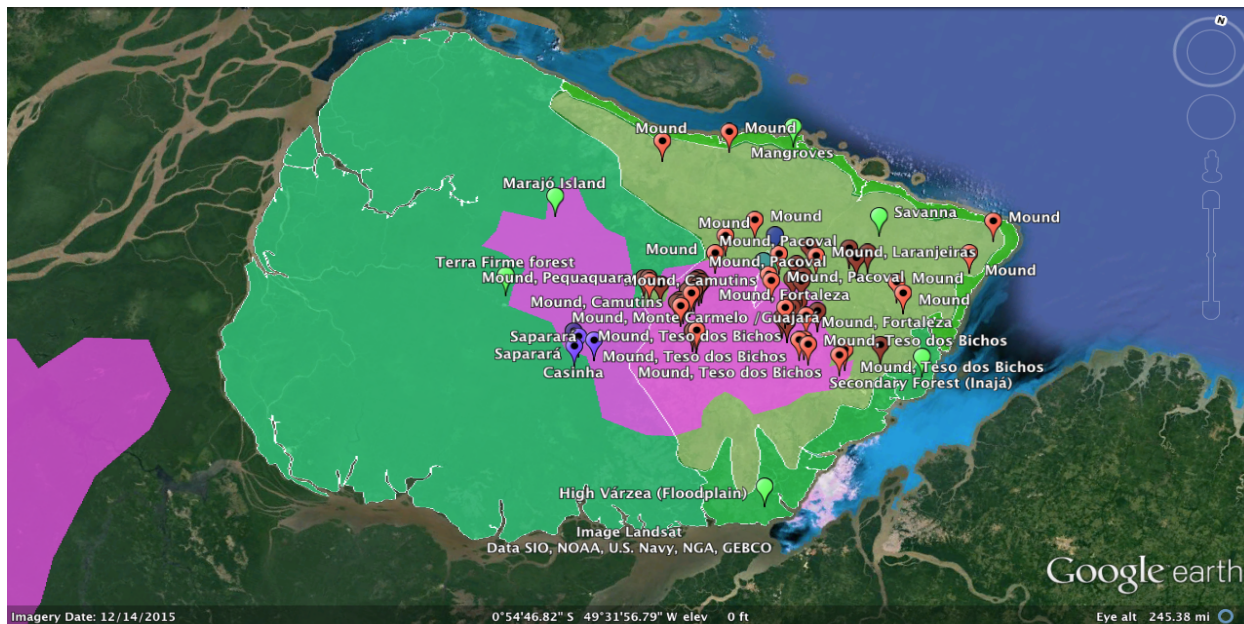


Figure 1.9: Pre-Colonial Marajó Island, Mound Sites, and Island Ecology, Amazonian Agriculture, Terras Pretas, and Mound building Societies, compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., 2016

The image above takes us to a more micro level visualization of pre-colonial Marajó Island, which covers an area of 15,169 sq. miles (roughly the size of the Netherlands) at the headwaters of the Amazonian estuary, reveals different ecological divisions of the island as well as the construction of mounds at the height of the Marajoara cultural tradition. These were especially connected with the construction of these mounds and elaborate ceramic vessels often associated with funerary sites.¹³⁶ In addition to providing high ground during seasonal flooding

¹³⁶ For more on Marajoara, see: Roosevelt, A. C. (1999). The Development of Prehistoric Complex Societies: Amazonia, A Tropical Forest. *Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association*, 9(1), 13-33. doi:10.1525/ap3a.1999.9.1.13

to function as habitable and strategic areas, they reveal a long-term utilization of these sites that even continued after the end of Marajoara phase ceramics.

The amount of labor and additional archeological evidence, including the existence of *terras pretas* (shown in pink) and Amazonian polychrome tradition (not shown in figure 9) throughout Marajó reveal the likelihood of relatively larger populations. Marajó also was situated at a strategic position to mediate trade and information networks especially toward the Guyana Shield, Caribbean basin, and southward to the Brazilian Atlantic forest. Interestingly, the *terras pretas* when overlaid are right below many of the mounds and extended into the *terra firma*¹³⁷ forest and savannas of Marajó. The existence of *terras pretas* in the *terra firma* forest reveals that they do not necessarily demand the degrading of the environment, nor their transformation into savanna, which their existence along the main channel of the Amazon river further supports.

¹³⁷ Terra Firma denotes those forests generally above the annual flooding line of the main channel of the Amazon River and Amazonian tributaries. It literally means, Firm Earth for this reason.

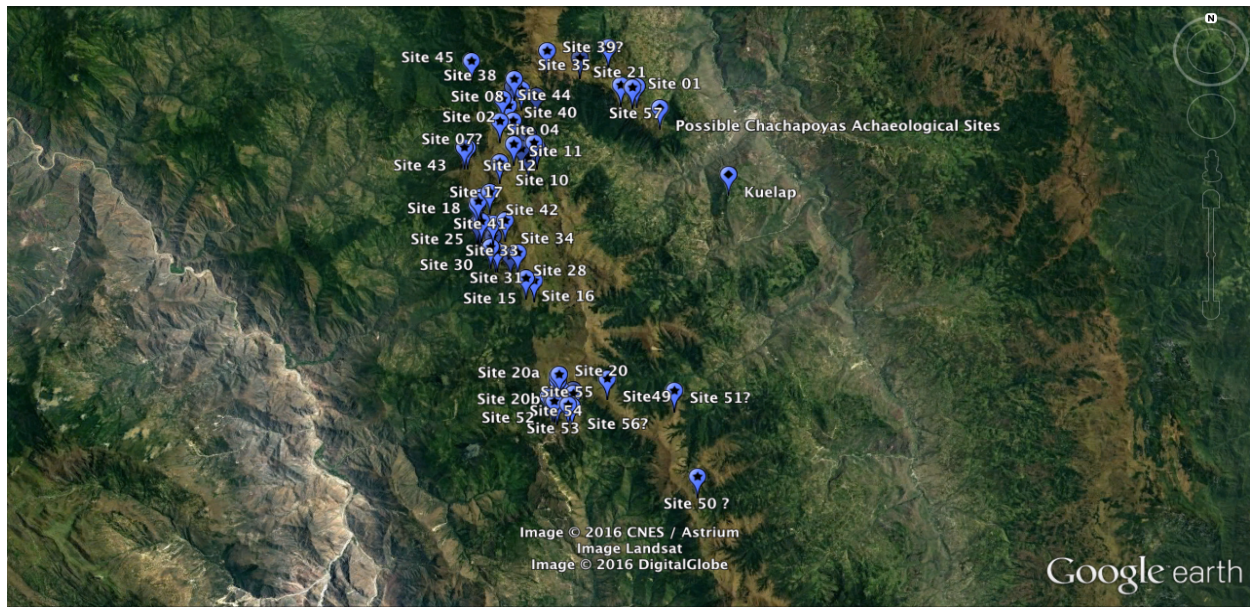


Figure 1.10: Chachapoyas Sites Near Kuelap, compiled by Deavenport, J., 2016

The moment depicted above moves us to the far western part of Amazonia and to the eastern slopes of the Andes in the Peruvian department of San Martín to demonstrate potential Chachapoyas sites in relationship to the famous site of Kuelap. These spaces near the headwaters of the Marañón River (a major tributary of the Amazon that would eventually be incorporated into the Inka Empire) commanded a particularly strategic position that could mediate exchange between lowland and highland cultures. This position has in part led to a dearth of archaeological data that contributes toward much misinformation about the Chachapoyas people and their ancestors. Indeed, in part based on the singular construction of Kuelap, some have attributed its construction to aliens or other wandering cultures.¹³⁸ Even as recently as April of 2014, The Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) produced a program arguing that the Chachapoyas were actually partially descended from Carthaginians who fled in diaspora following their

¹³⁸ Deavenport, James C. "Chachapoyas Sites Near Kuelap." Digital image. 2016.

destruction at the hands of Rome, in part on the singular nature of Kuelap.¹³⁹ This visualization demonstrates however, that the Chachapoyas culture was well entrenched across this area around the Marañón valley and other local spaces.

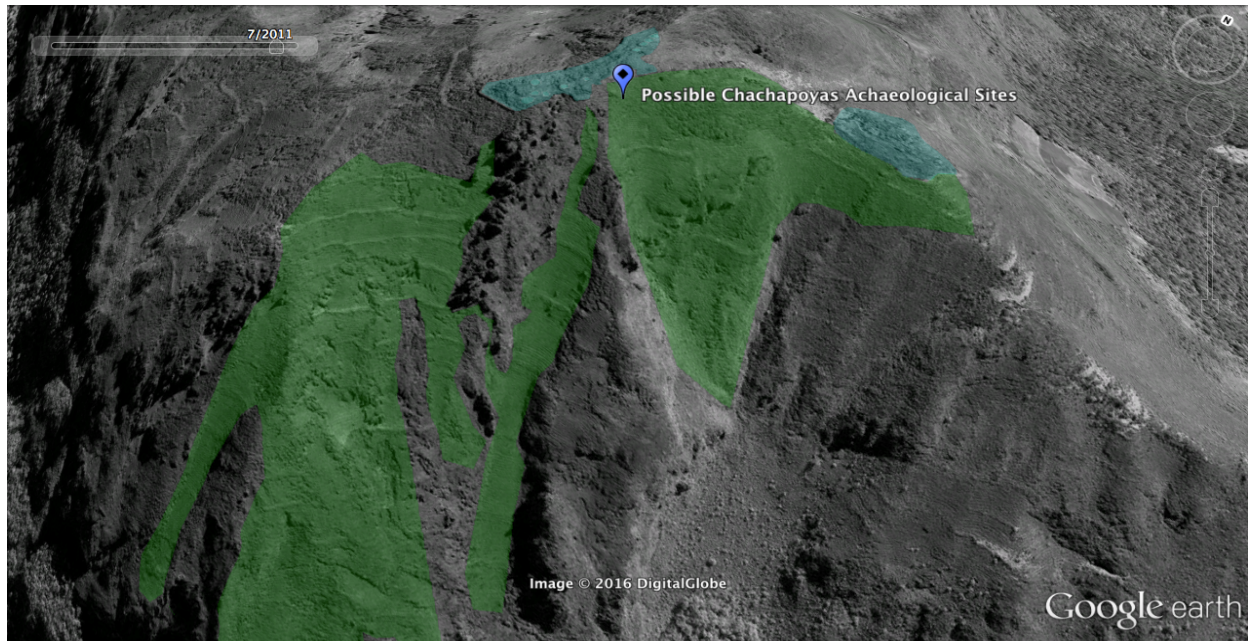


Figure 11.0a: Possible Layout of Chachapoyas residential and Agricultural Sites, compiled by Deavenport, J., 2016

The layout above demonstrates one potential site nearby Kuelap that has been identified by satellite surveys.¹⁴⁰ The blue spaces demonstrate residential sites similar to the main site of Kuelap. Though Kuelap is about 6 times larger than the site above, preliminary surveys have identified at least 57 potential sites for further excavation. The green highlighted section demonstrates potential spaces for agricultural utilization, probably maize and potatoes and additional crops, though more research, survey and excavations are needed.

¹³⁹ Carthage's lost warriors: <http://www.pbs.org/wnet/secrets/carthages-lost-warriors-watch-the-full-episode/1163/>

¹⁴⁰ Deavenport, James C. "Possible Layout of Chachapoyas Residential and Agricultural Sites." Digital image. 2016.

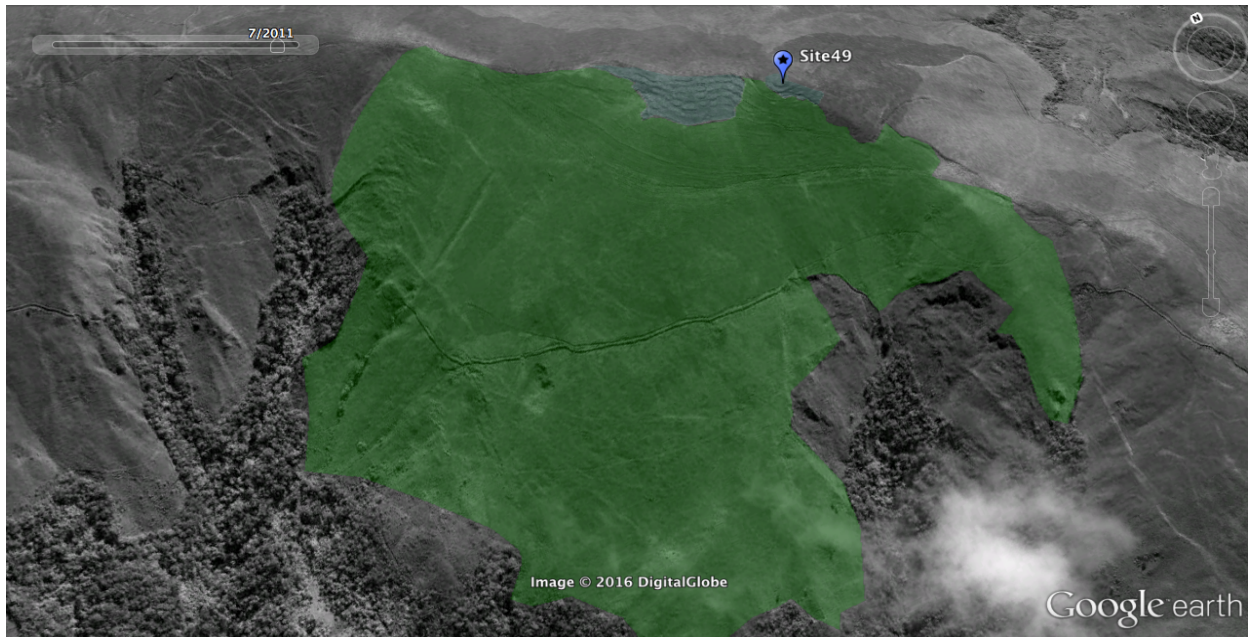


Figure 1.10b: Possible Layout of Residential visualizes “Site 49” Residential and Agricultural Areas, compiled by Deavenport, J., 2016

The image above reveals a possible layout of Site 49 with blue again representing residential sites and green representing agricultural space.¹⁴¹ These sites help to break down the false binary between Andean and Amazonian cultures that often infiltrates both the popular and scholarly imagination. This regional perspective also helps to reinforce that these cultures were entrenched over centuries and millennia, though constantly interacting with their neighbors in the high and lowlands. Further surveys and excavations as well as additional research into the archaeology and ethno-histories of the region can help to further spread light on the Chachapoyas past.

¹⁴¹ Deavenport, James C. "Possible Layout of Residential Visualizes “Site 49” Residential and Agricultural Areas." Digital image. 2016.

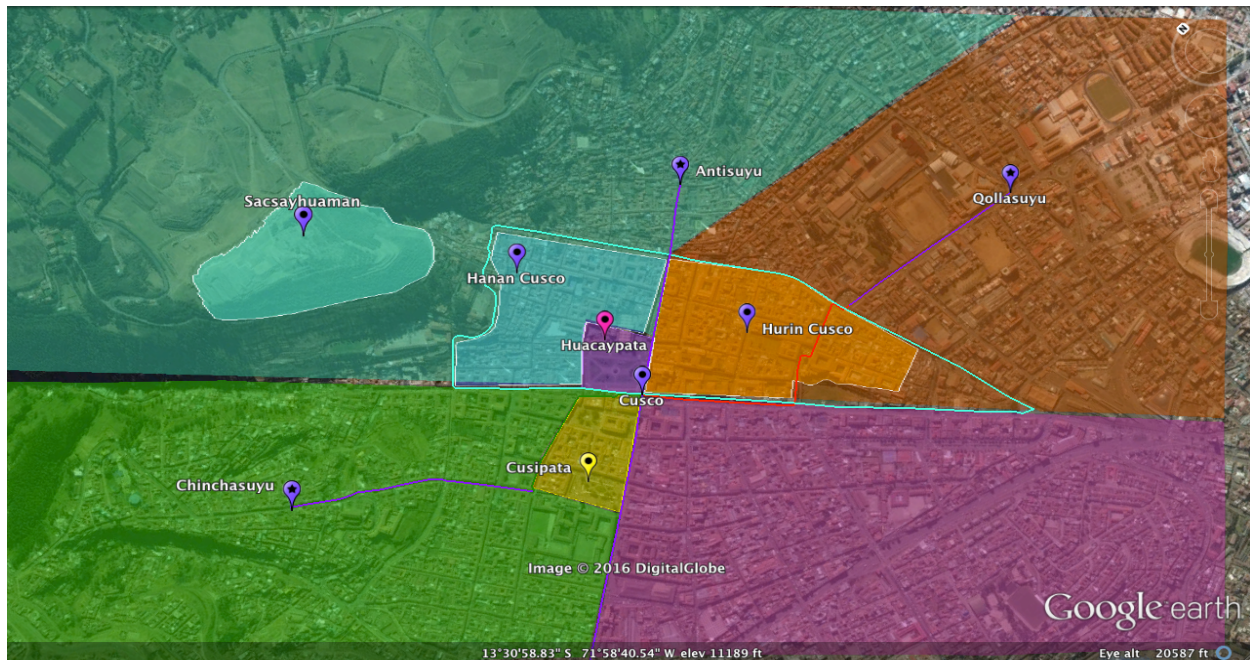


Figure 1.11: Inka Cusco Situated within Inka Cosmology, compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., 2016

The multilayered image above focuses on the Inka capital of Cusco, which was (supposedly) laid out in the shape of a mountain lion, also known as a Puma (in Quechua) or Jaguar (in Tupian languages). This animal, endemic within Amazonia and this part of the Andes¹⁴² was often associated with Amazonian origin becoming the image at the very center of the four suyus (or divisions of the Inka empire).¹⁴³ The centrality of this image to cosmology and Inka rituals concerning distinctly Amazonian plants such as coca is also well attested. By expanding the definition of Amazonia suggested by this work, we can also reevaluate popular and scholarly preconceptions concerning South American societies. For instance, the Inka capital of Cusco is clearly within the Amazon basin and water in rivers originally outlining its confines (represented by the blue lines that form a cone shape between Qollasuyu and Cuntisuyu)

¹⁴² The head of the Puma is associated with the site of Sacsayhuaman (in blue above)

¹⁴³ This is primary based on the depiction of Cusco by Gasparini, Graziano, and Luise Margolies. *Inca Architecture*. Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1980 and "Tawantinsuyu." Digital image. Centro Cultural Argentino De Montaña. http://culturademontania.com.ar/Arqueologia/peru_tahuantinsuyo_mapa1.jpg.

ultimately mix with other tributaries before flowing past the island of Marajó on their way to the Atlantic.



Figure 1.12: Amazonian Polychrome Tradition and Tupian Speaking Ethnolinguistic Groups, compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., 2016

This expansive view shifts the narrative from the micro back to a regional scope by demonstrating Amazonian polychrome tradition as well as the known distribution of Tupian language groups. The lines encompassing “Tupi 1, 2, and 5”¹⁴⁴ corresponds with the reported extent of the pre-colonial domains of the Omaguas people (a Tupian-speaking group) which extended from roughly the Río Negro to the Río Napo.¹⁴⁵ “Tupi 4” probably corresponds to an

¹⁴⁴ Tupi 1, 2, and 5 denote different areas ethnolinguistically with the Tupi and especially the Omagua. This analysis is primarily based on the work compiled within: "Ethnolinguistic Distribution of South American Indians" [Map]. (n.d.). In Compiled by Cestmír Loukota and Published by The Institute for Ethnology and Folklore Czechoslovakian Academy of Sciences, Prague. "Prepared under the direction of Johannes Wilbert, Professor of Anthropology, University of California, Los Angeles. Editorial assistance concerning tribal nomenclature by Janre R. Trapnell. Cartography by John I. Wolfe, Jr. and E. Elaine Erlandson, Cartographic Laboratory, Department of Geography, University of California, Los Angeles-From work, Classification of South American Indian Languages, Los Angeles, 1967.

¹⁴⁵ For more on the Omagua, See: Tesis para acceder al título de Doctor en Arqueología Prehistórica Orientador: Jordi Estévez Escalera Departament de Prehistòria

area with polychrome tradition but has been distorted given technological limitations. More research will help to refine this over time. Amazonian polychrome is included specifically because it has often been associated with the Tupian diaspora. Archaeological and ethno-historical evidence attests to larger populations in the Omagua domains, and their pre-colonial situation spans areas considered to practice both “agriculture” and agroforestry. Indeed, the Omagua were noted to have dominated trade into the colonial period (to be covered more fully in chapters 2-3) and have been associated with the later Omagua, Cambeba, Maciparo, and occasionally Aparia groups. The Omagua therefore represent a group that would have played a potentially intermediate role between the groups in spaces such as Marajó and the Chachapoyas straddling the Amazonian Andes and the Omagua will come to play a large role in this study in the following chapters.

Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (UAB-Bellaterra) Pla Antic (RD 778/1998)
2014 and for information related to this geographic spread in particular, See: Reeve, Mary-Elizabeth. "Regional Interaction in the Western Amazon: The Early Colonial Encounter and the Jesuit Years: 1538-1767." *Ethnohistory* 41.1 (1993). *Jstor*. Duke University Press. Web. 12 Sept. 2011. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3536980> Pg. 111



Figure 1.13: Amazonian Architecture in the Early 21st Century, which correspond to More “Traditional” Architectural Forms, compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., 2016

Contemporary photos from c.2000 - 2015 provide examples of what architecture may have looked like in the pre-colonial Amazon. The top two figures were taken over the course of research trips and demonstrate both adaptations along the major channel of the river to fluctuations in water level and the top right represents a *Maloca* further inland away from the inundation of the main channel. Finally, the bottom two photos at different sites were gathered from online sources and represent the changes to water level at the high season in contrast to the top left image at the apex of the “dry” season.

Though these are contemporary photos, sources attest that many Amazonian societies would have constructed similar structures (especially along the main tributaries of the river), and therefore, these approximate what larger settlements might have looked during the pre-colonial

period. Additional adaptations such as “floating houses” constructed on large rafts or *barcas* have also been described, a quite ingenious adaptation to seasonal flooding that can also have major implications for our understanding of what it means to be “sedentary” if whole neighborhoods or populations could float from place to place as needed. Later colonial documents explain the Omagua occupied sites in many of the islands throughout the main channel of the Amazon.¹⁴⁶ It is my hope that further research into the history of the region’s residential and ritual structures may shed additional light on this understudied aspect of the Amazonian past.

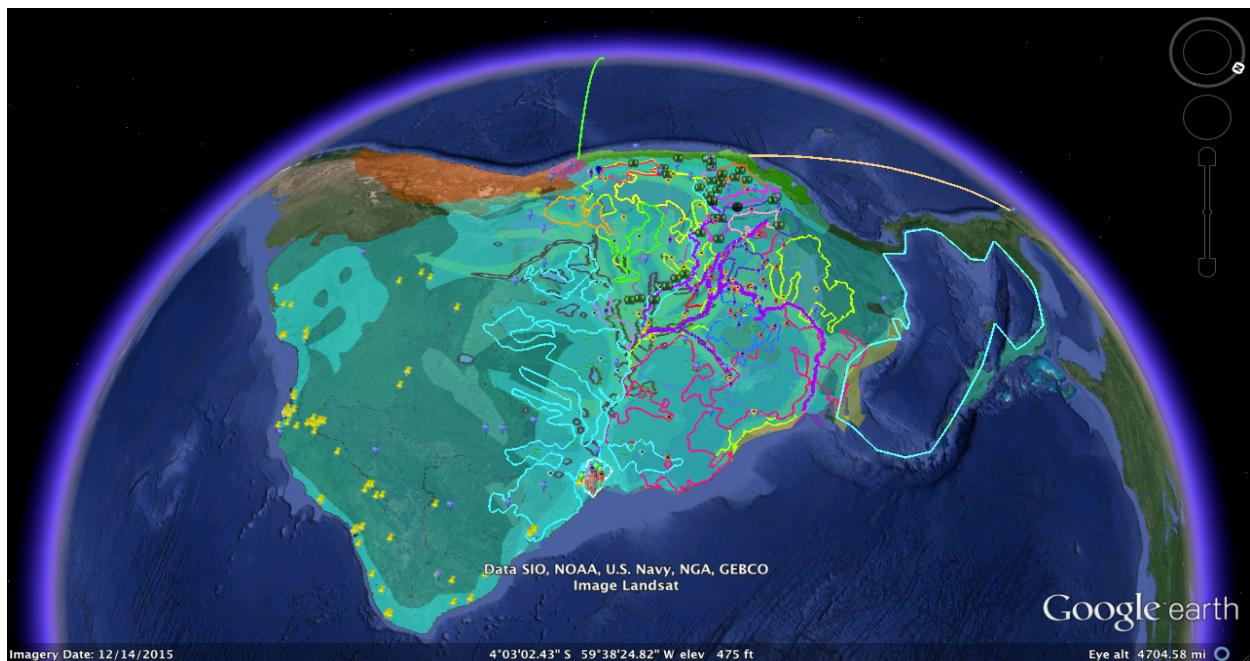


Figure 1.14: Amazonian Pre-Colonial World System, compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., 2016

The final image in this chapter visualizes the “Amazonian pre-colonial world system” at its greatest extent. Here you can see that groups such as the Omagua and their Tupian cousins (in blue) did not dominate Amazonia in isolation but existed alongside other major linguistic groups

¹⁴⁶ Fritz, Samuel, and George Edmundson. *Journal of the Travels and Labours of Father Samuel Fritz in the River of the Amazons between 1686 and 1723*. London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society

throughout the Amazonian basin. The Yellow area represents Arawak groups, while the Reddish space reveals Karaib-speaking societies that seem to have dominated the Guiana Shield. Finally, the blue highlighted area extends into the Caribbean in places such as the islands of Hispaniola and Cuba revealing shared material culture, genetic, and linguistic connections as well. The viewer can also see how groups such as the Kuwaí were able to cross these linguistic barriers, connecting the basin with circum-Caribbean trade. To the west (depicted toward the top of the figure) Amazonian groups encountered Tawantinsuyu and were connected (albeit through Andean intermediaries) to larger trade networks extending from there further toward the Pacific and Mesoamerica. This seems to be the greatest range of archaeologically supported evidence that could conceivably connect Amazonia to other pre-colonial American societies prior to the arrival of people from the Old World. Finally, this last figure returns us in a full circle to the beginning of this section and towards an attempt to understand the cosmology explained to me on that hot day in 2012. While different cultures have been documented to have quite a diversity of cosmologies, it is my hope that this section has helped to explain and visualize for the reader how Amazonia could cosmologically represent the flooded imprint of the trunk and branches of this once great and now vanished tree.

Conclusion

In the previous sections, I have sought to describe the development of cultural selection through natural selection and other evolutionary processes, along with how cultural selection through monumentalism has come to shape the ongoing process of natural selection. This discussion has sought to describe this process through an examination of Amazonian monuments or traditions among Pre-Columbian Amazonian populations. The final section sought to visualize

elements of the unique process of Amazonian cultural selection by providing examples of cultural monuments.

However, while perhaps providing too romantic an image of Pre-colonial Amazonia, the point of this chapter is to highlight the important changes made by Amazonian peoples. It is hoped that increasing our knowledge of cultural selection and to understand the multiple nuances of human agency upon both natural and fashioned environments can help aid in greater appreciation of Amazonia and its people. Happily, such efforts are presently under way by those forging alliances between indigenous Amazonians and their Andean counterparts along with similarly committed allies working in NGOS, educational institutions, and among individuals all over the globe. Using new technology, greater areas of the threatened Amazon are increasingly able to account for the wonton destruction of this ecosystem that is vital to the continued survival of humanity on this planet. It is hoped that by sharing such information, at the very least, the results of selection can be noted, perhaps understood, and maybe even celebrated before they are consigned blindly into oblivion.

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Chapter 2 Inventing the Amazon: Monumentalism by Cultural Selection and Imagined Space in Post-Columbian Amazonia



By
James Deavenport¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁷ Sleeping 'America' Is Awakened by Amerigo Vespucci. An Allegorical Engraving, *Americae Decimal Pars* Engraving by: Stradanus, Jan Van Der Straet (Johannes, and Jean-Théodore De Bry.. 1619. Public Domain

So that is how to create a single story, show a people as one thing, as only one thing, over and over again, and that is what they become. It is impossible to talk about the single story without talking about power. There is a word, an Igbo word, that I think about whenever I think about the power structures of the world, and it is "nkali." It's a noun that loosely translates to "to be greater than another." Like our economic and political worlds, stories too are defined by the principle of nkali: How they are told, who tells them, when they're told, how many stories are told, are really dependent on power. Power is the ability not just to tell the story of another person, but to make it the definitive story of that person. The Palestinian poet Mourid Barghouti writes that if you want to dispossess a people, the simplest way to do it is to tell their story and to start with, "secondly." Start the story with the arrows of the Native Americans, and not with the arrival of the British, and you have an entirely different story. Start the story with the failure of the African state, and not with the colonial creation of the African state, and you have an entirely different story. - Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie¹⁴⁸

Introduction

While the last chapter sought to explain some of the potential histories of pre-colonial Amazonia, mentioning the word, "Amazonia" today often conjures in the western imagination a vast, primordial space inhabited by caimans, snakes, and monkeys. In such conceptions, these "exotic" forms of life live alongside their reclusive, unfathomable, and dangerous human neighbors who eke out a harsh yet fragile existence beneath the canopy of this once unending forest. While these images are not entirely "false," they are successful in constructing only a fragmentary notion of Amazonia that fails to capture the full historical complexity of this region. These slivers of memory have been selectively fashioned by the interaction between humans and the environment for millennia (as the previous chapter sought to illustrate).

Instead, the Amazon has too often become conceptually frozen into an ahistorical space like an insect fossilized in amber. As part of a larger project to view Amazonian history through

¹⁴⁸ Adichie, Chimamanda Ngozi. "The Danger of a Single Story." TED: Ideas worth Spreading. 2009. Accessed January 16, 2018. http://www.ted.com/talks/chimamanda_adichie_the_danger_of_a_single_story/transcript

the lens of monumentalism by cultural selection,¹⁴⁹ this chapter seeks to describe some of the ways in which such perceptions have been debated within the historiography of the region, and which have shaped a particular image in historical consciousness connected to the history of ideas and the arrival of peoples from Afro-Eurasia in the 16th century.

Through sources the pre-colonial and colonial periods and are related to the present by the conjuring of particular historical memories through the collapse of history,¹⁵⁰ this chapter will be divided into eight parts: Part I: 140 - 1492 CE, The Resurrection, Selection, and Movements of Ideas in the Creation of Amazonia. This first section of this chapter examines historiographical changes related to how the cultural selection of ideas contributed to bringing the “old and new worlds” into contact at this moment of the Columbian voyages as well as a bit of the context in which such ideas were selected. This is in no way meant to justify the colonization project begun by this encounter with Columbus. Rather, it is meant to provide the reader with a background in the cultural ecology of ideas within Afro-Eurasia or old world. Part II: 1492 – 1500: Initial Encounters between Amazonia and The Old World describes the initial encounters between Amazonians and the Columbian voyages and how these may have disrupted pre-existing Amazonian societies Part III: 1500 to 1547 CE, Imagining Amazonia: Chronography, Ideography, and Cultural Selection through Early Cartographies and Histories of

¹⁴⁹ A short reminder, Monumentalism occurs when certain ideas, expressed through physical structures, traditions, individuals, or ways of being emerge from particular environments and are imbued with significance. Over time, these “monuments” are selectively maintained, refashioned, or incorporated further into historical narratives. Such constructions are variably adopted through affinity, circumstance and evangelizing or are imposed through domination. Conversely, others are abandoned and lose significance, or are demolished.

¹⁵⁰ As explained in the first chapter, the notion is in part informed by a growing conception of time as existing through “the collapse of history.” This describes how moments separated by centuries or millennia along more traditional conceptions of historical time can collapse around a singularity of time and space so that through historical consciousness and memory, people create a connection that cognitively constructs a link joining these seemingly disparate periods into a singular historical moment and is in part rooted in seeking to understand history taking into account new discoveries and notions of cosmology demonstrated (on at least my part) through Christian, David. *Maps of Time: An Introduction to Big History*. Berkeley: University of California, 2004. Print. and Einstein’s theory of general relativity, Einstein, Albert. *Relativity: The Special and General Theory*. University of Michigan and Henry Holt and, 1920. Print.

the Region explains how the initial information gleaned from the Columbian and other early voyages of the early voyages was used to construct geographic and historical ideas about Amazonia and its people that persist until today. This portion especially demonstrates the historical links between images of the Caribbean with South American Amazonia. Part IV: 1540 – 1554 CE, Tierra de la Canela, Río Orellana, and Rio Amazonas: Origins of the “Amazon” River explains the initial voyage down the main channel of the Amazon River and how the historical roots of this particular name became associated with the space. Part V: 1520s – 1541 CE, Little Venice, El Dorado, and Gran Omagua: Searching for Amazonian Cities examines how the myth of El Dorado and the search for Amazonian cities would come to pass, as well as complicate the view of Amazonian complexity that remains vital to keep in mind both during this chapter and within this overall work. Part VI: 1557 – 1561 CE, Hans Staden, The Expeditions of Pedro De Ursua and Lope de Aguirre, The Omaguas, and the Amazonian “Other” examines how the image of cannibalism became especially associated with the region as well as the emergence of a belief that such “savagery” could destroy “civilization” through the lens of the Ursua/Aguirre colonization attempt. Part VII: 1595 – 1609 CE, The Expeditions of Sir Walter Raleigh in the Search for El Dorado, the City of Manoa, The Tuscan Expedition, and the Power of Refracted Ideas through Michel de Montaigne’s Myth of the ‘Noble Savage’ briefly explores how the myth of El Dorado attracted foreign attempts to colonize the Guiana shield (where the golden city of Manoa or Parime was reportedly situated). It also explains how the idea of Amazonian “otherness” has been culturally selected over time to destabilize as well as to reinforce colonialism by acting as a foundation for natural and human rights. Finally, the last section of the paper Part VIII: 1608 – Present, From River to Region: Locating Amazonia Today explores the conceptual re-enlargement of Amazonian space beyond the confines of the main

channel. Ultimately, this chapter is part of a larger historiographical debate that seeks to define and seriously questions our definitions and preconceptions of the Amazon and thus to better understand how this space *became* the Amazon and Amazonia.

**Part I: 140 - 1492 CE, The Resurrection, Selection, and Movements of Ideas:
Chronography and Ideography in the Creation of Amazonia**

Plunging into a historiography which is often as convoluted as the many rivers and streams of the Amazonia itself, this section describes historical changes toward the encounters, naming, and conceptual mappings of Amazonian boundaries from the colonial period to the present. While cosmologies such as the “tree model” described in chapter one seem to have existed among various groups, for millennia, the river-system known today as the Amazon was not necessarily understood to have constituted one distinct geographical area, but was instead divided and named according to the different worldviews, zones of cultural affinity, and competing political claims of multiple communities.¹⁵¹ Thus, prior to 1492 CE, the space the world calls Amazonia today (even the main channel of the river itself) would have been difficult to conceive in its geographical entirety and instead would have been known only by various indigenous labels. (See: Figure 1.14 from chapter 1) While many of these names have been “lost” to collective memory and replaced with the catchall term “Amazon,” others such as the *Ucayali* and *Papaamena* persist today.¹⁵²

¹⁵¹ See: Loukotka, Cestmir. "Ethno-linguistic Distribution of South American Indians." Map. Washington, D.C: Association of American Geographers, 1967. And "Rivers of South America." Map. In *Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations*. Aquastat, 2011.

¹⁵² For more on the Ucayali, and debates concerning its connection to “the Amazon” See: Fountain, Paul. *The River Amazon from Its Sources to the Sea*, by Paul Fountain, London: Constable, 1914. Chapter 5 and Carvajal, Gaspar De, Zavala José Toribio Medina, Bertram T. Lee, and Harry Clifton Heaton. *The Discovery of the Amazon According to the Account of Friar Gaspar De Carvajal and Other Documents*. New York: American Geographical Society, 1934. Pg. 162

Though many readers are perhaps still reluctant to accept the expansive definition of a pre-colonial Amazonian “world system” offered in chapter one and expect the initial discovery of the river as the site for the inception of “Amazonia” as a concept, in actuality that the creation of this idea itself is both historically and physically linked to the same geographical space described earlier and can be traced to October of 1492 CE, when the Arawak speaking Taino groups first encountered the Columbian voyage most likely making landfall in what is now the Bahamas. This meeting would alter forever the systems described in the previous chapter that had been constructed over millennia, causing major reverberations that impacted the peoples and ecology of Amazonia,¹⁵³ while the reports back to the European side of the Atlantic would begin the process that would impose this identity upon this land and the millions of people already living there.

While there were many factors facilitating the Columbian encounter, an examination of the technology enabling voyage was an idea that had been only relatively recently monumentalized and come into possession of Columbus and his contemporaries but would be vital to the Columbian discovery and the subsequent colonization projects dominated by European powers. Therefore, the following section will explore how monumentalism by cultural selection of particular geographic and cosmological ideas centered on the work written around 140 or 170 CE¹⁵⁴, *Geographia* by Claudius Ptolemy. This greatly contributed to bringing these groups into contact at this particular moment in history even though the work had been known for over a millennium in Afroeurasia, which was also known (in Greek) as the *Oikoumene*. This section will also go on to describe how additional voyages, expeditions, and “discoveries” came

¹⁵³ For more on the Columbian voyages, See: Columbus, Christopher, and Bartolomé De Las Casas. *Select Letters of Christopher Columbus, with Other Original Documents, Relating to His Four Voyages to the New World*. London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1870. Print.

¹⁵⁴ There is some question as to the exact date in which *Geographia* was published as other sources mention 140s/150s CE

to project upon this space the collective image of “Amazonia” through the appropriation and re-fashioning of particular ideas from the Old World, especially concepts of barbarians or “others” that would be used to legally justify conquest by Europeans that is intimately linked to why this region would come to adopt a name first associated with the Amazons of Greco-Roman antiquity.

Charting the spread of ideas that would “invent” the idea of Amazonia as a region takes us far beyond our area and to the delta of another major global river system, the Nile some 1,322 years before 1492 CE. In the city of Alexandria, a scholar Claudius Ptolemy refashioning (and improving on the works of earlier scholars back at least to the 3rd Century BCE)¹⁵⁵ created a work called *Geographia*. This piece instructed readers in geographical information, as well as discussed how to create a projection of the “known” eastern hemisphere as a sphere (with reasonably accurate precision) upon a two-dimensional surface, such as papyrus or later, paper.¹⁵⁶ In short, Ptolemy’s work, literally “earth-writing” taught its readers how to create a “map” or globe. While this was not the *only* information selected that would facilitate this transfer, I believe it is exemplary of the process of monumentalism by cultural selection. An expanded discussion would (at least) include the use of Portolan charts, as well as the compass, innovations in ship construction by Muslim seafarers, and other developments that would technologically enable European colonization of Amazonia.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ For more on pre-Ptolemaic geography, see: Berggren, J. L., Alexander Jones, and Ptolemy. *Ptolemy's Geography: An Annotated Translation of the Theoretical Chapters*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 2000. Print.

¹⁵⁶ For more on Ptolemy and Geography, See: Levenson, Jay A. *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1991. Print and Campbell, Tony, and Marcel Destombes. *The Earliest Printed Maps, 1472-1500*. Berkeley: U of California, 1987. Print.

¹⁵⁷ Claudius Ptolemy, was of course contributing refining, and questioning the works of other earlier scholars such as Eratosthenes of Cyrene, who is credited with the first “map including parallels and meridians around 256 BCE. For more on this process (which I will not be discussing), see: Orr, William Somerville. *Orr's Circle of the Sciences: A Series of Treatises on the Principles of Science, with Their Application to Practical Pursuits, Volume 7*. Vol. 7. London: W.S. Orr, 1856. Print. Pg. 195

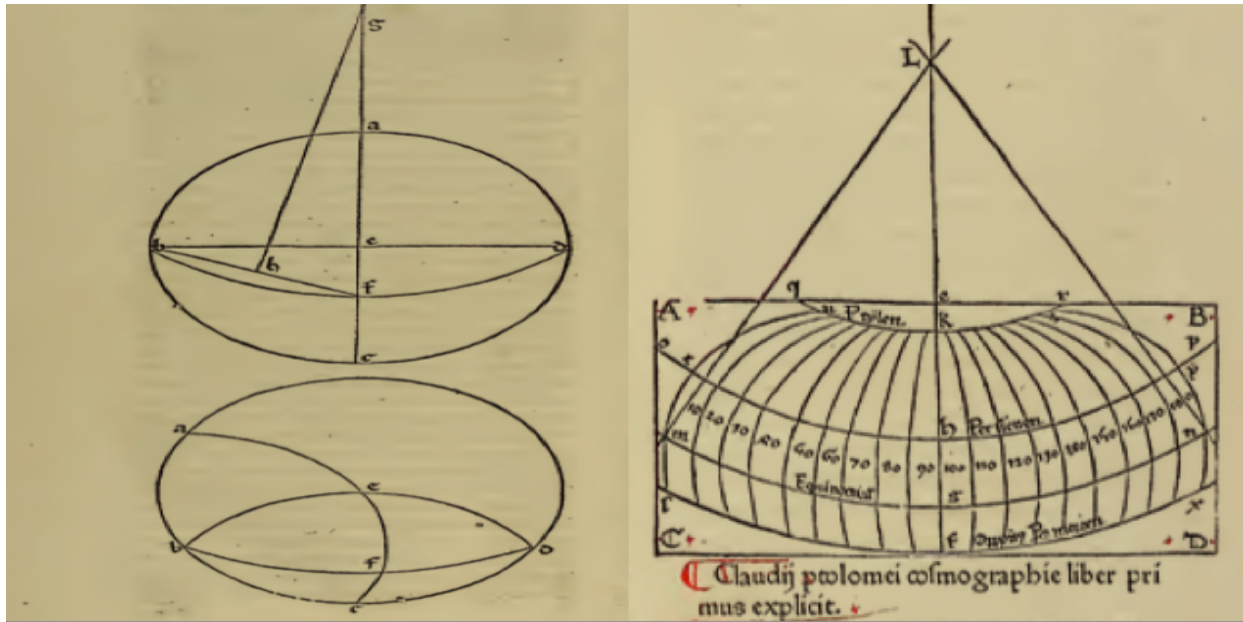


Figure 2.1: A 15th Century Representation of a Geographic Grid System Employed in Ptolemy’s *Geographia* and reproduced in *Cosmographica*

The image above was originally printed in 1482 and visualizes some of the information contained in the 15th century work, *Cosmographica*, an “updated” edition of Ptolemy’s *Geographia*.¹⁵⁸ The information represented here facilitated allowing someone to roughly understand one’s location on the planet. This is essentially one of the major roots of today’s geolocation or GPS technology. This is especially important if one wanted to cross an ocean and have a reasonable idea of where they might be and landing upon the opposite shore. As an early Atlantic sailor from whom the Americas received their name, Amerigo Vespucci wrote,

I had forgotten to tell you that from Cape Verde to the first land of this continent the distance is nearly 700 leagues; although I estimate that we went over more than 1,800...If my companions had not trusted in me, to whom cosmography was known, no one, not the leader of our navigation, would have known where we were after running 500 leagues. We were wandering and full of errors and only

¹⁵⁸ These images can be found in: Ptolemy 2nd Cent, Máximos 12th Cent. Planoúdeś, Manuel Tr. 14-15th Cent Chrysoloras, Jacopo Tr 15th Cent D'Angelo, and Nicholas 15th Cent Germanus. *Cosmographia*. Vincenza: Johann; Hol, Lienhart, Printer, 1482. <https://archive.org/details/cosmographia00ptol>.

the instruments for taking the altitudes of heavenly bodies showed us our position. These were the quadrant and astrolabe, as known to all. These have been much used by me with much honour; for I showed them that a knowledge of the marine chart, and the rules taught by it, are more worth than all the pilots in the world. For these pilots have no knowledge beyond those places to which they have often sailed.¹⁵⁹

While such information is ubiquitous for the privileged across the planet today (in other words highly monumentalized), during the early modern era, control over this knowledge would ultimately allow entire fleets of ships that helped to enable global colonization, the slave trade, and the Columbian exchange. However, while this particular information existed for centuries, it would only be around the 15th century CE that the historical record reveals that *Geographia* was appropriated and refashioned in a particularly different way. Before understanding this however, it is important to describe the history of the work that leads us to that moment in 1492 CE when Amazonian peoples first encounter the Columbian enterprise.

¹⁵⁹ Vespucci, Amerigo, and Sir Roger Clements Markham. "The Letters of Amerigo Vespucci and Other Documents Illustrative of His Career: Vespucci, Amerigo, 1451-1512 : Free Download & Streaming." Internet Archive. from 1499, orig. 1898. Accessed December 29, 2016. <https://archive.org/details/lettersofamerigo00vesprich>. Pg. 44

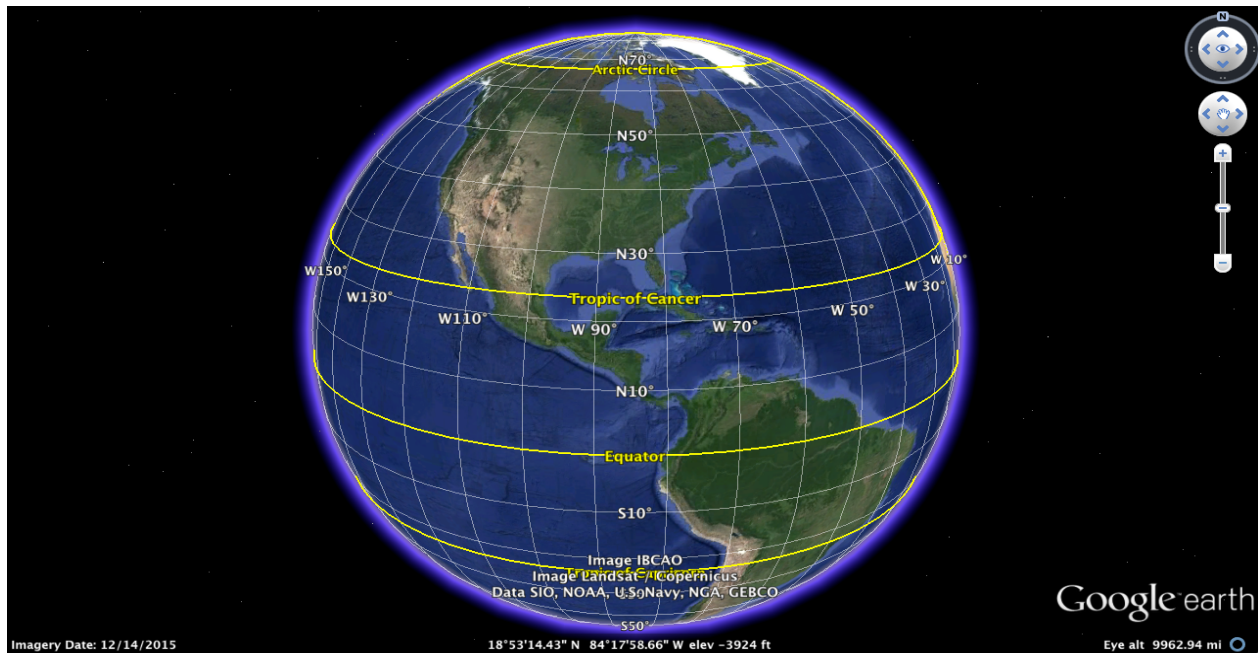


Figure 2.1a: A Geographic Grid Superimposed over A Contemporary Digital Representation of the Earth, Source: “North and South America”18° 53’ 14.43’ N 84° 17’58.66” W. Google Earth. December 14, 2015. December 14, 2016.

The digital image above demonstrates an updated “grid” displaying the Americas used in Google earth. This contemporary depiction of the planet appropriates and refashions the “tropics,” and meridians, which were pioneered by Ptolemy in *Geographia*. As the reader has seen from the previous chapter, multiple figures in this work will make use of this tool to help visualize the monumentalism of particular cultural traditions while sharing roots in culturally selected technology.

Following the destruction of the Library of Alexandria¹⁶⁰ and the fall of the Western Roman Empire in 476 CE, this work was largely unavailable in the “West,” and the ideas contained in this work were essentially “lost.” However, Ptolemy was never entirely forgotten among the elite highly literate few. Indeed, versions seem to have existed since the 9th century in

¹⁶⁰ There are various dates for destructive episodes. For more see Pollard, Justin, and Howard Reid. *The Rise and Fall of Alexandria: Birthplace of the Modern World*. New York, NY: Penguin, 2007

Baghdad, then the political and cultural center of the Islamic Abbasid caliphate,¹⁶¹ which may have made their way into the libraries of Cordoba, more research is needed to establish if any of these works survived.

Then around 1295 CE, a manuscript in the archives of a monastery at Mount Athos (in modern Greece) was “re-discovered” by an Eastern Roman (Byzantine) cleric named Máximos Planoúdēs, who brought the work to the attention of the imperial court in Constantinople and is also credited with the creation of maps based on Ptolemy’s descriptions.¹⁶² Later he is said to have created a Latin translation in his capacity as an envoy to the Venetians (though no copy seems to be in existence).¹⁶³ It was around this time, however that the use of Portolan Charts would come into fashion, aiding Venice and their maritime rivals such as Genoa in lucrative trade in Asia as well as the Portuguese and Castilian maritime expansion in the Atlantic.

¹⁶¹ This work will not delve too deeply into the Arabic historiography due to my lack of proficiency with the script. However, geographical knowledge (very likely including Ptolemy) was quite important and widespread across the Islamic world. One well known example of a scholar working in this area is Muhammad ibn Musa al-Khwarizmi. For more on al-Khwarizmi (incidentally “algorithm” is derived from his name), See: Brezina, Corona. *Al-Khwarizmi: The Inventor of Algebra*. New York: Rosen Pub. Group, 2006. Print.

¹⁶² Latinized as: Maximus Planudes, and in Greek: Μάξιμος Πλανούδης

¹⁶³ Alvarez, Pablo. "Collection Highlight: Ptolemy. Geographia Vniversalis." *Ptolemy (100-170 A.D.) Geographia Vniversalis, Vetus Et Nova, Complectens Clavdii Ptolemaei Alexandrini Enarrationis Libros VIII*. Basle: Heinrich Petri, 1545. University of Rochester, n.d. Web.



Figure 2.2: Known Movements of Geographia in The Islamic and Eastern Roman Mediterranean Worlds, Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., 2016

The map above reveals the movement of Ptolemy’s *Geographia* from Alexandria in Egypt within the Islamic world (in green) and within the Eastern Roman Empire (in purple), until about 1300 CE.¹⁶⁴ It demonstrates that while the information was known, it was not necessarily popularly available and was not applied to fund voyages of “discovery” nor colonization, within these cultural environments. It also reveals that such information whether retained in western archives, those of the Islamic, or Byzantine worlds, was not utilized for these purposes either, but rather was used to create physical maps as a demonstration of cultural capital on the part of rulers. In other words, the value of the work was that to “see” creation was to (lay claim to the authority to) control it.

¹⁶⁴ For more on this process, see: Edson, Evelyn. *The World Map, 1300-1492: the Persistence of Tradition and Transformation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2007 Pg. 114 and Wells, Colin. *Sailing from Byzantium: How a Lost Empire Shaped the World*. New York: Delacorte, 2006. Pg. 112

A century after Planoúdeōs “re-discovery,” the nearly thousand-year-old Eastern Roman Empire by 1400 comprised only the area around Constantinople,¹⁶⁵ which was originally called “New Rome” and is today known as modern Istanbul. The Roman state also controlled some areas across what is now Greece and Thrace in modern Turkey but was on the verge of collapse as Ottoman Turkish power was flowing into southeastern Europe, threatening commerce, pockets, and economically contributing to the religious and cultural conflict. It is into this context in 1397 CE, when another Byzantine scholar, Manuel Chrysoloras would arrive as a diplomat in Italy working primarily in Venice and then Florence to seek aid along with the Byzantine Emperor Manuel II from the Papacy and Catholic Europe.¹⁶⁶

When Chrysoloras, arrived in Florence alongside the former *Mesazon* (or Imperial Prime Minister)¹⁶⁷ Demetrios Kydonēs as well as a native Florentine, and his student in Greek, Jacopo Angeli da Scarperia.¹⁶⁸ The trio brought with them a number of Greek manuscripts including “a world map and twenty-six regional maps”¹⁶⁹ that were part of Ptolemy’s *Geographia*, and which Chrysoloras began translating into Latin while in Florence. After Chrysoloras abruptly departed from Florence in 1400 CE and went to its archrival Milan (likely to obtain aid for Byzantium, that had eluded him in Florence),¹⁷⁰ he left the completion of the work to Jacopo Angeli da

¹⁶⁵ In Greek this is written, Κωνσταντινούπολις (the city of Roman Emperor Constantine I)

¹⁶⁶ Pollard, Justin, and Howard Reid. *The Rise and Fall of Alexandria: Birthplace of the Modern World*. New York, NY: Penguin, 2007. Pg. vii

¹⁶⁷ For more on Demetrios Kydonēs, See: Demetrius Cydonēs (C.1324-1397): Intellectual and Diplomatic Relations Between Byzantium and the West in the Fourteenth Century, 1981)

¹⁶⁸ Variable versions of Jacopo’s name are listed as: Giacomo Angeli da Scarperia, Giacomo d’Angelo da Scarperia, Jacopo Angeli, Jacopo d’Angelo da Scarperia, Jacopo di Angelo da Scarperia, Jacopo Angeli de Scarperia, Iacopo Angeli da Scarperia depending on the language, printer, and translation of the text into various languages.

¹⁶⁹ Edson, Evelyn. *The World Map, 1300-1492: the Persistence of Tradition and Transformation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2007 Pg. 114

¹⁷⁰ For more on this argument, see: Wells, Colin. *Sailing from Byzantium: How a Lost Empire Shaped the World*. New York: Delacorte, 2006. Print.

Scarperia, who would finish the work and dedicate it to Pope Alexander V (1409-1410 CE).¹⁷¹ Chrysoloras (also translated Plato's Republic and the works of Homer into Latin) would later travel around Europe including to the Iberian Peninsula seeking aid.¹⁷² He also attended the Council of Constance where *Geographia* was discussed and argued over by some of the leading intellectuals, clergy, and political/economic personalities of the day, who would bring back the knowledge contained to various corners of Europe.¹⁷³ The text and eventually maps became quite sought after, and copies (especially from Florence) were displayed prominently attesting to the owners' wealth, intelligence, and access to the latest information gleaned by Renaissance humanists from the classical past.¹⁷⁴

Despite the issuing of the *Dum Diversas* papal bull authorizing the enslavement of "pagans and Saracens" in 1452 CE, The Eastern Roman Empire would fall when Constantinople (the largest Christian and European city) was conquered a year later in 1453 CE by the Ottoman Turks under Sultan Mehmet II. This event sent shockwaves throughout Christendom and increased the search for alternatives around the Muslim (especially Ottoman/Egyptian Mamluk) monopoly on trade with the east that was especially important (and costly) before the age of refrigeration.¹⁷⁵ While the Byzantine Empire would not survive, the idea of enslaving non-Christian "others" would be appropriated and refashioned to justify the enslavement of

¹⁷¹ Edson, Evelyn. *The World Map, 1300-1492: the Persistence of Tradition and Transformation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2007. Pg. 112

¹⁷² For more on the contribution of Renaissance information to various Colonial endeavors, see: Mignolo, Walter. *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization*. Ann Arbor: U of Michigan, 1995. Print.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.* Edson

¹⁷⁴ Declan Murphy, and Anthony Grafton. "Rome Reborn: The Vatican Library & Renaissance Culture Mathematics." *Mathematics*. United States Library of Congress, n.d. Web. 27 Oct. 2016. <http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/vatican/math.html#obj14>

¹⁷⁵ For more on the context of the early modern Mediterranean World, see: Carboni, Stefano. *Venice and the Islamic World: 828 - 1797; [Institut Du Monde Arabe, Paris, October 2, 2006 - February 18, 2007; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, March 27 - July 8, 2007]*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 200

Amazonian and other indigenous peoples from the Americas, as well as the Atlantic trade in enslaved African peoples.

The squeezing off of Christian-dominated access to the “silk road” in the east was becoming increasingly costly as it created a major trade imbalance and contributed to a sense of existential crisis. Over roughly the same period that the Ottomans were gaining territory across Byzantium, the *Reconquista* on the Iberian Peninsula was gaining greater strength, which would ultimately secure the straights of Gibraltar to Christian (Iberian and later British) domination. Thus, just as the longstanding trade routes in the east were “closing,” those in the Atlantic were being opened to Christian shipping. To further this trend and demonstrate that these were connected struggles, in 1454 CE, Pope Nicholas V issued the *Romanus Pontifex* bull,¹⁷⁶ which allowed Christians to claim land in Africa in exchange to help ostensibly against the spread of Islam and the power of the Ottoman Turks/ North African Islamic States. These two laws, *the Dum Diversas* and *Romanus Pontifex* contributed toward establishing the legal framework by which the enslavement of indigenous peoples from Africa and the Americas would be justified as well as the expropriation and colonization as these ideas became re-fashioned or applied to aid in the Reconquista, and then colonization of first Atlantic Islands (such as the Canaries), the West Coast of Africa, and ultimately the Americas (beginning in Amazonia in the Caribbean).

This context is vital for understanding how it was that while elements of Ptolemy’s work had existed around the Mediterranean world for some time, it was now that the work began to

¹⁷⁶A full text of the *Romanus Pontifex Papal Bull* and expanded history can be found at: “The Bull Romanus Pontifex (Nicholas V), January 8, 1455.” The Bull Romanus Pontifex. Accessed December 23, 2016. <http://www.nativeweb.org/pages/legal/indig-romanus-pontifex.html>. For more, see: Davenport, Frances G., and Charles Oscar Paullin. *European Treaties Bearing on the History of the United States and Its Dependencies*. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1917. https://books.google.com/books?id=uLILAAAIAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

gain additional social and cultural capital to become imbued with greater significance as it was applied to ocean voyages.¹⁷⁷ Indeed, works such as Strabo's became better known and utilized to organize the Portuguese and Spanish expeditions heading further south along the coast of Africa into the Atlantic and eventually the Indian Oceans. Meanwhile, *Geographia* would also be cited by numerous other cartographers, for example in the Fra Mauro, a Venetian, whose monumental work building on Ptolemy would be sent to the Portuguese Court in the 1450s CE and is often seen as a "culminating" example of early modern geography prior to the Columbian voyages. By the time Johannes Gutenberg invented the (European) press in the mid 1400s, *Geographia* became an early and quite sought-after book.¹⁷⁸ It is worth quoting Pablo Alvarez at the University of Rochester at length below in order to understand some of the importance of this work that might otherwise just appear to some as old and highly inaccurate maps.

The illustrated *editio princeps*, which was published in Bologna in 1477, contains engravings of the 26 regional maps as well as the map of the *oikoumene*, all of them printed from copperplates. By the year 1500, at least six incunable editions with maps had been published in Europe, mostly in Italy (Campbell, 1987: 122-38), and following the discoveries from the Castilian and Portuguese voyages, European scholars started using Ptolemy's treatise as a platform upon which they would add new locations. Indeed, contrary to the vagueness of the allegorical maps of the Middle Ages, the *Geography* of Ptolemy offered a useful scientific framework, best exemplified by its geometrical grid of lines of longitude and latitude that created a potentially infinite space waiting to be filled by the printer (Brotton, 2000: 42). Moreover, at the end of the sixteenth century, the Flemish cartographers Gerardus Mercator (1512-1594) and Abraham Ortelius (1527-1598) published important revisions of the *Geography*, correcting some of Ptolemy's errors. For instance, according to Ptolemy's calculations, the distance between Spain and China is 180°, when the correct estimation is actually about 130°.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁷ Murphy, Declan, and Anthony Grafton. "Rome Reborn: The Vatican Library & Renaissance Culture, Mathematics." *Mathematics*. Accessed October 28, 2016. <https://www.loc.gov/exhibits/vatican/math.html#pg>.

¹⁷⁸ Alvarez, Pablo. "Collection Highlight: Ptolemy. *Geographia Vniversalis*." *Ptolemy (100-170 A.D.) Geographia Vniversalis, Vetus Et Nova, Complectens Clavdii Ptolemaei Alexandrini Enarrationis Libros VIII*. Basle: Heinrich Petri, 1545. University of Rochester, n.d. Web.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

In other words, Ptolemy's *Geographia* became seen as an important and authoritative work that now became potentially vital to destroying the Islamic trade monopoly, so feared by mercantile capitalists (and the Roman Catholic Church) during this period. While a few passages were later known to be inaccurate, some of these errors were (and still are) attributed in part to their "poor" translations by Jacopo Angeli da Scarperia, who was still learning Greek from Chrysoloras. Despite such problems, the work was still viewed as important for navigators and those interested in cartography.



Figure 2.3: Map of Claudius Ptolemy created between 1460 and 1477 CE, Courtesy, Universitat de València Biblioteca Històrica, Compiled by James C. Deavenport, 2016

The depiction of Afroeurasia above is digital reproduction of Ptolemy's *Geographia* published between 1460 and 1477 CE and approximates much of the "known" geographic knowledge available to Christopher Columbus (or someone of his economic and social stature by

1492).¹⁸⁰ Importantly, the 26 maps in *editio princeps* (quoted at length in the previous page) contained the same number of maps as had Chrysoloras' transported copy. This work would ultimately contain some of the most important knowledge that would facilitate trans-oceanic voyages, break the trade monopoly controlled by Islamic states, and directly enable contact between Afroeurasia and Amazonia. Perhaps most importantly, it would also become the geographical template upon which the Americas would be charted, understood, and dominated by Roman Catholic and eventually other Christian Europeans.

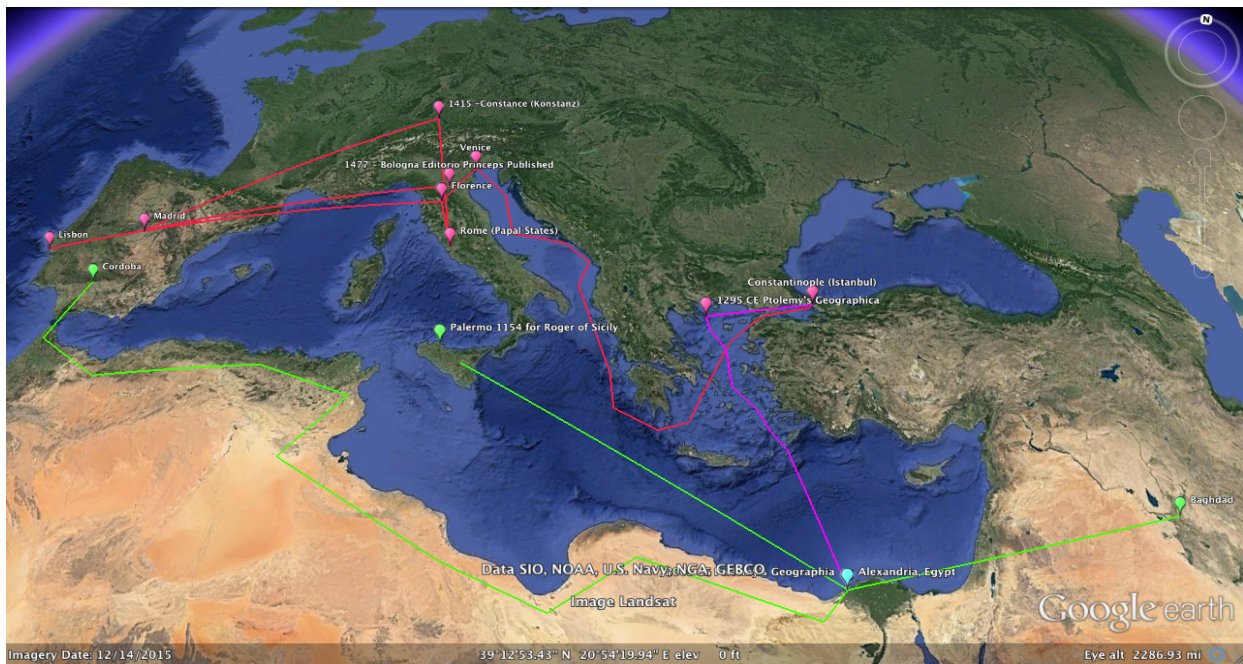


Figure 2.4: The Movements of Ideas and Émigrés From The Eastern Roman Empire to Western Europe, during the 14th and 15th Centuries, Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., 2016

The pathways in the image above visualize the spread of Ptolemy's *Geographia* (in red) by the Eastern Romans to Western Europe especially Italy, Switzerland, and the Iberian

¹⁸⁰ Ptolemy, Claudius. "Claudii Ptolomei Cosmographie ([entre 1460 I 1477]." Ptolemy's *Geographia* Espill V12 : Visualitzador per a Continguts Digitalitzats a Somni. Universitat de València Biblioteca Històrica Accessed November 19, 2016.

http://webliboteca.uv.es/cgi/view7.pl?sesion=2016102007455327528&source=uv_ms_0693&div=114&mini=1&menid=60.

Peninsula, where it would become available to Christopher Columbus. In June of 1474 CE, the movement of this information was helped along when a Florentine mathematician and doctor named Paolo Toscanelli, wrote a letter to an acquaintance of his who was a young Genoese sailor named Christopher Columbus.¹⁸¹ The sailor had acquired a copy of *Geographia* and was in Portugal pursuing royal support for an expedition across the Atlantic.¹⁸² Toscanelli supported him in this endeavor and replied to Columbus that “[T]he said voyage is not only possible, but it is true, and certain to be honorable and to yield incalculable profit, and very great fame among Christians. But you cannot know this perfectly save through experience and practice, as I have had in the form of most copious and good and true information from distinguished men of great learning who have come from said parts here to the court of Rome.¹⁸³”

In other words, Toscanelli is relying on the cultural and intellectual capital of the Eastern Romans to make his argument that a voyage like that eventually undertaken by Columbus would be profitable and possible. Furthermore, it is not at all a wild speculation to think that Toscanelli may likely have been referring to Byzantine scholars such as Manuel Chrysoloras, delegates from the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, or perhaps other political/ecclesiastical figures that had received a humanist education in the Italian city-states including Venice and Florence. This letter demonstrates that these conversations, which had been occurring within this particular cultural context would result in the particular way *Geographia* was being preserved, transported, translated, and provided with additional “cultural capital.”

¹⁸¹ Christopher Columbus in an Anglicized word and is often cited in sources as “Christoforo Colombo”

¹⁸² Ptolemy, Claudius. "Claudii Ptolomei Cosmographie (entre 1460 I 1477." Ptolemy's Geographia Espill V12: Visualitzador per a Continguts Digitalizats a Somni. Accessed November 19, 2016. http://weblioteca.uv.es/cgi/view7.pl?sesion=2016102007455327528&source=uv_ms_0693&div=114&mini=1&menid=60.

¹⁸³ For more see the Letters of Toscanelli to Columbus See: Columbus, Christophorus, and Clements R. Markham. *The Journal of Christopher Columbus (during His First Voyage, 1492-93), and Documents Relating to the Voyages of John Cabot and Gaspar Corte Real*. New York, NY: Franklin, 1971. Pg. 10

Toscanelli also introduced the Genoese sailor to other resurrected ancient works such as Strabo's *Geography*, which Columbus might use to further his claims. Like *Geographia* (described earlier), Strabo's work had also survived the Library of Alexandria and been introduced to Toscanelli years before by another Byzantine scholar-diplomat, Georgios Gemistos Plethon, when both he and Toscanelli had attended the Council of Florence (1431-1449 CE). While Columbus would have to wait another two decades for the needed support to materialize, Ptolemy's ideas improbably survived and gained greater importance in the early modern Mediterranean world as the competition between the expansionist Ottomans and Western Christendom now provided an increasingly more suitable cultural environment for this information to be appropriated and refashioned. Ultimately, it would help provide the essential knowledge needed to secure material support from the Catholic Monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella following their final expulsion of the Moors from the Iberian Peninsula.

This last point is crucial, for securing the straits of Gibraltar, geographically opened the alternative route that could circumvent and circumnavigate being reliant upon Islamic powers, and to what to early modern "European" minds would be extortionist, and expansionist Islamic powers of the Ottomans/ Egyptian Mamluks. Evidence of such thinking can be seen from the broader "thought universe"¹⁸⁴ in which Columbus was acting. Indeed, the ultimate Columbian project (which Columbus even left some gold toward funding in his will) was to secure an alliance between the Catholic Monarchs and the supposedly friendly Mongolian Khan (who had prominent Nestorian Christians in his court) jointly attack Mecca, and exchange it for the return of Jerusalem, Syria, Palestine, Anatolia, the Balkans, (and presumably Constantinople) to

¹⁸⁴ For more on the notion of the Thought Universe, See: Hinton, James. *Selections from Manuscripts*, Volume 1. London, Digital- University of California Libraries: Nabu Press, Theo Johnson Bishopsgate Street, Orig. 1856, Digitized, 2012. Accessed January 26, 2017. https://books.google.com/books?id=pBgNAQAIAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false.

Christian political domination.¹⁸⁵ Indeed, Toscanelli wrote to Columbus “the said Kings and Princes are very, desirous, *more than ourselves*,¹⁸⁶ to have intercourse and speech with Christians because a great part of them are Christians.”¹⁸⁷

Therefore, Ptolemy’s Hellenistic Alexandrian knowledge, which escaped the fallout of ancient imperial projects and religious fanaticism that had destroyed the Great Library of Alexandria, was likely preserved and translated to Catholic Europe by Muslim “infidels”¹⁸⁸ and “schismatic” Byzantines before appearing in (and very likely playing a major role in shaping) the context of Early Renaissance Florence.¹⁸⁹ This context, along with these and other actions facilitated the selection of this information, preserved, and extended *Geographia*’s impact as it became more widely known (yet still privileged) information as it came into the hands of this Genoese sailor (and his business partners the Pinzón brothers) who departed from Palos de la Frontera (now in Spain) and disappeared across the horizon in 1492.

Part II: 1492 – 1500, Initial Encounters between Amazonia and The Old World

¹⁸⁵ Sweet, Leonard I. "Christopher Columbus and the Millennial Vision of the New World." *The Catholic Historical Review* 72.3, 1986, 369-82. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25022335>. Pg. 381

¹⁸⁶ emphasis added

¹⁸⁷ Columbus, Christophorus, and Clements R. Markham. *The Journal of Christopher Columbus (during His First Voyage, 1492-93), and Documents Relating to the Voyages of John Cabot and Gaspar Corte Real*. New York, NY: Franklin, 1971. Pg.8-9

¹⁸⁸ For more on dominant Arab centered accounts of this story, see: Hamdani, Abbas. "The Ottoman Response to the Discovery of America and the New Route to India." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 101.3 (1981). *JSTOR*. Web. 4 Nov. 2010. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/602594>>.

¹⁸⁹ For more on this, see: Pollard, Justin, and Howard Reid. *The Rise and Fall of Alexandria: Birthplace of the Modern World*. New York, NY: Penguin, 2007.

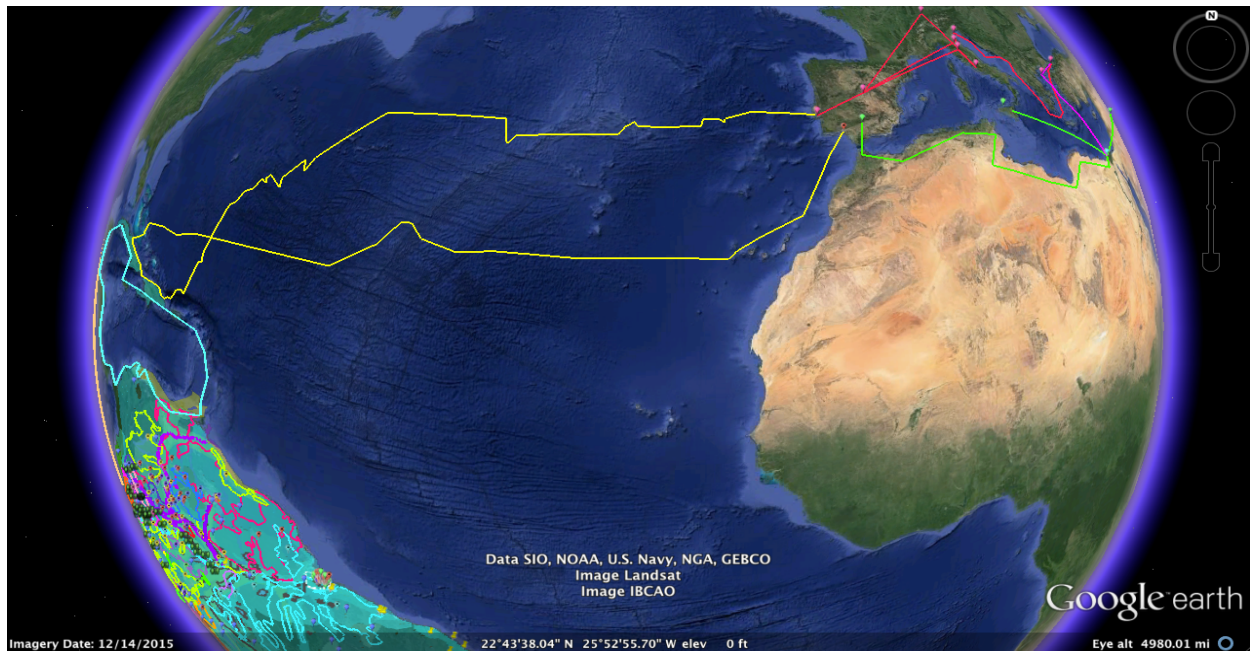


Figure 2.5: The Columbian Voyage and the Movement of Geographia to Amazonia, Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., 2016

The image above utilizes information from a popularly available source to visualize the first Columbian voyage across the Atlantic Ocean (in yellow) and the initial encounter of Amazonians with people from Afroeurasia, thus demonstrating what information is available presently to someone with limited background in the initial Columbian voyage.¹⁹⁰ Nevertheless, this image demonstrates how the initial interaction between Columbus and Amazonia began a major process of transformation that has been altering Amazonia and the rest of the world ever since by linking old world and pre-colonial Amazonian networks. It also visualizes the movement of knowledge contained within Ptolemy's *Geographia* to the Americas. It reveals that the encounter between Columbus's small fleet and wider Amazonia was initially confined to the Bahamas, and Atlantic coasts of modern Cuba, The Dominican Republic, and Haiti.

¹⁹⁰ Source of voyage: Unknown. "The Voyages of Christopher Columbus Trans. Orig. Viajes De Colon." Wikipedia. Accessed November 23, 2016. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Voyages_of_Christopher_Columbus#/media/File:Viajes_de_colon_en.svg.

Therefore, by using chronographical mapping, we can begin to visualize geographically the impact upon different areas of Amazonia.¹⁹¹ This began the “Columbian Exchange,” of goods, ideas, and people. Many of these “exchanges” would be less than beneficial to all parties. Indeed, Columbus wrote during the first voyage that “Yesterday [some indigenous people] came [to] the ship [in] a dugout with six young men, and five came on board; these I ordered to be detained and I am bringing them.”¹⁹² These were some of the first people from Amazonia to come into contact with people from Afroeurasia. When Columbus finally returned from the first voyage, six individuals (not necessarily these same captives) were presented at the court of the Catholic Monarchs.

By the fourth of May in 1493 CE, a new Papal Bull known as *Inter Caetera* would recognize Spain’s claim to lands (and people) in the “Indies.” However, a second Bull, *Eximiae Devotionis* is worth quoting at length:

The sincerity and whole-souled loyalty of your exalted attachment to ourselves and the Church of Rome deserve to have us grant in your favour those things whereby daily you may the better and more easily be enabled to the honour of Almighty God and the spread of Christian Government as well as the exaltation of the Catholic faith to carry out your jolly and praiseworthy purpose and the work already undertaken of making search for far-away and unknown and countries and islands. For this very day of our own accord and certain knowledge, and out of the fullness of our apostolic power, we have given, granted, and assigned forever, as appears more fully in our letters drawn up therefor, to you and your heirs and successors, kings of Castile and Leon, all and singular the remote and unknown mainlands and islands lying towards the western parts and the ocean sea, that have been discovered or hereafter may be discovered by you or your envoys, whom you have equipped therefor not without great hardships, dangers and expense - and with them all their lordships, cities, castles, places, villages, rights and

¹⁹¹ I hope to incorporate additional research to visualize such changes in the near future that may contribute to an understanding of how pre-colonial networks were altered over time by Columbian and colonial encounters.

¹⁹² Takaki, Ronald T. *A Different Mirror: A History of Multicultural America*. Revised ed. Boston: Little, Brown &, 1993, 2008. Pg. 32

jurisdictions; provided however these countries have not been in the actual temporal possession of any Christian lords.¹⁹³

In essence, by recognizing and sanctifying the “discovery,” Pope Alexander VI was refashioning the “successful” precedent of the *Reconquista* to justify spiritual and temporal conquest in Amazonian and eventually other American lands. As different voyages were sponsored following the successful first crossing, new networks would be created while those of earlier generations were often disrupted, incorporated, or continued where possible as they had previously.

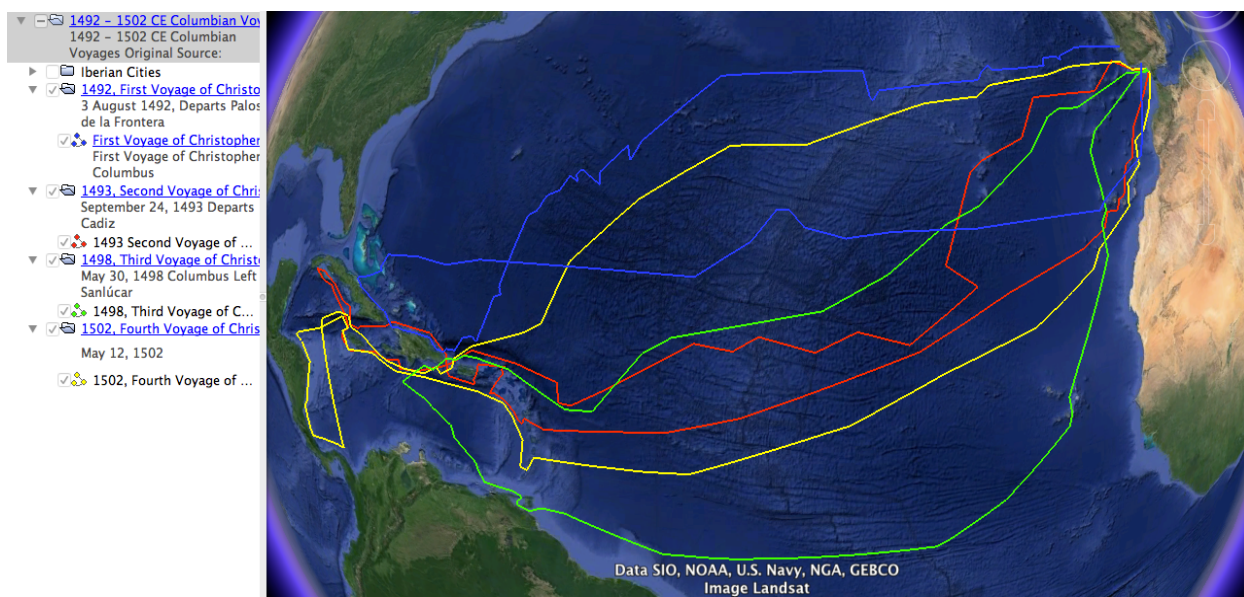


Figure 2.6: The Four Columbian Voyages: 1492 to 1502, Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., 2016

The figure above visualizes Columbian Voyages from 1492 to 1502.¹⁹⁴ It reveals the geographical reach impact of the initial colonization efforts under Columbus’ direction. Once

¹⁹³ Pope Alexander VI. "Eximiae Devotionis (1493)." Eximiae Devotionis (1493). May 4, 1493, orig. Accessed December 29, 2016. <http://clc-library-org-docs.angelfire.com/Eximiae.html>.

¹⁹⁴ Notice the First voyage is depicted here in blue. Source: Unknown. "The Voyages of Christopher Columbus Trans. Orig. Viajes De Colon." Wikipedia. Accessed November 23, 2016. Sweet, Leonard I. "Christopher Columbus

can see that by 1502 CE, the reach of Columbus had expanded beyond the Atlantic coasts of Santo Domingo (Hispaniola), Cuba, and the Bahamas, to their Caribbean coasts. The US historian Ronald Takaki explained that “During his second voyage in 1493, Columbus again sent his men to kidnap Indians and returned to Spain with 550 Indian captives. ‘When we reached the waters around Spain,’ Michele de Cuneo reported, ‘about 200 of those Indians died, I believe because of the unaccustomed air, colder than theirs. We cast them into the sea.’”¹⁹⁵ While the voyage itself may have resulted in their deaths, these may have been some of the first casualties of European diseases. During the third Voyage, Columbus’ ships had passed by the Orinoco Delta in South America (a major conduit of transportation within pre-colonial Amazonia), while the Caribbean coast of Central America would be reached by the fourth voyage. These trips represent conduits of information and exchange that would be pieced together by the work of others within the Early Modern Mediterranean/European context.

Columbus would initially enjoy a monopoly granted by the Catholic Monarchs (Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella I of Castile) over the newly discovered lands.¹⁹⁶ Indeed, when Columbus and others came into contact with these spaces, their culturally antagonistic experience with non-Roman Catholic “others” would be projected onto these “Indian” peoples, and papal bulls such as the 1542 CE *Dum Diversas* (mentioned above). On the 4th of May in 1493, Pope Alexander VI issued the bull, *Inter caetera –extended domaines*, which, along with the 1494 Treaty of Tordesillas would divide the world *through* Amazonia.

and the Millennial Vision of the New World." The Catholic Historical Review 72.3, 1986, 369-82. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25022335>. and Columbus, Christopher, and Bartolomé De Las Casas. *Select Letters of Christopher Columbus, with Other Original Documents, Relating to His Four Voyages to the New World*. London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1870.

¹⁹⁵ Takaki, Ronald T. *A Different Mirror: A History of Multicultural America*. Revised ed. Boston: Little, Brown &, 1993, 2008. Pg. 32

¹⁹⁶ For more on this, see: Columbus, Christopher, and Bartolomé De Las Casas. *Select Letters of Christopher Columbus, with Other Original Documents, Relating to His Four Voyages to the New World*. London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1870.

Part III: 1500 to 1547 CE, Imagining Amazonia: Chronography, Ideography, and Cultural Selection through Early Cartographies and Histories of the Region

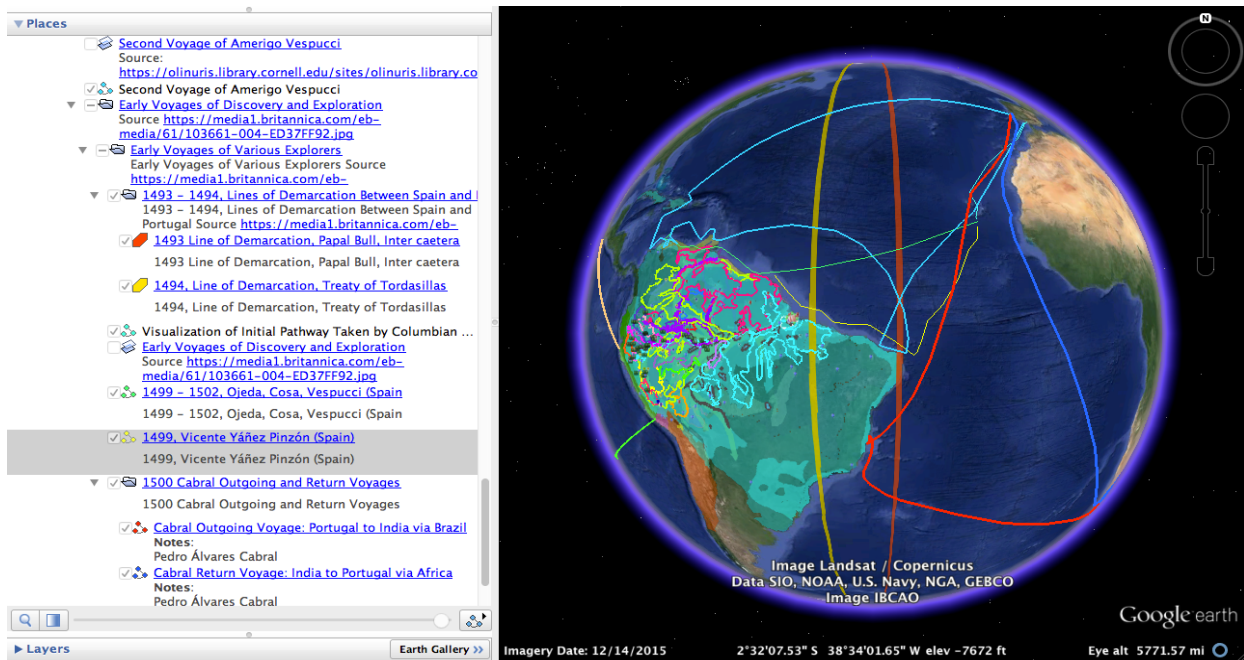


Figure 2.7: Amazonia and Early Voyages During the Age of Discovery, Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., 2016

The image above demonstrates voyages that occurred between 1492 and 1500 CE under the direction of other sailors such as Alonso de Ojeda, Juan de la Cosa, Amerigo Vespucci, Pedro Álvares Cabral,¹⁹⁷ and others who would be allowed to break the Columbian monopoly granted by the Catholic Monarchs and begin undertaking voyages into the Caribbean, Venezuela, and the Guianas. Amerigo Vespucci, supposedly undertook a voyage south from his compatriots Ojeda and de la Cosa finding the mouth of the Amazon, but many scholars now believe this to be one of the most important forgeries in history as it would partially result in the naming of the New World as the Americas.¹⁹⁸ By 1499, it was not along the terrestrial course of the river that

¹⁹⁷ The First European to encounter what is today Brazil.

¹⁹⁸ "For more on this, see: Amerigo Vespucci." Amerigo Vespucci | Olin & Uris Libraries. Accessed December 24, 2016. <https://olinuris.library.cornell.edu/columbia-or-america/vespucci>.

the Amazon River system was first perceived by individuals from the Old World. Rather, the Amazon River was so massive that it was initially called a “sea” by Vicente Yáñez Pinzón (his trip is highlighted in yellow in Figure 2.7). This voyage was the first documented moment of contact between the Amazon River and the old world.

La Mar Dulce

In early 1500 CE, scarcely eight years after the landing of Columbus, Vicente Yáñez Pinzón and his crew would become the first people from the Old World documented to come into contact with the Amazon River. This occurred when this former captain of the Niña¹⁹⁹ was commissioned to lead an expedition down the South American coast, still searching for Columbus’ route to Asia. Near the equator, the voyage passed near the massive river delta or estuary of the Amazon.²⁰⁰ Here, Pinzón noted an enormous current of fresh water (ultimately 20 per cent of all the fresh water on the face of the planet) that flowed from the mouth of the Amazon displaced and eventually came to mix with the waters of the Atlantic.²⁰¹

In an early work of U.S. and Anglophone historiography related to the Amazon, Washington Irving later noted in his 1831 account on the companions of Columbus, that Pinzón “found the water of the sea so fresh that he was enabled to replenish his casks with it.”²⁰² Intrigued, Pinzón and his crew put toward the river’s delta and after reaching the mouth of this Rio Grande, the remarkable phenomenon led Pinzón to formally name (and literally) christen the

¹⁹⁹ Vicente’s brother Martín Alonso Pinzón was incidentally captain of the Pinta

²⁰⁰ Marley, David. *Wars of the Americas: A Chronology of Armed Conflict in the Western Hemisphere, 1492 to the Present*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2008. Pg.3 and Irving, Washington. *Voyages and Discoveries of the Companions of Columbus*, by Washington Irving. Paris: Baudry, 1831. Pp 38-39 and for Pinzón’s position as captain of the Niña see: Phillips, William D., and Carla Rahn Phillips. *The Worlds of Christopher Columbus*. Cambridge [England: Cambridge University Press, 1992. Pg. 143

²⁰¹ For more on this, see: Smith, Nigel J. H. *Amazon Sweet Sea: Land, Life, and Water at the River's Mouth*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002.

²⁰² Irving, Washington. *Voyages and Discoveries of the Companions of Columbus*, by Washington Irving. Paris: Baudry, 1831. Pg. 37

river, “Rio Santa Maria de la Mar Dulce.”²⁰³ Through his naming, Pinzón claimed the river, its adjacent lands, and its people for God and country, while the performance of naming itself satisfied legal requirements rooted in Spain’s Mediterranean past.²⁰⁴ Again, many sources (such as the one I mentioned for chapter 1 on “virgin territory”) apply here. For a sailor, freshwater can mean the difference between life and death and therefore represented a potentially important economic and strategic resource for the future of the expanding Spanish Empire in this area.

However, Pinzón’s freshwater or “sweet” sea became bitter as his crew had immense difficulty navigating the demanding waters of the Amazonian delta. Multiple times, the voyage almost ended as currents were said to rush forward or recede quickly, damaging vessels. Additionally, encounters with the indigenous people did not go smoothly, often resulting in maritime and land skirmishes. Describing one particularly gruesome battle that occurred even before Pinzón reached the delta, Washington Irving explained that “the Spaniards returned defeated and disheartened to their ships, having met with the roughest reception that the Europeans had yet experienced in the New World.”²⁰⁵

While the above description can be understood to have taken some of the poetic license and rhetorical flare often used during Irving’s era, (after all one has to sell books) it is likely that Pinzón and his crew faced real difficulty and potentially found little immediate material rewards to merit a direct presence in the area without royal recognition. Therefore, Pinzón eventually returned to Hispaniola to begin the laborious process of constructing the legal framework to

²⁰³ Carvajal, Gaspar De, Zavala José Toribio Medina, Bertram T. Lee, and Harry Clifton Heaton. *The Discovery of the Amazon According to the Account of Friar Gaspar De Carvajal and Other Documents*. New York: American Geographical Society, 1934. Pg. 154

²⁰⁴ For more on naming in the Foucauldian sense, See: Bouza, Alvarez Fernando J. *Communication, Knowledge, and Memory in Early Modern Spain*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004. Pg. 21

²⁰⁵ Irving, Washington. *Voyages and Discoveries of the Companions of Columbus, by Washington Irving*. Paris: Baudry, 1831. Pg. 37

pursue his claims to the Amazon. Irving noted that “Pinzón extricated his little squadron with great difficulty from this perilous situation, and finding there was but little gold, or anything else of value to be found among the simple natives, he requited their hospitality, in the mode too common among the early discoverers, by carrying off thirty-six of them captive.”²⁰⁶ In other words, since neither gold nor other materials might contribute to the financial success of the voyage, human beings (especially people from this new world) could be sold to generate profit.

Therefore, instead of mineral riches, the wealth of the Amazon was first recognized in a by now well-established fashion (legally sanctioned from the initial papal bulls discussed earlier) when the sailors enslaved some of the first indigenous individuals they encountered and would continue doing so. Eventually, some of those people who survived would be brought back to Spain and its Caribbean colonies in order to gain from indigenous bodies, labor and knowledge. These thirty-six anonymous people could expect to be treated as property, walking encyclopedias (meaning they were sources of knowledge), as (forced) sexual partners, or as living museum specimen of Amazonia, who might just happen to fetch a fair price in slave markets of their “discoverers.” That is, of course, if they survived contact with old world pathogens. Unfortunately, the archive remains silent as to the destinies of these thirty-six individuals. However, I have been able to find a couple of original documents concerning some indigenous individuals who had been enslaved by Pinzón and consequently would have been from wider Amazonia (if not the estuary directly).

One of these documents dates to June 20th in 1501 CE from the Archivo General De Simancas, Spain. A rough translation of the catalogue mentions one “Slave brought from the

²⁰⁶ Irving, Washington. *Voyages and Discoveries of the Companions of Columbus*, by Washington Irving. Paris: Baudry, 1831. Pg. 38

Indies by Vicente Yáñez Pinzón.”²⁰⁷ The document’s description reads: “Order the corregidor of the town of Palos to restore to Vicente Yáñez Pinzón a slave who had been brought from the Indies [for the reason that this individual was] 'very necessary because he knows our language well and that of the said Indians' that Diego Prieto, his neighbor, has taken from him by a promise [Vicente Yáñez Pinzón] made in the past that he [Prieto] would be given an Indian slave.”²⁰⁸ Another document²⁰⁹ discussing a legal case or, “Incitativa²¹⁰ [ultimately ruled] in favor of Vicente Yáñez Pinzón”²¹¹ explains, that Pinzón, “a resident of Palos [de la frontera], and Alonso Aranz, a resident of Trigueros, and his solicitor, who seized [from Pinzón] four slaves from the Indies in Sevilla, Spain and gave the reason that he was seeking the repayment 18,000 maravedis, which he claimed Pinzón owed him, (this figure is eliminating the payment off the royal fifth (or 20 per cent Royal tax).”²¹² Through these documents, we know that at least five human beings who were from wider Amazonia were enslaved and fought over in lawsuits. Apparently, Pinzón’s contemporaries at least partially took out these suits against him during another voyage to the Americas, taking advantage of the fact that he was across the Atlantic. We can also infer that perhaps an individual slave at this time could be worth 4,500 maravedis each (if the prices were around equal). In other words, these documents demonstrate that since gold

²⁰⁷ Original Spanish: “Esclavo traído de las Indias por Vicente Yáñez Pinzón” Source: ""Esclavo Traído De Las Indias Por Vicente Yáñez Pinzón"." Archivo General De Simancas, Portal De Archivos Espanoles. February 28, 1501 orig. pub, 2005. Accessed 1501. Signatura: CCA, CED,5,161,3, Código de Referencia:

ES.47161.AGS/2.1.5.11.236//CCA,CED,5,161,3

http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas/servlets/Control_servlet?accion=3&txt_id_desc_ud=2318807&fromagenda=N.

²⁰⁸ Spanish description: Orden al corregidor de la villa de Palos para que restituya a Vicente Yáñez Pinzón un esclavo que había traído de las Indias'muy necesario porque sabe bien nuestra lengua y la de los dichos indios' que le ha arrebatado Diego Prieto, su vecino, por una promesa hecha en el pasado de que le entregaría un esclavo indio

²⁰⁹ "Incitativa a Favor De Vicente Yáñez Pinzón." Archivo General De Simancas, Portal De Archivos Españoles.

June 21, orig. pub. 1501,. Signatura: RGS, LEG,150106,31, Código de Referencia:

ES.47161.AGS/2.2.35.7//RGS,LEG,150106,31

http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas/servlets/Control_servlet?accion=3&txt_id_desc_ud=6149758&fromagenda=N.

²¹⁰ This is just a term for a particular a legal ruling

²¹¹ Original Spanish: Incitativa a favor de Vicente Yáñez Pinzón.

²¹² *Ibid.* Incitativa Original Spanish: Incitativa a Vicente Yáñez Pinzón, vecino de Palos [sobre la Frontera], sobre que Alonso Aranz, vecino de Trigueros, y su procurador de embargaron en Sevilla cuatro esclavos de las Indias, en razón de 18.000 maravedís que él le debía, obviando El pago del quinto real

and other materials were not found in massive quantities, at least at this period, much of the early voyages such as these were dependent upon the slave trade in order to recoup profits for private investors who had capitalized these endeavors. This is not particularly new within the Mediterranean world (indeed, slavery was one of the primary profit drivers of the Italian maritime republics such as Venice and Genoa). What is different beyond “Christendom” was that regardless of actual status, Amazonians (both individuals and peoples of non-European origin) would often remain “othered” despite whatever other status they might achieve within the colonial project.

Information from the voyages of Columbus, de la Cosa, Ojeda, Vespucci, and Pinzón would all be compiled by cartographers to “fill in” Ptolemy’s “terra incognita,” or unknown lands, another innovation made by *Geographia*. As this geographical information was passed along, particular images, traits, and stories could be included by the cartographers as well that helped to fashion conceptions of Amazonia throughout the old world. The next few pages will display some of these earliest maps in order to trace this spread of information.

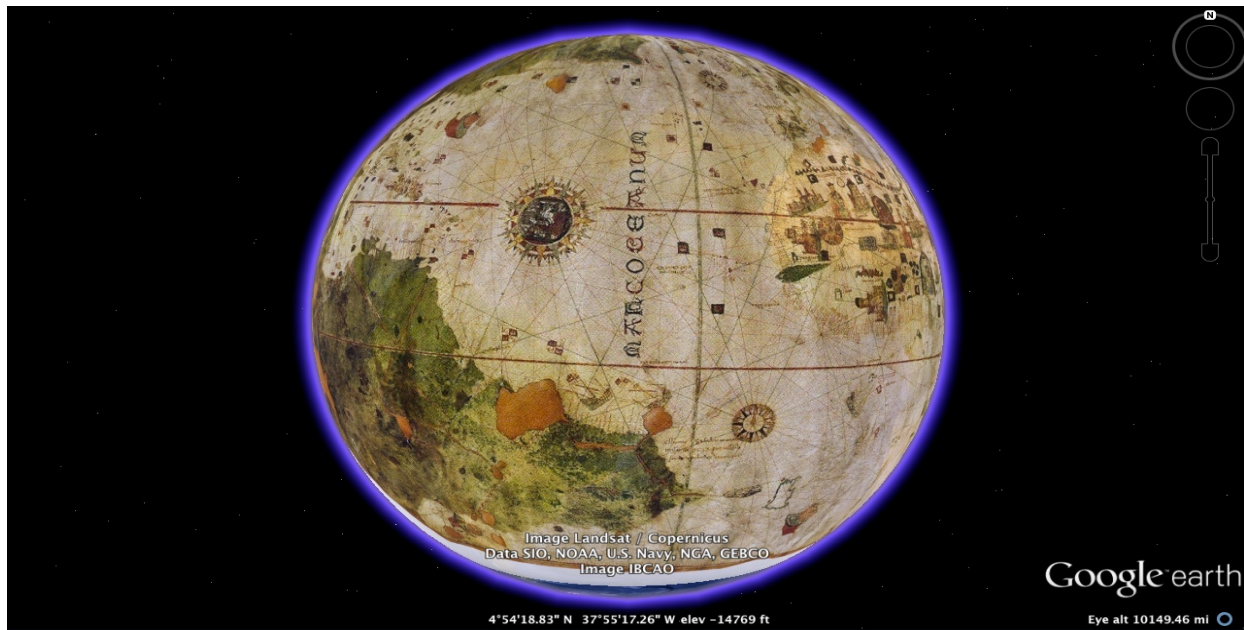


Figure 2.8: The Mappus Mundi of Juan de la Cosa, Overlaid on Google Earth. Original Source: "First Maps of the New World." First Maps of the New World | Olin & Uris Libraries. Orig. 1500. Accessed December 24, 2016. Compiled by Deavenport, J., 2016

The image above is a modified visualization of Juan de la Cosa's 1500 *Mappus Mundi*²¹³ representing the Americas, especially the Caribbean islands and the Coast of Venezuela. This would have included the Columbian voyages, those of Ojeda, potentially Pinzón, and is considered the earliest surviving map of the Americas and of Amazonia. While lacking access to the original map and high-resolution images to see if information about the Amazon River or delta is mentioned, references have been found to a description of the Amazonian estuary by numerous scholars.²¹⁴ This map therefore, also reveals how *Geographia* was being appropriated and refashioned as well as how relatively quickly the way in which new lands could be added to

²¹³The de la Cosa map is too distorted to match particular places with their geographic equivalent on Google Earth. Source of the Map: De La Cosa, Juan. "First Maps of the New World." First Maps of the New World | Olin & Uris Libraries. orig. 1500. Accessed December 24, 2016. <https://olinuris.library.cornell.edu/columbia-or-america/maps>.

²¹⁴ For a highly detailed analysis and reference to this description, See: Robles Macias, Luis A. "Juan De La Cosa's Projection: A Fresh Analysis of the Earliest Preserved Map of the Americas." Juan De La Cosa's Projection: A Fresh Analysis of the Earliest Preserved Map of the Americas. May 24, 2010. <http://www.stonybrook.edu/libmap/coordinates/seriesa/no9/a9.pdf>.

existing knowledge (however distorted it may seem to us today) as this was only eight years after the initial Columbian voyage.



Figure 2.9: The King-Hamy Chart Overlaid on Google Earth Pro. Original Source: Anonymous, and Amerigo Vespucci. Digital Scriptorium. Orig. 1502. Accessed December 28, 2016. Compiled by Deavenport, J., 2016

The figure above reveals the 1502 CE “King-Hamy” chart, which was likely created in Italy based on Portuguese originals. It blended Portolan and Ptolemaic methods to reveal the filling in of the South American Continent (though the land around the Amazonian estuary and the island of Marajó are noticeably missing (though the basin is noted as land of the Holy Cross (in Latin TERRAS SCT[E?] CRVCIS) reflecting the name given by Pedro Álvares Cabral (though Cabral initially called it *Ilha de Vera Cruz* (island of the true cross)).²¹⁵ This “missing” space would be filled in the same year however, in the Cantino Planisphere shown below.

²¹⁵ Anonymous, and Amerigo Vespucci. "HM 45 “King-Hamy Portolan Chart”." Digital Scriptorium. orig. 1502. Accessed December 28, 2016. <http://www.digital-scriptorium.org/huntington/HM45.html>.

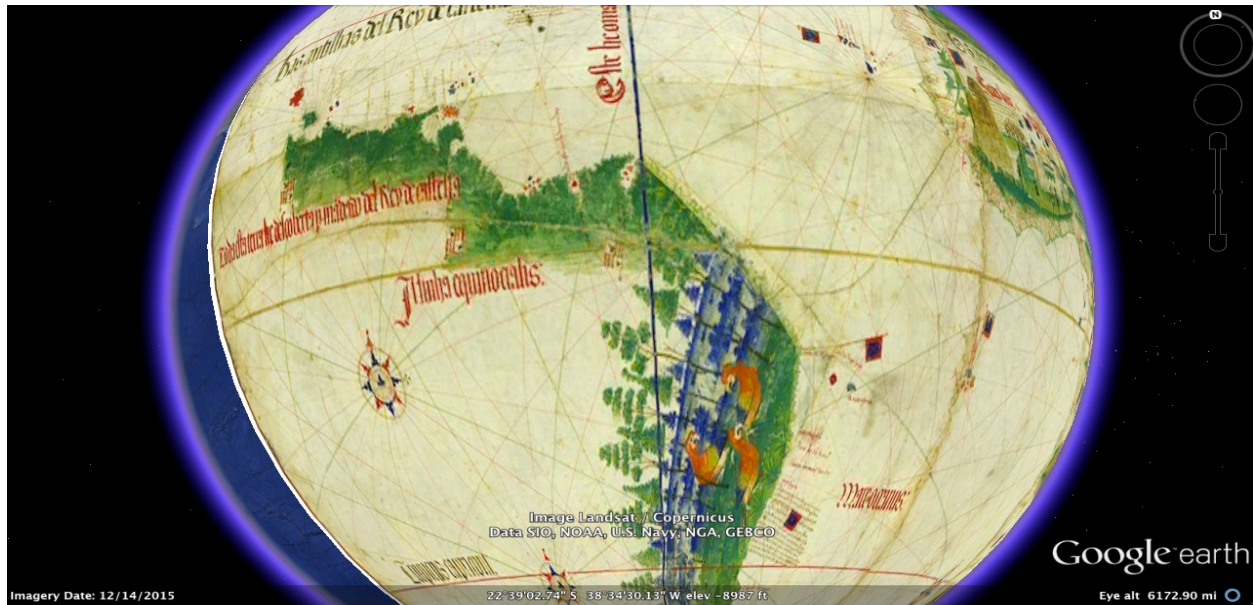


Figure 2.10: The Cantino Planisphere Overlaid on Google Earth Pro. Original Source: Biblioteca Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, Original. 1500. Accessed December 28, 2016. Compiled by Deavenport, J., 2016

The Cantino Planisphere (shown above) was also created in 1502 CE, and incorporates information from the Pinzón-led voyage (perhaps the Vespucci trip), as well as information from Pinzón's cousin Diego de Lepe, during his 1499 – 1500 voyage.²¹⁶ It also may have covered the same area as well as the highly disputed (and supposedly clandestine) 1498 CE voyage of Duarte Pacheco Pereira (who supposedly sailed to the region in the service of the Portuguese monarch, though this is highly contested by historians and other scholars).²¹⁷ The map, like many others contained visual representations of the lands being charted that would impact the way people thought about and understood the region. For instance, the swamps and parrots served to exoticize the region to peers in the Mediterranean and European worlds. You can see that people and settlements are not included, thus providing an image of empty space, that hopefully by now

²¹⁶ Cantino, Alberto. "Carta Del Cantino." Carta Del Cantino. orig. 1500. Accessed December 28, 2016. Biblioteca Estense Universitaria. <http://bibliotecaestense.beniculturali.it/info/img/geo/i-mo-beu-c.g.a.2.pdf>

²¹⁷ For more on Duarte Pacheco Pereira, See Diffie, Bailey W., and George D. Winius. Foundations of the Portuguese Empire, 1415-1580. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977.

the reader understands was likely populated by humans in a similar density as much of the planet at the time.

While the speed with which these voyages were mapping the coasts is quite remarkable given the distances, limited information, and technology available as, this knowledge was being spread, these maps so far were likely highly suppressed state secrets (similar to how information might be classified today). By 1506 CE, this would change with the printing of the first map of the Americas that is shown in the figure below.



Figure 2.11: Overlay of the Contarini–Rosselli Map on Google Earth. Original 1500, Source: Image Collections of Macau University of Science and Technology Library. Compiled by Deavenport, J., 2016

The Chart above is known as the Contarini–Rosselli map includes the Amazonian estuary and looks quite similar to the Figure 2.10.²¹⁸ It also still depicts the Americas as islands with an open route to Asia. The *Terra Crucis* name is also written, thus revealing the continuation of

²¹⁸ Contarini, Giovanni Matteo, and Francesco Rosselli. "1506, Contarini–Rosselli Map." Image Collections of Macau University of Science and Technology Library. Original. 1506. <http://lunamap.must.edu.mo/luna/servlet/workspace/handleMediaPlayer?lunaMediaId=MUST~2~2~568~1018>

using the spreading of the faith to justify the colonial project. Near the mouth of the Amazon in Latin is MARE...AQVI DVLCIS (in Spanish Mar Agua Dulce, or fresh-water sea) named by Pinzón.²¹⁹ During this period, the people who would encounter these sailors likely belonged to Karaib, Arawak, and Tupian speaking groups. However, this map does not seem to have been widely published, and therefore the information contained within it would have been quite restricted toward a general public, who were also mostly illiterate. Therefore, such information would also have been privileged and restricted by class, gender, and race to western European Christians.

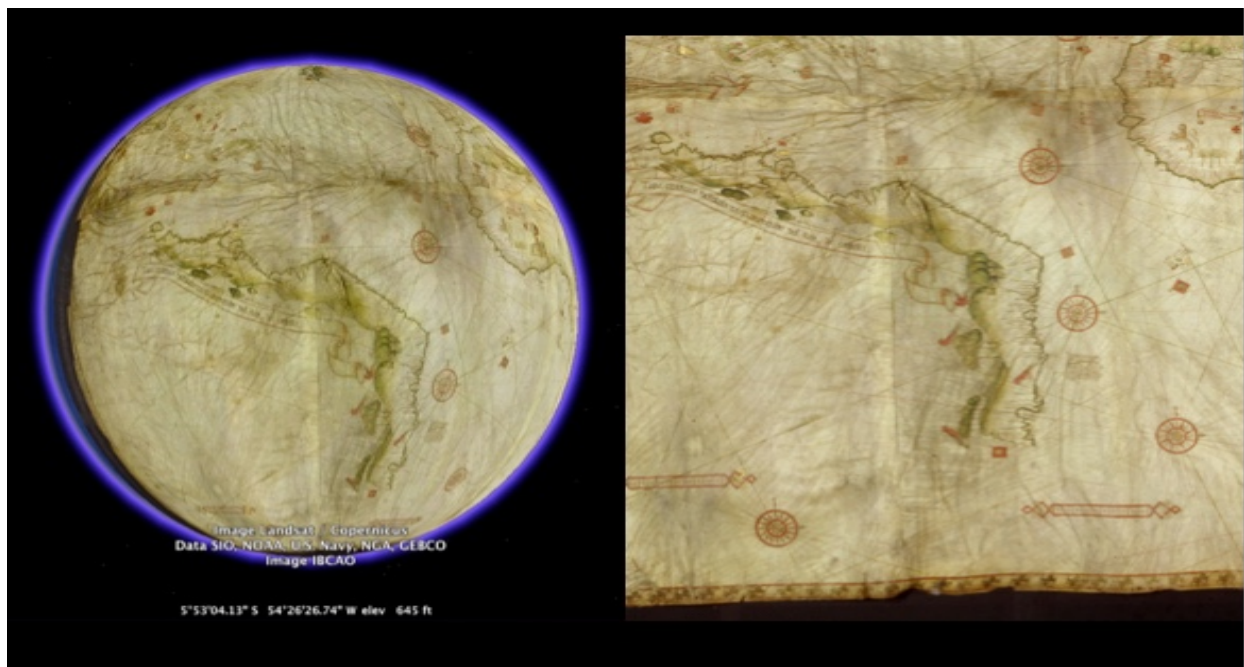


Figure 2.12: The Caverio Planisphere Overlaid and as a Chart. Original 1506, Source: Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Accessed December. 28, 2016 and Compiled by Deavenport, J., 2016

²¹⁹ For more of Roselli's work, See: Roselli, Francesco. "World Map of Francesco Roselli : Drawn on an Oval Projection and Printed from a Woodcut Supplementing the Fifteenth Century Maps in the Second Edition of the Isolario of Bartolomeo Dali Sonetti. Printed in Italy Anno Domini MDXXXII : Nunn, George Emra, 1882." Internet Archive. Accessed December 28, 2016. <https://archive.org/details/worldmapoffrance00nunn>.

The images above both depict another chart from this period known as the Caverio Planisphere (and detail) also created in 1506 by another Genoese cartographer named Nicolaus Caverio or Nicolo Caveri.²²⁰ Like the Cantino Planisphere (Figure 2.10), the Caverio work represented a (relatively) more geographically accurate depiction of the South American Atlantic coast and also interestingly included trees in what would have been the Brazilian Atlantic forest. This geographical representation has more in common therefore, with the Cantino Planisphere (Figure 2.10) than with the Contarini–Rosselli map (Figure 2.11). This area would be conceptually transformed a year later, in 1507, when Martin Waldseemüller published his *Cosmographica Universalis*, which would forever alter the name of these newly discovered lands with the name “America.”²²¹

²²⁰ Source: Caverio, Nicolaus, and Nicolo Caveri. "[Planisphère Nautique] / Opus Nicolay De Caverio Ianuensis." Orig. 1506 Gallica. Bibliothèque nationale de France. Accessed December 28, 2016. <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b7759102x>.

²²¹ Waldseemüller, Martin. "Universalis Cosmographia, Waldseemüller Map." Wikipedia. orig. 1507. Accessed December 29, 2016. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Waldseem%C3%BCller_map#/media/File:Waldseemuller_map_2.jpg.

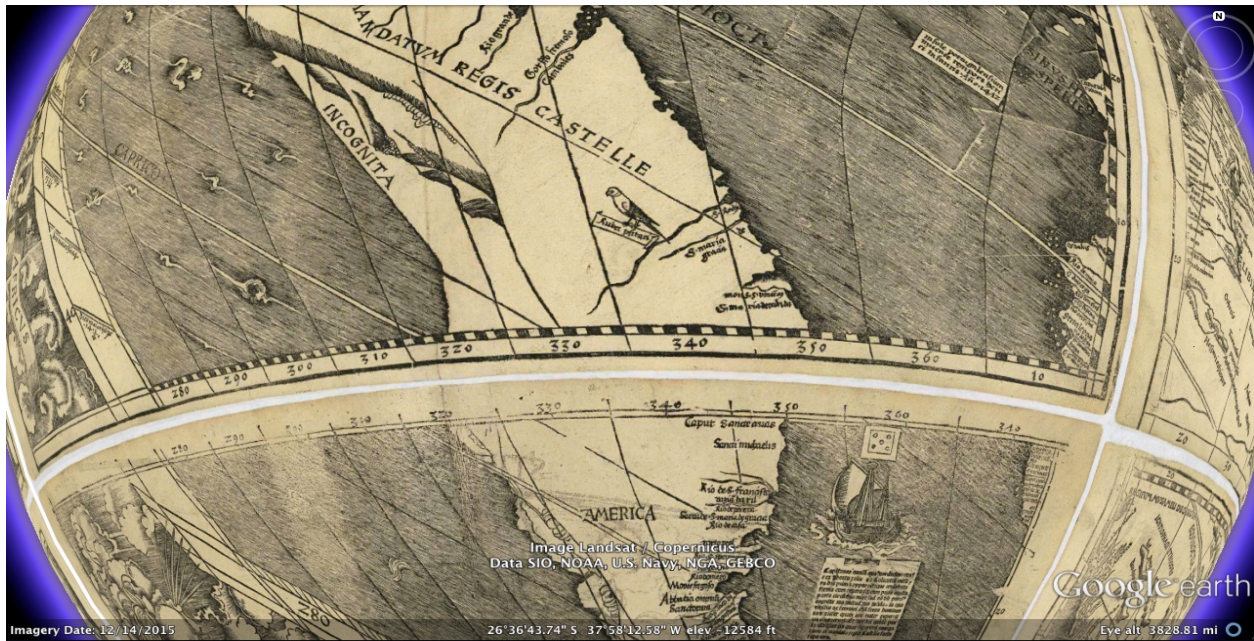


Figure 2.13: Overlay of Waldseemüller’s *Universalis Cosmographia* with First Use of Name “America”, Original. 1500, Source: Wikipedia. Accessed and Compiled by Deavenport, J., December 29, 2016

The overlaid chart above reveals that Martin Waldseemüller’s “AMERICA” was applied first to Amazonia, specifically the Atlantic coast of South America (in what is today Brazil, also named for a tree).²²² However, the image above also reveals two additional important points that connect with our narrative. First, “INCOGNITA” or unknown is written in what looks like Perú, but which was unknown to Europeans at the moment this map was first printed. As mentioned briefly above, this notion of empty space is associated with Ptolemy’s *Geographia*, revealing the threads linking the spread of information and ideas yet again. Second, this map also contains the word “Canibales,” which is thought by many scholars to be a corruption of the word Karaib. Waldseemüller labels space here with this name near the island of Marajó as well as the “Mare de Aqua Dulce” (notice the change of Latin spellings) label originated by Pinzón seven

²²² Waldseemüller, Martin. "Universalis Cosmographia, Waldseemüller Map." Wikipedia. orig. 1507. Accessed December 29, 2016. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Waldseem%C3%BCller_map#/media/File:Waldseemuller_map_2.jpg.

years earlier. This apparently comes from the logs of Amerigo Vespucci, who highlighted that the inhabitants he met with did not have the same cultural (i.e. moral) or religious (i.e. Christian) traditions as Catholic Europe, and since such observations were often the foundational information needed to sanctify “just war” and conquest, this terminology also could be utilized to note that these indigenous peoples could be exploited for enslavement or conquest and forced labor under existing moral and legal frameworks.

Indeed, the historian Ronald Takaki explained how this idea would later become appropriated by other European powers such as the English by the 17th century. “Indians seemed to lack everything the English identified as civilized – Christianity, cities, letters, and clothing...Amerigo Vespucci was struck by how the natives embraced and enjoyed the pleasures of their bodies: They are libidinous beyond measure, and the women far more than the men...when they had the opportunity of copulating with Christians, urged by excessive lust, they defiled and prostituted themselves.” This marked them as other, and outside of the protections from enslavement and domination. This can even be seen in a transformation of the name of Karaib-speaking peoples. “‘Carib,’ came to mean a savage of America, and the term *cannibal* was a derivative.”²²³ Thus, the inhabitants of the Caribbean, broader Amazonia, and the Americas in general would all be grouped into this conceptual “othering” over time. To admit otherwise, was to (at least partially) admit the unjust nature of the colonial relationship.

²²³ Takaki, Ronald T. *A Different Mirror: A History of Multicultural America*. Revised ed. Boston: Little, Brown &, 1993, 2008. Pg. 32 For more on the voyages of Amerigo Vespucci, See: Vespucci, Amerigo, and Sir Roger Clements Markham. "The Letters of Amerigo Vespucci and Other Documents Illustrative of His Career : Vespucci, Amerigo, 1451-1512 : Free Download & Streaming." Internet Archive. from 1499, orig. 1898. Accessed December 29, 2016. <https://archive.org/details/lettersofamerigo00vesprich>.



Figure 2.14: Overlay of the Johannes Ruysch Map Overlaid. Original 1508, Source: Bell Library. Accessed December 29, 2016.

The overlaid image above represents the 1508 CE Johannes Ruysch map, which was the first widely published map of what is called the MVNDVS NOVVS (New World). Brazil, makes an appearance as well as the familiar Terra Sancta Crvcis.²²⁴ This chart seems quite similar to the Contarini–Rosselli map (Figure 2.12). Noticeably, the “freshwater sea” name first used by Pinzón seems to have been dropped here, though *Canibalis* is used in the Caribbean sea near the Lesser Antilles” perhaps, the US Virgin Islands, or Anguilla. While the last few pages have delved into the history of cartography (and could go on indefinitely) it is hoped that these figures help to indicate to the reader that these maps display evidence for the transmission of geographic information as well as helping to fashion the conceptualization of this space and the people who lived here. Over the next few years, the names mentioned above would be used for

²²⁴ Ruysch, Johannes. "A Tour of Ptolemy's Maps - 1508 Ruysch - Bell Library: Maps and Mapmakers." A Tour of Ptolemy's Maps - 1508 Ruysch - Bell Library: Maps and Mapmakers. orig. 1508. Accessed December 29, 2016. <https://www.lib.umn.edu/apps/bell/map/PTO/TOUR/1507.html>.

the area often thought of today as the Amazon. However, in just five years, another name with even more obscure origins would be attached to the region.

Río Marañón

By 1513 CE, the name of the Rio Santa Maria de la Mar Dulce (while conceptually in Brazil or the land of the holy cross) begins to be dropped and referred to instead as the Marañón in the Spanish records. According to the 19th century Chilean historian Jose Toribio Medina, the name's origin is suspect despite its use by later European luminaries such as the famous French explorer of the Amazon La Condamine,²²⁵ who claimed that it was named for a captain on Pinzón's expedition.²²⁶ If this is the case, this great river is named for an otherwise unknown individual to the Amazonian historiography. What would it mean that one of the greatest rivers on the earth continues to be identified with someone who perhaps participated in, but is forgotten to history? This would also be unique when compared to the naming of other large river systems such as the Congo or Mississippi (named for cultures), of the Nile, and the Danube whose names mean "river." Whatever the case, Medina argues against this hypothesis, stating that there is no record of anyone with the name Marañón on the voyage with Pinzón.

The notable Chilean historian also refutes the possibility that the name traveled down the river from the Andes at the point it appears in the historical record. Finally, Medina goes on to say that if the Marañón (Maranhão in Portuguese) were named for a Portuguese explorer, he

²²⁵ His full name is: Charles Marie de la Condamine (1701 – 1774)

²²⁶ Carvajal, Gaspar De, Zavala José Toribio Medina, Bertram T. . Lee, and Harry Clifton Heaton. *The Discovery of the Amazon According to the Account of Friar Gaspar De Carvajal and Other Documents*. New York: American Geographical Society, 1934. Pg. 160

could not contradict such an assertion.²²⁷ At present, there is no known evidence to support this claim. Medina offers up additional possibilities for the name Marañón. One theory originates from Father Manuel Rodríguez who claimed that it arose from the great perils of the later 1560-1561 CE expedition of Pedro de Ursua and its “horrible turn” under “the wrath of God” Lope de Aguirre.²²⁸ Continuing, padre Rodríguez claimed the new name was originated by Aguirre’s soldiers who ““endured such misfortunes, perplexities, and hardships, both when they went down in company with him [Aguirre] and when they came up, turning back toward Perú, that in consideration of [their difficulties] and of the mix-ups and entanglements [marañas] that...they called it the River of Entanglements.”²²⁹ In the final form of the word, the form Marañón signifies great entanglements.²³⁰ The chapter will go into greater detail later concerning this expedition.

Yet another possible origin for the name Marañón, Medina mentions is that the river is named for the cashew tree²³¹ (*Anacardium occidentale*), which “abounds in the forests along the banks of the Amazon.”²³² Apparently, if this etymology is correct, the name might just happen to come from an indigenous word for cashew, *maran-i-hobo*, making the name effectively the

²²⁷ Carvajal, Gaspar De, Zavala José Toribio Medina, Bertram T. . Lee, and Harry Clifton Heaton. *The Discovery of the Amazon According to the Account of Friar Gaspar De Carvajal and Other Documents*. New York: American Geographical Society, 1934. Pg. 161

²²⁸ For more on Lope de Aguirre, See: Simón, Pedro, William Bollaert, and Clements R. Markham. *The Expedition of Pedro De Ursúa a & Lope De Aguirre in Search of El Dorado and Omagua in 1560-1*. London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1861. and Lewis, Bart L. *The Miraculous Lie: Lope De Aguirre and the Search for El Dorado in the Latin American Historical Novel*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2003.

²²⁹ Carvajal, Gaspar De, Zavala José Toribio Medina, Bertram T. . Lee, and Harry Clifton Heaton. *The Discovery of the Amazon According to the Account of Friar Gaspar De Carvajal and Other Documents*. New York: American Geographical Society, 1934 Pg. 161

²³⁰ *Ibid.* Pg. 161, Carvajal

²³¹ For more background on the Cashew and potential medicinal uses of the plant such as how the plant was used in Malaysia to cure diarrhea, and even utilized by the Portuguese to halt erosion in India due to monsoons, see: Keoke, Emory Dean., and Kay Marie. Porterfield. *Encyclopedia of American Indian Contributions to the World: 15,000 Years of Inventions and Innovations*. New York, NY: Facts on File, 2002. Pg. 51

²³² *Ibid.* Pg. 162, Carvajal

Cashew River.²³³ The spread and use of the cashew prior to the arrival of Europeans incidentally closely parallels the spread of Arawak languages to as far Cuba and Puerto Rico, demonstrating some of the possible cultural boundaries and ancient trade networks of the pre-colonial Amazonian world.²³⁴ This also follows a similar path as the spread of Brazil nuts discussed in chapter one and visualized in (Figure 1.4). Consequently, the question of conceptually expanding the notion of Amazonia (again, at least culturally) beyond continental South America must be seriously considered.

Antilia and the Advantageous Lands

In 1513 CE, a work was created that reveals the spread of ideas about the new world beyond Christian Europe however, when a Turkish admiral (born 1465 CE) named Piri Reis created the first Ottoman map of the Americas.²³⁵ Piri Reis participated in conveying Granada's Muslim and Jewish populations to North Africa from the Iberian Peninsula following the "end" of the *Reconquista* and participated in naval battles with his uncle the admiral Kemal Reis in Valencia as well as the Mediterranean islands of Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily. The map's inscription is translated as "The author of this is the poor man Piri ben Hadji Muhammed, who is

²³³ Carvajal, Gaspar De, Zavala José Toribio Medina, Bertram T. . Lee, and Harry Clifton Heaton. *The Discovery of the Amazon According to the Account of Friar Gaspar De Carvajal and Other Documents*. New York: American Geographical Society, 1934 162, Carvajal

²³⁴ For more information on the Arawaks and Arawakan diaspora, See: Olsen, Fred. *On the Trail of the Arawaks*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1974. And Hill, Jonathan David, and Fernando Santos-Granero. *Comparative Arawakan Histories: Rethinking Language Family and Culture Area in Amazonia*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002.

²³⁵ For more on this, see: McIntosh, Gregory C. *The Piri Reis Map of 1513*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2000 and Goodrich, Thomas D. *The Ottoman Turks and the New World: a Study of Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi and Sixteenth-century Ottoman Americana*. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1990.

known as the son of the brother of Kemal Re'is, in the town of Gallipoli-may God have mercy on them both-in the holy Muharram of the year 919 [March /April, 1513].”²³⁶



Figure 2.15: Ottoman Map of the Americas and Corresponding Area on Google Earth in 2016. Original. 1513 by Piri Reis, Source: Wikipedia. Accessed and Compiled by Deavenport, J., December 29, 2016

The map above displays Piri Reis’ 1513 CE map overlaying the South American Continent.²³⁷ Numerous analyses by scholars over the years have confirmed that while it was indeed probably written in 1513, this map actually contains information described in a copy created by Columbus, which has since disappeared. Therefore, in real but obscured ways, this chart may actually represent elements of *the earliest* vision of the Americas and of Amazonia

²³⁶ Kahle, Paul. "A Lost Map of Columbus." *Geographical Review* 23.4 (1933): 621-38. *JSTOR*. Web. 30 Nov. 2010. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/209247>>. Pg. 621

²³⁷ The source of the original map is: Reis, Piri. "Map of the World by Ottoman Admiral Piri Reis, Drawn in 1513. Only Half of the Original Map Survives and Is Held at the Topkapi Museum in Istanbul. The Map Synthesizes Information from Twenty Maps, including One Drawn by Christopher Columbus of the New World." Piri Reis Map. https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/7/70/Piri_reis_world_map_01.jpg, orig. 1513. Web. 20 July 2016. More information concerning the provenance of the map can be found in Özen, Mine Esiner. *Piri Reis and His Charts*. Istanbul: Nesteren Refioglu, 1998 Pg. 69. 1513 would correspond to the Islamic calendar year, 918 - 919

still in existence while also being the first created for a non-Christian power.²³⁸ This section will re-engage with some of the same material related to the Columbian voyages but from an Ottoman Turkish and non-Christian perspective. It will therefore move somewhat backward through time (should the reader feel a sense of déjà vu or wonder why some of this was already mentioned). It is described in detail here primarily to act as an example that demonstrates the spread of ideas related to the Columbian encounter with greater Amazonia and to more broadly situate this discovery within the global contexts of the period.²³⁹ The map displayed in Figure 2.15 above was likely the same map presented to the Ottoman Sultan Selim I (1467 – 1520; r. 1512- 20 CE) in Cairo during his conquest of Egypt in 1517 CE.²⁴⁰ According to the map's description, the information was derived from a slave of Piri's uncle, another famous Ottoman admiral, Kemal Reis, who apparently captured and enslaved a Christian Spanish sailor that had traveled on one (or more) of the Columbian trans-Atlantic voyages. During this encounter, he is reported to have ultimately captured seven Spanish vessels.²⁴¹ The map's description is worth quoting below at length:

The late Gazi Kemal had a Spanish slave. This slave said: "Three times have I traveled with Colon-bo [Columbus] to this territory," and he informed the late Kemal Re'is saying: "First we traveled to the Strait of Gibraltar [septe boghazy], afterwards jour-neying straight onwards 4000 miles from there, [and] taking a middle course between west and southwest in the Western Sea, we saw opposite us an island."²⁴²

²³⁸ This section is compiled from a great deal of information including some information from an expanded and earlier iteration beyond Amazonia first begun during research for my masters' and described under the title "Across Horizons: Monumentalizing the Other in the Age of Discovery" Deavenport, 2011

²³⁹ While no visualizations exist currently, additional research will create and share these as soon as possible.

²⁴⁰ Kahle, Paul. "A Lost Map of Columbus." *Geographical Review* 23.4 (1933): 621-38. *JSTOR*. Web. 30 Nov. 2010. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/209247>>. Pg. 621

²⁴¹ For more on this, See: McIntosh, Gregory C. *The Piri Reis Map of 1513*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2000. And Goodrich, Thomas D. *The Ottoman Turks and the New World: a Study of Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi and Sixteenth-century Ottoman Americana*. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1990

²⁴² Kahle, Paul. "A Lost Map of Columbus." *Geographical Review* 23.4 (1933): 621-38. *JSTOR*. Web. 30 Nov. 2010. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/209247>>. Pg. 626

The description from the Piri Reis map goes on to explain the story of how the map (and its information) came into the possession of both Columbus and later the Ottoman Turks by recounting the well-known story of Columbus seeking sponsorship by various European leaders such as (his native?) Genoa and Spain.²⁴³

These coasts are called Antilia shores. They were discovered in the year 896 of the Arabic era [1490-1 CE].²⁴⁴ In the following manner it is reported: a Genoese infidel called Colon-bo was the first to find these territories. It is said that into the hand of this Colon-bo came a book which states that the Western Sea has an end, that on the side of the sunset there are coasts and islands, and many different kinds of mines, and also a mountain of precious stones. In this book he finds it, he reads it right through, and explains these things to the eminent men of Genoa "Give me two ships, I will go forth and seek these regions." They say: "Oh you simpleton, in the west is to be found the end and extremity of the world and its boundary; it is full of the vapor of darkness"-so they say. The said Colon-bo sees that from the Genoese there is no help, makes inquiries, and goes to the Bey of Spain, to whom he submits the story in detail. They also give him the same answer as the Genoese. But in the end Colon-bo becomes very insistent to them. Finally the Bey of Spain gives two ships, sees to their good equipment, and says: "Oh Colon-bo, if [the matter is] as you say, then I will make you Capudan [Captain?] over this territory." With these words he sent this Colon-bo to the West Sea.²⁴⁵

This narrative preserves the story (also relayed in this chapter) of the transmission of information vital to the Columbian voyages but which has often become culturally selected out from the dominant Columbian narrative. This instead focuses upon on his individual actions, which have historiographically been described in positive and quite horrifying detail concerning the treatment of indigenous peoples. It is also interesting to note that this source by 1513 CE still refers to the new world as a series of islands and retains an early and mythical name for lands across the Atlantic though the term America had been published by 1507 some six years earlier.

²⁴³ While often associated with Genoa, there have been many academic debates centered around Columbus' background.

²⁴⁴ The dates were a bit miscalculated by Piri Reis

²⁴⁵ Kahle, Paul. "A Lost Map of Columbus." *Geographical Review* 23.4 (1933): 621-38. *JSTOR*. Web. 30 Nov. 2010. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/209247>>. Pg. 625

Finally, the map by Piri Reis also preserves the well-known story about Columbus seeking aid to fund his voyage west.

However, Gregory C. McIntosh explains that the story may be yet stranger but demonstrates an intriguing possibility that reveals the Ottomans to be players (at least in their own minds) in the Columbian voyages. Leo Bagrow in his *History of Cartography*, quotes an unidentified Turkish source as saying that “a white Frank [i.e., Christian European] and named Colon came to Istanbul²⁴⁶ and said: ‘Give me some ships and I will find a new world for you.’” However, the Turks rejected the proposal finding it to be absurd. As McIntosh explains, this “would have been very surprising if Columbus had offered his ‘Enterprise of the Indies’ to an Islamic court, because two of his objectives were to promulgate Christianity in Asia and to gain enough wealth to mount a new crusade against the Turks who held Jerusalem.”²⁴⁷ While sources generally agree that Columbus had difficulty obtaining patronage for his voyage, these Ottoman Turkish maps demonstrate the importance of obtaining access to cartographic information (especially for people living during this era). While Reis’ narrative may be based on numerous misinterpretations, it displays Turkish aspirations and a particular monumentalized memory rather than a particular historical event. Regardless, McIntosh continues:

We know Columbus did carry a map on the first voyage, and it apparently was the famous Toscanelli map.²⁴⁸ According to Kahle, however, the Columbus source map imbedded in the Piri Reis map is from the third voyage of 1498.”²⁴⁹ In the *Bahriye*, Piri Reis refers to the book that influenced Columbus in terms that indicate it may have been Ptolemy’s *Geographia*. Piri Reis also says however, that the book was translated into the language of the Franks (i.e. Europeans) by a man named Bortolomye (Bartolomeo)... It seems there may be some confusion

²⁴⁶ Istanbul formerly New Rome and Constantinople was still known as Rum (Rome) by the Ottomans.

²⁴⁷ McIntosh, Gregory C. *The Piri Reis Map of 1513*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2000 Pg. 74

²⁴⁸ So far, I have been unable to track down a version of the original source, but hope to research it further in the future

²⁴⁹ McIntosh, Gregory C. *The Piri Reis Map of 1513*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2000 Pg. 121

on the part of Piri Reis. Soucek points out that the Arabic for Ptolemy is Batamius, and this may be what Piri Reis meant.²⁵⁰

As the reader hopefully remembers, Manuel Chrysoloras and the Florentine Jacopo Angelo da Scarperia were the first to translate Ptolemy's *Geographia* from Greek to Latin, finishing in 1406 CE. Consequently, this quote and this section related to figure 2.15 both demonstrate the difficulty in tracing the spread of ideas across languages (especially during the early modern era) as well as the selective memory of the information that was shared. Here, Claudius Ptolemy is remembered but the translations (which would not be as important to Turkish speaking officials as Latin would be to Columbus) have been omitted from the narrative. Indeed, apparently the Ottoman Sultan Mehmet II (who had conquered Istanbul) had a copy of *Geographia* translated into Ottoman Turkish by Orthodox Christian clerics after the fall of the city in 1453. Various individuals have explored and debated the individual merits of this complicated historiography related to the Columbian encounter but most importantly for our narrative is *Geographia* and similar cartographical works.²⁵¹

Gregory McIntosh goes on to describe the intricate web of social networks that were crisscrossing the Mediterranean during this period when he explained yet again the possible influence of the Pinzón brothers in relaying such information.

²⁵⁰ McIntosh, Gregory C. *The Piri Reis Map of 1513*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2000. Pg. 73

²⁵¹ For more on this debate especially related to Toscanelli, see: Olvera, Ricardo. "Columbus The Memorious." *The Post-Columbus Syndrome*, Schiller Institute. Accessed Spring 1992. https://schillerinstitute.org/fidelio_archive/1992/fidv01n02-1992Sp/fidv01n02-1992Sp_037-columbus_and_toscanelli.pdf. For more on Toscanelli, See: Toscanelli, Paolo Dal Pozzo, and Christopher Columbus. "Toscanelli and Columbus." Internet Archive: Original Title: *Toscanelli and Columbus. The Letter and Chart of Toscanelli on the Route to the Indies by Way of the West, Sent in 1474 to the Portuguese Fernam Martins, and Later on to Christopher Columbus; a Critical Study on the Authenticity and Value of These Documents and the Sources of the Cosmographical Ideas of Columbus, Followed by the Various Texts of the Letter.* orig. 1901, digitizing sponsor Brandeis University. Accessed January 03, 2017. <https://archive.org/details/toscanellicolumb02vign>.

Martin Alonso Pinzón (c.1540-93) captain of the Pinta and second in command on Columbus' first voyage [who was also the oldest brother of Vincente Ynez Pinzón, the first European in the Amazonian Basin] was in Rome on business before 1492 when he viewed an old document (a manuscript book or Portolan chart?) that told of a mythical expedition that sailed west to Cipango (Japan), and this inspired him to propose the same expedition as did Columbus. It has even been suggested that Pinzón's Rome document was a map and that Pinzón gave this map to Columbus for use in his "Enterprise of the Indies."²⁵²

This quote demonstrates that it was quite difficult to ascertain the veracity of works as there were numerous materials like Geographia that were based on selected classical and Islamic astronomy monumentalized for millennia. These were particularly selected and from the past that were mixing around these social, economic, political, and cultural circles during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. It also demonstrates a cultural notion of looking to information from the past in order to make decisions (a skill that is increasingly discarded during our own historical moment).²⁵³ This source reveals that information or ideas do not have to be "correct" to also have major (or unintended) impacts and so we must understand how incorrect facts and information have been selected in order to hopefully avoid such follies.

²⁵² McIntosh, Gregory C. *The Piri Reis Map of 1513*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2000 Pg. 73-4

²⁵³ For more on this notion, See: Guldi, Jo, and David Armitage. "Home." *The History Manifesto*. 2014, updated 2015. Accessed January 12, 2017. <http://historymanifesto.cambridge.org/>.

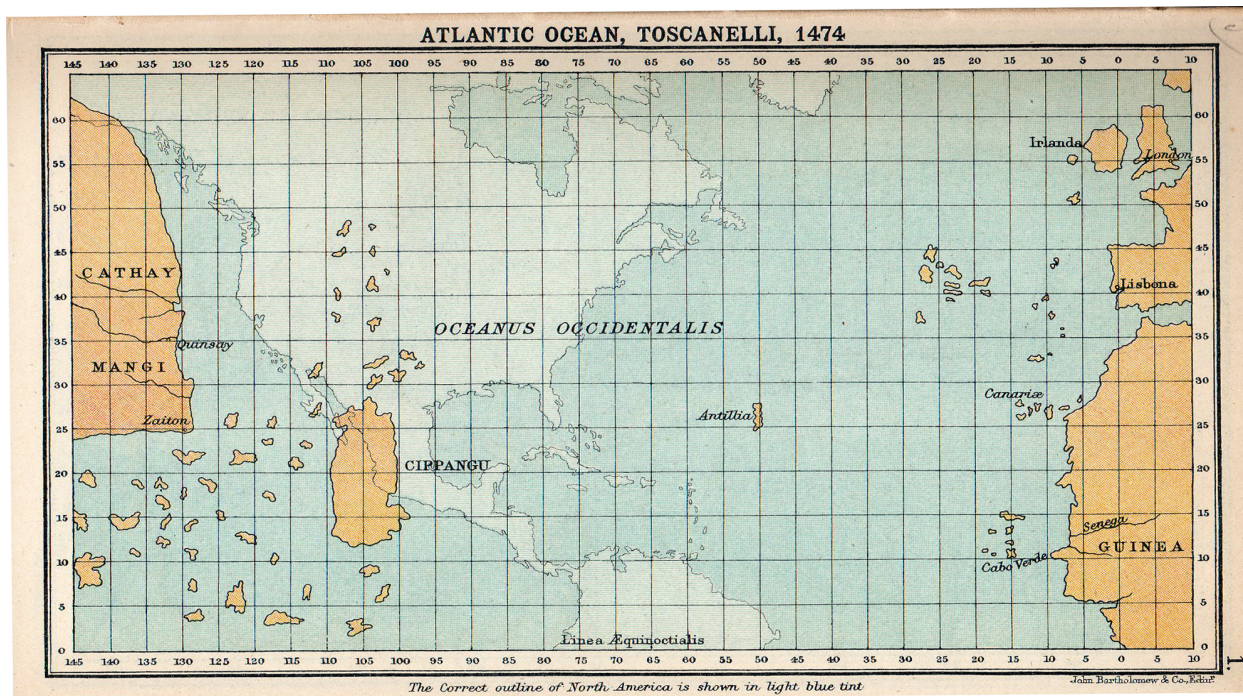


Figure 2.16: An Early 20th Century Representation of Toscanelli's Map Overlaying a More Precise Map of the Americas. Original. Toscanelli, Paolo Dal Pozzo, and Unknown 1901, Source: Archive.org. Accessed and Compiled by Deavenport, J., January, 23 2017

The map above is a modern representation of the Toscanelli Map originally dating to 1474 CE overlaying more contemporary projections.²⁵⁴ It demonstrates visually again the information that would bring these spaces together and is the source most popularly available today. Notice the graph lines appropriated and refashioned from *Geographia*. Most importantly, based on the information contained in the map, it likely would have been created by layering information gleaned from Ptolemy (again) and the ancient astronomer Strabo. By charting the descriptions within these works and joining the two ends of the projection with the Atlantic (rather than the Mediterranean) at the center, Toscanelli calculated (albeit incorrectly) the

²⁵⁴ Toscanelli, Paolo Dal Pozzo, and Unknown. "Atlantic Ocean, Toscanelli, 1474." Atlantic Ocean, Toscanelli, 1474. Accessed January 03, 2017. <http://www.arauco.org/terraaustralisincognitaproject/imgs/oceanoatlantico.html>. For the original, See: Toscanelli, Paolo Dal Pozzo, and Christopher Columbus. "Toscanelli and Columbus." Internet Archive: Original Title: Toscanelli and Columbus. The Letter and Chart of Toscanelli on the Route to the Indies by Way of the West, Sent in 1474 to the Portuguese Fernam Martins, and Later on to Christopher Columbus; a Critical Study on the Authenticity and Value of These Documents and the Sources of the Cosmographical Ideas of Columbus, Followed by the Various Texts of the Letter. orig. 1901, digitizing sponsor Brandeis University. Accessed January 03, 2017. <https://archive.org/details/toscanellicolumb02vign>.

distance, which along with Ptolemy made the Columbian voyages possible. Indeed, some recent scholarship calls into question whether Columbus and Toscanelli ever were in direct contact.²⁵⁵ However, A digital reproduction of the original (below) also appropriated the equator. The Toscanelli map also demonstrates why it was that Columbus might have reached the Caribbean and broader Amazonia before heading for more a route that would have led the voyage more toward North or South America.

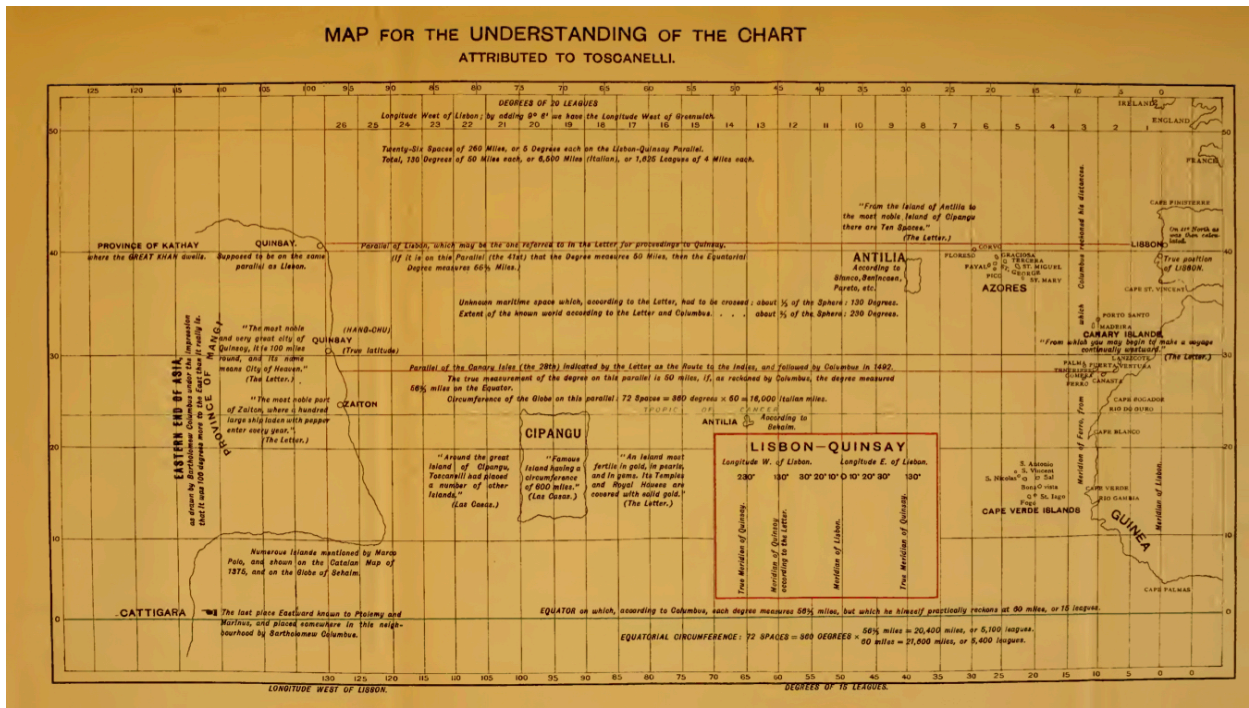


Figure 2.17: Map For The Understanding of the Chart Attributed to Toscanelli. Original. Toscanelli, Paolo Dal Pozzo, and Unknown 1901, Source: Archive.org. Accessed and Compiled by Deavenport, J., January, 23 2017

The image above, more accurately representing the original Version of Toscanelli’s map makes it somewhat difficult to visualize the coasts since the longitude/latitude lines seem more

²⁵⁵ For more on the possible correspondence, see: Koning, Hans. "Columbus: His Enterprise." Google Books, NYU Press, 1991. Accessed June 01, 2018. https://books.google.com/books?id=sHwTCgAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false.

prominent than the map's shorelines.²⁵⁶ However, this makes sense if you are using it as a sailor. Nevertheless, it displays an approximate example of yet more of the information available to Columbus. That the Ottomans mention it demonstrates their understanding of related knowledge (to which they also likely had access). The question then becomes given such access to this information, why did the Ottomans not reach the Americas and Amazonia? While this answer is complicated, it seems that most scholars argue that the Ottomans were otherwise engaged in inter-imperial rivalries with the Spanish Habsburgs, Portuguese (especially in the Red Sea, their own back yard), and were halted in North Africa by the still powerful Moorish polities who joined in retaining Ottoman advances toward securing maritime or territorial control around the straits of Gibraltar.

However, Piri Reis in part created his works in order to persuade the Ottomans to engage in such maritime imperial expansion (if only to contain the imperial powers) and also come to control the "advantageous lands" across the Atlantic.²⁵⁷ In 1521 CE Piri Reis began assembling various sources while according to, Gregory C McIntosh, the text itself may have been compiled by a court poet and took five years to complete. Reis called it *Kitab-i-Bahriye*, roughly translated as the *Book of Navigation*, (also sometimes translated as Book of the Sea, or Book of Maritime Matters).²⁵⁸ It was presented in 1526 CE to Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent (ca. 1492 – 1566; r. 1520 – 1566) at the suggestion of Ibrahim Pasha, the Ottoman Grand Vizier who understood the

²⁵⁶ Toscanelli, Paolo Dal Pozzo, and Christopher Columbus. "Toscanelli and Columbus." Internet Archive: Original Title: Toscanelli and Columbus. The Letter and Chart of Toscanelli on the Route to the Indies by Way of the West, Sent in 1474 to the Portuguese Fernam Martins, and Later on to Christopher Columbus; a Critical Study on the Authenticity and Value of These Documents and the Sources of the Cosmographical Ideas of Columbus, Followed by the Various Texts of the Letter. orig. 1901, digitizing sponsor Brandeis University. Accessed January 03, 2017. <https://archive.org/details/toscanellicolumb02vign>.

²⁵⁷ Goodrich, Thomas D. *The Ottoman Turks and the New World: a Study of Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi and Sixteenth-century Ottoman Americana*. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1990. Pg. 7

²⁵⁸ McIntosh, Gregory C. *The Piri Reis Map of 1513*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2000 Pg. 6

potential importance of this work to the empire.²⁵⁹ Technically, such expansion therefore became Ottoman policy. However, Ibrahim Pasha’s eventual execution may have contributed toward weakening or completely squashing any efforts associated with this project. This is not to say that Ottoman culture was “better, smarter, or less fit” than early modern Christian powers, Amazonians, or any other culture for that matter. Nor is this meant to display or argue for moral equivalence on the part of the actors and states described here. It is hoped rather, that the reader sees this as an alternative cultural environment where such ideas were selected out of prominence for a number of reasons.



Figure 2.18: Christopher Columbus at the Court of Ferdinand. Original. Goodrich, Thomas. 1990. Source: *The Ottoman Turks and the New World: a Study of Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi and Sixteenth-century Ottoman Americana* Accessed and Compiled by Deavenport, J., December, 29 2016

²⁵⁹ For more information on the manuscript, See: Reis, Piri. *Book on Navigation*. Rev. ed. 17th Century CE. Baltimore, MD: Walters Museum Manuscript, Rev. 1600s, orig. 1525. <http://art.thewalters.org/detail/19195>.

The illuminated page above is a digital reproduction of an image contained in a later Ottoman history from 1580 CE from an unnamed source and is named *Tarih-i Hind-i garbi* (History of The New World or West India).²⁶⁰ Notice that Isabella has been disappeared from the figure (as well as the narrative) and only Ferdinand is represented as King of the Spanish.²⁶¹ *Tarih-i Hind-i garbi*'s author claimed that "until this moment, no one in this region [the Ottoman Empire] visited that area [the New World] nor has anyone given any information on its description."²⁶² That author further expressed hope that "By Lord God...that advantageous land [The New World] will in time fall conquest to...and be joined to other Ottoman Lands."²⁶³

Demonstrating a specific version of Ottoman othering and desire for territorial expansion, *Tarih-i Hind-i garbi*'s author explained:

It is indeed a strange fact and an odd affair that a group of unclean unbelievers have become strong to the point of voyaging from the west to the east, braving the violence of the wind and calamities of the sea, whereas the Ottoman Empire, which is situated at half the distance in comparison with them, has not made any attempt to conquer [India]: this despite the fact that voyages there yield countless benefits, [bringing back] desirable objects and articles of luxury whose description exceeds the bounds of the describable and explicable.²⁶⁴

Piri Reis and later Ottoman authors seems to have appreciated the importance of the Columbian encounter, and its "possible" Ottoman future, by using the Turkish place name of *Vilayet Antilia*,

²⁶⁰ Goodrich, Thomas D. *The Ottoman Turks and the New World: a Study of Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi and Sixteenth-century Ottoman Americana*. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1990.

²⁶¹ Soucek, Svatopluk. "Five Famous Ottoman Turks of the Sixteenth Century." *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, 2012, 325-41.

²⁶² *Ibid.* Goodrich. Pg. 15

²⁶³ Goodrich, Thomas D. *The Ottoman Turks and the New World: a Study of Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi and Sixteenth-century Ottoman Americana*. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1990 Pg. 17 and Soucek, Svatopluk. "Five Famous Ottoman Turks of the Sixteenth Century." *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, 2012, 325-41.

²⁶⁴ Soucek, Svat. *Piri Reis and Turkish Mapmaking after Columbus: the Khalili Portulan Atlas*. London: Nour Foundation, 1996. Pg. 105

(Province of Antilia)²⁶⁵ thus demonstrating the idea of a future Ottoman colonial project, while also appealing to Ottoman chauvinism (and the centuries old rivalries between Christianity and Islam) to shame and catalyze the Ottoman state toward action. With the benefit of hindsight, we know that this idea would fail to be monumentalized in the same way it took hold within Christian Europe. Finally, it is worth noting that the quote also demonstrates the same conflating of the East and West Indies associated with Columbus and other early explorers.²⁶⁶

Reis also understood the important connection and threat of Christian power to grow in the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean. He argued: "If they [the Iberian powers] continue to act in this unbridled manner for some more years, they will enter the Red Sea and, attacking the coasts of the [Hejaz], they will harm the people of the Venerable Shrine (i.e. Mecca)."²⁶⁷ These words would prove prophetic. For instance during the fourth voyage in 1499 CE, Columbus explained: "As I hope for heaven, I swear that everything I have gained, even from my first voyage, with our Lord's help, shall be offered to him in equal measure for the expedition to Arabia Felix, even to Mecca."²⁶⁸ Piri Reis and an Ottoman armada would eventually face the Portuguese in the Red Sea defending the port city of Jeddah only 45 miles from Mecca in 1516 CE.²⁶⁹ This revealed the far reach the Iberian maritime powers had established and confirmed warnings only 24 years after the Columbian voyage, and less than 120 years after Chrysoloras first arrived in Florence.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁵ Kahle, Paul. "A Lost Map of Columbus." *Geographical Review* 23.4 (1933): 621-38. *JSTOR*. Web. 30 Nov. 2010. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/209247>>. Pg. 635

²⁶⁶ Alternatively, this might be a product of the translation upon which I am reliant.

²⁶⁷ Soucek, Svat. *Piri Reis and Turkish Mapmaking after Columbus: the Khalili Portulan Atlas*. London: Nour Foundation, 1996. Pg. 105

²⁶⁸ Kasaba, Resat. "By Compass and Sword!" -- The Meanings of 1492." *Middle East Report* 178 (1992). *Jstor*. Web. 30 Nov. 2010. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3012980>>.Pg. 10

²⁶⁹ Source: *Google Earth Distance Calculation*. 17 Dec. 2010. Distance between Jeddah and Mecca.

²⁷⁰ Goodrich, Thomas D. *The Ottoman Turks and the New World: a Study of Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi and Sixteenth-century Ottoman Americana*. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1990 Pg. 7

In creating this description and transmitting this information concerning the new world, Piri Reis and others such as the author of *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi* were undoubtedly important, despite the work's immediate "failure" to convince the Ottomans in pursuing such colonization. However, Kemal Reis (and likely Piri Reis, who accompanied his uncle during this period) would also personally come into contact with objects from Amazonia through the capture of Spanish ships. It is worth quoting McIntosh again below:

Among the booty were headdresses made of parrot wool [feathers] and a hard black stone that could cut iron [possibly obsidian?]. The stone is undoubtedly the particularly hard black stone found by Columbus and his men on the island of Guadeloupe during his second voyage and used by the Caribs for hatchets. Presumably it was upon the occasion of this sea battle probably near Valencia in 1501, that into the hands of Kemal Reis came the Spanish slave and the map of Columbus. That a common sailor would possess a map by Columbus has been questioned, and it has been suggested that this Spanish prisoner was a naval officer or a pilot.²⁷¹

For our purposes, the links between Kemal and Piri Reis with these objects (perhaps individuals of indigenous or Amazonian origin) would have put the Ottomans directly in communication, while obsidian was used to create some of the most important possessions within the Caribbean and broader Amazonian societies. Indeed, such objects were used as ritual and spiritual items and could be bartered in a way similar to currency. Such items were often restricted to elite political and military groups. Thus, these Amazonian objects endowed with some of the greatest "cultural capital" within the Amazonian thought world. However, both would largely fail to become monumentalized in both Ottoman and Spanish/Habsburg (Western Christian European spheres). Instead, both would become further markers employed to "other" the people of Amazonia. This

²⁷¹ McIntosh, Gregory C. *The Piri Reis Map of 1513*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2000 Pp. 72-73

reveals that while the Ottomans would not follow in the wake of the Columbian voyages, they would appropriate and refashion the descriptions of Amerigo Vespucci and others who referred to the Amazonians in this manner. *The Book of Navigation* continued,

Toward the island already seen on the opposite side they drop anchor. The inhabitants of this island come up, they hurl arrows at them and will not allow them to come out and ask for information. Their men and women throw darts. The points of these darts are of fishbone; and they all go about naked and are even very [illegible]. Here they [the Spaniards] see that they cannot come out to this island, so they journey to the other side of the island. They see a boat; as soon as it sees them the boat makes off quickly, and they [the natives] rush on to the land. These [the Spaniards] take away the boat, see that there is human flesh in it-that is to say, they [the natives] were a party who went out from island to island to hunt men and to eat them.²⁷²

The book presents an image that is not necessarily flattering of the Caribbean people (at least from a 16th century elite Ottoman Turkish perspective). Indigenous peoples were non-believers who fought hard and offered little tangible profit for the Ottomans except to be enslaved (remember the Ottomans already had access to the East Indies as well as to the East African, European, Mediterranean, and Indian Ocean slave trades), while the immense wealth of the Americas was still only beginning to be exploited and understood. Thus, such descriptions can be seen to be laying the groundwork to future colonization projects in some similar way as legal precedents such as the papal bulls in the Christian cultural ecology of the same period.

In one section of the 1580 *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi* (A history of West India) its author directly demonstrates the connections between the Caribs and cannibals had reached Ottoman minds when the writer explains, “The natives of Kanabile, a people named Katar (?), were

²⁷² Kahle, Paul. "A Lost Map of Columbus." *Geographical Review* 23.4 (1933): 621-38. *JSTOR*. Web. 30 Nov. 2010. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/209247>>. Pg. 625

cannibals.”²⁷³ However, when taken into larger context, the book describes many of the riches of the Americas that it suggested should be available to the Ottoman Empire. For instance, the book discusses plants as sweet as sugar, medicinal bark (perhaps Quinine?), and radishes in Perú “as big as a human being.”²⁷⁴



Figure 2.19: Resources and Strategic Locations, Manatees, and the City of Potosí, Original 1580, Artemel, Suheyla and Unknown,. Source: *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi*. Istanbul, Accessed and Compiled by Deavenport, J., December, 29 2016

The drawing above and on the left likely displays manatees or sea cows as well as the city of Potosí in Upper Perú (now Bolivia on the right).²⁷⁵ Manatees were again hunted and managed for food (as discussed previously in chapter 1) and Potosí was the source of the wealthiest silver mine in human history. In other words, both offered the potential to act as practical resources to the Ottomans if secured. The work also mentions rubber and noted that the

²⁷³ Artemel, Suheyla. *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi*. Istanbul, Turkey: Historical Research Foundation, Istanbul Research Center, 1987. Pg. 21

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.* Pg. 41

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.* Pp. 31, 48

people of Perú could “live without food nor fear hunger for three of four days by chewing on the leaves of a plant which grows on the mountains [coca]” another Amazonian plant.²⁷⁶ It further retells the story of both the Mexica and Inka conquests. Another note on Hispaniola (modern Haiti and the Dominican Republic) explains, “the natives of this island make two sorts of bread. One is made of cornflour and the other from the fruit of a plant called Yuka (Yucca). Yuka is grated like a turnip and then kneaded into dough. Bread made of Yuka keeps people full for a long time and fattens animals.”²⁷⁷ Here the author describes manioc,²⁷⁸ the main plant used to sustain Amazonian societies. This would eventually make its way back across the Atlantic, becoming particularly culturally selected and used in West African cuisine. While some of these are indeed outlandish, they are presented here not just as mere curiosities, but instead as potential resources to sustain and motivate Ottoman conquests.

²⁷⁶ Artemel, Suheyla. *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi*. Istanbul, Turkey: Historical Research Foundation, Istanbul Research Center, 1987. Pg. 51

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.* Pg. 52

²⁷⁸ Manioc and its impact are described in detail in the previous chapter



Figure 2.20: The Western Hemisphere, Original 1580. Artemel, Suheyla and Unknown, Source: *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi*. Istanbul, Accessed and Compiled by Deavenport, J., December, 29 2016

The digital reproduction of a map of the western hemisphere above is included in and likely created in 1590 CE (note the south top, north below bottom orientation).²⁷⁹ The *Book of Navigation* also singles out two important spaces, “The rivers of Marinun (?) And Orlicana (?): Both of these rivers originate from the same spring in Sukara (?) and flow into the Atlantic Ocean. The mouth of the Marinun is sixty miles wide.”²⁸⁰ Artemel, the translator of this work into English, places question marks next to both of these rivers indicating that they are unsure to which rivers these correspond. I hope that the reader already recognizes that “Marinun” is a Turkish transliteration of Marañón, which most readers know as the Amazon).

The same may be said for “Orlicana,” as sections of the Amazon (especially the Napo River) sometimes were named Orellana. However, while this chapter discussed the Marañón’s

²⁷⁹ There is some question as to the authorship and year of creation for this work. It is definitely present within a version created in 1600. For more on this 1600 version, see: "Early Modernity in Global Perspective." Early Modernity in Global Perspective | Newberry. Accessed January 05, 2017. <https://www.newberry.org/02142014-early-modernity-global-perspective>.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.* Pg. 35

potential origins, Orliana’s origin can be traced to an important event in the river’s (and region’s) histories, as it was the expedition of Francisco de Orellana that would first associate the river with the name “Amazon” in 1541-2 (this will be expanded upon in greater detail below). While Artemel was unsure about where the Marinun and Orliana were located and I have (so far) been unable to find the Orliana river on this map, *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi*’s author located the Marinun approximately near the correct location of the Amazonian Estuary.



Figure 2.21: Detail, Western Hemisphere Map, Original 1580. Artemel, Suheyla and Unknown, Source: *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi*. Istanbul, Accessed and Compiled by Deavenport, J., December, 29 2016

This image (oriented with north facing down) demonstrates is a detailed view of *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi* ‘s1580 Map seen in (Figure 2.20 above). Here the word “Marinun” in its Ottoman Turkish (Arabic) script is shown highlighted with a red box. This reveals that the map was created at least in (or following) 1542 and that the author had access at least to the name of the river, if not the first narrative of a voyage from its Andean headwaters down the length of the main channel to the Atlantic Ocean. From the available primary and secondary sources, it seems

that this is the first time that the Amazon River of popular imagination is mentioned by non-Christian Europeans.

Though Piri Reis as well as other Ottoman sailors and intellectuals sought to convince the Ottoman empire to engage in the same colonial project as the Spanish and other Christian powers, Piri Reis' own standing within Ottoman society as well as his relationship with the Sultan may have played a role in culturally selecting this information "out" of elite Ottoman consideration when in 1554, (after defeat at the hands of the Portuguese) Piri Reis was accused by Ottoman officials in Egypt of cowardice. He was ordered beheaded by Sultan Suleiman I (often known as The Magnificent) while Piri Reis' treasure (likely including his vast archive of navigational charts and information) were confiscated by the state and sent to the Topkapi Palace in Istanbul.²⁸¹ In an odd way then, the information that first left Constantinople for Western Europe around 1400 would come full circle a century and a half later.²⁸²

Svatopluk Soucek argued that despite the publication of *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi*, sustained efforts to confront neither the Spanish in the Americas nor Portuguese in the Indian Ocean took place as conservative sentiment turned Suleyman the Magnificent and subsequent Ottoman strategy against such ideas. Soucek explained, "They had resources and geo-strategic advantages

²⁸¹ McIntosh, Gregory C. *The Piri Reis Map of 1513*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2000.

²⁸¹ Goodrich, Thomas D. *The Ottoman Turks and the New World: a Study of Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi and Sixteenth-century Ottoman Americana*. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1990. Pg. 6-7

²⁸² The Ottomans, recognizing the importance of this information had been translating Ptolemy from Greek dating back to Mehmet II. From Dimitri Loupis: "Mehmed the Conqueror asked the Byzantine scholar Georgios Amoiroutzes and his Arabic-speaking son to translate the *Γεωγραφική Υφήγησις* (Cosmographia) of Claudius Ptolemaeus into Arabic. Two Greek manuscripts of the 13-14th Ct. (GI 27 and 57) that preserve the Ptolemaic *Geographia*, can still be found in the Topkapi Museum Library, while in the Aya Sofya Library (today part of the Süleymaniye Library) two copies of the Arabic translation can be found [No. 2596 (without maps) and 2610]. See Adolf D. Deissmann, *Forschungen und Funde im Serai; Mit einem Verzeichnis der nichtislamischen Handschriften im Topkapu Serai zu Istanbul* (Berlin & Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter, 1933), 68-9 & 89-93; Julian Raby, "Mehmed the Conqueror's scriptorium," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 37 (1983): 24. For more, See: Loupis, Dimitri. "Piri Reis' Book on Navigation (Kitab-i Bahriyye) as a Geography Handbook Ottoman Efforts to Produce an Atlas during the Reign of Sultan Mehmed IV (1648-1687)." *Eastern Mediterranean Cartographies*, Institute for Neohellenic Research N.H.R.F., 2004, 35-49.

vastly superior to those of the Portuguese, yet they stopped at the threshold of that expanse and then turned their backs on it.” Soucek continues,

The resources [of the Ottomans] were indeed formidable, as was the potential of the Ottoman state and society, a fact illustrated by Piri Reis. Geo-strategically, the Ottoman Empire occupied the crossroads of East and West. Istanbul was a city like no other, a place where East and West met, where Turkish and Greek and Slavic were spoken, where Arabic and Italian were understood, where Islam, Christianity and Judaism lived in peace side by side. The stage was set not for a clash but for a convergence of civilizations, leading to a rise of an East comparable and with its ecumenical potentials even superior to that of the West. A segment of Ottoman society endeavored to embark on this path, but after initial or transitory success, its efforts hit the insuperable roadblock erected by the empire’s conservative mainstream.²⁸³

While Soucek presents this provocative glimpse into an alternative history, we should not be extremely surprised that the Ottomans did not elect to spend such resources so far when their “central” position also made them vulnerable and surrounded by enemies as well as a religious minority until the empire expanded further into the Middle East and Egypt. Therefore, since the Ottomans were already preoccupied with the management of one of the largest empires in human history, they were unable to become a major player in the exploration and exploitation of Amazonia’s “advantageous lands.”

²⁸³ Soucek, Svatopluk. "Five Famous Ottoman Turks of the Sixteenth Century." *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, 2012, 325-41. Pg 336

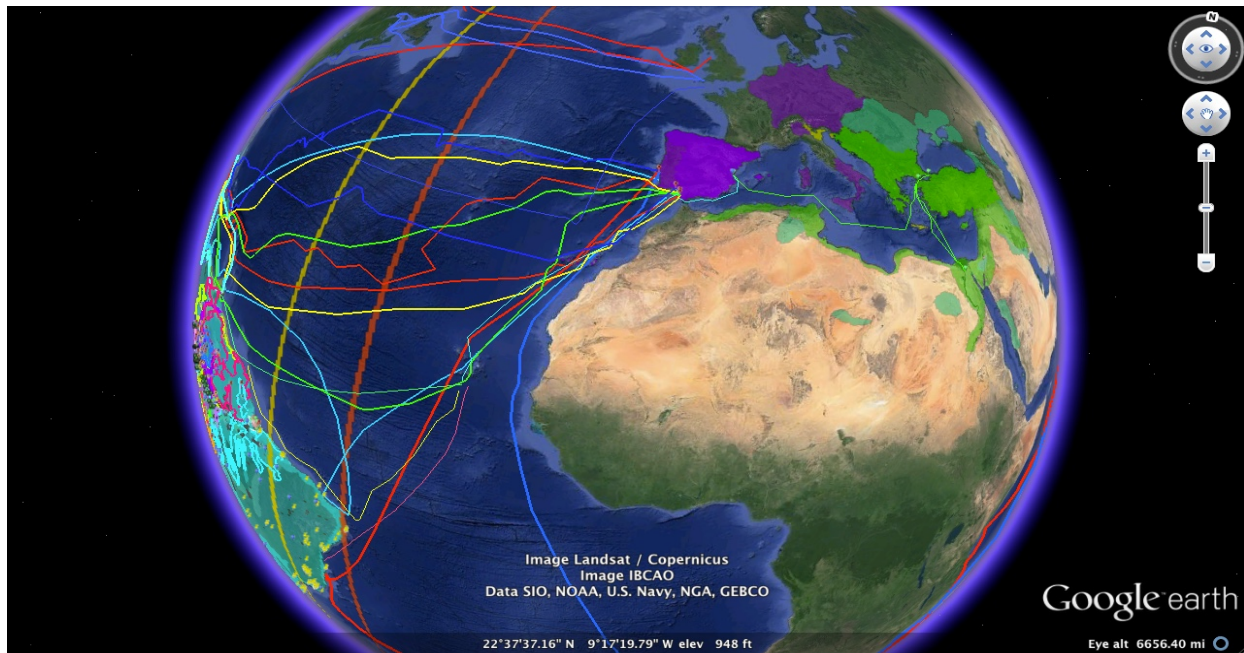


Figure 2.22: Information Networks in Part Utilized to Construct Ottoman Maps, compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., 2016

The image above demonstrates the global networks of information involved in the transmission of this first information concerning Amazonia to a non-Christian, European power. It includes the information from Figure 2.7, while also including the major Mediterranean powers (Habsburgs (in Purple), Venetian Republic (Yellow), and Ottomans with their Vassal States (Green)). It also includes (first in blue originating from Spain and then in green) an idealized visualization of the path by which this information traveled from the Spanish to the Ottomans. While Soucek’s description above presents perhaps too idyllic a vision of the Ottoman realm, this figure demonstrates the scope of the inter-imperial rivalry that would contribute to bringing about first, the Columbian encounter between Amazonians and people from the Old World, and second, providing the Ottomans with information concerning this region as well as other events concerning the history of colonization in the Americas. Finally, these sources are some of the only information concerning the area that had been written by non-Christian authors

during this period. Therefore, it presents a truly unique perspective by allowing us to see how these areas were perceived and how information spread. This link with antiquity and the refashioning of Classical knowledge after the fall of “New Rome” also provides some perspective for understanding how it was that Amazonia would come to take the name of a group of mythical female warriors who fought the ancient Athenians millennia earlier.

This section on the transmission of Ptolemy and the spread of this information around the Mediterranean world (and beyond) is important to include as this was the “thought universe” that would impose itself upon Amazonia and upon the main channel. The examples provided here represent only a small part of the vast and globally connected history following contact and *before* Amazonia became the Amazon, and I believe they demonstrate how the spread and selection of ideas shape space and peoples' imagination of it. These moments are illustrative of this process on a much larger and documentable scale when discussing the impacts of these early encounters with Amazonia. Finally, it is also important to consider the demographic changes that would have impacted Amazonia prior to 1541 CE, when the main channel would finally be traversed. During that period of initial encounter, multiple areas of the cultural and material region would have suffered enslavement and demographic collapse following the introduction of European diseases. Others might in turn become disconnected from their established trade routes and access to goods from further away. Difficult access to textual and archaeological materials at present makes it difficult to appreciate the true scope of these possible events. However, new research into this particular area of Amazonian historiography should be renewed and expanded.

Part IV: 1540 – 1554 CE, Tierra de la Canela, Río Orellana, and Rio Amazonas: Origins of the “Amazon” River

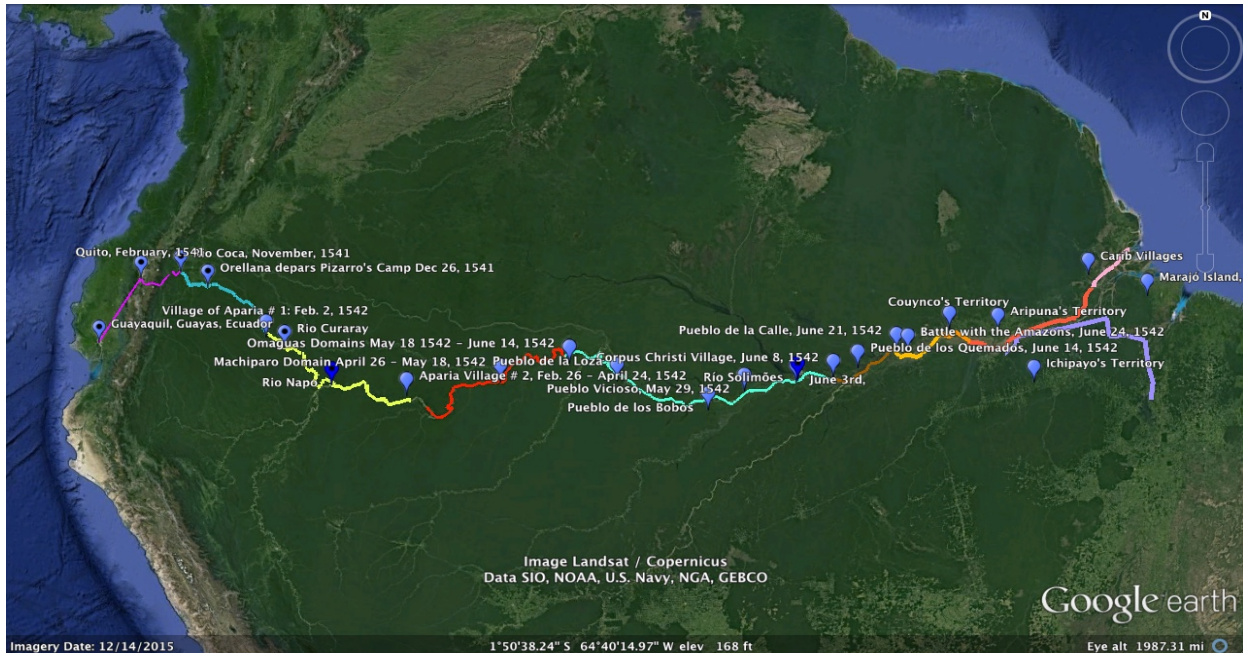


Figure 2.23: Route of Pizarro, Orellana, and Carvajal Along the Main Channel of the Amazon River, compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., 2016

The pathway descending from the Andes to the Atlantic Ocean visualizes the first documented voyage of Europeans and Andeans along the entire course of the main channel of the Amazon River to the Atlantic led by Francisco de Orellana in 1541 and 1542. The small section in yellow (near the main channel of the Amazon’s estuary is where the actual group, associated with “Amazons” was noted. The Marañón would after this point occasionally come to be called the Orellana in honor of its “discoverer” as mentioned in connection with the Ottoman sources above. This particular journey began when Francisco de Orellana and a Dominican Friar, Gaspar de Carvajal (who documented the journey) joined by a group of approximately 60 individuals were separated from a larger (and disastrous) expedition into the Amazon River basin led by Gonzalo Pizarro in order to search for provisions.²⁸⁴ Gonzalo was the brother of

²⁸⁴ According to Jose Toribio Medina, Gaspar de Carvajal counted 57 men on the expedition, while he came up with a list of 61, while figures such as Garcilaso Inca de la Vega claimed no more than 50 men had accompanied Orellana.. For more, See: Carvajal, Gaspar De, Zavala José Toribio Medina, Bertram T. . Lee, and Harry Clifton

Francisco Pizarro, a Spanish conquistador who helped to subdue Inka state in most notably from 1531-32 CE, eventually bringing the area under Habsburg rule. However, numerous rebellions would challenge Spanish rule over the colonial period. The different colors in the figure above represent different indigenous groups that the expedition came into contact with and documented. Though these are represented in yellow and red in figure 2.23, they have been described by various scholars as potentially also belonging to the indigenous group named Omagua in blue near the center of the main channel.

Initially Gonzalo led this force consisting of thousands of men who set out from Quito in Ecuador to go east and discover a route to the “Land of Cinnamon,” (*tierra de la canela*) or *El Dorado*, another name for Amazonia at the time, which we will discuss in greater detail below.²⁸⁵ Arguing that they found themselves too far downstream from the larger part of the expedition and with little hope of returning to Pizarro alive, Orellana and his men decided to abandon the others and seek their fortunes down the river to the sea, not realizing they had thousands of miles to travel before reaching the Atlantic. Eventually, they would travel down the river in two brigantines before reaching the mouth and then ultimately toward Spanish ports in the Caribbean.²⁸⁶

Heaton. *The Discovery of the Amazon According to the Account of Friar Gaspar De Carvajal and Other Documents*. New York: American Geographical Society, 1934 Pg. 108

²⁸⁵ El Dorado or “The Gilded One” is possibly a lake or may be associated with the Classical myths including the Golden Fleece, These are argued respectively in Slater, Candace. *Entangled Edens: Visions of the Amazon*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002. Pg. 29 and Haase, Wolfgang, and Meyer Reinhold. *The Classical Tradition and the Americas*. Berlin: W. De Gruyter, 1994. Pg. 347

²⁸⁶ For more, see: Letter of Gonzalo Pizarro to the King relating to the expedition to the land of Cinnamon. Tomebamba, September 3, 1542 Pg. 245 and Orellana’s petition to the King for a grant of territory in the Amazon Valley for colonization and the report to the Council of the Indies on that petition, 1543, Carvajal, Gaspar De, Zavala José Toribio Medina, Bertram T. . Lee, and Harry Clifton Heaton. *The Discovery of the Amazon According to the Account of Friar Gaspar De Carvajal and Other Documents*. New York: American Geographical Society, 1934, Pg. 320,

As mentioned earlier, while naming was always important and had a political aspect that carried with it claims to a region's lands, riches, and people, it was especially important in this case, as characters such as Gonzalo Pizarro sought to challenge Orellana's legal claims for his desertion.²⁸⁷ However, it was not Orellana, but rather Father Carvajal, who would generate the Amazon name in his account of the voyage, which eventually became inexorably attached to the great river. In doing so, Carvajal provided an opportunity to dislodge the name of the river and the entire region from the sphere of the obscured, mundane, or political and instead toward the realm of the extraordinary and mythical. Through the initial process of naming this remarkable river system before it *became* the Amazon, it is easy to discern the roots of competing (almost clichéd) conceptions of Amazonia that are often reproduced in the contemporary collective consciousness. This conceptual (and confining) binary imagines the Amazon as a miraculous paradise or "pristine wilderness" / civilization of abundant (and potentially endless) resources, which even became associated with the Virgin Mary.

Alternatively, the Amazon has been imagined as a savage hell filled with dangerous, exotic, and erotic natives, along with a suffocating and unruly environment that needed to be conquered and civilized. Remember, in the Classically rooted geographical background that formed the supposed empirical background in which many of these early trans-Atlantic sailors would have been well versed, the Amazon rested in the equatorial "Torrid Zone" (again conveyed through Ptolemy) long considered uninhabitable.²⁸⁸ Such preconceptions would shape their prejudices and experiences concerning the Amazon. It also did not help that the sailors

²⁸⁷ This is in fact, one of the reasons that the account of Father Gaspar de Carvajal became important within the historiography along with letters and oaths by the men who participated in the voyage. For more, See: *Ibid.* Carvajal, Gaspar De, et Medina, Part III

²⁸⁸ Lemprière, John. *Bibliotheca Classica: Or, A Classical Dictionary: Containing a Copious Account of the Principal Proper Names Mentioned in Ancient Authors; with the Value of Coins, Weights, and Measures, Used among the Greeks and Romans; and a Chronological Table, Volume 1.* G. & C. & H. Carvill, 1833. Pg. 102

often wore heavy fabrics (even armor), which were probably not the optimal forms of attire in the intense tropical heat of this region. Meanwhile, European's lack of immunity to many tropical Amazonian diseases²⁸⁹ would not have ensured much physical comfort along the first or later voyages in an area surrounded by more insects (such as mosquitos) than probably anywhere else on the planet.

Río Amazonas

The first explicit connection of this remarkable river with the name Amazon in Carvajal's account occurs quite far into the voyage led by Orellana and takes place near Manaus in what is today Brazil. Just before encountering these people(s?), whose particular culture led him to equate with and name "Amazons," Carvajal, noted a remarkable geographical phenomenon that divided the river. Carvajal explained that at the intersection of two tributaries, "the water... was as black as ink, and for this reason we gave it the name of Río Negro, which river flowed so abundantly and with such violence that for more than twenty leagues it formed a streak down through the other water, the one [water] not mixing with the other."²⁹⁰ In Carvajal's account, this functions as both a metaphor for crossing into the foreign land of the Amazons, and an empirical legal claim to this territory by demonstrating a concrete way, how the space could be identified.

This phenomenon can still be seen today and is known as "the meeting of the waters" in tourist magazines and marketing brochures advertising Manaus and eco-tourism along the river. This marvel has become fixed in the Brazilian-Portuguese historiography, which divides this area of the River from the eastern Brazilian city of Tabatinga, laying at the intersection of the

²⁸⁹ For more on Europeans and New World diseases, See: Miller, Shawn William. *An Environmental History of Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

²⁹⁰ Carvajal, Gaspar De, Zavala José Toribio Medina, Bertram T. . Lee, and Harry Clifton Heaton. *The Discovery of the Amazon According to the Account of Friar Gaspar De Carvajal and Other Documents*. New York: American Geographical Society, 1934. Pg. 204

modern borders of Colombia, Brazil, and Perú, until the point where the Río Negro meets the main channel of the Amazon River. Brazilian maps, documents, and even place names still differentiate the main channel of the river calling it the Solimões above this point and the Amazon below. Thus, Brazilian-Portuguese toponyms (in addition to nationalizing the Amazon) represent a border, which linguistically freezes this conceptual division of the river near the very spot where this space of “otherness” described by Carvajal were first encountered. Alternatively, in many Spanish documents the Amazon extends to at least to Iquitos in Perú, while in many English maps, the Amazon River extends well into the Andes, an interesting example of how language and political affiliation influences the organization, claims, and consciousness of space.²⁹¹

While geographically Orellana, Carvajal, and their companions first encounter the land of the “Amazons” through this remarkable geographic spectacle, they personally came to interact with Amazons when they happen upon a nearby “city” described in detail by Carvajal that had a large public square and sturdy walls with gates and towers along with a central temple. If the reader will indulge, it is worth quoting:

In short, the construction was a thing well worth seeing, and the Captain [Orellana] and all of us, marveling at such a great thing, asked an Indian who was seized here [by us]²⁹² what that was, or as a reminder of what they kept that thing in the square, and the Indian answered that they were subjects and tributaries of the Amazons and that the only service which they rendered them consisted in supplying them with plumes of parrots and macaws for the linings of the roofs of the buildings which constitute their place of worship, and that [all] the villages which they had were of that kind, and that they had that thing there as a reminder,

²⁹¹ For more on this, See: Cleary, David. "Towards an Environmental History of the Amazon: From Prehistory to the Nineteenth Century." *Latin American Research Review* 36, no. 2 (2001): 64-96.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2692088>

²⁹² Apparently Orellana continued in the long and (in)famous line of abductors including Columbus and Pinzón.

and that they worshipped it as a thing which was the emblem of their mistress, who is the one who rules over all the land of the aforesaid women.²⁹³

According to Carvajal, these particular peoples lived in villages or cities that were not entirely dissimilar to the familiar settlements of the Mediterranean. However, these communities were increasingly organized in structures described by Carvajal in ways that likely would have been particularly odd (and blasphemous) to a 16th century European cleric in the Dominican order. Carvajal continues: “These women are very white and tall, and have hair very long and braided and wound about the head, and they are very robust and go about naked,²⁹⁴ [but] with their privy parts covered, with their bows and arrows in their hands, in doing as much fighting as ten Indian men, and indeed there was one woman among these who shot an arrow a span deep into one of the brigantines, and others less deep, so that our brigantines looked like porcupines.²⁹⁵ By explaining that these communities were under the rule of a female leader, Carvajal signified that this new American Amazonian society was very likely organized on a matriarchal basis that stood in stark contrast to the patriarchal societies of Europe. Never mind, that according to many scholars, there is not convincing evidence for the historical existence of matriarchal societies in the area of South America we know as Amazonia.²⁹⁶

Whatever the case, Carvajal presented these fierce, strong, and “nude” female warriors as socially dominant over their weak, demure men, which cast American Amazons as representatives of what Nicholas J. Saunders, an anthropologist and archaeologist at the

²⁹³ Carvajal, Gaspar De, Zavala José Toribio Medina, Bertram T. Lee, and Harry Clifton Heaton. *The Discovery of the Amazon According to the Account of Friar Gaspar De Carvajal and Other Documents*. New York: American Geographical Society, 1934. Pg 205

²⁹⁴ This would have been enough to throw such women to the Holy Inquisition.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.* Pg. 214

²⁹⁶ Aikhenval, Alexandra Y. *The Languages of the Amazon*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. pg. 2

University of Bristol identifies as the “radical other.”²⁹⁷ Saunders argues that tales of Amazonian societies were actually quite prevalent throughout the Early Modern European consciousness and “represented a defining element of the exotic,”²⁹⁸ which had been described since the first voyage of Columbus to the Antilles.²⁹⁹ This generates important questions in the historiography concerning who were the original Amazons that early modern Europeans sought so intensely, and what led Carvajal and other Europeans so quickly to equate the Classical Amazons and these new peoples with whom they came into contact? As Nicholas J. Saunders describes, Columbus relayed a story from the Taíno (Arawak) “of strange people and practices farther south in the Caribbean, where cannibal men had intercourse with women whose society had no men.” Saunders explains in one section quoting at length, one Taíno story told of a

hero-ancestor Guayahona [who] had taken all the women from Hispanola to live on the Island of Martinino (Martinique) without men ; in one variation the women were turned into frogs. The cannibalistic Tupinamba Amerindians of Brazil insisted to Europeans that such people lived in their lands, thereby adding to the legend. Graphic images of Amazon women leaning on their bows and shooting their arrows at men strung up from trees were popularized in Europe by [the cultural selection of illustrator] Theodore de Bry’s woodcuts.³⁰⁰

These would emerge in the 1580s and 1590s and will be discussed (briefly) below. Suffice it to say for now that these images (at least among the literate elite) would solidify an otherness upon this region. However, there are some groups within the Amazon who do separate men and women, and there may be occasions where there would be “gender specific” rituals among

²⁹⁷ Saunders, Nicholas J. *Peoples of the Caribbean: An Encyclopedia of Archeology and Traditional Culture*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2005. Pg. 4

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.* Saunders. Pg. 4

²⁹⁹ Incidentally, named for Antilla, a similarly mythical and foreign society that Columbus equated with his earliest discoveries. For more on Antilla, See: Pastor, Bodmer Beatriz. *The Armature of Conquest: Spanish Accounts of the Discovery of America, 1492-1589*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992. Pg. 107

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.* Saunders, Pp. 4-5

particular groups today. Therefore, this tale may have a basis in some reality that reveals the complex past of Amazonian societies.

Columbus and many of his contemporaries were not particularly interested in these differences, except to exploit them as legal and cultural justifications that might make this whole venture turn a profit. William F. Hansen, an Emeritus Professor of Classical Studies and folklore of the ancient Mediterranean at the University of Indiana, explains that in Classical mythology, the Amazons were a matriarchal race of female warriors who came from lands east of Greece. Hansen claims, among “different ancient authors, [The Amazons] had sexual intercourse with men from other nations but retained and reared only their female offspring. Folk etymology interpreted their name to signify ‘without breast,’ and there was accordingly a tradition that they removed their right breast in order to be unhampered in casting the javelin.”³⁰¹ Other scholars of antiquity maintain that such body modification was undertaken to make it easier for Amazons to sling a quiver across their chests and therefore be more successful in their use of bows and arrows in battle.³⁰² Whatever weapon was supposedly used in different myths is ultimately not as important or interesting as the belief that the removal of the breast would have been necessary in order for women to fight effectively in battle. Indeed, by removing their breasts, Classical Amazons eschewed symbols and roles of motherhood, sexuality, and docile femininity expected of Classical and early modern old world women. Such ideas were vitally important to the social formation of gender in western societies.³⁰³

³⁰¹ Hansen, William F. *Classical Mythology: A Guide to the Mythical World of the Greeks and Romans*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

³⁰² Saunders, Nicholas J. *Peoples of the Caribbean: An Encyclopedia of Archeology and Traditional Culture*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2005. Pg 3

³⁰³ For more on the idea of gender formation, see: Lorber, Judith. *The Social Construction of Gender*. Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage, 1994.

Ultimately, the stories and implications of such an act can be understood to have developed from a particular set of Old World hegemonic gender notions that equated feminine attributes with the inferior and the other. For instance, François Soyer, who has written extensively on Spanish gender norms during the colonial period argues, “in common with the rest of early modern Europe, Spanish and Portuguese societies embraced clearly defined and demarcated gender identities by reproducing and embracing misogynistic stereotypes of male and female behaviour and appearance. Biblical and Aristotelian notions of women/female bodies as imperfect versions of men/male bodies were widely accepted, even within medical circles.”³⁰⁴ The lack of body and facial hair often noted of American Amazonian male bodies) was a further marker of femininity for these Europeans, which may have encouraged this particular cognitive correlation and subsequent baptism by Carvajal. As Soyer continues:

The absence of a beard, a pale complexion, a soft or high-pitched voice and even the possession of fair or red hair were interpreted as signs of effeminacy and symptomatic of a lack of “manliness” (*hombría*). These preconceptions were widely held and developed in theatrical productions such as *El Examen de Maridos* (The examination of the would-be husbands) by Juan Ruiz de Alacrón (1633) or *Las Manos blancas no ofenden* (Pale hands cause no offence) by Calderón de la Barca (c. 1640). Beyond the literary sphere, such prejudices can even be found in legal proceedings. In the marital litigation of the Episcopal courts of Calahorra and La Calzada-Logroño, medical experts pointed to the presence of a beard as evidence of a man’s virility or to a pale complexion to indicate a lack of it.³⁰⁵

The use of men as solely sexual objects by classical Amazonians and the destruction of their sons further represented Amazonian male femininity that was reinforced by the lack of

³⁰⁴ For more on early modern notions of gender, see: Soyer, François. *Ambiguous Gender in Early Modern Spain and Portugal: Inquisitors, Doctors and the Transgression of Gender Norms*. Leiden: Brill, 2012. Pg. 17

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.* Soyer Pg. 17

clothes worn by the “females” encountering the Orellana expedition.³⁰⁶ Consequently, such cultural differences for Carvajal and others emerging from the early modern Mediterranean world demonstrated the emasculating dangers of unrestricted (female) sexuality and the dangers of the “other” more broadly to early modern European Christian society. In Classical and later European art, clothes played a role in constructing both gender and otherness. For instance, the Amazons were often clad in pants, which were also equated with femininity and worn by Persian men (the greatest enemies of the classical Greeks). These pant-wearing Amazons were depicted as dangerous rivals in visual and existential opposition to norms of society in the form of the usually nude (or armor-clad) Greek warrior heroes such as Achilles or Theseus.³⁰⁷ For example, in the *Iliad* of Homer, Achilles kills one of the heroines of the Amazons, their queen Penthesileia, which earns Achilles great glory. Similar feats were chiseled into the marble frieze of the Parthenon dedicated (somewhat paradoxically) to Athena,³⁰⁸ and completed between 447 B.C. and 432 B.C.³⁰⁹ Such art therefore also represents the triumphs and privileges of male over female, Greek (European) over barbarian (the Amazons were often associated with the nomadic Scythians) and implies the use of brute force in order to enforce such a reality through culturally acceptable codes of human conduct.

The characterization of these people as Amazonians or the mentioning of their supposed “whiteness,” may also correctly be understood to represent other devices engaged by Carvajal, which carried particular notions of inferiority and otherness. This is because within the Mediterranean world, extreme whiteness was long associated with northern Germanic and later

³⁰⁶ At this point, is it worth seriously inquiry as to whether Carvajal and others mistook American Amazonian men for women given their particular consciousness of gender formation?

³⁰⁷ Remember, male nudity in Classical Greece was celebrated while female nudity was frowned upon and obscured.

³⁰⁸ A virgin Greek goddess of war and wisdom. This is a thinly veiled reference to the Athenian defeat of the Persians. This was the reason for which the Parthenon was built.

³⁰⁹ Saunders, Nicholas J. *Peoples of the Caribbean: An Encyclopedia of Archeology and Traditional Culture*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2005. Print. Pg. 3

Slavic peoples. Indeed, along with physical and sexual impotency, these would have constructed and reinforced beliefs of presumed weakness in mental and intellectual acuity.³¹⁰

Whatever the case, such images also (and more importantly from a practical point of view or legal framework), served to represent these people, along with other people of color, especially native Amazonians and people of African descent, as “natural slaves.” This designation justified their conquest by the state along with their conversion by the church in the early modern period.³¹¹ The next chapter will explore this in greater detail. However, while writers continued to use the name Orellana, Marañón, or Solimões, the name Río Amazonas eventually stuck and helped conceptually construct mental images of the river. Along with an image of overwhelming environment, arose a particular perception of its people and their cultures, which imagined that the Amazon as an “exotic empty and unknown place”, especially as the population declined from disease and enslavement.

Clearly, Carvajal’s choice in name was based upon (and brought with it) a great deal of culturally selected ideas about what it meant to be a man, to be civilized, to think and believe “correctly,” and to be seen as a human being with the same rights, privileges, and protections of the state and church. However, as clearly shown above, Carvajal was not alone in linking this river or its cultures with the Amazons of classical antiquity. Such connections also demonstrate the patterns and networks of ideas that were being circulated during this period and which would (eventually) come to fix ideas about the Amazonian region. One, idea that would take a hold of

³¹⁰ For more on early modern notions of gender, See: Soyer, François. *Ambiguous Gender in Early Modern Spain and Portugal: Inquisitors, Doctors and the Transgression of Gender Norms*. Leiden: Brill, 2012. Pg. 17

³¹¹ For more on the concept of Natural Slavery and its uses, See: Kraut, Richard, and Steven Skultety. *Aristotle's Politics: Critical Essays*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005. Pg. xii, and Garnsey, Peter. *Ideas of Slavery from Aristotle to Augustine*. Cambridge [England: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

the popular imagination told of vast golden cities would further impact Amazonian peoples and space. The ramifications of this monumentalized tale are discussed in the section below.

Part V: 1520s – 1541 CE, Little Venice, El Dorado, and Gran Omagua: Searching for Amazonian Cities

What Orellana and Carvajal may not completely have understood during their trip down the main channel of the Amazon River system was that they were a part of a much larger process of European expeditions. These were financed by powerful rulers, bankers, and religious authorities into the South American interior in search of gold, slaves, lands, and other material wealth that would create and circulate the idea of *El Dorado*, or “the gilded one.” It is also a part of a longer cultural tradition that remembers the Spanish conquest as quite motivated by seeking the precious metals or other sources of capital that could re-coop money for the investors of these endeavors (usually in the form of human beings). This story is also connected to the complicated and unique attempt of German colonization in Amazonia, especially in “Little Venice” *Klein Venedig* or what we today call Venezuela. These forays would impact Karaib, Arawak, and Tupian peoples among others such as the Muisca confederation near modern Bogotá, Colombia. This particular moment of colonial expansion helps to deconstruct our notion of the wider project as a uniquely “Spanish” endeavor by demonstrating that this was intimately linked to the Habsburg house and would last from 1528 – 1546 CE.³¹²

In 1528 CE, Charles V (Carlos I of Spain) was deep in debt to the Welser banking family in Augsburg (now in Germany), who had become some of Europe’s premier financiers who had

³¹² Given the already long nature of this chapter, I have selected out much of the background to the Welsers, and will not spend a great deal discussing the background to either the indigenous inhabitants of Venezuela, Colombia, Brazil, and in the Guyanas, nor will I discuss the individual “explorers’ background in great detail in order to focus the narrative on the connections to El Dorado given the notion’s importance to the construction of the Amazon as a concept.

helped Charles secure the throne of Holy Roman Emperor and in return for this and many other debts, while likely including vital financing for some of the wars against the Ottomans. Charles once explained, “I speak Spanish to God, Italian to women, French to men, and German to my horse.”³¹³ This example helps us to understand the trans-national nature of the Habsburg period and the many social, economic, and the vast political connections needed to secure this multi ethnic empire during the early modern era. While Charles may have spoken German to his horse, in order to unload some of this debt, Charles V granted the German Welsers control over what we call Venezuela as the family already had extensive holdings in Santo Domingo (Hispaniola) during the late 1520s.



Figure 2.24: Visualization of Information Networks Utilized By Welsers to Commence the Colonization of Klein Venedig. Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., 2016

The visualization above depicts the network of information (in yellow) between the Welsers’ initial “control” of Klein Venedig (also seen in the lower left as an overlay in yellow) in what is today much of Venezuela. This same network visualizing this particular ship crossing

³¹³ Spielvogel, Jackson J. *Western Civilization*. Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth, 2009 Pg. 383

would have contained the order granting Ehinger Governorship over the territory. The specific conditions were to establish two settlements with at least 300 settlers each along with three forts. These settlers would receive free land after cultivating it for a period of four years and “could make slaves of such Indians as offered resistance to the Europeans.”³¹⁴ In essence, the papal bulls such as *Dum Diversas* and *Romanus Pontifex* were refashioned as grants given to private companies and individual subjects by the crown in order to further the imperial project.³¹⁵ The person they put in charge of the endeavor was Ambrosius Ehinger (also called Ambrosio de Alfinger) who would become governor of the province of Klein Venedig from 1529 – 31.³¹⁶ On February 4th 1529, Ambrosius Ehinger landed near Santa Ana de Coro in Venezuela. The city had been founded in 1527 by Juan Martínez de Ampíes (also spelled Ampués) and the historian Bernard Moses later explained, "The participants were not all Germans. Among them were Spaniards, Portuguese, and a number of negroes from New Guinea [?]"³¹⁷ Ehinger communicated to Ampués the royal order which required his removal to the islands of Oruba, Curacao, and Buen Ayre, and placed the company in possession of Coro and the province."³¹⁸ The city would be (relatively briefly) renamed Neu Augsburg.

By August of 1529, Governor Ambrosius Ehinger departed Coro into the Venezuelan interior in search of precious metals, people, and other goods that might make them all rich.³¹⁹ In September, the company stopped in what is now Maracaibo to found a city Ehinger named Neu

³¹⁴ Moses, Bernard. *The Spanish Dependencies in South America: An Introduction to the History of Their Civilisation*, Volume 1. New York: Harper, 1914. https://books.google.com/books?id=R0MOAAAIAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false. Pg. 58

³¹⁵ *Ibid.* Pg. 60

³¹⁶ For more on this endeavor, See: De Oviedo Y Valdés, Fernandez. "Historia General Y Natural De Las Indias, Islas Y Tierra-firme Del Mar Océano : Fernández De Oviedo Y Valdés, Gonzalo : Free Download & Streaming." Internet Archive. orig. 1851. Accessed January 10, 2017. <https://archive.org/details/historiageneral00fernguat>.

³¹⁷ I am not sure if the Moses means the actual New Guinea in Oceania, Guinea in Africa, or the Guyanas.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.* Moses Pg. 61

³¹⁹ *Ibid.* Pg. 62

Nürnberg. The company would continue to wander around for a while until Ehinger became ill, called off the expedition and made the long trek back to Coro and ultimately Santo Domingo where he convalesced. At the same time, the Welsers were making sure that the legal titles, which had initially been granted by Charles V to Governor Ambrosius Ehinger and his brothers, Georg, and Heinrich, would be transferred to the Welsers by 1531.³²⁰

While Ambrosius Ehinger had been on his expedition, another agent of the Welsers, Nikolaus Federman, arrived in Coro and would be made interim Governor by Ehinger while the later recovered in Santo Domingo.³²¹ Ehinger had ordered Federman to remain near Coro and fulfill the terms of the contract until the former's return from Santo Domingo. However, Federman had other plans and by September of 1530, Federman would (against orders) lead an expedition into what, Bernard Moses, a well-known historian on the topic who is greatly connected with its Anglophone historiography, calls the "Orinoco basin" searching for the same wealth that had eluded Ehinger. Moses explains that the route of what would be Federman's first expedition was difficult to trace. While there have been accounts made (mostly in French and German) this narrative will not go into further detail since this particular expedition is of only minimal importance to the wider argument. However, interested readers can find original sources in the footnotes.³²²

³²⁰ Moses, Bernard. *The Spanish Dependencies in South America: An Introduction to the History of Their Civilisation*, Volume 1. New York: Harper, 1914.
https://books.google.com/books?id=R0MOAAAAIAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbg_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false. Pg, 64

³²¹ Federmann, Nicolaus. "Indianische Historia. : Ein Schöne Kurtzweilige Historia Niclaus Federmanns Des Jüngern Von Vlm Erster Raise so Er Von Hispania Vn[d] Andolosia Ausz in Indias Des Oceanischen Mörs Gethan Hat, Vnd Was Ihm Allda Ist Begegnet Biss Auff Sein Widerkunfft Inn Hispaniam, Auff's Kurtzest Beschriben, Gantz Lustig Zu Lesen : Federmann, Nikolaus, Active 16th Century : Free Download & Streaming." Internet Archive. 1557. Accessed January 10, 2017. <https://archive.org/details/indianischehisto00fed>.

³²² Ternaux, Henri Compans. "Voyages, Relations Et Mémoires Originaux Pour Servir : Ternaux-Compans, Henri, 1807-1864 : Free Download & Streaming." Internet Archive. orig. 1840. Accessed January 19, 2017. <https://archive.org/details/voyagesrelations17terniala>.

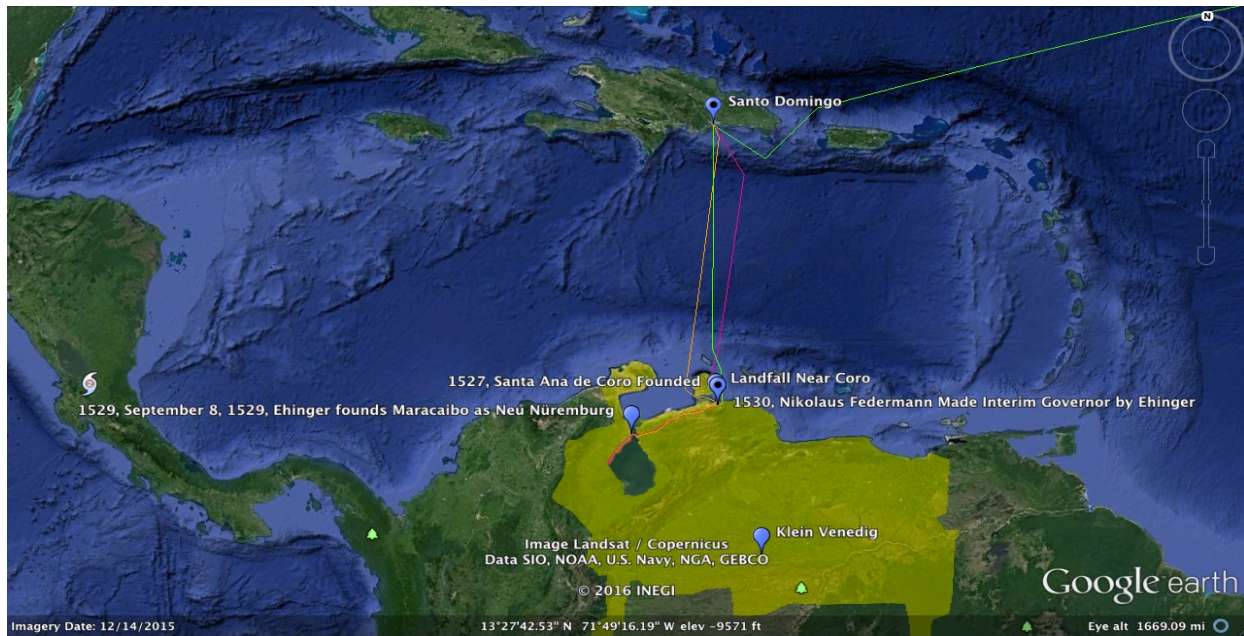


Figure 2.25: The First Expedition and Departure of Ambrosius Ehinger and The Arrival of Nikolaus Federman to Klein Venedig, Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., December, 2016

The image above demonstrates the first expedition of Ehinger (from Santo Domingo in Orange and Ehinger's return to Hispaniola in Purple). The figure also shows the arrival of Nikolaus Federman to Klein Venedig (shaded in yellow). When Federman returned in March of 1531 he would be banished by Ehinger for a period of four years. As many of the colonists had joined the expeditions and died from disease and conflicts with Amazonians, The Welser Company had lost out on a large amount of money, since the debts died with the individuals who had owed them in return for their passage. However, in 1531, the company's luck (at least for a moment) appeared to be changing when Ehinger organized a second expedition from Coro to Maracaibo and into the Venezuelan interior once more. This time the group was able to secure about US \$400,000 today, based on an updated assessment of Moses' 1914 CE \$20,000 estimate. Ehinger broke off a detachment to send the wealth back to Coro (and ultimately to the Welsers).

However, only one man would survive this particular trek, the rest succumbing to attacks by Amazonians as well as tropical disease, fatigue, etc.



Figure 2.26: The Second Expedition of Ambrosius Ehinger Through Klein Venedig and Modern Colombia, Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., 2016

The image above demonstrates the second expedition of Ambrosius Ehinger departing from Coro through Maracaibo along a conjectural route (in orange) that ultimately led Ehinger to his death from an arrow in the valley of Chinacota (today in modern Colombia). Pedro de San Martin would take his place but faced food shortages and ultimately an indigenous uprising led by a cacique named Manuaré, who led his people up into the mountains and away from the llanos or vast, swampy plains. This deprived the European colonists of their slave labor. In the next few years ahead, Francisco Pizarro's and Diego de Almagro's conquest of Tawantinsuyu (the Inka empire) would also contribute to the tales and search for cities of gold and silver.

The Council of the Indies named Federman as interim governor but then recalled him and replaced him with Georg von Speyer (aka Georg Hohermuth, and Jorge de la Espira) who arrived

in Coro on February 8th of 1535. Von Speyer would be governor until his death in 1538 (along with Federman who had been made captain general). Von Speyer brought with him 600 more colonists but departed with 400 (including one Philip von Hutten, who will be important in our narrative) when Von Speyer left to “explore” the interior for a period of four years. Meanwhile, Federman had been left behind.³²³ Federman would eventually be named governor and then embark on yet another expedition into the interior (bringing the vast majority of Coro’s remaining subjects with him). Coro operated on a skeleton crew and according to Bernard Moses had only about 60 people left who were ill.

In 1536, Nikolaus Federman began his better-known second expedition.³²⁴ Bernard Moses explained that this trip would be characterized by cruelty to the indigenous populations and its ultimate convergence with the other expeditions in what is today Bogotá, Colombia. Federman would eventually run into two other expeditions. One began when a year following his leadership in the conquest of Quito in 1534, Sebastián de Belacázar, a Lieutenant of Francisco Pizarro in Quito (the capital of modern Ecuador) would be the first European to hear and re-fashion the particular origin story of El Dorado concerning a cacique who was covered in gold dust and then submerged in a sacred lake called Lake Guatavita, along with other offerings crafted from gold. After hearing about such tales, he began to organize a search to seize these objects and would ultimately reach Lake Guatavita in 1535.³²⁵

³²³ Moses, Bernard. *The Spanish Dependencies in South America: An Introduction to the History of Their Civilisation*, Volume 1. New York: Harper, 1914. Pg. 72

³²⁴Federmann, Niclaus. "Indianische Historia. : Ein Schöne Kurtzweilige Historia Niclaus Federmanns Des Jüngern Von Vlm Erster Raise so Er Von Hispania Vn[d] Andolosia Ausz in Indias Des Oceanischen Mörs Gethan Hat, Vnd Was Ihm Allda Ist Begegnet Biss Auff Sein Widerkunfft Inn Hispaniam, Auffs Kurtzest Beschriben, Gantz Lustig Zu Lesen : Federmann, Nikolaus, Active 16th Century : Free Download & Streaming." Internet Archive. 1557. Accessed January 10, 2017. <https://archive.org/details/indianischehisto00fede>.

³²⁵ Zahm, J. A. *The Quest of El Dorado; the Most Romantic Episode in the History of South American Conquest*. New York: D. Appleton and, 1917.



Figure 2.27: Lake Guatavita, Source: “4° 58’ 36.12’ N 73° 46’46.87” W. Google Earth. January 29, 2016.

The figure above is a composite satellite image of Lake Guatavita today. I would like to point out to the reader how the lake sits surrounded by higher ridges and to draw attention especially to one section with a deep cut that was made in order to drain the lake. The purpose of this immense physical venture was to recover precious metal objects to be melted down, confiscated, and (at least in part) shipped back to Spain. The lake would continue to assert a major influence on the traditional narratives of El Dorado, and the idea of a great and wealthy society near a lake would come to be associated with another supposedly mythical lake named *Parime* that was rumored to exist somewhere in the Guianas (which will be discussed further below).³²⁶

https://books.google.com/books?id=sEkOAAAIAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false. Pg. 13

³²⁶ For more on this story, see: Moses, Bernard. *The Spanish Dependencies in South America: An Introduction to the History of Their Civilisation*, Volume 1. New York: Harper, 1914.

https://books.google.com/books?id=R0MOAAAIAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false.

Nikolaus Federman's troop would come upon Sebastián de Belacázar. Later, Federman would also meet with (and then temporarily join) the expedition of another "conquistador" Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada as well.³²⁷ These three expeditionary forces at first approached each other apprehensively (especially Belacázar) but later negotiated an agreement between them in order to divide the spoils, claim privileges, and seek to extend these among their followers. Moses is again worth quoting in order to understand what followed.

The agreement establishing these provisions was dated March 17, 1539. A second agreement between Quesada and Federmann was formed somewhat more than a month later, on April 29. In the negotiations leading to this agreement, Federmann showed himself less easily satisfied than earlier. He demanded further personal advantages. The leaders should make the journey to the court [in Spain] together. Jimenez de Quesada should cede to Federmann the district of Tunja, and grant to him and to the two servants who were to accompany him to Spain a certain participation in the distribution of the booty. During these negotiations two small vessels were built on the Magdalena River at Guataqui. In these, Quesada, Federmann, and Benalcazar, with a few followers, proceeded down the river to the coast, and at Cartagena chartered a vessel for the voyage to Spain. In accordance with the agreement, Fernan Perez de Quesada, a brother of Jimenez de Quesada, was left at Bogota as the deputy of the discoverer and head of the colony.³²⁸

Consequently, in a somewhat remarkable occurrence, all three leaders agreed to make the voyage to Spain to secure their individual and collective claims, leaving deputies in charge of those who remained. More importantly for our understanding is that this has led to some confusion concerning the various routes that would be followed as these groups joined and then separated following particular paths. Also, the convergence of these expeditions around this particular

³²⁷ Federman's name has alternate spelling in the sources and is sometimes referred to as Federmann, while Belacázar's name is spelled as Benalcazar in this source.

³²⁸ Moses, Bernard. *The Spanish Dependencies in South America: An Introduction to the History of Their Civilisation*, Volume 1. New York: Harper, 1914.
https://books.google.com/books?id=R0MOAAAAIAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false. Pg. 140

story would help to catalyze the monumentalism of this narrative as the various survivors, lawyers, dependents, and descendants would all play a role in culturally selecting and refashioning, especially as the area *did* generate income in gold and enslaved human beings, while land, and slave labor eventually produced goods that could generate additional capital.³²⁹

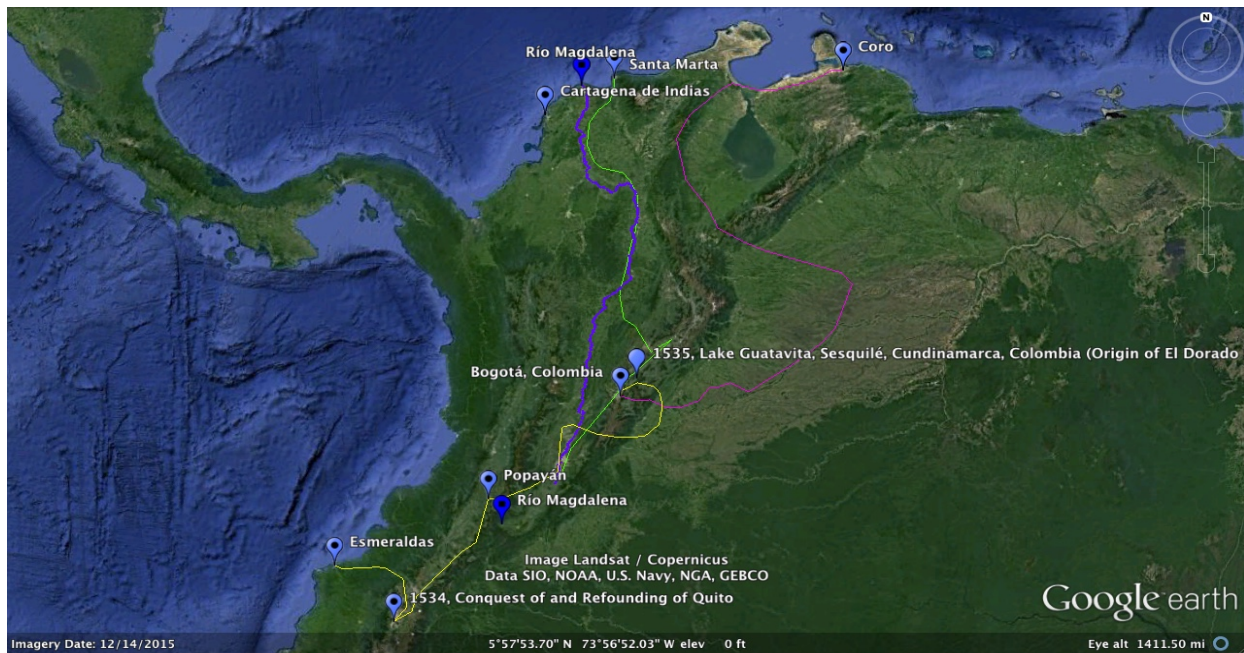


Figure 2.28: The Routes of Federman, Belacázar, and Quesada in Search of El Dorado, Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J. December, 2016

The image above visualizes the routes of Federman (in light purple or magenta) originating in Coro,³³⁰ now in Venezuela, Belacázar (in yellow) originating from Esmeraldas, now in Ecuador, and Quesada (in green) originating in Santa Marta, now in Colombia. Quesada

³²⁹ To see a primary account of this period supposedly from the pen of Quesada, see: Quesada, Gonzalo Ximénez De, Juan De Castellanos, and Antonio Paz y Melia. "Historia Del Nuevo Reino De Granada : Castellanos, Juan De, 1522-1607 : Free Download & Streaming." Internet Archive. Accessed January 22, 2017.

<https://archive.org/details/historiadelnuev00meligoog>

³³⁰ For a primary source related to Federman's second expedition, See: Federmann, Niclus. "Indianische Historia. : Ein Schöne Kurtzweilige Historia Niclus Federmanns Des Jüngern Von Vlm Erster Raise so Er Von Hispania Vn[d] Andolosia Ausz in Indias Des Oceanischen Mörs Gethan Hat, Vnd Was Ihm Allda Ist Begegnet Biss Auff Sein Widerkunfft Inn Hispaniam, Auffs Kurtzest Beschriben, Gantz Lustig Zu Lesen : Federmann, Nikolaus, Active 16th Century : Free Download & Streaming." Internet Archive. 1557. Accessed January 10, 2017.

<https://archive.org/details/indianischehisto00fede>

apparently named the region *Nueva Granada*. The image also highlights the Magdalena River (in dark purple), which had been used for millennia, would now continue to serve as a major transit corridor during the colonial period linking the Caribbean with the Colombian Andes (especially Santa Fe de Bogotá). These three expeditions would continue after the departure of their three leaders. Federman's claims would come to naught due to his incredible cruelty toward the indigenous people of the region that would lead to his incarceration.

While Belacázar would be granted the most from the Spanish crown, he would face continued threats to such "rights" and would die in Cartagena de Indias in 1555 CE. For a time Belacázar would temporarily retain some claims, but in the end, the title would pass not to any of the three, but instead to the son of a governor of Santa Marta named Luis de Lugo. While I have not been able to discern under whose specific command Belacázar's company fell, Quesada's passed to his brother, Hernán Pérez de Quesada (1539-1541)³³¹ and Federman's passed to Georg Von Speyer, (aka Georg Hohermuth, Jorge de la Espira), who had joined Federman from 1535 – 1539). Von Speyer's company made their way back to Coro and Von Speyer himself to Santo Domingo. Upon his return to Coro and organization of yet another expedition into the interior, he would die in 1540 CE according to J.A. Zahm.³³²

Following Von Speyer's death, and aside from an advance contingent that had made their way, to (and would remain in) Bogotá, the expedition Von Speyer had been assembling would receive an injection of settlers/members and fall under the overall command of Phillip Von

³³¹ For more information on Quesada, See: Quesada, Gonzalo Ximénez De, Juan De Castellanos, and Antonio Paz Y Melia. "Historia Del Nuevo Reino De Granada : Castellanos, Juan De, 1522-1607 : Free Download & Streaming." Internet Archive. Accessed January 22, 2017. <https://archive.org/details/historiadelnuev00meligoog>.

³³² For more (including the full name of the work, see: Zahm, J. A. *The Quest of El Dorado; the Most Romantic Episode in the History of South American Conquest*. New York: D. Appleton and, 1917. https://books.google.com/books?id=sEkOAAAIAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false. Pg. 74

Hutten (aka Felipe de Utre in the Spanish sources).³³³ J.A. Zahm explained that under Hutten, “there were two captains: Bartholomäus Welser, appointed on account of his family's position, and Pedro de Limpias, on account of his experience in connection with previous expeditions and his known ability as a leader under the conditions they were destined to encounter.”³³⁴ Thus, after some return, but also massive loss, the Welsers sent a central family representative to participate in this new endeavor. After reuniting with Hernán Pérez de Quesada for a time, Phillip Von Hutten “directed his course toward the river Guaviare, on the banks of which his Indian guide had assured him was a great city called Macatoa, the capital of a region rich in gold and silver. As an evidence of the truth of history he showed the German leader samples of gold fashioned in the form of apples or *nisperos*, which, he said, had been brought from that city.”³³⁵ Zahm goes on to explain that the troop slogged through the Amazonian *selva*. Facing starvation, they finally reached their “destination.”³³⁶

It was a city so large, so they afterwards reported, that, though it was near at hand, it extended beyond the range of vision. The streets were straight with the houses close together, and in the midst of all was an imposing edifice, which their Indian guide informed them was the palace of Quarica, the lord of the Omaguas. The structure also served as a temple in which, Von Hutten's guide stated, were idols of massive gold. Some of them, he averred, were as large as children three and four years old, while one of them was of the size of a full-grown woman. Besides these objects there were also there incalculable treasures belonging to the cacique and his vassals. And beyond this great city, the Spaniards were assured, were

³³³ For a primary account related to Phillip Von Hutten, See: Hutton, Phillip Von. *Zeitung Aus India Junckher Phillips Von Hutten (aus Seiner Zum Theil Unleserhch Gewordenen Iland- Schrift), Dans Meusel's Historisch-litlerarischen Magazin*. Bayreuth, Leipzig, 1785. doi:, Bavreuth und Leipzig, 1785.

³³⁴ Zahm, J. A. *The Quest of El Dorado; the Most Romantic Episode in the History of South American Conquest*. New York: D. Appleton and, 1917.

https://books.google.com/books?id=sEkOAAAIAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false. Pg.76

³³⁵ *Ibid.* Pg. 59

³³⁶ For another primary source on the period, See: Simon, Pedro. "Noticias Historiales De Las Conquistas De Tierra Firme En Las Indias Occidentales : Simón, Pedro, B. 1565 : Free Download & Streaming." Internet Archive. orig. 1882. Accessed January 10, 2017. <https://archive.org/details/tierraфирмеindias01simbrich>.

other larger and richer cities belonging to powerful chieftains, who governed countless subjects and whose treasures of gold were far greater than those of the lord of the imposing city on which their eyes were then riveted.³³⁷

According to this account, the company tried to conquer the city but only had 60 men left and faced some (reportedly) 15,000 Omagua warriors. It is interesting that this group (which was mentioned earlier in chapter one in connection with the Pizarro/Orellana expedition) was given the same name and described a society that had a similar material foundation and could support large numbers of people. More archival and archaeological research must determine what (if any) truth there is to this description, as scholars have continuously questioned the veracity of these claims. However, it again demonstrates what Europeans believed a city “should be.” It further reveals that Von Hutten, at least in rhetoric and action) was confident of what the expedition under his command had found, and made their long trek home in order to organize (yet) another expedition to conquer the region (and likely enslave the inhabitants).³³⁸ It seems odd that these leaders would continually wander through extremely difficult terrain encountering various natural hardships and dangerous human interactions if they did not believe there was enough evidence of tangible economic return, but their indebtedness also likely played a large part in motivating these individuals.

Again, it seems that aside from some gold that was recovered, it was human beings and their labor more than anything that maintained any profitability in these endeavors. This was not to be however, for when the company made its return to Coro, they were met by the new

³³⁷ Zahm, J. A. *The Quest of El Dorado; the Most Romantic Episode in the History of South American Conquest*. New York: D. Appleton and, 1917.
https://books.google.com/books?id=sEkOAAAIAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false. Pp. 64-5

³³⁸ For another more contemporary account in Spanish, See: De Oviedo Y Valdés, Fernandez. "Historia General Y Natural De Las Indias, Islas Y Tierra-firme Del Mar Océano : Fernández De Oviedo Y Valdés, Gonzalo : Free Download & Streaming." Internet Archive. orig. 1851. Accessed January 10, 2017.
<https://archive.org/details/historiageneral00fernguat>.

These marches covered quite a large territory. For Von Hutton, this covered at least 2,800 miles (or around 4,500 km) while Hernán Pérez de Quesada traveled less than half that distance at around 664 miles (or 1,060 km).

However, during this period, Von Hutton's company would have had the opportunity to come into contact with numerous indigenous Amazonian societies. It is also worth remembering that this is already some fifty years after the initial Columbian and other early voyages that would have sent biological shockwaves through the river tributaries and networks of trade that had been in operation for perhaps millennia in places. Therefore, the cultures that Hutten and Quesada experienced had likely already been greatly impacted prior to the physical interactions with old world peoples. While the execution of Phillip von Hutten and Bartholomäus Welser marks the de facto end of the Klein Venedig colonial project, the idea of El Dorado and the Omagua would take hold and help spur later attempts at colonization and exploration.

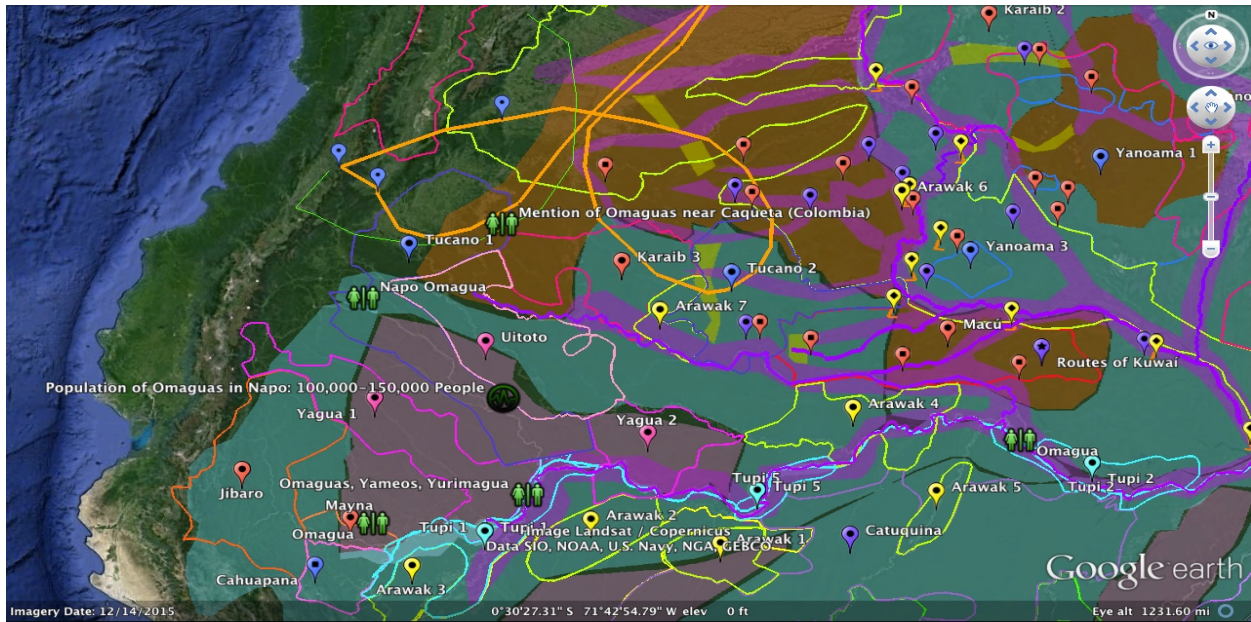


Figure 2.30: The Routes of Hernán Pérez de Quesada and Phillip von Hutten With Overlays of Local Amazonian Ethno-linguistic Groups, trade Routes, Individual “Nations,” or Groups, and Pre-Colonial Agricultural/Agroforestry Methods. Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J. December, 29th 2016

The image above overlays the routes of Hernán Pérez de Quesada (green) and Phillip von Hutten (orange, the same colors as in Figure 2.29) with certain archaeological and ethnohistorical data partially used in chapter one. According to these sources, the expedition of von Hutten in particular would have crossed nearby a number of ceremonial and strategic centers described by different scholars from indigenous histories that can be seen in the various colored points near Hutten’s path. Additionally, at least one “Amerindian city as claimed by indigenous sources is nearby.”³⁴² Also, later colonial sources would describe “Omaguas” as living relatively close to this area, while Arawak, Tupian (the Omagua language is part of the wider Tupian language family), and other groups such as the Tukano were relatively nearby. Finally, agriculture (maize and manioc), agroforestry, and major trade and known communication routes

³⁴² Whitehead, Neil L. *Histories and Historicities in Amazonia*. Lincoln: U of Nebraska, 2003. Print. Figure 2.4, Pg. 45

would have come into contact with this path if the expedition indeed passed these areas as claimed by the sources.

Part VI: Hans Staden, The Expeditions of Pedro De Ursúa and Lope de Aguirre, and Imagining the Amazonian “Other”

While the myth of El Dorado helped to monumentalize one vision of Amazonia, another major historical narrative written by another German adventurer to the area named Hans Staden von Homberg aus Hessen, published in 1557, in Marburg Germany further complicated the image of Amazonian civilization by refashioning the pre-existing image of cannibalism fashioned beyond Amazonia’s physical and cultural borders was published in 1557 CE in Marburg Germany.³⁴³ In 1549, while participating on a voyage that was initially bound for the Rio de la Plata, Staden was hunting nearby a small fortification when,

[Staden] was surprised by a party of Tupinambá warriors. Stripped naked and beaten, Staden was immediately carried off by his captors (figures 2.14, 2.15) toward their settlement of Uwattibi (Ubatúba). Given his treatment and the words of his captors, it was apparent that he was destined for sacrifice—*kawewi pepicke* (Wahrhaftige Historia I, chap. 18)—as a prisoner of war. However, his two years of service in the fort had given him opportunity to learn the Tupi language and this was to serve him well. As Staden candidly tells us: “At this time I knew less of their customs than I knew later, and I thought to myself: now they are preparing to kill me” (Wahrhaftige Historia I, chap. 22).³⁴⁴

³⁴³ Staden, Hans. "Full Text of "Hans Staden - Wahrhaftige Historia, Marburg: Kolbe 1557"." Full Text of "Hans Staden - Wahrhaftige Historia, Marburg: Kolbe 1557". orig. 1557. Accessed January 26, 2017. <https://archive.org/details/HansStaden-WahrhaftigeHistoriaMarburgKolbe1557>.

³⁴⁴ Staden, Hans, Neil L. Whitehead, and Michael Harbsmeier. Hans Staden's True History: An Account of Cannibal Captivity in Brazil. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008. https://books.google.com/books?id=WJlJy1yQ6mUC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false. Pg. 11

This helps to provide a glimpse into social structures around warfare, ideas of othering within Amazonian societies, as well as the potential for religious ritual if a small part of these traditions are based on actual historical practices. At the same time this work demonstrates how Europeans thought and would think about the people in this part of the world.

While more research is uncovering more complex histories of this region, Staden was ultimately spared by his captors, the Tupiniquins (aka Toppinikins), due to a bad toothache (which delayed the initial plan to dispose of him). Staden was later “saved” by his ability to speak German as the Tupiniquins were primarily opposed to the Portuguese, thus revealing they did not conceive of all Europeans in the same way. While this initially bought Staden some time, he would ultimately gain a level of “inclusion” (or toleration) by the Tupiniquins by correctly predicting that other Tupian neighbors (the Tupinambás) would attack his captors. As a result of this accurate prediction, and (perhaps more importantly) by joining his captors to stave off the attack, Staden was ultimately able to survive and recount his tale upon returning to Hesse in what is today Germany.³⁴⁵ Staden’s descriptions would later be re-published in a new work in 1592 CE by Theodor de Bry named *Americae Tertia Pars : Memorabile Provinciae Brasiliae Historiam Contines*.³⁴⁶ Both works (especially de Bry’s) would be published widely influencing (at least at first) elite conceptions. Over the centuries, these ideas and images of Amazonia have eventually spread to broader audiences.³⁴⁷

³⁴⁵ For a recent scholarly account on Hans Staden, see: Duffy, Eve M., and Alida C. Metcalf. *The Return of Hans Staden: A Go-between in the Atlantic World*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012.

³⁴⁶ Staden, Hans, and Theodore De Bry. "Americae Tertia Pars : Memorabile Provinciae Brasiliae Historiam Contines : Staden, Hans, Ca. 1525-ca. 1576. Warhaftige Historia Und Beschreibung Eyner Landtschafft Der Wilden, Nacketen, Grimmigen Menschfresser Leuthen in Der Newenwelt America Gelegen. Latin : Free Download & Streaming." Internet Archive. 1592. Accessed January 19, 2017. <https://archive.org/details/americatertiapa00stad>.

³⁴⁷ For an English translation of Hans Staden’s account, see: Staden, Hans, Neil L. Whitehead, and Michael Harbsmeier. *Hans Staden's True History: An Account of Cannibal Captivity in Brazil*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008.

More recently, Staden's story has even been refashioned into a children's book that is (at least within Germany) somewhat akin to Davy Crockett an "icon of the wild frontier" since 1927 when they were first published.³⁴⁸ These works relied on and thus conveyed, Amerigo Vespucci's earlier descriptions of cannibalism throughout the Caribbean and South American coasts but contained elaborate woodcuts and images of life among Amazonian (especially Tupian speaking) groups.³⁴⁹

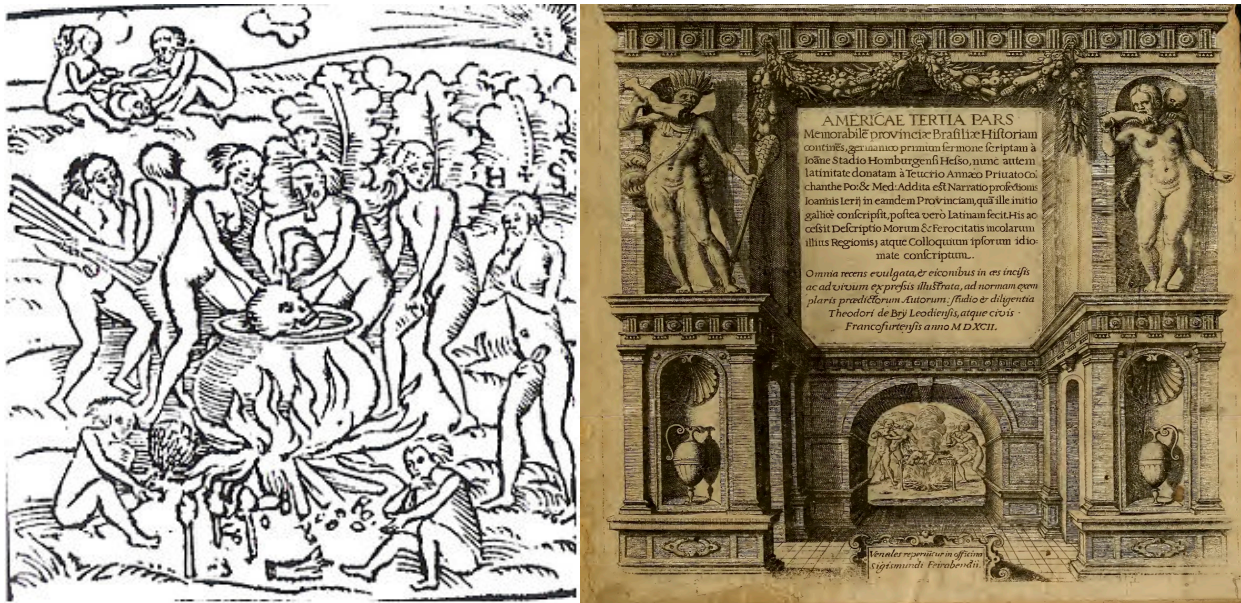


Figure 2.31: Early Modern Images of Cannibalism by Staden and De Bry. Compiled from Numerous Sources, Original Source: 1557 and 1595 by Deavenport, J. December, 29th 2016
The two images are depictions of cannibalism from Hans Staden of the Tupis roasting a prisoner alive (on the left) and a detailed image from Theodor de Bry (on the right and below the Latin inscription) showing the Tupis devouring and barbequing human flesh. It is worth mentioning that many cultures upon first meeting Christians and learning about the tradition of

https://books.google.com/books?id=WJlly1yQ6mUC&printsec=frontcover&source=gb_s_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false.

³⁴⁸ Staden, Hans, Neil L. Whitehead, and Michael Harbsmeier. *Hans Staden's True History: An Account of Cannibal Captivity in Brazil*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008. Pg. 2.

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.* Pp. 211-2

the Eucharist³⁵⁰ believed that Christians were participants in cannibalism. In Afro-Eurasia, this particular taboo against cannibalism was long established and shared by many cultures in order to slander (real and perceived) rival societies. Indeed, the charge of “ingesting human flesh” was used by pagan Roman authors to “discredit” early Christianity.³⁵¹

Therefore, the descriptions of the practice of consuming humans (even if they accurately described some Amazonian societies) could be used as another marker of “otherness” and “savagery” by Europeans. Aside from stigmatizing these societies, these also practically functioned to legitimize potential violence and enslavement.³⁵² This fashioned “reality” would also contribute to constructing some descriptions concerning the lack of other markers of civilization such as government by Hans Staden, who mentioned that while the Tupiniquins had neighbors ruled by kings, Hans Staden’s captors nor the related tribes had to answer to any single ruler or governing order. Indeed, he explains:

They do not have any particular form of government or law. Each hut has its chief, who is the king. Now all their chiefs belong to one tribe, one area, and one government; you may call this what you want. When one of them has more experience in going to war than the other, he will be listened to more than the others when they wage war, as in the case of the aforementioned Konyan Bebe [Cunhambebe]. Otherwise I have not noticed any particular privileges among them, except that the young are supposed to obey their elders in matters where their customs demand it. If one person strikes or shoots another person dead, his friends are ready to kill [the murderer], but this happens rarely. They also obey the chief of the hut: when he commands, they comply, but alone out of good will, without compulsion or fear.³⁵³

³⁵⁰ This is the Christian ritual consumption of bread and wine as representative (or literally transubstantiated into Christ’s body and blood) according to different Christian traditions

³⁵¹ There is a great deal of scholarship on this issue, but for one example, see: Benko, Stephen. *Pagan Rome and the Early Christians*. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1984. Print.

³⁵² For more on the idea of cannibalism broadly, see: Schutt, Bill. *Cannibalism: A Perfectly Natural History*. Chapel Hill, NC: Algonquin Books of Chapel Hill, 2017.

³⁵³ Staden, Hans, Neil L. Whitehead, and Michael Harbsmeier. *Hans Staden's True History: An Account of Cannibal Captivity in Brazil*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008.

Staden’s description (like those earlier words of Columbus and Vespucci) would prove helpful to constructing an image of Amazonia (and the Americas broadly) as existing without any power that exerted control over these inhabitants of the Americas. This vacuum was then used to further justify the colonial project.³⁵⁴ Such images also unleashed the “horrible” thought of adopting indigenous customs and savagery the Tupis, who Staden called “a tyrannical people”³⁵⁵ creeping into the mind (and souls) of the civilized Europeans that might be used to “turn them native.”



Figure 2.31a: Sleeping “America” Is Awakened by Amerigo Vespucci. An Allegorical Engraving for *Americae Decimal Pars*. Source, 1629, Wikimedia Commons. Accessed, July 20, 2017

https://books.google.com/books?id=WJlJy1yQ6mUC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false. Pg. 211-212

³⁵⁴ For more on Roman law, see: Justinian I. "Corpus Juris Civilis Justiniani." Google Books. 1550 orig. Accessed February 07, 2017.

https://books.google.com/books?id=nEY8AAAACAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.* Pg. 238

In the engraving above dating from 1619,³⁵⁶ Vespucci, representing the quintessential heroic active explorer discovers the passive female Amazonian (as revealed by associations with Arawak/Carib material culture such as the headdress and hammock). Meanwhile, cannibals roast human flesh in the central background of the image. This image visually represents and affirms European colonization of Amazonia and the Americas by extension. This is one of the first “Amazons” visually depicted for though resting, she even carries a macana (or club) potentially signifying her as a warrior, while the headdress in some societies could be used more for men, perhaps demonstrating mis-gendering or purposeful connecting of this figure with male symbols. However, like the settler colonization efforts launched in antiquity around the Mediterranean world, to “bring civilization” would also bring fears of becoming the other and falling into savagery oneself.

One narrative that would fully encapsulate both the ability of Amazonia to make savages of the supposedly “civilized” Europeans and challenge to the colonial system occurred during one of the first major attempts to colonize the main channel of the Amazon, especially the land of the Omaguas, in 1560 CE under an expedition initially led by Pedro de Ursúa.³⁵⁷ In 1558 CE, Pedro de Ursúa arrived in Lima after helping to pacify an uprising of cimarrones or maroons, essentially fugitive slave communities in Panama. For this “service” to the crown, the Viceroy at the time, Don Andres Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquis de Cañete (r. 1556 – 1561), ordered Ursúa to equip an expedition down the main channel of the Amazon River and granted him

³⁵⁶ Engraving from: Stradanus, Jan Van Der Straet (Johannes, and Jean-Théodore De Bry. *Sleeping “America” Is Awakened by Amerigo Vespucci. An Allegorical Engraving for Americae Decima Pars*. 1619. *Americae Decima Pars*, Oppenheim. Image source: e Bry, Jean-Théodore. "Allegory of America. Amerigo Vespucci Awakens a Sleeping America." Digital image. Wikimedia Commons. orig. 1575-1580. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Theodor_Galle_after_Johannes_Stradanus.PNG.

³⁵⁷ For more on this expedition, see: Simón, Pedro. "The Expedition of Pedro De Ursúa & Lope De Aguirre in Search of El Dorado and Omagua in 1560 - 1." Google Books. orig. 1861. Accessed January 08, 2017. https://books.google.com/books?id=ywIDAAAACAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false.

governorship over any areas he “discovered” in order to bring them under the power of the Spanish crown. The expedition under Ursúa eventually got moving and with the help of 25 ship builders and 10 carpenters of African descent helped to construct small vessels that could make the voyage down the great channel of the Amazon.³⁵⁸

The expedition would never accomplish this colonization project however, when after facing many hardships, Lope de Aguirre, or the “traitor” (as he is often remembered) would lead a failed movement to expel the Spanish and set himself and his allies up as the new rulers of Perú. This mutiny began with the assassination of Pedro de Ursúa, the elevation of a new “prince of Perú,” Pedro de Guzman, the latter’s subsequent assassination relatively quickly thereafter, and the eventual usurpation by Lope de Aguirre that would end in an attempt to sever the Americas from the Spanish crown. Ultimately, this uprising would lead to Aguirre’s death along with the execution of his followers, the “Marañones.”

³⁵⁸ Simón, Pedro. "The Expedition of Pedro De Ursúa & Lope De Aguirre in Search of El Dorado and Omagua in 1560 - 1." Google Books. orig. 1861. Accessed January 08, 2017. https://books.google.com/books?id=ywIDAAAACAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false. Pp. 2 - 3



Figure 2.32: The Route of Pedro de Ursúa and Lope de Aguirre, Compiled from numerous sources including Pedro, Simon, orig. 1861 by Deavenport, J. December 29, 2016

The image above demonstrates a surmised route based on the historian Simon Pedro’s *The Expedition of Pedro De Ursúa & Lope De Aguirre in Search of El Dorado and Omagua in 1560 – 1*. The pathway in yellow represents the expedition’s route under Pedro de Ursúa (in search of the Omaguas). The pathway in blue demonstrates the area covered following the assassination of Pedro de Ursúa and the elevation of “Prince of Perú” Fernando de Guzman and the expedition’s shift in purpose, and finally the pathway (in red) of the expedition under Aguirre to the Isla de Margarita, where his unsuccessful rebellion would really commence.³⁵⁹

This narrative will not follow this rebellion in great detail, however, it is important to note that Lope de Aguirre’s early career to the state included fighting on the side of the King and Perú’s first Viceroy Blasco Núñez Vela y Villalba (r. 1544 – 1546) in order to enforce the *leyes*

³⁵⁹ For readers interested in another source on this expedition, see: Markham, Clements R. *The Expedition of Pedro De Ursúa and Lope De Aguirre: In Search of El Dorado and Omagua in 1560-1*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2010. https://books.google.com/books?id=SnIWAAAacAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false. For more information about Aguirre’s connection to the New Laws, see Pg. xxii

nuevas, or new laws, which decreed the end of the encomienda (or forced labor) system and he fought against encomenderos in order to enforce this law, which met with mixed success until the system was gradually phased away over a much longer period. Aguirre's treachery therefore became even more infamous because this experience had transformed him from a dutiful representative of civilization and Spanish colonial power, into a "savage monster" who killed without distinction to age and gender nor recognized neither divine nor human laws by seeking to overthrow the monarchy and disrespecting the customs, privileges, and protections reserved to the Catholic church.

It is telling that some of the Marañones are described as "protestants," which was meant to be a definite slight in the minds of the Catholic writers of these narratives, who have helped preserve the account of this expedition. While the Ursúa /Guzman/Aguirre voyage never would succeed in colonizing the El Dorado they had initially sought, they probably *did* come into contact with the Omagua people but did not perceive them to be the Omaguas they were expecting. Rather, they called them the Caricuri, Manicuri, and Machiparo, and noted only the small amount of gold that were used by these groups, along with their villages and some descriptions of their settlements.³⁶⁰

Generally, these were in islands or on defensible bluffs overlooking the river and were palisaded. They possessed temples, "idols" or carvings representing spiritual forces, and raised maize, manioc, and utilized other animals such as fish, manatees, and turtles (both adult and for eggs). Finally, they engaged both in trade and in warfare with other indigenous groups. This generally conforms to an emerging consensus of archaeological data, as described in chapter one,

³⁶⁰ Simón, Pedro. "The Expedition of Pedro De Ursúa & Lope De Aguirre in Search of El Dorado and Omagua in 1560 - 1." Google Books. orig. 1861. Accessed January 08, 2017. https://books.google.com/books?id=ywIDAAAACAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false. Pg. 31

that provides a small and heavily biased potential “moment” that allows us to see the continuation of cultural traditions that had been re-fashioning themselves for thousands of years. This also provides a microcosm of how colonial projects disrupted these communities through enslaving, killing, raping, and raiding. Such intrusions into the Amazonian interior also disrupted local power structures by appropriating and refashioning the similarly ancient technique of “divide-and-conquer”.³⁶¹ This technique would allow the Europeans to form relationships with certain Amazonian peoples in order to help subjugate rivals while simultaneously degrading the potential for united indigenous resistance.

Part VII: 1595 – 1609 CE, The Expeditions of Sir Walter Raleigh in the Search for El Dorado, the City of Manoa, The Tuscan Expedition, and the Power of Refracted Ideas through Michel de Montaigne’s Myth of the ‘Noble Savage’

While many of the campaigns launched to find El Dorado and the Omaguas were sent by the Habsburgs, other European powers such as the English had been openly flouting the Iberian Atlantic monopoly. This work will not delve deep into the history or historiography of this process but interested parties may find a wealth of material on the subject.³⁶² Instead, this section briefly examines how the 1595 campaign of Sir Walter Raleigh into the interior of the Guiana shield in search of El Dorado helped to refashion the idea of El Dorado and Manoa for audiences beyond the Iberian world. This section will be followed by a short description of an attempted colonization under the jurisdiction of the Italian city state of Tuscany. The chapter will then proceed with an examination of how one “image of Amazonian peoples’ freedom from

³⁶¹ Divide and conquer most likely first is noted in the historical record by the Latin phrase *Divide et impera* – by Caesar, Julius, J. B. Greenough, Benjamin L. D’Ooge, and Moses Grant. Grant. *Caesar’s Gallic War*: Allen and Greenough’s Edition. Lexington, KY: ULAN Press, 2013. Accessed February 2, 2017.
<https://books.google.com/books?id=V9oZAAAIAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>. Pg. 127

³⁶² For just one quick example, see: Scammell, Geoffrey V. *First Imperial Age: European Overseas Expansion 1500-1715*. Place of Publication Not Identified: Routledge, 2016.
<https://books.google.com/books?id=OceIAGAAQBAJ&pg=PA28&dq=english+opposition+to+spanish+maritime+monopoly+during+1600s&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiw27PGgJXbAhVKja0KHWEICuYQ6AEINTAC#v=onepage&q&f=false>. Pg. 28

governments similar to European states,” was transported across the Atlantic, and has helped to de-stabilize the very regimes seeking to colonize and dominate Amazonia and other regions of the world.

Raleigh would provide a rosy vision of El Dorado, which had by now migrated to the Guiana shield. He explained:

The Empyre of Guiana is directly east from Peru towards the sea, and lieth vnder the Equinoctial line, and it hath more abundance of Golde then any part of Peru, and as many or more great Cities then euer Peru had when it florished most : it is gouerned by the same lawes, and the Emperour and people obserue the same religion, and the same forme and pollicies in gouernment as was vsed in Peru, not differing in any part : and as I haue beene assured by such of the Spanyardes as haue seene Manoa the emperiall Citie of Guiana, which the Spanyardes cal el Dorado, that for the greatnes, for the riches, and for the excellent seate, it farre exceedeth any of the world, at least of so much of the world as is knowen to the Spanish nation : it is founded vpon a lake of salt water of 200 leagues long like vnto mare caspiu [the Caspian Sea].³⁶³

This passage (along with demonstrating the major changes to English spelling since the 16th century) has long been seen to be a work of fiction. And indeed, it likely contains a fair bit of exaggeration. Additionally, it demonstrates the sloppy image of South America available to someone of a higher class or social standing, and who had access to state secrets as well as first-hand knowledge of the region. Though likely quite far from even the most optimistic scenarios where larger populations had been present, this belief would motivate two trips to the region.

³⁶³ I have decided to include the original spelling here by Raleigh, Walter, and Robert H. Schomburgk. The Discovery of the Large, Rich, and Beautiful Empire of Guiana: With a Relation of the Great and Golden City of Manoa ... Etc. Performed in the Year 1595, by Sir W. Raleigh, Knt ... Reprinted from the Edition of 1596, with Some Unpublished Documents Relative to That Country. Ed., with Copious Explanatory Notes and a Biographical Memoir, by Sir Robert H. Schomburgk. London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1848. Accessed February 2, 2017. https://books.google.com/books?id=j4MMAAAIAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false. Pg. 13

Additionally, recent archaeological research over the last few decades has demonstrated the possibility of denser settlements and ceremonial centers in the Guianas. Interestingly, the initial story of a lake was moved far from Guatavita to the vast inland plains of the Rio Branco (white River in Portuguese) in what is now Roraima near the border with Guyana. Around the Guyanas, pre-colonial ceramics, cultivation, and raised fields, and evidence of settlements have been found.³⁶⁴



Figure 2.33: The Guyana Shield, Amazonian Rivers, Trade Routes, and Recorded Locations of Indigenous Population, Ceremonial, and Resource/Strategic Centers, Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J. December, 29th 2016

The above image visualizes the Guyana Shield (in light blue) along with known pre-colonial trade and riverine routes (in purple). Finally, the yellow, purple, and blue points near the center of the figure are reported as an “Amerindian city ceremonial center, and area of strategic

³⁶⁴ For more on the archaeology of the Guianas, see: Silverman, Helaine, and William Harris Isbell. Handbook of South American Archaeology. New York, NY: Springer, 2008. Print.

or importance” according to some recent ethnographical scholarship by N.E. *Whitten’s Histories and Historicities in Amazonia*. Hopefully, the reader can also recognize the lighter green in this central area. This consists of a vast seasonal savanna during the dry season, and a vast marshy, swampy area during the rainy season. Some archaeologists also argue that there is evidence that this area, especially around the Parime River may have had higher water levels (in some places as high as 10 meters above the present ground level).³⁶⁵

Archaeological evidence also reveals ceramics dating back at least 3,000 years as well as evidence of cultivation. Therefore, this region may have indeed been at least seasonally a “lake” as recently as 700 years ago (around 1300 CE). Could such historical evidence (if indeed such a lake existed) survive in the collective memory of the peoples in this region? While demographic decline as a result of pathogens and slavery decimated the populations, such memories could have survived, at least in part. This debate also facilitated the attachment of the El Dorado mythos to the Guyanas and away from Colombia. Whether Parime or anything resembling Manoa did indeed exist in some form, it is certain indigenous Amazonians likely practiced some form of agriculture and trade, along with pottery production and mound and geoglyph construction above the Parime River.

³⁶⁵ Reis, Nelson Joaquim, Carlos Schobbenhaus, and Fernando Costa. "Pedra Pintada, Roraima State The Icon of Parime Lake." SIGEP - Comissão Brasileira De Sítios Geológicos E Paleobiológicos. Accessed February 8, 2017. <http://www.bing.com/cr?IG=3AE81779E61348B5865C109ADBDCB899&CID=0F2617CDE737664232E11DE9E6066706&rd=1&h=0zxqdmvqBexbNBkZIYCrtelCJrBulZ-xj8lXz3RIoi4&v=1&r=http%3a%2f%2fsigep.cprm.gov.br%2fsitio012%2fsitio012english.pdf&p=DevEx,5059.1>



Figure 2.34: Map Entitled “*Partie de Terre Ferme ou sont Guiane et Caribane, augmentée et corrigée suivant les dernières relations*” by Nicholas. Sanson. 1656. Source. Wikipedia. Public Domain. December 2016

The map above represents the Guyanas with the supposed Lake Parime figuring prominently in the center.³⁶⁶ It reveals the way in which this idea entered the intellectual consciousness and resulted in changes to the way land was understood and depicted. However, this bit of “fake cartography” maybe even “fake ideography” also generates questions as to our basic definitions of these geographical phenomena where large swaths seem to have remained inundated for large portions of the year. Mounds and raised fields allowed people to eke out a living here by farming and building mounds or settling on bluffs to stay above high ground as in many parts of Amazonia. This also presents a comparative study to say, the continued labeling of the Aral Sea despite most of its draining or maps depicting the state of Louisiana that represent a

³⁶⁶ Sanson, Nicholas. "Lake Parime." Wikipedia. June 23, original. 1657, 2017. Accessed July 21, 2017. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lake_Parime#/media/File:1656_Sanson_Map_of_Guiana,_Venezuela,_and_El_Dorado_-_Geographicus_-_Guiane-sanson-1656.jpg.

shoreline, which has been eroding rapidly in the last few decades. Therefore, this helps us to remember that maps are also by their very nature selective and political.



Figure 2.34a: Comparison of the Same Area During Dry and Inundated Wet Seasons, Source. Habert, Joeldson May, 2007 and October, 2013. Compiled by Deavenport, J. December 2016

The images above are a side-by-side comparison of two photographs, which demonstrate changes in hydrology between wet seasons (on the left and dry seasons on the right) over the same space in this particular region of the Guyanas today.³⁶⁷ However, as mentioned, there may have been a period were this area was indeed covered more regularly and would have likely been settled with indigenous groups who utilized agriculture, agroforestry, aquaculture, and who also built mounds, and raised fields.

³⁶⁷ For more on the Left image, see: Habert, Joeldson. "Vista Panorâmica Dos Campos Alagadiços No Período Chuvoso (inverno) Na Fronteira Brasil/guiana - Normandia/RR." Panoramio - Photo of Vista Panorâmica Dos Campos Alagadiços No Período Chuvoso (inverno) Na Fronteira Brasil/guiana - Normandia/RR. May 9, 2007. Accessed December, 2016. <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/2149905>. and Habert, Joeldson. "Vista Panorâmica Sob O Morro Do Cruzeiro Dos Campos Do Lameiro - Normandia, RR." Panoramio - Photo of Vista Panorâmica Sob O Morro Do Cruzeiro Dos Campos Do Lameiro - Normandia, RR. October 7, 2013. Accessed July 21, 2017. http://www.panoramio.com/photo/97389867?force_desktop_version., December 2016.

One of Sir Walter Raleigh's fellow countrymen, Sir Robert Dudley closes our examination of the search for El Dorado and in some ways brings us full circle to Florence, where some of the ideas that would put Amazonia and Afro-Eurasia in touch with Amazonia were initially monumentalized. Not wanting to miss out on the potential to gain some of the wealth and probably responding to pressure from competition from other banking houses like that of the Welsers receiving riches "procured" from the Americas, the Medici Family would sponsor Dudley's expedition in the hopes that this might help to discover a major source of precious metal that might make the silver mines of Potosí seem like pocket change. However, this expedition would also ultimately end without securing such riches, nor finding the mythical city of El Dorado. Instead, like Columbus and Pinzón before him, Dudley would enslave at least six indigenous individuals and bring them back to Florence as curiosities. One short excerpt from Dudley's expedition is worth quoting:

He [Dudley] also discovered the good port of Chiana,³⁶⁸ which is a secure, royal harbour, and had never in times past been seen by Christians; and from here he brought with him five or six Indians, with the intention of presenting them to their Highnesses of Florence, which he did –[bringing] those Caribs who eat human flesh... These poor Caribs afterwards died in Florence, most of them of small-pox, which was to them more terrible than the plague, it being a disease never heard of in their own country. Only one lived on at the Court for several years and served H. E.³⁶⁹ the Cardinal de 'Medici and leaned to speak the Italian language quite easily.³⁷⁰

³⁶⁸ Chiana could refer to Guyanas or be named for Chiana River in Tuscany

³⁶⁹ H.E. stands for His Eminence

³⁷⁰ Sir Dudley, Robert, and John Temple Leader. "Life of Sir Robert Dudley, Earl of Warwick and Duke of Northumberland : Illustrated with Letters and Documents from Original Sources, Collected by the Author, and Hitherto Inedited : Leader, John Temple : Free Download & Streaming." Internet Archive. Accessed February 08, 2017. <https://archive.org/details/lifeofsirrobertd00leaduoft>. Pg. 124 For more on Dudley, See: Dudley, Robert Sir. "Skip Directly to." Arcano Del Mare | UVA Library | Virgo. orig. 1661. Accessed February 08, 2017. <http://search.lib.virginia.edu/catalog/uva-lib:2382674>.

Based on the information above, we are provided with a glimpse into a microcosm and very real reminder of the destruction that pathogens such as small pox would visit upon Amazonian communities and among individuals who survived both enslaved and free. The 16.7% survival rate in this case is not too dissimilar from the 10% survival rate among their Amazonian counterparts (at least according to the worst-case estimates of demographic collapse).³⁷¹ Finally, once again we see Amazonian people being utilized primarily as curiosities whose far origin increased their cultural capital for owners such as the Medici's. This outcome was one of the most far-reaching impacts of the exchange and particular selection of ideas explored in this chapter, and which coalesced in order to create certain notions of Amazonia over time that were used (and still are) to justify domination. It also demonstrates yet again the intricate web of information and networks that were involved in different attempts at conquest.

While most of this dissertation has examined the way in which outside ideas about Amazonia have been imposed onto the landscape or work their way back through descriptions of the people and geography of the area, this section instead explores how the idea of the “noble savage inhabiting a state of nature” was influenced (in part) by experiences with Amazonian peoples as it imagined indigenous Americans broadly (and Tupians, Caribs, and other Amazonian in particular) as existing in a state “unblemished” by the contagion of “European civilization.” It thus, suggested that these people were closer to nature than their old world counterpart. This idea which has been described by a well-known anthropologist, Wade Davis, as, “racist in its simplicity.”³⁷² This dissertation does not accept the argument that societies that have such organizations lack “complexity” because it flattens our idea of indigeneity and fatally

³⁷¹ See chapter 1 and discussions of Mann, Charles, C 1491

³⁷² Davis, Wade. "Dreams from Endangered Cultures." Wade Davis: Dreams from Endangered Cultures | TED Talk | TED.com. February 2003. Accessed February 09, 2017. https://www.ted.com/talks/wade_davis_on_endangered_cultures.

dismisses the humanity of indigenous peoples. Moreover, such false assumptions are easily countered by numerous evidence, which demonstrates in many different forms and that in many ways such societies require a complexity of thought as (if not more) complex as our own contemporary society. Nevertheless, this image of the noble savage would take hold in popular imagination and would have far reaching impacts for the future of monarchical regimes as well as the development of a liberal order that drives the destruction of Amazonia today.

Regardless, acknowledging this distortion of the “true image” of pre-colonial Amazonia is extremely important because this idea would begin to implant another; that would be re-fashioned into another that argued forms of governments could exist and could be structured more egalitarian, could eliminate poverty, and people could be “governed” at a more local level or not at all and thus exist in a “state of nature.” Such ideas would become major contributors to ideologies of who was included in the definition “human” and thus enjoyed certain protections or “natural rights.” While indigenous groups continue to fight for this basic recognition today, the struggle to secure such rights ultimately helped to destabilize the very absolutist monarchies that were promoting various colonial projects. In short, descriptions from sources such as Amerigo Vespucci and Hans Staden began to influence the intellectual (and later popular) classes of Europe and beyond by seeking to “hold a mirror” to the contradictions and hypocrisies of European civilization. Indeed, one influential author Michel de Montaigne (who lived from 1533 – 1592 CE) in his famous essay that compared Amazonian and European cultures “On Cannibals” explained:

I am not sorry that we should here take notice of the barbarous horror of so cruel an act, but that, seeing so clearly into their faults, we should be so blind to our own. I conceive there is more barbarity in eating a man alive than when he is

dead; in tearing a body that is yet perfectly sentient limb from limb, by racks and torments, in roasting it by degrees, causing it to be bit and worried by dogs and swine (as we have not only read, but lately seen, not amongst inveterate and mortal enemies, but amongst neighbours and fellow-citizens, and what is worse, under colour of piety and religion), than to roast and eat him after he is dead.³⁷³

This “intellectual conquest” in imagining Amazonia³⁷⁴ by Montaigne and others sought to expose the tensions within European societies he was critiquing. Essentially, Michel de Montaigne was stating that since these indigenous peoples existed in a “state of nature” they could be excused from practicing this social taboo. However, Montaigne condemns similar acts of cannibalism and violence among his European contemporaries since ostensibly European societies (which “knew better”) created the conditions for these acts to occur. Nevertheless, such descriptions of the experiences by explorers such as Staden and Vespucci would become evidence used to monumentalize certain ideas about humanity itself and the relationship of individuals to their government. A contemporary book on liberalism explains the importance of the Montaigne’s “state of nature” idea to the development of liberalism and the idea of natural rights.

Natural rights political philosophy derives both the justification for and the limitations upon political authority from the natural rights of individual human beings. ‘Natural Rights are the pre-political rights individuals possess in the absence of established political authority, that is, in the state of nature. A natural rights-based argument for limited government has several familiar and easily identifiable features. It begins by identifying the rights individuals possess in the state of nature. It proceeds by presenting a list of the inconveniences inherent in

³⁷³ Montaigne, Michael De. "The Complete Works of Michael De Montaigne; Comprising the Essays : Montaigne, Michel De, 1533-1592 : Free Download & Streaming." Internet Archive. orig. 1580, 1842. Accessed January 28, 2017. https://archive.org/details/completemontaign00montuoft.Pg_91

³⁷⁴ This notion is an homage to Arias, Santa. "The Intellectual Conquest of the Orinoco: Filippo Salvatore Gilij's Saggio Di Storia Americana (1780– 1784)." *Troubled Waters: Rivers in Latin American Imagination Hispanic Issues On Line* 12 (2013): 55-74. Accessed February 8, 2017. http://s3.amazonaws.com/academia.edu.documents/31223403/03_ARIAS.pdf?AWSAccessKeyId=AKIAIWOWYYGZ2Y53UL3A&Expires=1486624133&Signature=tVu4o74E6G3jp8WcJK4zvS0WY4Y%3D&response-content-disposition=inline%3B%20filename%3DThe_Intellectual_Conquest_of_the_Orinoco.pdf.

life in that state any by arguing that to escape these inconveniences, individuals delegate some of the power derived from their natural rights to the exclusive use of a civil government. It then identifies the powers so delegated to conclude that a government that exercises these powers *and only these powers* is morally justified.³⁷⁵

By identifying the “state of nature” with cannibalism, anarchy, and such images of Amazonia and indigenous peoples on a larger scale through major conceptual othering, European states and their colonial projects sought to gain legitimacy and become charged with seeking to create institutions that in essence were laying the groundwork for a state-centric and later ideologically or rhetorically “liberal” re-fashioning of the Papal bulls mentioned above such as *Dum Diversas*. . . Indeed, these institutions and governments were therefore necessary to address the “problems” of this supposed natural state that left individuals such as Staden vulnerable to indigenous systems many neither respected nor sought to understand more fully, except where this information might prove profitable. While many ideas would be carried across the Atlantic in the wake of Columbus, it would be those traditions or methods, which increased profits that became most officially (and unofficially) monumentalized in the expanded mercantile and later classic liberal capitalism of the period.

The ideas unleashed by this comparison of governments, natural rights, rationality, and the scientific revolution would ultimately bring about two principal impacts upon the history of Amazonia, which also demonstrates the way in which ideas are selectively appropriated and refashioned. The first impact is that the quests for natural rights, eventually human rights, and even ecological rights would undermine the colonial regimes and demonstrate greater historical evidence that people could fashion societies where Europeans could not. Their stories also

³⁷⁵ Paul, Ellen Frankel., Fred D. Miller, and Jeffrey Paul. *Natural Rights Liberalism from Locke to Nozick*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005. Pg. 112

provided numerous examples that people did not *need* to be ruled from above. Such revelations would eventually contribute to movements for democracy, independence, and “self-determination”³⁷⁶ as these ideas would help to destroy the control of monarchical regimes over Amazonia. Thus, telling these stories can be revolutionary acts because they teach people to question assumptions and to imagine different futures.

The second impact of the ideas unleashed by the “state of nature” and ultimately the “age of reason” are how these ideas have been utilized to aid in evangelization, urbanization, and colonization along with how these would change once the national state came into being. For instance, education would be utilized to further these projects by church, state, and companies. Urbanization and settler colonialism would take route in central Amazonia for the first time and form the nuclei of many cities in Amazonia today such as Belem, Iquitos, Manaus, and Yurimaguas. The next chapter will explore this monumentalism by cultural selection in greater detail as this began the process of ecological transformation and destruction of Amazonia, which today are rapidly increasing and altering the region on an alarming scale that likely never experienced in human memory. The following chapter describes some of the particular ways the colonial state would begin to attempt to integrate Amazonia into the apparatus of the early modern global system and some of the ways this impacted Amazonia’s people, ecologies, and image in popular historical consciousness. Briefly however, the final section of this chapter will explain how more recently, the Amazon river came to be associated with Amazonia as well as how this impacts the understanding of this region in this work.

Part VIII: 1608 – Present, From River to Region: Locating Amazonia Today

³⁷⁶ This chapter will not go into great detail on this subject, but for more information this concept from a recent perspective, see: Knop, Karen. *Diversity and Self-determination in International Law*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Thus far, we have had an expansive view of impacts over a wide geographical space not often directly associated with the Amazon River shares many cultural and conceptual connections. It turns out that there are many geographical connections as well that contribute to the conceptual enlargement of Amazonian space. Over time, the name of the main channel of the Amazon River began to be equated with the area surrounding its banks linguistically by the attaching of the “ia” suffix to the word Amazon and in Greek taking on the meaning “land of the Amazons.”³⁷⁷ In doing so, the term has at present become applied not just to this culture (likely) imagined by Carvajal, nor to specific national claims that divide the specific waterways of the river, but rather to the entire basin which gives rise to and nourishes the main channel of the river.

While the transference of the name Amazonia to the basin may seem uncomplicated, but upon closer inquiry, defining this area in a part of the world where water levels fluctuate sometimes in the tens of feet makes actually applying the task in any empirical fashion extremely difficult. For instance, in the Amazon water reigns and is difficult to confine or represent on a map, since such seasonal changes alter the boundaries of this particular and basin covers a huge area. Indeed, many of the Amazon’s accompanying tributaries are many times geographically larger and contain greater volumes of water than many of the largest rivers of Europe and other areas of the globe.³⁷⁸ Across this gigantic space, the extension of the Amazon incorporated many different environments, were not exactly identical with the hot misty tropical rainforests of imagination. According to scholars such as David Clearly, an anthropologist who has written on the environmental history of the region, the region Amazonia contains a wide array of

³⁷⁷ Similar examples to this include: Mesopotamia, “land between the rivers,” Ethiopia, “land of the burnt faced ones,” Germania, or Anglia, “land of the Germans and Angels” respectively. I have not as of yet been able to find the first instance of “Amazonia” in the historiography.

³⁷⁸ Aikhenval, Alexandra Y. *The Languages of the Amazon*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. Pg. 2

ecosystems including vast plains and wetlands that often flood and become swamps during the rainy season.³⁷⁹

To imagine the true scope of this conceptual space becomes even more difficult, when upon examining the extent of the Amazonian “basin,” it is apparent that there are important connections between the main channel Pinzón first encountered and christened Mar Dulce in 1500, and other South American river systems such as the Orinoco and Río de la Plata. This assertion may at first glance appear ridiculous. However, upon closer inspection, it becomes apparent that there are major cultural, economic, historiographical and geographical reasons for integrating these riverine systems along with others such as Colombia’s Río Magdalena. The connections with El Dorado above demonstrated just a small part of such important connections over time. Therefore, Amazonian space may need to be acknowledged and perhaps enlarged conceptually to encompass a wider trans-Andean (or at least) trans-basin geographical and cultural space.³⁸⁰ For instance, David Cleary explains:

In theory, with good timing and patience, a small canoe could travel from the Orinoco estuary to the mouth of the Río de la Plata, one of the few journeys apparently never made by some crazed adventurer. These connections are not mere geographical curiosities. However, we know of the existence of such routes and that these formed the basis of an extensive system of trade routes prior to the sixteenth century that linked the Amazon to the Orinoco, the Caribbean, and the Andes.³⁸¹

³⁷⁹ For more on debates related to the contestation of Amazonian space, See: Cleary, David. "Towards an Environmental History of the Amazon: From Prehistory to the Nineteenth Century." *Latin American Research Review* 36, no. 2 (2001): 64-96. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2692088>. And *Amazonian Floodplain Forests: Ecophysiology, Biodiversity and Sustainable Management*. Berlin: Springer Netherland, 2010.

³⁸⁰ For more on the history of conceptual divisions between Andes and Amazon, See: Bertazoni Martins, Christiana. "Antisuyu: An Investigation of Inca Attitudes to Their Western Amazonian Territories." Diss., University of Essex, 2007.

³⁸¹ Cleary, David. "Towards an Environmental History of the Amazon: From Prehistory to the Nineteenth Century." *Latin American Research Review* 36, no. 2 (2001): 64-96. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2692088>. And *Amazonian*

In other words, the pre-colonial Amazonian world was artificially narrowed and obscured by European dominated monumentalism through elements such as cartography and a historiography that was shaped by individuals and institutions that were concerned primarily with profit and were not particularly concerned about maintaining all of the intricacies in the structures of the cultures they sought to dominate and to integrate into their own imperial systems.

Moreover, we can find multiple instances of historical precedent for consciously diverting the Amazon from its main channel even during the colonial period. We have seen such examples in the early historiography of the period. For instance, Medina (who again wrote extensively on the historiographical problem of imagining Amazonia) provides one example when he came across a particular legal case that occurred in 1604. In a document, one Fernando de Oruña y de la Hoz “styles himself governor and captain-general for the King our master in these provinces of El Dorado,³⁸² Guyana, and Gran Manoa, a land *which lies between two rivers Pauto and Papaamena*, which under other names are called the Orinoco and the Marañón.”³⁸³ This reveals just one instance of the conceptual incorporation of the region from Venezuela to the Island of Marajó in the Amazonian estuary (along with the ever moving El Dorado) further

Floodplain Forests: Ecophysiology, Biodiversity and Sustainable Management. Berlin: Springer Netherland, 2010. Pg. 66

³⁸² El Dorado, has often been considered to exist in and be equated with the geocultural area we have come to call the Amazon. For more on Guiana especially during this period in the Anglophone historiography, See: Raleigh, Walter, and Neil L. Whitehead. *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana*. Manchester [England: Manchester University Presss, 1997. And Burnett, D. Graham. *Masters of All They Surveyed: Exploration, Geography, and a British El Dorado*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000. And Livi, Bacci Massimo. *El Dorado in the Marshes Gold, Slaves and Souls between the Andes and the Amazon*. Cambridge: Polity, 2010.

³⁸³ Carvajal, Gaspar De, Zavala José Toribio Medina, Bertram T. . Lee, and Harry Clifton Heaton. *The Discovery of the Amazon According to the Account of Friar Gaspar De Carvajal and Other Documents*. New York: American Geographical Society, 1934. Pg 162 This Fernando de Oruña y de la Hoz may have been successful. Around the same time high ranking figures in this area with the names that may reveal a famial link?: Don Fernando de Berrio y Oruña and Don Francisco de la Hoz y Berrio were gobernadores of Santo Tomé de Guyana (modern Ciudad Bolivar) and Caracas (1622) respectively, are described in: Florez, De Ocariz, Juan., and De Buendía, José Fernández. *Libro Primero De Las Genealogias Del Nueuo Reyno De Granada ...* Madrid, 1674. Pps. 288, 319

into Amazonia and demonstrates that at certain moments the boundaries were (excuse the bad pun) rather fluid.

The enlargement of Amazonia's limits in short has been advocated by numerous figures throughout the Amazonian historiography. More recently, this has been argued by some leading contemporary geographers and archaeologists, and anthropologists of Amazonia such as William Denevan in *Cultivated Landscapes of Native Amazonia and the Andes: Triumph over the Soil*. Published in 2001, this work analyzes "farming" techniques in areas such as the Llanos de Moxos in the Bolivian Amazon.³⁸⁴ These instances further contest the images many people often have of Amazonians as noble savages who passively endured for millennia before the arrival of Europeans.

Even David Clearly's initially jarring claim of incorporating the Rio de la Plata into Amazonia can be demonstrated numerous times within the colonial historiography. Indeed, Jose Toribio Medina, the same 19th century Chilean historian, who wrote on the historical changes to the name of the Amazon, explained that at certain times, important colonial agents perceived a connection between these often divided river systems. In just one example, "made up by the House of Trade in Seville from reports by the Chief Pilot, the professor of cosmography, and other persons concerning the Marañón, it is worthy of notice that they all maintain that the Marañón is a river distinct from the Amazon, and that one of them even states that these two rivers are arms of the River Plate!"³⁸⁵ This reveals that the historiography of the Amazon could conceptually move far outside of the basin or even the tropics and toward the more temperate

³⁸⁴ Denevan, William M. *Cultivated Landscapes of Native Amazonia and the Andes: Triumph over the Soil*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2001.

³⁸⁵ Footnote by Medina, Carvajal, Gaspar De, Zavala José Toribio Medina, Bertram T. . Lee, and Harry Clifton Heaton. *The Discovery of the Amazon According to the Account of Friar Gaspar De Carvajal and Other Documents*. New York: American Geographical Society, 1934. Pg 162

environments of the South Atlantic. What then could we surmise to be the extent of Amazonia at the end of this chapter?

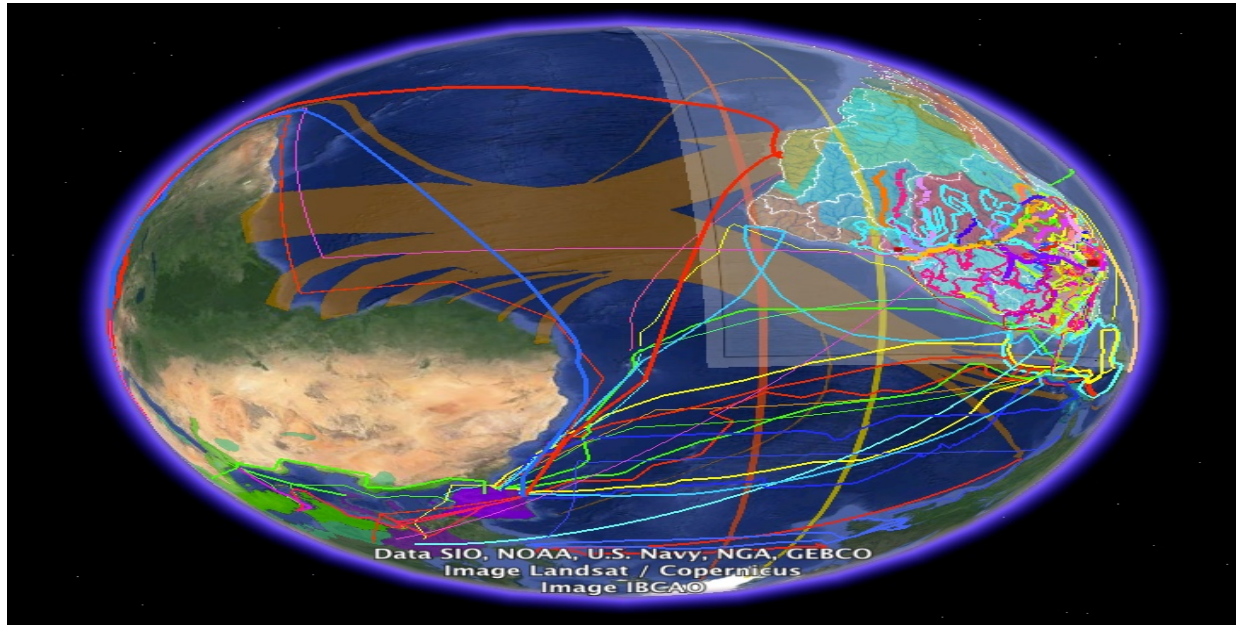


Figure 2.35: Amazonia During the Early Colonial Period 1492- 1600, Compiled by Deavenport, J. December 2016

The image above is a visualization of Amazonia if extended into the Caribbean and toward the pampas, the Andes and the Atlantic, revealing that this area was simultaneous similar to and extremely unlike other geocultural areas of the world like that of the Mediterranean. The visualization also demonstrates early voyages, the natural and pre-existing societies of Amazonia as well as the influx of enslaved people from Africa. More research must be complete in order to appreciate the scope of interaction within and beyond Amazonia. However, this image reveals the great extent of connections and networks that Amazonia would become woven into during the colonial period with broad implications for today.

Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to describe monumentalism by cultural selection of particular ideas that played a role in shaping Amazonian history and which would begin to have impacts across the region during the early colonial period, roughly encompassing the 16th century. This chapter then went on to describe how such accounts created particular visions of Amazonian that contributed to other colonial endeavors, which did not see the successful integration of this space firmly into Iberian or Habsburg control. To firmly situate this struggle within a global context, one section explored how accounts of the Americas and Amazonia came into the possession of the Ottoman Empire, how the myth of El Dorado would lead to many abysmal and ultimately unsuccessful expeditions in search of lost cities. Later, the chapter examined how this image was contrasted with and related to ideas of cannibalism, and how this label played a role in destabilizing monarchical colonization by European powers.

Finally, this chapter has explored historiography related to how the name “Amazon” came to be applied to the main channel, and then to the basin of the Amazonian River system more broadly. I have also provided numerous examples, which demonstrate that the idea of the Amazon has been and continues to be contested in the historiography. Ultimately, this chapter examines Amazonia space covering pre-colonial Caribbean-South American networks connecting riverine and maritime interaction and how this image increasingly became restricted to the area around the Amazon River.

The second part of the final section examines both historical and contemporary debates that challenge the often basin-bound image, which is important for a greater understanding of a larger historiography that begins to view the entirety of the Amazonian world beyond the Amazon River. My hope is that in raising such questions, the historiography of this area may begin to refashion a more historically accurate vision of the Amazonian past. Indeed, by fully

appreciating the scope of interaction and accomplishments of the ancestors of contemporary Amazonian peoples, we may start to challenge some of the fundamental degrading assumptions projected onto the people and history of this region so that the world might come to respect the remarkable discoveries of Amazonian cultures. In the end, this project is increasingly vital to accomplish before this important area of the planet is forever altered through the continued imposition of contemporary global economic and cultural hegemonic formations, which unfortunately continuously threatens Amazonian space and communities with ecocide and ethnocide.

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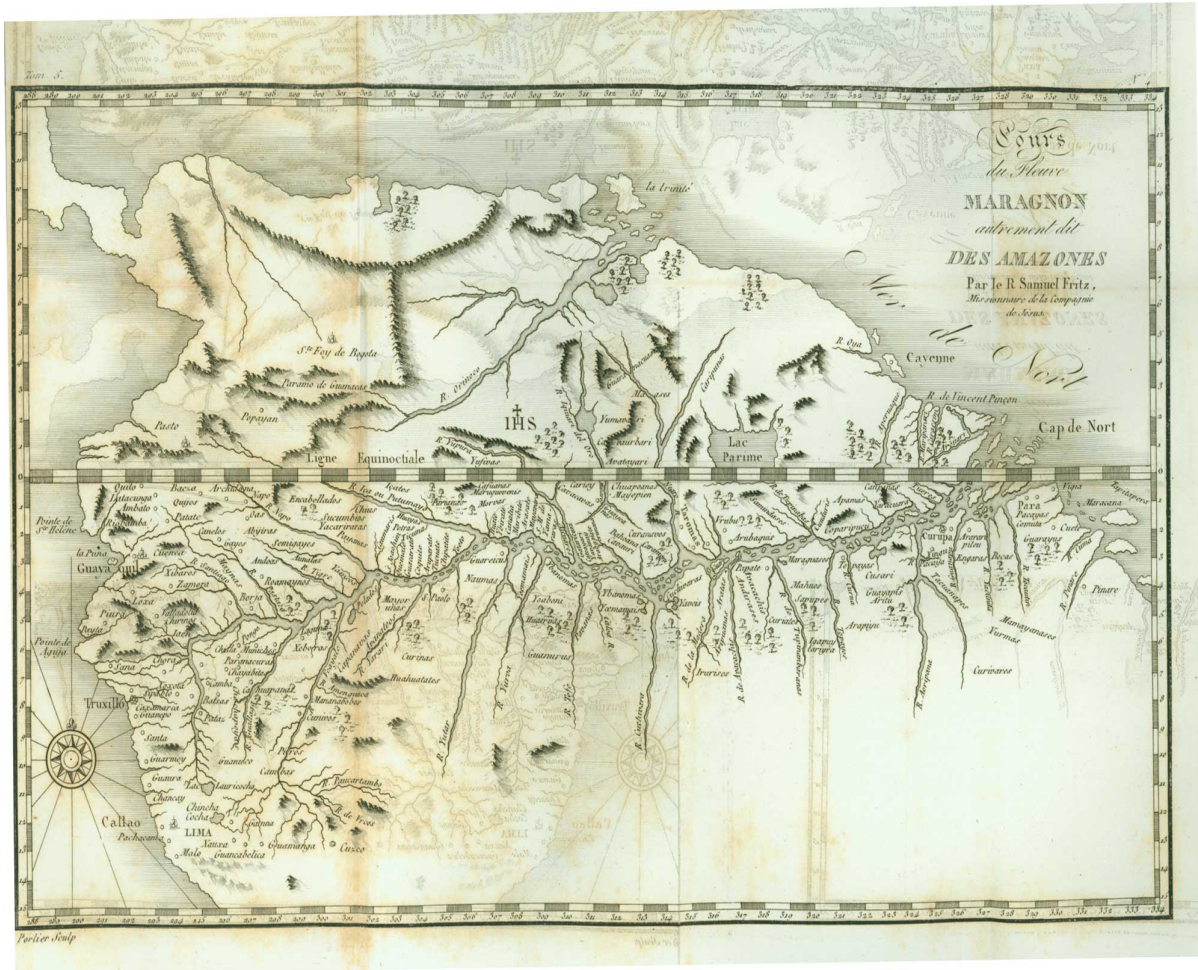
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Chapter 3 Crossing Imaginary Lines: The Monumentalism of Forced Labor, Enslavement, Resistance, and Some of the Many Endeavors for Spiritual and Temporal Conquest in the Selvas of Amazonia



By James Deavenport³⁸⁶

³⁸⁶ Source of Map: Fritz, Samuel. "Maragnon Autrement Dit Des Amazones Par Le R. Samuel Fritz, Missionnaire De La Compagnie De Jesus from Lettres Edifiantes Et Curieuses (Lyon, 1819)." Omeka RSS. Accessed June 13, 2013. <http://www.lib.luc.edu/specialcollections/items/show/132>.

Human solidarity manifests not only in a spatial dimension – that is, in the space shared by all peoples of the world – but also in a temporal dimension – that is, among the generations who succeeded each other in the time, taking the past, present and future altogether... It is the notion of human solidarity, understood in this wide dimension, and never that of State sovereignty, [upon] which lies... the basis of the whole contemporary thinking on the rights inherent to the human being. - International Court of Justice Judge Antônio Augusto Cançado Trindade, 2000

Introduction

Following the initial conceptualizing of the Amazon and early unsuccessful attempts to secure its wealth and establish colonies, by the Welsers, Pizarro, and Raleigh described in the previous chapter, the Amazon is generally seen to have become a colonial “backwater.” While Amazonia did not see the investment of Perú or Mexico, colonization efforts *were* underway that link directly with the expansion of contemporary urban settlements. In a *longue durée* view,³⁸⁷ this chapter discusses some of the many roots of how this long “threshold moment” of colonization began the process by which many of today’s national borders and urban spaces were conceived and are linked through the collapse of history. This chapter also continues the larger work’s aim of examining events here as part of a larger historical process of *monumentalism* by cultural selection.³⁸⁸ This argument is presented over the course of five parts.

Part I: International Amazonia? The Struggle to Control the Amazon River and its Peoples, describes how different European powers competed over the region. This pays attention to the expansion of Portuguese settlements from around 1600 – 1767 CE and how the breakdown

³⁸⁷ For more on the concept of the “*longue durée*,” see: Lee, Richard E., and Immanuel Maurice Wallerstein. *The Longue Durée and World-systems Analysis*. Albany, NY: Suny Press, 2012. for more on the collapse of history, see chapter 1 or intro to this dissertation

³⁸⁸ Here, *monumentalism* is understood as a historical process through which certain “monuments” essentially ideas, expressed through physical structures, traditions, or ways of being emerge from particular environments and are selected or imbued with significance. Such constructions are variably adopted through affinity, circumstance and evangelizing, or are imposed through domination. Conversely, others are abandoned and lose significance, or are demolished. Over time, these “monuments” or traditions are selectively maintained, refashioned, or incorporated further into historical consciousness, thus shaping both the human and natural histories of areas around the world.

of the Iberian Union (1580 – 1640) contributed to the particular development of Amazonia and transformed it into a space where inter-imperial rivalries would continue to play a role in the history of colonization along the main channel of the Amazon River. While it discusses rivalries between the Iberian powers, it also describes tensions with the English, Irish, Dutch, French, and others. Finally, this part examines how the role of *bandeirantes* or Portuguese-sponsored/tolerated agents who enslaved native people as part of a sustained policy of settler-colonialism and state expansion in part through the appropriation and refashioning of legal/cultural antecedents mentioned in the previous chapter. This section is vital to understanding as these stresses contributed to producing the conditions that facilitated the establishment of missions or *reducciones*, which remain the nuclei of many contemporary Amazonian urban spaces. Finally, this section also discusses the methods and implications of monumentalizing traditions of domination.

Part II: Governor Vaca de la Vega, San Francisco de Borja, and The Early Colonization of Mainas, focuses on some of the impacts of efforts to impose the colonial regime within the upper Amazon. Along the main course of upper or Andean Amazonia following the waters of the Napo or Huallaga in Ecuador and Perú, to Manaus in what is today Brazil, the Jesuits and the indigenous they sought to “convert,” began a colonial relationship based upon the claim that the Jesuits were creating a particular vision of a utopian religious, state, economic, and cultural project of “civilizational and spiritual development.” The Maynas Reducciones directly linked this area of Amazonia to the ancestor of the contemporary global economy and to the profound social, cultural, and ecological changes altering Amazonia today³⁸⁹. Roughly, this era dates between 1618, when the “capital” of the region was founded at San Francisco de Borja below the

³⁸⁹ Often alternatively, called Mainas.

Pongo de Manseriche (a pass on the Río Marañón linking Maynas to the Andes), ending when the Jesuits began their work in 1636-8. The order would remain in the area until the expulsion of the Society of Jesus from Spanish lands in 1767.³⁹⁰ This section also discusses the notion of violence, othering and how both Amazonians and colonizer negotiated these boundaries. This is particularly important because “failures” of these early colonization attempts directly facilitated the state supporting the attempted “spiritual conquest” of Maynas by *La Compañía de Jesus* (the Jesuit order).

In order to understand Part III: The Cross and the Canoe - The Society of Jesus, Globalization, and the Ideologies “Constructing” the Missions of Maynas, this part of the chapter covers the cultural ecology from which the Jesuit order was created. In essence, major ideas that drove it to be involved in the desire to refashion Amazonian peoples into catholic subjects of the Spanish crown. This is vital to distinguish the types of Christian/European ideas, practices, outlooks, and ideologies were evangelized by the order in the *selvas* of Maynas. This section especially looks at the Jesuit impacts upon indigenous culture and ecology throughout the colonial period and how legal and spiritual precedents such as *Dum Diversas* (discussed in chapter 2) were refashioned to facilitate the movement of indigenous groups including the Cocama, the Omaguas, the Urarinas, and the Yurimaguas into Spanish reducciones commonly described as “missions.” In such sections, it must be understood that the reducciones had a major impact on everything from ecology to trade and international relations. Indeed, by necessity and design, the missions of Maynas were required to play numerous roles beyond solely their

³⁹⁰ Some of the Jesuits may have stayed in Maynas until 1768 or managed to stay on longer. For more on the foundation of Borja, See: Figueroa, Francisco De. *Relación De Las Misiones De La Compañía De Jesús En El País De Los Maynas*. Calle De Preciados Núm 48, Madrid: Librería General De Victoriano Suarez, 1904. Pg. 23 and for the Jesuits in general, See: O'Malley, John W. *The First Jesuits*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993. And González, Ondina E., and Justo L. González. *Christianity in Latin America: A History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008. Pg. 117.

spiritual capacity. The missions would maintain such functions simultaneously and could (depending on the occasion) represent sites of refuge, surveillance, enslavement, and execution, along with education, communication, abuse, violence, and exchange.

Historiographical narratives and primary documents generally agree that following the initial “expeditions” or raiding parties in search of El Dorado and the Omaguas that the next major phase of colonization began with the establishment of the Jesuit missions in the province of Maynas and again the Omaguas would play a pivotal role in the history of this attempt at spiritual conquest. To examine how this process is linked to monumentalism by cultural selection, Part IV: “To Make Fruitful”—The Transformation of Maynas in the Age of the Jesuits, 1618-1767, explores the monumentalism of particular collective historical memories, which facilitated colonization the experiences surrounding the Jesuit entry into Maynas. This section argues that the early modern attempts of “spiritual conquest” undertaken by the Jesuits functioned as a utopian project that sought to impose colonial state and Catholic Church structures-including old world lifeways and ideologies-upon indigenous peoples. Paradoxically, such impositions both violated (and sought to acknowledge and protect) indigenous rights. The missions were consequently, utopian institutions based on universal notions of humanity along with this particular refashioning of earlier “othering” schemes and monumentalized conceptual frameworks dating to the Iberian *reconquista* and Habsburg rivalry with the Ottomans and with the Protestant Reformation.

Practically, such monumentalism was achieved through the selection, promotion and/or denigration of cultural, linguistic, and spiritual ideas that the Jesuits and the state both believed were vitally needed to represent positive alternatives to Christianity, thus representing a natural “evil” associated with native Amazonian peoples and space that had already begun to be altered

since the Columbian voyages (also described in detail in the previous chapter). This part of the chapter also seeks to describe such processes linked to historical notions of “humanity” (including what defines “acceptable” ways of being) and to relate these to fundamental questions of “rights” that were evolving during this period surrounding the “European Enlightenment.” Such ideas constituted the moral and legal prerequisites that justified the colonial project and the conversion of Amazonian souls and bodies that will be analyzed in further detail below. However, acknowledging and seeking to center the agency of native Amazonians, this work includes perspectives considering how indigenous peoples have intimately resisted and influenced their interactions with the Jesuits, and the history of the Maynas Missions.

The missions—while often abandoned, unknown, or beneath modern settlements today function simultaneously as sites of memory and forgetting. For people who lived through them, the missions (like many spaces of contention) provided widely variable situations where people experienced both horror and kindness. Life in the missions, were for some a utopian vision of the future to be embraced and for others a dystopian nightmare. For many however, experiences within the Jesuit missions of Maynas existed somewhere within a spectrum of interactions, which occupy the space individuals carve out between such narrow binaries. Ultimately despite the diversity of experiences, the missions represent sites that reveal the resiliency of Amazonian peoples, and the remarkable determination of a great number of individuals, groups, as well as the inter-ethnic alliances created to maintain and refashion the integrity of indigenous cultures in the face of immense forces seeking the continued subjugation and silence of Amazonians through time.

Such links explored through the chapter also reveal the “collapse of history”³⁹¹ through the continuing resistance by contemporary indigenous peoples protesting the widespread exploitation and destruction of Amazonia. Indeed, today, Amazonia and its peoples are in the midst of one of the most important cultural and ecological transformations in the region’s history, which in upper Amazonia, can be traced materially to the establishment of these Maynas missions. The immediate impacts exist within a broad (and often confounding) range between despair in the face of previously unimaginable deforestation and desertification of the Amazon, and optimistic strands of hope that can be seen through the genesis of new forms of democratic participation.

Such movements are demanding increasing acknowledgement for greater conservation and more sustainable growth in order to ensure the future of this unique part of the planet. While organizations such as *Asociación Interétnica de Desarrollo de la Selva Peruana*³⁹² (AIDSESP)³⁹³ continue struggling to maintain their historically collective (and less destructive) management of the forest, the combination of ecocide and ethnocide that are the results of monocropping, urbanization, and nationalization dangerously continue to threaten both the cultural and biological diversity of Amazonia.³⁹⁴ It is hoped that this chapter may contribute in some fashion to the collective documentation of this important period in Amazonian history in

³⁹¹ As explained in the first chapter, the notion is in part informed by a growing conception of time as existing through “the collapse of history.” This describes how moments separated by centuries or millennia along more traditional conceptions of historical time can collapse around a singularity of time and space so that through historical consciousness and memory, people create a connection that cognitively constructs a link joining these seemingly disparate periods into a singular historical moment and is in part rooted in seeking to understand history taking into account new discoveries and notions of cosmology demonstrated (on at least my part) through Christian, David. *Maps of Time: An Introduction to Big History*. Berkeley: University of California, 2004. Print. and Einstein’s theory of general relativity, Einstein, Albert. *Relativity: The Special and General Theory*. University of Michigan and Henry Holt and, 1920. Print.

³⁹² Selva essentially translates to “Jungle” in English

³⁹³ For more on AIDSESP, See: "Aidesepepe | Aidesepepe, Aidesepepe, Pueblos Indígenas Amazónicos Del Perú. (Indigenous Amazonian Peoples of Perú)." Aidesepepepe. Accessed May 17, 2013. <http://www.aidesepepepe/>.

³⁹⁴ Though this contemporary push for greater democracy and autonomy will not make much of an appearance in this dissertation, I am currently researching this process for publication in the relatively near future.

order for outsiders to better understand the connections between projects encouraging ecocide and ethnocide through time.³⁹⁵ Overall, the chapter draws from a wide range of archival material such as primary texts, ethnography and archaeology where applicable. The chapter also takes secondary literature into account including historical analysis and intellectual history/philosophy. Finally, it is hoped that this chapter may in some fashion contribute to a growing chorus of voices finally acknowledging the historical discoveries, actions, and resistance of Amazonian peoples.

Part I: International Amazonia? The Struggle to Control the Amazon River and its Peoples

In order to situate the rise and implications of the Jesuits in Maynas, it is important to first describe some of the global contexts, which helps frame the involvement of the order in Amazonia. Monumentalism by cultural selection helps to explain the ways in which competing European powers (especially the Dutch, English, French, and Irish) would challenge Habsburg, and later both Spanish and Portuguese control over the central channel of the Amazon River (and Brazil more broadly). While the ability to hold territory was significant, exerting domination or influence over particular Amazonian groups (especially Tupí) as well as people of African descent to exploit their labor in the early 1600s would ultimately become the most important factor to sustaining colonial control.

The historian John Hemming covers this terrible process in great detail in his book, *Red Gold: The Conquest of the Brazilian Indians*. In this work, Hemming quotes the Jesuit António

³⁹⁵ One broad overview of this process can be seen at: Wallace, Written By Scott. "Amazon Rain Forest, Deforestation, Forest Conservation - National Geographic Magazine." National Geographic. Accessed July 21, 2017. <http://environment.nationalgeographic.com/environment/habitats/last-of-amazon/#page=1>. For another source concerning this topic, see: Mendes, Chico. "Chapter 12.3 – Deforestation in the Brazilian Amazon." Deforestation in the Brazilian Amazon - Biological and Environmental Hazards, Risks, and Disasters - Chapter 12.3. November 20, 2015. Accessed July 21, 2017. <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/B9780123948472000218>.

Vieira who later explained, that in 1656 “ransoms” of individuals from “cannibalism” by fierce tribes and “mining operations” were really just euphemisms for continuing the practice of enslaving Amazonian peoples by Portuguese sanctioned expeditions, arguing that their “true purpose was to capture Indians: to draw from their veins the red gold which has always been the mine of that province!”³⁹⁶ This practice ultimately helped depopulate the central Amazonian River channel and would then provide the expanding basis for the image of the Amazon as an empty place without history.



Figure 3.1: South America Around 1600 With Various Colonial Powers. Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., Spring 2017

The image above is based on a compilation but also relies principally on *Philips Atlas of World History*, a popularly available online source.³⁹⁷ This reveals some of the geographic scope of competition for colonial control over Amazonia in the early 1600s. Spanish influence is

³⁹⁶ Hemming, John. *Red Gold: The Conquest of the Brazilian Indians*. London: MacMillan, 1978.

³⁹⁷ "Philips' Atlas of World History." *Philips' Atlas of World History*. 2005. Accessed March 22, 2017.

<https://archive.org/stream/AtlasWorldHistory#page/n121/mode/2up/search/Spanish+and+Portuguese+America>. Pg. 121

represented in blue, Portuguese influence is highlighted in green, while Dutch Brazil and Guyana are represented in light orange. Meanwhile, French Cayenne (1615 – 1654) is highlighted in yellow as the major Amazonian river systems are indicated by different colors. This demonstrates that during the early 17th century, there were numerous attempts to secure the area and deprive Iberia from controlling the Amazonian interior. Such struggles would contribute to the particular way in which these colonial regimes would utilize the land and labor of Amazonians, impacting the ecology of the region as well.

In addition to space and the bodies of enslaved individuals, these European powers continued to appropriate and refashion a number of colonization methods, for instance the Habsburg model of financing colonial schemes by granting monopolies, a practice first employed by the Iberian powers, in tandem with legal justifications by arguing for freedom of the seas. One specific legal example of this process appeared in the work of a famous Dutch legal scholar named Hugo Grotius, whose 1609, *Mare Liberum*, forcefully argued for free navigation, though this would not become the general legal standard until the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. Advocating for this legal principle effectively voided the 1494 Tordesillas Treaty granting Spain and Portugal exclusive privileges in the Atlantic and Indian Oceans with national monopolies, thus paving the way for terrestrial colonization and the exploitation of indigenous peoples.

Rivals of the Habsburgs would appropriate and refashion Grotius' argument, which had specifically been created in order to justify the maritime challenge presented by the Dutch Republic, specifically their right to both interrupt and compete with the Iberian trade monopolies. The Dutch would fight for their independence from Habsburg (Spanish) rule between the 1560s

and 1648.³⁹⁸ Religious differences would help to appropriate and refashion earlier these legal frameworks while the Protestant Reformation,³⁹⁹ which created a schism within western Christian polities, became yet another reason for the Dutch and English to challenge Catholic and Iberian control of the seas.

The same year that *Mare Liberum* was published, 1609, the Dutch would establish a fort just upriver from the great mouth of the Amazon River, named Mariocai (today Santo Antônio do Gurupá). This fort would then be used as a center to gather and distribute tropical goods for both Dutch and international markets including commodities such as sugarcane, and cacao. As late as 1647, the Dutch attempted to retake the fort, understanding the area's strategic potential to impact the control of traffic down the main channel of the Amazon.⁴⁰⁰ In 1627 the colony of Berbice was founded in Dutch Guyana, and in 1639 Jodensavanne or "Jewish Savanna," was a Jewish settler-plantation colony that eventually took root in the relative religious freedom of the Dutch colony. It would survive with limited growth but after almost two centuries was destroyed in a slave uprising in 1832.⁴⁰¹

Another particular colonization attempt that can act as an example of this process beyond the main river channel occurred against the Iberians' nominally co-religionists, the Catholic

³⁹⁸ For more on the Dutch Revolt, See: 't Hart, Marjolein. *The Dutch Wars of Independence: Warfare and Commerce in the Netherlands 1570-1680*. Routledge, 2014.

https://books.google.com/books?id=xf3pAgAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false.

³⁹⁹ While this chapter will not examine the Protestant Reformation, see: 't Hart, [not SIC] Marjolein. *The Dutch Wars of Independence. Warfare and Commerce in the Netherlands 1570-1680*. Andover: Routledge, 2014. and Armitage, David. *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2009.

⁴⁰⁰ For more on this "fort" see: Unknown. "Fortalezas.org Fortification Forte De Santo Antnio De Gurup." *Fortalezas.org Fortification Forte De Santo Antnio De Gurup*. Accessed March 23, 2017. http://fortalezas.org/index.php?ct=fortaleza&id_fortaleza=205. And Hemming, John. *Red Gold: The Conquest of the Brazilian Indians*. London: MacMillan, 1978.

⁴⁰¹ Vink, Wieke. *Creole Jews: Negotiating Community in Colonial Suriname*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2010. https://books.google.com/books?id=obFiAAAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false.

French. The later would set up the *France Antarctique* colony in Brazil. This colony, which lasted from 1555-1567 in what is now Rio de Janeiro, was populated by many French Huguenots (or French Protestants). This group made up the principal European settler population. Though they were expelled, another endeavor to colonize the north named *Equinoctial France* (this time with Catholic settlers) took shape between 1612—1615, founding what is today São Luís, Maranhão after the French king, Louis XIII and Saint Louis (IX, King of France).⁴⁰²

A look to the lower Amazon River provides yet another example of how culturally selected ideas concerning Amazonia had taken hold. Indeed, while Sir Walter Raleigh's various attempts to colonize the Orinoco and Guyanas had failed, the stories of El Dorado and the desire to establish bases by which states could create cash crop economies included among them an attempt to establish Anglo-Irish control over the north channel at the Amazonian estuary under Bernard O'Brien.⁴⁰³ Along with French and Dutch contestation of Amazonia, there was even an attempt to create a colony with a few hundred Irish settlers.⁴⁰⁴

⁴⁰² For more on the brief history of French occupation, see: Francis, John Michael, ed. *Iberia and the Americas*. Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO, 2006.

⁴⁰³ For more on O'Brien and the Anglo-Irish initiative more broadly, see: Lorimer, Joyce. *English and Irish Settlement on the River Amazon 1550-1646*. Vol. Volume 171. Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society, Hakluyt Society. London: Hakluyt Society, 1989.

⁴⁰⁴ For more on this process, see chapter 11, "Anarchy on the Amazon," Hemming, John. *Red Gold: The Conquest of the Brazilian Indians*. London: MacMillan, 1978. King Louis XIII r. 1610 - 1643 and King Louis IX r. 1226 - 1270

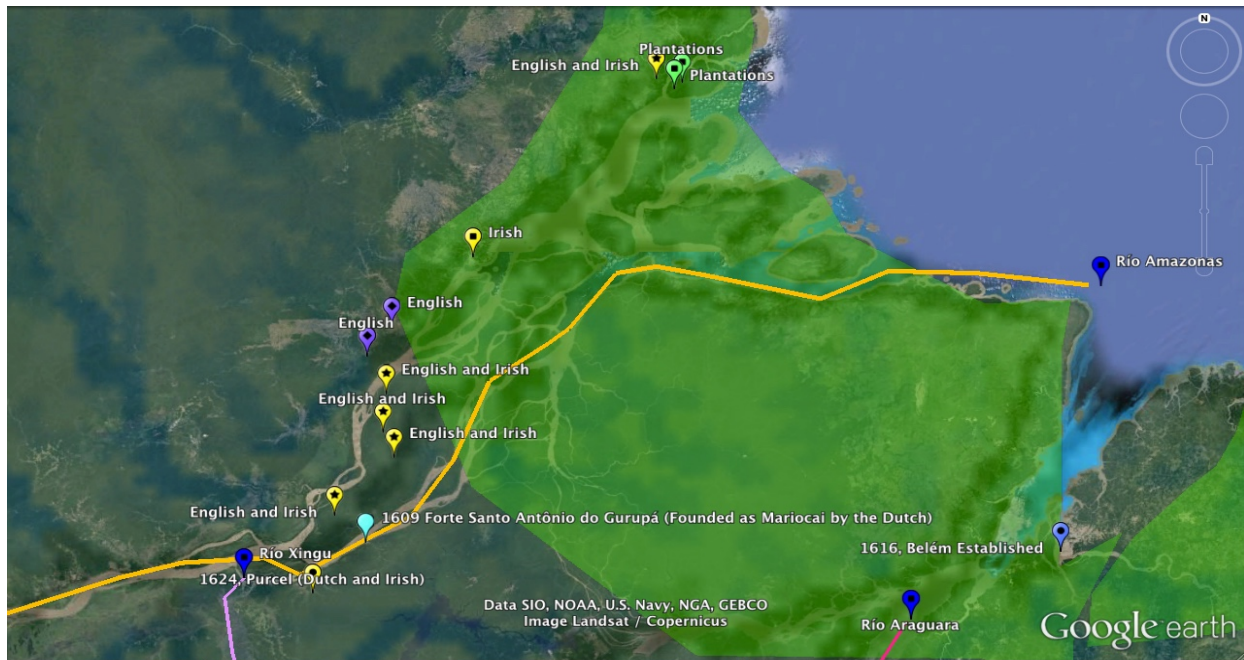


Figure 3.2: Anglo-Irish, Dutch, and Portuguese Attempts to Colonize Lower Amazonia in the early 1600s. Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., Spring 2017

The image above visualizes areas of the Amazonian estuary and the island of Marajó (in green) to show the general influence of the Portuguese who had established themselves in Belém do Pará in 1619 (a blue placemark indicates the city's location and founding year).⁴⁰⁵ Belém is situated on the south shore of the southern channel of the Amazon River that flows into the nearby Atlantic. While it was technically in Spanish territory according to the Tordesillas treaty, the Iberian Union (1580 -1640) ensured that no actual resistance by Spain would dislodge the Portuguese from Belém. Meanwhile, Anglo-Irish, English, and Dutch forts and even plantations are shown (in yellow, purple, and light blue respectively). These indicate that from 1609 to the 1630s, control over the northern branch of the Amazon River channel could be subject to conflict between these competing imperial projects. While these may appear close to us, it is important to

⁴⁰⁵ For one popularly available source for the Anglo-Irish and Dutch intrusions into Amazonia used to create figure 2, see: Unknown. "European Settlements in the Lower Amazon and River Para 1624-5." *Links Between Brazil & Ireland / Ligações Entre Brasil E Irlanda*. 2004-2009, 2011. Accessed March 7, 2017. <http://gogobrazil.com/amazonmap.jpg>.

remember that Marajó Island separating the Portuguese and Anglo-Irish/Dutch spheres is around the same size as the Netherlands today. The Dutch would remain a presence in Brazil until 1654 when Portuguese control was solidified further.

The aftermath of the Portuguese-Dutch War (1602 -1654) led to the formal re-annexation of Dutch Brazil into the Portuguese realm. This was seen as greatly aided locally when Portuguese militias gained military dominance under the command of one Pedro de Teixeira. While Portuguese commanders like Teixeira received the credit for military service and was eventually named *Capitão-mor*⁴⁰⁶ in reality, it was the many Amazonian “allies” who did the actual fighting, rowing, planting, and who experienced the greatest amount of violence from all sides. Successfully emerging from this conflict bolstered Amazonia’s connection to Portugal rather than the Netherlands. This conflict compounded the death rate (already high from exposure to old world pathogens) and helped to drive the population as well as to displace great numbers of Tupis, Arawaks, Karaiibs, Omaguas, and other Amazonian groups. The war allowed individuals such as Teixeira greater opportunities to exploit the people and resources further up the main channel of the river reinforcing Portuguese dominance. However, it was 1637, the arrival of two Franciscan ministers to Belém do Pará from Spanish administered lands near the Napo River provided the catalyst, which would ultimately solidify Portuguese claims to most of the Amazon River and its basin, when Teixeira began an expedition to reach Quito in order to establish just how much space lay between Belém and the viceroyalty of Perú. For his services, Teixeira became governor of Pará following the famous Amazon journey.⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰⁶ This essentially translates into English as “Captain Major”

⁴⁰⁷For More on this process, see: Hemming, John. *Red Gold: The Conquest of the Brazilian Indians*. London: MacMillan, 1978.

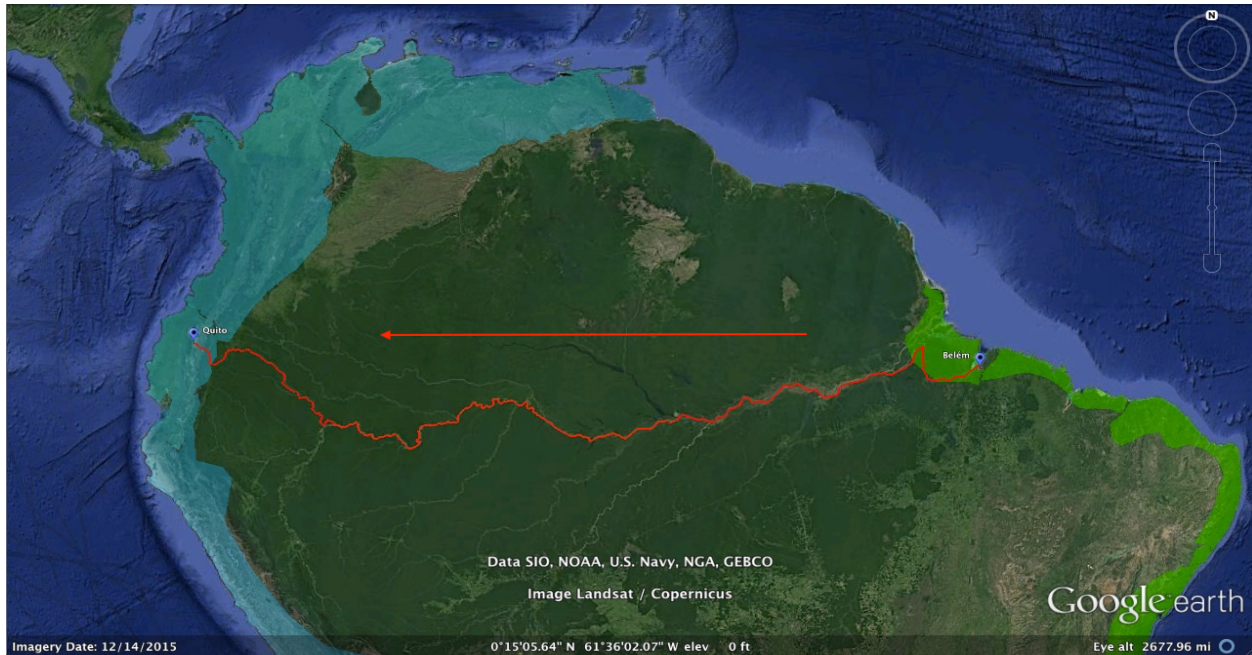


Figure 3.3: The 1637 Voyage Led by Pedro de Teixeira Ascending the Amazon River from Pará to Quito. Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., Spring 2017

The image above visualizes the route of the expedition led by Pedro de Teixeira (this is represented in red and starting from right to left - an arrow above points to this direction up the river). The undertaking began in Belém with over a thousand indigenous rowers providing the muscle power, in order to ascend the river up the Amazon, Solimões, and Napo tributaries. Also notice Spanish territories (in blue) and Portuguese occupied lands (in green). After crossing the Andes, Teixeira's expedition finally arrived in Quito. The Spanish authorities ensured that the Portuguese company was well treated and celebrated for their achievement, and then relatively speedily decided their Iberian brethren should proceed back to Belém, sending a Jesuit, Christobal de Acuña (originally from Burgos in Spain) to accompany the return of the Portuguese and inform on both the region as well as Lusitanian activities to the Spanish.

Acuña published his work, *Nuevo Descubrimiento Del Gran Rio De Las Amazonas*⁴⁰⁸ describing groups like the Omagua who had encountered this company along the way. The work provided an interesting glimpse into the period directly prior to more intense and more sustained colonial presence in the region. However, it also reinforced the greatly expanded reach of the Portuguese position at the mouth of the main river channel once other European rivals had been swept aside. Since the Columbian voyages, Europeans had been looking for an easy route between the Atlantic and the Pacific. The Teixeira/Acuña voyages demonstrate that such a largely riverine/water route was possible *through Amazonia* since Quito was already connected to trade routes down to the port of Guayaquil, which was founded in 1538 by none other than Francisco de Orellana, the first documented European to lead a voyage down the main channel of the Amazon River.⁴⁰⁹ Such a course might *have* conceivably made central Amazonia a major center of global trade, settlement, colonization, that likely would have increased deforestation through expansion of cash crop plantations worked by indigenous and/or slaves of African descent as would happen in Belém, much of coastal Portuguese Brazil, and the Guianas.

However, this did not happen, in part because around 1640, an uprising across the Atlantic among the Portuguese tore apart the Iberian Union. In response, the Spanish King Philip IV (r. 1621 – 1665) reportedly decided to suppress Acuña's book, now afraid that the Portuguese or other recently dislodged rivals might be tempted to seize control over this route themselves and imperil the Spanish position in Quito. Especially worrying to the Spanish was a fear that the Portuguese could threaten Perú, especially Los Reyes (or Lima) the viceregal capital, or the

⁴⁰⁸ Acuña, Cristóbal De. "Nuevo Descubrimiento Del Gran Rio De Las Amazonas." Google Books. orig. 1641. Accessed February 26, 2017. https://books.google.com/books?id=R28BAAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false. Pp 24-26

⁴⁰⁹The Orellana/Carvajal voyage is discussed more fully in chapter 2.

region's mythically wealthy mines in Potosí (now in Bolivia).⁴¹⁰ While the exact story of this suppression of Acuña's work remains itself obscured and more research must be done to determine the particular nature of Philip IV's worry concerning the threat from the Portuguese or other European powers and additional ideas concerning such an impact would have on local populations, ecologies, and societies.

The breakup of the "Iberian Union" has geopolitically separated the Amazon basin (and main channel) ever since. While the area would (at least nominally remain under the control of Iberians, the reemergence of Portuguese national sovereignty transformed Amazonia from a central artery between Habsburg possessions in the Andean-Pacific regions and the Atlantic to instead become a frontier between these two remaining powers. Importantly, since demarcations were unclear, the fuzziness of this boundary has remained a source of contention. Finally, while Europeans might have divided the territory allowing for trade down the main channel for instance, along north and south sides of the river, thus preserving the Spanish ability to sail upriver from the Atlantic, this might also allow the Portuguese to threaten Perú (especially its still important silver mines in what is now Bolivia). Consequently, the Portuguese would maintain their holdings in lower Amazonia, while the Spanish retained upper Amazonia (at least for a time) though would never again enjoy the uncontested ability to ascend the river from the Atlantic.

⁴¹⁰ The Spanish first discovered silver in Potosí in 1545, and by 1650 (with the colonial mint or casa de la moneda established), Potosí would become one of the largest and most industrialized cities in the world with a population of over 200,000 inhabitants. For more, see: Tarver, H. Micheal, and Emily Slape. *The Spanish Empire: A Historical Encyclopedia*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2016. https://books.google.com/books?id=1LCJDAAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false. Pg. 170

Other expeditions that were indicative of the expansion and threats exposed to indigenous populations in Amazonia by settler-colonialism were posed by the Portuguese-Brazilian bandeirantes, who engaged in the indigenous slave trade, especially through “ransoms” that would bring Amazonian peoples to work (and often die) in the plantation economy. Many of these bandeirantes were mixed race and often themselves designated as “*mamaluços*” within the colonial racist hierarchy of mid-17th century Brazil indicated a mixed heritage from indigenous and European background. These bandeirantes included figures like Pedro de Teixeira and would by the 1640s have pushed far from Belém to the Río Xingu, and Río Negro systems along the main channel of the Amazon, searching for new bodies to enlist.

A practice that became commonplace was initiated by tying indigenous groups and individuals into debt with access to iron tools that bandeirantes would exchange for indigenous prisoners obtained by “friendly” and indebted groups. This type of exchange would cause major disruptions to pre-colonial political configurations across Amazonia. For instance, reportedly one tribe of Tupinambás from Pernambuco who were seeking to avoid Europeans, traveled far into the Brazilian interior into what is now Bolivia, but came across Spaniards and turned back toward the Madeira River, which they then followed until it met the main channel of the Amazon River. Here the Tupinambá settled, hoping to be free from the Portuguese. Instead, they would find themselves directly in the pathway of probably the most infamous bandeirantes of them all, Antônio Raposo Tavares. He is known for raiding and destroying Spanish missions in Parana and in just one instance was responsible for the enslavement of 1,500 converts (according to

Hispánica, CC-BY-NC-SA, Publishing Information: Saavedra Y Guzmán, Martín De, "Descubrimiento Del Río De Las Amazonas Y Sus Dilatadas Provincias (1636 -1637)", En Tres Relaciones De Viajes Por El Río Marañón, Llamado También De Las Amazonas, Malfatti, Cesare (ed.), Barcelona, 1952, P. 63 -92 Last Page Contains an Interesting Map of the Amazon Created in 1600 This Present Version Was Edited in 1952, 1639. Martín <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000053845&page=1>.

historians such as John Hemming) though other such raids would enslave around 2,500 human beings.⁴¹²

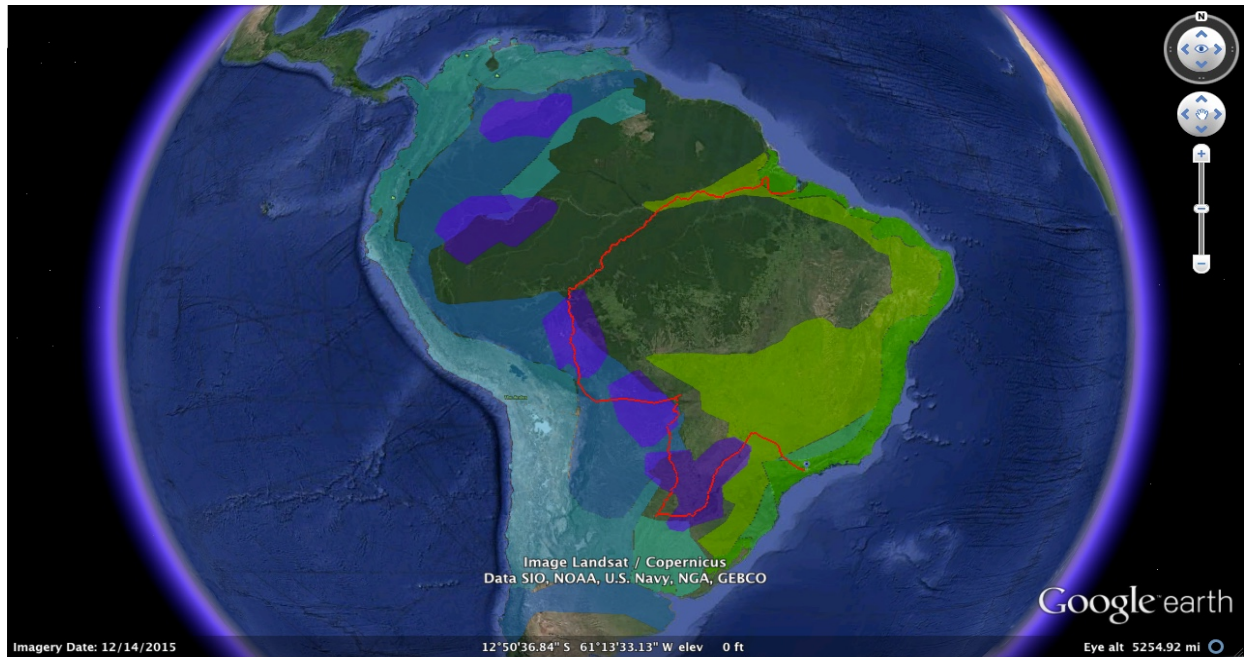


Figure 3.5: The 1648 to 1651 Amazonian Slaving Expedition of Bandeirante Antônio Raposo Tavares. Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., Spring 2017

The moment visualized above represents the particular path (in red) of a large slaving expedition into the Brazilian interior, which took place between 1648 and 1651. It was led by the now infamous Antônio Raposo Tavares.⁴¹³ Spanish (blue) and Portuguese (green) territory, as well as the location of various Spanish mission states (in purple) largely under the Jesuit order can be seen as well. Out of São Paulo, the party sought to “open a path to Peru” (probably with the eventual aim to seize the silver mines of Potosí).⁴¹⁴ Indeed, many of the primary sources

⁴¹² For more on this, see: Hemming, John. *Red Gold: The Conquest of the Brazilian Indians*. London: MacMillan, 1978.

⁴¹³ For an additional source on this particular slaving expedition, see: Gusmão, Alexandre De. Compiled by Jaime Cortesão. *Ministério Das Relações Exteriores, Instituto Rio-Branco, 1735*. https://books.google.com/books?id=reI8AQAIAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false.

⁴¹⁴ For one more source on this subject, see: Lima, Susana. *Grandes Exploradores Portugueses*. Lisboa: D. Quixote, 2012.

simply refer to the bandeirantes as “Paulistas” (meaning people from São Paulo). There is some discrepancy between sources about the route followed as to whether they took the entire Guaporé River or veered closer to what is now the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra in Bolivia. Nevertheless, the trek proved that the Mamoré, Guaporé and Madeira Rivers were linked, covering a reported area of over 6,000 miles (though my measurements come to a close 5,358 miles). Tavares followed what were most assuredly pre-colonial Amazonian trade routes between the La Plata and Amazonian basins via the Madeira River and then downstream toward the main channel of the Amazon, finally reaching Belém in 1651 and therefore confirming that these waterways created the “Island of Brazil.”

They would describe passing “huge cities” 300 huts housing many families, one such settlement supposedly had a population of 150,000 people. However, this is likely an exaggeration of what may have been substantial settlements. Apparently, though Tavares began this expedition with more than 200 “white Brazilians” and more than one thousand indigenous slaves and allies; only a small handful would make the return to São Paulo. Tavares was reportedly so disfigured by the ordeal that he was even unrecognizable to members of his own family.⁴¹⁵ Whether this last point is true or not, it reveals a similar trope of the Amazon’s power to strip away the visage of “civility” to reveal the “disfigured” “savage” nature of human beings and thus reinforcing the need to bring “order” to the region. This particular information may also have been culturally selected in order to demonstrate (perhaps divine) reprisals on Tavares physically for his (even in the 1600s) violations of the moral and legal codes of the period, such as attacking clergy. Therefore, this narrative also represents a warning to other bandeirantes,

https://books.google.com/books?id=MK9nVsTPPVEC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false.

⁴¹⁵ For more on this, see: Hemming, John. *Red Gold: The Conquest of the Brazilian Indians*. London: MacMillan, 1978. Pp. 280-81

adventurers, or schemers who might have sought to appropriate for themselves the wealth of Amazonia at the expense of church and/or state.

While the Teixeira and final Tavares' expeditions were not "successful" financially, they demonstrated the expansion of the Portuguese into nominally "Spanish" lands, though it is of course vitally important to mention that the territorial claims various groups such as the Tupinambá, Omagua, and Yurimaguas would take only secondary importance within larger negotiations over this space as it became divided between the Iberian powers. These two "expeditions" also indicate the reach of the slave trade that had greatly expanded into the interior of the continent. Aside from the disruptions of enslavement and violence itself, pathogens also (likely had been brought into contact with those who survived their initial encounter with these strange outsiders further decimating these newly exposed populations. Consequently, these processes would push people to move further away from larger river systems depopulating previously occupied areas and would also drive indigenous groups into the "relative safety" of missions. Of course, Tavares demonstrated that even these were not immune to attack.

Such "expeditions" and "ransoms" it was argued, "saved" unfortunate indigenous souls (but also captured their labor) and would also be appropriated and refashioned by settlers under Spanish control in addition to Portuguese counterparts like Tavares. The following section will describe the early attempt at settler-colonization of the territory known as Maynas. As this resulted in major outbreaks of violence, the turmoil that resulted will help to contextualize the eventual arrival of *La Compañia de Jesus* (the Jesuits). The Society would maintain a presence for over a century during which time they attempted their spiritual conquest of this region.



Figure 3.6: Painting of mixed and indigenous women in Brazil completed ca.1641. Source by Albert Eckhout and Wikimedia Commons. Compiled by Deavenport, J. Spring, 2017

The two digital images of oil paintings above were originally completed around 1641 by the Dutch painter Albert Eckhout, who was employed by the Dutch government in their attempt to colonize Brazil. The image on the left represents a mameluca woman. This racial caste again included one who was specifically noted for having mixed indigenous/European ancestry.⁴¹⁶ She is represented as clothed and apparently was standing under a cashew tree. These were ubiquitous across Amazonia.⁴¹⁷ At the same time, the painting on the right represents a Tapuia indigenous Woman (this was a term for one who did not speak Tupian languages).⁴¹⁸ Contrasting with the mameluca figure, she is largely naked except for some strategically placed leaves over her genitals. Also, rather than gathering cashews and other representations of the

⁴¹⁶ Eckhout, Albert. "Mameluca Woman." Digital image. Wikimedia Commons. orig. 1641. Accessed April 5, 2017. https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/b2/Albert_Eckhout_-_Mameluca.JPG.

⁴¹⁷ hopefully readers remember this was discussed in greater details in chapters 1 and 2

⁴¹⁸ Eckhout, Albert. "Tapuia Woman. 1641." Digital image. Wikimedia Commons. orig. 1641. Accessed April 5, 2017. https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/9/9d/Albert_Eckhout_Tapuia_woman_1641.jpg.

tropical bounty, the Tapuia woman (who may have spoken a language of the macro-Ge/Je family) is transporting human body parts for cannibalistic consumption. These images demonstrate the power of ideas that continue to be fashioned during this period. These images also serve to highlight the major differences in representation, ideology, and conceptions of the positive developments that colonization and especially Christianity and whiteness were believed to “bring” Amazonian groups. The desire to procure labor, the threat from bandeirantes, and the continued image of Amazonians as savage would help to spur the creation of the Maynas Mission.

Part II: Governor Vaca de la Vega, San Francisco de Borja, and The Early Colonization of Mainas

The phase of secular colonization that ultimately contributed to the Jesuit *reducciones* begins in 1618, when Diego Vaca de Vega received formal recognition from the Viceroy of Perú, Francisco de Borja y Aragón (r. 1615 – 1621), to establish a settlement celebrating the Viceroy’s sanctified namesake. Vaca de Vega entered the area peacefully (originally with the idea of working with Augustine missionaries) in order to begin the formal process of instituting the encomienda system. In this settlement, which was usually just referred to as “Borja,” this began to be instituted among the Mainas,⁴¹⁹ Cocamas, and Jivaros, whereby the colonial authorities granted legal control over the indigenous labor by these and other groups. Meanwhile, the Augustinians seem to have been involved more “on paper” than in the actual region and true religious instruction would generally not begin until the arrival of the Jesuits around 1638. Life

⁴¹⁹ “Mainas” is being used here to describe the ethnic groups in particular to differentiate them from the territory that would appropriate and refashion their name

under the encomienda system proved harsh and exceedingly deadly as some figures place the death rate to as high as 90% of the population in the area around Borja.⁴²⁰

The crown had for some time been gathering information on Diego Vaca de Vega, who was born in the relatively nearby town called Loja. For instance, records in archives dating to 1603 and again in 1610 discuss the contributions and background of Vaca de Vega. He had apparently served the crown with distinction against none other than the English privateer Sir Francis Drake, and aided other colonial authorities in subduing African-centered maroon communities in Panama (similar to Governor Pedro de Ursua in the previous chapter).⁴²¹

Diego Vaca de Vega had also been involved in various disputes investigated by the crown concerning the mita or forced labor, and *repartimiento* systems according to the same documents. In other words, he was well versed in the management of forced indigenous and slave labor for the state and would therefore make an ideal candidate for the responsibility of literally rounding up Amazonian labor in the new Maynas territory being created by the Spanish, which (at least from the crown point of view) would be justified under the guise of bringing the gospels and civilization to the “infidels” of the Marañón.⁴²² Thus, like Columbus, and the many

⁴²⁰ Reeve, Mary-Elizabeth. "Regional Interaction in the Western Amazon: The Early Colonial Encounter and the Jesuit Years: 1538-1767." *Ethnohistory* 41, no. 1 (1993): 106-38. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3536980>. Pp. 115-116. For more on the Maynas missions in general, See: Chantre, Y. Herrera, José, and Aurelio Elias Mera. *Historia De Las Misiones De La Campaña De Jesús En El Marañón Español, 1637-1767*. Madrid: Impr. De A. Avrial, 1901.

⁴²¹ For more concerning this source, see: "Informaciones: Diego Vaca De Vega Archivo General De Indias Signatura:QUITO,48,N.40 Código De Referencia: ES.41091.AGI/23.12.7.3//QUITO,48,N.40." Portal De Archivos Españoles, 1603.

http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas/servlets/Control_servlet?accion=3&txt_id_desc_ud=418957&fromagenda=N. and The Audience Of Quito On Various Subjects "From AGI: Mitayos, Oidores, Virrey From Perú, Virreyes, Visits Archivo General De Indias Call Number: QUITO, 9, R.13, N.100 Reference Code: ES.41091.AGI /23.12.5.16.3//QUITO,9,R.13,N.100. Orig. 1610. And Jouanen, José. *Historia De La Compañía De Jesús En La Antigua Provincia De Quito: 1570-1774*. Biblioteca Virtual Miguel De Cervantes, 1941. Accessed March 24, 2017. http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/historia-de-la-compania-de-jesus-en-la-antigua-provincia-de-quito-15701774-tomo-i--0/html/0024efd0-82b2-11df-acc7-002185ce6064_56.html.

⁴²² For more on how this period was viewed in the early 20th century historiography of Ecuador, see: González Suárez, Federico. "Historia General De La Republica De Ecuador: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel De Cervantes." Biblioteca Virtual Miguel De Cervantes. orig. 1901. Accessed August 26, 2013.

settlers before him, Vaca de Vega and his political heirs, the Jesuits, would appropriate these legal structures and refashion them in Maynas.

However, while Borja would play an important role, competing narratives also claim to have the first intrusion into Maynas. For instance, according to the Ecuadorian historian, Federico González Suárez, earlier Spanish adventurers had actually visited the region including one Francisco de Vivero who planted orange trees. The introduction of such flora is thus a specific example of this larger process throughout the region and would have had an impact on the immediate area by imposing monocropping and the destruction of native flora. At the same time, these settlers likely infected some of the population with old world pathogens.⁴²³ Records indicate that Francisco de Vivero came to a violent end at the hands of local populations, but he may have also have stayed in the area or died of old age. However, not all such adventurers appeared to be so lucky, as the well-known historian of the period, Jouanen explained, such forays had resulted in the death of some residents of the city of Santiago de las Montañas. This town was just above the dangerous Pongo de Manseriche. This pass of the Marañón river sits just above where the capital of Maynas, Borja would be founded, serving a vital link between this new space and pre-existing colonial networks, and thus could be justified by the state as an adequate response to such killing.

http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/historia-general-de-la-republica-del-ecuador-tomo-sexto--0/html/0016cf90-82b2-11df-acc7-002185ce6064_10.html.

⁴²³ The original text reads: "Las expediciones de don Diego Vaca de Vega no eran las primeras que se hacían a las extensas comarcas orientales bañadas por el Marañón y sus caudalosos afluentes: en años anteriores, esas provincias habían sido visitadas por otros exploradores castellanos, uno de los cuales llamado Francisco de Vivero, había residido entre los mainas el tiempo necesario para hacer plantaciones de naranjos, que habían nacido y prosperado hasta dar fruto en aquella región. Francisco de Vivero era teniente de Juan de Alderete, pariente y sucesor de Juan de Salinas en la gobernación de Jaén de Bracamoros y Yaguarsongo. Sin embargo, las expediciones verdaderamente beneficiosas para las tribus indígenas, esparcidas en las dilatadas comarcas del Marañón y los afluentes que descienden de la cordillera oriental ecuatoriana, fueron las que, sin mucho estrépito de armas, llevó a cabo Vaca de Vega, primer Gobernador de Mainas" González Suárez, Federico. "Historia General De La Republica De Ecuador: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel De Cervantes." Biblioteca Virtual Miguel De Cervantes. orig. 1901. Accessed August 26, 2013. http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/historia-general-de-la-republica-del-ecuador-tomo-sexto--0/html/0016cf90-82b2-11df-acc7-002185ce6064_10.html. Pg. 118

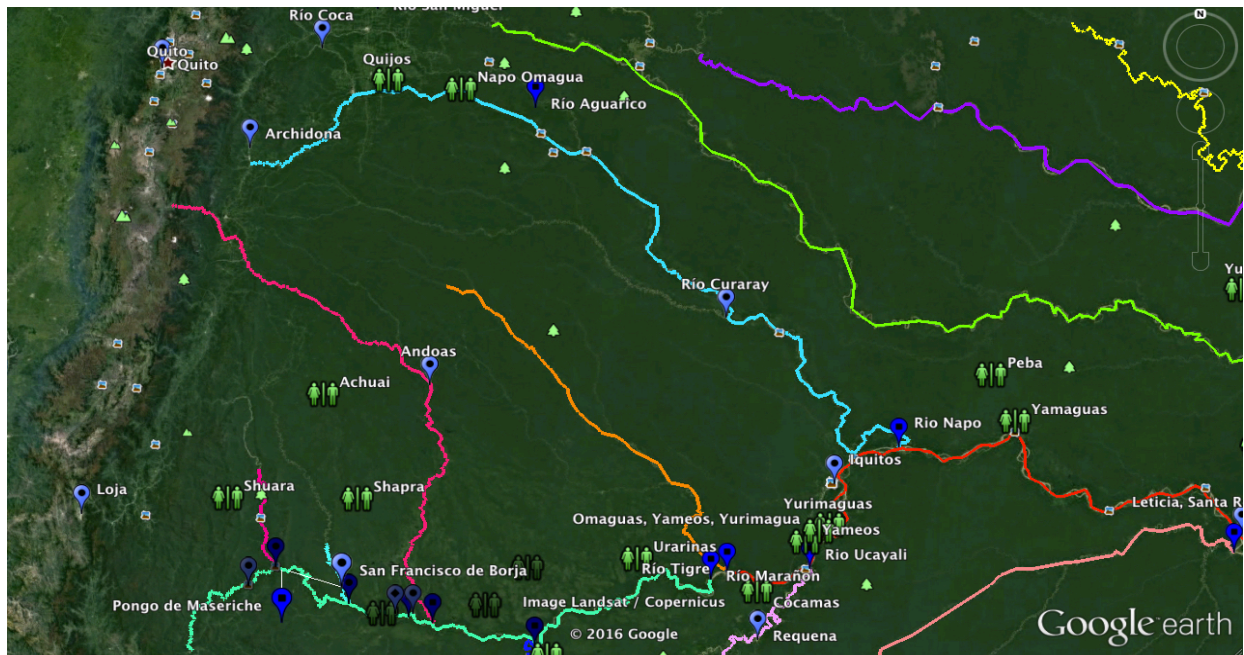


Figure 3.7: The Maynas Region around The Spanish Settlement of San Francisco de Borja, Local Amazonian Groups and River Tributaries. Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., Spring 2017

The map above visualizes the area around the settlement of San Francisco de Borja and the Pongo de Manseriche (near the lower left hand corner) along with the course of various rivers as well as the names of indigenous groups such as the Mainas, Jeveros, Quijos, and Cocamas (the last situated on the Ucayali river shown in pink). Such groups are represented in green with the familiar male/female symbol. Many of these peoples and rivers would be embroiled in the early colonization of Maynas by Diego Vaca de la Vega and the other encomenderos he would enlist in order to bring these lands into Spanish possession. As a result, individuals would be forcibly removed from such spaces and brought to San Francisco de Borja or other encomiendas to work. Here, many succumbed to illness and death. Indeed, it turns out that such problems had arisen before, stalling earlier attempts at colonization, for instance in 1557, when another encomendero, Juan de Salinas had attempted to found cities such as Logroño and Santa Maria de

la Nieva, but these cities would be abandoned, especially after an inter-ethnic uprising of indigenous and mestizos led to the killing of white settlers.⁴²⁴

It is important to take a small methodological tangent here and note that while such symbols are used to represent these particular groups, gender construction could be quite particular to different groups and so the male/female binary is problematic. Additionally, the green color has been used because it is *the* popular color associated with this region and has somewhat been adopted by contemporary indigenous activists. It is therefore used here to demonstrate this historical connection between contemporary movements with their antecedents. A critique of this could be that using any symbol or color replicates “othering” for instance, “little green men” or Martians and reinforces the idea that Amazonian groups are alien and beyond comprehension. This is of course not at all the intention, but to use any representation has implications, which must be taken into account.

Alternatives such as using any other color could be problematic as well, while representing people with a non-human form could be just as (if not more) de-humanizing. Other considerations, such as including photos of contemporary individuals from these groups also have political and historical implications. Thus, it is hoped that the reader will understand the limits of representing any people or such moments and that these are by their very nature meant to be useful guides, projections or memories, and *not* as authoritative or as static images of these moments, or groups as monoliths without change. Research is presently continuing to develop upon such discussions and alternatives to such potentially problematic and reductive representations.

⁴²⁴ González Suárez, Federico. "Historia General De La Republica De Ecuador: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel De Cervantes." Biblioteca Virtual Miguel De Cervantes. orig. 1901. Accessed August 26, 2013. http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/historia-general-de-la-republica-del-ecuador-tomo-sexto--0/html/0016cf90-82b2-11df-acc7-002185ce6064_10.html. Pg. 77

Another early attempt at colonization around Maynas would end in 1575, when an uprising by the Quijos people destroyed all the local colonial settlements. The unrest first occurred in the town of Archidona, which eventually became a major transit hub between the Maynas missions and the city of Quito. While the specifics leave out many details, it is understood that the Quijos people led by shaman called Pendes⁴²⁵ and their Cacique the leader of the conspiracy was the chief Jumandi who led the Quijos assembled in mostly destroying the city and killing nearly every European. Even the priest of nearby Avila (also destroyed) was speared to death.⁴²⁶ Avila's uprising began on November 29th, 1575 around noon (as the Quijos understood that this was exactly when most people might be inside or out of sight to escape the intense heat).

The city was burned down and even the fruit trees that had been planted were uprooted and destroyed. It seems that the Quijos' leaders understood that the settlements and the imperial biota represented colonization, the loss of their Amazonian power, and the subordination of both their culture and their environment to those of the outsiders. Importantly, such "plantaciones" would likely have had a specific negative impact on the immediate space or environment by generally degrading the soil, increasing potential flooding, and by Monocropping (for instance planting orchards of orange trees, would necessitate the destruction of all other competing local flora). While Amazonian people's appropriation of new plants is well attested, they were not generally interested in seeing the lands they relied on to become dominated by monoculture that served little practical use.

⁴²⁵ It is unclear from the sources whether Pendes is an individual shaman or the name for a group of shamens. However, where possible, similar works have listed individual leaders and not necessarily a class so I have "selected" the individual version in the text above.

⁴²⁶ González Suárez, Federico. "Historia General De La Republica De Ecuador: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel De Cervantes." Biblioteca Virtual Miguel De Cervantes. orig. 1901. Accessed August 26, 2013. http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/historia-general-de-la-republica-del-ecuador-tomo--0/html/0016cf90-82b2-11df-acc7-002185ce6064_10.html. Pg. 65

The first Jesuit father Rafael Ferrer, who evangelized among the Cofan (close to the headwaters of the Napo River) would similarly face death at the hands of his spiritual subjects. Indeed, as Federico González Suárez explains, the Cofan accepted Catholicism initially (though this is suspect to begin with) but especially became angered at how the religion was being used to “enslave them” through forced labor under the *encomienda* system that brought them under the immediate control of whites and mestizo settlers. Consequently, Ferrer was “betrayed” when crossing a fallen tree bridge. A Cofan convert held out a hand but let go at the last moment allowing the father to plunge into the river below and get swept away by the current. This monumentalized narrative reveals how the environment itself was seen and used as a weapon by both colonizers and Amazonians. Such stories also tended to stress the “betrayal” of groups such as the Cofan rather than the mistreatment of colonial subjects and the injustice of the overall system in which the Jesuits both participated and prospered. Thus, these “enterprises” or *entradas*, essentially followed the familiar template of appropriated ideas and norms about subjugating indigenous Amazonian peoples by gathering them into private labor systems: the *encomiendas*, *repartimientos*, and later the theocratic⁴²⁷ *reducciones*. These institutions specifically demonstrate how such ideas were constantly being selected and applied particularly. One can also see how these colonial systems faced similar problems of exerting control, given the remoteness and difficulty for Europeans to survive tropical diseases. However, while many of the first attempts failed, small settlements like Borja and Archidona would eventually enable such ideas to take root and facilitate Spanish control over the peoples around Maynas.

⁴²⁷ I use the term theocratic here to refer to the blurred lines between spiritual and governmental/state functions the Jesuits occupied during this period by both necessity and design.

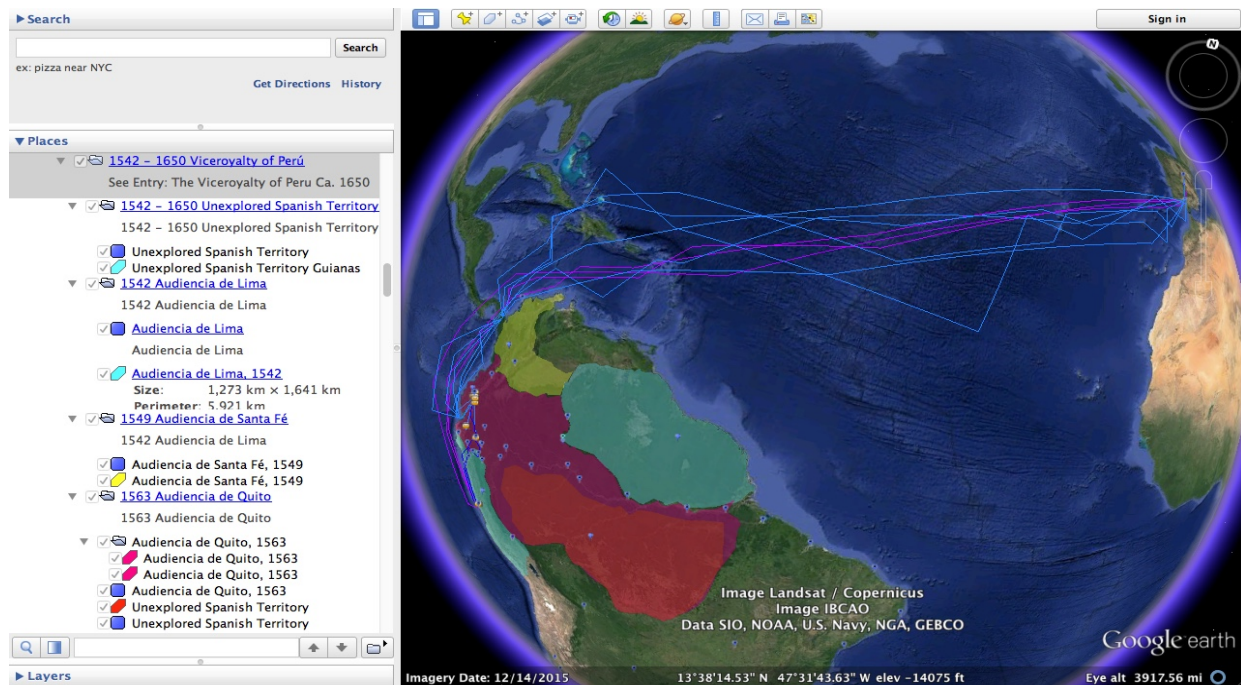


Figure 3.8: Some of the Network of Sources Related to First Governor of Maynas, Diego Vaca de la Vega and the Viceroyalty of Perú. Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., Spring 2017

The overlays in the image above visualize networks of information (in blue and purple lines) concerning a number of particular primary documents dating from 1610 to 1630 related to Diego Vaca de la Vega that have by now ended up dispersed among various archives including the Archive of the Indies and the Archivo Historico de Limites in Lima, Perú. These archives reveal that the Audiencia de Quito, Viceroyalty of Perú, and the Spanish Crown/Council of the Indies were interested in the state of “pacification” of the Mainas and Jeveros peoples especially.⁴²⁸

Additional layers representing the Viceroyalty of Perú (and labeled within the figure) display some of the viceroyalty’s jurisdictional divisions that preconfigure later colonial and state divisions. Although this vast territory was divided into smaller jurisdictional units that

⁴²⁸ Interestingly, the term Jeveros and its alternate spellings themselves can be seen to mean “savage or barbarian,” especially in the Caribbean, perhaps revealing further submerged monumentalized links between formerly linked “Amazonian” territories and the conceptual links between the Caribbean and the Amazon.

could often struggle with one another, these did not preclude mutual material and spiritual support, which arrived with information on the area, including actions of the other representatives of the state. These sources also concerned the state of the encomiendas, and rivalries with other secular authorities including the governor of nearby Yaguarsongo, Gonzalo de Carvajal, who argued that this new grant encroached on his grant and privileges.⁴²⁹ These networks further reveal that the colonial project included multiple layers of bureaucracy and sovereignty that could serve to check, contest, and report on one another, and through which the council of the Indies and other royal representatives could wield power by legally sanctioning or proscribing the actions of particular individuals and institutions. The evidence of these networks will be important for understanding the relationship between the crown and the Society of Jesus moving ahead.

What immediately facilitated the entrance of the Jesuits was a particular uprising that occurred in February of 1635, when the Mainas people, over-worked and mistreated, rose up in rebellion against the encomenderos, killing at least thirty-four according to the Jesuit Francisco de Figueroa and the later historian Federico González Suárez.⁴³⁰ In response, the Spanish encomenderos who survived initiated a campaign of terribly violent reprisals against the Mainas to the point where of the more than 700 Mainas workers who had been forced into the encomienda system in the 1620s, less than 200 survived to later come under the initial

⁴²⁹ One example text includes: Morga, Antonio De. "El Presidente Antonio De Morga Sobre Diversos Asuntos Archivo General De Indias Signatura:QUITO,10,R.8,N.95 Código De Referencia: ES.41091.AGI/23.12.5.16.7//QUITO,10,R.8,N.95." Pares.mcu.es, orig. 1621 4-25. <http://pares.mcu.es/>. Original Text includes: Carta de Antonio de Morga, presidente de la audiencia de Quito, a S.M. sobre lo siguiente: que el virrey pr_ncipe de Esquilache tom_ asiento con Diego Vaca de Vega para la pacificaci_n de los indios mainas y sus comarcanos; que dicho Diego Vaca de Vega hizo una poblaci_n en el lugar que dicen de los Naranjos a la que llam_San Francisco de Borja y ha escrito una carta diciendo que volver_ en breve; que Gonzalo de Carvajal, gobernador de Yaguarsongo, dice que el asiento hecho con Diego Vaca de Vega es en perjuicio de su jurisdicción.

⁴³⁰ González Suárez, Federico. "Historia General De La Republica De Ecuador: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel De Cervantes." Biblioteca Virtual Miguel De Cervantes. orig. 1901. Accessed August 26, 2013. http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/historia-general-de-la-republica-del-ecuador-tomo-sexto--0/html/0016cf90-82b2-11df-acc7-002185ce6064_10.html.

reorganization under the Jesuit priests in 1638 due to a mixture of being executed, dying of disease and overwork, as well as many who simply fled into the interior seeking safety. Suarez explained; “the punishments would be prolonged for a number of years with inhuman viciousness and cruelty, because not only were the leading actors of the insurrection condemned to death, but also many others who were hardly (if at all) to blame for this outbreak of violence among the Mainas.” The prosecution of such colonial violence was at least initially largely carried out under the command of the Maestro del Campo, Miguel de Funes, who had arrived from nearby Santiago with a company of soldiers. Figueroa, one of the first Jesuit missionaries (and later one of the first Martyrs of the Maynas mission) explained that when they arrived, the Jesuits

Saw so many Indians executed, so many bodies quartered on the gallows, [so many] hands and feet cut off, and those who fought best wounded and flayed and lashed. This was not the end of the punishments for more cruel and furious ones that defy belief continued. In all of these punishments, the soldiers were aided by the Jeveros Indians who were even more fierce than the Mainas.⁴³¹

⁴³¹ I have deliberately left this translation to sound somewhat “clunky” in modern English, as I would like to note some of the differences in language used during this period. The original text in Spanish: “El castigo se prolongó por varios años con saña y crueldad inhumanas, porque se condenó a muerte no solamente a los autores principales de la insurrección, sino también a otros muchos que apenas tenían culpa en ello. Cuando entraron los primeros misioneros de la Compañía, se encontraron con un espectáculo horripilante, como escribe el padre Figueroa: ‘vieron a tantos indios ajusticiados, tantos cuerpos descuartizados en las horcas y árboles, tantos desorejados, muchos desnarigados, desgarrados otros, cortadas las manos y los pies a cual y cual, llagados y desollados con azotes los que mejor libraban; que todo eso no paraba aún, sino que seguía con todo furor, crueldades que nadie creería, si no constase. En todo este castigo, ayudaban a los soldados los indios jeveros, tan feroces o más que los Mainas”” González Suárez, Federico. "Historia General De La Republica De Ecuador: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel De Cervantes." Biblioteca Virtual Miguel De Cervantes. orig. 1901. Accessed August 26, 2013. http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/historia-general-de-la-republica-del-ecuador-tomo-sexto--0/html/0016cf90-82b2-11df-acc7-002185ce6064_10.html. Pg. 337

Here we can see that the reprisals for the uprising used violence, terror, and torture, to bring “civilization” to the Mainas people also included an alliance with the Jeveros, which reinforced the colonial project by providing some indigenous groups with firepower, resources, esteem, and other privileges. At the same time, the spectacles of violence in the hands of indigenous allies could morally absolve colonial agents from directly carrying out violence while reinforcing the narrative of indigenous barbarism, thereby helping to legitimize the colonial project itself. Such strategies can further be appreciated as the continuation of recruiting indigenous allies by colonial agents back to the initial conquests of Mexico and Perú.⁴³²

After 1626, the son of Diego Vaca de la Vega Don Pedro Vaca de la Cadena became Maynas’ new governor. In Quito he worked with the Audiencia and the Society of Jesus to discuss bringing in Jesuit missionaries to aid in the colonization and subordination of the Mainas, Jeveros, and other groups further down the Marañón River.⁴³³ This began the immediate effort to institute missionary instruction and insulate, not (immediately) integrate Amazonian and mixed/European/African populations, or to limit this as much as possible and was what brought the Jesuits to Maynas.

Part III: The Cross and the Canoe - The Society of Jesus, Globalization, and the Ideologies “Constructing” the Missions of Maynas

In order to appreciate the impact of the Compañía de Jesus in Maynas, it is vital to contextualize and understand that the Jesuit order played an important role throughout the early modern globalizing world in literally planting the seeds that have shaped contemporary

⁴³² The reliance of indigenous allies is well attested to in the historiography of the conquest and often made up the bulk force of numbers for “conquistadores.”

⁴³³ González Suárez, Federico. "Historia General De La Republica De Ecuador: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel De Cervantes." Biblioteca Virtual Miguel De Cervantes. orig. 1901. Accessed August 26, 2013. http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/historia-general-de-la-republica-del-ecuador-tomo--0/html/0016cf90-82b2-11df-acc7-002185ce6064_10.html. Pg. 324

Amazonia in places such as Iquitos, Yurimaguas, La Laguna, and others, by advocating through education, trade, and missionary work, a utopian project aimed at (yet falling far short) of providing for the holistic enrichment of all human beings, under their particular utopian version of Roman Catholic Christianity.⁴³⁴ To understand this, a bit more must be explained concerning the cultural contexts in which the Jesuit order came into existence. The Society was founded on August 15, 1534 by Saint Ignatius of Loyola along with others, including Saint Francis Xavier, in the Montmartre area of Paris.⁴³⁵ While the Jesuits would seek salvation in heaven, the Society was shaped by major events that continued to mold the political, social, economic, and religious foundations of the early modern world. Indeed, events including the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks (1453), the fall of Granada to the forces of Ferdinand and Isabella, and the Columbian “discovery” of the new world (1492). Such events (described more fully in chapter 2) influenced the particularities of Jesuit evangelization. In Maynas and in other areas, such notions contributed to imbue the Society of Jesus with elements of a zealous and militant version of Christianity that advocated intense evangelization across the planet.

In large part, such religious militancy was also a response to the Protestant Reformation begun with Martin Luther’s 95 theses posted in 1517.⁴³⁶ The Society of Jesus was therefore baptized in the fires of the religious conflicts that engulfed Europe for generations, and which by the 1630s over a century had influenced Jesuit missionary activity. This included the use of force to evangelize in Amazonia and beyond. Indeed, as Nicholas Cushner—a well-known scholar of the Jesuits in South America—explains, during this period, “coercion was not new to Western

⁴³⁴ For more on this, See: O'Malley, John W. *The First Jesuits*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993. Pg. 18

⁴³⁵ Campbell, Thomas J. *The Jesuits: 1534 - 1921; a History of the Society of Jesus from Its Foundation to the Present Time*. New York: Encyclopedia Press, 1921.

⁴³⁶ For more on the Protestant Reformation, See: Gray, Madeleine. *The Protestant Reformation: Belief, Practice, and Tradition*. Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2003. Pg. 192

proselytization. Biblical passages and stories were partly at the source of Western cultural aggression. ‘Go, make disciples of all nations,’ and the parable of the king who prepares a feast to which no one comes causing him to tell her servants to ‘force them to come in,’ gave Westerners a religious rationale to use violence in the name of god.”⁴³⁷ Those who rejected the Catholic doctrines such as *Dum Diversas* were placed by the Jesuits into a moral and legal “state of exception,”⁴³⁸ that justified force to further imperial Iberian projects across the Indies (for instance in China and Indonesia) or in the Americas.⁴³⁹ Such repudiations also had the “happy coincidence” for those dominating, of being good for business as this provided legal and moral prerequisites for the appropriation or confiscation of property or anything that might be “of value” controlled by such “barbarous” indigenous groups.⁴⁴⁰

This chapter argues that such a mindset created a situation within the missions akin to the concept of what Giorgio Agamben called, “bare life.” Essentially this means that in Maynas, indigenous peoples could be protected physically from the threats of enslavement, only if they elected to subject themselves to the missionizing efforts of the Jesuits or other missionary groups, and even then this was not a guarantee of “protection.” During this process, it was expected that indigenous Amazonians abandon much if not all previous beliefs and lifeways, identities, cosmological ideologies, and notions of the environment. Instead, these new Christians were to

⁴³⁷ Cushner, Nicholas P. *Soldiers of God: The Jesuits in Colonial America, 1565-1767*. Buffalo, NY: Language Communications, 2002. Pg. 11

⁴³⁸ For more on the concept of the “state of exception, and especially its link to bare life, See: Agamben, Giorgio, and Daniel Heller-Roazen. *Homo Sacer*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998. Pp 17, 82-83

⁴³⁹ Potential evidence of this connection can be seen in *Flora Sinensis*. For more, See: Boym, Michał Piotr. *Flora Sinensis: Fructus Floresque Humillime Porrigens*. Viennae Austriae: Universit  De Namur, Belgium (E Version), 1656. <http://www.fundp.ac.be/universite/bibliotheques/bump/numerisation/livres-imprimes/flora-sinensis-michael-boym>.

⁴⁴⁰ For more on the history of abuses of indigenous peoples dating to the earliest period of Spanish rule, See: Casas, Bartolom  De Las, and John Phillips. *The Tears of the Indians: Being an Historical and True Account of the Cruel Massacres and Slaughters of above Twenty Millions of Innocent People Committed by the Spaniards in the Islands of Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica, Etc. As Also, in the Continent of Mexico, Per , and Other Places of the West Indies, to the Total Destruction of Those Countries*. Stanford, CA: Academic Reprints, 1656, 1953.

varying degrees forced to adopt old world lifeways based on particular ideas that shaped everything from gender and sexuality to land usage. The result was that while indigenous peoples may have been physically safe from the horrors of legal enslavement (and many were not), many ideologies, rituals, or land tenure systems: essentially, everything that shaped or might give life greater meaning according to locally selected traditions, were disparaged by the Jesuits and other colonial authorities to the subordination of old world lifeways. Of course, many Jesuits were quite educated in humanism and the emerging enlightenment ideas by the early 1700s⁴⁴¹ and therefore were at times less doctrinaire than their fellow missionaries. This relative tolerance made it easier for some Amazonian traditions to continue. For instance, some became appropriated and refashioned as Catholic ceremonies, or were continuously resisted and denounced by other Jesuit fathers.⁴⁴²

Once in the missions, indigenous peoples were still placed into multiple “forced labor” situations including clearing the forest, constructing the mission and surrounding accommodations, engaging in trade and providing muscle power to row canoes for riverine transport. Indigenous peoples who did not voluntarily submit to the church were placed into a “state of exception” and equated with the ultimate source of evil, the devil. It is worth expanding this notion through a quote by Nicholas Cushner:

⁴⁴¹ For more on the Enlightenment, See: Pagden, Anthony. "The Enlightenment." Google Books, Oxford University Press. 2013. Accessed July 31, 2017. <https://books.google.com/books?id=GnURng7tsWIC&printsec=frontcover&dq=on%2Bthe%2Benlightenment&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwidqeag57TVAhWkq1QKHUAzBQ0Q6AEIKDAA#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

⁴⁴² For instance, one former Jesuit settlement, and now known as the city of Fonte Boa in Amaazonas, Brazil still celebrates the day of Nuestra Señora de Guadeloupe, a remnant from when the town was a Jesuit *reducción*. Many of these ceremonies would incorporate indigenous dancing, rituals, singing, etc, while

The obsession with the devil is tied to the folk Catholicism of the Europeans. Pío Borroja's work on the role of the devil in popular European Catholicism explains how the concept of the Evil One became a central feature in the old world belief system. The Jesuit who had been educated to believe that forces of evil waged a continual struggle against the forces of good easily translated Native American opposition into Satan's handiwork. They were unable to imagine any other reason for the Native Americans' refusal to accept Christianity along with major features of European culture.⁴⁴³

While this is perhaps too general a statement, it does represent an accurate assessment of the historical literature of the period and of arguments used by Jesuits themselves to justify and describe the particular mission process in Maynas. Such points of view can be found in a number of works including Padre Francisco de Figueroa's account on the Society's mission in Maynas, which will be expanded upon below.⁴⁴⁴ Thus, like the shifting conception of evil arguably shaping contemporary human rights discourse, the Jesuits were part of a longer trans-national process seeking to (re) define rights and confront "evil" as it was understood within their particular cosmological frameworks.⁴⁴⁵ Such processes include Mediterranean and old world imperial contestations that informed the outlooks of those controlling the Jesuit order. The most prominent of these rivalries initially included Habsburg/Spanish and Ottoman struggles for dominance in the Mediterranean and by the 17th to 18th centuries, rivalries had expanded to include the Portuguese, Dutch, and English.

⁴⁴³ Cushner, Nicholas P. *Soldiers of God: The Jesuits in Colonial America, 1565-1767*. Buffalo, NY: Language Communications, 2002. Pg. 14

⁴⁴⁴ For more, see: Figueroa, Francisco De. *Relación De Las Misiones De La Compañía De Jesús En El País De Los Maynas*. Calle De Preciados Núm 48, Madrid: Librería General De Victoriano Suarez, 1904.

⁴⁴⁵ For Instance: "In the Human Rights Discourse that has become dominant since the cold war the meaning of 'evil' itself has changed. It is no longer widely understood to be a system of social injustice that can have ongoing structural effects, even after the structure is dismantled. Rather, evil is described as a *time* of cyclical violence that is past—or can be *put* in the past by defining the present as *another* time in which the evil is remembered rather than repeated." For more on the evolving concept of evil in relation to broader human rights discourse, see: Meister, Robert. *After Evil: A Politics of Human Rights*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2011. Pg. 25

Intellectually and philosophically, the movement is also the result of old world traditions inherited through classical education, law, and Renaissance humanism.⁴⁴⁶ The Jesuit movement can correctly be interpreted to be more romantically utopian than the modern movement for human rights, for it adopted a particular notion of salvation that “allowed the Jesuit missionaries in America to see beyond ‘savage’ nature to a perfectible being.” Consequently, for the Jesuits, the indigenous could achieve redemption to a “perfect state” (and a protected state) through the form of universalizing Christianity espoused by the Society of Jesus.⁴⁴⁷

Across the globe, this ideology took shape beyond missions to include the Jesuit zeal for amassing (and controlling) knowledge through education. Before the Society’s suppression by the Pope in 1773, the Jesuits controlled a global network of “more than eight hundred universities, seminaries, and especially secondary schools almost around the globe. The world had never seen before nor has it seen since such an immense network of educational institutions operating on an international basis.”⁴⁴⁸ These institutions of learning circulated ideas across the missions and ultimately related to the Jesuits’ broader aim, which was to “save souls.” “By ‘soul’ the Jesuits meant the ‘whole person.’ Thus, they could help souls in a number of ways, for instance, by providing food for the body or learning for the mind. That is why their lists of ministries was so long, why at first glance it seems to be without limits.”⁴⁴⁹ Therefore, the Jesuits would gain power by seeking to meet and control the entirety of human needs from physical to spiritual and intellectual nourishment and would come to employ a multiplicity of tools to fashion their utopian project in steamy *selvas* or tropical forests of Maynas.

⁴⁴⁶ Prieto, Andrés I. *Missionary Scientists: Jesuit Science in Spanish South America, 1570-1810*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2011. Pg. 14 and O'Malley, John W. *The First Jesuits*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993.

⁴⁴⁷ Cushner, Nicholas P. *Soldiers of God: The Jesuits in Colonial America, 1565-1767*. Buffalo, NY: Language Communications, 2002. Pg. 23

⁴⁴⁸ O'Malley, John W. *The First Jesuits*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993. Pp. 15-16

⁴⁴⁹ *Ibid.* O'Malley. Pp. 18

Given the wide range of languages and ignorance of particular indigenous tongues (at least at first), the missions also served as educational centers from which the Jesuits would instill their ideologies upon the minds, bodies, and earth of Maynas. Upon encountering a number of different languages used by indigenous peoples, the fathers attempted to learn native tongues, while in Maynas deciding that teaching Quechua as an indigenous language of communication that placed along with linguistic ties, ideologies of highland domination over lowland Amazonian peoples.⁴⁵⁰ In other words, if indigeneity was to remain within Maynas, it should (at the very most) be the co-opted forms of memory expressed through the “civilized” Inka form of indigeneity. This had practical repercussions as well. Groups that had maintained ties with Andean communities (at least those individuals who survived the terrible diseases) found themselves as potential mediators between Amazonian populations and the rest of the colonial system. Amazonians with greater knowledge of Quechua (or Spanish) thus were often in a stronger position vis-à-vis arriving encomenderos, vecinos, and the Jesuits themselves.⁴⁵¹

While the Jesuits relied on such tactics employing their particularly culturally selected ideas⁴⁵² through evangelization,⁴⁵³ the Society of Jesus and its individual officiates had different ways of approaching the process that often allowed for elements of negotiation with indigenous peoples in the Americas. This was no different for Amazonia, although most Jesuits believed that “indigenous elements” were still quite dangerous to the true expression of the faith and therefore

⁴⁵⁰ For more on the Jesuit Education system in Maynas, See: Reátegui Chuquipiondo, Pedro Ricardo. *El Sistema Educativo Misional En Las Reducciones Jesuitas De Maynas: Una Experiencia Educativa En La Amazonia Peruana*. Iquitos, Perú: CRA, 2001.

⁴⁵¹ Figueroa, Francisco De. *Relación De Las Misiones De La Compañía De Jesús En El País De Los Maynas*. Calle De Preciados Núm 48, Madrid: Librería General De Victoriano Suarez, 1904. Pg. 23

⁴⁵² Again, this refers to the “culturally constructed package of ideas the Jesuit and other Colonial authorities would seek to impose upon indigenous Amazonian peoples.

⁴⁵³ For more on the notion of cultural selection, See: Taylor, Gary. *Cultural Selection*. New York: BasicBooks, Originally University of Virginia, 1996. And McKay, Ian. *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009.

usually were prescribed in an attempt to destroy or weaken such indigenous practices and beliefs.⁴⁵⁴ However, native peoples throughout Maynas did not passively receive and accept such instructions by the Jesuit fathers. Rather, Amazonian peoples would use and agitate for such spaces through forms of resistance ranging from fleeing the missions, to armed rebellions against exploitation by individual Jesuits, the colonial authorities, and the mission system more broadly.

For the Jesuits, those who had chosen the path to resist, or had been cast into “states of exception,” violence would “legitimately” be used against them. Nevertheless, once a “reciprocal” bloodletting was enacted by the church through colonial or local authorities, individuals who had not been executed or exiled. After this indigenous individuals and groups were re-welcomed into the colonial and catholic communities as long as performances of “sanctioned indigeneity” were maintained. Still, social mores were not as fixed as they might seem in most historical memories of the period that are imagined today. For instance, the supposed power to absolve sin, through rituals such as communion and confession offered a way for people believed to be in this “state of exception,”⁴⁵⁵ to be accepted back into the (Christian) humanist communion. This includes individuals (and entire communities), which could be welcomed, negotiate or buy their way, back into this particular notion of humanity by being “saved” through Christ by acknowledging their subordination to Jesuit “instruction.”

Confessions became a related tool used by the Jesuits to gain information from indigenous peoples concerning their beliefs, habits, along with those of their family members, neighbors, and communities that were regulated through written texts such as the

⁴⁵⁴ For a particular example of how such differences could play out, See: Valera, Blas, and Sabine Hyland. *Gods of the Andes: An Early Jesuit Account of Inca Religion and Andean Christianity*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011. And Cushner, Nicholas P. *Soldiers of God: The Jesuits in Colonial America, 1565-1767*. Buffalo, NY: Language Communications, 2002. Pg. 32

⁴⁵⁵ For more on the concept of the “state of exception, and especially its link to bare life, See: Agamben, Giorgio, and Daniel Heller-Roazen. *Homo Sacer*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998. Pp 17, 82-83

Confesionario.⁴⁵⁶ During the exchange, “the penitent was questioned about birds, fish traps, lightning, snakes in the road, dreams, ceremonies of war, abortion, sex, and other topics considered to be authentic Christianity.’ Following the confession, the Jesuit might explain: ‘all of these abuses and tremors of the body and signs of birds and animals, none of it is to be believed.’ To herbalists, midwives, and sorcerers: ‘Leave that evil prayer because it is perverse, cure only with medicine.’⁴⁵⁷ By medicine, this would default (when applicable) to legitimate old world remedies, which coincidentally weakened the traditional power of indigenous shamanism.⁴⁵⁸ In these confessions, additional notions of patriarchy, and domination over nature rather than a belief in a reciprocal relationship were enforced through the confessional. These are known to have often collided with indigenous ideologies that shaped everything from production and trade to economics and language.⁴⁵⁹

This performance between confessor and convert also became a prerequisite for the believer to receive the Eucharist and therefore to become fully accepted into the Christian community with his or her sins forgiven.⁴⁶⁰ While the importance of confession may be underappreciated today, it performed a task similar to the performance of law and court trials in the contemporary period.⁴⁶¹ The result was often the fashioning of particular cultural and institutional memories by the Jesuits of their project in Maynas and beyond and which ultimately

⁴⁵⁶ For more on the notion of “authentic Christianity”, or the Jesuits more broadly, see: Cushner, Nicholas P. *Soldiers of God: The Jesuits in Colonial America, 1565-1767*. Buffalo, NY: Language Communications, 2002. Pp. 15-16

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid.* Cushner, 16

⁴⁵⁸ Stone-Miller, Rebecca. "Human-Animal Imagery, Shamanic Visions, and Ancient American Aesthetics." *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, No. 45 (Spring, 2004), Pp. 47-68. Accessed May 20, 2018. <http://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/pdfplus/10.1086/RESv45n1ms20167621>.

⁴⁵⁹ *Ibid.* Chusner. Pg. 16

⁴⁶⁰ *Ibid.* Chusner. Pp.15-16

⁴⁶¹ These can also be seen as akin to the Nuremburg trials (confessing or exposing sin), or through “truth and reconciliation commissions” that have been put into place following periods of human rights violations following instances including the “Dirty War” in Argentina or the Shining Path (Sendero Luminoso) in Perú For more on the implications of Sendero Luminoso, See: Theidon, Kimberly Susan. *Intimate Enemies: Violence and Reconciliation in Perú*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013.

adapted to shape the Society's needs and often resulted in the subordination of indigenous peoples.

In one interesting example, demonstrating the Society's adaptability and ability to absolve or obscure sin, St. Ignatius, the founder of the Jesuits himself was known to have been charged with a "felony" (perhaps homicide) in his youth. While such a crime today would (at least potentially) place him in confinement for life, his connections and "rebirth" through Christ was seen as enough to forget the offence at least by the time of the creation of *La Compañía De Jesús*⁴⁶² and most certainly by the time of Ignatius' canonization.⁴⁶³ Therefore, the Jesuit order in many ways replicated the social and economic hierarchies, contradictions, and realities of the day. Indeed, run autocratically, many of the earliest Jesuits maintained strong (if not blood) links to the wealthiest and most powerful European royal and noble families. For instance, Saint Francis Borja (Borgia)⁴⁶⁴ was related to both Pope Alexander VI and King Ferdinand II of Aragon.⁴⁶⁵ Incidentally, the capital of Maynas founded under Viceroy Francis de Borja y Aragón in 1618 would come to be named for the Viceroy's famous grandfather, and namesake,⁴⁶⁶ the same San Francisco de Borja above, who gained an immense following as "general" of the Jesuits.⁴⁶⁷ Such connections demonstrate the links between Maynas and colonial centers in the Viceroyalty of Perú (especially Lima and Quito), and with the very centers of European Catholicism.

⁴⁶² As the Jesuits were named in: Figueroa, Francisco De. *Relación De Las Misiones De La Compañía De Jesús En El País De Los Maynas*. Calle De Preciados Núm 48, Madrid: Librería General De Victoriano Suarez, 1904

⁴⁶³ Letson, Douglas Richard, and Michael W. Higgins. *The Jesuit Mystique*. Chicago: Jesuit Way, 1995. Pg. 4

⁴⁶⁴ Canonized, 1671 For More on San Francisco de Borja, See: O'Malley, John W. *The First Jesuits*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993. Pg. 1

⁴⁶⁵ For more on the life and background of Sain Francis Borgia (San Francisco de Borja), See: Clarke, A. M. *The Life of St. Francis Borgia of the Society of Jesus*. London: Burns and Oates, 1894.

⁴⁶⁶ González Suárez, Federico. "Biblioteca Virtual Miguel De Cervantes." Biblioteca Virtual Miguel De Cervantes. Accessed August 26, 2013. http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/historia-general-de-la-republica-del-ecuador-tomo-sexto--0/html/0016cf90-82b2-11df-acc7-002185ce6064_10.html. pg. 115

⁴⁶⁷ Campbell, Thomas J. *The Jesuits: 1534 - 1921 ; a History of the Society of Jesus from Its Foundation to the Present Time*. New York: Encyclopedia Press, 1921. Pg. 53

The section above provided a brief look at examples of the transnational networks of people and ideas that were used to fashion the Jesuit order around the world and that would have an influence on the particular project in Maynas. Such networks were vitally linked to the missions and to indigenous peoples including the Omaguas, Cocamas, Urarinas, and other groups. Finally, through Jesuit and other early modern global networks that shaped trade, evangelization, and government, this understudied region of the South American neo-tropics has been deeply connected to the historical movements and discourses concerning the historical struggle for defining who was included in the definition of “human” and is consequently also connected to the broader narratives dealing with the struggles for rights, autonomy, and self-rule that in this chapter seek to demonstrate indigenous agency within Amazonia. Therefore, the Maynas missions ultimately represent examples of “biopower” as well⁴⁶⁸ since they sought to refashion- violently if necessary - Amazonian space, bodies, minds, and souls.

⁴⁶⁸ This connection is especially, informed by the quote, “Power would no longer be dealing simply with legal subjects over whom the ultimate dominion was death, but with living beings, and the mastery it would be able to exercise over them would have to be applied at the level of life itself; it was the taking charge of life, more than the threat of death, that gave power its access even to the body. If one can apply the term *bio-history* to the pressures through which the movements of life and the processes of history interfere with one another, one would have to speak of *bio-power* to designate what brought life and its mechanisms into the realm of explicit calculations and made knowledge-power an agent of transformation of human life.” For more on this quote and notion of biopower and biopolitics, See: Scheper-Hughes, Nancy, Philippe I. Bourgois, and Michel Foucault. *Violence in War and Peace*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2004.

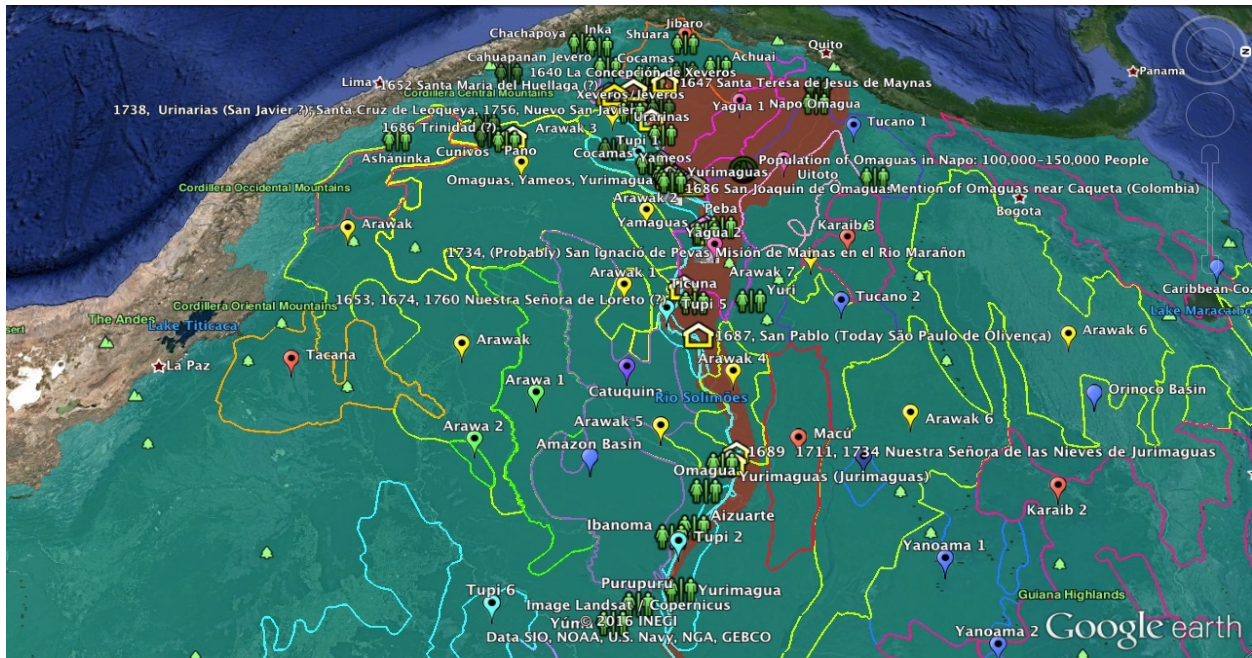


Figure 3.9: The Greatest Claimed Area of the Maynas Missions Alongside Ethnolinguistic and Local Amazonian Groups. Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., Spring 2017

The map above represents information compiled by the author from numerous sources to visualize the greatest “physical” extent of the Maynas Mission (in red) to the Rio Negro around the present city of Manaus. Individual Amazonian “nations” are represented by the male/female icon (in green) and missions are represented by gold placemarks in the shape of a “house or structure” Finally, different ethnolinguistic groups are represented by various colors (for instance: greenish-yellow for Arawak, red for Karaib, and light blue for Tupian groups), while Amazonian cultural geography is more broadly overlaid in light blue. While this is of course an incomplete rendering, this figure is meant to help the reader to contextualize the Maynas missions within existing indigenous societies and territories to demonstrate again that these missionary enterprises were not working in “empty” space but rather would represent just some of the additional cultural “package” of old world ideas and traditions resting alongside (and disrupting) preexisting rivalries, as well as Amazonian social, cultural, and political structures.

**Part IV: “To Make Fruitful” - The Transformation of Maynas in the Age of the Jesuits,
1618 - 1767**

To recap briefly from sections above after our tangent describing the Jesuit order, in February of 1635, the people of Maynas rose in rebellion against the encomenderos, killing many around Borja. This sparked increased “retaliatory” violence by the encomenderos who reportedly hunted down those indigenous peoples perceived as responsible in the forests. “The Jesuit historian Jouanen records that ‘The punishments were carried out over several years with inhuman rage and cruelty.’ Ten years later only twenty-one of the original, forty-two encomiendas remained, and Spanish enthusiasm for colonizing this area was severely diminished.”⁴⁶⁹ Indigenous resistance had worked, to an extent. The encomienda system would be altered as colonial control and support transferred indigenous lands and futures under the “protection” of the Society of Jesus at the request of Governor Don Pedro Vaca de la Cadena.

Therefore, it was into this situation of disease, violence, animosity, threats from Portuguese bandeirantes, and other threats of destruction that the Jesuits were brought to Borja in 1636. During the revolt, traffic down the main channel of the river was impeded, severely limiting the sphere of colonial and missionary action.”⁴⁷⁰ In a very real sense, the Jesuits arrived into Maynas in ways parallel to how many might view contemporary humanitarian capacity. This required the Jesuits to administer to (and protect) rights of people who had been both victims and perpetrators of terrible violence, while others still sought to maintain full autonomy beyond colonial control.⁴⁷¹

⁴⁶⁹ Reeve, Mary-Elizabeth. "Regional Interaction in the Western Amazon: The Early Colonial Encounter and the Jesuit Years: 1538-1767." *Ethnohistory* 41, no. 1 (1993): 106-38. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3536980>. Pp. 115-116

⁴⁷⁰ *Ibid.* Pp. 115-116

⁴⁷¹ For more on the links between Human Rights and Humanitarianism, See: Mantua, Makau. "Savages Victims and Saviors: The Metaphor of Human Rights." *Harvard International Law Journal* 42, no. 1 (2001): 201-46.

Certainly, one of the major justifications for the missions was to function as permanent places of refuge from physical violence toward indigenous peoples. Especially, the missions were established to combat indigenous enslavement by encomenderos, the Portuguese or other Europeans (who were seeking to expand into the region), along with rival non-Christianized indigenous groups.⁴⁷² However, rather than stay only a brief while to administer to the region in the aftermath of this period of violence, the Jesuits would begin a “more permanent” project that often resulted in economic and/or physical dependence of indigenous peoples upon *La Compañía De Jesús*. This situation, therefore replicated many of the forms of colonial domination that were used since the Columbian voyages.

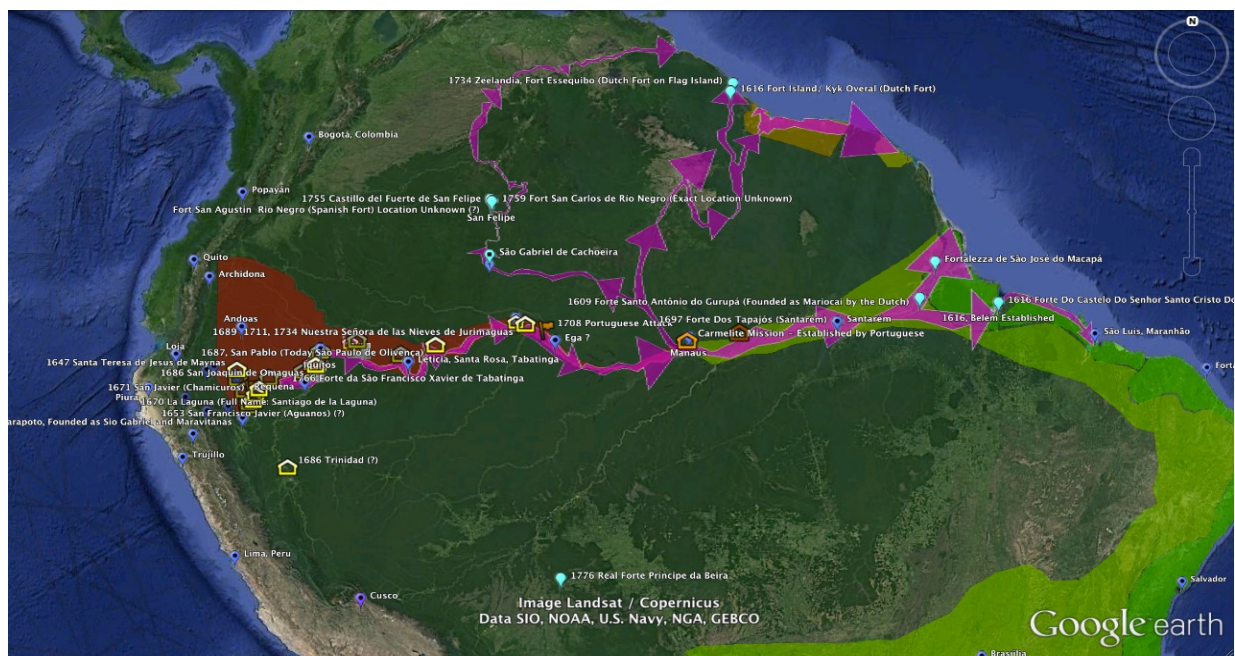


Figure 3.10: The Indigenous Slave Trade Between Spanish-Jesuit Maynas and Portuguese Amazonia between 1618 and 1767. Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., Spring 2017

The image above demonstrates the central tension between the Jesuit theocratic state of Maynas under Spanish control (represented in red) and the slave trade (shown in pink), which

⁴⁷² Reeve, Mary-Elizabeth. "Regional Interaction in the Western Amazon: The Early Colonial Encounter and the Jesuit Years: 1538-1767." *Ethnohistory* 41, no. 1 (1993): 106-38. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3536980>. Pg. 120

was most directly directed by the efforts in Portuguese-held lands (shown in green). Such efforts moved people upriver thus depopulating areas in central Amazonia. The figure visualizes the long-term processes of enslavement of Amazonian people (shown in light purple with arrows) who were forced from their homes and often taken to labor in the plantations of Portuguese Pará with the movement of people generally toward the coasts in order to work in cash-crop plantations, especially cocoa, sugar, cotton, etc. While the Jesuits remained powerful for a time in Portuguese Amazonia, their historical connections to Spain and more immediate concerns would ultimately suppress the order.

Importantly, Dutch or French Guiana, parts of Spanish Venezuela and Colombia (further up the Rio Negro and Orinoco Basins) would also be regions by using enslaved indigenous peoples, forcing them to labor in plantations or as rowers along the main Amazonian river channel and other tributaries. This particular chapter will focus for an extended moment on the main channel of the “Amazon or Marañón rivers.” However, the reader should keep in mind that similar enslavement tactics on the part of imperial powers physically removed people from central Amazonia and along many of the major tributaries putting additional stress on this region as raids increasingly traveled further into the Amazonian interior.⁴⁷³

Ultimately such stresses would help the Jesuits would to found 118 *reducciones* or colonial centers from which their evangelization efforts would be focused, beginning with the founding of La Limpia Concepcion de Nuestra Señora⁴⁷⁴ in 1640 by Padre Lucas de la Cueva,

⁴⁷³ For more on the process of enslavement, see: Sweet, David Graham. *A Rich Realm of Nature Destroyed: The Middle Amazon Valley, 1640-1750*. University of Wisconsin, 1974 and Hemming, John. *Red Gold: The Conquest of the Brazilian Indians*. London: MacMillan, 1978.

⁴⁷⁴ Translated as :The immaculate conception of our lady” (The Virgin Mary)

and ending with the foundation of Humurana in 1766 by Padre A. Castillo.⁴⁷⁵ However, most missions were established on shaky foundations so that many failed through the period. As Mary-Elizabeth Reeve argues, “Over the entire period of Jesuit missionization about sixty missions were successfully established and, at most, about forty functioned simultaneously. The population was made dependent on the missionary for European trade goods, of which iron tools/manufactured products were the principal items.”⁴⁷⁶

Reducciones were, by this point, a well-established tool used by the Jesuits and other colonial authorities to concentrate and control indigenous populations, with an aim that such spaces would be as self-sustaining as possible.⁴⁷⁷ The lifestyle imposed by the *reducciones* replicated old world conceptions of land tenure and legal ownership that equated agroforestry or “hunter and gatherer” means of resource management with the “primitive, backward, savage, and undeveloped.”⁴⁷⁸ As a result, indigenous methods of land management in use for centuries such as agroforestry (described in detail above) were discouraged by many of the Jesuits. As these systems were abandoned by indigenous peoples such as the Cunivos, Omaguas, and Urinarias and replaced by monocropping and clear-cutting. These imposed agricultural forms more recognizable (and appropriate) to old world ideas, purses, and palates. As some of these churches became “more permanent,” activities peripheral to spiritual matters would continue to alter cultural and ecological landscape as missions generated markets, trading centers, urban grid

⁴⁷⁵ Unfortunately, I have only been able to find Castillo’s first initial. For more on this, see, Fuentes, Hildebrando. *Loreto; Apuntes Geográficos, Históricos, Estadísticos, Políticos Y Sociales*. Lima: Impr. De La Revista, 1908. Pp. 162-168

⁴⁷⁶ Reeve, Mary-Elizabeth. "Regional Interaction in the Western Amazon: The Early Colonial Encounter and the Jesuit Years: 1538-1767." *Ethnohistory* 41, no. 1 (1993): 106-38. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3536980>. Pp Pg 119 and Walker, Harry. "Demonic Trade: Debt, Materiality, and Agency in Amazonia." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 18 (2012): 140-59.

⁴⁷⁷ Reátegui Chuquipiondo, Pedro Ricardo. *El Sistema Educativo Misional En Las Reducciones Jesuitas De Maynas: Una Experiencia Educativa En La Amazonia Peruana*. Iquitos, Perú: CRA, 2001. Pg. 17

⁴⁷⁸ Cushner, Nicholas P. *Soldiers of God: The Jesuits in Colonial America, 1565-1767*. Buffalo, NY: Language Communications, 2002. Pg. 14-15

systems, architectural styles became monumentalized and began to alter local environments.⁴⁷⁹

Federico Gonzalez Suarez explains how important altering the physical environment was to the foundation of the missions physically. In doing so, he also demonstrates how this process was intimately tied to the collective memory of the mission experience even by 1901, when his work was first published.⁴⁸⁰ He explained, that the forest would be cleared to begin the construction of the church. Once the church was complete, it was followed by constructing the homes of the Jesuit priest, and finally ended with those of for the Amazonian converts.⁴⁸¹



Figure 3.11: A Representation of Mission San Ignacio de Pevas in the 18th Century. Source by Manuel M. Marzal and Sandra Negro, 1999. Compiled by Deavenport, J. Spring, 2017

The image above represents an idealized version of the Mission San Ignacio de Pevas that

⁴⁷⁹ Of course, by “permanent” I mean here more that a more sustained presence was maintained

⁴⁸⁰ González Suárez, Federico. "Historia General De La Republica De Ecuador: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel De Cervantes." Biblioteca Virtual Miguel De Cervantes. orig. 1901. Accessed August 26, 2013. http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/historia-general-de-la-republica-del-ecuador-tomo-sexto--0/html/0016cf90-82b2-11df-acc7-002185ce6064_10.html.

⁴⁸¹ The original Spanish text concerning the clearing of the selva: se descuajaba el bosque, se limpiaba el terreno y se daba principio a la fundación del pueblo, construyendo ante todo la iglesia.

was founded in 1734 by Padre N. Singler.⁴⁸² This map has then been overlaid and each individual section outlined and labeled in relation to the modern town of Pevas from the work *Un Reino En La Frontera*.⁴⁸³ This is included here because this is one of the only scholarly representations of how a mission in Maynas may have been laid out, what it might have looked like, and what contributing institutions or culturally selected traditions might maintain the continued functioning of the mission. The representation here has been overlaid in possible reference to the modern settlement. While this is only an idealized representation and more research (especially archaeological excavation) is needed to determine the precise layout of earlier sites and to even determine if the present position of the town is indeed the site of the mission. Although the present consensus is that Pevas and other Jesuit reducciones would have been organized along the same general template.

However, this visualization helps to see how Eurocentric ideas of urban planning (including orientation along cardinal points), farming, and the links between spiritual/state power and the center of communities (with implications for surveillance, etc.) are hopefully apparent.⁴⁸⁴ The reducción is also in the shape of a cross, thus demonstrating spatially on the ground (in a way not too dissimilar from the layout of Inka Cusco discussed in chapter 1, Figure 1.11). Geoglyphs seem to be a trans-cultural tradition that has been used by many cultures to express power. Indeed, this imposed spiritual implications on the land, the reducción, and by extension, its inhabitants. The crosses next to the river (not highlighted in the figure but visible on the original map near the port) would further indicate to the converts, Spanish encomenderos

⁴⁸² I have not come across Padre Singler's first name in full through the sources at present

⁴⁸³ The original flat map's source is: Marzal, Manuel M., and Sandra Negro. *Un Reino En La Frontera: Las Misiones Jesuitas En La America Colonial*. Lima: Fondo Editor. De La Pontificia Universidad Catolica del Perú, 1999. Pg. 205

⁴⁸⁴ Translations into English have been substituted for the Spanish names of the original source and are available in KMZ and KML Formats.

or Portuguese bandeirantes that this was a Christian settlement, thereby weakening any legal claims to its inhabitants when facing the very real threat of kidnapping and enslavement. This was also a message to other friendly and rival indigenous groups.

The Jesuit fathers also maintained within the “atrium” an orchard and garden containing old world imperial biota, especially cash crops that could bring economic sustenance to reducciones such as Pevas.⁴⁸⁵ Meanwhile, palms (also not highlighted but which ring the original map) are described in various sources as continuing to be maintained by different groups, signaling that some indigenous flora enabled the continuation of monumentalized traditions such as ritual consumption of fermented palm wine or manioc.

Some other roles of the missions are also apparent in the figure above. For instance, a jail, a smith, carpenter, and turtle enclosure would allow a reducción to incarcerate and punish wayward converts, while a smith could provide indispensable tools (mostly in iron) that cleared land. Since iron could act as a form of capital, it kept indigenous peoples out of the system of debt that contributed to their enslavement. Essentially, now dependent upon slash and burn agriculture, indigenous people needed to use iron tools. However, both the iron and the means to fashion tools from raw ore were controlled by Europeans who would often provide the tools on credit at terms that would ensure the continual indebtedness of Amazonian groups and individuals. Once unable to get out from under the debt, indigenous people would be effectively enslaved or would be required to furnish enemy slaves to their European creditors.

Alternatively, a carpenter could help to transform the native flora into buildings or objects for use by the community or especially, might help to provide artistic instruction at the service of

⁴⁸⁵ More concerning broader historiographical understanding of this can be seen in: Reeve, Mary-Elizabeth. "Regional Interaction in the Western Amazon: The Early Colonial Encounter and the Jesuit Years: 1538-1767." *Ethnohistory* 41, no. 1 (1993): 106-38. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3536980> .

evangelization as well. Finally, the figure demonstrates that turtles also were raised for tools, food, eggs, and to make oil (for pitch, lamp oil, and butter).

Such changes to privilege particular culturally selected preferences at the discretion of the Jesuit fathers required major shifts in social structures and a relationship to the environment that would have been quite jarring for the indigenous peoples who toiled in the humid fields and workspaces of these Amazonian missions, which replaced the cooler agroforests cultivated by their ancestors. The spaces around the missions had been populated by plant species that were intensively managed or gathered as needed for local, Amazonian, (or perhaps Andean) consumption as medicine, or for trade. The logic of this native system stands in remarkable contrast, to the colonial merchant capitalist and mercantilist agricultural system that instead imposed a dominant trans-Atlantic logic that from the colonial metropole, which ultimately placed Amazonia into a subordinate and exploited position within the early modern global economy.

Fields of sugarcane, bananas, rice and cacao were planted under the watchful gaze of Jesuit missionaries. These and other crops contributed to the broader project replacing, and ultimately mixing indigenous plants (and animals) with old world flora and fauna.⁴⁸⁶ This greatly altered the ecosystem with major impacts on the earlier agroforestry and management systems as the forest itself influenced both local and regional weather.⁴⁸⁷ In short, many of the missions set down similar particular patterns upon which culturally selected ideas about space, utilization and alteration of the land have evolved and were directly connected through the collapse of history to the destruction, which at present continues throughout Amazonia.

⁴⁸⁶ Crosby, Alfred W. *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003.

⁴⁸⁷Reeve, Mary-Elizabeth. "Regional Interaction in the Western Amazon: The Early Colonial Encounter and the Jesuit Years: 1538-1767." *Ethnohistory* 41, no. 1 (1993): 106-38. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3536980> . Pg. 124

While simultaneously destroying and adding to Maynas' biodiversity through the introduction of trans-oceanic flora and fauna, the missions were also inter-ethnic and international spaces within the colonial system. The missions were spaces where, at certain moments, different indigenous peoples were forced into new relationships with their colonial Amazonian peers. This strengthened, fractured and created new communities, friendships, and animosities between different indigenous groups. For instance, initially the Cocama and especially later the Omaguas were powerful armed groups that dominated trade in a symbiotic if probably subordinate relationship vis-à-vis *La Compañía De Jesús*.

These and other indigenous groups would then help to evangelize other indigenous peoples, including the Urarinas and Xeveros.⁴⁸⁸ Indeed, these groups often guided the Jesuits to allies in order to initiate contact and therefore provided the Jesuits moments of interaction outside indigenous parallel structures indicating “states of exception” that might initially view the missionaries as dangerous or at least with contempt. Such moments were beneficial to Jesuit allies as well, as these indigenous groups leveraged their relationships with colonial authority or against rivals to their benefit.

For instance, it was the Cocama who first put the Jesuits in touch with the Jeveros (also spelled Xeberos and Xeveros).⁴⁸⁹ The Jeveros would come to live in one of the largest and most successful missions in Maynas. Jesuits Francisco de Figueroa claimed that within the same Mission Concepción that would often come to be called simply “Xeveros” discussed earlier, there remained “an infinity of turtles and sea-cows [manatees]” revealing the continuation (and

⁴⁸⁸ Walker, Harry. "Demonic Trade: Debt, Materiality, and Agency in Amazonia." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 18 (2012): 140-59. Pg. 143

⁴⁸⁹ The name Xeberos is also alternatively spelled Jeberos. I view these as largely interchangeable but usually adhere to the most immediate spelling to signal to the reader that these may mean different groups as well as to demonstrate the fluidity of language and spelling within the overall historiography

appropriation) of indigenous forms of ecological management within the missions alongside old world agriculture. Indeed, for the Jesuits, the appropriation of certain cultural practices could be useful and when this was recognized, such practices were allowed to continue under Jesuit control and placing them within a cultural state of exception. Such arguments were also used to bolster the humanitarian and humanistic aims of the missions to the Society and to a larger old world audience, while continuing to other indigenous people.⁴⁹⁰

However, such imagined Jesuit paradises could quickly turn into earthly hells as old world diseases ravaged the population. Indeed, in 1640, at La Limpia Concepción de Nuestra Señora (Xeveros),⁴⁹¹ horrible illnesses (perhaps measles or small pox) afflicted the population. Cures were sought out ranging from applying indigenous medicinal knowledge, to the use of confessions on the part of the Jesuit fathers.⁴⁹² Perhaps because of such afflictions, the Xeveros Cocama, and other groups were for a time violently opposed to evangelization and were noted by Fr. Francisco de Figueroa in his description of the Missions of *La Compañía* as: “barbarians, pirates, and corsairs.”⁴⁹³ Figueroa also mentions that the Xeveros were hated enemies of the Cocama, who were seen as increasingly “Christianized.” These labels associated with savagery and piracy othered people, placing them within the “state of exception.” As a result, they were pursued by the Jesuits and their indigenous allies and partners until through violent domination

⁴⁹⁰Figueroa, Francisco De. *Relación De Las Misiones De La Compañía De Jesús En El País De Los Maynas*. Calle De Preciados Núm 48, Madrid: Librería General De Victoriano Suarez, 1904. Pg. 36-37

⁴⁹¹ Multiple names of the missions are used throughout the historiography, making it sometimes difficult to distinguish exactly which mission is being discussed. Where in question, I have elected to use corroborating information such as which groups lived at the missions, geographic cludes, along with which particular Jesuit had founded the mission in order to distinguish the missions from one another.

⁴⁹² *Ibid.* Figueroa, Francisco. Pg. 24

⁴⁹³ *Ibid.* Figueroa, Francisco. Pp. 39-43

and religious evangelization the Xeveros were “reformed” indigenous converts and had become “good Christians.”⁴⁹⁴

From 1638 to around 1660 the mission was largely successful in that no missionaries seem to have been killed by the Mainas and Cocama, whom the Jesuits had sought to convert. A relative peace ensued, which allowed the Jesuits priests to “protect” indigenous peoples from some of the worst excesses of the *encomienda* system. Such “protection” instead, seems to have generated a fair amount of opposition, including charges of excessive work, that were unjustly tying of people to land, in opposition to their traditional land tenure techniques, while other challenges arose in opposition to the strictness of Jesuit commands concerning sexuality and indigenous beliefs/rituals.

Indeed, by 1654, Father Santa Cruz’s party was attacked by a number of Jeveros killing some of the party (apparently cutting off their heads), and which resulted in the death of 4 Jeveros individuals. Such descriptions again were used to justify retaliatory violence on the part of the Jesuits, who utilized soldiers dispatched from the relatively nearby capital of San Francisco de Borja. While the Jesuit sources mention various conspiracies that were plotted against Fr. Lucas de la Cueva, the Jesuit sources maintain a tradition of linking unrest largely with “pagan-sympathizing” indigenous sub-groups whenever it arose. The sources constantly argued that “Christians” would not undertake such violence, without recognizing the obvious

⁴⁹⁴ Here I understand the “state of exception to be revealed through particular words such as corsair and pirate. These were “enemies of all nations,” and thus existed beyond the laws and “protections” of the state. For more on this, See: “In exactly the same way, only language as the pure potentiality to signify, withdrawing itself from every concrete instance of speech, divides the linguistic from the nonlinguistic and allows for the opening of areas of meaningful speech in which certain terms correspond to certain denotations. Language is the sovereign who, in a permanent state of exception, declares that there is nothing outside language and that language is always beyond itself. The particular structure of law has its foundation in this presuppositional structure of human language. It expresses the bond of inclusive exclusion to which a thing is subject because of the fact of being in language, of being named. To speak [*dire*] is, in this sense, always to “speak the law,” *ius dicere*. From: Agamben, Giorgio, and Daniel Heller-Roazen. *Homo Sacer*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998. Pg.21

disruptions and violence produced by the colonial state. In other words, when uprisings occurred, the colonial sources are at times unwilling to admit to the abuses on the part of colonial authorities.

In 1662, perhaps foreboding major difficulties ahead, Father Santa Cruz was sought to open up a road to Quito in the upper Napo River basin. However, his canoe rushed straight into a fallen tree and he was knocked unconscious and drowned. His body was never recovered. Others were left to complete the task of opening a viable route between Maynas and other areas under Spanish control. It is quite interesting and at the same time (especially for those who have been to Amazonia) not shocking at all that trees have played such an outsized role in the history of the region. This will not be the last time however, that trees contributed to altering historical moments and would become depicted as an example of the “malevolence” of Amazonia to colonization, which in this instance contributed to the untimely death of Padre Santa Cruz.

According to the historian Jouanen, by 1664, the Cocamas joined with Chepeos and the Maparinas peoples and were plotting to kill father Lucas de la Cueva, who had been in Jaén. Cueva dispatched the Lieutenant from Borja along with “Indians loyal [to the Jesuits] and against the Cocama” in order to impose the “proper spiritual order” upon the converts.⁴⁹⁵ The lieutenant from Borja came upon a group of mixed/indigenous people and their leaders who had revolted. After threatening to kill all of the indigenous people assembled, a summary court was held, and ten individuals were executed. These included six Cocamas and four Chepeo caciques.⁴⁹⁶

Jouanen, who is one of the most cited sources for this period goes on to explain that many other

⁴⁹⁵ Jouanen, José. *Historia De La Compañía De Jesús En La Antigua Provincia De Quito: 1570-1774*. Biblioteca Virtual Miguel De Cervantes, 1941. Accessed March 24, 2017. http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/historia-de-la-compania-de-jesus-en-la-antigua-provincia-de-quito-15701774-tomo-i--0/html/0024efd0-82b2-11df-acc7-002185ce6064_56.html. Pg. 452

⁴⁹⁶ *Ibid.* Original Text: “En ese mismo punto el Teniente formó su tribunal de justicia, averiguó quiénes eran los más culpables y en la misma playa ahorcó a diez, casi todos caciques, seis cocamas y cuatro chepeos.

people were whipped and the Chepeos were actually taken to Borja, ostensibly signifying their incorporation into the encomienda system.

In a fleet of over 40 canoes the Cocamas and Chepeos travelled to Borja to kill the mission's superior, Padre Tomás Majano. Instead, on March 15th 1666, at Sanata Maria de la Huallaga they came into contact with Padre Francisco de Figueroa. Pacaya, a Cocama cacique at Santa María de la Ucayali or possibly a rebellious "servant" reportedly knocked Figueroa in the head with a *macana* (an Amazonian war-club often made of wood). Figueroa's head was then cut off and later paraded around the sacked reducción. In the altercation, forty-four indigenous converts (probably Jeveros individuals) were also killed along with a Spanish soldier who happened to be there. Interestingly, no information is given if the soldiers' or Jeveros' heads were treated in a similar fashion. Consequently, this episode can and should be viewed as an uprising, but *also* as a continuation of another particular cycle of violent interactions, which have now been largely forgotten but which then contributed to producing major tensions between indigenous groups with colonial and Jesuit authorities.⁴⁹⁷ Moreover, killing and displaying the head of the Jesuit was a powerful visual exhibition of power and of the possibility that local beliefs could prevail (even if only for a time) over the imposed faith of La Compañía de Jesus.

The historian José Antonio Ferrer Benimeli (b. 1934) argues that the same year as Figueroa's death in 1666, a major outbreak of plague (most likely smallpox) killed up to 80,000 people in the reducciones and the surrounding areas of Maynas. In 1681 another 60,000 people

⁴⁹⁷ Jouanen, José. *Historia De La Compañía De Jesús En La Antigua Provincia De Quito: 1570-1774*. Biblioteca Virtual Miguel De Cervantes, 1941. Accessed March 24, 2017. http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/historia-de-la-compania-de-jesus-en-la-antigua-provincia-de-quito-15701774-tomo-i--0/html/0024efd0-82b2-11df-acc7-002185ce6064_56.html. Original Text: "Para atajar el dado el padre Cueva pidió al Teniente de Borja una expedición de soldados y de indios, fieles contra los cocamas." Pg. 452

perished from old world pathogens.⁴⁹⁸ It is very likely that this devastation may have been a contributing factor to the 1666 uprising as people may (rightly in this case) have connected the spread of diseases with the arrival of the Jesuits, Europeans, and Mestizo (or mixed race) peoples, including the Portuguese. In 1681 as well, populations of La Laguna and Santa María de Guallaga would flee the mission, entering Omagua territory. Thus, it is important again to note that there was a complex interplay of factors motivating resistance to the imposition of Jesuit rule in Maynas including: 1) opposition to forms of labor and land tenure, 2) opposition to Catholic/old world social mores or to individual Jesuits and finally, 3) opposition to the missions as they became incubators for disease.

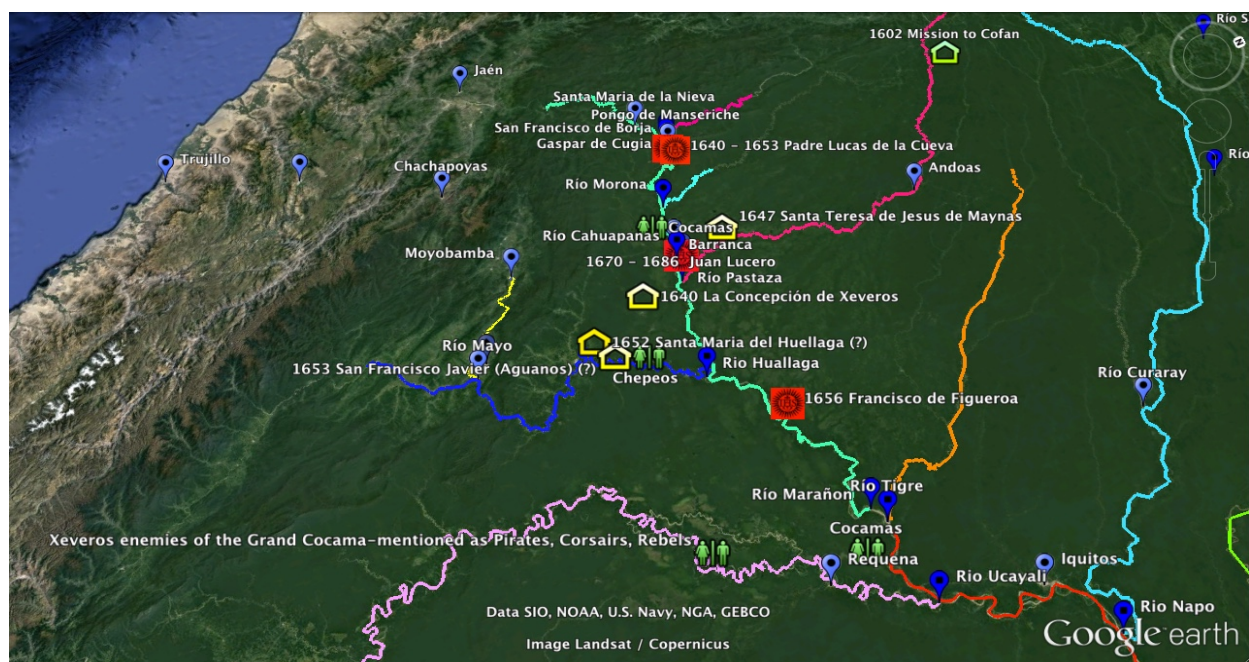


Figure 3.12: Upper Maynas with Early Jesuit Missions, Amazonian Groups, and Major River Tributaries. Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., Spring 2017

The map above displays compiled information concerning some of the areas and actors discussed above including the Jesuits (represented by their order's logo in red) and Amazonian

⁴⁹⁸ Ferrer Benimeli José A. "La Expulsión De Los Jesuitas De Las Misiones Del Amazonas (1768-1769) a Través De Pará Y Lisboa." Cervantes Virtual. 2009. Accessed April 13, 2017. <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra/la-expulsin-de-los-jesuitas-de-las-misiones-del-amazonas-17681769-a-travs-de-par-y-lisboa-0/>.

groups including the Cocama, Xeveros (Jeveros) and Chepeos in green. Different reducciones are represented in gold, colonial settlements in blue, and various river systems such as the Huallaga, Ucayali, Tigre, Pastaza, and Napo are represented in various colors This figure has been added to help contextualize some of the uprisings against the Maynas mission mentioned above and to demonstrate the fluidity at which various groups were moving across these spaces. I hope that this somewhat complicates a discussion on what it means to be sedentary or migratory.⁴⁹⁹

Indigenous mobility was heavily discouraged by the Jesuits and was also a cause for some of the tensions among various colonial structures.⁵⁰⁰ Much of the work being taught within these missions along Eurocentric notions of binary male/female gender included for instance also discouraged mobility by instead teaching girls to “cook, spin, knit, and embroider,” which “ideally” kept women more confined to the domestic sphere than in the indigenous past.⁵⁰¹ For the Jesuits, this production was economically vital as it helped to fund missionary activity along with “alms from Quito.” This production could generate additional capital that could then be used to help to secure supplies (like iron) and arms for the missions.

In addition to discouraging mobility, Jesuits interfered in the marriage rituals of their converts, which could also generate major tensions and violence. For example, in March of 1667,

⁴⁹⁹ For instance, commuters in U.S. cities sometimes travel hundreds of miles between work and home over the course of a week, month, etc. This does not mean that they give up their homes and become nomadic every time they leave. It does mean however, they are not *always* tied to the land.

⁵⁰⁰ For another primary source written during the period, see: Rodriguez, Manuel. *El Marañon Y Amazonas: Historia De Los Descubrimientos, Entradas Y Reduccion De Naciones En Las Dilatadas Montañas Y Maj. Rios De La America*. Madrid, 1684. https://books.google.com/books?id=QEpEWDaBH-UC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false.

⁵⁰¹ Jouanen, José. *Historia De La Compañía De Jesús En La Antigua Provincia De Quito: 1570-1774*. Biblioteca Virtual Miguel De Cervantes, 1941. Accessed March 24, 2017. http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/historia-de-la-compania-de-jesus-en-la-antigua-provincia-de-quito-15701774-tomo-i--0/html/0024efd0-82b2-11df-acc7-002185ce6064_56.html. PgPg. 409 Original Text: “Las niñas se formaban en las labores propias de su sexo como hacer la cocina, hilar, tejer, lavar y aun bordar.”

Jesuit sources claim that the cacique of the Avijiras named Quiricuare, was admonished by Fr. Pedro Suarez Guerra for his polygamy with twelve “women” or wives. Among the Avijiras, other caciques were noted to have between 3-4 wives.⁵⁰² Reportedly, as a result of this public admonishment and denigration of Avijiras sexual mores, the caciques decided to kill Suarez, according to a supposed witness of the event. This narrative was recorded by one Captain Diego Lucero, who had come from Borja and was investigating the death of father Suarez Guerra. Diego Lucero noted that a young witness to the event named Lucas Lluca (nicknamed Llulla) relayed the story of the act: Quiricuare and six other individuals speared the Jesuit to death and then went about burning down the settlement. These six would later be hanged, though Quiricuare was reportedly betrayed and killed at the hands of his own people due to his “cruelty and tyranny.”⁵⁰³ Thus, we can see how this narrative reveals some of the particular tensions between ideas concerning Jesuit/Catholic notions of marriage and gender versus Avijiras beliefs and rituals concerning sexuality and the construction of family lifeways contributed to this cycle of resistance and retaliatory violence. It is of course very possible that the reported testimony of Llulla is false, or that version written by Jesuit historians and chroniclers selected this particular version, because it also happened to fit the general appropriate and refashioned trope marking Amazonian “otherness,” and thereby “legitimately monopolized” the use of state violence against those who transgressed these Eurocentric traditions.⁵⁰⁴ Still, it is illustrative to the

⁵⁰² For more on the concept of polygamy, which was often seen to be a result of particular economic conditions and socially linked to notions of (male) equality, see: Fausto, Carlos. *Warfare and Shamanism in Amazonia*. Cambridge Univ Press, 2014.

⁵⁰³ Jouanen, José. *Historia De La Compañía De Jesús En La Antigua Provincia De Quito: 1570-1774*. Biblioteca Virtual Miguel De Cervantes, 1941. Accessed March 24, 2017. http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/historia-de-la-compania-de-jesus-en-la-antigua-provincia-de-quito-15701774-tomo-i--0/html/0024efd0-82b2-11df-acc7-002185ce6064_56.html. Pg. 460

⁵⁰⁴ For more on the use of Eurocentric traditions in sustaining Iberian colonial efforts, See: Herzog, Tamar. *Frontiers of Possession: Spain and Portugal in Europe and the Americas*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015. For more on the state and the legitimate “monopoly of violence,” see: Anter, A. “One definition of state control is having a “monopoly of legitimate violence.” For more on this concept, see: Max Weber's Theory of

primary literature of the period as well as the types of narratives related in order to sanction “just” violence or warfare against indigenous or mixed race communities often considered at the periphery of the colonial project.

Interestingly, paintings of the Jesuit fathers Rafael Ferrer, Francisco de Figueroa, and Pedro Suarez were commissioned by La Compañía de Jesus in order to celebrate their “martyrdom” and thus preserve their memories in the collective memory within both the institution and the particular Quito environment. This commission and presentation of the works at the center of power reminded colonial authorities that this undertaking had required a blood sacrifice and was thus worth protecting more fully. For Figueroa, whose actual head had been held as a symbol by “rebellious” Cocamas and Chepeos, this portrait (in a way) “rescued” the father’s head restoring it both to his body in this idealized form as well as re-sanctifying it within a Christian tradition and within the living memory of the community.⁵⁰⁵

By 1672 the evangelical activities of father Lucas de la Cueva seem to have been considered “successful” by colonial authorities including the Council of the Indies and the Jesuit would be granted jurisdiction over the reducción of Archidona (closer to Quito).⁵⁰⁶ Father de la Cueva had continuously sought for greater support from the state and ultimately obtained it in writing if not in substance with a small stipend of around 300 - 400 pesos per Jesuit in order to aid in evangelization. This demonstrates the investment made by the colonial authorities, the

the Modern State." Google Books, Springer,. 2014.

https://books.google.com/books?id=JYgBAwAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false. Pg. 32

⁵⁰⁵ For a primary account of Figueroa’s work (obviously not including his own death) see: Figueroa, Francisco De. *Relación De Las Misiones De La Compañía De Jesús En El País De Los Maynas*. Calle De Preciados Núm 48, Madrid: Librería General De Victoriano Suarez, 1904.

⁵⁰⁶ "1672, Nombramiento Del P. Lucas De La Cueva 1672, 2, 17, Quito Archivo General De Indias Signatura: QUITO,14,R.3,N.23 Código De Referencia: ES.41091.AGI/23.12.5.16.4//QUITO,14,R.3,N.23." Portal De Archivos Españoles. pare.mcu.es.

order, as well as their supporters, and was further connected to a network of Jesuit and church holdings that helped to fund the enterprise over time. However, that same year (1672) Lucas de la Cueva died in Quito having travelled there and back a number of times during his time evangelizing in Maynas.⁵⁰⁷

Five years later in 1677, while evangelizing among an Amazonian group known as the *Gay* or *Gae*, Padre Agustín Hurtado was stabbed to death by a “mulatto” servant who was chastised by the Jesuit for miscegenation with an indigenous woman. Hurtado had apparently threatened to kick him out of the *reducción*. It is important to note that the Amazonian woman’s wishes are not recorded in the sources. The threat of exile from the *reducción* could have amounted to a death sentence, as it left the servant open to attacks from essentially all parties both within and beyond the colonial structures in numerous spaces around Maynas. While joining oppositional groups could be an option, threats of exile are of course compounded by the environment and the exposure to Amazonian selvas of someone not familiar with its’ flora and fauna. However, the rebellious servant did not have long to think about the ramifications of this murder as he was promptly killed by the neophyte Gaes, reportedly “torn apart” when another Jesuit, Miguel de Silva inquired as to his whereabouts. De Silva also later learned that Hurtado had been buried under the church by the Gaes.

Taking a moment to evaluate the sources and to discuss their inherent limitations, it is possible of course that the servant could have been hidden away potentially by relatives of his native partner or other allies, joined indigenous or mixed groups seeking liberty from the yoke of

⁵⁰⁷ For more on this matter see: La Peña Montenegro, Alonso De. "Estipendio Para Padres De La Compañía De Jesús Peña Montenegro, Obispo De Quito, Alonso De La Archivo General De Indias Signatura: QUITO,77,N.83 Código De Referencia: ES.41091.AGI/23.12.5.21.2//QUITO,77,N.83." Portal De Archivos Españoles, orig. 1662 and Isasa, Gaspar De, and Lorenzo Bravo De Pereda. "1667, "Ayuda De Costa Para El P. Lucas De La Cueva" Gaspar De Isasa Y Lorenzo Bravo De Pereda Archivo General De Indias Signature QUITO,20A,N.32 Código De Referencia ES.41091.AGI/23.12.5.20.2//QUITO,20A,N.32." Portal De Archivos Españoles. pares.mcu.es.

colonial authorities. However, this story seems to have been accepted by the Jesuits. Apparently, the fathers took the Gae's burying the Jesuit Hurtado, as a demonstration of performing Gae obedience to church and state.⁵⁰⁸ Since particular episodes such as the one above represents only fragmentary historical documentation that is highly controlled, selected, and maintained over time, more research is needed to seek greater information and cross-reference different narratives more fully or to increase the material archive, especially through archaeological excavations. Similarly, possible ethnographic, ethnohistorical, and other sources of collective memories concerning these uprisings and outbreaks of violence might demonstrate greater insight into major tensions within the Maynas missions. While indigenous groups and individuals did have limited options, it is evident that there were many strategies that would be used by individuals and entire groups to oppose, sabotage by various means, or literally decapitate representatives of colonial rule, all demonstrations of the Jesuits' and the colonial states' precarious hold onto the region by the 1660s and 1670s.

While many forms of resistance continued, another important moment in the historiography of the Maynas missions further down the course of the main channel of the Amazon River returns the narrative to examining the rivalry between the Spanish and Portuguese (which had existed even when under the same crown between 1580 and 1640). This competition both threatened and contributed to at least some indigenous support for the continuation of the Jesuit spiritual conquest.⁵⁰⁹ By 1661, twenty years after the Iberian Union had dissolved; Portuguese authorities were making slaving raids into Omagua territory. These threats led the Omaguas to petition authorities to send Jesuit missionaries to their territories and opted to accept

⁵⁰⁸ For more on the notion of "performativity, see: Glass, Michael R. *Performativity, Politics, and the Production of Social Space*. Place of Publication Not Identified: Routledge, 2015.

⁵⁰⁹ For more on the influence of the union and later disunion in Amazonia, See: Cardoso, Alírio. "The Conquest of Maranhão and Atlantic Disputes in the Geopolitics of the Iberian Union (1596-1626)." *Revista Brasileira De História*, 2011.

Spanish rule when facing the threat of enslavement by the Portuguese. Again, as I have argued, this represented a situation that was, for indigenous peoples, akin to “bare life,” as the “best” viable options for survival were withdrawal from their ancestral lands and possible enslavement by either Spanish or Portuguese authorities, or submission to the Jesuit spiritual regime, which meant the subordination of indigenous traditions and lifeways to those of the colonial state. Nevertheless, this petition also demonstrated that the Omaguas had come to understand and appropriate many aspects of colonial legal performance in order to seek potential “aid,” and that subordination did not only signify abandonment, but also particular ways to maintain indigenous cultures (as much as possible) within the mission system. Indeed, by playing imperial powers off each other, groups like the Omaguas could widen the space by which they could navigate their lives.

A petition by the Omaguas for a missionary would help to bring a Jesuit father named Samuel Fritz to Maynas in 1686. Fritz arrived after a long voyage from his native Bohemia, crossing the Atlantic, and making his way to the Maynas missions via Cartagena de Indias (in modern Colombia), probably traveling up the Magdalena River toward Quito. Fritz would go on to found numerous missions in Baja (or lower) Maynas and create one of the first and most accurate maps of the region. He also established San Joaquín de Omaguas in 1687 that became one of the largest and most important centers of the Baja mission.

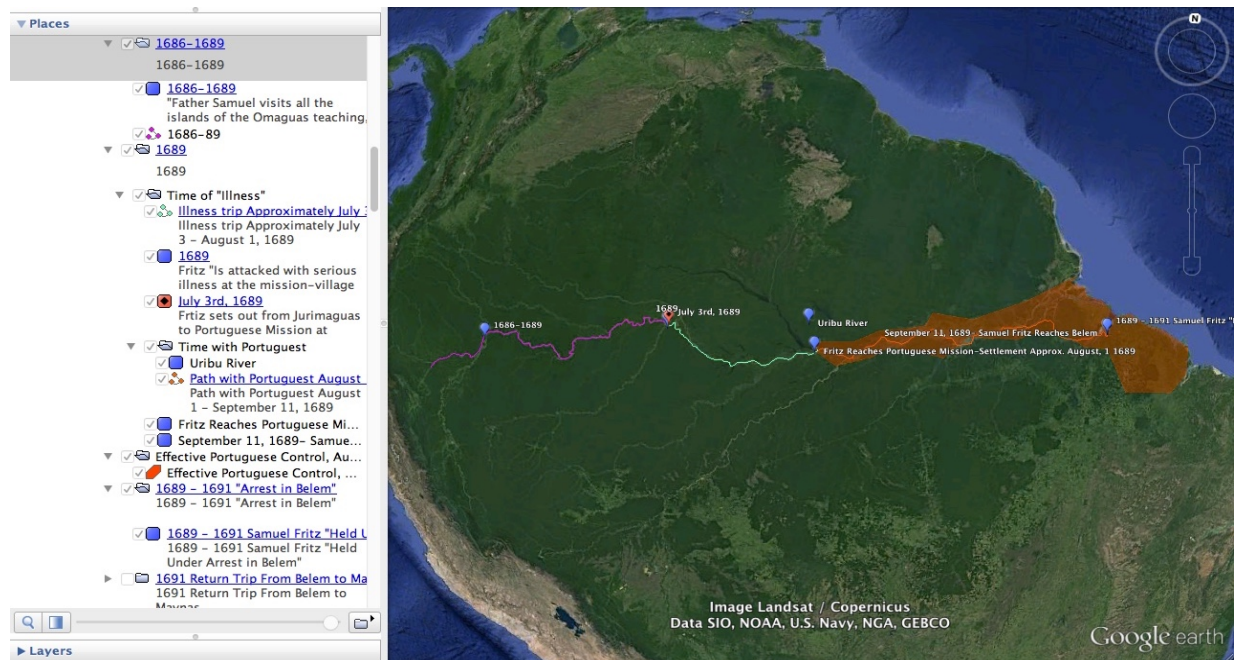


Figure 3.13: The Travels of Padre Samuel Fritz between 1686 and 1689. Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., Spring 2017

The map above is a rough depiction of Fritz’s movement from the Andean Amazon and ultimately downriver along the main channel to Belém do Pará. It shows the space Father Samuel covered around 3,851 kilometers between 1686 until the end of 1689. Fritz encountered Portuguese authorities and was put under house arrest while he was reportedly seeking treatment for an illness in Belém. The period when his illness begins is highlighted in green above in Figure 3.13. Proceeding downriver to the mouth of Urubu River, Fritz came across a Portuguese *aldeia* (a somewhat equivalent missionary settlement under the Portuguese to the Spanish *reducción*). Arrangements were made from here to help the sick Jesuit reach Belém do Pará.

Once Fritz arrived in Pará, he was arrested in Belém from 1689 to 1691, where he awaited word from the Portuguese monarch concerning whether or not he was a spy and should

be sent to Portugal.⁵¹⁰ Ultimately deciding against this course of action, King Pedro II of Portugal (r. 1683- 1706) ordered Fritz returned to his *reducción*. This decision apparently helped Samuel Frtiz for a time to become viewed as something of a messianic figure among particularly selected indigenous traditions across Maynas since he successfully returned from downriver, where so many had lost loved-ones (and enemies) to the system of enslavement and often forced labor in the plantations (including Jesuit *aldeias*) across Pará.⁵¹¹ Thus, Fritz’s return was equated with the Christian power of resurrection and was seen as additional spiritual power to “protect” the converts under his jurisdiction.

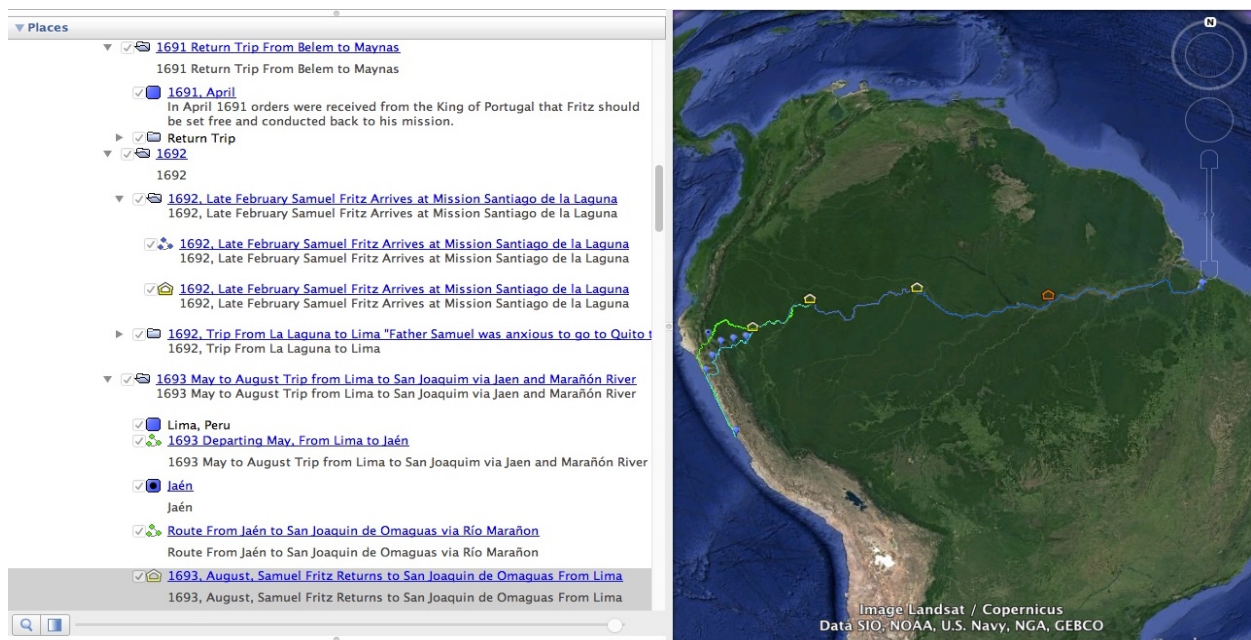


Figure 3.14: The Movements of Samuel Fritz from Belém to Lima and Back to Maynas between 1691 and 1693. Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., Spring 2017

The above map visualizes Fritz’s movements between 1691 and 1693 and shows his trip back from Belém to Lima (in Blue) and his return to San Joaquín de Omaguas (in green). This

⁵¹⁰ For more on Samuel Fritz, See: De Almeida, André Ferrand. "Samuel Fritz and the Mapping of the Amazon." *Imago Mundi: The International Journal for the History of Cartography* 55, no. 1 (2003): 113-19. doi:10.1080/0308569032000097549.

⁵¹¹ Salomon, Frank, and Stuart B. Schwartz. *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. Pg. 353

trip to the viceregal capital and back to Maynas covered an approximate distance of 6,101 kilometers. His pathway is outlined in the left of the figure reading from top to bottom. The information related by Fritz was then forwarded by the viceroy to the Spanish monarch, another 6,000 kilometers away. Whether or not obtaining information about the actions of the Jesuits was the genuine motivating reason for Fritz's trip to Portuguese controlled Amazonian space, ultimately, Father Samuel did end up reporting on the situation. Thus, his trip to Pará in search of "curing an illness" could also be interpreted as a euphemism for rectifying a problem such as allowing (in the Spanish view) the traitorous Portuguese to have a major strategic settlement of (Belém) at the mouth of this major "Spanish" river, the report makes it a point to keep relating that Portuguese were traveling in what Fritz argued was in the territory of King Charles II of Spain (r. 1665-1700). These movements and their subsequent links to trans-Atlantic colonial networks therefore help to demonstrate some of the connections and tensions between Maynas and other colonial centers such as Belém do Pará or Lima in Spanish domains at this moment in the 1680s and 1690s. The movements also reveal that without sustained colonial networks, the *reducciones* or *aldeias* would not be able to function or survive for an extended period and ultimately, this lack of self-sufficiency and "failure" to sustain a cash crop economy that enriched the crown hindered the Jesuit's spiritual conquest of Maynas.⁵¹²

⁵¹² "Oficio Del Virrey Del Perú Al Monarca Español, Remitiéndole Una Carta Del Padre Fritz Sobre El Estado De Las Misiones Del Marañón." Don Melchor Portocarrero Y Lasso De La Vega, 3rd Conde De Monclova to King Charles II of Spain. 1692. In LEA-11-267 15 Ff. Caja No 022. Lima, Perú, 1692. Accessed 2013 obtained by james deavenport. Archivo Historico De Limites.

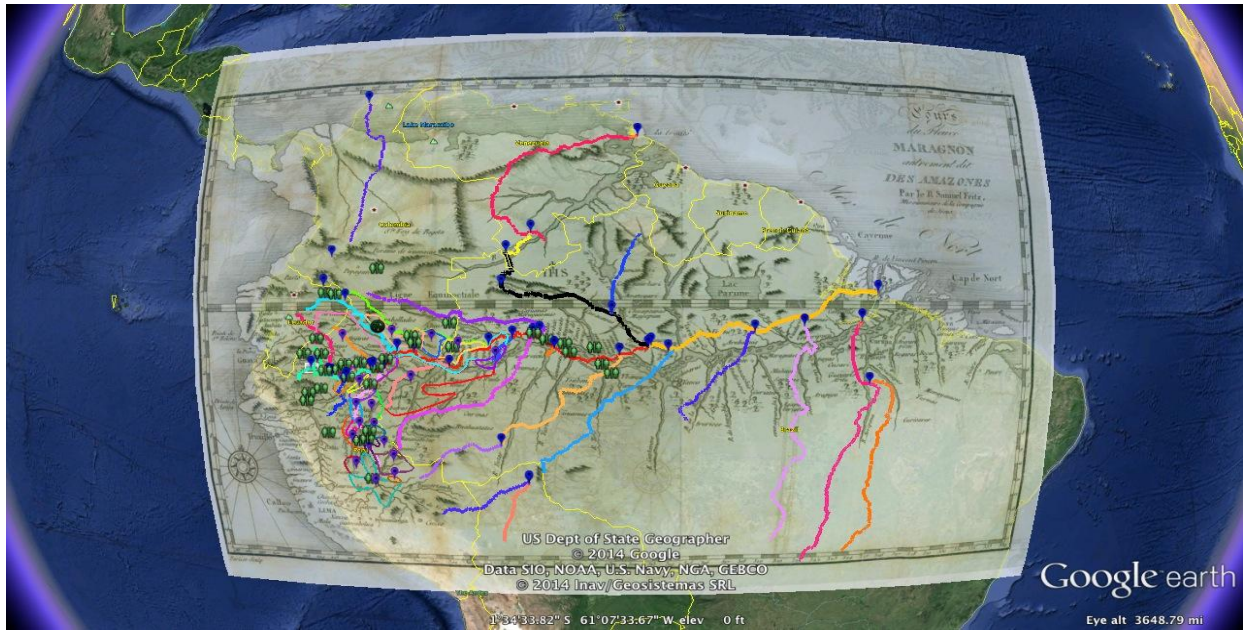


Figure 3.15: 17th Century Map of Samuel Fritz Overlaid With Amazonian Groups in the 1970s and Major River Tributaries. Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., Spring 2017

The above image visualizes a later French edition of Samuel Fritz’s map overlaid with georeferenced Amazonian groups during the Maynas period, as well as more recent locations from the major Amazonian scholar Donald Lathrap in the 1970s. This information was included here so that readers could visualize the enduring legacy of Maynas in helping to solidify present territorial claims and memories connected to this Amazonian space.⁵¹³ Finally, some of the major tributaries across the Amazonian basin are also included. Fritz’s map is considered the first “accurate” map and therefore, its inclusion in the 1692 report by Fritz resulted in what the Portuguese had feared most: the father providing relatively precise (and quite important information) to the Spanish colonial government that would enhance Spain’s possibilities to assert greater control over the region. Fritz by way of the Peruvian Viceroy Don Melchor Portocarrero y Lasso de la Vega, 3rd Conde de Monclova (r. 1689-1705) included various

⁵¹³ Fritz, Samuel. "Maragnon Autrement Dit Des Amazones Par Le R. Samuel Fritz, Missionnaire De La Compagnie De Jesus from Lettres Edifiantes Et Curieuses (Lyon, 1819)." Omeka RSS. Accessed June 13, 2013. <http://www.lib.luc.edu/specialcollections/items/show/132> and Lathrap, Donald Ward. *The Upper Amazon*. London: Thames & Hudson, 1970.

locations in his narrative so that the monarch or whomever read the text could (with aid of the map) see where exactly the Portuguese had been moving “up” the main Amazonian river channel.

Also of note, and included within the Viceroy’s text is a reference to the enslavement of Amazonian “Indios” who were being taken to Belém by Portuguese bandeirantes often aided by other catholic authorities such as the Carmelites. This demonstrates again the dual nature of the Jesuits intentions in simultaneously “protecting” and violating the rights of indigenous people by then of course forcing them into the *reducción* regime of often quite similar labor requirements as well as exposing them more directly to deadly old world pathogens. Castilian words such as “pacification or Christianization” tacitly acknowledged the force used to subjugate Amazonian groups within Maynas that (at its greatest extent) stretched the Rio Negro in central Amazonia.

Finally, an example of culturally selected traditions connected to chapter two included numerous references to Vicente Pinzón as the first European (under Spanish authority) to encounter the Amazonian estuary – thus bolstering Spanish historical claims to Amazonia.⁵¹⁴ These were in part meant to help the Spanish position in negotiations with the Portuguese even though the latter would ultimately come to possess much of the space claimed by the Spanish and the former Jesuit mission.

While troops did arrive to secure the province for the Spanish, they would not only be used against Portuguese incursions but also to quell uprisings among indigenous groups. Uprisings continued, as the relatively positive view of Fritz first did not apparently transfer to other Jesuits. In 1695, Henriche Richter (another Jesuit from Bohemia) was also beaten to death

⁵¹⁴ It is also worth taking a moment to point out that Fritz’s map and coordinate system were appropriated and refashioned from Claudius Ptolemy (and others) to create his famously “accurate” map. Both Vicente Pinzón and Claudius Ptolemy are discussed extensively in chapter 2

with a *macana* by either the Piros or the Cununibos.⁵¹⁵ By 1701, likely in part due to the continuation of Portuguese slave raids, an uprising was led in San Joaquín de Omaguas by one Cacique named Payoreva.



Figure 3.16: The 1701 Arrest of the Omagua Cacique Payoreva in Mission San Joaquín de Omaguas and Exile to the capital of Maynas, San Francisco de Borja. Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., Spring 2017

The map above visualizes the path that the cacique Payoreva (represented in green in the top right corner) was forced to take in November of 1701 when he was incarcerated by troops from Borja arriving by August. These soldiers would bring the “rebellious” leader to San Francisco de Borja (seen on the left side of the figure). This arrest and “exile” beyond Omagua lands is similar to the punishment of Payoreva’s Chepeo cacique forbearers had experienced

⁵¹⁵ Conibo/Cunivo are also variant spellings. Jouanen, José. *Historia De La Compañía De Jesús En La Antigua Provincia De Quito: 1570-1774*. Biblioteca Virtual Miguel De Cervantes, 1941. Accessed March 24, 2017. http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/historia-de-la-compania-de-jesus-en-la-antigua-provincia-de-quito-15701774-tomo-i--0/html/0024efd0-82b2-11df-acc7-002185ce6064_56.html. Pp 508-510

when taken as prisoners to Borja in 1664, some thirty-seven years earlier.⁵¹⁶ By separating the cacique from the other Omaguas, the Jesuits were temporarily able to coax at least some of the people back to the *reducción*. It is also important to note that the “soldiers” would likely have been enlisted the help of much larger opposing Amazonians forces who acted as auxiliaries and a show of force to the rebellious group. This was a strategy often employed within Maynas and other colonial spaces both across Amazonia and more broadly. Payoreva remained in the capital of Maynas until 1702 when the cacique escaped and made his way back to San Joaquín de Omaguas.

While some of the most well-known primary texts describe little to motivate the uprising, one primary document, a legal case obtained from the Archivo Nacional de Ecuador explains numerous complaints by the indigenous population against incursions and abuse by the Spanish and mestizo population, often being “enlisted” into working within *encomiendas* or other forced labor regimes and taken to Borja by local colonial subjects.⁵¹⁷ Thus, this uprising can also be seen in part as a response to the continued violations of indigenous rights (limited as they might be) even within the mission system.

⁵¹⁶ Fritz, Samuel, and George Edmundson. *Journal of the Travels and Labours of Father Samuel Fritz in the River of the Amazons between 1686 and 1723*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Library, 2013.

<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015008906953;view=plaintext;page=root;size=100;seq=2>.

⁵¹⁷ Ecuador. Archivo Nacional De Ecuador, Quito. 1702, Expediente: 4 Causa Seguida Por El Protector De Naturales En Defensa De Los Indios De San Francisco De Borja Y Demás Pueblos Situados En Los Ríos Que Van Al Marañón, Pacificados Y Reducidos Por Los Padres De La Compañía De Jesús, Quienes Le Han Informado De Los Agravios, Irrespetos Y Violencias Que Soportan Los Indios De Parte De Los Españoles Y Mestizos Que Habitan La Zona. Vol. Caja No 26 Años 1702-1703 Expediente: 4 Lugar: Quito Fecha: 20 De Noviembre De 1702 No. De Folios: 55. Quito, 1702, 11, 20. PP 8-9 /4-5 original pagination

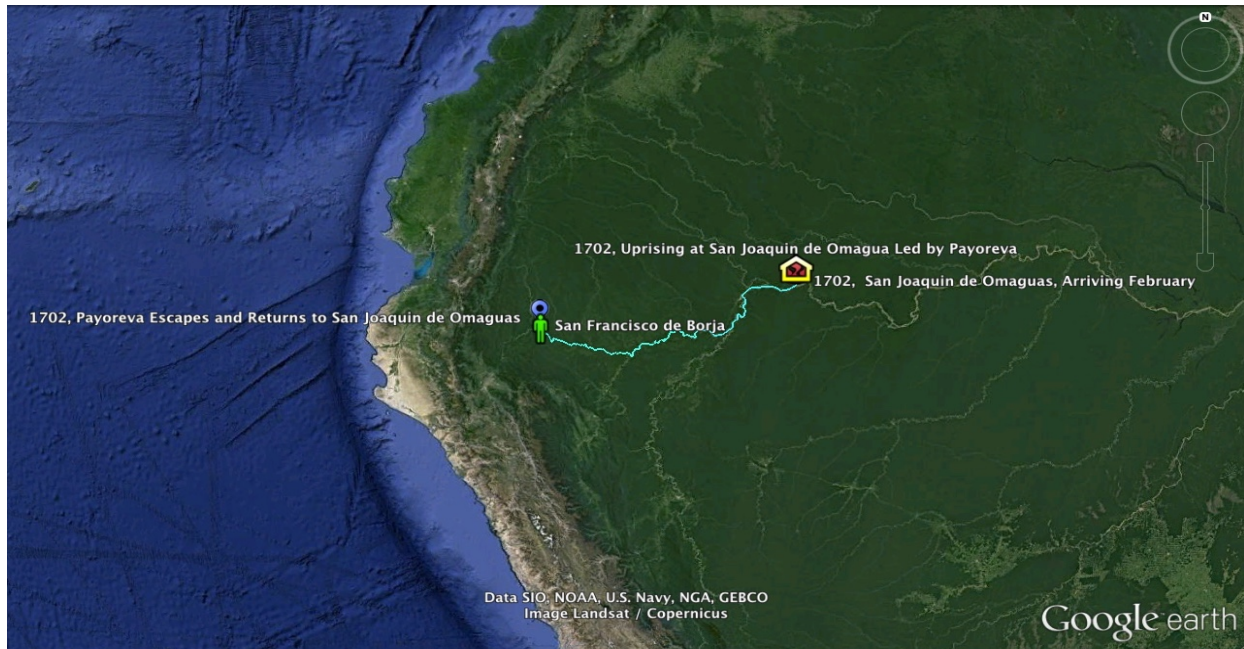


Figure 3.17: The 1702 Flight of The Omagua Cacique, Payoreva From San Francisco back to Mission San Joaquín de Omaguas. Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., Spring 2017

The map above demonstrates the escape of Payoreva from San Francisco de Borja, returning back to San Joaquín de Omaguas by February of 1702 where the cacique organized a major uprising of the Omagua. Interestingly, like Fritz’s imprisonment, Payoreva’s would in some ways represent a turning point in the Maynas period by contributing to splitting the Omagua into supporters and resisters of the mission. The immediate result was the overall Omagua quitting the mission as well as the physical destruction of the reducción. This also caused father Fritz to flee to a nearby Jesuit mission of the Yurimaguas, which had been newly created when the Jesuit arrived reportedly along with major decorations of the church used in rituals such as the Eucharist.⁵¹⁸ The Portuguese, according to Fritz, later ascended as far as the former site of San Joaquín on a slaving expedition causing another group, the Aysuares to join the Jesuit missionary state. Thus, once again, it seems evident that the Portuguese were

⁵¹⁸ Fritz, Samuel, and George Edmundson. *Journal of the Travels and Labours of Father Samuel Fritz in the River of the Amazons between 1686 and 1723*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Library, 2013. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015008906953;view=plaintext;page=root;size=100;seq=2>.Pg. 29

responsible for both generating tensions that led to the Omagua uprising, the destruction of San Joaquín de Omaguas (by now the major site of the lower or Baja missions), and very likely to providing the space that would bring additional indigenous groups from central Amazonia under the Jesuit grip.

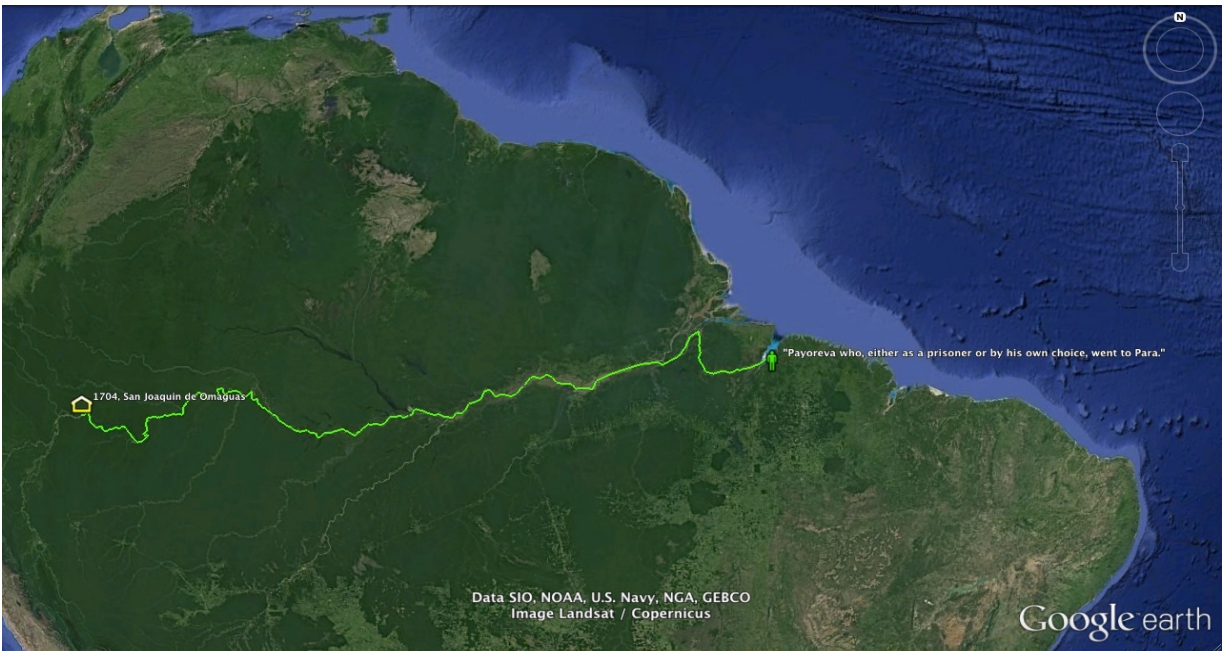


Figure 3.18: The 1704 Movement of Payoreva From Maynas to Belém in Pará. Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., Spring 2017

The map above visualizes the same Omagua cacique Payoreva by 1704, either deciding to move permanently, or being taken prisoner to Belém.⁵¹⁹ In an important way then, this particular moment by which Payoreva (was?) moved from Omagua lands to the mouth of the Amazon River is one individual example of this same journey that many of Payoreva’s Omagua (and other Amazonian neighbors) would similarly make, leaving forever their ancestral territories. At the same time his particular movement represents a major weakness of the Maynas

⁵¹⁹ Salomon, Frank, and Stuart B. Schwartz. *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. Pg. 354 and Fritz, Samuel, and George Edmundson. *Journal of the Travels and Labours of Father Samuel Fritz in the River of the Amazons between 1686 and 1723*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Library, 2013. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015008906953;view=plaintext;page=root;size=100;seq=2>

mission, by further dividing the Omagua, whom in Portuguese (and within Brazil today) are referred to as the “Cambeba.” This fracturing of the group, formerly noted to be *the* best positioned to control traffic down the main channel of the Amazon River, would now become involved in conflicts with each other as they represented much of the frontier populations between the Iberian rivals. More often than not, as various sources indicate, little actually changed on the ground as slave raids continued from Pará into this “Portuguese” spheres, even though some Cambeba who had formally submitted to Portuguese subjugation and “protection” were enslaved nevertheless and sent downriver.

Though the period of Samuel Fritz’s journal between 1703 and 1707 was lost after falling into a river, it is known that in the same year as Payoreva’s journey to Belém (1704) Samuel Fritz was made the “Superior” of the Maynas mission. His replacement, Father Juan Baptista Sanna, like Fritz would be threatened by the expansion of Portuguese raiding parties as well as by the competition from other religious orders such as the Carmelites and Mercenarians. Father Sanna was eventually taken as a prisoner to Belém, then transferred to Lisbon, and would later evangelize in Japan. From 1708 -1710, the Portuguese continued to raid up to the “new” Yurimaguas new settlement that Fritz had fled to after the uprising at San Joaquín de Omaguas. Thus, Samuel Fritz again found himself seeking aid from Spanish troops. He wrote in his journal that on July 12th of 1709, “to those of Borja I dispatched a summons that all of them should come down to fight the Portuguese, on pain of death as traitors to the King.”⁵²⁰ The efforts of Fritz and the troops were nominally successful, and were able to send captured Portuguese prisoners to Quito where these prisoners were eventually swapped for Spanish counterparts in Pará.

⁵²⁰ Fritz, Samuel, and George Edmundson. *Journal of the Travels and Labours of Father Samuel Fritz in the River of the Amazons between 1686 and 1723*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Library, 2013. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015008906953;view=plaintext;page=root;size=100;seq=2>. Pg. 122

However, as Fritz also noted, bringing in such troops could cause problems and even contribute to switching allegiances from Spanish to Portuguese due to abuse at the hands of the Borja troop. For instance, on August 28th of 1709, Fritz wrote that a “Jurimagua Chief warns me that the Aysuares of Zuruite were returning down the river, being enraged because a soldier had publicly violated the wife of the Cacique. May God free us from such a set of rascals.”⁵²¹ In other words, the public sexual assault, harassment, or rape by the Spanish troops aside from demonstrating again how in Maynas, even those supposed to “protect” indigenous people were often just as (if not more) prone to actually violating the “rights” of in this case, an Aysuares woman of high social standing within that particular indigenous community. However, it is interesting to note the difference in tone (perhaps less damning) when violence against a woman is perpetrated versus when violence had been carried out against another Jesuit.

Whatever the case, incidents like this justified the decision of the Aysuares to opt out of Spanish “protection,” and move beyond the border, likely coming under Portuguese “control.” While interactions between indigenous groups and the Portuguese authorities varied, this example also shows how Amazonian groups utilized inter-imperial rivalry between Iberian powers to actively negotiate their colonial status. In this instance, the negotiation resulted in the establishment of a settlement in what was now a competing religious Aldeia under Portuguese-Carmelite control. Further down the river, this also resulted in the creation of both Mercenarian towns and Portuguese aligned Jesuit mission settlements fashioned by Amazonian bodies and labor.

⁵²¹ Fritz, Samuel, and George Edmundson. *Journal of the Travels and Labours of Father Samuel Fritz in the River of the Amazons between 1686 and 1723*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Library, 2013. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015008906953;view=plaintext;page=root;size=100;seq=2>. Pg. 125

In the late 1700s, after the expulsion of the Jesuits when Governor Francisco Requena made his trip down the Amazon seeking to demarcate the border between the Portuguese and Spanish territories,⁵²² producing watercolors along the way,⁵²³ he mentioned that another mission San Ignacio de Pevas (founded in 1734 by Padre N. Singler), had a small shipyard and that the mission contained groups speaking numerous indigenous languages.⁵²⁴ Along with other pieces of information gleaned from the documentation reveals that the missions were multiethnic spaces of production. Shipbuilding was a prominent if potentially dangerous industry that was encouraged (and dominated) by the Jesuits.⁵²⁵ Indigenous people, and African slaves (imported from areas such as Angola) were utilized as workers to produce various goods, or as rowers in order to “sustain” the missions’ trade networks.⁵²⁶ Indeed, indigenous groups were not to be the only subordinate inhabitants of the Jesuits’ neo-tropical Christian utopian project and more research may further expand upon the role of Afro-descendants within the Maynas Missions, complicating ideas of indigeneity, race, and memory in the region.⁵²⁷

While ultimately and often subordinated to the Jesuits, other groups (and individuals) were able to demand and negotiate relationships that might improve their position within existing

⁵²² For more on Requena See: Del Río Sadornil, José Luis. "Don Francisco Requena Y Herrera: Una Figura Clave En La Demarcación De Los Límites Hispano-Lusos En La Cuenca Del Amazonas (s. XVIII) Francisco Requena Y Herrera: A Key Figure in the Demarcation of Spanish-Portuguese Limits in the Amazon Basin (18th Century)." *Revista Complutense De Historia De América: Universidad Complutense De Madrid Departamento De Documentación Riosa@ccinf.ucm.es* 29 (2003).

<http://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/RCHA/article/view/RCHA0303110051A>.

⁵²³ Smith, Robert C. "Requena and the Japurá: Some Eighteenth Century Watercolors of the Amazon and Other Rivers." *Academy of American Franciscan History* 3, no. 1 (July 1946): 31-65. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/978188>. Pg. 58

⁵²⁴ *Ibid.* Smith, Robert C. Pg. 58

⁵²⁵ Such labor was dangerous not only because it was arduous, but also left indigenous laborers vulnerable to slave raids from downriver.

⁵²⁶ Sweet, David Graham. *A Rich Realm of Nature Destroyed: The Middle Amazon Valley, 1640-1750*. University of Wisconsin, 1974.

⁵²⁷ This also complicates our notion of “who” qualifies as indigenous as intermarriage occurred throughout Amazonia. An interesting example of this can be demonstrated visually in: Claude, Alfred Métraux, and Jacques Lafaye. *Histoire De La Mission Des Pères Capucins En L'isle De Maragnan Et Terres Circonvoisins*. Graz: Akademische Druck- Und Verlagsanstalt, (1614) 1963.

power structures across Maynas. For instance, as Payoreva showed above, the Omagua's geographic and demographic position prior to the colonial period secured some "relative privileges" that allowed them to maintain and expand their riverine transport under the Maynas system, extending it from the Napo and Huallaga Rivers to the Río Negro near Manaus in Brazil. Indeed, possessing armadas of canoes allied with (or sometimes against) colonial arquebus-armed soldiers,⁵²⁸ the Omagua helped the Jesuits control traffic along the main channel connecting the Andean Amazon with the Atlantic Ocean (and with the Pacific for that matter through Quito).⁵²⁹

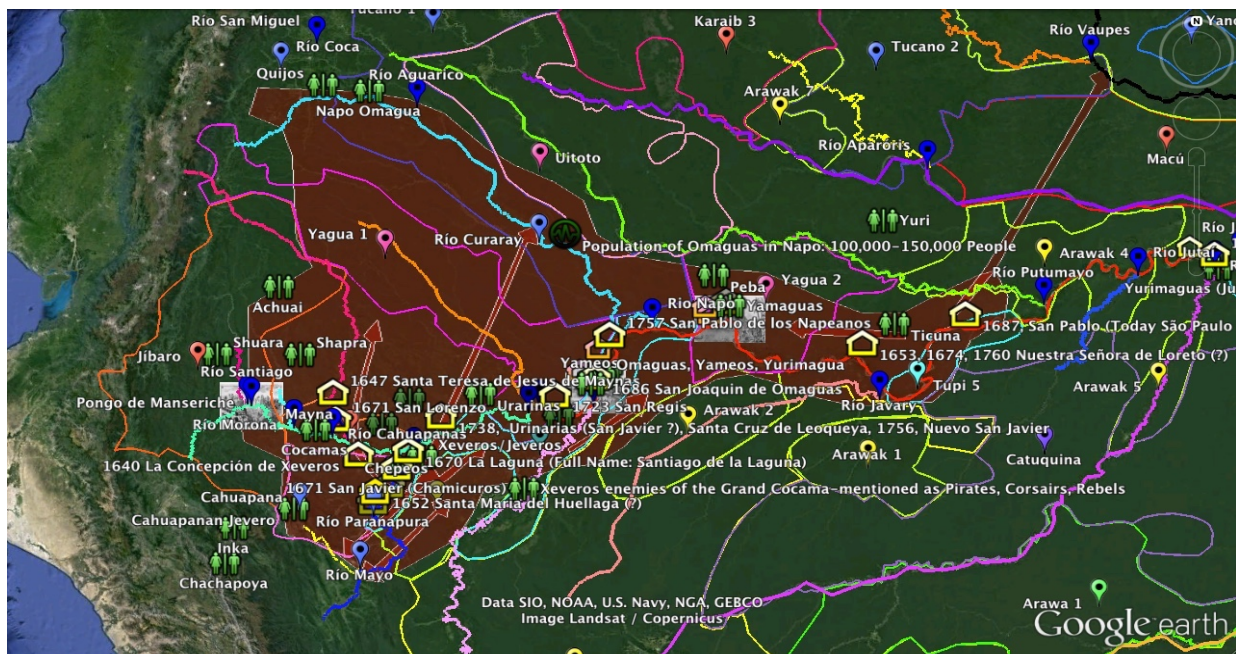


Figure 3.19: A Regional View of Maynas in the 17th and 18th Centuries with Indigenous and Ethnolinguistic Groups, Jesuit Missions, Trade Routes, and Major Riverine Systems. Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., Spring 2017

⁵²⁸ For more on the inclusion of Spanish soldiers, See: Figueroa, Francisco De. *Relación De Las Misiones De La Compañía De Jesús En El País De Los Maynas*. Calle De Preciados Núm 48, Madrid: Librería General De Victoriano Suarez, 1904. Pg. 39

⁵²⁹ For more on the Omagua especially, See: Reeve, Mary-Elizabeth. "Regional Interaction in the Western Amazon: The Early Colonial Encounter and the Jesuit Years: 1538-1767." *Ethnohistory* 41, no. 1 (1993): 106-38. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3536980> .

The complicated map above is a visualization a portion of the area considered by scholars such as Mary-Elizabeth Reeve (who has written extensively on the histories of the region), which was under the jurisdiction of the Jesuits and effected through trade routes (layered in red).⁵³⁰ Arrows demonstrate how in addition to following the major river systems as trade routes, terrestrial routes crossing the river systems to regions in the upper Negro River basin for example (seen in the upper right of the figure) also have been reported. These also would have linked up with pre-colonial trade routes described in earlier chapters.⁵³¹ Finally ethnolinguistic information, specific Amazonian groups divided by politics or culture, as well as geo-referenced placemarks representing different reducciones are shown. This figure helps to demonstrate the ways in which different groups and existing/new trade networks were fashioned or maintained during the Jesuit period, revealing a particular regional system of exchange within the broader colonial and global economies of the 17th and 18th centuries.

Despite moments of resistance, the Cocama and Omaguas would also play a major role in the trade of Amazonian turtle oil, salt, and other goods throughout the mission period. They would also exchange (and profit from) these goods with peoples including the Cahuapanan Jeveros (Xeveros)⁵³² who were in contact with groups in the Peruvian Andes sustaining a network that reached Cusco. The Napo Omaguas similarly traded with the Quijos, who also maintained trade relationships with Andean groups in the Ecuadorian Andes toward the former Tawantinsuyu (Inka) provinces of *Chinchasuyu*, *Antisuyu*, as well as with Quito.⁵³³

⁵³⁰ Reeve, Mary-Elizabeth. "Regional Interaction in the Western Amazon: The Early Colonial Encounter and the Jesuit Years: 1538-1767." *Ethnohistory* 41, no. 1 (1993): 106-38. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3536980>.

⁵³¹ These correspond to the Routes of the Kuwaí described in detail in chapter 1

⁵³² Martins, Cristiana Bertazoni. *Antisuyu: An Investigation of Inca Attitudes to Their Western Amazonian Territories*. Diss., University of Essex, 2007 and *Ibid.* Reeve

⁵³³ *Ibid.* Reeve. Pg. 112

Meanwhile, though the Iberian union had dissolved, and the Spanish and Portuguese Jesuits had many competing interests, the society remained the only major institution that had influence throughout the entirety of the Amazon River channel. What the Jesuits used to control these groups was in part, this facilitated access to the goods (especially metal axes), ideas, and their networks across Afroeurasia. This also helped the Jesuits to become so ascendant in Maynas, which was then strategically placed to communicate within the Peruvian Viceroyalty. For instance, following the death of its governor, Don Juan Antonio de Toledo in 1744, the society successfully lobbied for the secular government of the region to be abolished by Don Sebastian de Esclava, the Viceroy of New Granada.⁵³⁴ This took place in Cartagena,⁵³⁵ on November 28, 1746. Jesuit power was further monopolized and used as leverage over peoples of European, indigenous, African, mestizo and or “mixed” descent who also lived, traded, fought, loved, and died in Maynas throughout our period, obscuring the neat conceptions of “who” represented “authentic indigenesness”⁵³⁶ and blurring the Jesuit mission as administering primarily indigenous groups.

By 1756, Nuestra Señora de Borja de Pucabarranca (founded by Jesuit J.A. Esque) would administer to “three nations of meztizo indians.”⁵³⁷ Such documentation reveals elements of the continuation, cooption, and adaptation of earlier trade, cultural life, and religious ideas sustained

⁵³⁴ Maynas and the Audiencia of Quito had been returned to the Viceroyalty of Nueva Granada in 1739. For more on this, see: Lalonde, S. N. *Determining Boundaries in a Conflicted World: The Role of Uti Possidetis*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014.

⁵³⁵ Though Santa Fe de Bogotá was officially the capital of the Viceroyalty of New Granada, Cartagena de Indias was often the effective capital during this period

⁵³⁶ Edmundson, George. "The Dutch on the Amazon and Negro in the Seventeenth Century. Part II.-Dutch Trade in the Basin of the Rio Negro." *The English Historical Review* 19, no. 73 (1904): 1-25. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/549334> and Sommer, Barbara A. "Colony of the Sertão: Amazonian Expeditions and the Slave Trade." *The Americas* 61, no. 3, Rethinking Bandeirismo in Colonial Brazil (January 2005). <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4490921> and Livi, Bacci Massimo. *El Dorado in the Marshes: Gold, Slaves and Souls between the Andes and the Amazon*. Cambridge: Polity, 2010.

⁵³⁷ Fuentes, Hildebrando. *Loreto; Apuntes Geográficos, Históricos, Estadísticos, Políticos Y Sociales*. Lima: Impr. De La Revista, 1908.

by indigenous and trans-oceanic networks, which within Amazonia survived in altered form.⁵³⁸ Meanwhile, in periodic revolts, abandonment of the missions, or in some cases, the killing of Jesuit priests such as Padre H. Richter in 1695 by the Cunivos, indigenous groups throughout Maynas resisted the often-unwelcomed imposition of the Jesuits in their midst's.⁵³⁹

While some Jesuits such as Samuel Fritz were (at least occasionally) viewed by some as protectors and allies, many indigenous groups in the Andean Amazon and downstream began to associate these white men, with "ideas surrounding industrial [iron] goods," and the colonial structures they represented with the "devil" and with evil.⁵⁴⁰ This represents a particular appropriation and refashioning of indigenous and Christian traditions also offers a scathing incitement of the injustice of many old world traditions as well as market or "exchange relations."⁵⁴¹

One Urarina folktale likely related to colonial changes that sets them within the context following the origin of the Amazon explains: "One day, some greedy men came, and they decided to knock down the tree and grab all the fruit for themselves. When they cut down the tree, the entire forest grew dark, and from then on, sadness came to the people. The children of those who cut down the tree walked around desperately and longed for the better days of their parents."⁵⁴² Such stories reveal that the types of exchange carried out by the Spanish, Portuguese and the Jesuits (in the eyes of many indigenous peoples) amounted to a betrayal of indigenous

⁵³⁸ Abbeville, Claude, Alfred Métraux, and Jacques Lafaye. *Histoire De La Mission Des Pères Capucins En L'isle De Maragnan Et Terres Circonvoisins*. Graz: Akademische Druck- Und Verlagsanstalt, (1614) 1963.

⁵³⁹ Jesuits refer to this as his martyrdom

⁵⁴⁰ For instance, "According to the Urarina, all entities, be they humans, locally made artefacts, animals, or trees, have a master, owner, or mother who figures in some way as their source, guardian, or controller. In the case of foreign goods, such a being is logically necessary, though not readily discernible, and not supplied by the indigenous cosmology. In short, Mocona-jaera's association with foreign goods renders these more immediately consistent with other kinds of entities." Source: Walker, Harry. "Demonic Trade: Debt, Materiality, and Agency in Amazonia." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 18 (2012): 140-59. Pg. 153

⁵⁴¹ Walker, Harry. "Demonic Trade: Debt, Materiality, and Agency in Amazonia." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 18 (2012): 140-59.

⁵⁴² Galeano, Juan Carlos. *Folktales of the Amazon*. Westport, CT: Libraries Unlimited, 2009. Pp. 3-4

notions of common good and reciprocity underlying peaceful social relationships among all organisms as well as among Amazonians (and all human beings).⁵⁴³ In other words, the belief that such relationships were exploitative came to represent a form of economic and social violence that could also place Jesuits or anyone who violated such indigenous structures to be in a “state of exception” against Amazonian monumentalized traditions as well⁵⁴⁴ that should be recognized today as that encourage violations of human rights, ecocide, and ethnocide.

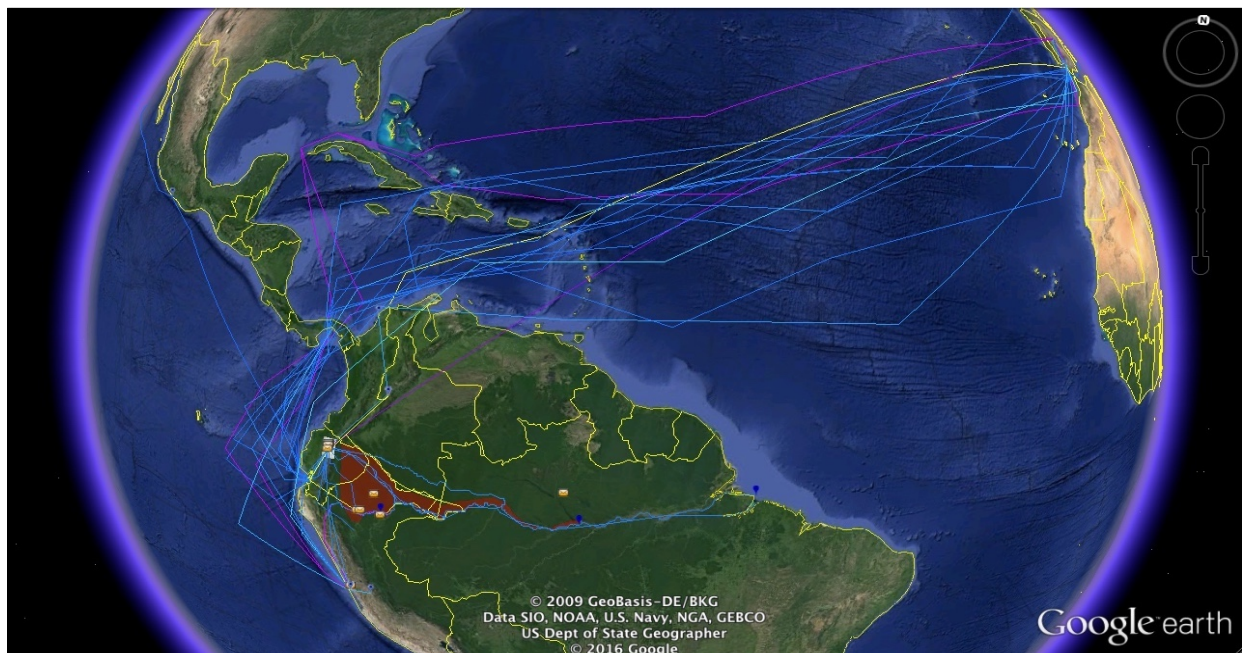


Figure 3.20: Sources and Networks of Information Linking Maynas and Broader Colonial Structures. Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., Spring 2017

The visualization of networks (in blue and purple) indicates particular information letters, decrees, reports, maps, and other primary documents linking various spaces in Maynas (in red).

These sites are linked with colonial institutions and centers such as Cartagena, Lima, Havana,

⁵⁴³ Such intentions or actions would of course not be observed in periods of violence sanctioned by different traditions, rituals, epistemologies, etc especially as different conceptions of “human” must be considered at more local levels.

⁵⁴⁴For more on this, see: Walker, Harry. "Demonic Trade: Debt, Materiality, and Agency in Amazonia." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 18 (2012): 140-59.

Madrid, Quito, Salamanca, and Sevilla, where the Council of the Indies administered the Spanish colonies in the Americas and the Philippines. The visualization of these networks helps to demonstrate again the connections needed in order to sustain the Maynas mission as well as to show some of the global connections to the region.

In spite of setbacks to evangelization and colonization such as armed rebellions and political/cultural violence, throughout this period, the Jesuits sought to impose other market-driven schemes seeking to create Amazonian plantations⁵⁴⁵ or craft workshops and the ship-building mentioned earlier in addition to what are largely described as disastrous attempts to create plantations of cacao and other tropical products. Still, these endeavors were more successful than to breed and raise old world animals, which never was viable on the deceptively fertile soils of Maynas. During the mission period the Jesuits introduced fauna including: cattle, swine, and guinea pigs from the Andean highlands along with chicken in order to feed themselves and indigenous peoples. This production was also part of a broader effort to raise much needed capital in order to fund the missions. While these failed economically, they were “successful” in altering the ecological systems away from their indigenous environs. Indeed, by the end of the period, in many places, where the missions functioned Amazonian groups had been made to manage the space away from its “natural state”⁵⁴⁶ Though these memories continued and were expressed in other forms and spaces such as folktales, space beyond the surveillance of missionaries and Europeans, and even in local gardens, as well as by those groups further removed from state influence.

⁵⁴⁵ By plantations, I mean cash/mono-crop driven attempts at “industrial agriculture that was more “successfully” undertaken by Jesuits in Portuguese Amazonia around Belém. Also, numerous sources use the Spanish term “*plantaciones*.”

⁵⁴⁶ Reeve, Mary-Elizabeth. "Regional Interaction in the Western Amazon: The Early Colonial Encounter and the Jesuit Years: 1538-1767." *Ethnohistory* 41, no. 1 (1993): 106-38. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3536980>. Pg. 124

Despite these efforts, the missions did not succeed in achieving anything resembling economic sustainability and were constantly seeking additional resources bestowed by the Jesuit order throughout the seventeenth century. By the 18th century, the crown had displaced the order economically and was providing “three-fourths of all funds” needed to maintain the efforts in Maynas.⁵⁴⁷ State power intruded increasingly in the management of the missions signaling the changing circumstances that would come to confront Maynas in the following decades.

While little visible material culture remains of the missions today, their sites mark the beginning of present-day deforestation, cultural imperialism, and greater nation-state control across the region of Maynas. Moreover, these missions also became some of the first places where the global economy made a sustained and formal impact within this particular region of Amazonia. On an ecological level, the missions also represent sites where indigenous flora and fauna were replaced by the imperial and economic biota that stretched across the old world from the Iberian Peninsula, to India, Africa, and China.⁵⁴⁸

By 1750, the Treaty of Madrid formally relinquished Spanish claims over lower and much of central Amazonia in order to maintain territory in the Rio de la Plata basin.⁵⁴⁹ On the 6th of June in 1755, Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, 1st Marquis of Pombal (an “Enlightened” supporter of absolutist monarchy) helped to abolish indigenous servitude in Portuguese Brazil and to supplement the labor supply with increased importation of enslaved African people in the years ahead. In 1757, Pombal (r. 1756 – 1777) helped to form a corporation that would

⁵⁴⁷ Reeve, Mary-Elizabeth. "Regional Interaction in the Western Amazon: The Early Colonial Encounter and the Jesuit Years: 1538-1767." *Ethnohistory* 41, no. 1 (1993): 106-38. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3536980>. Pg. 124

⁵⁴⁸ Crosby, Alfred W. *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900*. Cambridge [Cambridgeshire: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

⁵⁴⁹ "A Treaty Concluded and Signed at Madrid, on the 5th of October N. S. 1750, between the Ministers Plenipotentiaries of Their Britannick and Catholick Majesties [microform] : Great Britain. Treaties, Etc. Spain, 1750 Oct. 5 : Free Download & Streaming." Internet Archive., orig. 1750. Accessed April 18, 2017. https://archive.org/details/cihm_20150.

successfully fund this trade to the main channel of the Amazon River in a way that would encourage shifts to the racial formation and composition of the area, especially by the 1840s.⁵⁵⁰ Additionally, in 1759, he successfully lobbied to have the Jesuits expelled from Portuguese Brazil following an assassination attempt against the Portuguese King Joseph I (r. 1750 – 1777). Suffice it to say, the Society of Jesus was supposedly patronized by the king's mistress who was part of the Távora family. The attempt (truthful or not) was blamed on the group, and most of the Távora family was executed.⁵⁵¹ The Jesuit Aldeias were secularized, and their lands confiscated, though not much wealth was apparently generated.

In 1767, The Jesuits of Maynas would similarly face expulsion after the Spanish King Charles III (r. 1759 -1788) ordered the society out of its lands in the Americas and beyond. Manuel Uriarte, a Jesuit in Maynas provided a primary account of the ordeal, which has remained one of the only written textual resources for scholars of this period. In part due to the region's relative geographic and conceptual isolation from the central thoughts of viceroys and other colonial bureaucrats in Lima, Quito, Cartagena, and Bogotá, the area is reported to have been the last part of Latin America in which the Jesuits continued their evangelization.

While word reached Maynas about the order from a Franciscan reducción on the Putumayo, only in September 1768, were the Jesuits themselves “gathered” into two major

⁵⁵⁰ For more on the corporation setup to bring African slaves to Para, see: King Jose of Portugal, and Pombal Sebastião José De Carvalho E Melo, Marquês De. "Eu El Rey. Faço Saber Aos Que Este Alvará Virem, Que Eu Fui Servido Confirmar Por Outro Meu Alvará De Sete De Junho Do Anno De Mil Setecentos E Cincoenta E Cinco O Estabelecimento Da Companhia Geral Do Grão Pará, E Maranhão Com as Condições, E Privilegios Incorporados Nos Cincoenta E Sete Capítulos Da Sua Instituição; : Portugal. Sovereign (1750-1777 : Joseph) : Free Download & Streaming." Internet Archive. orig. 1757. Accessed April 18, 2017. https://archive.org/details/euelreyfaosabera00port_9.

⁵⁵¹ For more on the “Távora Affair” as it has come to be called, see: Wagner, Peter. African, American and European Trajectories of Modernity: Past Oppression, Future Justice? Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015. Accessed April 18, 2017. https://books.google.com/books?id=1wzdCQAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false.

groups. Those in the alto or upper missions were ordered to cross the Andes, make their way to Guayaquil and then headed toward the Caribbean. The second group by October 29th gathered at San Regis and would descend the River toward Belém.⁵⁵²

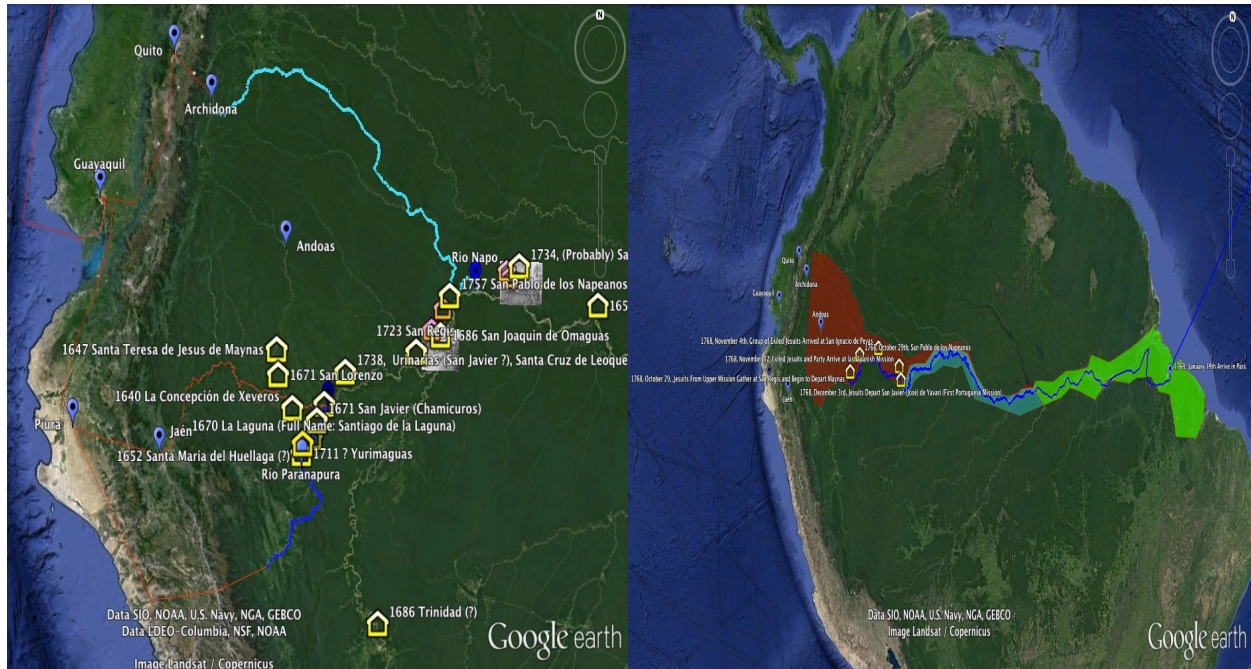


Figure 3.21: Routes Taken By Expelled Jesuits From Maynas via The Upper Amazon, Quito and Pacific or via the Baja Missions Belém do Pará and the Atlantic. Original. 1768-1769 by José A. Ferrer Benimeli: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes. Accessed and Compiled by Deavenport, J., April 11, 2017

The juxtaposed images above visualize on the left: the movements of different Jesuits from the Alto Maynas missions via the Napo, Huallaga, and Marañón rivers and then to Guayaquil by way of Archidona, Quito, Jaen, and Piura. On the right: Figure 3.21 demonstrates the some of the pathways of Jesuits in the Baja Maynas missions where they would gather at San Regis, San Pablo de los Napeanos, and Nuestra Señora de Loreto before leaving Maynas forever and passing into Portuguese controlled territory and the former Aldeia of their Portuguese Jesuit

⁵⁵² Archimbaud Y Solano, Juan Antonio, José Pinedo, Manuel De Amat Y Junyent, 1704-1782, and José Payo Sanz. "Papeles Varios Relativos Al Virreinato Del Perú Y a La Expulsión De Los Jesuitas De América - Archimbaud Y Solano, Juan Antonio - Manuscrito - Entre 1701 Y 1800?" Biblioteca Digital Hispánica. Accessed April 11, 2017. <http://bdh.bne.es/bnearch/detalle/bdh0000133960>.

counterparts named San José (Javier) de Yavarí.⁵⁵³ Today, this area (probably around the Brazilian town of Benjamin Constant) is near the border with Colombia, and Perú, thus demarcating the formal space between Spanish and Portuguese dominant speaking Amazonia, though many locals at the border speak both languages with ease along with indigenous languages.⁵⁵⁴ In central Amazonia, the figure also shows (in blue) the area that the Portuguese were able to expand beyond since the 1680s, and since 1616, when the stronghold, *Forte Do Castelo Do Senhor Santo Cristo Do Presépio De Belém* was founded securing the southern channel of the Amazonian estuary in Portuguese control.

⁵⁵³Ferrer Benimeli José A. "La Expulsión De Los Jesuitas De Las Misiones Del Amazonas (1768-1769) a Través De Pará Y Lisboa." Cervantes Virtual. 2009. Accessed April 13, 2017. <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra/la-expulsin-de-los-jesuitas-de-las-misiones-del-amazonas-17681769-a-travs-de-par-y-lisboa-0/>.

⁵⁵⁴ The fluidity of language and a shared cultural sense was particularly stressed by numerous people I met over the course of two research trips in 2012 and 2015 and includes conversations with a local Tukano guide, teachers and educators, cab drivers and boat taxis to cross the tri-national border a number of times during each of these research trips. In short, this sentiment seemed to be echoed by numerous people across the socio-economic and racial spectrum in the area, though it is worth noting that the Peruvian side (the Isla de Santa Rosa) seems to be the most isolated between the three nations, while Leticia Colombia and Tabatinga, Brazil flow more or less seamlessly.

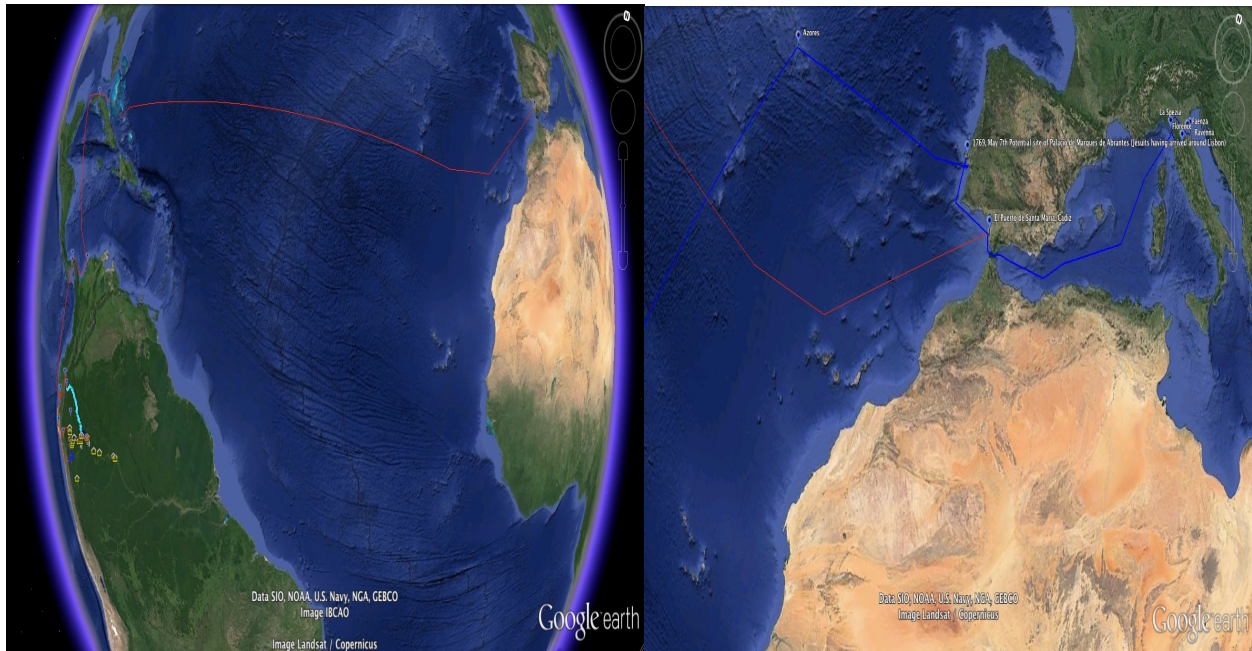


Figure 3.22: The Trans-Atlantic Voyages of the Expelled Jesuits, their Iberian Imprisonment, and Eventual Release and Re-Settlement in Italy. Original. 1768-1769 by José A. Ferrer Benimeli: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes. Accessed and Compiled by Deavenport, J., April 11, 2017

The juxtaposed images above visualize the voyages taken by the Alto and Baja Maynas Jesuits out of South America. The Alto group (in red) which took the group to Panama, Cartagena, and Havana before landing in Cadiz, while the Baja group (in blue until Cadiz) languished in Belém for a while before being shoved onto a ship in the dead of night, stopping in the Azores, being held in prison in one of the Távora family's confiscated estates before meeting other Jesuits in Cadiz. From there, the fathers, would be brought to Italy, where the survivors were dispersed in areas such as Ravenna, Faenza, and Florence.⁵⁵⁵ The Jesuits had begun the first sustained process of ecological and cultural imperialism that along with enslavement placed

⁵⁵⁵ Ferrer Benimeli José A. "La Expulsión De Los Jesuitas De Las Misiones Del Amazonas (1768-1769) a Través De Pará Y Lisboa." Cervantes Virtual. 2009. Accessed April 13, 2017. <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra/la-expulsin-de-los-jesuitas-de-las-misiones-del-amazonas-17681769-a-travs-de-par-y-lisboa-0/>. And Archimbaud Y Solano, Juan Antonio, José Pinedo, Manuel De Amat Y Junyent, 1704-1782, and José Payo Sanz. "Papeles Varios Relativos Al Virreinato Del Perú Y a La Expulsión De Los Jesuitas De América - Archimbaud Y Solano, Juan Antonio - Manuscrito - Entre 1701 Y 1800?" Biblioteca Digital Hispánica. Accessed April 11, 2017. <http://bdh.bne.es/bnearch/detalle/bdh0000133960>.

the indigenous into a form akin to “bare life.”⁵⁵⁶ The Jesuits would be expelled in favor of the monumentalized idea that secular state power would appropriate the method of the *reducción*: namely, the gathering of individuals and groups to dominate and surveil them and to make them proper “subjects” of the crown. However, for “enlightened absolutism to function, the state now needed to refashion these spaces in order to more directly answer to the crown. Since the Jesuits dominated Maynas it became necessary to remove this particular religious order from economic, spiritual, moral, educational, and political life within Maynas and Latin America more broadly. Indeed, the imprisonment and expulsion of *La Compañía de Jesús* would signal the collapsing primacy of the mission system (across all Catholic holy orders) in Amazonia. Secularization instead became the order of the day. No other Christian evangelization effort has yet rivaled the Jesuit’s attempted spiritual conquest.

In the wake of the Maynas missions, the area became a more neglected region under secular Spanish authority fluctuating jurisdictionally between Quito and Lima. Paradoxically this often provided less direct coordinated colonial control of the area, which allowed some indigenous peoples more freedom in addition to less “protection” than under the missions. The expulsion may also have exerted fewer threats to Maynas’ ecology as well as greater competition by breaking the Jesuit monopoly on trade. Nevertheless, the banishment of the Jesuits from Maynas and the gradual transformation of this region from Spanish to Portuguese control would have major impacts for the future of this region prior to the rubber boom of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This territorial division of the Amazon basin has also had an impact on the ecology of the region today, as differences in jurisdiction complicate coordinated efforts to ensure the protection of threatened spaces across national borders in Amazonia.

⁵⁵⁶ For more on the concept of the “state of exception, and especially its link to bare life, See: Agamben, Giorgio, and Daniel Heller-Roazen. *Homo Sacer*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998. Pp 17, 82-83

Another short moment is needed to zoom out in and contextualize more broadly, that the Maynas missions were founded within (and due to) the global context of an inter-imperial rivalry between Spain and Portugal in the 17th and 18th centuries. However, though the Iberian powers would remain in nominal control of the Amazonian basin, Amazonia remains contested. This led to a relative boom in the construction of fortifications along the main channel of the Amazon River bringing in additional soldiers, African slaves, freed people of color, and other Europeans who similarly sought to learn (and profit) from indigenous peoples. Such competition enlisted a wide range of actors across colonial society that became increasingly militarized with greater coordination of the state throughout the era. For instance, during this period the Portuguese enlisted the help of rival Catholic orders such as the Carmelites to provide spaces of refuge for slavers,⁵⁵⁷ perhaps seeking to subvert the power of the Jesuits in Maynas.⁵⁵⁸

Competing responsibilities, needs, and relationships between colonial/church representatives, Afro-descendant peoples, and indigenous groups complicated imperial efforts throughout the mission period. At times, these also obscured the neatly defined and often stereotypical conceptions of oppressor/oppressed as people across ethnic, linguistic, and class divisions reacted in varying degrees to colonial domination, a positioning that acted as a boundary between spiritual and the secular state interests. The Jesuits' crossing of these

⁵⁵⁷ This quote is telling: "The Conselho Ultramarino consulted ex-Governor Gomes Freire de Andrade, and agreed with him that the evidence of Spanish (not to mention Dutch, French and English) interest in the Amazon valley was by this time so great that, 'it could be fatal if we failed to populate and defend it.' The King's advisors agreed that it was indispensable that the Indians there be visited by the Portuguese missionaries they have all requested, understanding that they are vassals of the Portuguese king, since the Indians are the fortress wall of those wild wastes. They recommended as well that soldiers, artillery and armaments be sent to supply the new fortress at the mouth of the Rio Negro (whose construction [...] had begun in 1693). The King instructed Governor Carvalho to act accordingly; and on this basis plans were laid to install the Portuguese Carmelites in their new missions along the rivers Solimões and Negro." Source: Sweet, David Graham. *A Rich Realm of Nature Destroyed: The Middle Amazon Valley, 1640-1750*. University of Wisconsin, 1974. Pp. 43-44

⁵⁵⁸ For a bit more on the link between slavery and missions across Amazonia, See: Clearly, David. "Towards an Environmental History of the Amazon: From Prehistory to the Nineteenth Century." *Latin American Research Review* 36, no. 2 (2001). <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2692088>.

imaginary lines between the power of the state and that of the church divided the loyalties of *La Compañía*, therefore contributed to “gathering” and ultimate expulsion of the Jesuits by the Iberian powers. In the centuries ahead, these have favored of the Franciscans, secular clergy, and greater state supervision, though the Jesuits would return in the post-independence period.

In essence, through their failure to turn the indigenous into “successful” neo-Europeans, the Jesuits were also ultimately “concentrated” and forced into a “State of Exception” in 1767. By the time of the expulsion, there were about 25 mission settlements in Maynas with a population of around 14,000 individuals within the mission proper. Expanding figures to areas around the missions reveals a “more complete” dependent population of, according to one estimate, about 35,553 indigenous people in total.⁵⁵⁹ Other scholars place the population around 14,000 with 30 active reducciones.⁵⁶⁰

Although the expulsion also allowed increased competition among various parties along the main course of the Amazon, this did not always result in a positive situation for Amazonians as “the right of Indians to trade directly in the market economy and with various enterprises, which had not been permitted under Jesuit control, also had detrimental effects.”⁵⁶¹ For instance, the Jesuit expulsion left the Portuguese with a larger, and more coordinated military/state-presence that moved into much of the vacuum left by the Jesuits, who would more often resort to

⁵⁵⁹ Merino, Olga, and Linda A. Newson. "Jesuit Missions in Spanish America: The Aftermath of the Expulsion." *Revista De Historia De América*, no. 118 (1994): 7-32. doi:<http://www.jstor.org/stable/20139901>.Pg. 135

⁵⁶⁰ Ferrer Benimeli José A. "La Expulsión De Los Jesuitas De Las Misiones Del Amazonas (1768-1769) a Través De Pará Y Lisboa." *Cervantes Virtual*. 2009. Accessed April 13, 2017. <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra/la-expulsin-de-los-jesuitas-de-las-misiones-del-amazonas-17681769-a-travs-de-par-y-lisboa-0/>.

⁵⁶¹Ibid. Merino, Pp. 135 and 142

force than the *Compañía de Jesús*. Ultimately, this is part of the story of how some of the former areas of Maynas came under Portuguese control along the Solimões and Amazonas rivers.⁵⁶²

The outcome for many former inhabitants of the missions was often enslavement as horrifying numbers of the people of Maynas were captured and transported to areas throughout Amazonia (usually downriver). Many thousands would be forced to engage in industries such as logging, or cacao/sugar plantations that were exerting increasingly destructive impacts upon Amazonian ecology. While untold numbers of indigenous people would perish from disease and the extremes of forced labor, the individuals also brought along with them their ideas, memories, goods, and stories that were maintained, refashioned, and sometimes forgotten by their exploiters, friends, loved ones, and those who remained in Maynas. Such sparks of historical consciousness kept alive in the embers of myth, text and oral histories maintained memories of a radically different past alongside often the imagination of a brighter future where the full expression of humanity could come to fruition for future generations of Amazonian peoples.

Conclusion

In four parts, this chapter describes *some* of the transformations to central Amazonia over the period from roughly 1600 -1768. The first section, *Part I: International Amazonia? The Struggle to Control the Amazon River and its Peoples* describes some ways in which various European powers engaged in a contest for control over the main channel of the Amazon River. *Part II: Governor Vaca de la Vega, San Francisco de Borja, and The Early Colonization of Mainas* discussed some of the methods utilized to import colonial structures into the region setting the stage for the Jesuit period. *Part III: The Cross and the Canoe - The Society of Jesus,*

⁵⁶²Merino, Olga, and Linda A. Newson. "Jesuit Missions in Spanish America: The Aftermath of the Expulsion." *Revista De Historia De América*, no. 118 (1994): 7-32. doi:<http://www.jstor.org/stable/20139901>. Pg. 140

Globalization, and the Ideologies “Constructing” the Missions of Maynas discussed the foundation of the Jesuit order, aspects of their culturally selected philosophies and methods of evangelization in order to understand the nature (please forgive the pun) of their work in Amazonia. Finally, *Part IV: “To Make Fruitful”—The Transformation of Maynas in the Age of the Jesuits, 1618-1767* described some particular ways in which the Jesuits reducciones in Maynas functioned both broadly and specifically, relating particular moments (for instance around the map of Samuel Fritz) that are well known in the historiography of the area, and less well known (for instance, the resistance of Payoreva). By doing so, this chapter has demonstrated some of the complex structures, ideas, memories, and relationships that have shaped the history and memory of the Maynas Missions today.

In a larger sense, this also chapter describes how particular elements of the pre-colonial Amazonian and old world traditions were appropriated and refashioned within the Jesuit missions in Maynas. It has also attempted to centralize the role of indigenous peoples in shaping their interactions with Jesuits, Portuguese, and other powers in Amazonia from 1600-1700. This includes (at certain moments) a spectrum of individual and group acceptance, participation, and resistance against the spiritual conquest of the Jesuits. Examples of these numerous acts of resistance, include uprisings, ideas of marriage or other indigenous ideas that would shape the daily interactions and relationships between indigenous Amazonians and the Jesuits.

Furthermore, this chapter describes how the legal, spiritual, and cultural bases upon which the mission was predicated on attempting to “save souls” and ensure indigenous rights, and to help people to become “fully human,” while simultaneously denying such rights and freedoms. These realities also muddled the original Jesuit mission to Maynas. Indeed, this central reason for the rise of the Jesuits in Maynas: “to save souls,” and develop the “whole person” by

offering “education” and “protection” to indigenous peoples often applied violent force in order to see the monumentalized traditions of the Jesuits enforced. At the same time in the 1760s the ideas of “enlightened absolutism” and the political machinations of Pombal and other actors helped to monumentalize an idea that the Jesuits had become a threat to the monarchy, and by extension, the colonial and emerging global capitalist system. For if indigenous people were *truly free* to pursue their interests as they saw fit, many would have returned to earlier lifeways or appropriated elements more informally and outside of state structures weakening all three systems: the monarchy, colonial system, and the period’s merchant capitalism.

Essentially, the Jesuits’ as aspiring messiahs were tasked with helping to monumentalize (in part through evangelization) many contradicting ideas, ideologies, and interests that placed the Jesuits into the unenviable position between “protecting” indigenous rights alongside violating them through forced labor, placing them into dangerous settlements that spread diseases, and finally (though not recognized at the time) by the act of “evangelizing,” which largely deemphasized indigenous memories, ideas, traditions, lifeways, and epistemologies more fully. This chapter is less interested in the sincerity of the Jesuits’ spiritual purity and more with how this spirituality is sincerely central to the attempted (spiritual) conquest.

It is hoped that additional understanding of how some of these traditions have been appropriated and refashioned during this period surrounding the Jesuit’s utopian project and the resistance of indigenous people within (and against) the mission system of Maynas can help to frame the contemporary struggles against contemporary ecocide and ethnocide, as the descendants of the Maynas mission and many other Amazonian peoples continue to struggle for human rights and democracy alongside economic and ecological justice. This places the present work into a broader conversation of scholarship that has sought to understand how such

movements, shaped by collective memory within a history of ideas and processes of cultural selection.

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Chapter 4 Encountering the State and the Collapse of History: Resistance and the Impacts of State Formation upon Amazonian Ideas, Societies, and Life-ways



By

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⁵⁶³ Photo Source: Garayar, Carlos, Walter H. Wust, Germán Coronado, and De Coronado, Martha. Muñoz. *Atlas Departamental Del Perú: Imagen Geográfica, Estadística, Histórica Y Cultural*. Lima, Perú: PEISA, 2003. Print. Pg. 58

I'm sure you all came here to hear the horrifyin' stories of brutality and the triumphant tales of courage. When Mr. Still asked me to speak he said all I needed to do was to tell my story, but my story ain't over. And it ain't my own. Our actions and our inactions changes the course of things, all of us. Me? I aim to continue to act. - Minty (Harriet Tubman) – *Underground*, 2017⁵⁶⁴

Following the expulsion of the Society of Jesus from Maynas in 1768, the central Amazon would enter another “phase” of its transformation that has helped to fashion distinct Amazonian spaces and memory today. This chapter describes some of the changes that occurred in Amazonia as state interests, including settler colonists began to more regularly come into contact with the original peoples of Amazonia. Roughly, this chapter will cover a period starting with the Jesuit expulsion in 1768 and concluding in 1879/1880, often seen as the beginning of the “Amazonian Rubber Boom.”

To understand the particular process of monumentalism by cultural selection by which the state would slowly insert itself and be encountered by Amazonian peoples, this study begins by describing competing academic notions or structures of “the state.” A classic interpretation of the state might require the monopolization of power to demarcate boundaries or the ability to enter into treaties that would be carried out more or less uniformly over a particular space.⁵⁶⁵ However, in Amazonia especially, maps have often represented more conceptual conquests than physical ones, while still having material impacts. Additionally, more contemporary interpretations recognize that while the state may indeed be displayed through lines on a map agreed upon by international bodies, its existence is not *only* limited to such monolithic expressions of formal political or idealized nation-state structures.

⁵⁶⁴ "Underground/Minty." In *Underground*. WGN America. 2016 - 2017.

⁵⁶⁵ Wilson, George. *International Law By George Grafton Wilson: Earlier Editions by George Grafton Wilson and George Fox Tucker*. New York: Silver, Burdett and, 1901. Print. Pg. 48

Those who encountered the state in Amazonia during this period would do so through everyday experiences constructing their lived “states of reality” through representatives of market interests, ideas, and individuals.⁵⁶⁶ These actors as symbols of the state were all variously in dialogue with organizations, networks, and information, which would often become appropriated by, the formal “state” and used to aid in attempts to fashion a distinct “states” of cultural reality/ecology in Amazonia.⁵⁶⁷ In practical terms, such representatives of the state could include individuals and groups representing various missionary, military, intellectual, scientific, artistic, and capitalistic endeavors. While these often represented competing financial or other interests, these all originated beyond physical Amazonian space.

Thus, this chapter keeps in mind the multiple examples and agents involved in representing such structures in order to understand how the process of monumentalism by cultural selection continued into the late colonial period, during the struggle for independence, and in the years following the end of European colonial rule over South American Amazonia; including how the emerging national states would seek to assert sovereignty in this vacuum.⁵⁶⁸ It will particularly pay attention to printed representations over the 19th century that demonstrate monumentalism by cultural selection both among state interests and among native/non-native Amazonians. These include those of mixed, and African descent.

⁵⁶⁶ For more on the concept of Hegemony, see: Gramsci, Antonio, Joseph A. Buttigieg, and Antonio Callari. *Prison Notebooks*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2011. https://books.google.com/books?id=h0qi9N_9ilUC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false.

⁵⁶⁷ Myers, Thomas P. "Agricultural Limitations of the Amazon in Theory and Practice." *World Archaeology* The Humid Tropics, June 24.1 (1992). Jstor. Web. 21 Nov. 2011. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/124899> .>. Pg. 84 For more information on the evolving notion of the state, see: Sharma, Aradhana. *The Anthropology of the State: a Reader*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2008. Print.

⁵⁶⁸ While the Caribbean had, by this time forged quite distinct identities departing from shared cultural selection over millennia prior to the arrival of old world peoples, this chapter will focus solely on South American continental Amazon

The chapter is divided into six parts: The first two, Part I: Ten Years Later, Maynas and Amazonia from 1767 – 1777 and Part II: Dutch Guiana, Afro-Amazonians, John Gabriel Stedman and Joanna, (1772 -1777) continues the narrative centered upon Maynas and changes following the expulsion of the Jesuits until the end of the colonial era, but also describes maroon communities in what is now Suriname through the eyes of a Dutch colonist named John Gabriel Stedman and his “Suriname Wife” Joanna. Part III: The Expansion and Reorganization of the Colonial state in Maynas (1777 - 1809), Part IV: Maynas and Upper Amazonia in the Age of Independence (1809 – 1828), and Part V: Maynas and Central Amazonia in the Mid-19th Century (1830 – 1880) return the narrative to the central Amazonia between 1777 and 1880 by describing (largely through the eyes of travelers) particular traditions of domination, control, as well as the maintenance of indigenous traditions, which continue today. Finally, the last section, Part VI: Upper Amazonia, Chachapoyas, and the Asháninka: A Momentary Glimpse into Upper Amazonia Beyond the Main Channel of the Amazon Until the Late 19th Century examines encountering the state in the Andean Amazon, especially among the Asháninka people.⁵⁶⁹ Through such an exploration, it is hoped that the particular moments represented by the various sources in order to provide a comprehensive (though by no means complete) understanding of the way increasing state power impacted different peoples’ lives during this period in order to better understand this particular process of monumentalism by cultural selection that continues to shape Amazonia in the present.

Part I: Ten Years Later, Maynas and Amazonia from 1767 – 1777

Like so many aspects of life, to begin moving forward, we must first look back in time to discuss what may deceptively seem like a relatively minor change, but that would have major

⁵⁶⁹ This is also around Chachapoyas and the nearby ancient city of Kuélap (discussed in chapter 1).

consequences for Maynas, and Amazonia more broadly as the narrative continues. Though originally part of the Viceroyalty of Perú, much of this area was transferred to the newly (re) created Viceroyalty of Nueva Granada from 1739 until 1802, when it would then be returned to the Viceroyalty of Perú. This was part of the same general wave of “Bourbon Reforms”⁵⁷⁰ undertaken to assert crown control over colonial Latin America that would contribute to ousting the Jesuits in Spanish colonial territories in the Americas by 1767. The ripple effects of this expulsion would continue to reverberate for some time. For instance, by 1770, letters would continue to be exchanged between Cartagena de Indias and Spain in order seeking repayment for the transport of Jesuit missionaries.⁵⁷¹

The vacuum left by the Jesuit absence would only become partially filled by different religious orders. Therefore, under secular control, spiritual authorities and individual (would be) landowners would seek greater physical control over Amazonian people. Though readers may recall from the previous chapter that Portuguese excursions penetrated Maynas quite far into the Marañón, by 1775, Spanish sources report that the Portuguese had advanced to the present site of Tabatinga (today a city on the Brazilian side of the tri-national border shared with Colombia and Perú). Thus, the Spanish crown begrudgingly acknowledging and ultimately helping to fix the border between the Iberian powers in Amazonia at this spot, where it remains (linguistically) today.

⁵⁷⁰ For more on the Bourbon Reforms, see: Kuethe, Allan J., and Kenneth J. Andrien. *The Spanish Atlantic World in the Eighteenth Century: War and the Bourbon Reforms, 1713-1796*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014. https://books.google.com/books?id=2NFkAwAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false.

⁵⁷¹ For more on this, see: Colombia. *Archivo General De La Nación De Colombia. Acuerdo De La Junta De Temporalidades Del Perú Sobre El Pago a Las Reales Cajas De Cartagena De La Cantidad Que De Esta Salio Para Gastos De Transporte a Espana De Los Jesuitas Exilados De Chile Paraguay Y Del Mismo Perú*. By Unknown. Vol. Folios 146-147 Organización: Ordenación Cronológica Irregular Código De Referencia Miscelanea: SC 39,117, D.13. N.p.: n.p., 1770. Print.

By 1777, the Spanish state would help to commission an expedition that eventually became mostly associated with Maynas' Governor Francisco Requena, who would help demarcate the borders with the Portuguese. A long report describing preparations for the expedition hinted at the type of investment needed to sustain a colonial endeavor in the region and previewed some of the jobs of colonial actors who would be encountered by indigenous Amazonians and (by now) people of mixed, African, and European descent. Included in the list were priests, colonial administrators such as Requena, along with soldiers who would be moved into the area.⁵⁷²

Along with demarcation, the expedition and support given by colonial authorities included soldiers and quite a bit of military equipment. One document includes information that a large number of arms would be shipped to the area (by way of Guaquil) from Callao. This included: "1,500 guns, twelve, 12 caliber cannons, 2,500 fusiles (rifles) or with bayonets, some 12,000, 4, 8, and 12 caliber bullets, along with 970,000 16 caliber rifle bullets, 30,000 pistol bullets 70,000 quint of gunpowder. This last figure corresponds to approximately (70,000 kg or 154,323.58 lbs.). Transporting this alone would be immensely difficult and costly.

Though the Portuguese may have held Tabatinga, these arms were to be used to "establish the border on Spanish terms to deal with the Portuguese," while 1,500 axes and

⁵⁷² Guirior, Manuel. "Carta N° 241 De Manuel De Guirior, Virrey De Perú, a José De Gálvez, Secretario De Indias." Letter to José De Gálvez. orig. 1777, 12-20, lima. *Carta N° 241 De Manuel De Guirior, Virrey De Perú, a José De Gálvez, Secretario De Indias*. N.p.: Archivo General De Indias Signatura:LIMA,655,N.88 Código De Referencia: ES.41091.AGI/23.9//LIMA,655,N.88, 1777. N. pag. *Pares.mcu.es*. Web. 4 May 2017. and For more on Requena, See: Del Río Sadornil, José Luis. "Don Francisco Requena Y Herrera: Una Figura Clave En La Demarcación De Los Límites Hispano-Lusos En La Cuenca Del Amazonas (s. XVIII) Francisco Requena Y Herrera: A Key Figure in the Demarcation of Spanish-Portuguese Limits in the Amazon Basin (18th Century)." *Revista Complutense De Historia De América: Universidad Complutense De Madrid Departamento De Documentación*, Riosa@ccinf.ucm.es 29. 2003. Accessed May 6, 2017. <http://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/RCHA/article/view/RCHA0303110051A>.

machetes along with 200 hoes”⁵⁷³ would could build fortifications, settlements, canoes (or other riverine transport) and be used to trade with (or employ) Amazonian groups. The incurred expenses also provided additional negotiating power with the Portuguese, by helping to appropriate and refashion or apply here the legal principle of *Uti possidetis*,⁵⁷⁴ which essentially meant, holding onto the land already “possessed.” Demonstrating that “improvements” had been made supported the argument that the state had been actively involved in governance and thus deserved to continue holding onto the territory. While such arguments were worked out in the salons and courts of Europe, in Amazonia, the bullets, axes, tools, and other armaments could go a long way toward “possessing” more land as well.

In 1777, the First Treaty of San Ildefonso was concluded, which ceded Spanish claims and possessions in central and lower Amazonia to Portugal in exchange for recognizing Spanish sovereignty in Uruguay. This built upon earlier treaties in 1750 helping to solidify central Amazonia (especially much of the Madeira and Rio Negro basins) as within Portuguese “control.” Practically, travelers would increasingly be subject to passing through state controlled spaces that usually accompanied military constructions, for instance at Tabatinga, Manaus, and Belém. This of course, existed on paper, but in reality, a great deal of informal or “black-market” exchange could occur given the extremely porous nature of Amazonia. Importantly, the still fuzzy geographic knowledge contributed to making Requena’s work more important while also sowing the seeds for future inter-Iberian tensions as well as following independence between Perú, Ecuador, Brazil, and Colombia.

⁵⁷³ De Guirior, Manuel. "Carta N° 241 De Manuel De Guirior, Virrey De Perú, a José De Gálvez, Secretario De Indias." Letter to José De Gálvez. orig. 1777, 12-20, lima. Carta N° 241 De Manuel De Guirior, Virrey De Perú, a José De Gálvez, Secretario De Indias. N.p.: Archivo General De Indias Signatura:LIMA,655,N.88 Código De Referencia: ES.41091.AGI/23.9//LIMA,655,N.88, 1777. N. pag. Pares.mcu.es. Web. 4 May 2017. Pp. 94 -95

⁵⁷⁴ This dates back to Roman law and was appropriated by the Iberian powers. For more on this concept, see: Lalonde, S. N. Determining Boundaries in a Conflicted World: The Role of Uti Possidetis. Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 2014. Print.

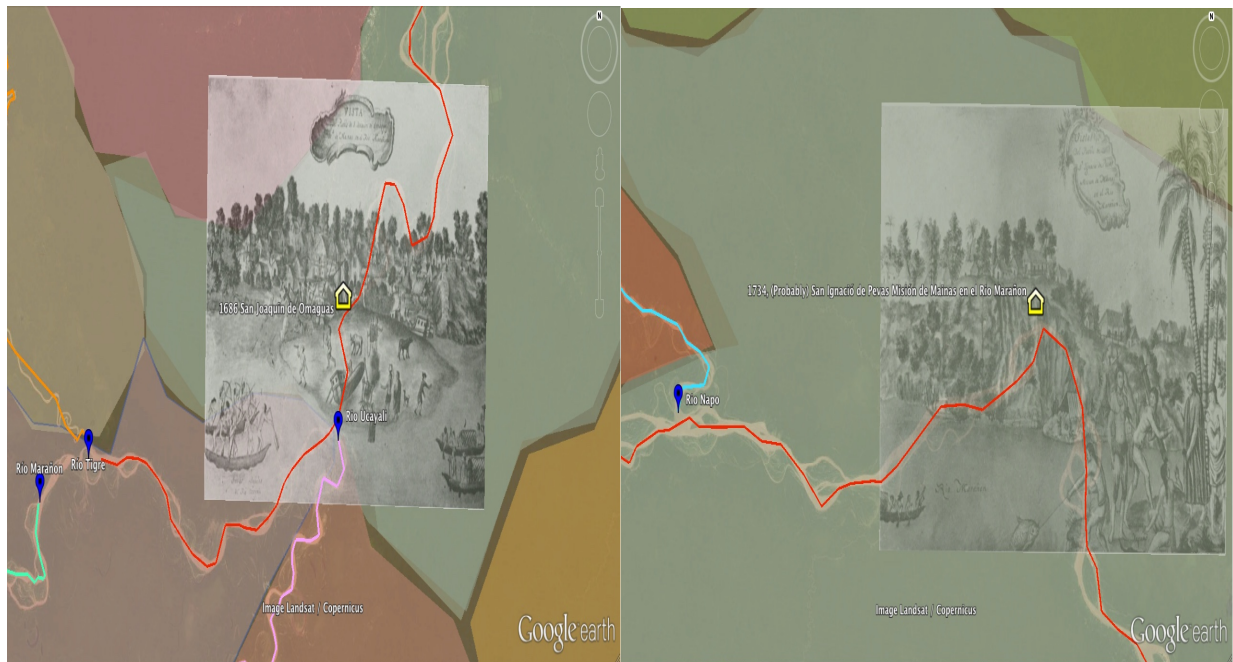


Figure 4.1: Juxtaposed Images of the Former Jesuit Missions San Joaquin de Omaguas and San Ignació de Pevas around 1770 along with Major River Tributaries and Basins. Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., Spring 2017

The figure above reveals a composite image of Requena's watercolors of the former missions of San Joaquin de Omaguas (on the left) during his expedition. These are overlaid with information demonstrating the two Jesuit reducciones, as well as Amazonian rivers and basins including the Solimões (in red). The above figure demonstrates that at least in colonial depictions or imagination, life in the former mission settlements, for instance San Ignació de Pevas, on the right), which continued to be inhabited, and thus reproducing some lifeways associated with the missions during this period.⁵⁷⁵ These provide a glimpse into the type of riverine transport being used during this time as well as other industry including the continued reliance upon the labor of rowers, which can be seen in the use and construction of vessels depicted by Requena. This figure also depicted the settlements in Eurocentric forms

⁵⁷⁵ Original source for digital Requena watercolor black and white images: Smith, Robert C. "Requena and the Japurá: Some Eighteenth Century Watercolors of the Amazon and Other Rivers." *The Americas* 3, no. 1 (1946): 31-65. Accessed May 06, 2017. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/978188?ref=search-gateway:fdd1be54fc47dca3aff6d6377a349211>.

demonstrating that these mission settlements may have persisted since the Jesuit period or had been rebuilt along European styles. Simultaneously, the depiction of indigenous lifeways such as particular clothing styles and nudity indicates (at least for Requena) a continuation of at least some Amazonian traditions or cultural monuments into the 1780s.



Figure 4.2: The Pongo de Manseriche “Pass” Around 1770 With Major Riverine Tributaries and Basins. Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., Spring 2017

The above image demonstrates Requena’s sketch of the area around the Pongo de Manseriche, the old colonial capital of Maynas, San Francisco de Borja, as well as the Marañón (in green), Santiago (in red), and Morona (in blue) rivers.⁵⁷⁶ The image of Requena demonstrates both European type homes as well as a larger “raft” type craft capable of supporting a dwelling or covered space (likely to escape the rain and sun). This could also be used to transport bulk goods, weapons, or soldiers while keeping them relatively dry. Collectively, these images help to

⁵⁷⁶ Original source for digital Requena watercolor black and white images: Smith, Robert C. "Requena and the Japurá: Some Eighteenth Century Watercolors of the Amazon and Other Rivers." *The Americas* 3, no. 1 (1946): 31-65. Accessed May 06, 2017. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/978188?ref=search-gateway:fdd1be54fc47dca3aff6d6377a349211>.

convey a sense of continuity concerning Spanish colonization in the area, as well as industry (including fishing) that demonstrated the space was being actively utilized.

Such depictions would be used to support the claim that they “possessed” the space in claims against the Portuguese over the territory. The prominence of churches helps to further this claim. It also conveys good “stewardship” of former Jesuit reducciones. Requena’s name has become a jurisdiction in the Peruvian department of Loreto and demonstrated that Maynas was not “abandoned” though it may have become “less of a priority,” within much of the accepted historiography, the hundreds of thousands of bullets, along with cannons, guns, and machetes, and the creation of a visual culture to display order convey a much different picture of Maynas following the Jesuits. However, Maynas was not alone in changing, nor in encountering figures such as Requena during the course of the 18th and early 19th centuries as an increase in African slavery would help to alter what it meant to be Amazonian. The next section will explore some of the complex interactions and contradictions between different individuals’ relationships to the institutions structuring the enslavement of African peoples by examining an extended “moment” in the area described in previous chapters (especially chapter 2) as the Guianas, also occasionally referred to as “the Brazils.”⁵⁷⁷ Following this, the narrative will return to the area around the main channel of the Amazon river.

Part II: Dutch Guiana, Afro-Amazonians, John Gabriel Stedman and Joanna, (1772 -1777)

This section shifts away from the main channel of the river and instead focuses on another area of Amazonia in what is now Suriname (also known during the late 18th century as Dutch Guiana) during the same relative moment as the late mission and early post-Maynas mission period (between 1744 and 1797). The main purpose of this section is to demonstrate in

⁵⁷⁷ Stedman, John Gabriel, Richard Price, and Sally Price. *Stedman's Surinam Life in Eighteenth-century Slave Society*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.

more specific detail, how the arrival of larger numbers of enslaved Africans would come to impact Amazonia in specific ways that monumentalized particular traditions of domination and resistance that have, up to this point, largely been spoken of in the abstract. While initially confined more to coastal areas in order to work on plantations, people of African descent would increasingly come into contact and mix with indigenous Amazonians as well as with European settlers and travelers during the 18th and 19th centuries through the colonial system of enslavement, as workers, and/or by maroons (former slaves who fled to create their own (semi) autonomous societies away from the centers of colonial power.⁵⁷⁸ Though more research is needed to describe more of these narratives (and is presently being done), the particular narrative described in this section is based on the published journals of one individual whose account embodies many of the contradictions or tensions between competing ideas within Amazonia: African/indigenous slavery, gender, rape, and sexuality, as well as tensions between class/ideology among “white” Europeans.

Suriname’s colonial rule was transferred to the Netherlands in 1676, having originally been founded in 1650 by the English. The section centers on a unique account describing the curated thoughts of John Gabriel Stedman, an Anglo-Dutch individual who arrived in the colony to pay off debt by leading military incursions to hunt down “fugitive slave” communities. Such “fugitive slave” societies existed throughout the colonial Americas and largely come to be known by the term “maroons” in Anglophone literature from the Spanish term *Cimarrónes*,

⁵⁷⁸ This emphasis is included above to demonstrate the range of maroon communities’ relationships with areas of colonial influence

essentially meaning those who shunned “civilization” for freedom or “savagery,” though the term may be of Arawak origin.⁵⁷⁹

Though briefly mentioned above, and like so many other conquistadores, adventurers, sailors, pirates, before and after him, John Gabriel Stedman was driven by the prospect of paying off debt to Suriname in 1773. He kept personal journals during his time in Dutch Guiana, which later were selectively edited for publication.⁵⁸⁰ The works described everything from the flora and fauna of the area, the traditions of people of indigenous Amazonian and African descent, as well as his interactions with the slave system, which ranged from pro-slavery, neutrality to the institution, outrage at the brutal treatment of slaves, and his own sexual conquests of enslaved and native women. This provides historians with a singular source concerning Suriname during the 1770s. This is compounded by the inclusion of illustrated representations based on Stedman’s own drawings, which help to paint a complex image of the specific conditions within Suriname during the period. This also provides the reader an expanded understanding of the historiography of Suriname and of Amazonia more broadly.

Stedman’s narrative, while particular to Suriname, is also important as it is representative of larger processes of enslavement as well as the multiple levels of violence used to maintain this horrible and exploitative institution. Additionally, the narrative simultaneously acted as an important source concerning historical memory of maroon communities. Finally, Stedman’s work demonstrates the complexity of gender, sexuality, and power of women in Amazonia, which is important as many other narratives are uniquely concerned with males. Though many women are mentioned (and were often presented to Stedman as sexual companions and servants)

⁵⁷⁹ Torres, Arlene, and Norman E. Whitten. *Blackness in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998.

⁵⁸⁰ Stedman, John Gabriel, Richard Price, and Sally Price. *Stedman's Surinam Life in Eighteenth-century Slave Society*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.

one woman named Joanna, would become Stedman's concubine or "Suriname wife." However, during the three years, Stedman also engaged in numerous sexual relationships with indigenous, mixed, and Afro-Surinamese women in addition to Joanna.

For Joanna (and women in Suriname/Amazonia in similar social positions as her), the maroons, and others who encountered him (during his time in the colony, though not exclusively) Stedman represented a physical embodiment of "the state" as he was connected militarily, economically, as well as through specific conceptions of gender, race, class, and sexuality to the networks of ideas supporting many colonial structures. This does not mean however, that he represented the *only* representative of colonial power and the ideas, which sustained it, rather this is meant to demonstrate to the reader that for many people on the ground, they would come to experience such structures through individual relationships to show how ideas, traditions, and structures are appropriated and refashioned. Indeed, though not an abolitionist himself (Stedman's writing was critical of outright physical violence and mistreatment) his narrative would become appropriated and refashioned by abolitionists during the 19th century and its images (some of them included below) were reproduced and shared in numerous historical and even "pop or sub culture" written texts.⁵⁸¹

From relatively humble beginnings, the 1600s, the colony of Suriname (Dutch Guiana) had grown into a profitable and extremely unequal plantation colony based on the production of cash crops such as sugar and indigo. According to Sally and Richard Price in *Stedman's Surinam Life in Eighteenth-century Slave Society*, by the 1750s, Dutch Guiana was consuming more

⁵⁸¹ Stedman, John Gabriel, Richard Price, and Sally Price. *Stedman's Surinam Life in Eighteenth-century Slave Society*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992. This is especially discussed in the introduction of this work.

products and producing more per capita than any other colony in Caribbean, helping to increase greatly, the profit side of the mercantilist balance of trade favorable to the Netherlands.⁵⁸²

Importantly, the Netherlands had previously been part of the Habsburg Empire and would therefore appropriate some economic, political, and cultural ideas and traditions from their status within this important early modern world. After fighting for independence from Habsburg domination between 1566 and 1648, the now “free” Dutch would still maintain, appropriate, and refashion many similar ideas toward colonization, race, “progress,” and religion as their previous rulers toward people of indigenous and African descent, though the Dutch would stress Protestant Christianity rather than Roman Catholicism as they attempted to sustain and justify their own colonial endeavors. Further traditions such the enslavement of African peoples enacted through the use of the whip and terror would similarly be appropriated and refashioned in order to keep the flow of cash crops flowing toward Dutch coffers.

⁵⁸² Stedman, John Gabriel, Richard Price, and Sally Price. *Stedman's Surinam Life in Eighteenth-century Slave Society*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.

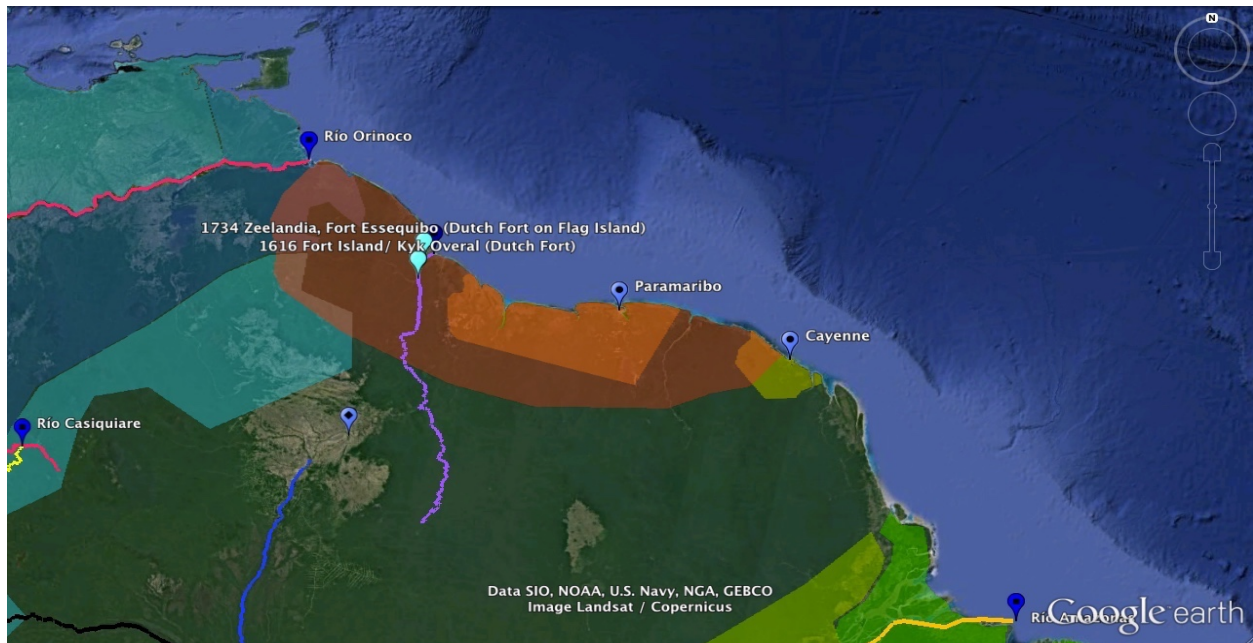


Figure 4.3: Shifting influence over the Guianas between the 16 and 1700s. Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., Spring 2017

The map above demonstrates the political fluctuations of the Guianas (roughly the area between the Orinoco and the Amazon Rivers) during the 17th and 18th centuries. The blue and green overlays (near the Orinoco and Amazonian estuaries respectfully) represent Spanish and Portuguese claimed space, while the large orange swath (from the Orinoco Basin to Cayenne) indicates the greatest extent of Dutch control in the Guianas. For instance, early in the 1600s along the Essequibo river (in purple) the Dutch would build fortresses, while by the time of Stedman, Dutch control had been pushed back by the English (who established firm control around the Essequibo River) in what is now Guyana as well as in French Guyana (also seen in green around Cayenne). Though it was initially larger, Suriname would be confined to this smaller and lighter orange layer (especially centered around the colony’s capital city Paramaribo), which forms the foundation for the modern state of Suriname. This space around the Suriname River and Paramaribo are mainly where Stedman’s narrative occurred.



Figure 4.4: “Le Capitan J. G. Stedman” Standing over the Body of a Killed Maroon Man with the Community Burning in the Background. Source: "Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition, against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam, in Guiana, on the Wild Coast of South America; from the Year 1772, to 1777." Internet Archive. Orig. 1806. Accessed Spring, 2016.⁵⁸³

The image above depicts John Gabriel Stedman standing over the body of a slain man of African descent, while behind him the man’s maroon community has been burned and is being re-enslaved by Stedman and his associates. It was through such violent work that Stedman hoped to free himself from his own indebtedness. The image is included here to demonstrate some of the many contradictions embodied by Stedman and his participation in such acts. While colonial authorities came to recognize some maroons’ free status, many communities lived under the constant fear of destruction by whites, their indigenous allies, and even other maroon communities, which often looked something like Figure 4.4 above. This was in part, because the colony had a perpetual labor shortage that needed to be minimized to maintain the profits from

⁵⁸³ The spelling “Surinam” in Figure 4.4 is an earlier English spelling of the contemporary “Suriname”

the cash crop economy.⁵⁸⁴ As this was true across Amazonia, the above figure helps to present a contemporary image of how Europeans themselves depicted their treatment of mixed and Afro-Guyanese populations as well as Amazonians more broadly linked to the structures of dehumanization described in previous chapters.

Because of the desire to generate such profits despite the price of mass human suffering, the African and indigenous slave trades, which provided the human labor that produced riches for the planter-class, also transformed much of the colony into a largely Afro-Amazonian space. The “white” and indigenous populations remained low due to a mixture of colonial settlement policies as well as tropical and old world diseases to which many Africans had greater immunity given exposure both to old world and tropical diseases within Africa and by now, generations within Amazonia. Around the 1770s to 1780s, the ratio of “Africans to Europeans in Suriname was 25:1 and 65:1 in plantation districts. (For comparison, Jamaica’s ratio in 1780, ‘the highest in the British West Indies,’ was 10:1).⁵⁸⁵ This demonstrated that Dutch Guiana (today Suriname) like French Saint Domingue (Haiti) was in the words of one recent commentator “not a society with slavery but rather a slave [or enslaved] society.”⁵⁸⁶

According to www.slavevoyages.org (which partners with the United Nations), at least 294,000 enslaved African people would be sent to Dutch Guiana, while around 73,000 people were sent to British Guiana and about 31,000 enslaved African people to French Guiana (Cayenne) over the course of the slave trade.⁵⁸⁷ These numbers demonstrate the relatively large

⁵⁸⁴ Stedman, John Gabriel, Richard Price, and Sally Price. *Stedman's Surinam Life in Eighteenth-century Slave Society*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.

⁵⁸⁵ *Ibid.* Pg. xii

⁵⁸⁶ Duncan, Mike. "4.01- Saint-Domingue The French Colony of Saint-Domingue Was the Single Most Lucrative Colony in the New World." Audio blog post. *Revolutions*. N.p., 06 Dec. 2015. Web. 25 May 2017.

⁵⁸⁷ Unknown. "Map 9: Volume and Direction of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade from All African to All American Regions." *Introductory Maps*. Slavevoyages.org, n.d. Web. 30 May 2017.

numbers of Africans brought to the colony, with cultural implications, including the many African traditions and lifeways would that would be monumentalized and culturally selected within the Guianas, alongside refashioned indigenous and European cultural ideas including religious beliefs.⁵⁸⁸

Seeking respite from the horrors of plantation slavery, many of the enslaved fled to the interior of the provinces in Guiana, forming communities that would at times ally with or fight against indigenous groups. Over time, the maroons would also mix with indigenous people and individuals of European descent. The creation of maroon communities allowed for societies that interacted with but were also distinct from those of nearby colonial states as they had greater freedom from the dominant ideas supporting Eurocentrism, capitalism, Christianity, and white supremacy. Today, descendants of these populations comprise some of the largest former maroon communities in Latin America at around 25% of the entire population of Suriname.

By Stedman's time, the slave trade had resulted in about 50,000 enslaved people under the cruel exploitation of about 3,000 Europeans.⁵⁸⁹ Two of the most important maroon communities in Suriname are the Saramaka and the Ndjuka. While these two groups attained legal recognition by the Dutch demonstrating the pragmatism of even this racist system in the face of demographic reality, Stedman was initially sent to Guiana along with around 800 other European-trained professional fighters to aid local soldiers against raids by "unrecognized and

⁵⁸⁸ For instance, African religious traditions would mix with old world and native religions from Cuba to Brazil, Venezuela, Colombia, and Perú. For more on this topic, see Olmos, Margarite Fernandez, and Lizabeth Paravisini-Gebert. *Creole Religions of the Caribbean: An Introduction from Vodou and Santeria to Obeah and Espiritismo*. New York: New York University Press, 2011.

⁵⁸⁹ Price, Richard. "The Maroon Population Explosion: Suriname and Guyane." *New West Indian Guide / Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 87, no. 3-4 (2013): 323-27.
http://booksandjournals.brillonline.com/docserver/journals/22134360/87/3-4/22134360_087_03-04_s003_text.pdf?expires=1496207052&id=id&accname=guest&checksum=190E8ED96B025C45EF94BE2C7605B88C.

recently enslaved” maroon groups. If encountered, individuals of these smaller “informal” maroon groups were to be returned by the Saramaka and Ndjuka to colonial plantations.⁵⁹⁰ Stedman’s narrative therefore reveals some of the many tensions and contradictions within Suriname (even among fellow dispossessed populations) that existed in many other parts of Amazonia during this period, including many of the places enslaved people from Maynas who would often be sent to work in plantations closer to the Amazonian estuary.

Stedman’s account describes the working conditions related to the production of cotton, coffee, indigo, cacao, and sugar plantations, which all displaced the native flora. Among these, the sugar plantations were quite lucrative. However, the process of sugar making required immense capital and infrastructure investment alongside industrial equipment. It was also incredibly dangerous work. One passage from Stedman described the danger that too often faced enslaved Africans and indigenous people around Amazonia. He explained:

So very dangerous is the work of those negroes who attend the rollers, that should one of their fingers be caught between them, which frequently happens through inadvertency, the whole arm is instantly shattered to pieces, if not part of the body. A hatchet is generally kept ready to chop off the limb, before the working often can be stopped. Another danger is, that should a poor slave dare to taste that sugar which he produces by the sweat of his brow, he runs the risk of receiving some hundred lashes, or having all his teeth knocked out by the overseer — Such are the hardships and dangers to which the sugar-making negroes are exposed.⁵⁹¹

⁵⁹⁰ Stedman, John Gabriel, Richard Price, and Sally Price. *Stedman's Surinam Life in Eighteenth-century Slave Society*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.

⁵⁹¹ Stedman, John Gabriel. "Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition, against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam, in Guiana, on the Wild Coast of South America; from the Year 1772, to 1777: Elucidating the History of That Country, and Describing Its Productions ... with an Account of the Indians of Guiana, & Negroes of Guinea : Stedman, John Gabriel, 1744-1797 : Internet Archive. Orig. 1806. Accessed May 06, 2017. <https://archive.org/details/narrativeoffivey02sted>. Pg. 328

These horrible working and living conditions demonstrate why the maroon communities were so large. Faced with the possibility of losing an arm or dying at the hands of an overseer versus seeking “freedom” in the forests would be a pretty compelling alternative for anyone enslaved in Suriname. As this flight threatened the colony’s labor it “required” the violent services of people like Stedman, who would round up these individuals so that the system would continue to make profits for the planting, governmental, and merchant classes. By working with some of the enslaved, free people of color, and with other maroon communities, Stedman’s narrative reveals pervasive violence and many of the contradictions and tensions of the time.

Life on a sugar or other cash crop plantations was not the only danger faced by the enslaved. Indeed, many African and indigenous Amazonian slaves were enlisted rowing the “tent boats,” of the elite, and/or larger vessels for transport was (literally) backbreaking ceaseless labor that was noted to have one of the highest mortality rates. Like many of their indigenous counterparts along the main channel of the Amazon River, in Suriname, this was the main type of transport there as well until the arrival of the steamboat later in the 19th century (described in greater detail below).



Figure 4.5: “Representation of a Tent Boat or Plantation Barge”. Source: "Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition, against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam, in Guiana, on the Wild Coast of South America; from the Year 1772, to 1777." John Gabriel Stedman and William Blake. Internet Archive. Orig. 1806. Accessed Spring, 2016.

The image above depicts rowers and the most popular form of transport in Suriname during the 1770s and into the 19th century. It is clear from the representation that the six rowers are exposed to intense heat or rains that might form suddenly, while the “tent” portion of the tent boat” was reserved for those of European descent, their companions, and slaves employed as servants conveying food, drinks, etc.

Stedman described the lives of rowers in some detail and made use of them himself both personally and to aid in his hunt for maroons. For example, Stedman noted:

The vessels were rowed by six or eight negroes, who were entirely without cloaths,⁵⁹² except a small stripe of check or other linen cloth, which was passed between their thighs, and fastened before and behind to a thin cotton string tied

⁵⁹² Again, within quotes, I have decided to include as much as possible, the original spellings.

round their loins. As the colonists generally make choice of their handsomest slaves for this office, and to attend them at table, & the rowers, who were healthy, young, and vigorous, looked extremely well, and their being naked gave us a full opportunity of observing their skin, which was shining, and nearly as black as ebony. This scene was, however, contrasted by the arrival of two canoes filled with emaciated starving wretches, who clamorously solicited relief from the soldiers, and were ready to fight for the possession of a bone.⁵⁹³

Worth noting here is that Stedman pays attention to the number of rowers (6-8), that they are minimally clothed (reinforcing their otherness as well as the brutality of the slave system). Stedman also noted that the men were chosen for their general attractiveness and blackness, which enhanced the prestige of those who held the enslaved in bondage, while particularly commodifying blackness and reinforcing the white-male supremacy that ideologically anchored this society. Finally, Stedman explained that while these “vigorous” rowers had set out, arriving rowers were “emaciated,” which demonstrated the physical hardship upon the body that would occur after this type of work. Another passage provides a description of the backbreaking work:

The rowers never stop, from the moment they set out till the company is landed at the place of destination; but continue, the tide serving or not, to tug night and day, sometimes for twenty-four hours together, singing a chorus all the time to keep up their spirits. When their labour is over, their naked bodies still dripping with sweat, like post-horses, they headlong, one and all, plunge into the river to refresh themselves.⁵⁹⁴

Such constant motion demonstrates why (these generally malnourished) rowers might arrive in such a weakened state following a journey. Along with the dangerous work in the sugar, coffee

⁵⁹³ Stedman, John Gabriel. "Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition, against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam, in Guiana, on the Wild Coast of South America; from the Year 1772, to 1777: Elucidating the History of That Country, and Describing Its Productions ... with an Account of the Indians of Guiana, & Negroes of Guinea : Stedman, John Gabriel, 1744-1797 : Free Download & Streaming." *Internet Archive*. N.p., orig. 1806. Web. 06 May 2017. Pg. 20

⁵⁹⁴ *Ibid.* Pg. 99

or other cash-crop plantations, these instances provide a brief look at the terrible conditions that existed, and which motivated enslaved people to resist and flee.



Figure 4.5a: Depiction of Rowers in Suriname around 1845. Courtesy Alcide D'Orbigny and Internet Archive. Orig. 1841. Accessed Spring, 2016

The image above demonstrates the evolution of the tent or “pleasure” boat by 1841. While French travelers in Cayenne rather than in Dutch Suriname created the image above, it is illustrative of the type of luxurious river transport described by Stedman in Suriname by the Dutch, similarly employing well-dressed rowers, propelling the vessel along. In short, this type of boat was not meant for transporting bulk goods, but to display luxury few could ever hope to afford especially from the 1770s to the 1840s. In the image, a woman reclines above the luxury cabin shaded by a parasol while another woman and child sit along the bank along with (based

on the description) a native Carib individual, demonstrating those who had access to such wealth and status, as well as those who would generally find themselves excluded from that world of privilege, or those whose forced labor and appropriated land funded such luxuries.⁵⁹⁵

For the workers, despite fancier clothes and prestige, the work was still dangerous and exhausting. Even for one enslaved mother who did not initially attempt to flee, great violence occurred aboard a tent boat (much like the one seen above in Figure 4.5a) when her infant, who may have been injured and could not be consoled nor made to quiet down. According to Stedman, the mistress of the barge:

offended with the cries of this innocent little creature, ordered the mother to bring it aft, and deliver it into her hands ; then, in the presence of the distracted parent, she immediately thrust it out at one of the tilt-windows, where she held it under water until it was drowned, and then let it go. The fond mother, in a state of desperation, instantly leapt overboard into the stream, where floated her beloved offspring, in conjunction with which she was determined to finish her miserable existence. In this, however, she was prevented by the exertions of the negroes who rowed the boat and was punished by her mistress with three or four hundred lashes for her daring temerity.⁵⁹⁶

While we do not know the exact name of this woman, the broader context, nor even whether this horrifying event actually occurred, its inclusion by Stedman does demonstrate at least an attitude toward human life (namely that African and black lives did not matter) that was similar to an outlook toward many other Amazonian groups. This also reveals that white supremacy was not

⁵⁹⁵ Alcide D' Orbigny, Jules Boilly. "Voyage Pittoresque Dans Les Deux Amériques. Résumé Général De Tous Les Voyages De Colomb, Las-Casas, Oviedo ... Humboldt ... Franklin ... Etc : Orbigny, Alcide Dessalines D', 1802-1857 : Free Download & Streaming." *Internet Archive*. orig. 1841. Accessed April 27, 2017.

<https://archive.org/details/voyagepittoresque00orbirich>.

⁵⁹⁶ Stedman, John Gabriel. "Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition, against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam, in Guiana, on the Wild Coast of South America; from the Year 1772, to 1777: Elucidating the History of That Country, and Describing Its Productions ... with an Account of the Indians of Guiana, & Negroes of Guinea : Stedman, John Gabriel, 1744-1797 : Free Download & Streaming." *Internet Archive*. N.p., orig. 1806. Web. 06 May 2017. Pg. 343 Many recent killings of unarmed black people in the US reveal that this idea that black lives are unequal to white ones remains sadly pervasive today.

confined to European men but was also supported by “white “or European women in Amazonia, in fact even disrupting the binary ideas about how women in particular should act toward children. Such an incredibly violent act further provides a sense of the state of horror and terror (essentially the open state of war) that existed between enslaved and those who enslaved them, which informed the entire system of colonial hierarchies within Suriname during this period. This open state of war (akin to a state of exception),⁵⁹⁷ will often be assumed by state actors towards people of African, indigenous, and mixed descent especially throughout the 19th century and which sadly acts as further antecedents toward the use of violence against these groups that continues in Amazonia at the very moment you are reading these words. Unfortunately, contemporary violence against black and indigenous lives seeking to protect their land from logging, ranching, or settlement still occurs and sadly too often looks similar to the image shown below, which was carried out against a man in one of the maroon communities of Suriname.

⁵⁹⁷ Agamben, Giorgio, and Daniel Heller-Roazen. *Homo Sacer*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998.



Figure 4.6: Juxtaposition Showing “A Man Hung Alive by the Ribs to a Gallows” Alongside “A Rebel Man Armed for His Guard” Source: "Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition, against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam, in Guiana, on the Wild Coast of South America; from the Year 1772, to 1777." John Gabriel Stedman and William Blake. Internet Archive. Orig. 1806. Accessed Spring, 2016

The graphic and disturbing above image (on the left) depicts one example of the systemic torture and murder of captured maroons. Though my first instinct (aside from utter horror) was to never look at, nor subject anyone to this image again, upon greater reflection, it became clear that the torture depicted above is indicative of monumentalized and culturally selected ideas of domination and terrorism. Such displays intended to terrorize and thus, to immobilize the larger population of enslaved people. The power of the state here then was twofold: First, the violence to the human body in the form of horrible torture and execution, and second, psychologically to strike fear into anyone who opposed the status quo. Its, message: “oppose the state and this is

what is in store for you.” These were the types of violence that was used construct and maintain this society (as well as other Amazonian societies) in order to generate immense profits for a small few, while also providing material foundations for western capitalist accumulation.

This terrible example was reported to Stedman, and thus he was not an eyewitness to this particular violence. However, it sadly does not represent hyperbole as Stedman’s narrative (alongside many others) describes similar excruciating and cruel acts of terrorism. This (more or less) sanctioned violence facilitated European domination and allowed Europeans (first aristocrats, and merchant classes followed increasingly by those in the lower classes) to enjoy coffee and sugar both in Suriname and across the Atlantic.⁵⁹⁸ Stedman reported that this terror was applied across gender when six women were “broken on the rack” and even small girls had been “decapitated.”⁵⁹⁹ One informant to Stedman upon recounting these numerous horrors against both enslaved and maroons made sure to note “such was their resolution under these tortures, that they endured them without even uttering a sigh,” thus resisting the imposition of colonial domination even while even their lives were being extinguished. Thus, while the instruments and traditions of terror were being monumentalized to ensure domination, so too were traditions of resistance being monumentalized in order to oppose such injustice and to seek, maintain hope, or create spaces of freedom.

Even though these stories were recounted to Stedman and were not based on his experiences, they demonstrate what people believed (or wanted others, especially contemporary European audiences to believe). Like numerous narratives relayed by those in positions of

⁵⁹⁸ Stedman, John Gabriel. "Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition, against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam, in Guiana, on the Wild Coast of South America; from the Year 1772, to 1777: Elucidating the History of That Country, and Describing Its Productions ... with an Account of the Indians of Guiana, & Negroes of Guinea : Stedman, John Gabriel, 1744-1797 : Free Download & Streaming." *Internet Archive*. N.p., orig. 1806. Web. 06 May 2017. Pg. 115

⁵⁹⁹ *Ibid.* Pg. 115

domination over time,⁶⁰⁰ popular histories provided hope by keeping alive the memories of the enslaved, or those maroons murdered by the state through similar horrors, which have on numerous occasions been confirmed within the historiography of both Suriname and Amazonia broadly.⁶⁰¹ In his course of pursuing maroons, Stedman would also come into intimate contact numerous individual members of maroon communities in Suriname and his narrative contains some important information about the lives of these “rebels.”

The image (above on the right) shows a “rebel” man who came into contact with Stedman. Here he is depicted in what was seen as “traditional” or African maroon clothing (i.e. minimally cloth covering the man’s genitals) as well as a number of pouches to carry ammunition and other essentials such as food, tools, etc. More critical accounts by contemporary scholars confirm such information revealing that particular African styles of clothing were maintained in Suriname during the period that last until the present.⁶⁰² Importantly, the man is also shown carrying a gun, which would have been procured through raiding colonial settlements, or through trade with colonial authorities, individuals, or foreign powers as neither guns, nor ammunition needed were manufactured within maroon communities.

According to Stedman, the chief of the Seramica was an American-born man named Adoe. After prolonged fighting and endless peace negotiations, the Dutch governor agreed to send arms and ammunition to Adoe and the rest of the Seramica. Stedman reflected with a sense of foreboding:

I must confess indeed, that, notwithstanding the good intentions of Governor Mauricius, nothing appeal's to be more dangerous than making a forced friendship

⁶⁰⁰ For instance the lives of Christian martyrs or the more contemporary *Diary of Ann Frank*

⁶⁰¹ Stedman, John Gabriel, Richard Price, and Sally Price. *Stedman's Surinam Life in Eighteenth-century Slave Society*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992

⁶⁰² *Ibid.*

with people, who by the most abject slavery and ill usage are provoked to break their chains, and shake off their yoke in pursuit of revenge and liberty, and who by the trust which is placed in them have it in their power to become from day to day more formidable.⁶⁰³

In other words, Stedman wrote that while this treaty may have had the best intentions and outcomes, the practice of feeding arms to rebels (here out of a desire to cement peace and to separate the Seramica from other groups) could quite literally “backfire” should the fragile peace break. Stedman also confessed in the quote above that it was ultimately in the “rebels” best interest to continue opposing colonial domination if they sought to maintain their own freedom over a longer period of time. However, this negotiation also ties these maroon communities with the Dutch colonial state and secures at least some plantations from regular attack by the maroon communities. This relationship also facilitates the continuation of the Seramica who now have regular access to goods and markets. More ethnographic, archival, and archaeological research must be done to determine to what extent this really had an impact on maroon communities outside of these agreements. However, it does reveal the more decentralized state of the maroon communities in Suriname during this period along with the exclusion of other leaders by the Dutch, Seramica, Ndyuka, and other represented parties.

Through his interactions with these communities, Stedman personally understood that power was less centralized among the maroons than on the colonial side when another leader named Zam (who hadn’t been included in negotiations) continued the fighting, taking the supplies that had been delivered. Meanwhile, as the rest of the negotiated aid was taking too long to arrive, Adoe decided the treaty was really just a meaningless piece of paper and so renewed

⁶⁰³ Stedman, John Gabriel. "Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition, against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam, in Guiana, on the Wild Coast of South America; from the Year 1772, to 1777: Elucidating the History of That Country, and Describing Its Productions ... with an Account of the Indians of Guiana, & Negroes of Guinea : Stedman, John Gabriel, 1744-1797 : Free Download & Streaming." *Internet Archive*. N.p., orig. 1806. Web. 06 May 2017. Pg. 64

hostilities and incursions into Dutch territory in order to get by force what was not delivered by negotiation.⁶⁰⁴

In other skirmishes, one maroon leader named Boston sought to rectify this problem of a lack of resources within the maroon communities by negotiating with the Dutch, a yearly package of guns and ammunition along with other food, tools, and supplies. Stedman notes the deliberation process among maroons (in essence it comes across as somewhat egalitarian and “reasonable”) as he notes when such supplies aren’t delivered (instead the maroons are given glass cups and other such objects), negotiating representatives are eventually sent back with a list dictated personally by Boston who also allowed the Dutch one year to implement the treaty.

⁶⁰⁴ Stedman, John Gabriel. "Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition, against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam, in Guiana, on the Wild Coast of South America; from the Year 1772, to 1777: Elucidating the History of That Country, and Describing Its Productions ... with an Account of the Indians of Guiana, & Negroes of Guinea : Stedman, John Gabriel, 1744-1797 : Free Download & Streaming." *Internet Archive*. N.p., orig. 1806. Web. 06 May 2017. Pg. 64

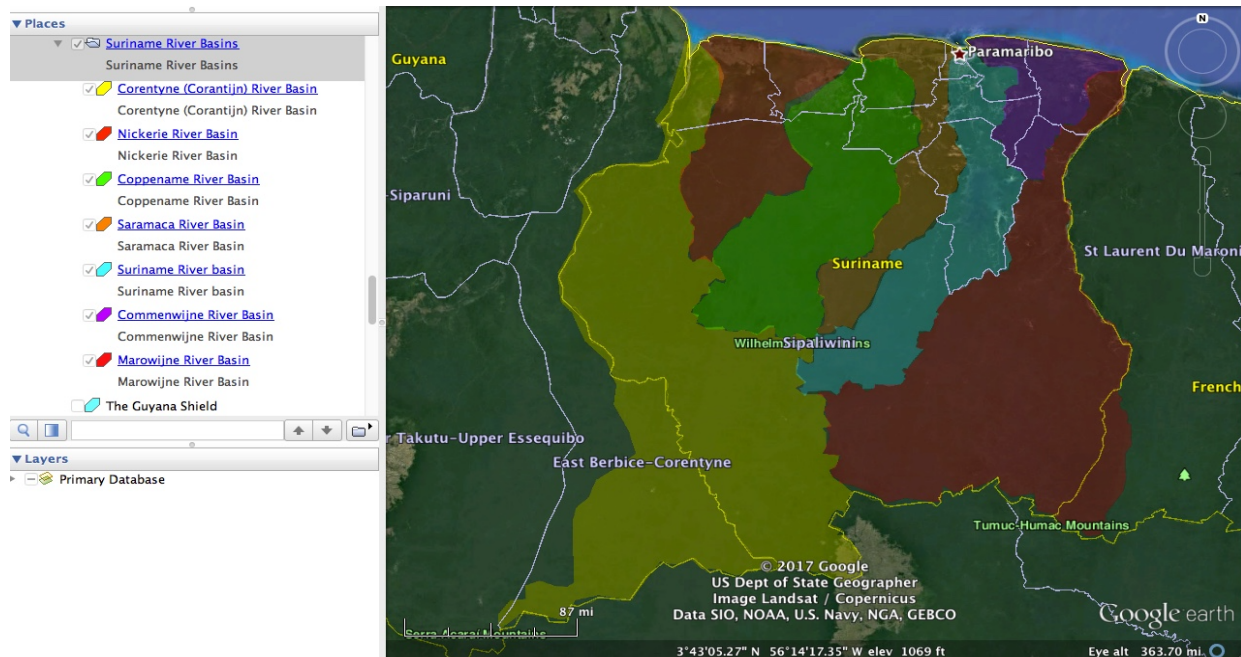


Figure 4.7: “Suriname River Basins”. Compiled Primarily From the Source: Mol, Jan H., Richard P. Vari, Raphaël Covain, Philip W. Willink, and Sonia Fisch-Muller. "Annotated Checklist of the Freshwater Fishes of Suriname." Smithsonian Libraries. orig. 2012. Accessed June 1, 2017

The map above demonstrates some of the major river systems of Suriname.⁶⁰⁵ These linked the region both to wider Amazonia in the south as well as to the Caribbean and Atlantic. The Seramica maroons were primarily based along the upper Coppename and Seramica rivers (shown above in green and light blue respectively). Given their position, the maroons were also intermediaries; at times fighting, trading, intermarrying, and otherwise interacting with indigenous Amazonians in the area. These spaces would continue to attract enslaved people seeking their freedom as far away from the reaches of the state as possible. The maroon leaders understood this and explained to Stedman and the other Dutch that the colonial policies themselves were responsible for the maroon communities as well as the violence that broke out

⁶⁰⁵ Mol, Jan H., Richard P. Vari, Raphaël Covain, Philip W. Willink, and Sonia Fisch-Muller. "Annotated Checklist of the Freshwater Fishes of Suriname." Smithsonian Libraries. orig. 2012. Accessed June 1, 2017. https://repository.si.edu/bitstream/handle/10088/18560/vz_Mol_et_al_2012_Suriname_checklist.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y.

between all of the communities (indigenous, African, and European) within Suriname. Stedman explained that one leader named Araby specifically told them:

‘We desire you...to tell your Governor and your ‘ court, that in case they want to raise no new gangs of ‘ rebels, they ought to take care that the planters keep a ‘ more watchful eye over their own property, and not to trust them so frequently in the hands of drunken managers and overseers, who by wrongfully and severely ‘chastising the negroes, debauching their wives and children, neglecting the sick, &c. [sic] are the ruin of the colony,‘ - and willfully drive to the woods such numbers of stout ‘ active people, who by their sweat earn your subsistence, ‘ without whose hands your colony must drop to nothing... and to whom at last, in this disgraceful manner, you are glad to come and sue for friendship.’⁶⁰⁶

Through Stedman, Arby explained that the sexual assaults and other physical, mental and psychological terror and abuses often directly carried out by or under the order of overseers often a direct cause of people fleeing into the interior and that if the government wanted to stop such rebellions, it should look first the treatment of people by its legally sanctioned representatives. The quote also describes how the fortunes of lower class white men (higher class whites would not dare be seen doing such work) were tied to increasing production and maintaining rigid violent order to keep up (or even surpass) expected goals of production.⁶⁰⁷ Thus, the quote provides evidence of how multiple structures and ideologies employed by the colonial state created major tensions or contradictions that undermined the colonial system itself while simultaneously providing kindling that would fuel periodic uprisings among slaves against the oppressive state and representatives of the planting class.

⁶⁰⁶ Stedman, John Gabriel. "Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition, against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam, in Guiana, on the Wild Coast of South America; from the Year 1772, to 1777: Elucidating the History of That Country, and Describing Its Productions ... with an Account of the Indians of Guiana, & Negroes of Guinea : Stedman, John Gabriel, 1744-1797 : Free Download & Streaming." *Internet Archive*. N.p., orig. 1806. Web. 06 May 2017. Pp. 68-69

⁶⁰⁷ Numerous sources including Stedman point this out.

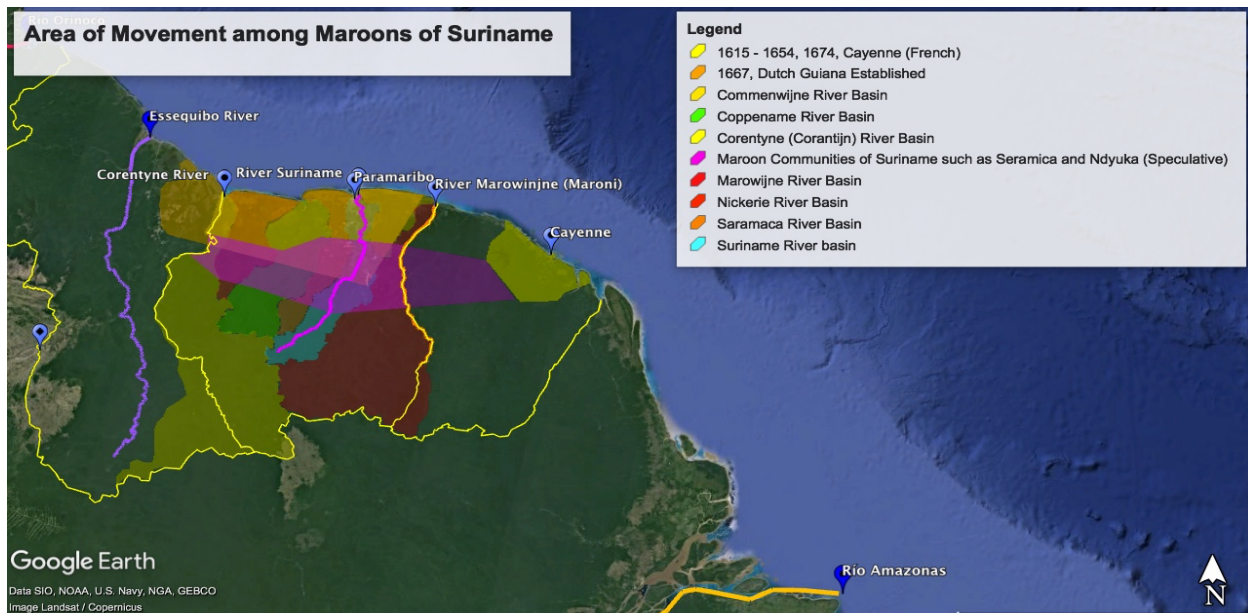


Figure 4.7a: Possible Areas of Movement among Maroons of Suriname: Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., Spring 2017

The figure above demonstrates that for all the conflict, and all their terror, their raids, the sexual assault and other efforts, the space in purple traversing the various river basins of Suriname and the area of 18th century Dutch Guiana, the maroons were able to move around and across the space from what would ultimately be the border with what is today the nation of Guyana (formerly British Guiana) and Cayenne (French Guiana). In this space, maroon communities appropriated and (re) fashioned their own structures, ideas and beliefs. More research is being done to further understand the particular historical complexity in this area. For example, though not included above in order to focus on this region’s importance among Afro-Surinamese, this area would also have had numerous groups often speaking Arawak and Karib or Carib⁶⁰⁸ languages with shifting relationships over the course of the colonial period. Finally, the sphere of Maroon influence permeates Dutch Guiana since raids into the interior of the colony were frequent.

⁶⁰⁸ I am purposely using the “C” here to demonstrate changes in language during the 19th century in these sources.

In spite of such space cleaved out by the Maroons, Stedman's narrative demonstrates the precarious and violence described by their leaders such as Araby, that was perpetuated against enslaved women faced in Suriname (as well as across Amazonia and the Americas) by overseers and by "respectable" gentlemen including Stedman that are explored here through two juxtaposed narratives: the first concerns a woman whose name is unknown to us (at present), while the second, was named Joanna, Stedman's "Suriname Wife."



Figure 4.8: "Juxtaposition Showing the Flagellation of a Mixed Race Enslaved Woman of African and European Descent Alongside a Drawing of Joanna, Stedman's Suriname Wife". Source: "Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition, against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam, in Guiana, on the Wild Coast of South America; from the Year 1772, to 1777." John Gabriel Stedman and William Blake. Internet Archive. Orig. 1806. Accessed Spring, 2016.

These images above are included as they are indicative of some of the experiences of enslaved woman during this period within Suriname and more broadly in Amazonia. They also represent different forms and spectrums of resistance and experiences of sexual assault by “representatives” of the state structures of white supremacist hetero-patriarchy. While they reflect a Eurocentric male “gaze” of the period in their production, they represent some of the relatively few individually female experiences within the historical record of this period.

The unknown “Samboe” woman (of mixed African and European descent) is depicted above on the left. She was reportedly being whipped by African drivers as people look on, when Stedman came upon this scene of horror. He exclaimed that her body “from her neck to her ancles [were] literally dyed over with blood. It was after she had received two hundred lashes that I perceived her, with her head hanging downwards, a most affecting spectacle.”⁶⁰⁹ When Stedman reportedly tried to intervene on the woman’s behalf, the overseer immediately doubled the number of lashes (as was his custom upon interference with the carrying out of any punishment). As the 200 lashes she already received could be fatal this expanded torture resulted in the woman’s murder.

Stedman retreated to his boat declaring he would never again speak to an overseer exclaiming that he “implored the curse of Heaven to be poured down upon the whole relentless fraternity.” Stedman noted that when he later asked what the 18-year-old woman’s crime had been to result in such a heinous murder, he was told that she had resisted the overseer’s sexual assaults. Stedman’s later relayed: “I was credibly informed, that her only crime consisted in

⁶⁰⁹ Stedman, John Gabriel. "Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition, against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam, in Guiana, on the Wild Coast of South America; from the Year 1772, to 1777: Elucidating the History of That Country, and Describing Its Productions ... with an Account of the Indians of Guiana, & Negroes of Guinea : Stedman, John Gabriel, 1744-1797 : Free Download & Streaming." *Internet Archive*. N.p., orig. 1806. Web. 06 May 2017 Pp. 339-340

firmly refusing to submit to the loathsome embraces of her detestable executioner. Prompted by his jealousy and revenge, he called this the punishment of disobedience, and she was thus flayed alive.”⁶¹⁰ Some time later, Stedman again came into contact with the overseer (named Mr. Ebbers) who had already been fined 1200 florins (100 guineas) for similarly abusing another slave, but who in that case had survived his tortuous floggings. At their meeting, Ebbers insinuated that it was Stedman who was responsible for her death.

The fine demonstrates that some measures were taken to “mollify” such abuses, but also reveal the commodification of human life along with the very structures of the state that were in varying degrees used to impose order, reinforce in this case white supremacist hetero-patriarchy, and to squeeze out profit the resilience of enslaved people in Amazonia.⁶¹¹ While Stedman’s objections to these types of abuses are recorded throughout the book and helped it to take on a “second life” when it was later appropriated as an abolitionist text, as the Prices explained, “to the extent that cruelty was inherent in slavery, humanitarian amelioration [of the sort advocated in the text by Stedman] helped to perpetuate cruelty.”⁶¹² Finally, the resistance offered by the woman depicted above (and the many unknown women like her) that struggled against sexual (and other) assaults in the face of such tortures reveals determination to oppose such injustices even at the expense of their lives.

⁶¹⁰ Stedman, John Gabriel. "Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition, against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam, in Guiana, on the Wild Coast of South America; from the Year 1772, to 1777: Elucidating the History of That Country, and Describing Its Productions ... with an Account of the Indians of Guiana, & Negroes of Guinea : Stedman, John Gabriel, 1744-1797 : Free Download & Streaming." *Internet Archive*. N.p., orig. 1806. Web. 06 May 2017. Pp. 339-340.

⁶¹¹ For more on these concepts, see: Sigal, Peter Herman. *Infamous Desire: Male Homosexuality in Colonial Latin America*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 2003, Socolow, Susan Migden. *The Women of Colonial Latin America*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 2000, and Trigo, Benigno. *Subjects of Crisis: Race and Gender as Disease in Latin America*. [Middletown, Conn.]: Wesleyan UP, 2000

⁶¹² Stedman, John Gabriel, Richard Price, and Sally Price. *Stedman's Surinam Life in Eighteenth-century Slave Society*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992. Pg. xiii

While the unknown woman's heroic resistance is representative of similar experiences by women defying sexual assaults, the image of Joanna (depicted on the right hand side of figure 4.8) provides an expanded definition of the ways that women resisted white supremacist hetero-patriarchy during this period. Indeed, the Prices explain that Joanna had extensive kinship relationships with important maroon leaders, descended of respected and powerful family in West Africa along with being the daughter of a white "gentleman" (read landowner). Thus, through her position at birth, Joanna had a relatively advantageous network that could be utilized to seek her freedom. She first seems to have encountered Stedman when he arrived, and she was 15 years old at the home of M' Demelly, Secretary to the Court of Policy, who had fallen under the specter of debt and so was staying with Stedman.⁶¹³ While lodging together with Demelly and Joanna, Stedman began the process of seeking to make Joanna his "Suriname wife." In his diaries, he noted that for the 11th of April 1773, "J— a, and her mother, Q—⁶¹⁴ come to close a bargain [of formalized concubinage] we me, we put it of [sic] for reasons I gave them." However, he also has sexual relations with two "mulatto girls" on the 25th of February the same year,⁶¹⁵ a sexual relationship with B—e in March, and spent the night with both J— and B—e on the 12th of April in 1773.

By the 23rd of April, Stedman noted that Joanna had come to stay with him, which we can assume means that an arrangement had been worked out between himself, Cery, and Joanna. Thus, let us make no mistake, Joanna is Stedman's slave and refusing sexual intercourse could result in a fate similar to the unknown woman above, though mediation and negotiation were

⁶¹³ Stedman, John Gabriel, Richard Price, and Sally Price. *Stedman's Surinam Life in Eighteenth-century Slave Society*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992. Pg. lxxvii and Pg. 321

⁶¹⁴ Perhaps Qery (later noted as Cery)

⁶¹⁵ *Ibid.* On this same date, Stedman apparently turned down another prospective Suriname marriage as he explained the desired price was too high.

possible from her family. Stedman himself explains this system of concubinage, which is worth quoting in full:

I must Describe this Custom which I am convinced will be highly censured by the Sedate European Matrons-and which is nevertheless as common as it is almost necessary to the batchelors who live in this Climate; these Gentlemen all without Exception have a female Slave / mostly a creole/ in their keeping who preserves their linnens clean and decent, dresses their Victuals with Skill, carefully attends them / they being most excellent nurses/ during the frequent illnesses to which Europeans are exposed in this Country, prevents them from keeping late Hours knits for them, sows for them &c-[sic] while these Girls who are sometimes Indians sometime Mulattos and often negroes, naturally pride themselves in living with a European whom they serve with as much tenderness, and to whom they are Generally as faithfull as if he were their lawfull Husband to the great Shame of so many fair Ladies, who break through ties more sacred, and indeed bound with more Solemnity, nor can the above young woman be married in any other way, being by their state of Servitude entirely debarred from every Christian priviledge and Ceremony, which makes it perfectly lawfull on *their* Side, while they hesitate not to pronounce as Harlots, who do not follow them/if they can/ in this laudable Example in which they are encouraged as I have said by their nearest Relations and Friends.⁶¹⁶

Like Stedman's generic description above, his sexual access to Joanna was negotiated with her mother Cery,⁶¹⁷ and therefore, while Stedman is protesting the overseer's abuse of the women depicted above, Joanna's sexual agency was (at least on paper) decided by Stedman (who it should be remembered commanded an armed regiment), along with her mother and perhaps members of her own family. How much pressure was actually put on Joanna is not known for sure as we do not have her thoughts or words preserved in the historical record. However, Stedman's narrative reinforces that once again, such relationships were common and normalized. While he may have forced himself on her sexually this is not explicitly recorded and Stedman recounts that numerous times Joanna turns down or stalls his sexual advances demonstrating

⁶¹⁶ Stedman, John Gabriel, Richard Price, and Sally Price. *Stedman's Surinam Life in Eighteenth-century Slave Society*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992. xxxiii. Misspellings are purposeful and reflect the original spelling in published form.

⁶¹⁷ According to the Prices, Cery's name may be represented as Q_____ in his personal journals. See Introduction

(perhaps) some power or choice on Joanna's behalf. However, again, as we only have Stedman's journals, notes, and narrative, Joanna's true feelings remain obscured. Moreover, the negotiation with Cery (and Joanna's other family such as an uncle who makes an appearance) could have put additional pressure on Joanna to consent to sexual intercourse with Stedman. However, the family could also act as a check on potential abusive action by Stedman or other men in such arrangements. Of course, none of this discussion supports or seeks to justify these types of relationships, but rather to understand how they impacted people's lives and their actions.

While Joanna may have had little agency over her Suriname Marriage to John Stedman, they (according to Stedman) do appear to share intimate moments and at times she shows concern or affection for the man. For example, when he gets ill and almost dies, she helps take care of him until he recovers. However, this position also secured her prestige, money, the possibility of emancipation (if Stedman's pleas to secure her freedom are genuine), etc. Therefore, the structures of the ideas constructing the state both normalized enslavement and sexual assault while also providing limited opportunities for Joanna to benefit from her proximity to "whiteness." Joanna utilized this proximity to Stedman along with her own family connections to seek a better position in life and eventually for her son Johnny, named after his father, John Gabriel Stedman.

Throughout the narrative, Stedman notes that he is seeking to purchase the freedom of both Joanna and Johnny as well as the freedom of his "boy slave" named Quaco. However, the price asked of Stedman for both of Joanna and Johnny was around 2,000 florins or 200 pounds

sterling or around \$32,839.62 in 2017 dollars according to one analysis.⁶¹⁸ As this is beyond what Stedman seems to have been capable of paying from his own salary, the family would save, plan, and use their social networks in order to secure their freedom in stages. Like many parents, and perhaps due to patriarchal biases, Stedman first attempted to secure freedom for his son. “I, the under-subscribed, do pledge my word of honour, ‘ (being all I possess in the world besides my pay) as bail, ‘that if my late ardent request to the court for the emancipation of my dear boy Johnny Stedman be granted, the ‘said boy shall never lo the end of his life become a charge ‘ to the colony of Surinam. (Signed) John G. Stedman. Paramaribo, Feb 18th, 1777.”⁶¹⁹

Though Stedman desired to free his son and had the support of numerous friends and acquaintances, his narrative demonstrates how difficult it was even for a father to free his child. Indeed, after having a child with Joanna, Stedman was now experiencing how ideas supporting white supremacist hetero-patriarchy⁶²⁰ were being employed against his own mixed-race family in Suriname. He discovered for instance, that even though he desired to free Johnny, a notice had to be sent to the public should anyone “object” to his son’s emancipation in the “fear” that the young man would be liable to become a ward of the colony. Alternatively, Johnny presented a potential threat as, a well-educated mixed race person might be able to argue forcefully against such a racialized caste system in the first place. While not initially successful, Stedman was eventually able to secure the freedom of Quaco, Johnny, and he claims to have also helped to emancipate Joanna, though what “Freedom” meant for Joanna is somewhat more complicated.

⁶¹⁸ Nye, Eric. "Pounds Sterling to Dollars: Historical Conversion of Currency, Department of English, University of Wyoming." Currency Converter, Pounds Sterling to Dollars, 1264 to Present (Java). Accessed August 28, 2017. <https://www.uwo.edu/numimage/currency.htm>.

⁶¹⁹ Stedman, John Gabriel. "Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition, against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam, in Guiana, on the Wild Coast of South America; from the Year 1772, to 1777: Elucidating the History of That Country, and Describing Its Productions ... with an Account of the Indians of Guiana, & Negroes of Guinea : Stedman, John Gabriel, 1744-1797 : Free Download & Streaming." *Internet Archive*. N.p., orig. 1806. Web. 06 May 2017. Pg. 377

⁶²⁰ For more on this concept, see: Zurn, Perry, and Andrew Dilts. *Active Intolerance: Michel Foucault, the Prisons Information Group, and the Future of Abolition*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2016. Pg. 265

As already noted above, Stedman's salary was not enough to purchase freedom for his family. However, according to Stedman, he was helped by the "generosity" of a friend named Mrs. Godefroy who reportedly provided the funds needed to secure their emancipation. While he reportedly tried to free the two and thus allow them to accompany him back to Europe, Joanna instead reportedly desired to be transferred from the estate of Fauconberg where she reportedly was mistreated and to the ownership of Mrs. Godefroy. According to the narrative, Joanna refused to leave Suriname with Stedman nor accept full "freedom" exclaiming "Gado sa bresse da woma!" [God will bless this woman] until the debt of her freedom was repaid, reasoning to John that she could not be fully accepted as an equal in Europe.⁶²¹ This arrangement was later confirmed by her family, which signals the completion of her social and legal "transferring" to Mrs. Godefroy. According to Stedman, when they arrived at Joanna's new accommodations, the supposedly unknowing Godefroy explained:

'Must it be so? Then ' come here, my Joanna, I have a spirit to accept of you ' not as my slave but more as my companion: you shall ' have a house built in my orange-garden, with my own slaves to attend you, till Providence shall call me away, ' when you shall be perfectly free, as indeed you now are " the moment you wish to possess your manumission ' and this you claim ' both by your extraction and your conduct.'⁶²²

The story here sounds perhaps relatively benign. Joanna comes under the "willing ownership" of a reportedly kind person who will allow her a beautiful space, relative freedom, and even someone else's enslaved servants to wait on her in order to "repay the price of her freedom."⁶²³

⁶²¹ Stedman, John Gabriel. "Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition, against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam, in Guiana, on the Wild Coast of South America; from the Year 1772, to 1777: Elucidating the History of That Country, and Describing Its Productions ... with an Account of the Indians of Guiana, & Negroes of Guinea : Stedman, John Gabriel, 1744-1797 : Free Download & Streaming." *Internet Archive*. N.p., orig. 1806. Web. 06 May 2017. Pg. 85

⁶²² Though perhaps not following convention, I have decided to include the original grammar here in order to demonstrate the changes in language, as well as to capture difference in voice between Stedman and Godefroy.

⁶²³ While the narrative will not describe this in too much detail, this concept alone demonstrates how ideas became encountered by individuals through the state. For more see Hunefeldt, *Paying the Price of Freedom*.

This demonstrated for its contemporary readers perhaps a romantic image that Joanna had attained a particular social and perhaps racial status by moving into more socially advantageous shades of “whiteness.” Indeed, Stedman calls Godefroy, one of the leading women of Dutch Suriname during this period. However, such patronage would naturally carry with it an inequality of power in the relationship. Thus, Joanna was perhaps willing to negotiate her freedom in order to secure greater security and status through the patronage of a wealthy woman’s whose income was generated by fellow slaves. We also do not know for sure if Joanna had any problem with the institution of slavery, as contemporary social norms cannot always be projected onto the past. Moreover, her own house perhaps at the same time carries with it a notion of lower social status as she was not invited to stay in the main house of the estate. The orange orchard in other words, may signal racial “otherness,” an expectation of cultivation, or agricultural work, or even if this was not the case, Joanna’s home’s placement here could be interpreted this way by contemporaries who would understand the power of social space, and the connections it shares with wealth, and prestige.

Whatever the exact circumstances of Joanna’s life with Godefroy, she was probably around 17 years old having met Stedman again at age 15. Stedman seems to have remained in contact with Joanna (at least by through correspondence with others). While more research into Joanna’s life could unearth new information, it is likely that Joanna stayed on the Godefroy estate for the rest of her life when in August of 1783, around 8 years after her “freedom” Joanna passed away at the age of only 26 and was reportedly buried “with all honors” in the orange grove where her small house stood. It was around this time that Johnny was sent across the Atlantic to Stedman by Godefroy with 200 pounds sterling as his inheritance from Joanna,

perhaps signaling that she had paid off the debt and was “truly free” for a time.⁶²⁴ Godefroy passed away shortly after, while Johnny and Stedman were reportedly quite close. Johnny later became a sailor and reportedly passed away on a voyage in the Caribbean in the waters around Jamaica.

Stedman’s narrative and the individuals it described reveal how people would encounter the culturally selected structures of the state as well as how they embodied tensions and contradictions in the web of competing culturally selected realities (for instance between the maroon and colonial societies) while grappling with, participating in, and resisting such realities to fashion “better” lives for themselves. Ultimately, it is helpful and is included to provide an image of how African slavery complicated the racial, social, and cultural dynamics during the 19th century within the Guianas region of Amazonia. However, similar narratives and structures would create parallel conditions and experiences, especially in Brazilian Amazonia as more enslaved people of African and indigenous descent were brought to plantations in places like Pará.⁶²⁵

Part III: The Expansion and Reorganization of the Colonial state in Maynas (1777 - 1809)

While the last section focused for an extended moment on how the lives of John Gabriel Stedman, Joanna, and Johnny (among others) were indicative of some of the structures of ideas in that particular area of Amazonia known as the Guianas, specifically the Dutch controlled colony of Suriname, this part of the chapter returns to the main channel of the Amazon River

⁶²⁴ Stedman, John Gabriel. "Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition, against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam, in Guiana, on the Wild Coast of South America; from the Year 1772, to 1777: Elucidating the History of That Country, and Describing Its Productions ... with an Account of the Indians of Guiana, & Negroes of Guinea : Stedman, John Gabriel, 1744-1797 : Free Download & Streaming." *Internet Archive*. N.p., orig. 1806. Web. 06 May 2017. Pg. 416

⁶²⁵ For more on this, see: Sweet, David Graham. *A Rich Realm of Nature Destroyed*. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms Int, 1982.

with particular emphasis to the former area of the Jesuit missions known as Maynas (or Mainas) in the years following Requena's expedition to set the borders between Spanish and Portuguese territories.

As stated earlier, despite efforts by actors such as Francisco Requena who was named as the Governor of Maynas and was helping to organize the area (as well as the importation of weapons described in section one) the state would only partially come to fill the vacuum left by the expulsion of the Jesuits from the 1770s and onward. For instance, in 1775 a proposal was made to build a fort on the Napo River (a major Amazonian tributary and a primary means of communication with Quito). Slowly, secular clergy and state, military, and civilian officials as well as settlers and international travelers, scientists, artists, etc. trickled into the region and would be the primary individuals embodying the state that locals encountered as the 19th century continued. Throughout the late 1770s and early 1780s, Francisco Requena and allies in the local government continued organizing the area, vigorously sending letters back and forth to Lima and to Sevilla, as well as establishing military garrisons, soliciting funds, and making use of some of the ample supply of arms described in section one. By 1775, one source described 9,111 people in the former Maynas mission area, down nearly a third from around 14,000 in the Jesuit reducciones when the order was expelled in 1767.⁶²⁶

Some of these documents describe the funds inquired for to secure the area as well as to provision soldiers, some from Callao and many others potentially from as far away as Catalonia based on their surnames who were sent to the area (mostly around the city of Moyobamba).

These men were sent to secure the area against Portuguese inroads. However, Moyobamba was

⁶²⁶ For more, see: Ferrer Benimeli José A. "La Expulsión De Los Jesuitas De Las Misiones Del Amazonas (1768-1769) a Través De Pará Y Lisboa." *Cervantes Virtual*. 2009. Accessed April 13, 2017. and Ponce, Pilar Leiva., and Francisco De. Solano. *Relaciones Historico-geograficas De La Audiencia De Quito, Siglos XVI-XIX*. Madrid: Centro De Estudios Historicos. Departamento De Historia De America, 1991. Pg. 661

quite far from the actual frontier with the Portuguese, and so the military units were also used to further establish order over the immediate area around the city and make occasional forays as “needed.”⁶²⁷

By 1781, the expedition to establish borders with Portugal had been completed and the following year (1782) Requena published the acts along with a famous map of the area in 1783. These would later prove important in the border dispute between Gran Colombia, Perú, and Ecuador in the later 19th and 20th centuries. However, in spite of the 1777 Treaty of San Ildefonso (again ceding Spanish claims to lower Amazonia in exchange for a guarantee of Uruguay), bands of Portuguese bandeirantes were still reported to be enslaving indigenous groups in the Putumayo river basin in 1788, even though such enslavement was technically abolished by the Portuguese crown in 1755.⁶²⁸ Due to such threats and because the Spanish never having fully ceded the area in their own imagination, the viceregal government and the crown decided to continue building up forces in the area preparing for greater conflict with the Portuguese.

While the Maynas missions had been under Jesuit tutelage, in 1765, the Franciscans (mostly based at Santa Rosa de Ocopa) would attempt to form another mission in Santo Domingo de Pisqui, in the department of Cajamarquilla, appropriating the earlier term for a supposed Amazonian city (first around Bogotá and later in the Guianas) and calling it Manoa,

⁶²⁷ Guirior, Manuel. "Carta N° 241 De Manuel De Guirior, Virrey De Perú, a José De Gálvez, Secretario De Indias." Letter to José De Gálvez. orig. 1777, 12-20, lima. *Carta N° 241 De Manuel De Guirior, Virrey De Perú, a José De Gálvez, Secretario De Indias*. N.p.: Archivo General De Indias Signatura:LIMA,655,N.88 Código De Referencia: ES.41091.AGI/23.9//LIMA,655,N.88, 1777. N. pag. *Pares.mcu.es*. Web. 4 May 2017. and For more on Requena, See: Del Río Sadornil, José Luis. "Don Francisco Requena Y Herrera: Una Figura Clave En La Demarcación De Los Límites Hispano-Lusos En La Cuenca Del Amazonas (s. XVIII) Francisco Requena Y Herrera: A Key Figure in the Demarcation of Spanish-Portuguese Limits in the Amazon Basin (18th Century)." *Revista Complutense De Historia De América: Universidad Complutense De Madrid Departamento De Documentación*, Riosa@ccinf.ucm.es 29. 2003. Accessed May 6, 2017. <http://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/RCHA/article/view/RCHA0303110051A>.

⁶²⁸ For more on this, see: Sweet, David Graham. *A Rich Realm of Nature Destroyed*. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms Int, 1982.

while others included Sarayacu.⁶²⁹ These reducciones were at least initially created to administer to the *Zipibos* or *Sipibos* on the river Pisqui and to open a more reliable route to the Marañón and their fellow reducciones in Maynas two years prior to the expulsion of the Jesuits. By 1790, these missions in Manoa continued, providing some primary documentation of the area. For instance, one source that has survived until the present is a diary by the Franciscan Friar Manuel Sobreviela. This provides a momentary glimpse into life on the Huallaga and Marañón rivers describing the continuation of uprisings, and the forced labor of indigenous groups in order to sustain the missions.

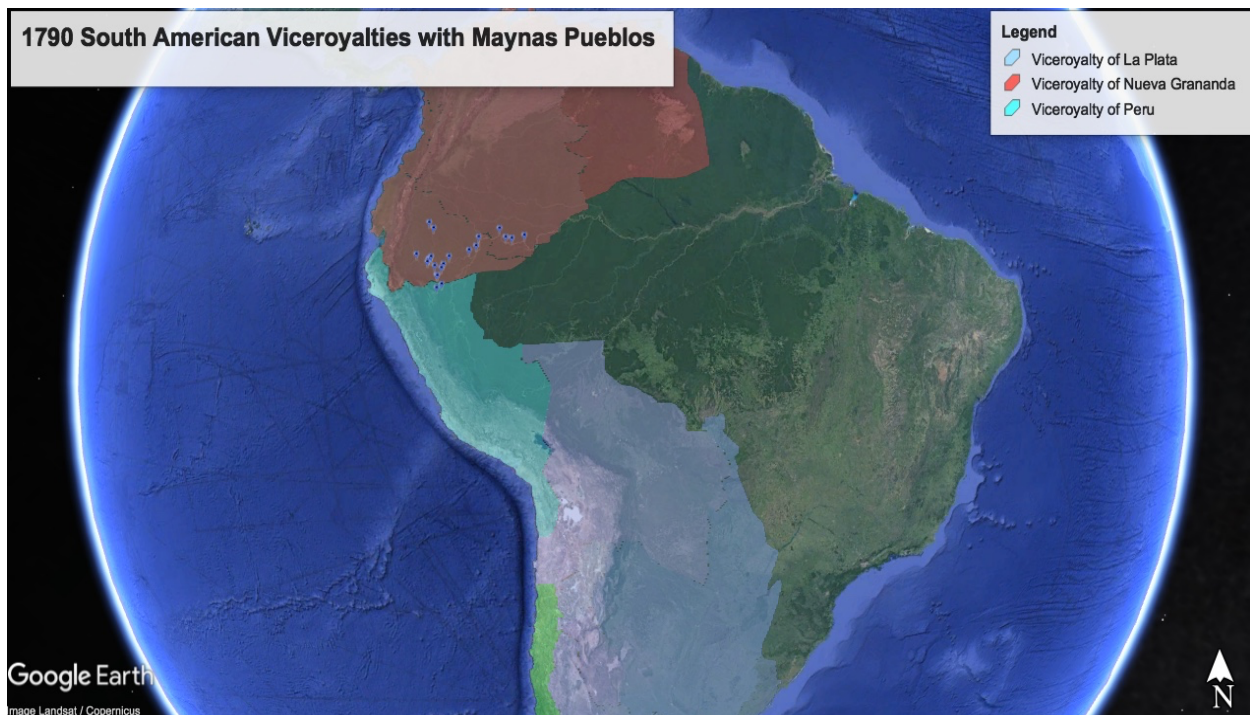


Figure 4.9: Visualization of Maynas Pueblos and the South American Viceroyalties in 1790. Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., Spring 2017

The image above utilizes layered data to reveal the position of the pueblos of Maynas in 1790 mentioned by Friar Manuel Sobreviela and others (seen as multiple blue placemarks) in relation to the South American Viceroyalties. While not explicitly highlighted, the above figure

⁶²⁹ The idea of Manoa is discussed extensively in chapter 2.

also demonstrates the land stretching to the Río Negro in central Amazonia that had been ceded to Portugal following the 1777 Treaty of San Ildefonso. This can be seen between the Peruvian and New Granadan Viceroyalties (in light blue and brown respectively). The Portuguese expansion and slave raids paired with the relative vacuum would help to make this a region once named “El Dorado” to constantly be described as impoverished, lacking both civilization and Christianity despite the efforts of many Franciscan and earlier Jesuit missionaries. This arrangement would also largely pre-configure the eventual borders (and border disputes) of South American states in the early period following independence greatly impacting the cultural and ecological history of Upper Amazonia.

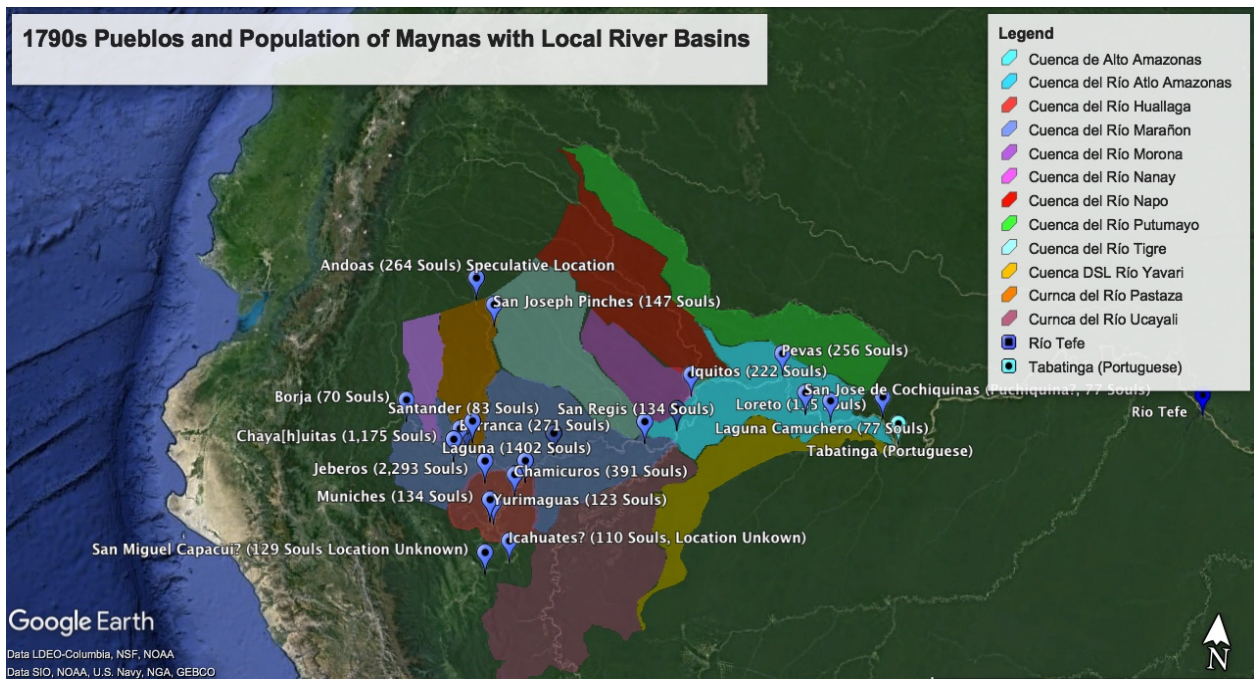


Figure 4.10: 1790s Pueblos and Maynas Populations with Local River Basins. Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., Spring 2017

The image above takes a more local focus than the previous figure, displaying the pueblos and their populations as described by Sobreviela in 1790 and another diary written in 1791 by Friar Narciso Girbal y Barcelo along with hydrological basins representing major local

Amazonian river systems.⁶³⁰ Finally, the town of Tabatinga in Portuguese hands since 1775 is included. However, according to Girbal y Barcelo, the area around the Tefé River reportedly represented the actual projected limits of Portuguese power.

These works demonstrate that groups like the Omaguas, Conibos (who were still described as non-Christian) as well as the Mayorunas continued to live in the area, while distinct changes in language reveal some of the extent to which ideas signifying greater secular structures, which indicate that the placement of groups and individuals into a “state of exception” had become ingrained. For instance, while the derisive term “indos” “infiels, and “barbarous” are still used, “peones” and “ranchos” begin to make an appearance, signifying a more “normalized” colonial relationship that is familiar throughout Latin America during this period is beginning to develop at least in the mind of the writer. These texts also describe the continuation of indigenous slavery explaining that the Chipeas y Amaguaca, who are “uncivilized” have made slaves of Christian communities as well as others whom the Franciscans were seeking to evangelize.

Though accounts like those by Father Narciso Girbal y Barcelo described a multitude of turtles and caiman that could be (and was) utilized for food among Amazonians, authorities in Lima were spending funds in order to send some hens and by 1794 aguardiente alcohol was also being sent to the church of the Omaguas⁶³¹ so that they could have another (more European)

⁶³⁰ Girbal Y Barcelo, Fray Narciso, and María Del Carmen Guzmán Pla. "Diario De Viaje De Fray Narciso Girbal Y Barcelo." Portales De Archivos Españoles Archivo Historico Nacional Signatura: Diversos-Colecciones,31,N.96 Código De Referencia: ES.28079.AHN/5.1.15/ Signatura Antigua: Diversos-Documentos INDIAS,N.400, orig. 1791.

⁶³¹ Expediente Sobre La Adjudicación De Aguardiente a La Iglesia De Omaguas. 1794. Case concerning the award of Aguardiente to the Omaguas Church, Archivo Historico De Limites, Lima, Perú Card Catalogue Entry LEA-11-363 9 Ff., 1 En Blanco. Parcialmente Deteriorado. Caja No 027, Lima, Perú.

source of food,⁶³² while periodic uprisings took place in the nearby Manoa missions. Perhaps for the same reason, or because of continued Portuguese harassment, another contemporary lawsuit from 1793 explains that charges were brought up against one Capitán Moreno Fernández Riojas for allegedly deserting the Putumayo missions, further indicating the tenuous hold over upper Amazonia.⁶³³

Fray Narciso Girbal y Barcelo's work also describes how some of the conflicts with non-converted groups inhibited the free-flow of missionaries, settlers, and other state actors (at least down the Huallaga and Ucayali). Interestingly, it also mentioned an encounter with a "mythical" *Yacumama* or madre del aguas (mother of the waters) who reportedly was known to upset or overturn canoes. Some scholars trace the root of this tale to experiences with anacondas to warn against these and all manner of animals as well, while particular in Ecuador have incorporated the term into their collective memory as depicting a "fierce" anthropomorphized Afro-Amazonian maroon figure that might capsize the canoe "and drag people into the water, drowning them."⁶³⁴ Demonstrating particularities about racial construction and imagination as well as revealing the greater likelihood of the expanded presence of Afro-Amazonians in the area, this imagining may *also* represent a resistance strategy by upset rowers in Amazonia as increasingly many of those providing the muscle power to move canoes would be of at least some African descent. I redirect the reader to remember that Part II above describes the terrible conditions of rowers in Suriname as to why such an idea might be maintained in the collective

⁶³² Joaquín De Rioja, Francisco. Pedido Que Hace Francisco Joaquín De Rioja, Para Que El Tesorero De La Real Caja Le Satisfaga El Importe De Unas Gallinas Que Envio a Omaguas. 1790 - 1791. Order by Francisco Joaquín de Rioja to the Royal Treasurer to send hens to the Omagua, Card Catalogue Entry LEA-11-186 4 Ff, 1 Ff En Blanco. Caja No 018, Lima, Perú.

⁶³³ Auto Seguido, Contra El Capitán Moreno Fernández Riojas, Sobre Intento De Deserción a La Misión Del Putumayo. 1793. Actions following and against capitán Moreno Fernández Riojas concerning his intention to desert the missions of the Putumayo, Archivo Historico De Limites, Lima, Perú, Lima, Perú.

⁶³⁴ Whitten, Norman E., and Dorothea S. Whitten. Histories of the Present: People and Power in Ecuador. Urbana, Ill: University of Illinois Press, 2011. Pg. 53

memory of the Amazonia. In other words, such stories reminded people to pay attention to social conditions so that they were not destroyed by such “sabotage” by disgruntled rowers and perhaps instead to take heed of some of the earlier warnings of maroons to treat rowers well.

Finally, the Franciscan brother, Narciso Girbal y Barcelo’s 1791 work reminds us of the transformation and disappearances that had already been shaping Amazonia since the arrival of people from Afro-Eurasia as he described coming across the bank of an Amazonian tributary where he found “the sun obscured by a multitude of cacao trees planted by some unknown soul or farmer that formed a long line along the shore.”⁶³⁵ While more research is needed to better understand whether such an arrangement may display Amazonian agroforestry traditions, the line of cacao trees, remnants of a previous attempt to colonize both the Amazonian forest and its people whose other ruins had long since disintegrated into the tropical *selva* or rainforest, may reveal the intrusion of the colonial cash crop economy, or even the appropriation and refashioning of both traditions.

Throughout the 1790s, it seems as though the Maynas required a great deal more material support and an Expedition to the Marañón sought around 300 men using 50 boats to secure the area. Requests for additional sustenance, salaries, and distinctions from the crown were turned down in 1795.⁶³⁶ While these appeals seem to have been unsuccessful en masse, it is not certain if the eventual governor of the area, Don Diego Calvo was promoted to a higher rank of second

⁶³⁵ Girbal Y Barcelo, Fray Narciso, and María Del Carmen Guzmán Pla. "Diario De Viaje De Fray Narciso Girbal Y Barcelo." *Portales De Archivos Españoles Archivo Historico Nacional Signatura: Diversos-Colecciones*,31,N.96 *Código De Referencia: ES.28079.AHN/5.1.15/ Signatura Antigua: Diversos-Documentos Indias,N.400*, orig. 1791. Pg.18 Verso.

⁶³⁶ De Ezpeleta, José. Virrey Santa Fe Remitiendo Carta Del Gobernador De Maynas. 1796. Cartas del virrey de Santa Fe, José de Ezpeleta, al Príncipe de la Paz, remitiendo una representación, nº 717, del gobernador de Maynas, comisario de límites del Marañón, Diego Calvo, en que da cuenta de las providencias que había tomado con varias familias portuguesas que se habían pasado a nuestros dominios. Principal. Acompaña: Carta nº 717 de Calvo al duque de la Alcudia. Principal y duplicado. (Cebreros 28 febrero). 4 hoj. fol, Archivo: Archivo General De Indias Signatura: Estado,52,N.33 Código De Referencia: ES.41091.AGI/21.7.1//Estado,52,N.33, Spain.

degree "yngenerio" or engineer, though the request was forwarded by the viceroy of Nueva Granada, José de Ezpeleta (r. 1789 – 1797) or by some other means.⁶³⁷ Regardless, at least seventy-seven soldiers would make their way to the area via the port of Callao near Lima and had originally arrived from Europe. Their immediate effectiveness varied at times however, as their position in Moyobamba meant that they were initially of little help in 1796, when Portuguese soldiers were reported in the headwaters of the Napo River and in 1799 were mentioned at the mouth of the Japura river closer to traditionally held Portuguese lands.



Figure 4.11: Visualization of Governmental Jurisdictions around Maynas in 1799. Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., Spring 2017

⁶³⁷ De Ezpeleta, José. Diego Calvo Solicita Merced. 1796. Carta del virrey de Santa Fe, José de Ezpeleta, al Principe de la Paz, remitiendo un memorial del ingeniero ordinario, Diego Calvo, gobernador de Maynas y comisario de la cuarta partida de Límites por el Rio Marañón, en solicitud de que se le promueva a ingeniero 2º. Acompaña: Memorial citado y otros dos documentos que envía con él el propio Calvo, señalados con los nºs 1, 2, y 3. (Cebreros 8 febrero). Principal y duplicado de todo. 12 hoj. fol. Archivo: Archivo General De Indias Signatura: Estado,52,N.30 Código De Referencia: ES.41091.AGI/21.7.1//Estado,52,N.30, Spain.

Though primarily from a popularly accessible source,⁶³⁸ the jurisdictions above, represent some of the various state bureaucracies such as Audiencias, Gobiernos, intendencies, and Captaincies that divide the areas around Mainas, Quijos, Canelos (gobiernos), Cuenca, and Trujillo as the narrative moves into late colonial and early independence eras. While such divisions fostered “checks and balances” providing some local (colonial) power, these also may have contributed to dividing resources and focus, perhaps contributing to Portuguese encroachment. The figure also reveals the historical positions of multiple Amazonian groups or “nations” that are mentioned in the sources of the period encountering the results of these ideas as they became expressed in the physical embodiments of individuals, objects, and space.

While some efforts by the Spanish may have been “successfully” repelling the Portuguese, the refashioning a by now very recognizably pattern, internal affairs seem to have been in conflict as secular and ecclesiastical authorities may have broken down to such an extent, that in 1802, the governor of Maynas wrote to the president of the Audiencia of Quito concerning an order prohibiting the arrest of missionaries.⁶³⁹ These instances demonstrate small changes and assertions of state power, as well as the ideas they represent over particular spaces. But in 1802, the King Carlos IV of Spain (r. 1788 -1808) issued a fateful and at the time, relatively minor change that would later sow the seeds for one of the longest territorial conflicts in Latin America between the later emergent nations of Perú, (Gran) Colombia, Ecuador, and Brazil.

⁶³⁸ MarshalN20 (Username). "South America 1799." Wikimedia Commons. October 1, 2009. Accessed September 12, 2017. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:South_America_1799.png.



Figure: 4.12: Visualization of the Comandancia General de Maynas, 1802 – 1822. Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., Spring 2017

The image above visualizes the 1802 territorial reorganization of Maynas as a Comandancia General (a general military command) that would simultaneously transfer the region from the Viceroyalty of Nueva Granada and the Audiencia of Quito back to the Viceroyalty of Perú. While the borders of this area were fluid, they expanded potential claims to the mouth of the main Amazonian river channel, though real action was largely confined to the areas shown in green near the bottom portion of the figure. Though the lack of accurately fixing these borders has quite literally led to the shedding of blood in later years, it is of paramount importance to understand as one of the most influential Ecuadorian historians, Federick Gonzalez Suarez put it “the demarcation of the bishopric and the government of Maynas during the colonial era was only projected, not completed.”⁶⁴⁰ In part to make such projections realities,

⁶⁴⁰ En Español, “a demarcación del obispado y de la gobernación de Mainas en tiempo de la colonia, fue tan sólo proyectada, pero no hecha.” For more, see: Suarez, Federico Gonzalez. *Estudio Historico Sobre La Cedula Del 15 De Julio De 1802*. Quito, Ecuador: Impr. Del Clero, 1913. <http://repositorio.casadelacultura.gob.ec/bitstream/34000/18055/2/LBNCCE-msc08-Gonzalezs-6764.pdf>.

by 1804, the Viceroyalty of Perú attempted to fund the creation of a road to bring greater communication between Maynas and Lima.⁶⁴¹

While such roads can be seen as the ancestors of more contemporary highways and roads that contribute to deforestation, they were considered to be relatively successful in accelerating communication between Maynas and the viceregal capital. However, these were not the only constructions that were taking place, as reorganization by the newly established bishopric and the government's greater investment was sought to recruit and retain soldiers, and to build new facilities. Such reorganization included an earlier proposal in 1795 to reconquer and repair the fort of San Xavier de Tabatinga for a sum of 1,330,5661 and two-thirds *Reales* or "*Reis*."⁶⁴² Though more research is needed to determine exactly what eventual cost was spent to further integrate Maynas into the Spanish colonial state, since Tabatinga was under Portuguese control during this period, this proposal demonstrates that the Spanish desire to adhere to parchment promises in reality were - like their Iberian counterparts - followed only when expedient. If the Spanish could reassert control over claims over a larger area of Amazonia, people like Requena were committed to making this a reality.

⁶⁴¹ Expediente Obrero Con Motivo De Un Decreto Del Virrey Del Perú Por El Que Se Ordena Pedir Informes Sobre Las Rutas Más Prontas Y Fáciles Por Donde Se Pueda Conducir La Correspondencia De Lima a Maynas Y Quijos. orig. 1804-1805. File issued on the occasion of a decree of the Viceroy of Perú ordering to request reports on the most expeditious and easy routes through which the correspondence of Lima to Maynas and Quijos, Archivo Historico De Limites, Card Catalogue Entry LEA-11-103 17 Ff, 1 Ff En Blanco. Caja No 016, Lima, Perú.

⁶⁴² Requena, Francisco. Cartas De Don Francisco Requena, Gobernador De Maynas Y Primer Comisario De Límites, Dando Cuenta a S. M. Católica De Diferentes Asuntos Relacionados Con La Demarcación De Límites En América (1780-1781). orig. 1779 / 1795. Letters of Don Francisco Requena, governor of Maynas and first Commissioner of Boundaries, giving account to S.M. Católica of different matters related to the demarcation of limits in America (1780-1781)., Archivo: Archivo General De Simancas Signatura: SGU,LEG,7087,1 Código De Referencia: ES.47161.AGS/2.18.15//SGU,LEG,7087,1, Simancas, Spain.

century, which has been overlaid upon the contemporary site of the town of Jeberos.⁶⁴³ Briefly, the layout of the palacio episcopa representation I is Eurocentric in design as there is a central courtyard filled with pineapple plants⁶⁴⁴ as well as a garden beyond the walls supported by columns (probably 44 in total). This, image and other documents describing the diet in the region since the 1500s demonstrate that both Amazonian and old world flora could be utilized across racial categories during this period. Finally, a number of areas are designated for servants, one for a person of African descent (probably enslaved),⁶⁴⁵ the manager or overseer (mayordomo) as well as a jail, presumably to incarcerate wayward Amazonian converts along with any troublesome settlers, soldiers, priests, or other officials in the area.

Though the archival text is dated to 1800, (as far as I can tell based on the available documents) the bishopric did not exist until 1802 and therefore, the image was probably created at a later date, unless it was part of some plan or imagined future in which a bishop would be assigned to Maynas exclusively. As mentioned, the figure also displays Jeberos today⁶⁴⁶ through the drawing the area's grid pattern (aligned to the cardinal points (North is at the top end of the figure) can also be seen in earlier sites such as San Ignacio de Pevas in the previous chapter. However, more research and archaeological investigation are needed to determine if, and where this structure may have been built. Finally, the figure includes the 1790 population of the pueblo of Jeberos, revealing the likely muscle power needed to construct such an edifice.

⁶⁴³ Unknown. "Plano Del Palacio Episcopal De Maynas." Digital image. Portal De Archivos Españoles. orig. 1800. Accessed December 2013. <http://pares.mcu.es/>.

⁶⁴⁴ Pineapples are commonly believed to be of Amazonian origin.

⁶⁴⁵ While the term "esclavo" is not used explicitly, "negro" is used and since other servants are differentiated and "negro" could be used as a euphemism interchangeably with slave at the time (and which could be especially important if one was a member of the clergy), it makes sense that the person described in the figure would be enslaved.

⁶⁴⁶ Contemporary spelling conventions have swapped out the X for J in Jeberos

The early 1800s continued a process of state expansion into Maynas that can also be seen as part of the larger “Bourbon Reforms. Increasing commerce and settlement were directly facilitated by the state for example between 1804 and 1805, when a search for roads to the area was undertaken that ultimately “succeeded” in establishing regular links between the, Marañón, Napo, Ucayali, and Putumayo rivers. Still, mishaps occurred, like when officials at the Audiencia de Quito informed the viceroy in Lima that all the correspondence with Maynas sat undelivered for a time due to a lack of communication with those provinces.⁶⁴⁷ As care for the construction of roads were staffed by people who often actually traveled along them, communication was facilitated along these major riverine networks helped to sustain relationships with colonial centers in Lima and Quito. By 1808, the governor reportedly sought to project authority over the area by ordering better treatment of indigenous workers and chastising abuses of indigenous people within the territory. Finally, more direct local ecclesiastical control returned to the area when, in 1809, Hipólito Sánchez Rangel, who would come to play an outsized role in the late colonial and early republican eras, was made the new bishop of the Maynas.

⁶⁴⁷ Oficio Del Presidente De La Audiencia De Quito Al Virrey Del Perú, Dándole Cuenta De Los Pilegos Que Remitió El Gobernador De Maynas Y Quijos Permancieron Hasta Esa Fecha En La Estafeta Por Falta De Comunicación Con Esas Provincias. 1804. Archivo Historico De Limites, Card Catalogue Entry LEA-11-2 2 Ff. Copia. (written in Pencil-Spéndice 3) Caja No 012, Lima, Perú.

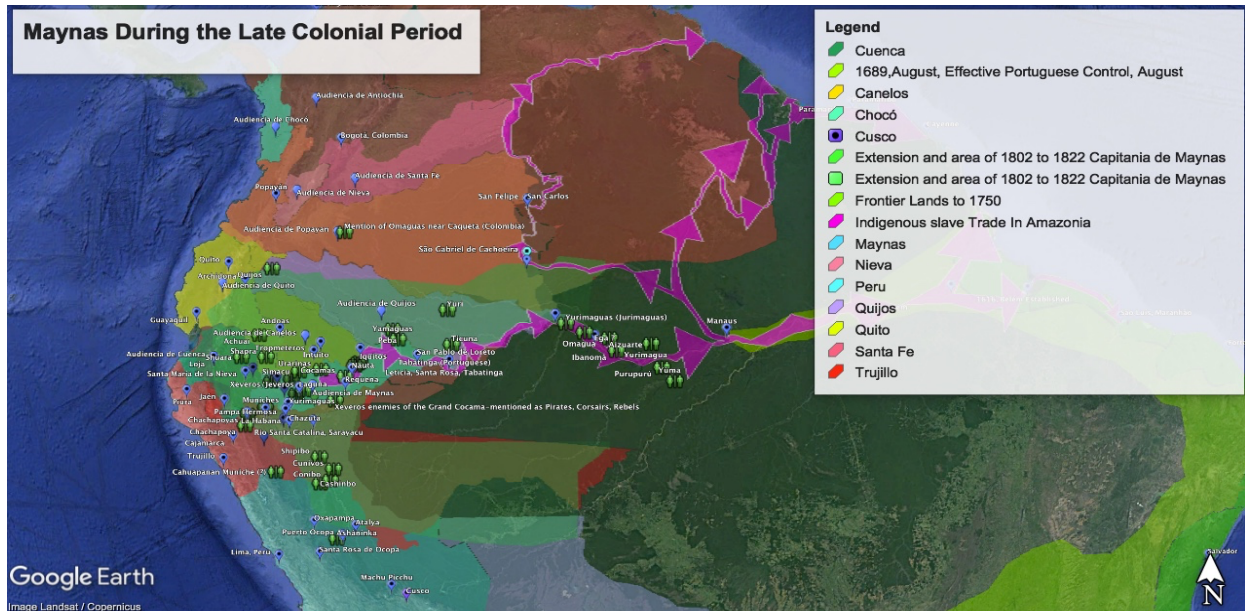


Figure 4.14: Maynas During the Late Colonial Period. Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., Spring 2017

The image above depicts Maynas around 1808 to 1809 at the eve of the revolutionary period. It reveals some of the competing and overlapping jurisdictions (such as the farthest projection of colonial control) around Maynas as well as some of the known positions of certain Amazonian groups such as the Conibos,⁶⁴⁸ Omaguas, among others. It also reveals the Amazonian slave trade that continued despite that it was supposed to be officially abolished. Local people were continually forced into service by competing desires for their labor, bodies, and souls, while a slow trickle of settlers and administrators increasingly connected the area with colonial centers such as Lima, Quito, and Pará (in Portuguese territory at the mouth of the Amazon) that increased the area's relationship with imposing stricter colonial racial and class hierarchies of the *casta* system that are similar across Latin America, but which did not exist in this particular area of upper Amazonia among the larger population as there were not substantial populations of white settlers until the late colonial era.

⁶⁴⁸ Also spelled Cunivos.

Across the Atlantic Ocean, the Napoleonic Wars raged across Europe, sending the Portuguese court to Rio de Janeiro and deposing the Spanish King in 1808, and inaugurating the flight of the Spanish government to exile in Cadiz by 1810, which is generally seen to be one of the major ripples contributing to the tide of independence sweeping across what is today Latin America.⁶⁴⁹ However, the following section describes the process of independence particularly related to Maynas, which demonstrates connections between Amazonia and some major figures in South America's revolutionary history. Roughly this revolutionary period for the purposes of this narrative began 1809 and concluded following the War between Gran Colombia and Perú in 1828, somewhat stabilizing by 1830. Though the area formerly known as Maynas became more entrenched within Perú, tensions continued throughout the 19th and 20th centuries.

Part IV: Maynas and Upper Amazonia in the Age of Independence (1809 – 1830)

On June 24th, 1809 and a little over a month before the August 10th *grito de independencia* was proclaimed in Quito, an uprising also began against the government in Maynas. The spark was reportedly lit in Jeveros and then spread rather rapidly to La Laguna. While this dissertation has argued that a tradition of employing uprisings against the Jesuits and some against secular authorities (especially in and around the old capital of San Francisco de Borja described in the previous chapter) this particular uprising on the eve of South American independence was described as one of such ferocity that it had “never been experienced.”⁶⁵⁰ While this may be rhetorical flare, other historians generally agree that this revolt did display one unique characteristic in Maynas, which was that it is seen to have emerged not as a call toward independence from Spain, the crown, or as part of one of the viceroyalties when described by the

⁶⁴⁹ Chasteen, John Charles. *Born in Blood and Fire: A Concise History of Latin America*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2016. Pp 95 – 100.

⁶⁵⁰ Ponce, N. Clemente. *Boundaries between Ecuador and Perú; Memorandum Presented to the Ministry of Foreign Relations of Bolivia*. Washington: Gibson Bros., 1921

sources, but rather emerged from the direct local tensions between settlers and the colonial government against the church. Therefore, in part during this phase, it was led and dominated by Bishop Hipólito Sánchez Rangel over abuses concerning the labor of Amazonian people. In written reports, these especially railed against the Gobernador, Don Diego Calvo, writing, that the

Indians of La Laguna complained to me almost daily of the violence of the chief (of Governor Calvo), who cruelly beat them, he was oppressing them too much and to the extreme with a great deal of work, leaving them no time to benefit their farms, thus starving them to death, and further mistreating them by putting them in the stocks. As a result many fled to the mountains, and having already left a portion of their families, in short, if they did not remove him from his post there, there would not be one left to govern.⁶⁵¹

Tensions become so strained that Bishop Sánchez Rangel asked to be relieved from his position and disband the bishopric as late as April 18th of the same year citing poor health and conflicts with the “political leader of the area.”⁶⁵² Apparently, the uprising also caused major disturbances to the future of the area as more than half from the Pano ethnic group would abandon their homes in La Laguna and the entire Huallaga basin for the foreseeable future.⁶⁵³

⁶⁵¹ Barletti, Jose. "La Poblacion De Maynas En Tempos De La Independencia: Analsis De Lagunas Y Jeberos." Documento Tecnico, Instituto De Investigaciones De La Amazonía Peruana, No 9 Julio 1994, July 1994. <http://www.iiap.org.pe/upload/Publicacion/ST009.pdf>. Pg. 15

⁶⁵² Sánchez Rangel, Hipólito. Correspondencia Del Obispo De Maynas a Fernando De Abascal Y Sousa, Marqués De La Concordia, Virrey Del Perú, Solicitando Licencia Para Salir De Su Dióces Por Motivos De Salud Y En Tanto Duren Los Problemas Con El Jefe Político De La Zona. April 18, 1809. Letter from The Bishop of Maynas to the Viceroy of Lima Asking to be Removed due to ill health and for as long as conflicts persist with the political leader of the region, Signat: GO-CO2 Leg./Caja: 209 Exp./Cuad.: 2848 Fecha Incia: 18/04/1809 Data Topic: Jeberos, Lima, Perú.

⁶⁵³ Barletti, Jose. "La Poblacion De Maynas En Tempos De La Independencia: Analsis De Lagunas Y Jeberos." Documento Tecnico, Instituto De Investigaciones De La Amazonía Peruana, No 9 Julio 1994, July 1994. <http://www.iiap.org.pe/upload/Publicacion/ST009.pdf>. Pg. 16

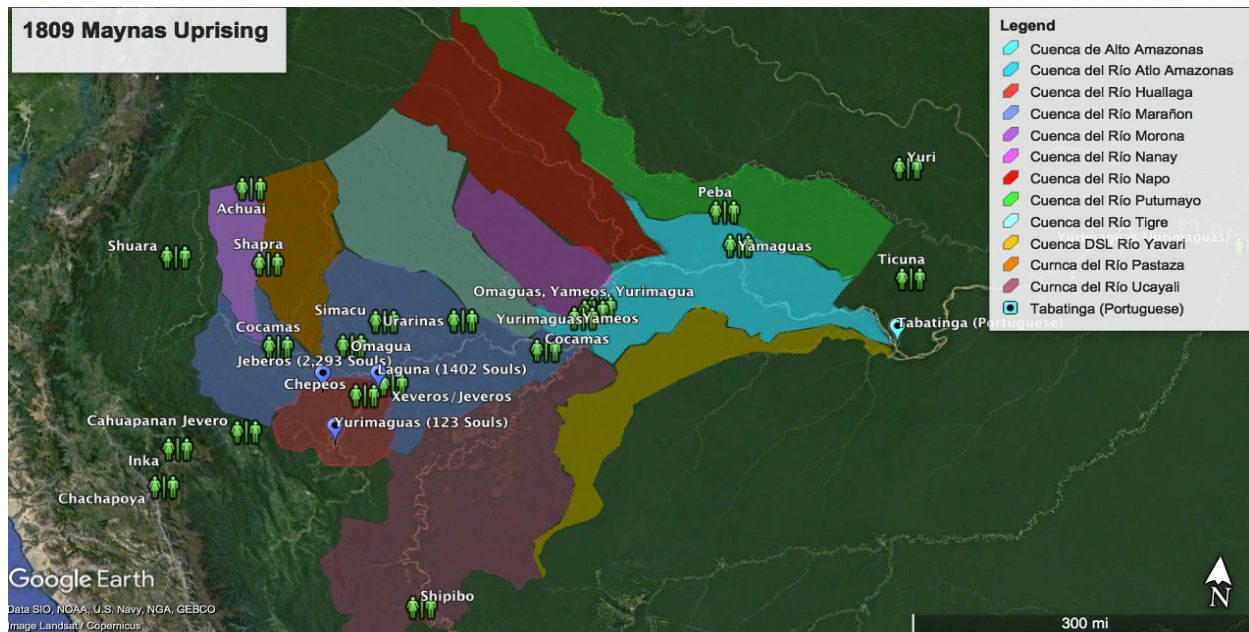


Figure 4.15: 1809 Maynas Uprising. Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., Spring 2017

The image above depicts the area impacted by the uprising of 1809 according to a survey of different sources. It demonstrates the town of Jeberos and Laguna, (mostly in the Huallaga basin) as well as Tabatinga (seen near the bottom of the legend), where the “governador de indios” named Juan Ortiz escaped before attempting to make his way to Lima, though he reportedly perished in Yurimaguas. Whether the gobernador died of natural causes or “foul play” is not known for sure. As few of the sources describe which indigenous groups were in the area especially impacted (the Huallaga river basin or cuenca) it is likely that the Jeberos people were intimately involved in the unrest in the capital of Jeberos, while according to one 1772 work, Laguna was populated by Cocamas, Gitipos, Chipeos, and Conibos.⁶⁵⁴ Thus, while the

⁶⁵⁴ Diguja, José. Carta Del Presidente De Quito, José Diguja, Al Rey Sobre El Establecimiento De Los Portugueses En El Río Marañón, Cerca De Loreto En Las Misiones De Maynas, Providencias Para Contenerlos Y Otros Documentos Relacionados Con El Mismo Asuntos. orig. 1772. Plan de los pueblos de las misiones de los ríos Napo y Marañón que dirigían los jesuitas., Archivo: Archivo Histórico Nacional Signatura: Estado,3410,Exp.9 Código De Referencia: ES.28079.AHN/1.1.44.39.1.23//Estado,3410,Exp.9, Madrid, Spain. Pg. 218

populations of the settlements did contract over this period, it is still likely that the rebellion took on an inter-ethnic Amazonian character.

Eventually, though some measure of colonial control was reasserted, tensions and unrest boiled in Quijos and the Putumayo in 1810. The same year, the capital of Maynas was moved from Jeveros to La Laguna, while another uprising the following year (1811) probably among the Pevas, Omagua and potentially the Quijos, which also required dispatching royal troops under Governor Fernandez Alvarez, Captain of the Veteran Company of Maynas to the Napo river.⁶⁵⁵ Perhaps this unrest was in reality *the* major contributing reason that Bishop Sánchez Rangel asked the viceroy that the bishopric of Maynas be disbanded. However, if intense conflicts existed between the bishop, the military, and state government, along with fellow catholic orders and with local indigenous groups, it would be difficult for Sánchez Rangel to continue his ministry. Despite his plea, the bishop received no immediate answer, and the request was ultimately turned down by 1819.

During other moments of the eighteen-teens, troops in Maynas were sent to chase out republican forces entering Quijos from Quito, while others in the veteran company of Moyobamba were engaging in “clandestine commercial” activities with the Portuguese.⁶⁵⁶ Bishop Hipólito Sánchez Rangel also complains of desertions of sites like Cahuapanas in his correspondence, as indigenous people continued traditions of agroforestry rather than adhere

⁶⁵⁵ Santamaría De Paredes, Vicente. Study of the Question of Boundaries between the Republics of Perú and Ecuador. Translated by Harry Weston Van Dyke. Princeton University: Press of B.S. Adams, 1910. Accessed September 19, 2017. https://books.google.com/books?id=9YA-AAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false.

⁶⁵⁶ Sánchez Rangel, Hipólito. Informe Muy Reservado Del Obispo De Mainas, Fray Hipólito, Al Marqués De Las Hormazas, En Contestación a La R.O. Reservada De 15 Febrero De 1810, Sobre Todos Los Sujetos Que Desempeñan Cargos Eclesiásticos, Políticos, Militares, Etc. Por Duplicado. Acompaña: A) Copia Del Informe Que Dio Sobre El Traslado De La Capital Desde Xeveros a La Laguna (1810, Julio 21, Moyobamba). Por Duplicado. 10 Fols. September 29, 1809. Archivo General De Indias, Código De Referencia: ES.41091.AGI/21.10.1//Estado,73,N.124 Signatura: Estado,73,N.124, Sevilla, Spain.

strictly to old world forms of land tenure. Bishop Sánchez Rangel also described in some detail a number of conflicts with the Franciscan missionaries from Ocopa administering the Manoa reducciones on the Ucayali (essentially they were competing for indigenous labor) as well as tensions with Don Diego Calvo and Francisco Requena who simultaneously required “rigorous service” from the local Amazonian groups. Bishop Sánchez Rangel explained that local people around Laguna, for example, were being enslaved by the soldiers, who like John Gabriel Stedman (in Part II above) had multiple sexual relationships with enslaved women.⁶⁵⁷

An astute man of the bishop’s station would likely understand that including such descriptions including episodes describing soldiers “defiling” indigenous women would simultaneously elicit both sympathy and revulsion due to ideas (especially among the higher and whiter classes) in rhetoric if not in action against miscegenation, therefore gaining additional support from state authorities. The bishop illustrates that in one violent case occurring in Laguna included a soldier who almost “took off the head of an *Yndio* father who defended his daughter from the soldier’s lust.”⁶⁵⁸ The bishop continued to complain that the soldiers as a group “had love for theft, contraband with the Portuguese [technically treason], and...their love for women but had little room in their hearts for similarly loving their nation or religion, nor any respect for authority.”⁶⁵⁹ In other words, the first bishop was using pretty damning condemnations of the

⁶⁵⁷ Sánchez Rangel, Hipólito. Informe Muy Reservado Del Obispo De Mainas, Fray Hipólito, Al Marqués De Las Hormazas, En Contestación a La R.O. Reservada De 15 Febrero De 1810, Sobre Todos Los Sujetos Que Desempeñan Cargos Eclesiásticos, Políticos, Militares, Etc. Por Duplicado. Acompaña: A) Copia Del Informe Que Dio Sobre El Traslado De La Capital Desde Xeveros a La Laguna (1810, Julio 21, Moyobamba). Por Duplicado. 10 Fols. September 29, 1809. Archivo General De Indias, Código De Referencia: ES.41091.AGI/21.10.1//Estado,73,N.124 Signatura: Estado,73,N.124, Sevilla, Spain. Pp. 11, 13, and 26.

⁶⁵⁸ Pg. 36. The original Spanish: laguna misma, no hace mucho tiempo ; que un soldado de sablazo casi le dividió la cabeza de un padre indio por defender a su hija de su lascivios

⁶⁵⁹ Sánchez Rangel, Hipólito. Informe Muy Reservado Del Obispo De Mainas, Fray Hipólito, Al Marqués De Las Hormazas, En Contestación a La R.O. Reservada De 15 Febrero De 1810, Sobre Todos Los Sujetos Que Desempeñan Cargos Eclesiásticos, Políticos, Militares, Etc. Por Duplicado. Acompaña: A) Copia Del Informe Que Dio Sobre El Traslado De La Capital Desde Xeveros a La Laguna (1810, Julio 21, Moyobamba). Por Duplicado. 10

government and military representatives of the state during this period, all but explicitly criticizing the soldiers in particular (and by implication leaders such as Requena and Calvo among others) for their crimes or had given their complicit approval of rape and treason. This demonstrates that even though the Jesuits had been expelled from Maynas nearly forty-one years earlier, the battles between church and state were still quite active and which tradition would be monumentalized further, as state eventually prevailed.

In addition to the condemning the soldiers' actions discussed above, in other letters to various officials, the bishop also rails against "legitimate" relationships between soldiers and indigenous women and for the first time a substantial population of mestizos is mentioned, once again demonstrating ideas toward racial "purity" and whiteness.⁶⁶⁰ It was also in the Bishop's direct interest that the indigenous people remain apart from settlers and soldiers – in other words, Bishop Rangel gained more converts, power, labor, and money by discouraging "encounters with the state." While such racial segregation has major implications for the construction of race,⁶⁶¹ the cohesion of communities, to the transfer/retention of wealth and power among populations, from the standpoint of pure survival such separation and autonomy (not the maintenance of European domination) was probably also in the interest of native Amazonian given exposure to deadly old world disease and multiple forms of abuse.

Bishop Sánchez Rangel also explains that the pueblos became bases of regional and personal power as Calvo and Requena preferred towns like Xeveros, to Laguna (possibly because the government had already constructed a casa del gobierno, a treasury, hospital,

Fols. September 29, 1809. Archivo General De Indias, Código De Referencia:
ES.41091.AGI/21.10.1//Estado,73,N.124 Signatura: Estado,73,N.124, Sevilla, Spain. Pg. 35

⁶⁶⁰ *Ibid.* Pg. 19

⁶⁶¹ For more, see Cope, Douglass. *The limits of racial domination: plebian society in colonial Mexico City, 1660-1720.* (Wisconsin, 1994)

housing, and fortifications). In other words, the settlers preferred towns that had been monumentalized with more of the usual trappings of colonial governance and outsiders would constantly note the “poverty” (meaning the lack of European infrastructure) across upper Amazonia.

Interestingly, Bishop Sánchez Rangel further, mentioned discussions between authorities concerning constructing an episcopal palace in Laguna though the bishop also noted that other episcopal palaces already existed in Xeveros and Moyobamba. Thus, perhaps the plan depicted in Figure 4.13 is associated with these, though more research is needed to solidify if this is the case and what if anything remains of these structures. Regardless, the Bishop’s appeal concludes with a call for the soldiers to be removed from Laguna especially and to be housed back at Jeveros.⁶⁶²

⁶⁶² Sánchez Rangel, Hipólito. Informe Muy Reservado Del Obispo De Mainas, Fray Hipólito, Al Marqués De Las Hormazas, En Contestación a La R.O. Reservada De 15 Febrero De 1810, Sobre Todos Los Sujetos Que Desempeñan Cargos Eclesiásticos, Políticos, Militares, Etc. Por Duplicado. Acompaña: A) Copia Del Informe Que Dio Sobre El Traslado De La Capital Desde Xeveros a La Laguna (1810, Julio 21, Moyobamba). Por Duplicado. 10 Fols. September 29, 1809. Archivo General De Indias, Código De Referencia: ES.41091.AGI/21.10.1//ESTADO,73,N.124 Signatura: ESTADO,73,N.124, Sevilla, Spain. Pg. 32



Figure 4.16: A Rifleman From the Expedition by the Veteran Company of Moyobamba to the Marañón and in the town of Loreto and the Portuguese Frontier 1810 – 1814, Courtesy Archivo de Indias, and Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., Spring 2017.

The image above depicts the position of rifleman in the town of Loreto, near the border with Portuguese town of Tabatinga that was discussed in documents from 1810 and 1814. It was claimed that in total, 720 soldiers were reportedly under arms in the region, while the same year the traffic of arms was apparently prohibited among the general population, perhaps in fear that these would fall to insurgents or patriots fighting for independence.⁶⁶³ While the drawing itself dates from 1814, it provides a momentary glimpse into the types of uniforms and arms employed by the military in this area during the period, while more information from these texts reveals the

⁶⁶³ In order to see the original source that the drawing in Figure 4.16 is originally obtained from, see: Abascal, José Fernando De, Marqués De La Concordia. *Carta N° 871 Del Virrey José Fernando De Abascal, Marqués De La Concordia, a Cristóbal Góngora, Secretario De Hacienda.* orig. 1814. Adjunta testimonio del expediente sobre las propuestas de reforma del gobernador de Maynas, en lo relativo a empleos políticos y militares, en cumplimiento de la Real Orden de 25 de noviembre de 1812. Incluye: "Batallón de Ynfantería de Montaña de Moyobamba, Milicias Provinciales: Estado que manifiesta la oficialidad, sargentos, tambores, cabos y soldados a que corresponden, con el total de la fuerza de cada compañía, como también el número y clase de armamento con que puede contarse", con dos dibujillos de un "Facón figurado" y un "Fuzilero de Montaña de Moyobamba", que se cataloga en MP-Uniformes., Archivo: Archivo General De Indias Signatura: LIMA,746,N.94 Código De Referencia: ES.41091.AGI/23.9//LIMA,746,N.94, Sevilla, Spain. Pg. 9 and Abascal Y Sousa, José Fernando De. Reales Ordenes Del Virrey Del Perú Marqués De La Concordia, Al Gobernador De Maynas; Sobre Prohibición Del Libre Tráfico De Armas. orig. 1814. Archivo Historico De Limites, Card Catalogue Entry LEA-11-308 3 Ff, 1 Ff En Blanco. Caja No 023, Lima, Perú.

movement of troops from Moyobamba (435 miles as the bird flies) to the town of Loreto. Consequently, the soldiers would have needed to extensively travel through the territory, probably requisitioning goods and peoples' labor as they made their way.

It was very likely in these moments and through such actions that the soldiers would have come into contact with Amazonian groups such as the Omagua and Ticuna (women) especially, and raising the ire of officials such as Bishop Sanchez Rangel. It was also during this time that the new settlement of Balsa Puerto was also created, probably to provide an additional way station or *tambo* between Moyobamba and towns such as Yurimaguas, Laguna, and Jeveros. Though areas like Balsa Puerto saw demographic growth, other towns such as Comancheros (Chamicuro's) were abandoned, displaying that for all their investment, the colonial state (like the Jesuits prior) had a difficult time sustaining certain settlements over time, though more research is needed to determine the exact cause for abandoning Chamicuro's as it may be due to the Aguano people's need to escape similar forced labor and domination by the Cocama and Cocamillas around Laguna, by returning to the old *reducción* of Santa Cruz.⁶⁶⁴ Meanwhile, the troops supposedly "needed" to confront the Portuguese, were often sent to other areas of the colonial state. For example, in 1812 and 1817, the company from Moyobamba would be sent to Quito to collect taxes and then back to "maintain order" amongst native groups in Maynas.

Also, in 1816, forty-nine years after their expulsion, an old enemy of the state was potentially resurrected in a cryptic letter sent to colonial authorities warning of the continuation of Jesuit activity on the Putumayo River.⁶⁶⁵ If this is the case a great deal more research is

⁶⁶⁴ Barletti, Jose. "La Poblacion De Maynas En Tempos De La Independencia: Analsis De Lagunas Y Jeberos." Documento Tecnico, Instituto De Investigaciones De La Amazonía Peruana, No 9 Julio 1994, July 1994. <http://www.iiap.org.pe/upload/Publicacion/ST009.pdf>. Pg. 16

⁶⁶⁵ Núñez, José. *Carta De José Núñez, Avisando Que Continuará De Jesuita En El Putumayo*. orig. 1816. Archivo Historico De Limites, Card Catalogue Entry LEA-11-156 1 Ff. Caja No 017, Lima, Perú.

needed to understand the connection or allusion to the mention of Jesuits in Maynas so long after they were exiled. Two years later in 1818, the veteran company would be sent to Piura, and in 1819 the veterans from Moyobamba would be sent again to the Napo and Pastaza rivers to quell unrest and to capture or enslave “un-Christianized” indigenous people especially around Quijos (mostly in the Putumayo basin) before reportedly being ordered as far as Piura.⁶⁶⁶ Like their Portuguese contemporaries, such labels as “non-Christian” legally designated their “right” to appropriate local Amazonian people’s labor by force.

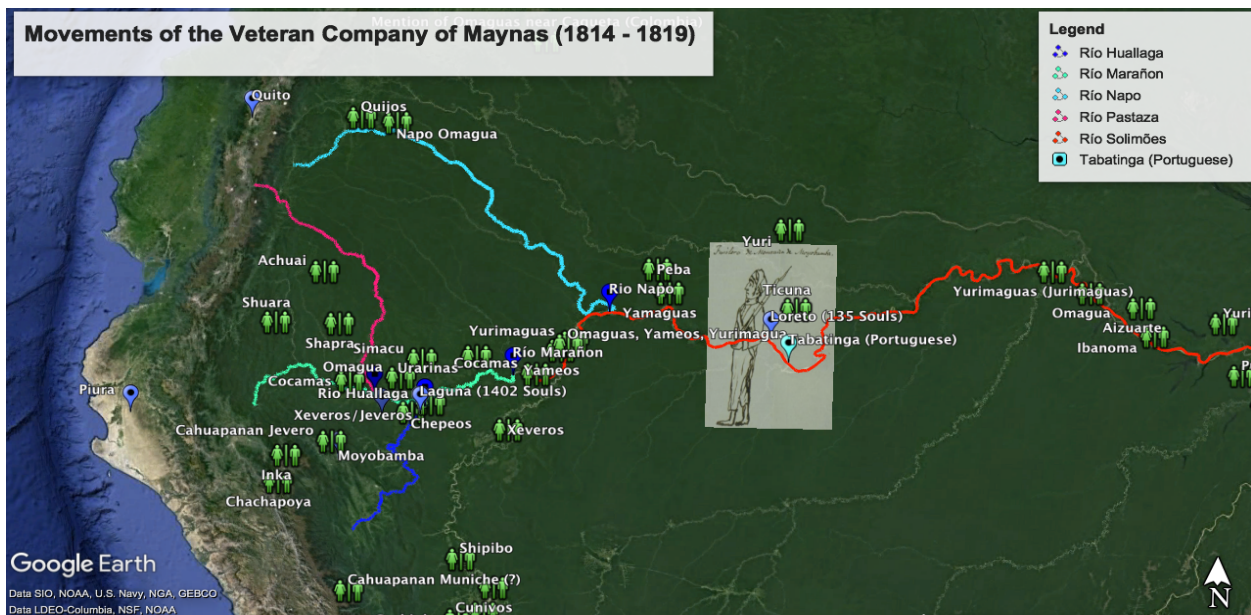


Figure 4.17: Movements and Interactions of the Veteran Company of Maynas between 1814 and 1819) Courtesy Archivo de Indias, and Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., Spring 2017.

The image above is a representation of the “moment” described above and is situated near Loreto and the Portuguese border. The river systems and blue placemarks demonstrate

⁶⁶⁶ Ponce, N. Clemente. Boundaries between Ecuador and Perú; Memorandum Presented to the Ministry of Foreign Relations of Bolivia. Washington: Gibson Bros., 1921. Pg. 114 and Santamaria De Paredes, Vicente. Study of the Question of Boundaries between the Republics of Perú and Ecuador. Translated by Harry Weston Van Dyke. Princeton University: Press of B.S. Adams, 1910. Accessed September 19, 2017. https://books.google.com/books?id=9YA-AAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false.

known movements of soldiers as claimed by archival and secondary sources during this period. I have also inserted the locations of local Amazonian groups at this time to demonstrate who would be enlisted and forced to do rowing, provide food, entertainment and sexual companionship. The soldiers may have also been the majority white population in the area as a 1790 census described only 90 “blancos” within the entire Maynas territory, so 750 “new” soldiers were described at some length for their background, and their service to the crown in documents conveyed to the viceroy. This of course does not demonstrate their actual racial background or phenotype, only the way they were being presented in order to gain particular grants by the council of the Indies and the crown.⁶⁶⁷ Whatever the case, other officials when soliciting grants by the crown reported living in the region everywhere from 1 to 13 years, thus revealing for the first time a both new and a more sustained group of settlers who made the area their home, as many of the relatively new arrivals would continue to shape the area in the years and decades ahead.⁶⁶⁸

Despite the now centuries of unrest and the traditions of resistance among local people throughout Maynas, when the struggles for independence from royal control arrived, it would (at least initially) be supported by the creole (or American-born) elite, who hoped to become the most powerful representatives of the newly independent states once the Spanish had been

⁶⁶⁷ Diguja, José. Carta Del Presidente De Quito, José Diguja, Al Rey Sobre El Establecimiento De Los Portugueses En El Río Marañón, Cerca De Loreto En Las Misiones De Maynas, Providencias Para Contenerlos Y Otros Documentos Relacionados Con El Mismo Asuntos. orig. 1772. Plan de los pueblos de las misiones de los ríos Napo y Marañón que dirigían los jesuitas., Archivo: Archivo Histórico Nacional Signatura: ESTADO,3410,Exp.9 Código De Referencia: ES.28079.AHN/1.1.44.39.1.23//ESTADO,3410,Exp.9, Madrid, Spain.

⁶⁶⁸ De La Pezuela, Joaquín. Carta N° 324 Del Virrey Joaquín De La Pezuela, a José Imaz Altolaquirre, Secretario Interino De Hacienda. orig. 1818. Informa sobre la jubilación solicitada - memorial adjunto - por Esteban de Avendaño, tesorero, veedor y pagador de la provincia de Maynas., Archivo General De Indias Signatura: LIMA,759,N.54 Código De Referencia: ES.41091.AGI/23.9//LIMA,759,N.54, Sevilla, Spain. and De La Pezuela, Joaquín. Carta N° 325 Del Virrey Joaquín De La Pezuela, a José Imaz Altolaquirre, Secretario Interino De Hacienda. November 11, orig. 1818. Expone que en caso de jubilación de Esteban de Avendaño, tesorero de Maynas, es acreedor a la plaza Miguel Damián, oficial mayor de dicha tesorería, con recurso de éste., Archivo: Archivo General De Indias Signatura: LIMA,759,N.55 Código De Referencia: ES.41091.AGI/23.9//LIMA,759,N.55, Sevilla, Spain.

ejected from the continent. This was similar to what occurred through the early independence era across much of Latin America and in the US as many Loyalists left for Canada or other areas under British dominion. The son of the governor Martin Noriega y Chavez (1813 – 1816) named José Pascasio Noriega has often historically been considered to be an “intellectual leader and major protagonist” in the movement toward independence in Maynas becoming known as the singular individual monumentalizing the idea of freedom from Spanish tyranny. Born in Moyobamba and tutored by his uncle, Dr. Manuel Antonio Noriega in Lima, he was also educated in the family business, which generated wealth by utilizing their relationships to organize trade between Lima, Maynas, and the Brazilian frontier. Thus, Noriega was socially and economically well placed to coordinate the coming armed conflict and seek support across a wide area of the region.⁶⁶⁹

Upon meeting José de San Martín in Paracas, Perú, José Pascasio Noriega was despatched along with José Bernardo de Tagle y Portocarrero to begin an uprising establishing republican control of Maynas (among other areas). Thus, in October of 1820, José Pascasio Noriega left Lima for Moyobamba, where he arrived two months later in December. Though formal Peruvian independence would be proclaimed in July 28th of 1821, by the beginning of the same year, much of the north of Perú, including Chachapoyas also declared independence so by April of 1821, though gobernador, Fernández Álvarez and by this time, bishop Sánchez Rangel were vehemently opposed to independence.

Following the Chachapoyan declaration, a combined detachment of patriots under a captain named José Matos, who had initially been a royalist and had switched sides to the patriots cause, was making their way to Moyobamba causing many royalists to flee. The initial

⁶⁶⁹ Cesar Rios Zañartu, Mario. *Historia De La Amazonia Peruana*. Iquitos: CESA, 1999. Pp 106 - 110

force included Chachapoyans in their ranks and were part of what has become known today as the *ejército invisible* or the invisible army. This combined force fought the royalists at the first battle of Higos Urcos on the sixth of June of 1821. Among them was a well known woman fighter named Matiesa Rimachi, who heroically died in the fighting and is popularly remembered today. As the patriots approached the city, royal officials fled to La Laguna deep into the former territory of the Jesuits. With the royalist departure and the decisive victory, independence was declared for Maynas in Moyobamba, Lamas, Tarapoto, and Cumbasa on the 19th of August, 1821, but it would be another year before independence was effectively secured for the region.

After achieving an initial victory and apparently on the same day that independence was declared in Moyobamba, April 10th 1821, Captain José Matos (supposedly having actually been in communication with Alvarez and Sanchez Rangel) betrayed the cause for independence and opened fire upon the unarmed soldiers and their supporters before the patriots could muster a response. When the dust cleared, the cause for independence was temporarily setback and fifty-seven soldiers were taken prisoners; some ending up in the cells in the far away former missions of Loreto and others not named (in the sources I presently have access to) along the Putumayo river.⁶⁷⁰ Noriega was reportedly killed following Matos' betrayal but the idea of his cause would outlive him, as many monumentalized ideas often do. This memory was further secured when additional patriotic forces would be sent from Trujillo under the command of Don Jose Mario Eguzquiza. Upon joining with others under the command of Valdivieso in Cajamarca,⁶⁷¹ the enlarged patriot force made their way to Maynas ultimately defeating Matos.

⁶⁷⁰ For more on this era, concerning primary sources, see: Belaunde, Victor Andres. *La Constitucion Inicial Del Perú Ante El Derecho Internacional*. Perú: Imprenta Torres Aguirre, Orig. 1942, 1995. Accessed September 25, 2017. https://books.google.com/books?id=u6l8A8BSIfIC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false.

⁶⁷¹ Incidentally, where Pizarro had the Inca Atahualpa killed.

After the the battles in la Habana on the 25th on August in 1822 and the second battle of Higos Urcos on the 6th of September 1822, Spanish control over Maynas was effectively broken. Since Brigadier General Enrique Martinez, had ordered that Colonel Arriola should be in command of the combined force with Eguzquiza, much of the credit for securing independence went to Nicolás Arriola following the vacuum left by the death of José Pascasio Noriego, and it was Arriola who would become the first republican governor of the area. Many of the royalists again fled into the selvas or rainforests, some making their way downriver to the Portuguese and proceeding to Belém where they could make their way to Spain or other areas of the Americas that were still loyal to the crown.⁶⁷²

Republicanism and liberalism would win the day against the Spanish crown, but the predominant social, economic, and racial ideas would be maintained in the new states that were to be fashioned upon the imaged borders of viceroyalties, Audiencias, and through new armed conflicts that would arise. For Amazonian people, “freedom” for the republican state meant the maintenance of “slavery,” the use of violence, and the market to increasingly tie local peoples to a somewhat distinct central Amazonian and broader global economies.

⁶⁷² For a contemporary interpretation of the battle of Higos Urco, see: *Representación Batalla De Higos Urcos - Moyobamba*. Representación Batalla De Higos Urcos - Moyobamba. Accessed September 25, 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EMFOOHwEqNY>.

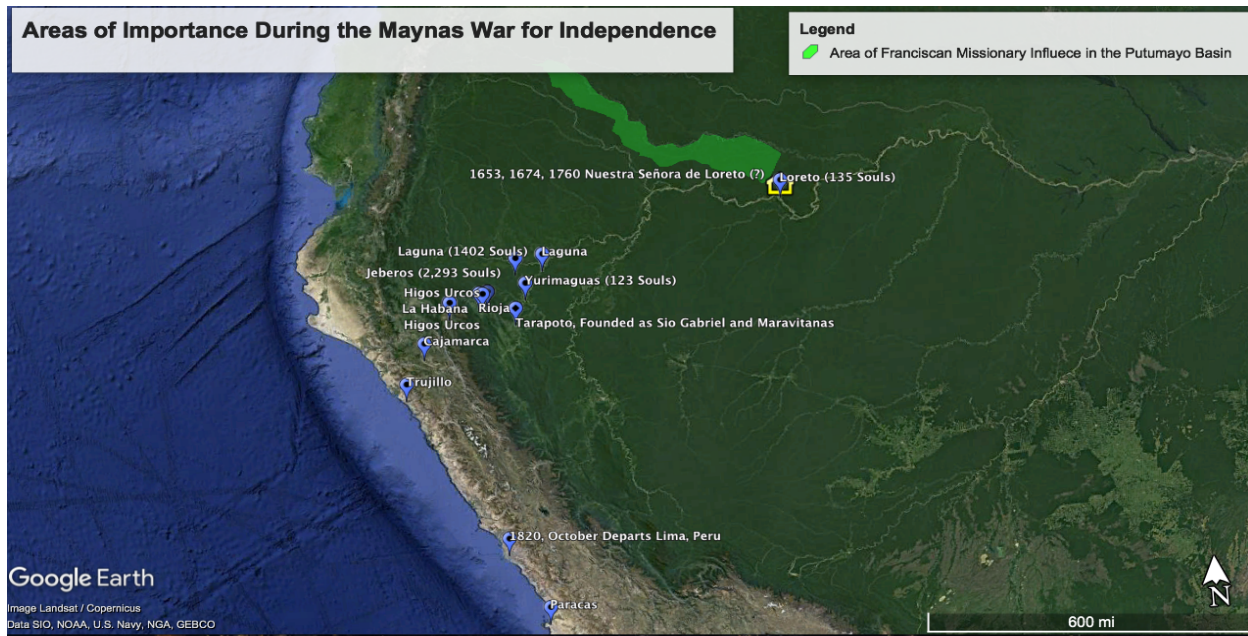


Figure 4.18: Areas of Importance During the Maynas War for Independence. Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., Spring 2017.

The image above reveals some of the most vital areas surrounding the movement for independence described above and that finally removed Maynas and central Amazonia from Iberian “control” some 280 years after Orellana and Carvajal’s voyage down the main channel of the Amazon River. By 1822 Maynas would be incorporated into the Department of Quijos and then by 1825 the Department of Libertad. Though the area would be named “Liberty,” for the indigenous inhabitants of the area, often faced relatively harsher conditions according to most of the historiography and many were captured, becoming *peones* and were “never paid” even though the state decreed that they should be compensated for their labor.⁶⁷³ The period is generally seen as a lowpoint in the encounter between Amazonians and representatives of the state especially with central authority in the capitals of Lima and Bogotá with areas stretching from the Napo, Huallaga, and Marañon to the Rio Negro basins in central Amazonia. Meanwhile, internal trade continued as did trade downriver, increasing Brazilian Portuguese influence.

⁶⁷³ Cesar Rios Zañartu, Mario. *Historia De La Amazonia Peruana*. Iquitos: CESA, 1999.Pp 106 - 110

Interestingly enough, the wily Bishop Hipólito Sánchez Rangel continued his ministry into the republican period though a war would break out between two competing parties representing competing visions for South America and Amazonia; Colombia (often referred to as Gran Colombia in later periods). This state appropriated and refashioned the name of Columbus, creating a continental vision centered within the viceroyalty of New Granada that can be traced first, to early revolutionary, Francisco de Miranda's ideal for post-colonial Latin America, followed by the South American centered project to create this state by "El Liberator," Simón Bolívar, who turned increasingly autocratic. The vision of a united Colombia was contested by nationalist vision of leaders seeking to fashion a Republic of Perú, which witnessed a dizzying array of (interim) presidents during the period it prosecuted the conflict, but which ultimately was largely carried out under José de la Mar.⁶⁷⁴

Hostilities were seething between the two competing powers since 1827, when a revolt in Lima ousted forces loyal to the Liberator. On the third of June in 1828, Simón Bolívar declared war, each claiming the territory of Maynas and Jaen but also largely (according to diplomatic dispatches and letters) concerning the Peruvian ouster of Bolivarians from Bolivia and debts owed to Colombia by Perú that were incurred during the struggle for independence.⁶⁷⁵ The Colombia-Perú war took place more on paper than in the battlefield (though two major battles occurred) with the Peruvians occupying the now Ecuadorian port city of Guayaquil until 1829 and the Colombians victorious on land at the battle of Tarqui under José Antonio de Sucre.⁶⁷⁶

⁶⁷⁴ The project was eventually doomed by regionalism that broke the large state into the present republics of what are today the republics of Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, and Panama, as well as other territories.

⁶⁷⁵ *Guerra Del Perú Y Gran Colombia*. orig. 1828 - 1829. Folios 1 - 124 Código de referencia Relaciones-Exteriores: SR.8,V.45,R.26 Existencia de la Fundación: Francisco de Paula Santander Documentación complementaria en otros archivos: "Archivo Historico José Manuel Restrepo" Documentos originales, Archivo General De La Nación De Colombia, Bogotá, Colombia.

⁶⁷⁶ Bushnell, David. *The Making of Modern Colombia: A Nation in Spite of Itself*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1993. <https://books.google.com/books?id=jWyV->

Many of the, archival documents consulted from the Archivo General de la Nación in Bogotá constantly discuss that a major diplomatic complaint launched by Colombia, was especially that its troops being expelled from Bolivia required safe passage back to Colombian territory, which Perú was not willing to guarantee. Maynas and Jaen were crucial (if Colombia was to successfully retain Bolivia now or in the future) to transit between (and encircle) the Peruvian regime of José de la Mar.⁶⁷⁷ However, one more coup in Lima sped up negotiations, setting in place a future endeavor to cement the borders, but by 1830, Gran Colombia disintegrated and Bolivar himself passed away from Tuberculosis in Cartagena de Indias (the former site of a Carib settlement named Kalamari) on December 17th 1830, while arranging plans for his exile to Europe.

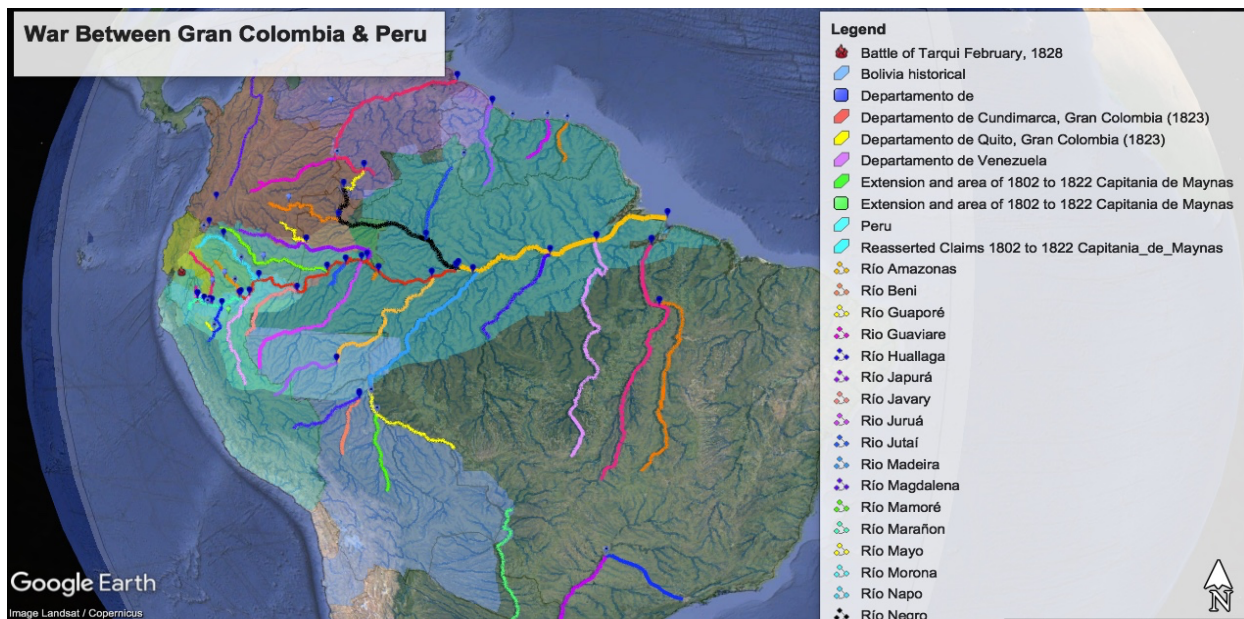


Figure 4.19: War and Claims between Gran Colombia and Perú. Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., Spring 2017.

qy6hSQC&pg=PA70&dq=gran+colombia+peru+war&hl=en&sa=X&ei=y8z8VITmKIOZnrTHg_AC&ved=0CEgQ6AEwBg#v=onepage&q=gran%20colombia%20peru%20war&f=false

⁶⁷⁷ *Ibid.* Pp. 31-32

The image above demonstrates some of the competing claims between Gran Colombia (with pre 1824 jurisdictions).⁶⁷⁸ It also depicts Bolivia, Perú, and the inherited claims under the legal principle *uti possidensis* from the Gobierno de Maynas and the Viceroyalties of New Granada and Perú. From a Colombian point of view, these could be asserted against the Portuguese in Brazil, who were still seeking to gain territory at the expense of their republican and Spanish-speaking rivals. This image above demonstrates one of the possible historical trajectories wished by some figures such as Bolivar, who at least initially hoped to surround and eventually reincorporate Perú into his Colombian super-state but which did not come to pass.

The result instead, was that Colombia was pulled apart, the Spanish viceroyalties and former Audiencias like Quito, became Ecuador, splintering this area of Amazonia as Portuguese settlement increased into the early 1830s. Thus, rather than potentially becoming a central artery of a larger Colombian super state, the area was divided among competing national boundaries (which remains the case today). The area of Maynas would remain a frontier or border area that was insular but that also maintained preexisting and pre-colonial networks and ways of life even as borders were drawn across maps thousands of miles away, first in colonial and then republican capitals largely cut off from the Amazonian people who lived throughout the main channel of the Amazon river, the larger basin, and even the larger cultural sphere beyond.⁶⁷⁹

Part V: Maynas and Central Amazonia in the Mid-19th Century (1830 – 1880)

While the last section followed the area of Maynas from the late colonial to early republican period, this section will examine Maynas and central Amazonia as its peoples and

⁶⁷⁸ Though somewhat anachronistic to the period of the Gran Colombia – Perú War, I have decided to include these jurisdictions to preserve the outlines of the modern states of Colombia, Ecuador, and Venezuela.

⁶⁷⁹ This is largely mentioned and depicted in chapters 1 and 2 and it is mentioned here to remind the reader, that how much Amazonia has already been fashioned since the pre-colonial period.

space is maintained and or refashioned through contact with the encroaching power of different national states. Importantly, the primary sources from this period will mostly be derived from the travel accounts of outsiders (usually Anglo-American or European) as these were some of the images then conveyed to larger international audiences, helping to monumentalize images of Amazonia as largely under-populated, rural, backward, as well as racially and often ecologically inferior despite the abundant biodiversity. In short, usually, the culturally selected conception became that the Amazon River basin was an obstacle to get around or to tame in order to bring its wealth into the coffers of national treasuries and global capital system. Meanwhile, Brazil wrestled with independence from Portugal, Pará (like its Spanish-American cousin in Maynas) had been organized as a captaincy general, administratively divided from the rest of the Brazilian viceroyalty witnessed a major uprising known as the Cabanagem beginning in 1835.

While incredibly complex and sadly still relatively understudied, it would have major impacts for the way in which the Amazon was conceived of during the rest of the 19th century. In short, the conflict is generally seen to have occurred as a result by some prominent members of the Pará creole aristocracy and land-owning class who desired for national independence, but which also later became a popular multi-racial social uprising, as poor whites, mestizos, “mulattos,” blacks, and indigenous folks revolted against the established class and racially based social order.⁶⁸⁰ Among the movement’s leaders was Eduardo Angelim (who would eventually be exiled from and then return to Maynas). The uprising meanwhile, was repressed only with great violence by the Brazilian state ending around 1840 with estimated deaths of around twenty per cent of the population (around 30,000 people with some estimates as high as around half of the

⁶⁸⁰ Harris, Mark. *Rebellion on the Amazon: The Cabanagem, Race, and Popular Culture in the North of Brazil, 1798-1840*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010 and Garfield, Seth. *In Search of the Amazon: Brazil, the United States, and the Nature of a Region*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2014.

population) severely depopulating the area and destroying the productive capacity (at least relating to cash crops). Earlier genocidal campaigns undertaken by Portuguese settlers and the Carmelites in the 1700s against the Manoa, it was argued were in part justified in order to wipe out barbarous and cannibalistic groups (but more likely) due to their alliance with the Dutch, had depopulated the Rio Negro Basin. Together, these served to severely lower the central Amazonian population as traveler accounts began to increase and report to broader audiences their experiences of Amazonia.⁶⁸¹

In 1836, a book called *Narrative of a Journey from Lima to Pará: A Cross the Andes and down the Amazon*, was published in London. It described the area of Maynas, along with appropriating and re-fashioning the idea of making the Amazon a central artery between the Atlantic and Pacific. It was written by British naval officers, businessmen, and adventurers, William Smyth and, Frederick Lowe who would travel from Lima, Perú to Belém in what is now Brazil, and was “undertaken with a view of ascertaining the practicability of a navigable communication with the Atlantic.”⁶⁸² Though this initial aim was relatively quickly discarded, the text did mention that from the Marañón, riverine communication was possible with the Orinoco, Paraguay Rivers as well as the River de la Plata, foreshadowing greater interest on the part of explorers and scientists throughout the long 19th century.

Perhaps due to its numerous images, the text has become an important primary account of life during this moment. While the complete text describes travels across Perú (hence the title), this chapter will focus on how the work describes former areas of the Jesuit missions, as well as areas of the Andean Amazon, regional architecture, the occupations of locals and other

⁶⁸¹ Sweet, David Graham. *A Rich Realm of Nature Destroyed*. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms Int, 1982. Chapter 8 Destruction of the Manaos

⁶⁸² Smyth, William, and Frederick Lowe. *Narrative of a Journey from Lima to Para: A Cross the Andes and down the Amazon ...* Digital Version from University of Michigan. Boston: Longwood Press, 1826, Published 1836.

information, for instance by demonstrating that a land-owning elite had become well established in the area and that trade in cacao, sarsaparilla, and other Amazonian products was continuing as it had during the Jesuit and pre-colonial periods.



Figure 4.20: A Depiction of Chazuta Overlaying the Present Location of the City. Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., Spring 2017

The image above is included because it is one of the few drawings of people living in the Andean-Amazon who were not presented as a “type,” (though the image appears “posed”) but rather as or town-dwellers in the town of Chazuta on the banks of the Huallaga river. These particular individuals are wearing clothes of the period, while playing music and dancing in front of Chazuta’s church, which demonstrates both European-type styles and local architectural features and materials, while the grid-layout can be seen underneath the image demonstrates Eurocentric ideas and ideals concerning urban “planning,” which again have implications for

deforestation today such settlements often have become the nuclei from which deforestation spreads.⁶⁸³

The band would meet a priest who accompanied them to old missionary, passing Tarapoto and then proceeding to the settlement of Yurimaguas down the Huallaga river. The travelers who then continued before stopping at Lagunas (with about 600 inhabitants), San Joaquin de Omaguas (600 inhabitants), Iquitos, Pevas (200 inhabitants), and Tabatinga, essentially moving through the old frontiers of the Jesuit reducciones. Along the way the pair reported a brisk trade in Manteca or the turtle oil (whose trade used to be controlled by the Omaguas and Cocamas primarily) and that this was still a major main item of commerce in the central Amazonian valley along with tucuya (pieces of cloth that acted as a medium of exchange or money). This cloth was reportedly made in Moyobamba and Tarapoto where British goods were also present and was reportedly accessible to the city's 4,000 inhabitants.⁶⁸⁴ The same source explains that the Huallaga was important for trade which mostly included: "cotton, gums, resins, wax, sarsaparilla, and tucuya" that was exported 'in considerable quantities to those parts of Brazil which area adjacent to the banks of the Amazonas.'⁶⁸⁵

⁶⁸³ Smyth, William, and Frederick Lowe. *Narrative of a Journey from Lima to Para: A Cross the Andes and down the Amazon ...* Digital Version from University of Michigan. Boston: Longwood Press, 1826, Published 1836.

⁶⁸⁴ Long, George, Wilhelm Wittich, George Richardson Porter, and George Tucker. "The Geography of America and the West Indies." Google Books, Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (Great Britain) Original Publisher. orig. 1841. Accessed September 28, 2017. https://books.google.com/books?id=oEPAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false. Pp. 557-558.

⁶⁸⁵ Long, George, Wilhelm Wittich, George Richardson Porter, and George Tucker. "The Geography of America and the West Indies." Google Books, Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (Great Britain) Original Publisher. orig. 1841. Accessed September 28, 2017. https://books.google.com/books?id=oEPAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false. Pg. 568

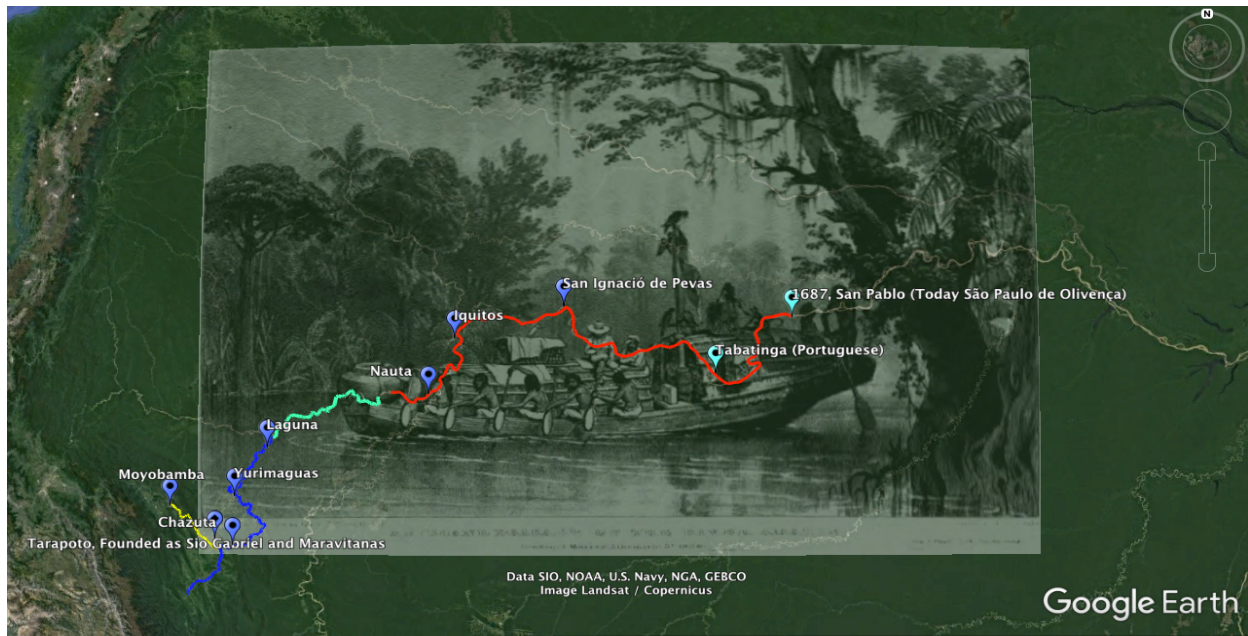


Figure 4.21: Vessel That Conveyed Smyth and Lowe from Sarayacu on the Huallaga River to São Paulo de Olivença on the River Solimões. Courtesy Internet Archive, Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., Spring 2017

The image above depicts the route of Smyth and Lowe’s voyage down the Huallaga (in dark blue), Marañón (in light blue) and the Solimões rivers in a *garreteia* that was 45 feet long and 6 feet wide. It initially held eleven men and a young boy though the rowers brought their wives and children as well, perhaps reckoning that a voyage down river meant in all likelihood that they would not be returning. Again, the rowing would be extremely rigorous and potentially deadly. The historian of the Amazon, David Graham Sweet explained the often-horrendous work facing enslaved or “enlisted” Amazonians as follows:

The Indian crewmen required by one and the others were rounded up and beaten, and where necessary tied up and dragged to the canoes in which they were to serve. They would then be gone from their families for eight to nine months, rowing night and day, even sleeping on the hard benches of their canoes, suffering greatly from overexposure to the hot river sun, very badly fed and completely unattended in illness. Frequently these men died from overwork, or were killed in battle with other Indians; and in these cases their bodies were simply thrown overboard to be eaten by the *piranhas* and *jacarés*. Others might be gone for three

or four years or more, if the moradores decided to take them back to Pará or Maranhão to work on their private estates rather than returning them to their home villages during the off season. Workers to whom that happened often ended up simply abandoning their families in the aldeias, allowing themselves to be remarried to the moradores' own slaves and remaining with them indefinitely in a condition of total dependence.⁶⁸⁶

Sweet and other scholars argue that such enslavement helped to continue lowering the population of central Amazonia during the 19th century. Over the course of the Smyth-Lowe voyage through this area, the expedition noted that most people continued a diet of manatee (vaca de marina), turtles, fish, and in some places even “Pisco” liquor from Lima (demonstrating the reach of particular items for trade), perhaps imported through family networks like those of Nicolás Arriola. The pair also noted that the diet and eating habits for local Amazonian families included mostly: “boiled or broiled fish or turtle, with plantains dressed in the same way. The family all eat together, squatted on the ground, and dip in the same dish with their fingers, or with a shell of a large oyster found in the lakes, which they use as a spoon, and for which it is a very good substitute: they have also a rude sort of wooden spoon.”⁶⁸⁷

Other descriptions explain punishments for adultery (flogging), as well as the intolerance of the authors for local children, whom the pair refers to on one occasion as “a parcel of naked brats.”⁶⁸⁸ Still, the diet, general family structures, architecture, and sources of food through agroforestry techniques demonstrates that for many local people in Maynas, despite all the upheavals they encountered over the course of the colonial period and all of the shifting boundaries of the elite, that the average Amazonian diet largely was maintained from what it had

⁶⁸⁶ Sweet, David Graham. *A Rich Realm of Nature Destroyed*. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms Int, 1982. Chapter 9, Pg. 6

⁶⁸⁷ Smyth, William, and Frederick Lowe. *Narrative of a Journey from Lima to Para: A Cross the Andes and down the Amazon ...* Digital Version from University of Michigan. Boston: Longwood Press, 1826, Published 1836. Pp. 208- 209

⁶⁸⁸ *Ibid.* Pg. 220

been during the pre-colonial period, while communal eating generally occurred regardless of age, gender, or status.

Indeed, indigenous Amazonians in this area of the continued to travel around to different plots tended as their ancestors had, in order to gather and maintain neo-tropical products, while other knowledge was maintained as well. For instance, one group called the Sencis, who lived in the Manoa missions that encountered the voyage, relayed to the English their astronomical knowledge including Vaca Marina (a manatee), which is commonly referred to as Scorpio, while Sirius was called *Capaygui* (little alligator), and Jupiter, which was called *Ishmawook*.⁶⁸⁹ These and other celestial bodies listed in the primary account could help with navigation and to help mark the beginning of vital agricultural practices. For instance, the Sencis were noted for their agroforestry, cultivating maize, yucca (manioc), bananas, and cacao.

Much like their Jesuit forbearers, the church in the 1830s continued to maintain an effective monopoly in iron making, by employing and training ironsmiths along with carpenters in order to maintain agricultural production and construction, thus ensuring the continued existence of European styled towns and cities. The two Englishmen noted that the priest at the Manoa missions traded to fund his evangelization efforts and that while officially abolished, the indigenous slave trade continued within Maynas as some Omaguas had for instance, a Mayoruna slave as well as two female Pano-speaking slaves, likely originating from raids sanctioned and connected to state structures through trade. Such conflicts seem to have existed for some time during the 19th century in upper Amazonia and were likely contributing reasons that many “tribes” were living in segregated communities rather than in the more mixed colonial-era reducciones. For instance, the town of Laguna was severely depopulated when after a conflict in 1830, the

⁶⁸⁹Smyth, William, and Frederick Lowe. *Narrative of a Journey from Lima to Para: A Cross the Andes and down the Amazon ...* Digital Version from University of Michigan. Boston: Longwood Press, 1826, Published 1836. Pg. 229

Cocamas moved to the town of Nauta closer to Iquitos as other groups also moved to more ethno-national settlements, though debates concerning the extent of such moves continue.



Figure 4.22: Smyth and Lowes depiction of Cashibo and Ticuna Courtesy Smyth and Lowe and Internet Archive, Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., Spring 2017

The image above depicts Cashibo and Ticuna individuals in “typical dress.” It is worth noting that the Cashibos are in the Andean Amazon and so heavier clothing would likely be required to endure cooler mountain air during certain times than their Ticuna counterparts, who live along the central Amazonian plain, where the tropical environment is more consistently warm.⁶⁹⁰ The images also demonstrate arms employed by upper Amazonian groups such as bows, arrows, as well as the club or *macana*, held by the Ticuna figure (on the right). Consequently, these also reveal the maintenance of martial traditions, or at least the employment of weapons used during the pre-colonial and colonial periods.

⁶⁹⁰ Smyth, William, and Frederick Lowe. *Narrative of a Journey from Lima to Para: A Cross the Andes and down the Amazon ...* Digital Version from University of Michigan. Boston: Longwood Press, 1826, Published 1836. Pp. 261 and 298

Eventually, Smyth and Lowe traveled further downriver near the town of Santarem (with possibly 5-6,000 inhabitants) on their route to Pará. The city apparently had a sizable Jewish population, whose history is relatively understudied within the historiography. Finally arriving in Belém, around the 16th of May 1835, they would learn about the unrest known today as the Cabanagem, that was named for the Cabanos, or those who lived in “poor” simple houses throughout Pará, probably made of similar construction to native Amazonian styles, employing wood, thatch, and clay. Smyth and Lowe reportedly heard that “the Indians were murdering all the Europeans; but as we had nothing to do with the political dissensions of the country, and we were most anxious to get out of it as soon as possible, we proceeded at all hazards.”⁶⁹¹ The pair would eventually meet one of the leaders of the uprising named Jacco, who they briefly mention was a creole and had taken his squadron of boats patrolling waterways around where Marajó island meets the main channel of the Amazon river.

Upon arriving in Belém, Smyth and Lowe were given a shelter by an English acquaintance, explaining to them that most of the Portuguese, who found it possible, had fled sometime before, as others were hiding out in the homes of friends from Britain and the United States. This helps to disrupt the idea that the Cabanagem was only a racialized conflict rather than one with nuanced political dimensions. Though other scholarly texts go into greater detail concerning the uprising, suffice it to say, that had it succeeded, perhaps the Amazon basin or beyond, may have emerged as an independent state and likely would have seen greater emphasis on settlement and riverine development, speeding up what other national states would continue in a much slower fashion until the rubber boom toward the end of the century.

⁶⁹¹ Smyth, William, and Frederick Lowe. *Narrative of a Journey from Lima to Para: A Cross the Andes and down the Amazon ...* Digital Version from University of Michigan. Boston: Longwood Press, 1826, Published 1836. Pg. 303

While the Amazon would not become the vital artery between the Atlantic and Pacific worlds, the voyage of Smyth and Lowe is included in this chapter for two major reasons. First, the images provide a visual record of the area, or at least how Anglophone authors depicted the area and its inhabitants. Also, this narrative demonstrates to what extent the Spanish-speaking republican states and Lusophone Brazil had been “successful” in their effort to increasingly integrate the main channel of the Amazon into their respective claimed territories. For Brazilian state power to be maintained, a violent social war that resulted in mass murder depopulating the area was prosecuted, while it seems that within the area formerly comprising Maynas, a brisk regional economy continued, despite (and perhaps in part due to) the uprising downriver in Pará. Indeed, this may have fueled an even greater need for more upper Amazonian bodies and labor. Again, the church represented by priests as well as local landowners or *fazenderos*, *hacendados*,⁶⁹² increasingly exerted local power projected from various way-station communities along the river largely flowing from Tarapoto down the Huallaga, Marañón, and Solimões, to the Amazonas and finally to Belém.⁶⁹³

Over the course of the 1840s and 1850s, commerce and the general social conditions continued as mentioned above, with greater population growth and commerce toward mid-century as the area slowly recovered from the results of the Cabanagem. In 1842, the *contribución de indias* was suspended, technically bringing indigenous laborers into the “free labor” market economy, though in reality barter and the use of the tucuya (also spelled tocuyo) cloth made in far away Tarapoto and nearby parts of the upper Amazon were more often utilized. Periodically schemes would be made to encourage mass European immigration, for instance in

⁶⁹² These men essentially controlled trade and/or haciendas, landed estates that produced cash crops and often employed mixed race or indigenous laborers in varying degrees of forced labor.

⁶⁹³ Smyth, William, and Frederick Lowe. *Narrative of a Journey from Lima to Para: A Cross the Andes and down the Amazon ...* Digital Version from University of Michigan. Boston: Longwood Press, Published 1836

1853, when some 13,000 German settlers were welcomed.⁶⁹⁴ However, around the same time in 1843, thousands of miles away, Thomas Goodyear would file a patent for the vulcanization of rubber (native to Amazonia) that would have major implications for the basin into the 20th century.⁶⁹⁵

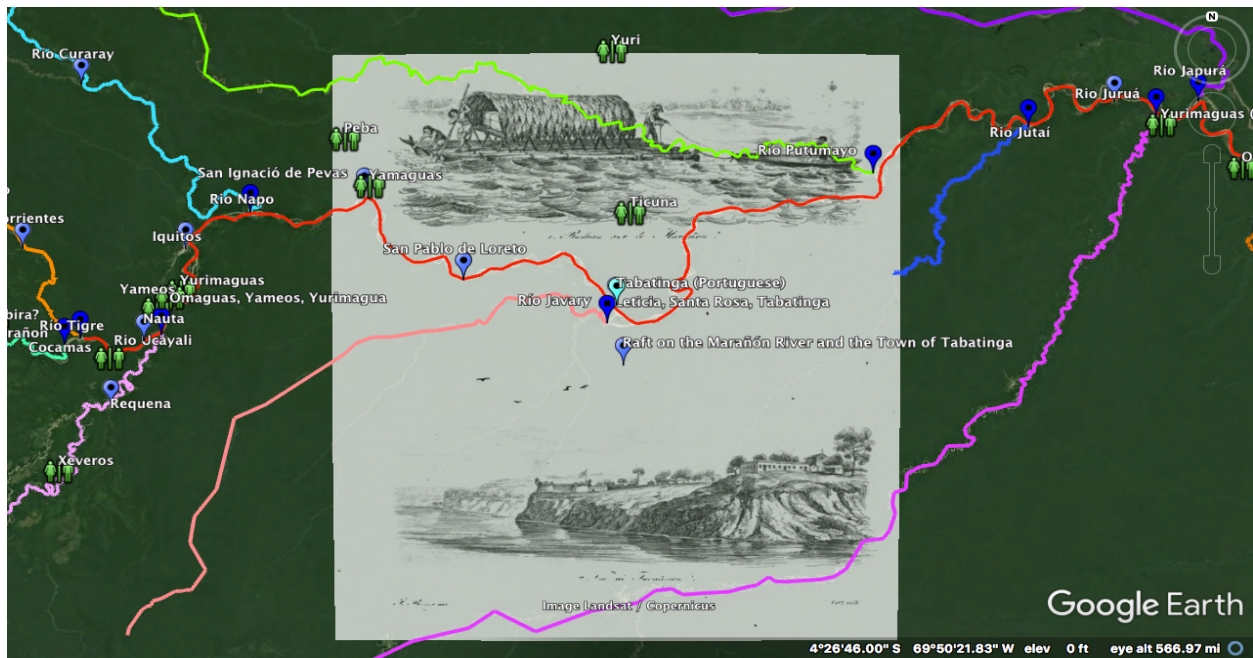


Figure 4.23: A Visualization of a Vessel on the Marañón/Solimões Rivers and a Depiction of the Border Town of San Xavier de Tabatinga Overlaying the present site of the Tabatinga in Brazil. Courtesy Alcide D' Orbigny, Jules Boilly, and Internet Archive. Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., Spring 2017

The image above demonstrates what is described in a number of sources as “typical” riverine transport during the 1840s.⁶⁹⁶ This would be used to ship more cargo than passengers,

⁶⁹⁴ For more, see: Santamaría De Paredes, Vicente. *Study of the Question of Boundaries between the Republics of Perú and Ecuador*. Translated by Harry Weston Van Dyke. Princeton University: Press of B.S. Adams, 1910. Accessed September 19, 2017. https://books.google.com/books?id=9YA-AAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false.

⁶⁹⁵ Others, including Thomas Hancock also are credited with this discovery. Tully, John. *Devil's Milk: A Social History of Rubber*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 2014. Pg. 40

⁶⁹⁶ Alcide D' Orbigny, Jules Boilly. "Voyage Pittoresque Dans Les Deux Amériques. Résumé Général De Tous Les Voyages De Colomb, Las-Casas, Oviedo ... Humboldt ... Franklin ... Etc : Orbigny, Alcide Dessalines D', 1802-1857: Free Download & Streaming." Internet Archive. orig. 1841. Accessed April 27, 2017. <https://archive.org/details/voyagepittoresque00orbirich>. And Herndon, William Lewis, and Lardner Gibbon. ...

often traveling alongside those *garreteas* moving people up and downriver. The bottom image shows the location of the city of Tabatinga with its fort dating from the colonial period, though little of the structure remains presently. A number of sources discuss passing by the area and the need to produce passports, though that this could also be easily circumvented if moving swiftly.⁶⁹⁷

The intrusion of ever-greater numbers of outsiders into Amazonia continued in the 1840s and 1850s as various European and North American governments sent explorers, military surveyers, scientists, and others engaged in artistic and scientific endeavors. Local Amazonian people would increasingly encounter such foreigners representing the expansion of neocolonial state structures as commerce steadily grew. As ever greater information as well as these images filtered out (sometimes in the press as serials) or as governmental reports, geographic, botanical, and biological treatises, and in market statements, which noted imports and exports to the area. For the average person living in this period (according to most texts and scholarly assessments) one's position to the central Amazonian river channel or a larger tributary often increased the likelihood of exploitation in the market economy, indebtedness to one company, or local magnate and being incorporated into the cash crop economy of the period. Those who continued more indigenous monumentalized lifeways were often increasingly subjected to violence, maintaining this state sponsored tradition from the colonial era, but now with the linked idea of "progress" became appropriated and refashioned by linking this idea conceptually to the notion of "civilization versus savagery."

Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon. Washington, D.C.: R. Armstrong, 1853. Accessed September 30, 2017. <https://archive.org/details/valleyoftheamazo01hern>.

⁶⁹⁷ Smyth, William, and Frederick Lowe. *Narrative of a Journey from Lima to Para: A Cross the Andes and down the Amazon ...* Digital Version from University of Michigan. Boston: Longwood Press, Published 1836

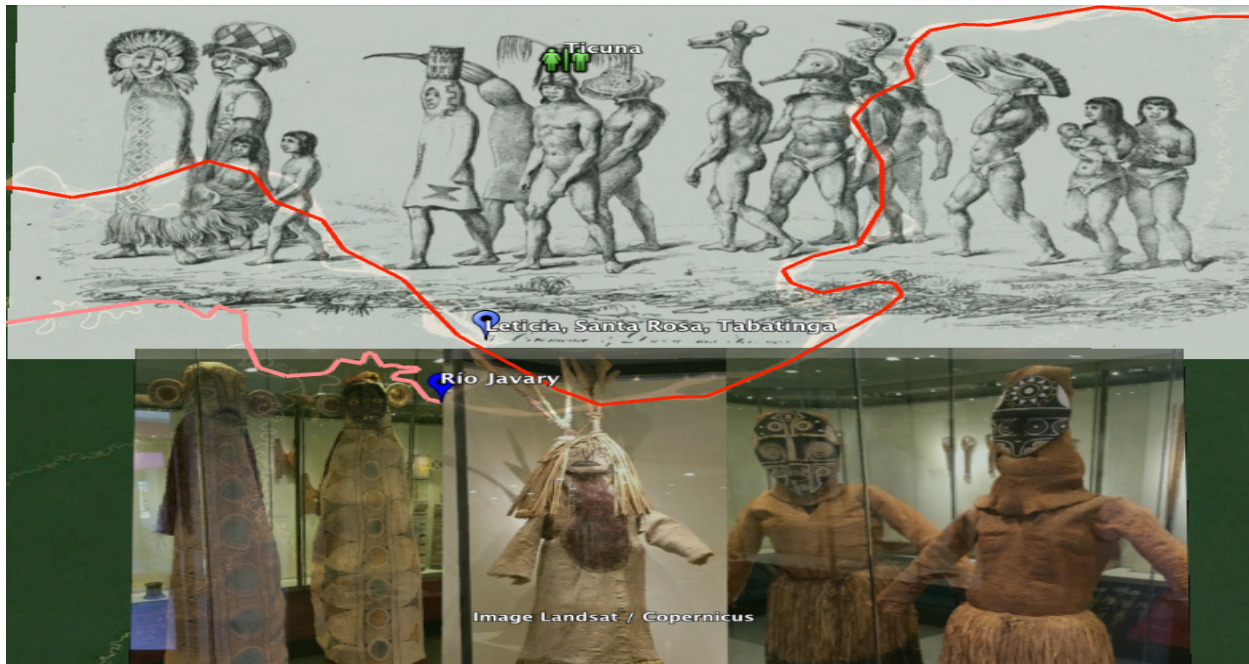


Figure 4.24: Ticuna Ritual Dress, Then and Now. Courtesy Alcide D'Orbigny, Jules Boilly, and Internet Archive. Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., Spring 2017

The image above reveals an overlaid lithograph published in 1841, portraying Ticunas wearing ritual dress.⁶⁹⁸ The masks as worn by individuals in the drawing demonstrate cosmological ideas and beliefs that were maintained (though likely somewhat refashioned) during the colonial periods and now almost four decades following independence. This reveals a small glimpse into the extent to which indigenous lifeways, ideas, and beliefs continued to be monumentalized during the 19th century. This earlier image is shown overlaid upon the region in which the Ticuna people have settled and which is presently near the tri-border area where Santa Rosa, Perú, Leticia, Colombia, and Tabatinga, Brazil meet near the confluence of the Solimões and Javary rivers. The photographs revealing more contemporary ritual Ticuna outfits were taken by the author during a 2015 research trip to Colombia, while the figures displaying similar outfits to those worn by figures in the drawings made 174 years earlier. The

⁶⁹⁸ The Ticuna area also known as Magüta, Tucuna, Tikuna, or Tukuna Source: "Ticuna." Ethnologue. Accessed September 07, 2016. <http://www.ethnologue.com/language/tca>.

actual ritual objects are themselves kept in the permanent collection of the Museo Etnografico de Leticia, revealing an example of the power of monumentalism by cultural selection that maintains certain memories of traditions in the face of massive ecological and cultural change to the area in part now to demonstrate the legitimacy of the neoliberal state, which will be discussed further in the 5th chapter.

While particular Amazonian concepts and memories like the ones represented in the figure above would be maintained over the long 19th century, steam forever changed the nature of river transport and as the rubber boom proceeded in greater horror for native Amazonians, by the end of the 19th century, many texts would look back on this earlier period with memories tinged by romantic nostalgia that would be crystalized into different printed materials (including one by Jules Verne)⁶⁹⁹ between the 1870s and 1920s. Indeed, during the mid 19th century, large landowners (usually white or mixed race) would come to maintain monopolies over local wealth and power could be quite far-reaching. However, greater research from archives and archaeological/ethnographical research are needed to ascertain exactly the nature of particular rivalries, alliances, and cooperation or tensions among different interests in this area of upper Amazonia.

In 1854, two travelers, William Lewis Herndon and Lardner Gibbon, who represented the interests of the US Navy to survey the “Amazon River Valley” published a book describing their experiences of Amazonia. Along the journey, they provided a preview into this emerging elite class, upon meeting a Portuguese trader named Don Bernadino Cauper had settled in Nauta,

⁶⁹⁹ This refers to a text named *800 Leagues on the Amazon* that will be discussed more fully in the next chapter.

and who gained wealth outfitting two *garreteas* to trade as far as the Ucayali, Napo, and Egas (today Tefé).⁷⁰⁰ According to Herndon, and Gibbon their acquaintance,

Don Bernardino lives in a sort of comfort. He has plenty of meat, (calling turtle, salt fish, and fowls meat,) with *fariuha* from below, and beans and onions from his little garden. There is good tobacco from above to smoke, and wholesome, though fiery, Lisbon wine to drink.... I have been frequently struck during my journey with the comparative value of things. The richest man of a village of one thousand inhabitants, in the United States, would think Bernardino's table poorly supplied, and would turn up his nose at a grass hammock slung between two hooks in the shop for a bed-place. Yet these things were regal luxuries to us; and, doubtless, being the best that Don Bernardino is perfectly contented, and desires nothing better.⁷⁰¹

The description of Don Bernadino by William Lewis Herndon, and Lardner Gibbon demonstrates what was available to an “upper class” Amazonian during the 1840s and 1850s along central Amazonia to procure resources stretching from the Andean Amazon or *oriente* nearly as far as Manaus. The description of Don Bernadino also reveals that individuals during this time (at least wealthy ones) regularly consumed both native Amazonian *and* old world products revealing a world of mixed influences that would nevertheless influence both ecological diversity and cultural memory. Finally, this description perhaps demonstrates some of the seeds of this later nostalgia by Anglo-American and European writers that would come to greater prominence in the next few decades. This also reveals the reach of Don Bernadino’s network despite national borders.

Herndon, and Gibbon provide important demographic information in their descriptions of the area previously called Maynas, which reveals that there were (more or less) the same number

⁷⁰⁰ Herndon, William Lewis, and Lardner Gibbon. ... Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon. Washington, D.C.: R. Armstrong, 1853. Accessed September 30, 2017.

⁷⁰¹ *Ibid.* Pg. 180

of inhabitants living in the area as there had been during the beginning of the republican period, in the upper missions alone; around 9,911 people (around 400 of them classified as whites). Meanwhile, the lower mission had a population of 3,789 inhabitants, for a total of around 13,700, with the priests from Ocopa still exerting a great deal of control along with local national authorities as well as curacas (native political leaders) who maintained popular legitimacy.⁷⁰² This reveals that population may have been increasing in the region overall from the 1830s to 1850s. The pair also estimate that the value of trade from this area to Brazil and to the Pacific at \$40,000 (according to a quick estimate, worth about \$1.1 million in 2015 US dollars).⁷⁰³ However, they consider this to be “inadequate,” explaining (like so many before them) that the Amazon River could be used to generate immense wealth into the interior of the South American continent.

The authors (in the voice of Herndon) wrote prophetic words in 1854, envisioning what would occur only a few years ahead as the Amazon was opened to international shipping in 1867.

I can imagine the waking-up of the people on the event of the establishment of steamboat navigation on the Amazon. I fancy I can hear the crash of the forest falling to make room for the cultivation of cotton, cocoa, rice, and sugar, and the sharp shriek of the saw, cutting into boards the beautiful and valuable woods of the country; that I can see the gatherers of India-rubber and copaiba redoubling their efforts, to be enabled to purchase the new and convenient things that shall be presented at the door of their huts in the wilderness; and even the wild Indian finding the way from his pathless forest to the steamboat depot to exchange his collections of vanilla, spices, dyes, drugs, and gums, for the things that would take his fancy—ribbons, beads, bells, mirrors, and gay trinkets.⁷⁰⁴

⁷⁰²Herndon, William Lewis, and Lardner Gibbon. *Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon*. Washington, D.C.: R. Armstrong, 1853. Accessed September 30, 2017. <https://archive.org/details/valleyoftheamazo01hern>. Pg. 181

⁷⁰³Manuel, Dave. "Inflation Calculator." DaveManuel.com. Accessed October 01, 2017. <https://www.davemanuel.com/inflation-calculator.php>.

⁷⁰⁴Herndon, William Lewis, and Lardner Gibbon. *Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon*. Washington, D.C.: R. Armstrong, 1853. Accessed September 30, 2017. <https://archive.org/details/valleyoftheamazo01hern>. Pg. 186

Voicing a belief in the positivist ideology of “order and progress”⁷⁰⁵ the Americans who peered into a possible future (now realized) where steamships would accelerate the already relatively brisk pace of commerce and cultivation of cash crops taking the place of indigenous flora. While Europeans were still susceptible to tropical diseases, somewhat “reversing” the general trend in which many native Amazonian populations were decimated by old world illnesses, here, in Amazonia’s tropical environment, products like sarsaparilla and quinine were used to aid against syphilis, malaria, yellow fever, and, while a cash crop economy centered around cacao, sugar, rice, and cotton would be created through the labor (forced or not) of Amazonian native peoples, mixed race peons, or African slaves in the Brazilian territories. Herdon and Gibbeon go on to glimpse at the riches that could be obtained by such endeavors, “Its capacities for trade and commerce are inconceivably great. Its industrial future is the most dazzling and to the touch of steam, settlement, and cultivation, this rolling stream and its magnificent water-shed would start up into a display of industrial results that would indicate the Valley of the Amazon as one the most enchanting regions on the face of the earth.”⁷⁰⁶

Indeed, by the 1860s and 70s state interest spurred a push for immigration that attracted settlers from Europe and Asia. For example in 1860, an expedition was sent from Lima to again seek to open up reliable routes to Loreto (as the Peruvian area of Maynas was often now being called) and by 1862, according to one source, the population of the District of Moyobamba totaled around 45,200 inhabitants.⁷⁰⁷ During the mid-1860s, a sizeable community of former North American “Confederates” immigrated to the Brazilian Amazonia, mostly around Santarém,

⁷⁰⁵ For more on the ideology of positivism, see: Comte, Auguste. *Auguste Comte and Positivism the Essential Writings*. Edited by Gunter Bischof. Routledge, 2017.

⁷⁰⁶ *Ibid.* Herndon 176

⁷⁰⁷ Raimondi, Antonio. "Apuntes Sobre La Provincia Litoral De Loreto." Google Books. tipogr. nacional, por manuel d. cortés, 1862. Accessed October 05, 2017. https://books.google.com/books?id=LWpZAAAACAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false.

where many brought their slaves to escape the victorious Union in the US Civil war (1861 – 1865).⁷⁰⁸ These *Confederados* have been remembered as some of the first to write about (and thus share) knowledge concerning the existence of anthrosoils that have come to be called *terras pretas do indio* or Amazonian dark earths. Another traveler, Herbert Huntington Smith later explained in his 1879 work published on his trip around Santarém, explained that “the rich terra preta, ’black land,’ the best on the Amazons. It is a fine, dark loam, a foot, and often two feet, thick. Strewn over it everywhere we find fragments of Indian pottery, so abundant in some places that they almost cover the ground.”⁷⁰⁹ Smith stayed in Santarém for around two years, arriving in 1874, and would later describe palms and other flora being planted on the anthrosoils, but explained that the former emigrants from the CSA, generally incurred a “burden of debts that it will take... a long time to pay; and [leaving them] with a broken-down body and a discouraged heart.”⁷¹⁰ Interestingly, now in Brazil, it was more difficult to secure loans that could support higher class and “whiter” life styles. Thus, eventually many Confederados would mix into the local populations around Santarém.

In 1873, Paul Marcoy, a traveler (originally from France) would publish his influential illustrated account titled: *A Journey Across South America*.⁷¹¹ The work done by what the publishers describe as the “artist” (Marcoy) follows his voyage across Perú, down the Huallaga and Marañón, and ending in Belém. Marcoy’s images and descriptions of life, recording of

⁷⁰⁸ Dawsey, Cyrus B., and James M. Dawsey. *The Confederados: Old South Immigrants in Brazil*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1998.

⁷⁰⁹ This is extensively discussed in chapter 1 and described in Smith, 1851-1919, Herbert Huntington). "Brazil, the Amazons and the Coast: Smith, Herbert H. (Herbert Huntington), 1851-1919 : Free Download & Streaming." Internet Archive. January 01, 1879. Accessed October 12, 2017. <https://archive.org/details/brazilamazonscoa00smit>. Pp.144-145

⁷¹⁰ Smith, Herbert H. (Herbert Huntington), 1851-1919 : Free Download & Streaming." Internet Archive. January 01, 1879. Accessed October 12, 2017. <https://archive.org/details/brazilamazonscoa00smit>. Pg. 141

⁷¹¹ Marcoy, Paul. "A Journey Across South America." Google Books. 1873. Accessed October 02, 2017. https://books.google.com/books?id=xpQyAQAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false.

Amazonian words, rituals, and daily life provide a singular text concerning the 1870s and the period just prior to the relative explosion of steam boats as the rubber boom proceeded.

Therefore, this section on the main channel of the Amazon River will end with a relatively brief exploration of Marcoy's work, before the chapter concludes with an extended moment of consideration concerning how encountering the state impacted the Ashaninka people as well as the area around Chachapoyas.

Marcoy's book is often cited today as a fundamental depiction of Amazonian life during this period. Numerous histories, historiographies, and visualizations include excerpts and images of the texts.⁷¹² Consequently, it has become monumentalized in popular historical memory as evocative of Amazonia throughout the colonial and pre-colonial periods and it likely does demonstrate that continuation of certain monumentalized traditions. However, it will be included here to provide a glimpse into this particular moment to consider against the competing narratives described and to provide the reader with a visualization of the late 19th century "gaze" upon Amazonia fixed upon for interested readers "back home," in this case, London.

⁷¹² Villarejo, Avencio. *Así Es La Selva*. Iquitos, Perú: Publicaciones CETA, 1979.

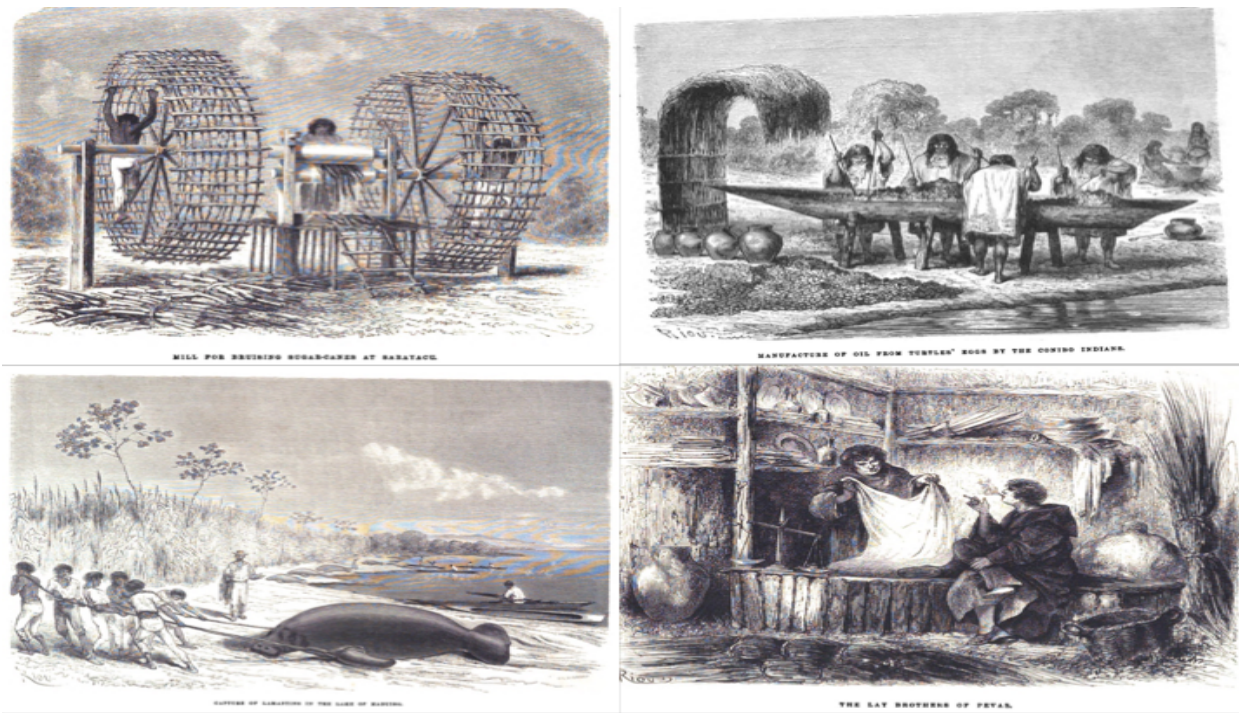


Figure 4.25: Images of Every-day Life in Upper Amazonia. Courtesy, Paul Marcocoy and Google Books. Compiled by Deavenport, J. Spring, 2017

The images above reveal Marcocoy's visualizations of life in upper Amazonia mostly in the area that had been part of Maynas, which was created and advertised by his publishers, as an attractive selling point.⁷¹³ The top two images demonstrate the (human-mechanically powered) pressing of sugarcane around the missions of Sarayacu as well as turtle eggs, that has been described in this chapter (and those previous) as a major commodity formerly controlled by the Omaguas and Cocamas, here is being processed by Conibos.⁷¹⁴ The bottom two images reveal a method used to capture manatees for their lard to create wax, as well as to use/process their meat, etc., as well as the store room where lay brothers stored goods for sale at Pevas (which has moved several times by now in the town's history).

⁷¹³ Marcocoy, Paul. "A Journey Across South America." Google Books. 1873. Accessed October 02, 2017. https://books.google.com/books?id=xpQyAQAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false. Pages 137, 40, 221, and 423 respectively.

⁷¹⁴ I have decided to group these images and not include mapping to sustain focus on the images themselves. However, future research will combine these images with geographical data.

Together, these reveal the continuation of local Amazonian lifeways (and Catholic evangelization) as well as the intrusion of the market economy sustained by Amazonian labor. The objects such as plates, cloth, and other ceramics, can also be seen to represent accumulated capital as the products represent hours of Amazonian labor, while the scales if at all representative of reality, would be used to calculate the price of goods. Finally, these images also reflect the growing creation and divide between the identities and historical memories of mestizos and *indigenos* (native Amazonians), as some groups appropriated and refashioned global and local fashions, utilized new tools, and were impacted by new technologies.

Marcy would draw for interested parties, representations of towns, cities, and villages. He seemed to believe that while these towns existed on paper, they generally suffered from depopulation and lack of state support or regulation that led to corruption and increased exploitation of Amazonian labor to enrich themselves before steamboats “weakened this transport monopoly or oligopoly. He explained:

A decree of the government relative to the posting system established on the Upper Amazon obliged corrégidors and governors to furnish at stages thirty miles apart, to any traveler who demanded and paid for the accommodation, a canoe and rowers. The officials, however, finding it profitable to extend the relays, compelled their agents to push on as far as San Pablo, Ega, or the Barra do Rio Negro [Manaus] — that is to say, from 750 to 900 miles further than the relay service appointed by the decree, only paying the rowers for the latter, however, and pocketing the difference themselves. These pleasant financial operations have been considerably interrupted by the service of steamboats now established on the Amazon.⁷¹⁵

⁷¹⁵ Marcoy, Paul. "A Journey Across South America." Google Books. 1873. Accessed October 02, 2017. https://books.google.com/books?id=xpQyAQAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false. Pg. 289

Marcy, attributed the projection of this power and the abuses by *corrégidos* and the lack of investment in infrastructure to the general “impoverishment of the Peruvian Amazon,” the general depopulation of the region and the eventual disruption to local labor and economic relationships by emerging technology alongside Eurocentric ideas. However, the labor required of the inhabitants of the towns depicted below may also point to the stresses the market economy exerted into the area, by increasing the region’s attractiveness to global industry and capital. Finally, this quote demonstrates shifting needs for local Amazonian labor as steam-powered boats slowly began to replace rowing (at least along the main channel) for the transportation of bulk goods. No longer needed to row boats, locals’ occupations would move more towards farming, gathering rubber, and working in growing rubber boom towns.



Figure 4.26: Images of former Jesuit *Reduccion*es by 1873. Courtesy, Paul Marcoy and Google Books. Compiled by Deavenport, J. Spring, 2017

The images above (clockwise, starting at the top left) depict the towns of Nauta, Omaguas, Pevas, and Iquitos respectively.⁷¹⁶ All of these towns are situated along the Marañón/Solimões River(s) in the heart of the former Maynas missions. Marcoy spends some time in each, noting the local groups such as the Omaguas and Ticunas. Nauta was one of the most important settlements in the area during the 1870s. While these other towns were important population centers during the colonial period, Iquitos would become the capital following the rubber boom and remains the capital of Loreto today. Therefore, though these images should also be viewed with some skepticism, they also provide a unique glimpse into these areas just prior to increasing growth that would transform them further as the 19th century ended.

These depictions of Marcoy further reveal that these towns were built on high strategic ground (generally out of the flood zone) along the main channel of the river. They also demonstrate a continuation of Amazonian architectural and building techniques, as well as the influence of similar old world traditions to a lesser extent. These are generally described with a mix of derision and pity by Marcoy, while the author also notes that in nearly all of the settlements encountered have larger populations who are engaged a day or further away gathering neotropical products. Thus, again it is important to understand that the descriptions themselves do not necessarily reflect reality, nor are reflective of the entire population, or by the same logic, Marcoy (indeed all European travelers of the period) could also be viewed as an unemployed and homeless wanderer. Indeed, today many people considered “sedentary” but who travel for work could arguably be seen as living nomadic or semi-nomadic lifestyles as well.

⁷¹⁶ Marcoy, Paul. "A Journey Across South America." Google Books. 1873. Accessed October 02, 2017. https://books.google.com/books?id=xpQyAQAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false. Pp. 2287, 297, 301, and 323



Figure 4.27: Depiction of Amazonian “types”. Courtesy, Paul Marcoy and Google Books. Compiled by Deavenport, J. Spring, 2017

The drawings above, completed by Paul Marcoy depict Conibo and Iquitos peoples, who lived along the main channel of the Amazon River.⁷¹⁷ The pair of images demonstrate Eurocentric ideas of binary gender and assumed hetero-normativity, prioritizing the nuclear family among the Iquitos, while a monkey is substituted among the Conibo, who wear a tunic with patterns reminiscent of Amazonian polychrome tradition (discussed in chapter 1) that was used for around a millennium at least in the central Amazonian valley. The patterns on the Iquitos pair (especially the man’s headband) may also be related, though I am less familiar with research concerning these particular styles. The men in the figures also brandish weapons, a blowgun for the Conibo, while the Iquito male holds a spear, demonstrating particular

⁷¹⁷ Marcoy, Paul. "A Journey Across South America." Google Books. 1873. Accessed October 02, 2017. https://books.google.com/books?id=xpQyAQAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false. Pp. 29 and 307

martial/hunting traditions. Finally, the palms (often managed and planted) as well as the home behind the Iquitos figures demonstrate the impacts of Amazonian people upon the environment during this period, which largely maintained previous lifeways, unless further channeled into the market (and cash crop) economy centered around cacao, sugarcane, and rice especially. While they are situated together here, they are separated by numerous figures in the text depicting different Amazonian nations.

Perhaps because he did not seem to have a particular goal in mind other than to learn and depict as much about the river as possible, Paul Marcoy leaves behind some vivid descriptions of Amazonian people from across the social spectrum. Though the work contains numerous stories that could each be analyzed in great detail. Short narratives centered upon the depictions of two women below will be examined.



Figure 4.28: Juxtaposition of Two Women from Amazonia Ca. 1873. Courtesy, Paul Marcoy and Google Books. Compiled by Deavenport, J. Spring, 2017

The images above demonstrate the lives of Amazonian women described by Marcoy, and that display a range of traditions concerning what it meant to be gendered female in Amazonia during this period, though for many such binaries are perhaps more imagined than were required to survive except for the small elite among the settler community.⁷¹⁸

The woman on the left is a higher class woman in Nauta, married to an agent of a Father Plaza at Sarayacu, and who conveyed the goods created by his indigenous workers to Pará and back. Marcoy notes that the family had two slaves of African descent, making these individuals some of the first noted in the area within the historical record specifically, though their names remain unknown. Moreover, this demonstrates, that well into the 1870s, African slavery (whose influence likely came upriver from Brazil) continued in the Peruvian Amazon. After being served coffee by the one of the slaves, Marcoy notes that he and the woman have a lovely and open conversation. However, when it comes to describing her appearance, Marcoy claimed she was “already on the decline,” so perhaps the conversation was not as enjoyable as Marcoy reveals in the text. Though living in upper Amazonia, near the center of Maynas, the woman (who is not named) is drawn wearing “typical” Spanish /European styles and acts as a woman of upper class status might be “expected” to conduct herself throughout much of Latin America during this period.⁷¹⁹ She therefore represents a particular “female image” of settler colonialism and an emerging reality in this area of Amazonia that usually centers and describes the interests

⁷¹⁸ Marcoy, Paul. "A Journey Across South America." Google Books. 1873. Accessed October 02, 2017. https://books.google.com/books?id=xpQyAQAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false. Pp 283 and 380

⁷¹⁹ For more on 19th Century Gender relations in Perú, See: Hunefeldt, Christine. *Liberalism in the Bedroom: Quarreling Spouses in Nineteenth-century Lima*. University Park, Penn.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000 and Christiansen, Tanja. *Disobedience, Slander, Seduction, and Assault: Women and Men in Cajamarca, Perú, 1862-1900*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2004.

of mostly the male elite. As European and Asian immigration increased, more women would make the journey along with men impacting on the demographics of the area, especially in cities and towns.

The woman on the right meanwhile, represents Ticuna woman as well as a story Marcoy heard and witnessed the impacts of first hand, which he used to appropriate and refashion the old 16th century tale of the Afamazon women for late 19th century audiences. Therefore, between these two areas represents a conceptual and material line between civilization and barbarism, savagery and female Christian piety. As Marcoy recorded a glossary of Ticuna terms, I thought it appropriate to include and have therefore incorporated these terms where possible: The story, which Marcoy reportedly heard from the Ticuna woman firsthand (likely with the aid of interpreters) is re-created in the paragraph below:

At some time during the *hunehi* (day) with the *ehajeh* (sun) rising in the *nahné* (sky), a Ticuna *ihie* (woman) and her *iyaté* (man) were rowing down a *natejh* (river) named *Atacoari* in their *ouheh* (canoe) to gather *ttcha* (manioc) tubers. Suddenly out of the calm murky *dechieh* (river) leapt a large *hai*, (jaguar). The giant cat's giant paws struck the *ihie* (man) across the head, as he had been using a *cuemuih* (oar) to steer in the front of the *ouheh* (canoe). The *ihie* (man) lay unconscious while the *hai* (jaguar) was simultaneously trying to climb aboard the *ouheh* (canoe) nearly capsizing the vessel. The *ihie* (woman), wasting no time, grabbed a *nané* (lance) and plunged the razor-sharp point deep into the *hai's* (jaguar's) body. Eventually the animal succumbed to *tayouh* (death). Exclaiming thanks to *Tupana* (God), she grabbed the *cuemuih* (oars) and rowed home. When Marcoy arrived a few hours later at the couple's *ih* (house), the

ihie's (woman's) *iyaté* (man) was in a state of *peh* (sleep) in his hammock. They wrapped his feverish head with a cloth made of *tech* (cotton), soaked in rum and salt.⁷²⁰

Marcy left the area before the situation of the man was resolved. However, this juxtaposition demonstrated a difference in the way civilized/Hispanized or white versus native Amazonian women were expected to dress, act, with the lady from Nauta very much described as being a matron over her home (and her slaves) like a “classical queen.” Perhaps this represents another culturally selected allusion to original Amazons of classical Greek antiquity. On the other hand, the story of the terrifying *haï* and this “descendant of the Amazons” vanquishing her foe, helped to monumentalize the idea of Amazon women for more popular masses, who would ingest materials citing Marcoy. This simultaneously emasculated her *iyaté* representing a contrast to western, especially male, audiences as he had to be rescued by an *ihie*. Most assuredly, the narratives based on these images from the 1870s demonstrate some of the complex Amazonian experiences and relationships existing during the period. The author later described the cosmology of the Ticuna, with whom he would spend some time. He noted that the Ticuna as a group, like the woman in the canoe, believed in a central deity, Tupana and had some unique cosmological astronomical ideas. Marcoy explained:

According to their ideas heaven was divided into two spheres, the one superior the other inferior, separated by a transparent vault; in the first the creative spirit Tupana was entrenched; the stars which we see from below are the rays of light from his face, weakened by passing through the intermediate vault and the inferior sphere. Their astronomers admitted the revolution of the earth around the sun and recognized in this luminary the brother and spouse of the moon. According to them the rivers were the arteries of the terraqueous globe; the streams, the veins; and their respective currents were due to the gravitation or

⁷²⁰ Marcoy, Paul. "A Journey Across South America." Google Books. 1873. Accessed October 02, 2017. https://books.google.com/books?id=xpQyAQAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false Pp. 379 - 381

simple motion of the planet around the pivotal star or sun.⁷²¹

While this chapter will not delve deeper into Ticuna cosmology, such ideas have been confirmed by other Amazonian scholars (especially anthropologists and ethnographers).⁷²² The stories and rituals around remembering such starts are intimately connected with Amazonian animals likely connected to various agricultural cycles, on which people's lives depended. Simultaneously, the Ticuna conception of the world beyond Amazonia demonstrates (if true) that Amazonians perhaps independently arrived at a helio-centric idea of earth's relationship to our star, Sol. The connection here between rivers and veins also perhaps reveals some conceptions concerning connections between geography and internal human biology. However, Marcoy's projection of his own understanding of cosmology upon Amazonians must be considered.

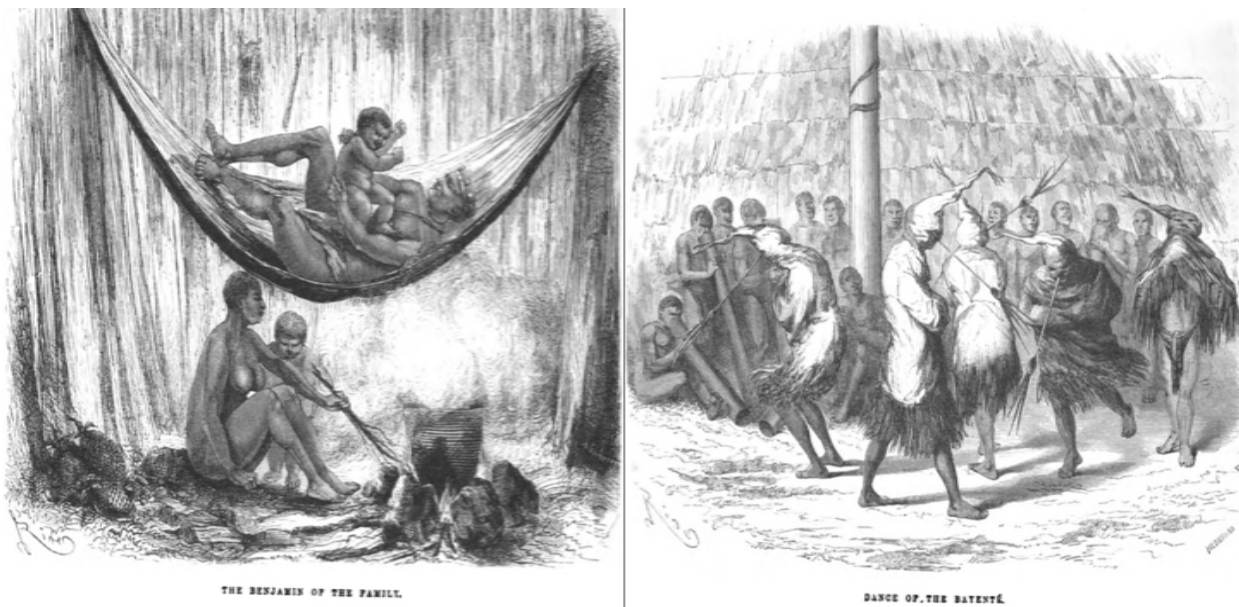


Figure 4.29: Juxtaposition of “Every-day” and Ritual Central Amazonian Moments in the 1870s. Courtesy, Paul Marcoy and Google Books. Compiled by Deavenport, J. Spring, 2017

⁷²¹ Marcoy, Paul. "A Journey Across South America." Google Books. 1873. Accessed October 02, 2017. https://books.google.com/books?id=xpQyAQAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false Pg. 378

⁷²² Varese, Stefano. *Salt of the Mountain: Campa Asháninka History and Resistance in the Peruvian Jungle*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002.

Marcoy is perhaps most unique (for our purposes), when capturing and describing the general lives of local peoples, for instance on the above left, he visualizes a night among the Yahua, who still resided at the site of the abandoned mission of San José de los Yahuas, about a days' walk inland from the main Amazonian river channel.⁷²³ The author employs the parents to make him a hammock and loincloth (girdle) so that he can draw the pair, while other Yahua are sent into the interior to gather provisions for Marcoy and a missionary living in the town of Pevas, Father Rosas, who then returned toward the main Amazon River channel again. Marcoy also draws in the figure above on the right, a group of Yahuas dancing the *Bayenté* "the dance of the devil," which the author is less interested in than another dance called the *Arimaney* "the dance of the moon." Still, it demonstrates potential similarities with other rituals performed by the Ticuna and other groups. This example further displays how nudity was constantly noted by authors while using clothing was often minimized though it was often employed at various times with great symbolic significance. Finally, this also reveals the difficulty in quantifying the populations of Amazonian settlements as well as the limits of western classification systems both during the 1870s and today given that many inhabitants were often dispatched to search for provisions miles or days from their homes.

⁷²³ Marcoy, Paul. "A Journey Across South America." Google Books. 1873. Accessed October 02, 2017. https://books.google.com/books?id=xpQyAQAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false Pp. 334 and 348

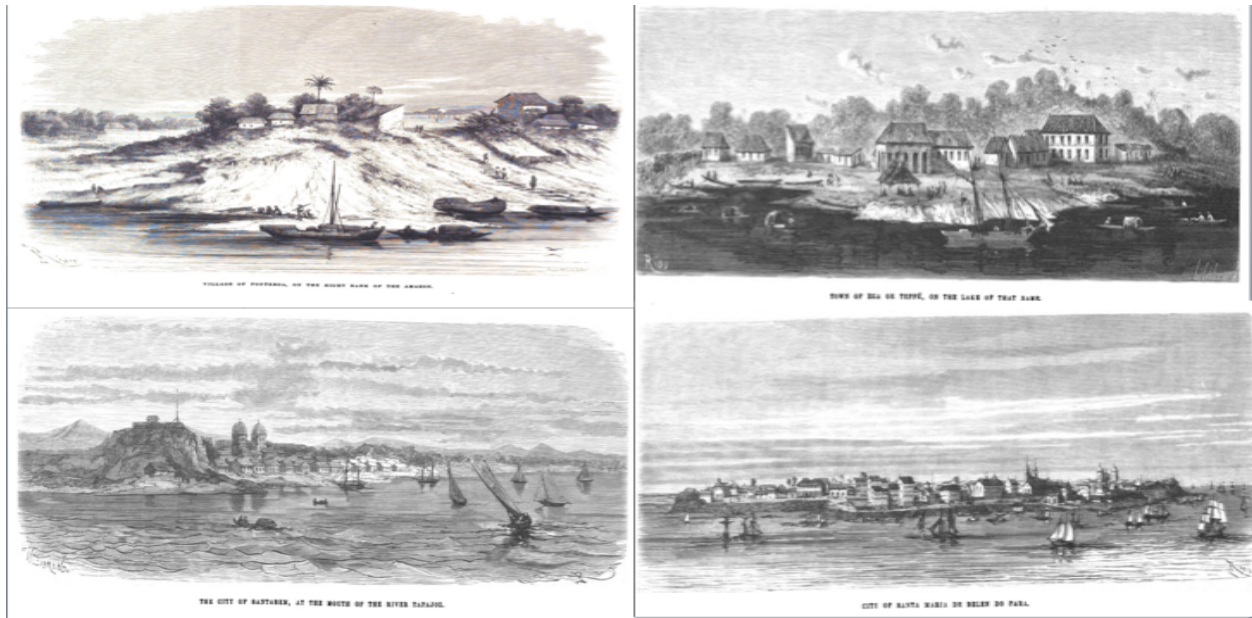


Figure 4.30: Depiction of Brazilian towns and Cities in Central and Lower Amazonia around 1873. Courtesy, Paul Marcocoy and Google Books. Compiled by Deavenport, J. Spring, 2017

Eventually Marcocoy took his leave of the Ticunas and along with his team crossed into Brazilian territory. Brazil had become an empire under Dom Pedro I by 1825 that was still ruled in the 1870s by Dom Pedro II (though the emperor would be ousted by a coup creating the first Brazilian Republic by 1889). Passing by the towns represented in the figure above included: Fonte Boa (top left). This was originally the Spanish Jesuit mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, while Ega or Tefé (top right) was also originally a contested area between Spanish Maynas and Portuguese Pará.

After these stops, the expedition reached the downriver sites of Santarém (home to some of the *Confederados* bottom left), and finally Belém (bottom right) at the mouth of the Amazonian estuary, while the stone houses and more European styles signified (for the author) a return to more “civilized” environs before making a return trip to the United Kingdom. These images reveal that consistently throughout the main channel of the Amazon River, many settlements often initiated through missionary activity (Jesuit or otherwise) maintained active

communication and commerce throughout the long 19th century prior to the rubber boom, a time, which is often focused upon as though it arose from nothing rather than these entrenched systems traditions, and ideas, that were maintained and refashioned by different populations since the colonial period and for indigenous folks, prior to the arrival of old world peoples.

By 1879, cited by some as the “official start” of the rubber boom, though others date it from as early as the 1850s, Herbert Huntington Smith’s account of travels in Brazil and on the Amazon gave voice to the liberal and positivist vision of Amazonia that would be evangelized to encourage new settlement of the region, and that would then appropriate and refashion the traditions of resistance to violently coerce labor from indigenous inhabitants to create this promised Utopia. This demonstrates the power of ideas that have constantly been monumentalized by cultural selection, which promised the newcomers riches if only the Amazon could be successfully colonized, but that kept running into the retained popular image of the Amazon as a “green hell” that both discouraged capitalist investment while increasing state-sponsored European immigration “needed” to organize “successful” settlements. In other words, more white settlers were needed before capital would seriously be spent to undertake the massive amount of infrastructure supposedly needed to “tame” Amazonia and its peoples. Smith argued that this idea would have to be overcome in the collective consciousness before Amazonia could truly become the central artery of South America, explaining:

Here is, precisely, the drawback that will long keep settlers away from the Huallaga, and from all other parts of the Amazons valley. What is needed is, not fertile land, easy water-communication, a genial climate; all these can be found in a hundred places. The one thing lacking is, impetus. Have you ever seen a little, poverty-stricken church or society or company, struggling along with a load of debt, and only poor men to support it? People keep away from such a stagnation; the church or society is abandoned by everybody, because everybody abandons it—because prosperous men fear to join an unprosperous body, to assume a part

of the debt, to pay out instead of receiving. But suppose your church or society begins to show signs of prosperity, to get the better of its debt; men consider, and say to themselves: " Here is a society that is advancing; I will join it, that I may advance also." All the world clamors for membership *' there is nothing so successful as success." So with the Amazons, or any other unsettled region; all the theorizing and legislating in the world will not give it life; but let it once show signs of motion, of rapid growth, and immigrants will pour in from all quarters.⁷²⁴

Essentially, the greatest impediment to the further incorporation of Amazonia into the global market economy was that when Europeans (the supposed embodiment of progress during the late 19th century for many in the west) closed their eyes and imagined, Amazonia, they pictured jungles and swamps that by virtue of their whiteness they might transform into a "new El Dorado." If they knew something more of the area they might picture settlements along the lines of upper Amazonia. Namely smaller, muddy, with limited infrastructure and wooden abodes with thatched palm leaves. The newcomers did not know (and perhaps did not care) that Amazonia itself had been in part fashioned by Amazonian people for millennia and that the destruction of the forest they were so quick to champion was the physical eradication of the fruits of such agency. Larger cities such as Santarém and Belém were more enticing to European eyes as they represented successfully implanted neo-Europes that could then be expanded. The ports of the two cities reflect an image of business, full of larger sailing boats, transporting goods and people around Belém and beyond. The Rubber boom would begin to transform this image as new wealth and steam power would re-connect certain areas of Amazonia at levels not seen since the pre-colonial period as the end of the century approached, having major implications for Amazonian people and ecology. While many Amazonians would encounter representatives of the expanding state and commercial interests, it would most often be from these growing towns

⁷²⁴ Smith, Herbert Huntington 1851-1919. "Brazil, the Amazons and the Coast: Smith, Herbert Huntington, 1851-1919 : Free Download & Streaming." Internet Archive. January 01, 1879. Accessed October 01, 2017. <https://archive.org/details/brazilamazonscoa00smituoft>. Pg. 605

and cities that these representatives would operate from, gather supplies, and increasingly attract (often forced) indigenous settlers to these urban spaces also, though these competing images of Amazonia as Eden or Hell continued to be monumentalized and to circulate in the popular “written” collective consciousness of the period.

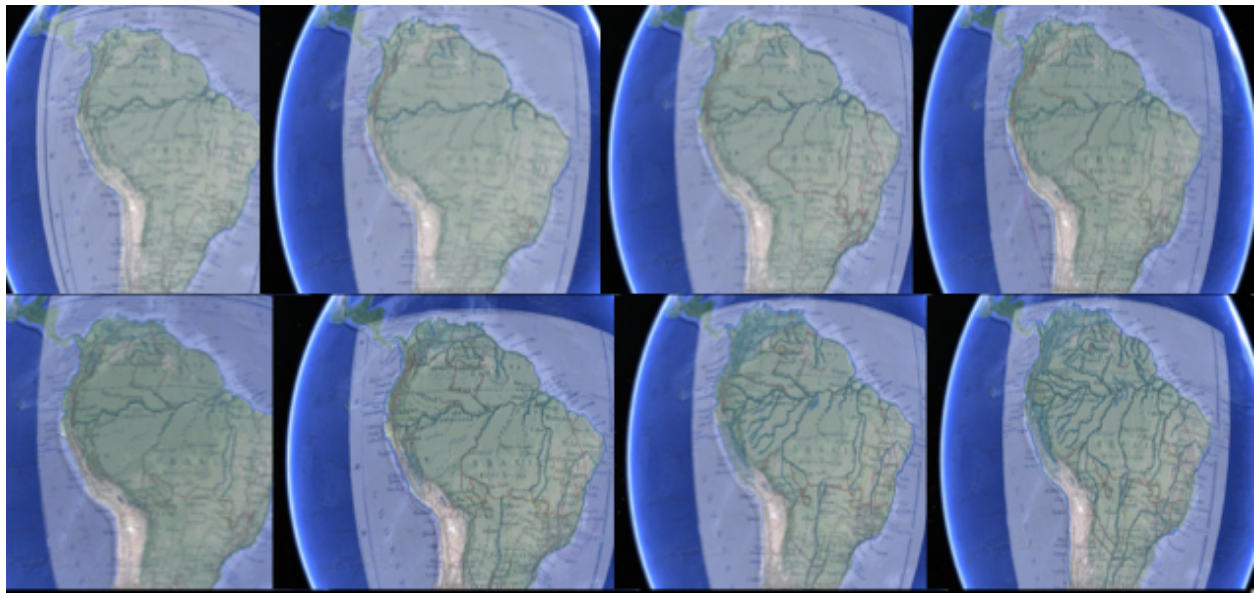


Figure 4.31: German-Sponsored Scientific Expeditions, 1799 – 1880. Courtesy *Prof. Dr. W Sievers* and Perthes Archive. Compiled by Deavenport, J. Spring 2017

While the previous pages discussing the period from the 1830s to 1880 have followed near the ground to describe life along the main channel, the figure above is a composite image of maps tracing scientific expeditions funded (at least in part) by the German government in Amazonia between 1799 and 1880 (moving top-left to bottom right chronologically). It also represents the intrusion of state forces throughout Amazonia during this period.⁷²⁵ This particular map highlights German classifications including: “unknown areas, explored areas, better known

⁷²⁵ Sievers, Prof. Dr. W. "Die Fortschritte Der Erforschung Von Süd-Amerika Seit v. Humboldt, 1799-1900, Von Prof. Dr. W. Sievers." Map. In *Die Fortschritte Der Erforschung Von Süd-Amerika Seit v. Humboldt, 1799-1900, Von Prof. Dr. W. Sievers.* Gotha, 1900.

areas, and areas subject to national law.⁷²⁶ By 1880, most of the major tributaries of Amazonia were included within this last description indicating at least to this German professor, the extent to which the area had been integrated into the national state during this era, most certainly in large part due to the invention of steam power and the increasing demand for rubber.

Part VI: Upper Amazonia, Chachapoyas, and the Asháninka: A Momentary Glimpse into Upper Amazonia Beyond the Main Channel of the Amazon Until the Late 19th Century

While the previous part of this chapter described ecological, cultural, and social changes in what is often considered to be “the main channel” of the Amazon, this section of the chapter briefly describes ways central Amazonian peoples such as the Asháninka and settlers in the old Amazonas and Maynas capital of Chachapoyas structured their lives, beliefs, and societies prior to the arrival of Europeans through a monumentalizing process culturally selecting and maintaining certain ideas, or traditions over time.⁷²⁷ Later, as the description of internal state policies during the mid 19th century has been rather vague, this part of the chapter relates some of the particular ways the Peruvian national state used similar monumentalized structures imposed on the Asháninka and the areas around Chachapoyas in particular, who have struggled to retain and refashion elements and traditions of their culture as they came into contact with, resisted, and occasionally welcomed certain monumentalized structures of the Peruvian state in the nineteenth century. Figure 4.32 below demonstrates the South American Viceroyalties around 1790 centered on the Viceroyalty of Perú (shown in blue). I point the reader to notice the

⁷²⁶ unbekanntes gebiet, Erkundetes gebiet, Besser bekanntes, and Einer Landesauhanlume unterworfenen gebiete in the original German.

⁷²⁷ Such constructions are variably adopted through affinity, circumstance and evangelizing or are imposed through domination. Conversely, others are abandoned and lose significance, or are demolished. This notion of monumentalism is in part fashioned by the notion of “monuments as crystallizations and sites of memory.” For more, see: Nora, Pierre. "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux De Mémoire." *Representations*, No. 26, *Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory (Spring, 1989)*, Pp. 7-24. *Jstor*. Web. 19 Apr. 2010. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2928520>>. Pg. 7

location of Chachapoyas near the borders between the viceroyalties of New Granada and Perú and the central figure representing the Asháninka people.

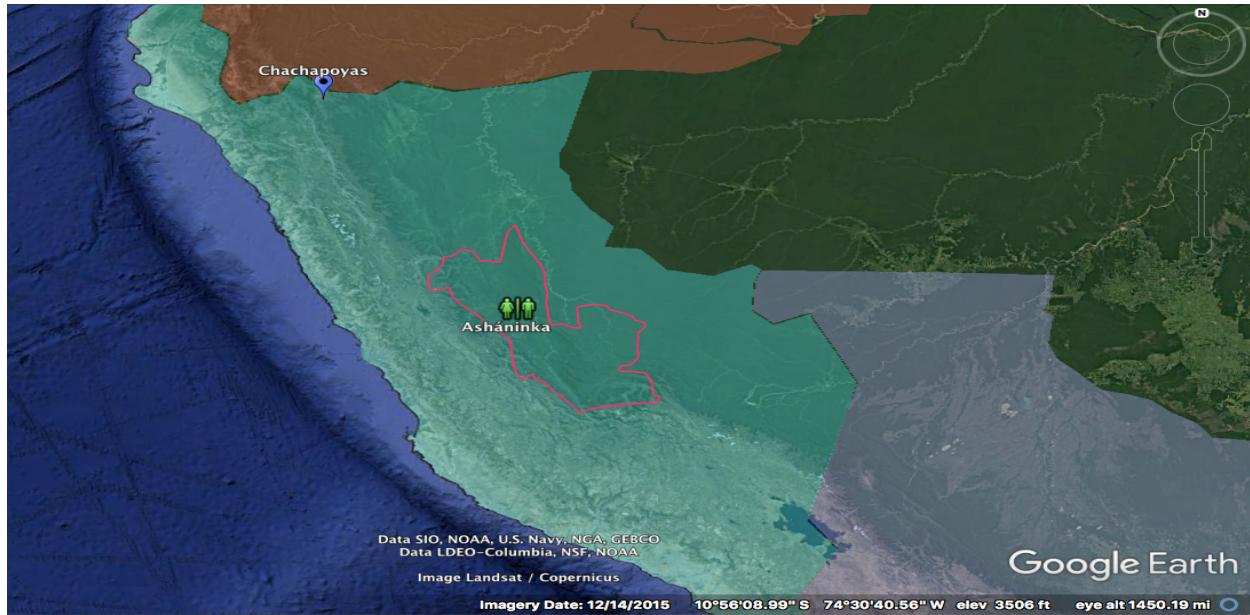


Figure 4.32: Asháninka Homeland and Chachapoyas within 1790s Boundaries of South American Viceroyalties. Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., Spring, 2017

Though a full examination of the lifeways and cosmological scope of the Asháninka and other Amazonian peoples could (and does) fill entire volumes of books, this account seeks to introduce some elements of the Asháninka realm. The ancestors of Amazonian peoples including the Asháninka, meaning “men or people”⁷²⁸ are first known to have entered into the Amazon about 11,300 years ago.⁷²⁹ In the ensuing millennia, the Asháninka did not dwell as passive bystanders in their territory, but instead fashioned a dynamic existence within their unique environment. The general borders of the Asháninka homeland lie in the jungles between what is now Perú and Brazil (shown above in red). This area is made up of “lower plateaus covered by

⁷²⁸ Varese, Stefano. *Salt of the Mountain: Campa Asháninka History and Resistance in the Peruvian Jungle*. Norman: University of Oklahoma, 2002. Print. Pg. 5

⁷²⁹ Bush, Mark B., Michael C. Miller, Paulo E. De Oliveira, and Paul A. Colinvaux. "Two Histories of Environmental Change and Human Disturbance in Eastern Lowland Amazonia." *The Holocene* 10.5 (2000): 543-53. Sage Publications. Web. 3 Dec. 2011. <<http://hol.sagepub.com/content/10/5/543>>. Pg. 551

open tropical forest and spots of dense tropical forest [while] the regional climate is defined as having rainy (November to May) and dry (June to November) periods, with annual precipitation around 2220 mm.⁷³⁰ Within their ancestral lands and beyond, the Asháninka often maintained mobile lifeways.

Therefore, the movement of individuals, families and larger groups naturally could frequently take them beyond such imagined boundaries. For instance, the Asháninka maintained a tradition for centuries whereby they would intermittently travel to gather salt used in the preparation and storage of foods obtained from *El Cerro de Sal* (The Mountain of Salt), which exists in an intermediate environment (and temperature) typical of the central Andes.⁷³¹ The freedom of movement to resources such as this over such different areas and landscapes was so important to the Asháninka, that mobility has become linked with concepts of masculinity that rely on (and are expressed through) the freedom of Asháninka males to move within their geo-cultural zone.⁷³²

To maximize their chance of survival, the Asháninka and others across the Amazon, would utilize mixed systems of agriculture (usually involving manioc), agroforestry, hunting and animal husbandry, along with fishing, and trade.⁷³³ Though such mixed systems can be disruptive to the environment, for example, when fires get out of control, or through over exploitation, they are generally believed to be efficient means of contributing to environmental sustainability. Indeed, they are noted to increase biodiversity, protect the soil from solar radiation, and return vital nutrients stored in different materials of plants back into the soils to maintain and

⁷³⁰ Do Amaral, Benedito Domingues. "Fishing Territoriality and Diversity between the Ethnic Populations Ashaninka and Kaxinawá, Breu River, Brazil/Peru." *ACTA AMAZONICA* 34.1 (2004): 75-88. Print. Pg. 76

⁷³¹ Varese, Stefano. *Salt of the Mountain: Campa Asháninka History and Resistance in the Peruvian Jungle*. Norman: University of Oklahoma, 2002. Print. Pg. 34

⁷³² *Ibid.* Varese, Pg. 27

⁷³³ *Ibid.* Varese, Pg. 10

increase their productivity.⁷³⁴ In contrast, “swidden” or slash-and-burn agriculture until recently has often been seen as the only form of agriculture that Amazonian societies have employed, trapping them within an environmentally determinist paradigm that is increasingly understood as problematic as new research has altered our understanding of Amazonian environmental history.

For example, one major experimental archaeological project carried out during the 1970s by Robert Carneiro, a scholar at the American Museum of Natural History in New York City, was conducted to examine and quantify the amount of time spent in labor that would need to be employed to clear the forest by Amazonian peoples using only stone tools.

He set people to work with stone axes in thickly forested parts of Peru, Brazil, and Venezuela. Many of the trees were four feet in diameter or more. In Carneiro’s experiments, felling a single four-foot tree with an indigenous stone ax took 115 hours—nearly three weeks of eight-hour days. With a steel ax, his workers toppled trees of similar size in less than three hours. Carneiro’s team used stone axes to clear about an acre and a half, a typical slash-and-burn plot, in the equivalent of 153 eight-hour days. Steel axes did the job in the equivalent of eight workdays—almost twenty times faster. According to surveys by Stephen Beckerman, an anthropologist at Pennsylvania State University, Amazonian slash-and-burners are able to work their plots for an average of three years before they are overwhelmed. Given that farmers also must hunt, forage, build houses and trails, maintain their existing gardens, and perform a hundred other tasks, Carneiro wondered how they could have been able to spend months on end banging on trees to clear new fields every three years.⁷³⁵

While experimental archaeology (like any discipline or method) can have limitations, this research again calls into question the pre-colonial viability of utilizing *only* some form of swidden agriculture, and thus strengthens the agroforestry hypothesis. Consequently, along with

⁷³⁴ Meggers, Betty Jane. *Amazonia: Man and Culture in a Counterfeit Paradise*. Arlington Heights: Harlan Davidson, 1971. Print. Pp 21-38

⁷³⁵ Mann, Charles C. *1491: New Revelations of the Americas before Columbus*. New York: Knopf, 2005. Pp. 29-300

other ethnohistorical information this contributes to the need to reevaluate the impact (and capacity) of larger populations in the Amazon. By moving to different areas, former Asháninka residential or ritual sites could continue to mature and be tended to with varying investments of labor for generations. While it would be difficult for outsiders to be able to distinguish managed or anthropogenic (human fashioned) forest from the more “natural” jungle, the Asháninka and many other Amazonian peoples could recognize and thus utilize important plants.⁷³⁶

Through passing on such knowledge over generations, the Asháninka monumentalized their previous lifeways, cosmologies, and culture or were motivated to adapt to and refashion these in order maximize interactions of these nutritional and biological arrangements that they perceived as positive.⁷³⁷ These include the forging of beliefs that humanity’s primary role is that of travelers, moving through this life and toward other planes experienced in visions, dreams, or through the (re)-enactment of living myths. In Asháninka beliefs, these spaces could be entered through the natural environment through certain physical features such as lakes, clearings or geological formations. At such spaces, rituals would take place that often involved the ingestion of specialized plants.⁷³⁸ To do so, individuals and groups consult indigenous shamans for their learned and acquired knowledge concerning the preparation and ingestion of hallucinogens and other medicinal plants that could aid in “purification and cleansing; (II) sensitivity and intuition;

⁷³⁶ For more on continued growth without “intense cultivation see: ⁷³⁶ Myers, Thomas P. "Agricultural Limitations of the Amazon in Theory and Practice." *World Archaeology* The Humid Tropics, June 24.1 (1992). Jstor. Web. 21 Nov. 2011. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/124899>>. Pg. 91 and for more on Anthropogenic soils see: Heckenberger, M. J. "Amazonia 1492: Pristine Forest or Cultural Parkland?" *Science* 301.5640 (2003): 1710-714. Print.

⁷³⁷ For more on the debate on Amazonian sustainability, see: Clearly, David. "Towards an Environmental History of the Amazon: From Prehistory to the Nineteenth Century." *Latin American Research Review* 36.2 (2001). Jstor. Web. 21 Nov. 2011. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2692088>>. And Chowdhury, Rinku Roy. "Agroforestry: Systems of Diversity or Divestiture?" *Revista Geográfica* (1999): 99-112. Pan American Institute of Geography and History. Web. 10 Dec. 2011. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/40992761>>.

⁷³⁸ For more on agroforestry, see Chowdhury, Rinku Roy. "Agroforestry: Systems of Diversity or Divestiture?" *Revista Geográfica* (1999): 99-112. Pan American Institute of Geography and History. Web. 10 Dec. 2011. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/40992761>>. And "Mann, Charles C. "The Real Dirt on Rainforest Fertility." *Science* (2002): 920-23. *Jstor*. American Association for the Advancement of Science. Web. 21 Nov. 2011. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3832016>>.

(III) strengthening; and (IV) protection and defense.”⁷³⁹ These would often be used in tandem with other substances such as *masato*, a manioc derived alcohol created by women,⁷⁴⁰ or with tobacco.⁷⁴¹ By utilizing, refashioning, and conveying such knowledge, these individuals might gain authority, respect, and increased social capital.⁷⁴² Indeed, “the role of the healer is also acknowledged as a teacher, leader, and spiritual guide. Healers dynamize their communities, they never stop learning and ingesting new plants. They seek for new medicines and remedies including new illnesses such as diabetes, cancer, or AIDS.”⁷⁴³ Thus, expanding knowledge of the Asháninka reveals keen and incredibly creative conceptions of the natural world, in addition to the construction of unique social structures that functioned to reinforce these ideas.

Like many (but by no means all) cultures around the world, a core unit in Asháninka social structures, was (and remains) the immediate or “nuclear” family that usually consisted of a man with one or more wives and their children.” Most scholars (and Asháninka themselves) agree that these Asháninka nuclear or conjugal families often functioned in the past with near self-sufficiency.⁷⁴⁴ However, while such familial groups may be functionally “self-sufficient,” the Asháninka would also rely on expanded kin and fictive kin networks reaffirmed through the

⁷³⁹ For brief information on Shamanistic knowledge, see: Jauregui, X., Z.m. Clavo, E.m. Jovel, and M. Pardo-de-Santayana. ““Plantas Con Madre”: Plants That Teach and Guide in the Shamanic Initiation Process in the East-Central Peruvian Amazon.” *Journal of Ethnopharmacology* 134.3 (2011): 739-52. *Science Direct*. Web. <www.elsevier.com/locate/jethpharm> Pg. 749

⁷⁴⁰ Varese, Stefano. *Salt of the Mountain: Campa Asháninka History and Resistance in the Peruvian Jungle*. Norman: University of Oklahoma, 2002. Print. Pg. 17

⁷⁴¹ *Ibid.* Pardo-de-Santayana Pg. 31

⁷⁴² For more on the concept of social capital, see: Grootaert, Christiaan, and Thierry Van. Bastelaer. *Understanding and Measuring Social Capital: a Multidisciplinary Tool for Practitioners*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 2002. Print.

⁷⁴³ Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome. Jauregui, X., Z.m. Clavo, E.m. Jovel, and M. Pardo-de-Santayana. ““Plantas Con Madre”: Plants That Teach and Guide in the Shamanic Initiation Process in the East-Central Peruvian Amazon.” *Journal of Ethnopharmacology* 134.3 (2011): 739-52. *Science Direct*. Web. <www.elsevier.com/locate/jethpharm>. Pg. 749

⁷⁴⁴ Varese, Stefano. *Salt of the Mountain: Campa Asháninka History and Resistance in the Peruvian Jungle*. Norman: University of Oklahoma, 2002. Print. Varese, Pg. 9

maintenance and recognition of similar language, lifeways, shared notions of reciprocity and obligation (perhaps influenced or coeval with parallel Andean concepts).⁷⁴⁵

These networks were utilized and maintained through multiple avenues. For instance, the Asháninka language, related to the “Pre-Andean” Arawakan family that is found throughout the Amazon and circum-Caribbean regions (see chapters 1 and 2), was often used to establish the basis for such encounters and relationships including the production of certain sounds like whistles or ways of greeting.⁷⁴⁶ Other forms of communication have also been utilized across Amazonia. For example, further downriver, around the Putumayo River in Peruvian Department of Loreto Region near Iquitos, indigenous peoples utilized the *managuaré*. This is a hollowed out log to amplify sounds across the jungle.⁷⁴⁷

⁷⁴⁵ For more on Andean notions of reciprocity, obligation, etc. see: Stanish, Charles. *Ancient Andean Political Economy*. Austin: University of Texas, 2011. Print.

⁷⁴⁶ Hill, Jonathan David, and Fernando Santos-Granero. *Comparative Arawakan Histories: Rethinking Language Family and Culture Area in Amazonia*. Urbana: University of Illinois, 2002. Print. and Varese, Stefano. *Salt of the Mountain: Campa Asháninka History and Resistance in the Peruvian Jungle*. Norman: University of Oklahoma, 2002. Print. Varese, Pg. 22

⁷⁴⁷ Fuentes, Hildebrando. *Loreto; Apuntes Geográficos, Históricos, Estadísticos, Políticos Y Sociales*,. Lima: Impr. De La Revista, 1908. Image 1, Between Pg. 114 & 115



Figure 4.33: 3D Visualization of a *Tuntui* or *Managuaré*. Courtesy Mindalae – Museo Etnográfico de Artesanía de Ecuador. Representation Created by Deavenport, J. Quito, Ecuador 2013

The image above represents one of the hollowed out logs called a *Tuntui*, which are still used by different peoples throughout the Peruvian and Ecuadorian Amazon along with flutes, drums, horns, smoke, and other forms of communication. The continued use of such methods fashioned both particular ways of expressing and viewing the world along with creating a sense of collective and distinct identities between the Asháninka and their neighbors.⁷⁴⁸ Some scholars have argued that in the pre-colonial period, such links were influential in facilitating the construction of an Arawakan league (perhaps similar to the Iroquois league in North America), which the Asháninka and their neighbors probably participated in to secure themselves against expansionist Wari and later, Tawantinsuyu (Inka) dominion.⁷⁴⁹ Though more research into the nature of this league may shed light on more of the dynamics between these societies, such

⁷⁴⁸ For more on the ability of language to structure relationships to the material world, see: Davis, Wade. "Wade Davis: Dreams from Endangered Cultures | Video on TED.com." *TED: Ideas worth Spreading*. Feb. 2003. Web. 12 Dec. 2011. <http://www.ted.com/talks/wade_davis_on_endangered_cultures.html>.

⁷⁴⁹ Hill, Jonathan David, and Fernando Santos-Granero. *Comparative Arawakan Histories: Rethinking Language Family and Culture Area in Amazonia*. Urbana: University of Illinois, 2002. Print. and Varese, Stefano. *Salt of the Mountain: Campa Asháninka History and Resistance in the Peruvian Jungle*. Norman: University of Oklahoma, 2002. Print. Varese, Pg. 131

organizations would likely have acted to frame interactions between the Amazonian and Andean regions.

Asháninka or Arawakan control over the *Cerro de Sal* (Mountain of Salt) reveals that pre-colonial boundaries between Amazonian and Andean could be fluid and that influence could be obtained through the intervention of resources. For example, once obtained, salt would often act as a medium of exchange for goods such as ceramics luxury items, food and other goods throughout the surrounding Amazonian region, farther within the basin, and probably within the central Andes as well. Salt gained this position, as it was vital to food preparation and storage and for the nutrients it provided within Amazonian diets but was often inaccessible.⁷⁵⁰ Thus, while the Asháninka and other Arawakan peoples did not employ exactly the same structures as the Spanish or the Inka, the societies they sought to maintain and were continuously refashioning, were creating parallel traditions and structures often classically associated with the state. Examples here include: creating novel methods of interpersonal and external communication, fashioning and structuring networks for the exchange of goods and providing for the common defense of the community, as these alliances might guard against the very real threats of Inka; and after 1532, the Colonial Spanish to their identities and ways of life.⁷⁵¹

While the Spanish had made relatively early contact with some Amazonian peoples such as the Asháninka, their attempts to dominate, convert, and “encourage” them to resettle and work among the Franciscan missions eventually led Arawaks including the Asháninka, to join the rebellion of the charismatic or “messianic” Juan Santos Atahualpa in the 1740s against Spanish

⁷⁵⁰ Hill, Jonathan David, and Fernando Santos-Granero. *Comparative Arawakan Histories: Rethinking Language Family and Culture Area in Amazonia*. Urbana: University of Illinois, 2002. Print. and Varese, Stefano. *Salt of the Mountain: Campa Asháninka History and Resistance in the Peruvian Jungle*. Norman: University of Oklahoma, 2002. Print. Varese, Pg. 131

⁷⁵¹ Andrien, Kenneth J. *Andean Worlds: Indigenous History, Culture, and Consciousness under Spanish Rule, 1532-1825*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 2001. Print. Pg.

rule.⁷⁵² Indeed, through the killing and expelling of Franciscan missionaries, guerilla attacks, and even offensives aimed at reinstating Inka rule across the Andes, the Asháninka and other Amazonian peoples were eventually successful in expelling the Spanish colonial state.⁷⁵³ This offers an alternate experience to the domination by Jesuits in Maynas.



Figure 4.34: Visualization of Area that Rose up in Rebellion under Juan Santos Atahualpa, Colonial Settlements, and The Asháninka Homeland Today. Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., Spring, 2017

As the viceroyalty fought unsuccessfully to crush the uprising, by 1756 the authorities mobilized to contain the region and admit at least a temporary retreat of the colonial state by building a series of forts to monitor and hopefully prevent the incursion of dangerous corporal and conceptual threats to the maintenance of colonial rule.⁷⁵⁴ The image above, compiling

⁷⁵² The exact nature of Santos Messianism is a matter of debate, especially given the extreme biases of the textual historical records. Undoubtedly, more research must be done to unwind the different threads of ideas, beliefs, and aspirations of the movement.

⁷⁵³ Varese, Stefano. *Salt of the Mountain: Campa Asháninka History and Resistance in the Peruvian Jungle*. Norman: University of Oklahoma, 2002. Print. Especially, Pp. 82 -109

⁷⁵⁴ Veber, Hanne. "Asháninka Messianism: The Production of a "Black Hole" in Western Amazonian Ethnography." *Current Anthropology* April 44.2 (2003): 183-211. *Jstor*. The University of Chicago Press on Behalf of Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. Web. 9 Dec. 2011. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/346028>>. Pg. 195

information from a 1788 or 1789 map created by Father Manuel Sobreviela (described above around Figures 4.9 and 4.10) depicts the areas in which the rebellion led by Juan Santos Atahualpa occurred (or threatened),⁷⁵⁵ as well as newly populated towns that were just beginning to see re-settlement and the re-establishment of colonial authority. Thus, in part through an appropriation and refashioning of the memory of Inka hegemony along with synthesizing unique views of Christian and indigenous notions of divine power, the rebellion ultimately granted a “reprieve” from direct colonization in this area of the Peruvian Amazon.

Following the battle of Ayacucho in 1824 and the collapse of vice regal authority, Perú achieved political independence from Spain, and eventually Gran Colombia.⁷⁵⁶ With independence, the national state’s mostly creole leaders gained greater leverage to select the type and character of the structures and traditions as they now struggled to fashion both a national identity and state project.⁷⁵⁷ As the nineteenth century continued, the Peruvian state would also seek to extend its authority over the Peruvian Amazon region through different monumentalized structures and manifestations of the state that would influence the very way Amazonians lived their daily lives from the landscapes they navigated to the memories they would maintain collectively (some of them discussed above).

In the years following independence, one of the most basic ways in which the state sought to extend and demonstrate its sovereignty over the “Peruvian” Amazon and over the

⁷⁵⁵ The Map’s original key does not actually provide for which specific towns were in rebellion, making this somewhat difficult to determine from this particular source. Sobreviela, Fray Manuel. Plan Que Demuestra Las Fronteras De Las Montañas De Tarma Y Huánuco, Y El Valle De Vitoc, Nuevamente Repoblado En El Presente Año De 1788 De Orden Del Excelentísimo Señor Virrey Don Teodoro De Croix, Cavallero De Croix, Etc., a Fin De Que Sirva De Escala Para La Reducción De 22 Pueblos De Conversiones Que Se Perdieron En El Año De 42, En El Alzamiento Del Rebelde Juan Santos Atahualpa. October 05, 1788, 1789. Archivo: Archivo General De Indias Signatura: MP-PERU_CHILE,113 Código De Referencia: ES.41091.AGI/27.22//MP-PERU_CHILE,113, Sevilla, Spain.

⁷⁵⁶ Falola, Toyin. *The Atlantic World: 1450-2000*. Bloomington [u.a.: Indiana Univ., 2008. Print. Pg. 200

⁷⁵⁷ Nugent, David. "Building the State, Making the Nation: The Bases and Limits of State Centralization in "Modern" Peru." *American Anthropologist* 96.2 (1994): 333-69. Print. Pg. 337

peoples who lived there, was through fashioning laws based on Roman, Spanish, and other old world antecedents to fix (in some ways ritualize) the jurisdictional boundaries of the region. For instance, Amazonas was created “from the provinces of Chachapoyas and Maynas with its capital at Chachapoyas.”⁷⁵⁸ The outlining of these (at first) ephemeral geographies and borders was an initial step for then creating material sub-state structures such as towns, cities, or haciendas that claimed, negotiated, and expressed formal local control through administration, taxation, the creation of institutions such as Cabildos. Thus, cities such as Chachapoyas represented varying degrees of implanted authority as centers of the state, which in some ways functioned as national period parallels to Inka *tambos* used to house runners, and state officials who would project Inka power, as well as monitor and convey knowledge of threats to (or within) the empire.⁷⁵⁹

Spatially and aesthetically, national settlements and cities usually maintained Spanish antecedents that reproduced earlier concepts of urban planning and architecture developed largely in the Mediterranean or old world. However, it also blended these with other European forms, including: Baroque, Neoclassical, and even Haussmann, alongside designs occasionally brought from indigenous Amazonians who did migrate to these centers.⁷⁶⁰ This resulted in similar styles of urban geographies, which usually centralized social, political, and religious authority around the plazas. In addition to concepts of parks and buildings however, such projects also attracted and centralized a regional elite comprised of individuals who were to fill the new roles of secretaries, priests, prefects, and landowners, as well as laborers, servants,

⁷⁵⁸ Calderon, Francisco García. *Diccionario De La Legislacion Peruana*. Lima Paris: Autor Laroque, 1879. Print. Entry: Amazonas

⁷⁵⁹ For more on Tambos, see: Selin, Helaine. *Encyclopaedia of the History of Science, Technology, and Medicine in Non-western Cultures*. Berlin: Springer, 2008. Print. Pg. 871

⁷⁶⁰ For more on architecture and lifeways, see: Mignolo, Walter D. *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization*. Ann Arbor, MI.: University of Michigan, 1995. Print. and MacCormack, Sabine. *On the Wings of Time: Rome, the Incas, Spain, and Peru*. Princeton, NJ [u.a.: Princeton Univ., 2007. Print.

merchants, teachers, who might assist them. By the mid 19th century, the Peruvian state was creating salaried positions within the Amazon region to recruit individuals to serve as judges and other civil authorities such as “Receptorships,” which paid 800 pesos per year.⁷⁶¹ The arrival of these individuals also signaled greater intrusion of the market economy, as these salaried workers would use their capital to build homes, attain goods, or re-invest in further development schemes.

The Peruvian state also maintained relationships with “non-state” institutions such as the Catholic Church and later other religious denominations. Indeed, the state provided that the seat of the Catholic bishopric of the Amazonas region should be in Chachapoyas perhaps to gain what were seen as additional benefits including a (hopefully educated) clergy who might establish schools and thus shape the transmission of information and ideas more broadly. An added “bonus” was that these authorities encouraged and maintained control over morals and social norms of settlers, while concurrently attempting to convert indigenous peoples. Evidence of such imposed morals can be seen through the “adoption” of certain styles of clothing, or of the concept of clothing itself, which in the Amazon concealed and constructed the nudity of Amazonian peoples, not predisposed to European prudishness (again demonstrated by the contrast between Amazonian women represented in Figure 4.28).⁷⁶² To help institute such conventions and traditions, legislation was passed ordering that there should be “18 -10 places where there could be canonical instruction [including]: Chachapoyas, Luya, Olleros, Guayabamba, Chiquin, San Carlos, Yamon, Balsas, Santo Tomas, and Jalca,” among others.⁷⁶³ Through such encouragement, the state reinforced their investments in “development,” while

⁷⁶¹Calderon, Francisco García. *Diccionario De La Legislacion Peruana*. Lima Paris: Autor Laroque, 1879. Print. Entry: Amazonas , Pg. 112

⁷⁶² For More on the Theoretical Construction of Nudity and of “Humanity” more broadly, see: Derrida, Jacques, and David Wills. "The Animal That Therefore I Am (More to Follow)." *Critical Inquiry* 28.2 (2002): 369. *Jstor*. The University of Chicago Press. Web. 22 Mar. 2009. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1344276>>.

⁷⁶³ Calderon, Francisco García. *Diccionario De La Legislacion Peruana*. Lima Paris: Autor Laroque, 1879. Print. Entry: AMAZONAS.

also creating relationships between new peripheral and core areas both within the Amazonas region and across the country.⁷⁶⁴

Therefore, the creation of urban and rural ecclesiastical structures would extend the material reach and control of both the church and the national government, along with that of the landed Creole (“blanco or white”) elite who continued to influence the actions of these institutions on the ground. Along with the physical creation of these institutions was the material means required to sustain them. This necessitated the ability to control and intensively utilize the land outside of urban spaces to generate resources, and capital which could only be obtained and sustained through human labor.

However, the “modern” methods of agriculture that Europeans imported with them across the Atlantic would present new challenges to these settlers, indigenous Amazonians, and Amazonia itself.⁷⁶⁵ For instance, indigenous peoples such as the Asháninka maintained and improved upon indigenous knowledge of agroforestry, agriculture and other forms of resource procurement developed for millennia in the Amazon that generally reproduced the architecture of the forest. However, newly arriving settlers brought with them crops and agricultural practices that had been monumentalized or culturally selected over centuries in the so called “temperate” regions of the old world, and which were vital to the maintenance of their old world identities and consciousness. Many planned to plant neotropical cash crops, make it rich and live well in Amazonia (or even repatriate to their countries of origin). Indeed, as the well-known Amazonian scholar Stefano Varese explained:

⁷⁶⁴ Wallerstein, Immanuel Maurice. *World-systems Analysis: An Introduction*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2004.

⁷⁶⁵ For more on the differences in Amazonian/ old world Agricultural Practices, See: Bush, Mark B. "Two Histories of Environmental Change and Human Disturbance in Eastern Lowland Amazonia." *The Holocene* 10.5 (2000): 543-53. Print. and Meggers, Betty J. *Amazonia : Man and Culture in a Counterfeit Paradise*. Arlington Heights, IL: AHM Corporation, 1971. Print.

The ideal goal [of the settler] is to replace the forest completely with the product currently imposed by an arbitrary and irrational national market precisely because it is colonized and dependent. Thus the sugarcane of the colony or the coffee, rice, and fruit trees alternate in the role of destroyer of the fragile equilibrium of the tropical forest. [Then] the disappearance of the forest (which ironically, in their ignorance, the settlers consider a sign of progress); [results in the] appearance, in its place, of barren savannah; the destruction of the fauna; and the consequent disappearance of the ecological equilibrium—in a word, *ecocide*—[which] inevitably and constantly pushes settlers to expand the territories they occupy.⁷⁶⁶

To increase the ability of formal and less formal agents of the Peruvian state to occupy land and to obtain the labor needed to maintain such methods and lifeways multiple means were utilized. For instance, the use of salaries of state workers (mentioned above) would be increased to motivate people to migrate from more central areas of the state where there was more intense competition and could thus function as a means of diffusing social tension among elites or marginal elites from areas like Lima or Cusco. Indeed, President Jose Balta (in office 1868-1872),⁷⁶⁷ decreed that unemployed workers such as former soldiers, and those who had retired from government offices of the state, would enjoy more public incentives and “improved” lifestyles in regions such as Amazonas and would even be provided free transport to the region. They would also be given grants or government tax incentives to assist them in colonizing the Amazon.⁷⁶⁸

The knowledge that the Peruvian state sought to attract immigrants apparently spread quite far. For example, a popular publication of important contemporary events published as far

⁷⁶⁶ Varese, Stefano. *Salt of the Mountain: Campa Asháninka History and Resistance in the Peruvian Jungle*. Norman: University of Oklahoma, 2002. Print. Especially, Pp 14-15

⁷⁶⁷ Crichfield, George Washington. *American Supremacy: the Rise and Progress of the Latin American Republics and Their Relations to the United States under the Monroe Doctrine, Volume 1*. Brentano's, 1908. *Google Books*. Harvard University, 30 Sept. 2008. Web. 9 Dec. 2011.
<<http://books.google.com/ebooks/reader?id=cLctAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&output=reader&pg=GBS.PR4>>.Pg. 85-86

⁷⁶⁸ Calderon, Francisco García. *Diccionario De La Legislacion Peruana*. Lima Paris: Autor Laroque, 1879. Print. Entry: AMAZONAS , Pg. 112 Entry: Amazonas, Article 4

as the United States in 1870 noted that President Balta was seeking to attract immigration to the Amazon and explained that the “emigrants oblige themselves to remain at least four years in the Amazonian region. Those who receive money for their passage to the country of the Amazon must commence their voyage within three months from said receipt; those who fail to do so must return the passage-money and pay the expenses they may have occasioned the government.”⁷⁶⁹ Such benefits to individuals extended by the state were also being used by other national governments such as the 1862 “Homestead Act,”⁷⁷⁰ ratified in the United States was meant to similarly encourage European immigration, which would “develop” their nation economically, and as part of a “whitening” project rooted in similar cultural essentialism and conceptions of Social Darwinism.⁷⁷¹ This conception was ultimately based on the absurd notion that Latin American societies, locked into a state of dependence, were “backward” due to the inferior racial characteristics of their peoples. Thus, it was believed that once bred with (or exterminated by) people from more advanced states (essentially Caucasians of Northwestern Europe and the United States), the peoples of Latin America would be unleashed to their full potential. “Naturally” such immigrants would then fashion Neo-European societies in Amazonia.⁷⁷²

As Europe was also dealing with social and economic problems, Perú and the Amazon would come to attract visitors making a new life amid the Amazonian jungles. Indeed, the port city of Moyabamba in the Peruvian Amazon was described as an “Italian colony” and ‘a city of

⁷⁶⁹ *The American Annual Cyclopaedia and Register of Important Events of the Year 1869*. Vol. 9. New York City: D. Appleton & Co., 1870. *Google Books*. University of Michigan, 7 June 2010. Web. 9 Dec. 2011.

⁷⁷⁰ For a background to the Homestead Act, See: Porterfield, Jason. *The Homestead Act of 1862: a Primary Source History of the Settlement of the American Heartland in the Late 19th Century*. New York: Rosen Central Primary Source, 2005. Print.

⁷⁷¹ For more on Social Darwinism, see: Hawkins, Michael. *Social Darwinism in European and American Thought, 1860-1945: Nature as Model and Nature as Threat*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998. Print.

⁷⁷² For more on the concept of Neo-Europes and their relationship to ecological imperialism, See: Crosby, Alfred W. *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900*. Cambridge [u.a.]: Cambridge Univ., 2004.

1,500 souls.”⁷⁷³ This city which had been the capital of Maynas was being refashioned as a thoroughly European space.



Figure 4.35: Visualization of 19th Century Map Overlaying Contemporary Moyobamba. Courtesy *Atlas geográfico del Perú* Public Domain, and Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., Spring, 2017

The image above demonstrates an overlay map from 1865 of the city as Italians and various European settlers came to the area as part of the state’s campaign to “whiten” the nation upon the contemporary urban street grid.⁷⁷⁴ The town, situated on the Río Mayo had been the capital during certain moments in the colonial period now became an important source for rubber in the Andean Amazon. Thus, individuals or groups of Amazonians would encounter Peruvians whose origin might be Italian, German, British, or Japanese in addition to those having Spanish

⁷⁷³ United States. *Congressional Edition*. Cong. Bill. Issue 3 ed. Vol. 2902. U.S. G.P.O., 1892. *Google Books*. Web. 13 Dec. 2011. <http://books.google.com/books?id=ozdHAQAIAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false>. Pg. 101

⁷⁷⁴ *Atlas geográfico del Perú*, publicado a expensas del Gobierno Peruano, siendo Presidente el Libertador Gran Mariscal Ramon Castilla, por Mariano Felipe Paz Soldan ... Paris, Libreria de Augusto Durand, Calle de Gres-Sorbonne, 7. 1865. Paris. - Imprenta de Ad. Laine y J. Havard, Calle des Saints-Peres, No. 19. 1865 http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/view/search?q=+Pub_List_No%3D%274363.000%27%22%20LIMIT:RUMSEY~8~1&sort=Pub_Date,Pub_List_No_InitialSort

descent. Indeed, increased numbers of Japanese individuals would arrive by the end of the 19th century (and in greater numbers during the 20th) in part influenced by discrimination against Japanese immigration to the United States. Certainly, monumentalizing both internal and western imperial traditions and “citing the colonial history of prosperous European countries,” Japanese statesmen and scholars often stressed that emigration and territorial expansion were critical to ‘the prosperity of the Japanese race.’⁷⁷⁵ Consequently, in some ways the clear lines between internal colonialism or development, and schemes of international colonialism were easily blurred and rooted in parallel ideological foundations.

After crossing oceans and continents, the immigrants that arrived would usually (at least attempt to) employ their own lifeways, technologies, foods, language, and beliefs into the Amazonian basin along with them, which would with varying degrees be adopted and exchanged through trade with indigenous peoples. Amazonians were described as being particularly fond of metal tools such as axes, hoes, plows and other agricultural products in tandem with weapons and ammunition.⁷⁷⁶ Thus, while many indigenous peoples in the Peruvian Amazon maintained their traditional ways of life, such tools were not always seen as a threat to cultural continuity nor rejected by all Amazonians such as the Asháninka. In fact, their collective memories revealed through oral mythologies demonstrate how Amazonians appropriated and refashioned ideas, incorporating them into sacred mythologies that also voiced their anger at the monopolization of control over the creation and trade of such goods. Indeed, for the Asháninka whose economic sensibilities were structured by highly complex notions of relationships, these “instruments of

⁷⁷⁵ (Jiho Shinpo, January 4, 1896, cited in Wakatsuki, 1987). Takenaka, Ayumi. "The Japanese in Peru: History of Immigration, Settlement, and Racialization." *Latin American Perspectives* 31.3 (2004): 77-98. Sage Publications, 1 May 2004. Web. 14 Dec. 2011. <<http://lap.sagepub.com/content/31/3/77>>. Pg. 4

⁷⁷⁶ Vidal, Silvia M. "Amerindian Groups of Northwest Amazonia. Their Regional System of Political-Religious Hierarchies." *Anthropos* 4/6 94.H (1999): 515-28. Jstor. Web. 13 Nov. 2011. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/40465018> .>. Pg. 519-520

industrial origin are considered to be part of the ‘natural’ world as they are sent by pachakamaite as ‘divine gifts and therefore sacramental objects—denied to him.’”⁷⁷⁷ Thus, what peoples including the Asháninka rejected was not all western technology, cultural change or even every aspect of foreign cultures, but rather the gross inequality, abuse, and oppression that representatives of the national state were imposing upon these independent and dynamic peoples.

Arawakas, including the Asháninka, also continuously resisted attempts to destroy their ways of viewing and engaging the world along with the social structures they and their ancestors had fashioned over millennia to frame their lives and which maintained their notions that humanity had reciprocal obligations to each other and to their environment. Nevertheless, in the face of such destruction, they did not remain static passive figures, but (like their Amazonian cousins downriver) would also appropriate and refashion the elements of their oppression as well, for instance using weapons, tools or by refashioning silver coins minted by the national state to use as objects of importance related to art, religion, ritual, or status.⁷⁷⁸ However, the desire for such products could also result in inter-indigenous conflicts, revealing new inter-Amazonian rivalries and prejudices along with those that had existed for centuries.

Just as some Amazonian peoples believed access to metal tools would provide them with increased resources and agency, access to other forms of capital was utilized to recruit new settlers by the Peruvian state, and to tie people to the land through debt and the international economy.⁷⁷⁹ Concurrently, the increasing extension of the market system into the Amazon would

⁷⁷⁷ Varese, Stefano. *Salt of the Mountain: Campa Asháninka History and Resistance in the Peruvian Jungle*. Norman: University of Oklahoma, 2002. Print. Pg. 177

⁷⁷⁸ "Item Detail: Silver Coin Refashioned by Ashaninka (Campa)." *National Museum of the American Indian*. Smithsonian Institution. Web. 15 Dec. 2011. <<http://www.nmai.si.edu/searchcollections/item.aspx?irn=165715>>.

⁷⁷⁹ This system of debt can be seen earlier in Latin America within structures such as the Hacienda system as well. For more on the Hacienda in Mexico especially, see: Van, Young Eric. *Hacienda and Market in Eighteenth-century*

be used to strengthen the legitimacy of the Balta government and indeed, of Perú's international situation as such monuments would be taken as proof internationally that the Peruvian state was making "progress." Indeed, Balta's sixth decree asserted that state funds would be made available "to everyone of the pensioners that desire to be established in the margins of Amazonas [and through an] advance of three allowances for expenses for the establishments, [would] principally be used to deduct by a quarter of their assets [incomes, or salaries] six months following their arrival in the place of destination."⁷⁸⁰ Thus, with investments (ultimately backed by capital from abroad) the state could attempt to impose its authority with seemingly little risk, while also allaying internal social problems in the state's "core" or where such unrest might threaten to topple such governments.

However, in the four years that President Balta was in control of the Executive (1868-72) and beyond, external debt owed to countries such as the United States and Britain increased dramatically. Indeed, while "the debt of Peru in 1869 was about \$20,000,000; in 1870 it was increased to \$75,000,000 and in 1872 to about \$245,000,000."⁷⁸¹ Despite criticism of this debt among Balta's enemies and among xenophobic Anglo contemporaries deriding this "unjustified development" in a country such as Perú, this money was to construct greater than a thousand miles of rail networks that would continue to enhance the international image (and to some extent the reality) of the internal "integration" of Perú's vast and varied landscapes. This included the Amazon, which the national state hoped to then link to both the Pacific coast by rail

Mexico: the Rural Economy of the Guadalajara Region, 1675-1820. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006. Print.

⁷⁸⁰ Calderon, Francisco García. *Diccionario De La Legislacion Peruana*. Lima Paris: Autor Laroque, 1879. Print. Entry: AMAZONAS Art. 6

⁷⁸¹ Crichfield, George Washington. *American Supremacy: the Rise and Progress of the Latin American Republics and Their Relations to the United States under the Monroe Doctrine, Volume 1*. Brentano's, 1908. *Google Books*. Harvard University, 30 Sept. 2008. Web. 9 Dec. 2011.

<<http://books.google.com/ebooks/reader?id=cLctAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&output=reader&pg=GBS.PR4>>. Pg. 85-6

and to the Atlantic through agreements with Brazil, which would ensure free navigation of Peruvian vessels and refashion Perú into a “continental” nation.⁷⁸² Thus, as the century continued, Amazonians such as the Asháninka would increasingly be exposed to the global market economy, though many projects, like one from Piura to the Pongo de Manseriche and the old Maynas capital of San Francisco de Borja in 1904 would never be realized.⁷⁸³

For the nation state then, such projects in some measure could indeed be helpful in securing recognition of claimed borders and navigation rights, plus access to the natural riches that could pay off Peruvian debt, and perhaps even make the country rich. For instance, immigration and “internal development” would reinforce Perú during negotiations between themselves and the Empire of Brazil, which were both attempting to defend their international borders and if possible to expand into the other’s territory. In accords that ultimately followed, both Perú and Brazil agreed to guarantee the freedom of trade and the free navigation of Amazon River and its ports (with changes contingent upon the outbreak of war).⁷⁸⁴ It was hoped again that foreign or domestic investment would help to pay for such schemes, while concurrently strengthening the power of the Creole landowning class. These agreements also increased river traffic with both national and international shipping that would spread from Iquitos in Perú to the

⁷⁸² Crichfield, George Washington. *American Supremacy: the Rise and Progress of the Latin American Republics and Their Relations to the United States under the Monroe Doctrine, Volume 1*. Brentano's, 1908. *Google Books*. Harvard University, 30 Sept. 2008. Web. 9 Dec. 2011. <<http://books.google.com/ebooks/reader?id=cLctAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&output=reader&pg=GBS.PR4>>. Pg. 85-6

⁷⁸³ Unknown. "The Railway World." *Google Books*. Accessed October 12, 2017. https://books.google.com/books?id=QpJRAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false. Pg. 164

⁷⁸⁴ Calderon, Francisco García. *Diccionario De La Legislacion Peruana*. Lima Paris: Autor Laroque, 1879. Print. Entry: AMAZONAS and Johnson, John Butler. *The Engineering Index 1901 - 1905*. Vol. 4. New York, London: Engineering Magazine, 1906. Pg. 888

mouth of the Amazon some 1,600 miles away. Ultimately, this did attract greater investment and intrusion from individuals and countries such as the United States, Britain, and France.⁷⁸⁵

Such relationships and structures would also increase the probability of Amazonian peoples to encounter greater numbers of international actors and individuals including fugitive slaves from Brazil,⁷⁸⁶ demonstrating how inter-Amazonian social and political shifts were influencing the changing reality of the Peruvian Amazon. Forging closer relationships would also increasingly disrupt earlier Amazonian trade and resource networks as large steam riverboats chugged up and down the river that had once been the exclusive highway of indigenous vessels defending internal boundaries while exchanging networks of goods, peoples, and ideas. This is explored more fully in the final chapter.

However, the “free wage” and debt systems that brought increased immigration were not the only labor systems employed within the Peruvian Amazon. With greater numbers of people arriving on ever more shipping, Amazonian peoples would come to confront increasingly numerous external (usually Eurocentric) traditions and expressions of “knowledge” and lifeways that were often imposed by force. In fact, during the rubber boom of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Asháninka and other Amazonian peoples within Perú’s borders were subjected to intense abuse and forced labor to gather rubber then exported for the international market. Indeed, a U.S. Congressional record from 1892 notes that “Caoutchouc, or India rubber, as we call it, is the chief export from the forests of the Montana, whence it is carried by way of the Amazon and its tributaries by the same path, and gathered by the same class of labor, the

⁷⁸⁵ "Distance From Iquitos, Peru to The Mouth of the Amazon River." Map. *Google Earth*. Web. 14 Dec. 2011.

⁷⁸⁶ Raimondy, Antonio, and Wm Bollaert. "On the Indian Tribes of the Great District of Loreto, in Northern Peru." *Anthropological Review* 1.1 (1863): 33-43. *Jstor*. Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. Web. 15 Dec. 2011. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3024983> .>. Pg. 37

Indians of the mountain forest.”⁷⁸⁷ This short and deceptively innocuous quote obscures behind it an intense and directed, regime of brutality that often amounted to de facto slavery of many upper Amazonian peoples;⁷⁸⁸ the results of which often included kidnapping, physical abuse, rape, torture, and other forms of physical and psychological violence, which led Amazonian peoples to flee their traditional lands, and which destroyed families and indigenous social structures. For many indigenous people too, then the rubber boom would enact even greater violence than remembered during the colonial period and the enslavement of indigenous peoples by the Portuguese and Brazilians.

This would last in such a disturbing fashion until after the monopoly of Amazonian rubber was broken and the tree from which it sourced was successfully planted in other regions of the world. Unfortunately, these alternative supplies would often employ similarly horrendous “natural, civil, and later human rights” violations of during the late 19th and early 20th century in places like King Leopold II of Belgium’s Congo Free State.⁷⁸⁹ Consequently, even as the thirst for land, resources, and personal greed destroyed Amazonian lives, societies, and environments, these transformations were celebrated by many as a sign of humanity’s progress, as well as a blueprint for remaining Amazonian peoples to ultimately adopt, discounting the very real violence deemed necessary or acceptable by those in power.

⁷⁸⁷ United States. *Congressional Edition*. Cong. Bill. Issue 3 ed. Vol. 2902. U.S. G.P.O., 1892. *Google Books*. Web. 13 Dec. 2011.

<http://books.google.com/books?id=ozdHAQAIAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false>. Pg. 57

⁷⁸⁸ Zerner, Charles. *People, Plants, and Justice: the Politics of Nature Conservation*. New York: Columbia UP, 2000. Print. Pg. 83

⁷⁸⁹ For more on comparisons between the Amazonian Rubber Regime and that of the Congo Free State, See: Varese, Stefano. *Salt of the Mountain: Campa Asháninka History and Resistance in the Peruvian Jungle*. Norman: University of Oklahoma, 2002. Print. Especially the Chapter “The Walls Close In” and Hochschild, Adam. *King Leopold’s Ghost: a Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa*. London: Pan, 2002. Print.

Thus, in addition to having their land claimed by new settlers who refashioned the physical landscape according to old world models, Amazonian peoples were also subjected to the constant danger, the denigration of their cultures and to the often-violent imposition of old world lifeways. These, their champions pronounced, would bring the indigenous into the national culture and would make them productive and prosperous members of society. However, the price these utopian visions extracted, often amounted to ethnocide, which advocated for the destruction of the lifeways and cultural distinctiveness of indigenous societies.⁷⁹⁰ In their place, the state sought to impose a national identity based on Creole old world collective memories linked into an international market system that was formally forged by Peruvian elites seeking the greater integration of Perú into the dominant international political, conceptual and economic systems as the nineteenth century came to an end.

Conclusion

In order to examine the particular process of monumentalism by cultural selection, (in part) through which certain ideas and memories were selected, maintained, and refashioned over the long 19th century, this chapter has provided some examples of the ways indigenous Amazonian, African, mixed, and European descendent, individuals and groups “encountered” colonial and post-independence republican states’ structures helping to construct certain “states of reality,” while also paying particular roles in helping to extend, resist, or survive expressions of state power that continues to shape Amazonia today.

The first part of the chapter briefly discusses how state power, specifically projected through a boundary commission, civil jurisdictions, the military, and the church contributed to

⁷⁹⁰ For more on Ethnocide, see: Davis, Wade. "Wade Davis: Dreams from Endangered Cultures | Video on TED.com." *TED: Ideas worth Spreading*. Jan. 2007. Web. 14 Dec. 2011. <http://www.ted.com/talks/wade_davis_on_endangered_cultures.html>.

partially filling the often discussed “vacuum” left in the decade following the expulsion of the Jesuits. Along with other shorter narratives relayed by the author, the second part of the chapter, shifted focus to Dutch Guiana (today Suriname) and is particularly included as an example of the types of ideas and “monuments” or collections of ideologies impacted people who experienced African and Indigenous enslavement across Amazonia, as well as to remind readers of connections to Amazonia beyond the Amazon basin. The section describes some of the ways the particular ideas and structures that fashioned the system of enslavement of African peoples and how slavery was “encountered” and “lived.” To accomplish this task, this section mostly utilized information from the primary account of John Gabriel Stedman, who initially traveled to the region to “hunt” maroons, and who eventually had a son, Johnny, with his enslaved “Suriname Wife” Joanna, encountering the structures of enslavement when trying to “free” his new mixed family and perhaps for Stedman importantly also free himself from debt. Finally, this part of the chapter demonstrates the increasing inclusion of non-indigenous Amazonian people including maroon communities, whose descendants continue to impact Suriname and many parts of Amazonia.

Part III of the chapter returns to narrative to the main channel of the Amazon River to discusses some of the ways that ideas related to the late colonial state increasingly inserted themselves into Amazonian space, and how individuals like Bishop Hipólito Sánchez Rangel, Francisco Requena, and Diego Calvo represented competing interests of the ideas structuring the state as well as how local Amazonian people continued to resist what they perceived as unjust demands, that might be experienced by locals as rowing these officials around, excessive physical violence, supplying outsiders with food, information, supplies, knowledge, etc. This part is meant to help provide a momentary glimpse into particular competing state “monuments

and structures” such as the reassignment of Maynas to the Viceroyalty of Perú that would have major impacts, as well as how increasing reforms and activity by the Viceroyalty resulted in greater relationships with the military. The period also witnessed greater settler colonialism sponsored by the colonial state, beginning a trend that is increasing rapidly in the early 21st century.

Part IV of the chapter describes Upper Amazonia during the independence era and shortly into the republican period, here described between 1809 and 1830. Over this period, it narrates how both indigenous and (white creole dominated) republican uprisings were related to the area around Maynas, culminating in battles near Moyobamba, prisoners sent downriver to old Jesuit reducciones, and how locals from Amazonia (especially the invisible Army of Chachapoyas including indigenous women such as Matiesa Rimachi) participated in the struggles for national independence from Spain. This section also mentioned how negotiations and competing visions for what new monumentalized ideas and structures that would come to replace Spanish colonialism would have an impact on Amazonia, namely maintaining the region as a “fluid frontier” rather than a central artery (at least until later in the 19th century), especially when the Gran Colombian experiment ended in 1830.

Based primarily around using travel accounts, Part five of the chapter examines encounters between Anglo-American and European travelers in the mid 19th century (1830 to 1880) an area often understudied in order to describe how these encounters with outsiders represented “encounters or brushes” with increasingly penetrating ideas such as modernity, progress, and science. As these texts represent some of the fullest range of historical material from this period, they also provide a great deal of information about people living in the region as well as providing a direct account of who in Amazonia would “encounter” these outsiders

making their way downriver, what questions they might ask, how they might treat inhabitants, etc. Finally, it is hoped that including such narratives will provide a more complete record that may be compared against in the final chapter and in future studies, thus helping to provide a comparative approach to understanding the history of the main channel of the Amazon during this and other periods.

Finally, part six of the chapter again moves away from the main channel of the river, focusing more fully on an extended moment to describe how the changes in chapters 1 through four impacted the Asháninka people in order to understand this long general process in a more compact and specific manner, as well as to discuss differences away from the main channel, again in order to better understand comparatively. Part six, also describes how urban spaces around towns like Chachapoyas became magnets for European and East Asian (especially Japanese) settler-colonists who could help to transform the Andean Amazon into a more integrated and central region with at least some material and legal support from the Peruvian state. While this chapter has sought to show some of the many diverse ways that people encountered ideas related to the projection of state power, it is important to remember that individuals themselves were (and are) the agents directing or re-directing such power, and that often networks, relationships, disagreements, and conflicts demonstrate how different people between participating with and resisting, “encountered the state (and structuring) of these realities or moments” shaping the interactions with the ideas, beliefs, structures, supports, prejudices, and capacities in part appropriated and refashioned from their individual and collective pasts.

While much of this account has described great destruction, it has also revealed how indigenous, African, European and mixed descendant peoples have maintained and refashioned

elements of their own (and each other's) culture as they encountered multiple expressions of state power, fashioning distinct realities during the long nineteenth century. Indeed, though the extension of the state would indeed destroy and displace many indigenous peoples, their families, and lifeways, many would survive and continue their struggle against ever increasing intrusion and the destruction of their environment in Perú and across other regions and states within Amazonia. These struggles are important to examine as this vast and important region continues to suffer one of the most intense destructions of human and biological diversity on the planet in exchange for the enrichment of the few presently for these monumentalized traditions or monuments. It is hoped that a broader understanding of the many elements structuring the state and the construction of different states of realities that continue to frame these imbalances will lead to a more powerful and sustained effort to bring about their resolution. The next and final chapter of this dissertation will examine the process of monumentalism by cultural selection starting around 1880, but will especially center the narrative from the period between 1900 to 1950 as the nuclei of settlements founded, contested over, and described over the course of this and earlier chapters begin to grow larger, contributing to deforestation and the explosion of urban Amazonia today, for as the quote at the beginning of this chapter explains, this story is far from over.

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Chapter 5 Iquitos to Brasília: Nostalgia, Positivism, Urbanization, and Utopias in Amazonia from the Late 19th through Early 21st Centuries



By

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⁷⁹¹ Unknown. "Intersection of Av 16 De Noviembre E R. Conselheiro João Alfredo." Rua C.J.A. 1910. orig. 1909. Accessed November 21, 2017. <http://www.tramz.com/br/be/bej.html>.

The reality of natural laws and the predominance of pattern do not bind individuals to any particular fate: within their grasp, there still remains an ability to choose. An historical outlook reminds the public that there are multiple causes at work for any event in the past – and as a result, that more than one favourable outcome is possible in the future. – *The History Manifesto*⁷⁹²

The long century following the expulsion of the Jesuits in Maynas (1768 – 1880) witnessed increasing encounters with first the Spanish/Portuguese, and then post-independence republican (while initially for Brazil, monarchic) states. Such encounters were experienced by descendants of the Asháninka, Omaguas, Cocamas, Jeveros, as well as other indigenous and mixed Amazonians. While many individuals and families would stay in their ancestral lands during this period, some moved (or were increasingly forced) away from major riverine channels, some deep into the Andean Amazon, as others still became increasingly connected with urban spaces like Iquitos or Belém near the river's estuary.⁷⁹³

This chapter examines this process through a lens of monumentalism by cultural selection linked to particular memories connected to the rubber-boom, state intrusion, and international capital by describing particular moments, monuments, and images of urbanization across Amazonia. To accomplish this, the majority of this chapter presents various historical moments centered in and around the cities of Iquitos, Perú, along with Manaus, Santarem, and Belém in Brazil since the 1880s. If the 19th century witnessed increasing encounters of Amazonian peoples with “extra-Amazonian” cultures, ecologies, and structures such as the Peruvian and other nation-states, then the 20th century would rapidly accelerate the process, especially during the rubber boom, which some historians date to beginning as early as the 1850s. The second uptick

⁷⁹² Guldi, Jo, and David Armitage. "The History Manifesto." Cambridge University. Accessed November 28, 2017. <https://www.cambridge.org/core/services/aop-file-manager/file/57594fd0fab864a459dc7785>.

⁷⁹³ For more on this process, see: Sweet, David Graham. *A Rich Realm of Nature Destroyed: The Middle Amazon Valley, 1640-1750*. Milwaukee, WI: University of Wisconsin, 1975.

seems to be in the mid 20th century after a relatively brief downward trend in the 1920s when successful rubber plantations were set up in areas like Indonesia.

Consequently, the memories conveyed in this chapter are mostly linked with growing urban spaces or cities that demonstrate the explosion of settler colonialism and rural to urban migration during this period. It is hoped that this concluding chapter will help to introduce and deepen an understanding of events “collapsing history” and informing the Amazonian present, which has reached an ecologically and historically critical juncture that will most likely also greatly shape the region for years (probably centuries) to come.

Though much of the last part of the previous chapter examined Amazonia centered around the areas inhabited by Andean-Amazonian groups like the Asháninka, Part I: Iquitos to Belém, Romantic Memories, and Nostalgia in the Age of Utopian Modernism, briefly analyzes a “nostalgic” look back upon the end of the era just prior to steam along the main channel of the Amazon River complicating and obscuring simple understandings of indigeneity. This is centered upon a work that entered popular culture primarily through images and text in a book published by Jules Verne named: *800 leagues on the Amazon, Volume I: The Giant Raft* and *Volume II: The Cryptogram*.⁷⁹⁴ Since Verne never visited Amazonia, the information he relied upon was compiled by many of the traveler accounts described in the previous chapter. The text was initially published in the form of serials in newspapers and in later editions appears as two major volumes.

Centered around a story of homicide, blackmail, deciphering a cryptic message, and a town-sized raft or *jangada* that the characters board to float downriver in “style” hoping to reach Belém, where an extravagant wedding had been planned by a main character for his daughter. The first part of the chapter will then conclude with a short description of two other works from

⁷⁹⁴ Verne, Jules. "The Giant Raft, Tr. by W.J. Gordon." Google Books. Accessed October 21, 2017.

the 1870s and 1860s to broaden an understanding of how Amazonia was being depicted, and will then end with a short examination of how monumentalized traditions of Amazonian resistance and accommodation can be seen through the expansion of the *Lingua Geral Amazônica* (Tupinambá), who's linguistic descendant is known as *Nheengatu*⁷⁹⁵

Part II: The Transformation of State and Global Structures through the 20th and 21st Centuries in the Peruvian Department of Loreto, focuses around much of the area formerly associated with Maynas, that had now become incorporated in the Peruvian Department of Loreto, especially its capital city of Iquitos, the furthest inland that deep-water ocean vessels can proceed up the main channel of the Amazon, and the largest city in the world not connected by road with other cities or areas of a country.⁷⁹⁶ Making use of primary and secondary sources, this part will then examine some of the Peruvian and international intrusions into the region between 1904 and 1905 as Iquitos grew into a major port, shipping rubber to the world. It will further examine the 1896 uprising that sought to establish the Estado Federal de Loreto, how the city transformed given access to new wealth, and how such riches depended on the violent oppression of local peoples, whose labor provided the material foundation for the image of a utopian modern Iquitos. By utopia, I refer to the desire to create ideal communities since the 1516 publication of Sir Thomas Moore's fictional account of such an "imagined community" or ideal society named *Utopia*,⁷⁹⁷ which simultaneously means both a "good place, and no place."

⁷⁹⁵ For more on the contemporary situation of the language, see: Rohter, Larry. "Language Born of Colonialism Thrives Again in Amazon." *The New York Times*. August 28, 2005. Accessed October 19, 2017.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2005/08/28/world/americas/language-born-of-colonialism-thrives-again-in-amazon.html>.

⁷⁹⁶ The lowland here is generally considered to be at an altitude of 83 – 400 Meters above sea level, or about 272 – 1,312 feet. For more on this, see: Benevies Estrada, Juan Augusto. *Atlas Del Peru*. Primera Edicion ed. Lima, Perú: Editorial Escuela Nueva, 1988. Pg. 12

⁷⁹⁷ Moore, Thomas, and William Dallam Armes. "The Utopia." Google Books. November 12, 2009, orig. 1912, Accessed December 09, 2017.

<https://books.google.com/books?id=XcAgAQAIAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=utopia%2Bmore&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjasq3Xvv7XAhVP7GMKHeHwAmsQ6AEIMDAB#v=onepage&q=utopia%20more&f=false>.

Part III: A Momentary Glimpse into the Colonial Period: A Partial Background to Belém, provides a short re-introduction of Belém by describing its foundations as a fort by the Portuguese in 1616 and the transformation of lower Amazonian land during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The chapter continues by describing some of Belém's early industries including logging and ship building, which intimately altered, culturally selected, and refashioned the indigenous ecology. Other examples include attempts at cattle ranching, the slave trade (rowers or human power for riverine transport) and the production of knowledge (especially through Jesuit networks). The section describes greater details concerning the region, revisiting (briefly) the Cabanagem "Rebellion" that took place along the main channel of the Amazon between 1835-40, which helped tie the region to Brazil. It also describes the region's subsequent change through the "rubber boom."⁷⁹⁸ This period in the late 19th and early 20th centuries is especially important because it represents a particular "threshold moment" that signals accelerating changes to the region's urban, cultural, and ecological landscape, which immediately pre-configure the even more rapid expansion of urbanization and deforestation today.

Part IV: The Expansion of Urbanism in Brazilian Amazonia (1850—1920), examines the particular ways in which cities like Belém grew from the mid-19th through the early 20th centuries by paying particular attention to transportation including steamships, railways, and streetcars along with the refashioning of idealized Amazonian "forest" through endeavors such as the Bosque Rodrigues Alves Jardim Botânico da Amazônia. These examples demonstrate the

⁷⁹⁸ This assertion was notably made in the interesting work: Harris, Mark. *Rebellion on the Amazon: The Cabanagem, Race, and Popular Culture in the North of Brazil, 1798-1840*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

monumentalism of particular positivist⁷⁹⁹ utopian ideas that sought to make cities like Belém or Manaus the “Paris of the tropics” based on the assumption that the wealth unleashed by the unique monopoly of Amazonian sourced rubber (and often slave-like conditions) would continue. However, this monopoly was not to hold and was eventually broken when successful appropriation and new cultivation in places like Indonesia and what is today the Democratic Republic of Congo occurred. It also describes how the cities helped to obscure and refashion race, ethnicity, and identity over this period. With a short connection to Amazonia’s history of extractive industries from timber to oil that have been useful to generating “power,”⁸⁰⁰ this section also describes the expansion of “modern technology” and shared urban planning traditions in Iquitos, Perú along with Manaus and Belém in Brazil. It will specifically examine the expansion of (urban) railways such as Belém’s electric streetcar system, Madeira-Mamoré Railroad, shipping, and “domesticated nature linked to privileged memories” in urban parks that sought to present a particular version of the Amazon to citizens of states governing Amazonia and to the outside world. This can be seen as a precursor to indigenous and ecological “reserves” today. It will also look at changing gender roles and sexuality throughout the modernization process, as greater global cultural and capital networks have become increasingly evident in the lives of the vast majority of Belem’s people.

Part V: Midcentury Modern, Amazonian Urbanization, from 1950 to Present discusses how some of the utopian endeavors that were monumentalized during the initial urban boom of earlier in the 20th century were appropriated and refashioned by the Brazilian state first, in the

⁷⁹⁹ For more on positivism, see: Comte, Auguste. "System of Positive Polity: General View of Positivism and Introductory Principles." Google Books,. orig. 1875 longmans, green and company. Accessed November 21, 2017. <https://books.google.com/books?id=3r5aAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=positivism%2Bcomte&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwivpYjsytDXAhXLjVQKHfhuCLYQ6AEISzAG#v=onepage&q=positivism%20comte&f=false>.

⁸⁰⁰ By this I mean fuel from timber to natural photosynthesis and petroleum products.

movement of their capital away from the historical capital Rio de Janeiro on the Atlantic coast and the construction of a new capital, Brasília in the Amazonian interior, representing a “threshold moment”⁸⁰¹ that signals far greater state intervention and settlement of Amazonia. This can be seen through the construction of projects like the Belém to Brasília Highway and hydroelectric dams to bring power to these new settlers.⁸⁰²

Finally, Part VI: Beyond Belém and Brasília, Utopian Monumentalism Since The Mid-20th Century, considers how the utopian modernist projects of the mid-20th century as well as more recent economic and political pressures have contributed to a growth in settlement, ecocide through deforestation, climate change, and ethnocide in the last few decades. The chapter thus concludes with a more expansive examination, especially of the Brazilian state’s expansion into the interior with the founding of Brasília. This new capital and major infrastructure projects represent another “threshold moment” signaling the more recent massive “development” of Amazonian space into what I call the “*Selva Nueva*.” This contemporary re-fashioning of the “new Amazonian forest” has been culturally selected through deforestation and the imposition of imperial biota. However, such wanton destruction tied to the monumentalism of neoliberal capitalism and politics has also continued to generate increasingly visible resistance on the part of indigenous people and their allies, challenging this destruction and who are also appropriating and refashioning traditions of resistance that will also impact the future of Amazonia in the years ahead.

Ultimately, these will help to (re) construct a moment representing how many different people participated in, resisted, and re-negotiated relationships with one another and with the state during this era of “utopian modernization,” and disruptions by forging new networks, etc.

⁸⁰¹ Christian, David. *Maps of Time: An Introduction to Big History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.

⁸⁰² For more, See: Brunn, Stanley D. *Engineering Earth: The Impacts of Megaengineering Projects*. Dordrecht: Springer Verlag, 2011.

This particular section of the chapter especially considers photography and other visual texts to account for memories of this past moment representing the “collapse of history helping to form modern Amazonian urbanism” that are present in Belém today. These will be gleaned from images, statistical surveys of regions and cities, within various visual and textual archives.

Part I: Iquitos to Belém, Romantic Memories, and Nostalgia in the Age of Utopian Modernism

As the 1870s became the 1880s, in part due to a combination of increasing integration into the global capitalist system, along with interest in the positivist goals of the scientific conquest that would help to bring about “order and progress,”⁸⁰³ in France, an author named Jules Verne was increasingly acquainted with information about the Amazon and in 1881 published a work called *La Jangada*, or in English, *The Giant Raft: 800 leagues on the Amazon*.⁸⁰⁴ Briefly, the story, which takes place in 1852, follows the main characters mostly associated with the family of one Joam Dacosta. As they travel upon a town-sized *jangada* on their way from Iquitos in Perú to Belém in Brazil, the patriarch of the family is accused of committing murder in his youth. In the second volume, *The Cryptogram*, a decoded message proves his innocence.

While recent scholars such as Rudyard J. Alcocer have done a meticulous job reconstructing the history and historiography related to the work that does not necessitate replicating here, suffice it to say that the novel, penned for European and Anglo-American

⁸⁰³ For more on the philosophy of positivism, see: Comte, Auguste. "System of Positive Polity: General View of Positivism and Introductory Principles." Google Books., orig. 1875 longmans, green and company. Accessed November 21, 2017.

<https://books.google.com/books?id=3r5aAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=positivism%2Bcomte&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwivpYjsytDXAhXLjVQKHfhuCLYQ6AEISzAG#v=onepage&q=positivism%20comte&f=false>.

⁸⁰⁴ Verne, Jules. "The Giant Raft, Tr. by W.J. Gordon." Google Books. Accessed October 21, 2017.

<https://books.google.com/books?id=hOkBAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=the%2Bgiant%2Braft&hl=en&sa=X#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

audiences was part of a genre of adventure writing that took their readers to “exotic places.”⁸⁰⁵ In the book, the voyage down the river demonstrates the journey from savagery and ignorance to civilization, knowledge, and truth represented by the acquittal of “fazander”⁸⁰⁶ Joam Dacosta (who initially used the pseudonym Garral) while also providing a happy conclusion for this family from Iquitos. In 1882, the *Westminster Review* explained:

Cryptograms have played an important part in fiction, and even become almost as hackneyed as “The Lost Will,” or, “The Child-Changed at Birth,” or “The Rescue of the Heroine in her Night Dress from the Fire.” But M. Jules Verne has wonderful faculty of investing the stalest subjects with an appearance of freshness, and under his able hands the - ' mysterious cipher plays a wonderful part in the interest of the story. To boys especially, this ought to be a delightful book, for every chapter contains the most thrilling events, and the excitement is kept up to the very last with the final decipherment of the cryptogram.⁸⁰⁷

This review (fixated on male-gender) above demonstrates that Jules Verne was continuing to appropriate and refashion particular literary elements along with accounts of the Amazon to create his narrative. Relying on authors such as Paul Marcoy, Jules Verne would have come across Don Bernardino, his wife, along with similar individuals in his research, which likely contributed to the creation of characters such as Joam Dacosta and his daughters in such literary “monuments.” While this particular story, was never as popular as some of Verne’s other works, it reflects an “image of Amazonia” that could attract a popular literate (mostly middle and upper class European audience) during the period, while the consumption of these very same people

⁸⁰⁵ For a recent critical account of the Giant Raft under the work’s original French name, see: Alcocer, Rudyard J. "Along the Banks of the Amazon: Ethnicity and Crosscultural Imaging in Jules Verne's La Jangada." *Reconsidering Comparative Literary Studies*, 5(1), 1-17. Accessed October 19, 2017.
<http://ejournals.library.vanderbilt.edu/index.php/ameriquests/article/view/%20112>.

⁸⁰⁶ Essentially a hacendado or large land-owner

⁸⁰⁷ "The Westminster Review." Google Books, Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy,. orig. 1882. Accessed October 19, 2017.
https://books.google.com/books?id=71hDAQAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false. Pg. 288

was simultaneously helping to fuel the rubber boom that was destroying this “romanticized” way of life and imposing in its place an agro-industrial economy.



Figure 5.1: Juxtaposition of Images Representing Iquitos and mid 19th Century Amazonian River Vessels overlaying Iquitos and The Amazon (Solimões) River. Courtesy, Jules Verne and Google Books. Public Domain and Compiled by Deavenport, J., Spring, 2017

The illustrated images above are published in the 1881 English translation of the work.⁸⁰⁸ The drawing on the left depicts the town of Iquitos around 1852; below the town in the river a covered canoe waits at the “port” along with the steep path up from the river. The area reveals Amazonian plants and the relatively small town reflecting by now mixed European but primarily Amazonian architectural traditions. Finally, the laborers in the same image are depicted as racially mixed group of native Amazonians, African, and European descent. By the 1880s, such images represent a negative racial “other” among prevailing pseudoscientific ideas of scientific

⁸⁰⁸ Verne, Jules. "The Giant Raft, Tr. by W.J. Gordon." Google Books. Accessed October 21, 2017. <https://books.google.com/books?id=hOkBAAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=the%2Bgiant%2Braft&hl=en&sa=X#v=onepage&q&f=false>. Pp. 28 and 96

racism⁸⁰⁹ buttressing white supremacist political, social, demographic, and economic projects that have been described in previous chapters. In other words, this representative image of Iquitos for middle class Londoners or Parisians of the period would represent “backwardness” that was partially understood (and explained) in racial terms. The same image overlays the contemporary city of Iquitos now estimated as the home to around 400,000 to nearly half million inhabitants, that indicates a large expansion of urban space in only a relatively brief 136 years, as of the time of writing this chapter in 2017.

The above image on the right also represents larger Amazon River vessels that resemble those in the narrative of Smyth and Lowe (published in 1836, described in the previous chapter). These types of vessels used a combination of sails to capture the wind and move the boats along with rowing. They would also transport people and bulk goods that underlied the regional economy, sustain the wealth of individuals such as Joam Dacosta and connected the vast Amazonian River basin, especially along the main river channel. Meanwhile, in most of Verne’s text, laborers (and other mixed-race individuals) are not characterized as much as the central and more “European featured” characters. These images reveal the wealth of “invisible” characters, who are similarly silenced in many of the historical narratives of the period, but without whom, the imperial projects of “knowing” Amazonia both scientifically and literary would never have been possible.

⁸⁰⁹ For more on the concept of scientific racism, see: Farber, Paul Lawrence. "Mixing Races." Google Books. jhu press, 2010. Accessed January 02, 2018. https://books.google.com/books?id=C2DFgo_mGt0C&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false.



Figure 5.2: Juxtaposition of Images Representing Clear Cutting the Amazonian Forest Near Iquitos and the Construction of *La Jangada* Overlaying Nearby Sites Today. Courtesy, Jules Verne and Google Books. Public Domain and Compiled by Deavenport, J., Spring, 2017

Along with work like rowing, the illustrations above represent some of the earliest images of clear cutting and deforestation for popular consumption related to Amazonia, but they also depict the practice of “harvesting” the Amazonian forest for timber, which had been proceeding for centuries since the initial encounter with Pinzón.⁸¹⁰ Since the timber was used to construct the giant raft, the image of the vessel’s construction for audiences also represents through one “vessel” some of the vast quantities of trees that were currently being ripped from the forest as well as some of what had been taken historically. The images also reveal the labor of mixed, Afro-descendant, and indigenous Amazonians identified by the narrative, whose labor, muscle, and minds were vital to the physical transformation of Amazonian space during this period. These images are further overlaying their approximate location according to the text.

⁸¹⁰ Verne, Jules. "The Giant Raft, Tr. by W.J. Gordon." Google Books. Accessed October 21, 2017. <https://books.google.com/books?id=hOkBAAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=the%2Bgiant%2Braft&hl=en&sa=X#v=onepage&q&f=false>. Pp.106 and 140

Therefore, these images represent monumentalism by cultural selection (since indigenous groups generally did not clear-cut the forest), and therefore of the ecocide that would preconfigure “development” in the decades leading to the turn of the 20th century.



Figure 5.3: *The Start of the Jangada, Overlaying Nearby Sites Today.* Courtesy, Jules Verne and Google Books. Public Domain and Compiled by Deavenport, J., Spring, 2017

The image above displays the image of the Jangada from the English 1881 edition of *The Giant Raft* and is overlaying an area just downriver of Iquitos.⁸¹¹ The raft constructed from the harvested timber of the “felled” Amazonian forest (Figure 5.2) has embarked upon a long voyage to Belém in Pará. The huge raft in many ways represents an idealized urban space of utopian modernity. It is hygienic (it floats so is not subject to floods or pollution as it can just move to somewhere else along the vast Amazonian channel). Furthermore, it is “ordered” (segregated, by class and race), rational (divided into living and working spaces), centers Christianity (they even convince the priest of Iquitos to abandon the town and accompany the group downriver).

⁸¹¹ Verne, Jules. "The Giant Raft, Tr. by W.J. Gordon." Google Books. Accessed October 21, 2017. <https://books.google.com/books?id=hOkBAAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=the%2Bgiant%2Braft&hl=en&sa=X#v=onepage&q&f=false>. Pp.167

Moreover, the Jangada is not moving listlessly, but rather is pursuing its course with (masculinized and European) vigor in order to reach its destiny in the modern town of Belém so that Joam Dacosta's daughter may have an auspicious (read high-class/white) marriage.

Interestingly, Amazonian "floating" and stilt homes (see chapter 1) may have provided inspiration for the jangada in this work of Verne's, while climate change may necessitate greater use of this technique along areas vulnerable to greater flooding. Passing from the mouth of the Napo River to Pevas, which Jules Verne lists as having 260 inhabitants,⁸¹² the story briefly describes contact with Mayorunas, Omaguas, and Cochiquinas nations. They are represented as quintessential "natives," mostly nude without "modern weapons," and are shown only within the Amazonian forest with no obvious material culture aside from some minimal clothing and strange weapons that would be interpreted as more evidence used to "other" Amazonians from their European and Anglo-American contemporaries.

⁸¹² Verne, Jules. "The Giant Raft, Tr. by W.J. Gordon." Google Books. Accessed October 21, 2017. <https://books.google.com/books?id=hOkBAAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=the%2Bgiant%2Braft&hl=en&sa=X#v=onepage&q&f=false>. Pg. 125



Figure 5.4: Juxtaposition of Images Representing Native Amazonians Overlaying their described location. Courtesy, Jules Verne and Google Books. Public Domain and Compiled by Deavenport, J., Spring, 2017

The image above reveals depictions of native Amazonian people in Jules Verne's narrative,⁸¹³ while they are also presented overlaying the approximate locations described in *The Giant Raft*. It is my understanding that none of their names are provided to the reader and little is conveyed of their histories, except for being evangelized by the Spanish in ages past. This demonstrates a general trend of not recording Amazonian voices therefore casting a major bias toward Eurocentrism as well as middle-class sensibilities given the audience that Verne (especially) was appealing to in this narrative and which of course influences the sources for this period. Greater research in archaeology and ethnography in the future can broaden the available archive and diminish this historiographic problem. As the chapter proceeds in the following

⁸¹³ Verne, Jules. "The Giant Raft, Tr. by W.J. Gordon." Google Books. Accessed October 21, 2017. <https://books.google.com/books?id=hOkBAAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=the%2Bgiant%2Braft&hl=en&sa=X#v=onepage&q&f=false>. Pp. 176 and 185

sections, more quantitative information will help to illustrate the expansion of the state in the years to come and explain how this might have impacted indigenous Amazonian nations.

After continuing their voyage downriver, the group crossed the Brazilian frontier, reaching the town of Tabatinga. Capturing the ideological, historical, and lingual shift, Verne explains that “Above, the river is Peruvian, and is called the Marañón, as has been said. Below, it is Brazilian, and takes the name of the Amazon.”⁸¹⁴ Interestingly enough, the Solimões name has been abandoned by the author in favor of the more classically associated name. However, this might also have to do with the fact that the Marañón was often translated into French texts.

Upon reaching Tabatinga, a tag-along known as Fragoso, a barber is instantly sought out by the inhabitants.⁸¹⁵ Jules Verne spends some time describing the particular setting of the town, explaining, “The population of Tabatinga is estimated at four hundred, nearly all Indians, comprising, no doubt, many of those wandering families who are never settled at particular spots on the banks of the Amazon or its smaller tributaries.”⁸¹⁶ Here, Verne re-uses the idea of local Amazonian people as primarily “nomadic and wandering.” While groups (especially away from the main channel indeed have utilized cultural traditions, those whom encountered Fragoso and the rest of the voyagers on the Jangada were not “nomadic” but rather traveling to obtain goods/plant or harvest, just as traveling to a supermarket or commuting to work does not strictly speaking make one “nomadic” today. Whatever the case, as the group entered Tabatinga, they came across the site of the old colonial-era fort.

⁸¹⁴ Verne, Jules. "The Giant Raft, Tr. by W.J. Gordon." Google Books. Accessed October 21, 2017. <https://books.google.com/books?id=hOkBAAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=the%2Bgiant%2Braft&hl=en&sa=X#v=onepage&q&f=false> Pg. 144

⁸¹⁵ Fragoso translates to “ridged or ridgy” from Portuguese to English

⁸¹⁶ *Ibid.* Pg. 211



Figure 5.5: Triptych Showing the Fort of Tabatinga, Fragoso the Barber, and Various Local Ticuna and Mayoruna's Overlaying Contemporary Tabatinga. Courtesy, Jules Verne and Google Books. Public Domain and Compiled by Deavenport, J., Spring, 2017

The images above represent the Tabatinga Verne (or his editors) wanted people to imagine when reading his novel.⁸¹⁷ The left image reveals the old fort, which marked the coercive limits of the Brazilian state. The buildings represented are a mix between Amazonian and European styles, while the small vessel in the foreground displays the by now traditional method of Amazonian transport to Verne's reader. The central and right-hand images reveal much about how Verne and contemporaries saw themselves as the central characters, while local Ticuna and Mayoruna people in their multitudes await Fragoso's skilled hand as a barber. While past missionaries and conquistadores would note the lack of beards to distinguish Amazonian from European, here the civilized carry tools to cut hair and refashion European and Peruvian styles to physically transform Ticunas and Mayorunas into modern respectable (and passive)

⁸¹⁷ Verne, Jules. "The Giant Raft, Tr. by W.J. Gordon." Google Books. Accessed October 21, 2017. <https://books.google.com/books?id=hOkBAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=the%2Bgiant%2Braft&hl=en&sa=X#v=onepage&q&f=false> Pg. Pp. 212, 222, 227

“citizens.” Indeed, Verne spoke of a future Tabatinga, which arguably exists today when he noted, that

Tabatinga is destined to become before long a station of some importance, and will no doubt rapidly develop, for there will stop the Brazilian steamers which ascend the river, and the Peruvian steamers which descend it. There they will transship passengers and cargoes. It does not require much for an English or American village to become in a few years the centre of considerable commerce.⁸¹⁸

Verne was not too far off in his prediction as contemporary Tabatinga and its neighbors including: Leticia (Colombia), Santa Rosa (Perú), and Tabatinga/Benjamin Constant (Brazil) collectively support a population of around 107, 941 people, based on available census data while Tabatinga remains a major point of transit between the three nations.⁸¹⁹ Verne notes that as the town has grown and the people encountered “civilization” more regularly, that the people and representations of them had changed, perhaps revealing greater mixing in racial/ethnic composition as well as in custom again anticipating many changes over the course of the 20th century and in this chapter when he noted: “These Indians are no longer the Indians of days gone by. Instead of being clothed in the national fashion, with a frontlet of macaw feathers, bow, and blow-tube, have they not adopted the American costume of white cotton trousers, and a cotton poncho woven by their wives, who have become thorough adepts in its manufacture?”⁸²⁰

For Jules Verne, at least in this moment, local clothing materials signified an indigenous Amazonian person, while adopting a more popular or internationally stereotypical Latin

⁸¹⁸ Verne, Jules. "The Giant Raft, Tr. by W.J. Gordon." Google Books. Accessed October 21, 2017. <https://books.google.com/books?id=hOkBAAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=the%2Bgiant%2Braft&hl=en&sa=X#v=onepage&q&f=false> Pg. 215

⁸¹⁹ Jesus, Danilo. "IBGE | Portal Do IBGE." IBGE | Portal Do IBGE. Accessed October 24, 2017. <https://www.ibge.gov.br/>

⁸²⁰ Verne, Jules. "The Giant Raft, Tr. by W.J. Gordon." Google Books. Accessed October 21, 2017. <https://books.google.com/books?id=hOkBAAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=the%2Bgiant%2Braft&hl=en&sa=X#v=onepage&q&f=false> Pg. 249

American/Caribbean style of clothing made of cotton (and thus likely tied to the global economy) that signified a more “modern and civilized” individual. As the travelers continue downriver, they would pass various Portuguese settlements including one named San (Saõ) Paulo d’Olvença. The narrative explains that nearly 2,000 people call the town home, and notes that it was founded by the Portuguese Carmelites in 1692, while neglecting to mention that it had previously founded within the Spanish Maynas mission by the German (Bohemian) born Jesuit Samuel Fritz in 1687. However, Jules Verne, while occasionally neglecting this Spanish past, mentions that the area around the town had been the ancestral home of the Omaguas people. This discards the more common Portuguese name for the same people, known as Cambeba, thus acting as a sort of historical echo though the original founding was omitted.



Figure 5.6: Juxtaposition of Maintained Amazonian Traditions: Turtle and Manatee Hunting. Courtesy, Jules Verne and Google Books. Public Domain and Compiled by Deavenport, J., Spring, 2017

Outside Saõ Paulo d’Olvença, Verne’s narrative describes a practice that had been mentioned since some of the earliest days of colonization, the gathering of turtle eggs (shown above left) for processing. As explained in the previous chapters, turtle eggs have been major

commodities since they could be processed into oil for cooking to light lamps and could be used as pitch thus becoming vital for larger riverine craft in the 1850s. Jules Verne explained how the process occurred and that many “western” readers might initially find it distasteful.

The manufacture of *manteigna de tartaruga*” or turtle butter, which will bear comparison with the best products of Normandy or Brittany, does not take less every year than from two hundred and fifty to three hundred millions of eggs. But the turtles are unnumerable all along the river, and they deposit their eggs on the sands of the beach in incalculable quantities. However, on account of the destruction caused not only by the natives, but by the water-fowl from the side, the urubus in the air, and the alligators in the river, their number has been so diminished that for every little turtle a Brazilian pataque, or about a franc, has to be paid.⁸²¹

Here Jules Verne again signals that his audience is the French middle classes by comparing the *manteigna de tartaruga* to products from northwestern France. However, while he acknowledges that this resource was abundant in eras past, the quote displays that the impacts of Eurocentric forces on native food and trading systems are such that the availability of turtle eggs has become diminished during this period, that they have become more expensive to the point where they may have become out of reach for the “average” Amazonian person. This price may also reveal an imposto estrangeiro (foreigner tax) by locals, knowing that outsiders would be less likely to have developed the expertise needed to hunt and process the animals, though Verne explains that the amphibians were still so numerous that they could still be eaten “just like oysters.”⁸²²

After noting this trade, the narrative continues downriver stopping at Fonte Boa, the old Jesuit missionary town (also founded in 1785 by Samuel Fritz as Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe). Verne noted that inhabitants still celebrated the festival of the “black Madonna,” which despite

⁸²¹ Verne, Jules. "The Giant Raft, Tr. by W.J. Gordon." Google Books. Accessed October 21, 2017. <https://books.google.com/books?id=hOkBAAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=the%2Bgiant%2Braft&hl=en&sa=X#v=onepage&q&f=false> Pp. 256 - 157

⁸²² *Ibid.* Pg. 256

the renaming of the community, continues into the 2010s, though the Madonna's blackness may have been diminished as more recent depictions have become "lightened."⁸²³ Outside Fonte Boa, the narrative describes a scene that had taken place throughout Amazonia for millennia as locals harpoon a manatee. While missing the obvious parallel with the cattle being raised among the European and mixed populations of Fonte Boa, Jules Verne noted that despite the great action captured by the manatee hunting, the end result was rather disappointing.

It was not a manatee of any size, for it only measured about three feet long. These poor cetaceans have been so hunted that they have become very rare in the Amazon and its affluent, and so little time is left them to grow that the giants of the species do not now exceed seven feet. . . . But it would be difficult to hinder their destruction. The flesh of the manatee is excellent, superior even to that of pork, and the oil furnished by its lard, which is three inches thick, is a product of great value. When the meat is smoke-dried it keeps for a long time, and is capital food. If to this is added that the animal is easily caught, it is not to be wondered that the species is on its way to complete destruction.⁸²⁴

While of course fiction, the quote above (like the rest of Verne's work described here) is indicative of what naturalists, scientists, and travelers had been describing as increased commercial traffic began having (to monumentalized European eyes) notable impacts on Amazonian ecology.⁸²⁵ Here, Verne discusses the impact of overexploitation upon the manatee population but does not discuss that the manatees have been "successfully" managed by native populations for millennia. Thus, manatees' described "docility" may in part be evidence of

⁸²³ "Álbum Festejo De Nossa Senhora De Guadalupe 2016." Rádio Clube Web De Fonte Boa, radioclubefonteboa.com/album/8046/festejo-de-nossa-senhora-de-guadalupe-2016.

⁸²⁴ Verne, Jules. "The Giant Raft, Tr. by W.J. Gordon." Google Books. Accessed October 21, 2017. <https://books.google.com/books?id=hOkBAAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=the%2Bgiant%2Braft&hl=en&sa=X#v=onepage&q&f=false> Pg. 266

⁸²⁵ Marsh, Helene. "Ecology and Conservation of the Sirenia." 1st Edition | 9780521888288 | VitalSource, Cambridge University Press, 2012, books.google.com/books?id=p84IxiWkAX8C&pg=PA517&dq=historical+population+of+amazonian+manatee&hl=en&sa=X#v=onepage&q=historical%20population%20of%20amazonian%20manatee&f=false.

artificial and cultural selection as fiercer individual manatees were singled out for hunting, or more passive individuals were managed by human populations from young age either loosely (selecting which individuals to hunt) and even by physically corralling young individuals and selectively allowing certain manatees to breed over time.



Figure 5.7: Juxtaposition of the Triumphant Acquittal of Joam Dacosta and José da Costa's Family near Lake Paracari Overlaying Approximate Present Locations. Courtesy, Jules Verne, Herbert H. Smith, and Google Books. Public Domain and Compiled by Deavenport, J., Spring, 2017

The image (on the left) above demonstrates the conclusion of Verne's two-volume work, with the arrival (above left) of the character Joam Dacosta (initially known as Garral) in Belém. Having been exonerated (by both cypher and by Frago) toward the end of the second volume of *800 leagues on the Amazon, The Cryptogram*, this positivist text represents the triumph of "good over evil, civilization over savagery," as Garral (who has finally redeemed the Dacosta name) along with his family finally emerge from the Amazon, settling in Belém, presented as the

first “real” outpost of European civilization.⁸²⁶ Thousands of well-wishers come to witness Joam and this curious family living on a giant raft finally arriving to their destination from so far upriver. The narrative ends with Dacosta’s freedom to refashion his life while both daughters marry (fulfilling their expected “feminine duties”) according to the dominant patriarchal ideas of middle class Parisians. This sentiment would also be shared among many other readers, publishers, government, and cultural sensors/critics of the period.⁸²⁷

While this triumphant ending awaits Jules Verne’s characters, the accompanying image (top right) published in 1879 and named, *Brazil, the Amazons, and the Coast*, written by Herbert H. Smith perhaps reveals a more “realistic” or “common” image of Amazonian life during the period. The illustration shows an indigenous Amazonian woman who is described as the “Indian mistress” of a man named José da Costa, who lives in a town on the shore of Lake Paracari. While the woman and children’s names are not initially recorded by Smith, the family subsists on about 20 cattle, manioc “plantations,” and other trade, while the wife as shown above made clothes for the family. Smith notes that while the family is generally well off for Amazonians, they are considered to be quite “impoverished” according to middle class English standards of the day.

⁸²⁶ Squeff, Leticia. "Brazil Through French Eyes: A Nineteenth-Century Artist in the Tropics." UNM Press, 2015. Accessed January 27, 2018.

https://books.google.com/books?id=DE8zCgAAQBAJ&pg=PA120&lpg=PA120&dq=Fran%C3%A7ois-Auguste+Biard+amazon+river&source=bl&ots=yrujvTqoUt&sig=9-A0B83hbLNgEqzcTaU4NTBxhu8&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjge6g_PjYAhWKwFQKHfguBZQQ6AEIRjAI#v=onepage&q&f=false.

⁸²⁷ For more on ideas of 19th century sexuality, see: Foucault, Michel. "The History of Sexuality." Google Books. 1988. Accessed February 06, 2018.

https://books.google.com/books/about/The_History_of_Sexuality.html?id=0Mbc5eMjLpoC.

The da Costa family offers Smith coffee, a place to stay, as well as other food such as fish, and honey.⁸²⁸ When describing his meeting with the family, Smith explained, “Their hospitality is as unbounded as their poverty.”⁸²⁹ These “hospitable” actions of the family while perhaps expected by many today however, likely demonstrate monumentalized traditions that encouraged generosity to strangers, which have antecedents (often linked to reciprocity) in the pre-colonial, colonial, and republican eras. These encouraged those who were not considered enemies to offer shelter to travelers in order to encourage commerce, mutual aid, and often used force to “encourage” those who might not initially be willing to share in this tradition to eventually adopt the practice. Therefore, the da Costa’s were likely not offering to Smith any service that they might offer any other traveler who happened to pass through where they had settled. Indeed, if the reader remembers from the previous chapter, it was required by law for locals to provide transport and provisions for those traveling by river.

Smith’s so-called “Indian mistress” was in reality probably Mrs. da Costa given the family’s location and class status.⁸³⁰ She is actually quoted by Smith, and thus represents one of the earliest recorded voices of an indigenous woman living in Amazonia that might have been read by larger audiences, as even earlier texts that might contain quotes were often restricted to more bureaucratic documents tied to the state. Smith provides his readers with a moment often absent from the historical record. She asked, “Can you eat wild honey? Go, my daughter, bring some mandioca-meal to mix with it. Now, if we but had some bread for the gentlemen; but come to-morrow, and we can at least give you some sweet milk; you should drink some now, but the

⁸²⁸ Smith, Herbert H. (Huntington), 1851-1919. "Brazil, the Amazons and the Coast: Free Download & Streaming." Internet Archive. January 01, 1879. Accessed October 25, 2017. <https://archive.org/details/brazilamazonscoa00smit>. Pp. 262- 267

⁸²⁹ *Ibid.* Pg. 265

⁸³⁰ Buxton, Alexandra. "When 'Mistress' Meant 'Mrs.' and 'Miss' Meant 'Prostitute'." *New Republic*. September 12, 2014. Accessed January 26, 2018. <https://newrepublic.com/article/119432/history-female-titles-mistress-miss-mrs-or-ms>.

cows are strayed; and will you have another cup of coffee before you go? Run, Joanna, put the coffee-pot on the fire.”⁸³¹

The unnamed woman’s words were translated and probably re-written above with some literary flare by Smith who was then affiliated with the Brazilian state’s geological commission. Still, they reveal some important aspects of life for people during this and earlier periods relied on a mixed variety of food/(and perhaps income) sources.⁸³² For example it is apparent that the family gathered honey, harvested and processed manioc, along with an either old world grain or maize based bread as well as cow’s milk (and probably some beef), coffee, and fish (described elsewhere by Smith). If the image represents an accurate assessment of material available to such families in the period, then the da Costa family also either made (or had) access to trade where they could obtain ceramic or metal vessels for cooking and other uses. Perplexingly, while the woman was obviously hurrying her daughter, Smith explained shortly after in his narrative that “time has so little value here that the people never think of its possible value to a stranger.” The quote above reveals the contradictions or tensions⁸³³ in ideology by Smith as well as “othering,” a tradition that has been maintained as long as the early colonial period across Amazonia since the family represented an outpost of civilization, but which was considered inherently different and inferior.

While the Dacosta /Garral family in Verne’s novel has the accumulated resources to enlist enough labor to build the Jangada, the da Costa family in Smith’s narrative (published only three years before Verne’s) likely displays a more accurate image of the “wealth” that local

⁸³¹ Smith, Herbert H. (Huntington), 1851-1919. "Brazil, the Amazons and the Coast: Free Download & Streaming." Internet Archive. January 01, 1879. Accessed October 25, 2017. <https://archive.org/details/brazilamazonscoa00smit>. Pg. 265

⁸³² See previous chapters (especially 1 and 2)

⁸³³ By contradiction and tension, I refer to historical dialecticism. For more, see: Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich, and J. Sibree,. "The Philosophy of History." Google Books. courier corporation, 2012. Accessed January 02, 2018. <https://books.google.com/books?id=bniImd3dIMkC&printsec=frontcover&dq=scientific%2Bhistory%2Bhegel&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwi-1an65brYAhXPYd8KHWNfBLMQ6AEIKTAA#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

prominent families could realistically accumulate or enlist. These images are also overlaying their approximate location today, revealing memories associated and projected upon with these particular spaces within Amazonia that became conveyed to larger international audiences.⁸³⁴

Another interesting coincidence concerning the circulation of popular textual culture related to Amazonia is that José da Costa's daughter's shares a name, *Joanna* with a more historiographically better-known woman of African descent, who lived in Suriname in the 1770s, (described in the previous chapter).⁸³⁵ Thus, the names "Dacosta / da Costa" and "Joanna" in Smith's work are the same as historical individuals and actors in other well-known Amazonian texts by Jules Verne and John Gabriel Stedman. While more research into typical historical names across race and class in Amazonia can be expanded upon, these shared first names may hint toward the maintenance of larger networks or trends of popular names in both the main channel and in Suriname during the 18th and 19th centuries.⁸³⁶

Another important Francophone work related to Amazonia by the painter and author François Biard, was published in *Deux années au Brésil* in 1869, twelve years before Verne's *La Jangada*. Biard's images visually demonstrate some of the social, economic, and technological shifts occurring throughout Amazonia during the mid-19th century.⁸³⁷ His travels took him across Brazil and up the main channel of the Amazon River along with the Rio Negro and the Madeira

⁸³⁴ For more on the impacts of literature surrounding Amazonia, see: Squeff, Leticia. "Brazil Through French Eyes: A Nineteenth-Century Artist in the Tropics." UNM Press, 2015. Accessed January 27, 2018. https://books.google.com/books?id=DE8zCgAAQBAJ&pg=PA120&lpg=PA120&dq=Fran%C3%A7ois-Auguste+Biard+amazon+river&source=bl&ots=yrujvTqoUt&sig=9-A0B83hbLNgEqzcTaU4NTBxhu8&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKewjjge6g_PjYAhWKwFQKHfguBZQQ6AEIRjAI#v=onepage&q&f=false.

⁸³⁵ This is a particular example of monumentalism by cultural selection that has occurred in a similar way to that described in the Three Faces of Sans-Souci in: Trouillot, Michel-Rolph, and Hazel V. Carby. *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2015.

⁸³⁶ I have examined some census information and done some research into popular names, as well as looked at the work of others, but this cursory search has so far, yielded no tangible information related to these two names.

⁸³⁷ Biard, François Auguste, 1800-1882; Riou, 1833-1900. "Deux Années Au Brésil Free Download & Streaming." Internet Archive. January 01, 1862. Accessed October 28, 2017. <https://archive.org/details/deuxannesaubr00biaruoft>. Pp. 375 & 485

Rivers. Preconfiguring and reversing the “progressive” course of *La Jangada* Biard first arrives in Amazonia via steamboat. However, as he ascends the river in places, such journeying becomes “restricted” to a covered canoe powered by mixed and indigenous rowers, thus travelling by more traditional means deeper into the interior.

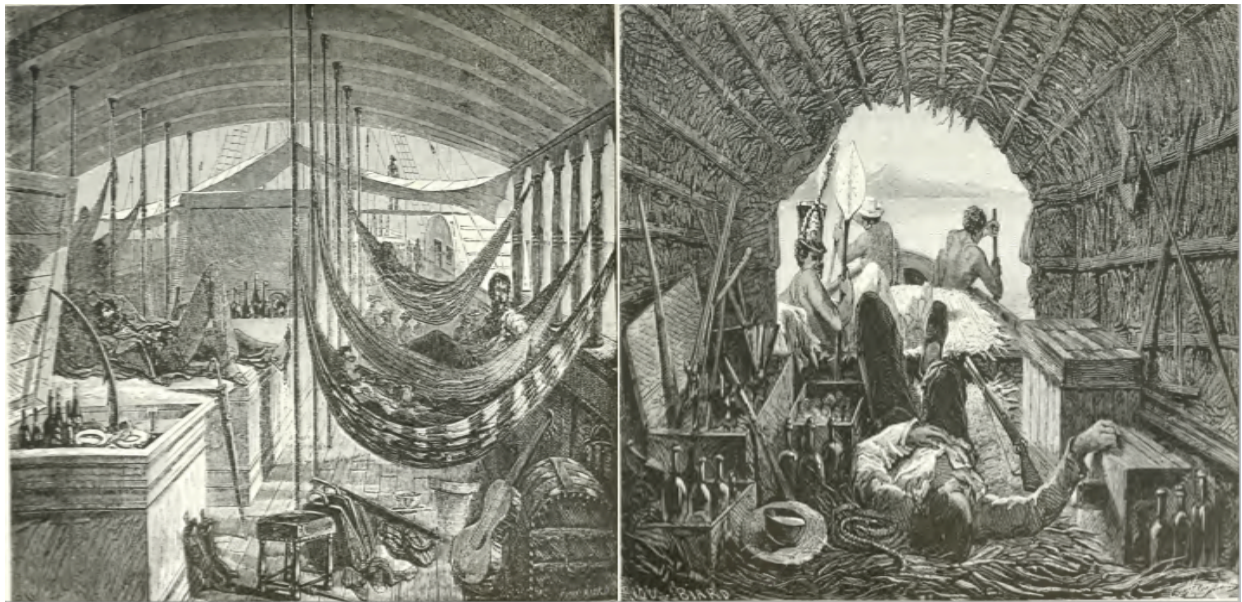


Figure 5.8: Juxtaposition of Travel in Amazonia Aboard a Steam-powered Boat and Canoe. Courtesy, François Biard and Internet Archive. Public Domain and Compiled by Deavenport, J., Spring, 2017

The images above are reproduced from the work of François Biard, an artist to whom the original versions of diptych are attributed. The image on the left (near Para) is aboard a river steamer. The hammocks (often weaved by women like José da Costa’s wife and themselves a broader Amazonian invention) provided travelers with accommodations, while the boat’s relatively larger size could support more cargo. This reveals what seems to be a large amount of bottled goods (liquor) along with a chest and a guitar, as men, who are drawn with “European features and clothes” idle in their hammocks so the left image would look familiar to travelers aboard larger (and slower) vessels that still convey people up and downriver today. It is also

important to note that liquor would often be considered “healthier” than local water sources and therefore would be considered vital cargo that could also be traded throughout the region.

This contrasts with the above image on the right. This was also drawn by Biard, but instead took place along the Rio Negro (much farther into the interior of Amazonia). The perspective reveals Biard, who is lying down (perhaps sleeping) in a covered canoe meant to block out the sun and rain. These canopies were (and still are) woven according to traditional Amazonian techniques. Rather than steam-powered, this vessel is powered by the muscle power of rowers who are depicted with “mixed race features.”⁸³⁸ One man aboard the canoe who is described previously in the narrative as “Le Garde Zephyrno” alone looks back towards the viewer.⁸³⁹ While this canoe can carry far less cargo than the steamboat, both bottles (again presumably for alcohol) as well as firearms are stored in the interior of the vessel.

These images demonstrate unique perspectives of travel aboard Amazonian riverine vessels, while also helping to break down the binary between “traditional and modern” by revealing that though steam powered boats would increase in number, they continued to coexist alongside traditional vessels that often served more local and immediate endeavors that are still employed by various Amazonians today. The two forms of transportation also demonstrate differences in access to capital and in the physicality of passengers by race since the steamboat appears exclusively for European travelers.⁸⁴⁰

⁸³⁸ For more on racialization and representation, see: Squeff, Leticia. "Brazil Through French Eyes: A Nineteenth-Century Artist in the Tropics." UNM Press, 2015. Accessed January 27, 2018. https://books.google.com/books?id=DE8zCgAAQBAJ&pg=PA120&lpg=PA120&dq=Fran%C3%A7ois-Auguste+Biard+amazon+river&source=bl&ots=yrujvTqoUt&sig=9-A0B83hbLNgEqzcTaU4NTBxhu8&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjge6g_PjYAhWKwFQKHfguBZQQ6AEIRjAI#v=onepage&q&f=false

⁸³⁹ Biard, François Auguste, 1800-1882; Riou, 1833-1900. "Deux Années Au Brésil Free Download & Streaming." Internet Archive. January 01, 1862. Accessed October 28, 2017. <https://archive.org/details/deuxannesaubr00biaruoft>. Pg. 482

⁸⁴⁰ Marx, Karl, and Friedrich Engels. "Capital: The Process of Capitalist Production." Google Books. c. h. kerr, 1915. Accessed January 02, 2018. <https://books.google.com/books?id=l->

Indeed, while rowers were vital to transportation in ages past, the change from productive enterprise (rowing) to lounging, as the “segregated” steam engine makes such labor superfluous and is increasingly seen as “antiquated.” While in centuries earlier, rowers pressed into service by state and economic forces had represented “progress,” now the very bodies of indigenous, mixed, and African peoples were monumentalized to represent “backwardness” that the new (white European) settlers were helping to supplant and leaving in the wake of modern boats steaming upriver. Though the image expected abroad of who would populate Amazonia was becoming “whiter” in reality these settlers remained dependent upon local mixed and indigenous Amazonian labor to sustain the lives they hoped to build in the Amazonian *várzea*⁸⁴¹ while, even today in many places, canoes rowed by locals continue to glide across Amazonian waterways.



Figure 5.9: François Biard Photographing local Amazonians. Courtesy, François Biard and Internet Archive. Public Domain and Compiled by Deavenport, J., Spring, 2017

The images in figure 5.8 demonstrate unique “photo-realistic” perspectives perhaps in part because in addition to working as a painter, François Biard was also a photographer as seen

TtAAAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=capital%2Bmarx&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiahKy_5rrYAhWmjVQKHVQdCfkQ6AEIKTAA.

⁸⁴¹ The term *várzea* translates to flood-plain forest in English

in the figure above.⁸⁴² Consequently, it is likely that the methodology being developed in this new field shaped his views on framing, lighting, and many other aspects that influence his paintings of Amazonia as well. The image above depicts one of the earliest depictions of a camera and photography in the Amazon. In the illustration itself, Biard is photographing local Amazonians. While I have not had the opportunity to view such images (should any presently exist), the use of photography (both an art and science) would begin to explode during decades ahead and help to increase images that would circulate in competing collective memories. It will also be used in the following parts of this chapter to demonstrate some of these memories associated with the rapid urbanization of Amazonia in the early 20th century.

John Berger, a well-known scholar whose work centers on the arts and on visual culture, explains, “before a photograph you search for what was there.” Berger further describes photographic memory as “a field where different times coexist—the time of the subject, of the photographer, of the viewer—and as a field that is continuous in terms of the subjectivity that creates and extends it.”⁸⁴³ Consequently, again this is an example of the “collapse of history” since all of these moments are distinct yet intimately interrelated. Like the illustrations included in this chapter (and in the dissertation so far), these photographs also represent particular monumentalized narratives that reflect power, class, often race (during the early 20th century especially), gender and other dimensions that would shape how the medium was practiced, what was processed, and what has been saved until 2017.

⁸⁴² Biard, François Auguste, 1800-1882; Riou, 1833-1900. "Deux Années Au Brésil Free Download & Streaming." Internet Archive. 1862. Accessed October 28, 2017. <https://archive.org/details/deuxannesaubr00biaruoft>. Pg. 577

⁸⁴³ Hughes, Alex, and Andrea Noble. "Phototextualities." Google Books. Accessed November 07, 2017. https://books.google.com/books?id=kZ62I65PcOsC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false. Pg. 41

the rubber boom as new settlers adopted Portuguese to reflect European identities. However, during this time, the language continued to be used and even spread up into the Rio Negro (where some of its largest populations of speakers reside today) as well as into the upper Amazon River above Manaus.⁸⁴⁵

While created by the Jesuits under colonial traditions as a tool of spiritual and secular conquest, the language (again derived from Tupinambá) can be associated today with “indigeneity” and has one of the largest Tupian-speaking populations. The expansion of Nheengatu during this era therefore is linked to traditions of both accommodation with, and resistance against, outside domination. At the same time, many scholars including Denny Moore, Sidney Facundes and Násia Pires argue that the dialect of Nheengatu spoken today would not be “unintelligible”⁸⁴⁶ to other Tupian languages. Many scholars further argue that forms of the language pre-dating contact with the Jesuits and other old world peoples have been maintained historically, though may be lost today. Interestingly, in the upper Rio Negro basin, “Nheengatu is generally considered by tribal Indians to be a language of the Non-Indians, while among Portuguese speakers Nheengatu is often considered to be an indigenous language.”⁸⁴⁷ This reveals that the positionality the viewer impacts their view of this language and the legacies it

⁸⁴⁵ "Expansão Das Línguas Gerais No Brasil." *Língua Geral Amazônica 17th - 21st Centuries MRIM Indigenous Peoples of Brazil*. https://img.socioambiental.org/d/329457-1/linguas-geraisOK.jpg?g2_GALLERYSID=TMP_SESSION_ID_DI_NOISSES_PMT. And Rand McNally and Company. "Media Information." *South America* (1897). - David Rumsey Historical Map Collection. Accessed October 26, 2017. <http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~20236~550115:South-America->

⁸⁴⁶ Many US high school students today feel the same concerning Shakespeare. For more see: Moore, Denny, Sidney Facundes, and Násia Pires. "Nheengatu (*Língua Geral Amazônica*), Its History, and the Effects of Language Contact." *Museu Pareense Emílio Goeldi, Brazil Report 8 Survey of California and Other Indian Languages*, no. Proceedings of the Meeting of the Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas and the Hohan Peuntian Workshop (July 2-4, 1993). <http://linguistics.berkeley.edu/~survey/documents/survey-reports/survey-report-8.07-moore-etal.pdf>. Pg. 114

⁸⁴⁷ Moore, Denny, Sidney Facundes, and Násia Pires. "Nheengatu (*Língua Geral Amazônica*), Its History, and the Effects of Language Contact." *Museu Pareense Emílio Goeldi, Brazil Report 8 Survey of California and Other Indian Languages*, no. Proceedings of the Meeting of the Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas and the Hohan Peuntian Workshop (July 2-4, 1993). <http://linguistics.berkeley.edu/~survey/documents/survey-reports/survey-report-8.07-moore-etal.pdf>. Pg. 116

carries today, the spread of Tupian-linked ideas, words, and some of the ideas often associated with the language family across Amazonia, as well as the complex web of identities surrounding indigeneity and assimilation over the 20th century.

Part II: The Transformation of State and Global Structures through the 20th and 21st Centuries in the Peruvian Department of Loreto

This section re-centers the narrative on changes that urbanized the city of Iquitos, which is near the confluence of the Napo, Tigre, and Marañón Rivers at the turn of the 20th century. The city is situated at what is generally considered the eastern limit of the main channel of the Amazon navigable by ocean going vessels. Today, Iquitos sits relatively near the Peruvian border with Colombia, and Brazil. During the pre-colonial period, but a millennium earlier, it also existed at an intersection of the Amazonian polychrome tradition, which spread across a massive area that can be found today past the city of Manaus in Brazil to the Atlantic and was discussed extensively in chapter 1. Like their Asháninka contemporaries described toward the end of the previous chapter, these indigenous *Iquiteños* likely relied on a mixed regime utilizing agroforestry, fishing, animal husbandry, and probably some swidden agriculture, ultimately leading to an “Amazonian archipelago that could have sustained larger populations and so-called “complex societies.”⁸⁴⁸

To offer the reader a brief reminder/summary, after Orellana and Carvajal haphazardly made their way down the river to the Atlantic in 1542, the region would come under the

⁸⁴⁸ For more on this see: Mann, Charles C. *1491: New Revelations of the Americas before Columbus*. New York: Knopf, 2005 and for the “Amazonian Archipelago perhaps based on the similar Andean Archipelago Model, See: *The Archaeology of Agriculture in Ancient Amazonia/Handbook of South American Archaeology*. By Jose Oliver. New York, NY: Springer, 2008. 189

Audiencia of Quito by 1563,⁸⁴⁹ and Catholic missionary activity by about 1638.⁸⁵⁰ The laying down of ecclesiastical and legal jurisdictions within Loreto began to divide or “order the space” around the future city according to old world legal traditions and conceptions of land usage. This has resulted in the jurisdictional division of the Department of Loreto today, into: Maynas (principally around Iquitos), Loreto, Alto Amazonas, Ucayali, Requena, and Mariscal Ramón Castilla.⁸⁵¹

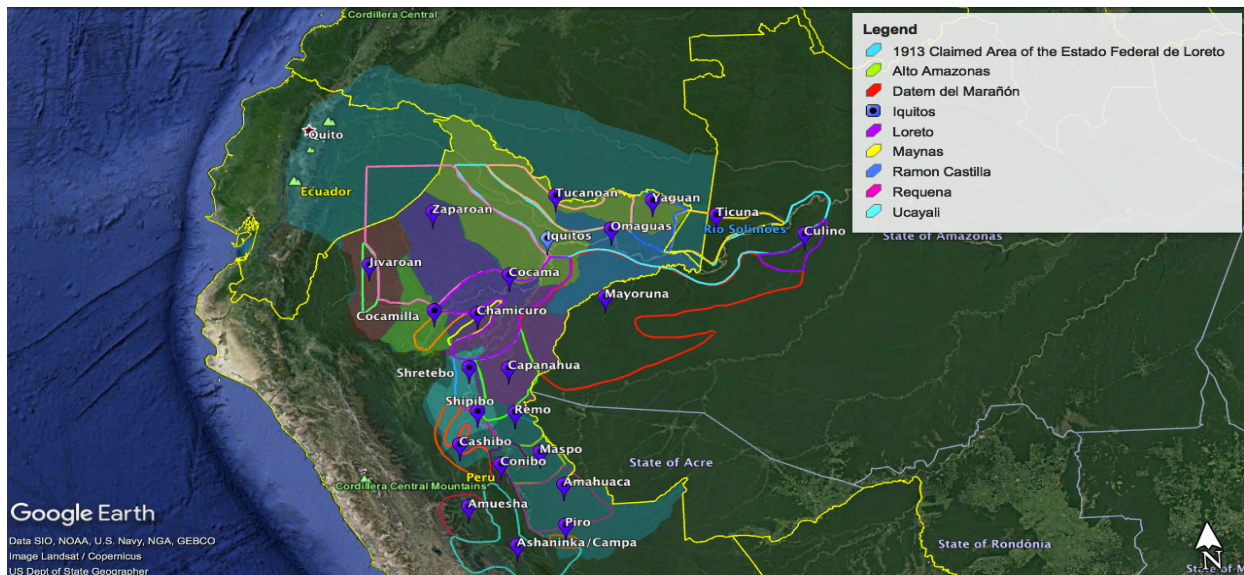


Figure 5.11: Historical Jurisdictions of Loreto, Perú. Courtesy Google Earth, Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., spring, 2017

The images above reveal contemporary and historical jurisdictional boundaries of indigenous nations along with those of the Estado Federal de Loreto and of Loreto around 1913 (in blue) and today (in various colors) as well as the location of Iquitos.⁸⁵² Such divisions allowed for gathering knowledge about the land with the ultimate goal of ordering, governing,

⁸⁴⁹ Early, Edwin, Elizabeth Baquedano, Rebecca Earle, Caroline Williams, Anthony McFarlane, and Joseph Smith. *History Atlas of South America*. [S.l.]: Macmillan, 1998. Pg. 50

⁸⁵⁰ *Ibid.* Pg. 55

⁸⁵¹ Benavies Estrada, Juan Augusto. *Atlas Del Peru*. Primera Edicion ed. Lima, Perú: Editorial Escuela Nueva, 1988. Pg. 169

⁸⁵²The original map with some updating is based on Augusto, Benavides Estrada Juan. *Atlas Del Peru*. Lima: Escuela Nueva, 1989. And Unknown. "Loreto, Perú." Accessed November 4, 2017. <http://4.bp.blogspot.com/-UCjoOOEKNZ4/UfGeewrTcnI/AAAAAAAAAhI/dVlgY3R7Vto/>.

privatizing, and commoditizing this space into an exploitable resource. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the strength of the Juan Santos Atahualpa movement as well as yellow fever,⁸⁵³ and a selection of other priorities created indigenous, mixed, Peruvian, and eventually other European/international settlements or towns in Loreto until the late 19th century, but these mostly remained relatively small until the rubber boom began to direct labor to areas such as the city of Iquitos. The claimed borders of the Estado Federal de Loreto in comparison to contemporary borders (shown in yellow) reveals how competing claims between Perú, Ecuador, and Colombia have been worked out since the end of the colonial era.

As the industrial revolution was quite literally “gaining steam” and increasing demand for Amazonian rubber, the Peruvian nation was weathering multiple “shocks” including the War of the Pacific (1879 - 1883) against Chile over controlling lucrative nitrate sources, a dizzying array of presidential successions, and civil strife. In addition to such transformations, the same contestation over the ideas of centralism versus federalism (which similarly was debated within and ultimately doomed Gran Colombia)⁸⁵⁴ would briefly erupt in this city. This occurred on May 2nd 1896, when notables including: Mariano José Madueño and Ricardo Seminario y Aramburú, allied with some measure of popular support among Iquiteños proclaimed the *Estado Federal de Loreto* or the “Federal State of Loreto” in the otherwise centralist Peruvian state, even though the new President Nicolás de Piérola Villena (in office 1879-1881 & 1895- 1889) had voiced support for a federalist vision during his 1895 campaign.⁸⁵⁵

⁸⁵³ Eidl, Robert C. "Pioneer Settlement In Eastern Peru." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 52.3 (1962): 255-78 Pg. 262-3

⁸⁵⁴ This conflict is described in greater detail the previous chapter.

⁸⁵⁵ Barclay Rey De Castro, Frederica. "El Estado Federal De Loreto, 1896 Centralismo, Descentralización Y Federalismo En El Perú, a Fines Del Siglo XIX." *El Estado Federal De Loreto, 1896. Centralismo, Descentralismo Y Federalismo En El Perú - Libros Peruanos*. February 2013. Accessed November 02, 2017. <http://www.librosperuanos.com/libros/detalle/9921/El-estado-federal-de-Loreto-1896.-Centralismo-descentralismo-y-federalismo-en-el-Peru>. Pg. 267

According to Frederica Barclay Rey de Castro in her seminal work *El Estado Federal de Loreto, 1896, Centralismo, Decentralización y Federalismo in el Perú*, a group of Iquitos residents (along with a brass band) approached Col. Mariano José Madueño on the afternoon of May second, asking him to accept the leadership of the new area, though “power” actually passed to Ricardo Seminario y Aramburú, who became the first and only governor of Loreto as a new federal state. While a great deal of scholarship exists within Spanish historiography, the event is fairly understudied (though occasionally cited) within the Anglophone literature.⁸⁵⁶

In short, potentially due to federalist/centralist tensions like those described above along with ire over local taxation contributed to the discontent with rule from Lima. Frederica Barclay Rey de Castro explained that the monumentalism of the ideas around federalism and positivism were tantalizing, especially as the profits from the rubber boom might be used to enrich locals and transform towns like Iquitos into modernist wonders. With the tension and political upheavals in the rest of the nation, such federalism could insulate Iquitos and direct more of the profits of the “rubber fever” more locally and even serve as a utopian model that other regions could adopt.

As Barclay Rey de Castro explained, “At the end of the nineteenth century, federalism was a kind of enlightened religion in which positivism had left a deep mark. It was asserted that federalism augured the happiness and development of nations, and for this the examples of the

⁸⁵⁶ Some of the Spanish literature includes: (Palacios Rodríguez, 1991: 411-441; Barletti, 1993; 1994; Planas, 1998: 273-276; Basadre, 2002: IX, 2263-2265). Otros autores se han detenido en este suceso solo para señalar su carácter separatista (Walker, 1987: 76; Contreras & Cueto, 1999: 146) o subrayar su carácter federalista (Martínez Ríaza, 1999: 406) This is cited in Barclay Rey De Castro, Frederica. "El Estado Federal De Loreto, 1896 Centralismo, Descentralización Y Federalismo En El Perú, a Fines Del Siglo XIX." *El Estado Federal De Loreto, 1896. Centralismo, Descentralismo Y Federalismo En El Perú - Libros Peruanos*. February 2013. Accessed November 02, 2017. <http://www.librosperuanos.com/libros/detalle/9921/El-estado-federal-de-Loreto-1896.-Centralismo-descentralismo-y-federalismo-en-el-Peru>. Some of the Anglophone literature includes: Evans, D'Anne A. "Iquitos, Peru, Problems of a Jungle City." Google Books, Original: Department of History, Stanford University., 1956. Accessed November 04, 2017. <https://books.google.com/books?id=UpQUAAAIAAJ&q=Loreto%2BUprising%2B1896&dq=Loreto%2BUprising%2B1896&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwi8tJeBh6bXAhUBUmMKHbbYCcEQ6AEIPjAE>.

United States, Switzerland and Germany were invoked.”⁸⁵⁷ In other words, this uprising can in part be understood as an attempt to compel Perú towards utopian modernist visions, and to reconfigure the state according in the model of “successful” states that were becoming leading industrial and military powers challenging British hegemony during the period.⁸⁵⁸

However, though positivism offered hope that progress would make (some of) their lives better by increasing their longevity, wealth and comfort, the well-known philosopher Walter Benjamin in discussing the ideas around positivism centered upon a major contradiction or tension⁸⁵⁹ within positivism, by stating that:

Technology...is obviously not a purely scientific development. It is at the same time a historical one...the questions that humanity brings to nature are in part conditioned by the level of production. This is the point at which positivism fails. In the development of technology, it was able to see only the progress of natural science, not the concomitant retrogression of society. Positivism overlooked the fact that this development was decisively conditioned by capitalism...they [positivists] misunderstood the destructive character of this development because they were alienated from the destructive side of the dialectics.⁸⁶⁰

⁸⁵⁷ Barclay Rey De Castro, Frederica. "El Estado Federal De Loreto, 1896 Centralismo, Descentralización Y Federalismo En El Perú, a Fines Del Siglo XIX." *El Estado Federal De Loreto, 1896. Centralismo, Descentralismo Y Federalismo En El Perú - Libros Peruanos*. February 2013. Accessed November 02, 2017. Pg. 353

⁸⁵⁸ For more on this, see: Mitchell, Nancy. *The Danger of Dreams: German and American Imperialism in Latin America*. Chapel Hill (N.C.): University of North Carolina Press, 1999.

⁸⁵⁹ This of course understands tension within the tradition of Hegel, Marx, and many other dialectical historians. For more, see: Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich, and J. Sibree,. "The Philosophy of History." Google Books. courier corporation, 2012. Accessed January 02, 2018.

<https://books.google.com/books?id=bniImd3dIMkC&printsec=frontcover&dq=scientific%2Bhistory%2Bhegel&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwi-1an65brYAhXPYd8KHWNfBLMQ6AEIKTAA#v=onepage&q&f=false>. and Marx, Karl, and Friedrich Engels. "Capital: The Process of Capitalist Production." Google Books. c. h. kerr, 1915. Accessed January 02, 2018. https://books.google.com/books?id=l-TtAAAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=capital%2Bmarx&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiahKy_5rYAhWmjVQKHVQdCfkQ6AEIKTAA.

⁸⁶⁰ Chaudhary, Zahid R. "Afterimage of Empire." Google Books, U of Minnesota Press, 2012. Accessed November 30, 2017. https://books.google.com/books?id=RSjgANSSMOgC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false. Pg. 28 Emphasis by Chaudhary.

Essentially, while westerners celebrated the transplanting of “Paris in the tropics” as Amazonian cities exploded in growth, many people would overlook the continuing abuses of indigenous, mixed, and people of African descent in order to fulfill such utopian aspirations. Related ideas celebrated “men’s’ domination” (and “men” are specifically mentioned as such discourses were particularly celebratory of masculinist hetero-patriarchy). This “taming” of the Amazonian forest would increasingly be accomplished through massive investments of capital, resources, and lives into major utopian engineering projects. Such blind monumentalism prioritized short-term profit over more equitable forms of material and economic distribution. Alternative value systems stressing greater appreciation and application of conservation, not to mention leaving the area from any type of western domination and recognizing/respecting indigenous value systems was never seriously considered, sowing the seeds of growth that has major implications for our own contemporary moment in time.



Figure 5.12: Civil and Military Insurrection of Loreto and Proclamation of the State of Loreto of the Peruvian Republic of 1896. Public Domain, Courtesy Archivo Municipalidad De Maynas, Wikimedia Commons, and Google Earth. Compiled by Deavenport, J., Spring, 2017

How far such ideas like positivism spread throughout the class structure of places like Iquitos is unknown for sure given limits of time and of information associated with this particular “historical archive.” Here, the image is depicted overlaying Iquitos today.⁸⁶¹ It is included here for a number of reasons. First, it is one of the only photos of the event that can be accessed by the public. Second, it reveals that this group of “men” holding bayonets are wearing the popular bourgeois Amazonian dress of the period (in white) as well as some in black demonstrate that support may have been more widespread than initially reported, though still potentially restricted by class and race.⁸⁶² *El Estado Federal de Loreto* further contends that backing for the uprising and federalism broadly “found support among most of the merchants, both national and foreign.” In Iquitos, but also in the Huallaga and even in Moyobamba the capital prior to this uprising, many were demanding the capital be moved to Iquitos. Only the prefect of Moyobamba David Arévalo, it seems objected, but was little supported by other administrators.⁸⁶³

Though the uprising was quickly quashed by the Peruvian President Nicolás de Piérola Villena with some leaders fleeing into exile rather than be captured, many of their demands were ultimately met, including the transfer of the capital to Iquitos and a more federal structure to the national government. Later, when attempting to secure amnesty for some of the leaders of the movement within the national congress, Deputies Rojas, Pizarro and Rodríguez who (according to Barclay Rey de Castro) were likely re-fashioning arguments by leaders like Mariano José

⁸⁶¹ Unknown. "Civil and Military Insurrection of Loreto and Proclamation of the State of Loreto of the Peruvian Republic of 1896." Wikimedia Commons Archivo Municipalidad De Maynas. November 24, 2016. Accessed November 7, 2017. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Revolucion_de_Federal_de_1896.jpg.

⁸⁶² I understand the process of racial formation as similar yet particular to Latin American and Amazonian contexts to what was described in the US centered work of Omi, Michael, and Howard Winant. *Racial Formation in the United States*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2015.

⁸⁶³ Barclay Rey De Castro, Frederica. "El Estado Federal De Loreto, 1896 Centralismo, Descentralización Y Federalismo En El Perú, a Fines Del Siglo XIX." *El Estado Federal De Loreto, 1896. Centralismo, Descentralismo Y Federalismo En El Perú - Libros Peruanos*. February 2013. Accessed November 02, 2017. Pg 319

Madueño contended that the uprising was never a threat to the republican order, but intimately linked to the very same ideologies, stating:

That the political movement was not intended to disrupt the public peace nor disown the constituted government but only bring about the realization of an idea that fits in the republican system; [namely] that the authors and adherents believed that the most practical way to make their ideas effective was to proclaim them in fact, thinking that the peoples of Peru who cares so much about the institutions of the Departmental Juntas, harbored the principles of the federation, to whose end it seems that the institution of Departmental Boards is set up; that when finding resistance in practice, they have declined the facts respecting the way of feeling of the country, which does not consider it opportune still to adopt the federal system; that the propagandists of autonomous ideas, who in no way demoralize the people, instead of being dragged to the bank of the convicts, deserve the consideration of the healthy liberal doctrine.⁸⁶⁴

In other words, the failure of the centralist republican state had necessitated greater self-government (at least among the upper, and whiter classes). These groups could not be rebellious, as they had sought not emancipation from the Peruvian state, just greater control over “their” slice of it. Nevertheless, within such “self-government” local and national officials conveniently and consistently overlooked indigenous wishes. Their defenders argued that the uprising’s leaders deserved a fair trial that recognized they were not “traitorous,” as they never fought for independence, but instead were protecting the government by seeking greater autonomy and self-representation, thereby bringing the state more intimately “into” Amazonia. However, this central question of who has access to, retains, and may legitimately express democratic, “natural,” (and eventually) human rights continues to be a central question shaping into the 20th century and

⁸⁶⁴ The original text in Spanish is: “Que el movimiento político no tuvo por objeto trastornar la paz pública ni desconocer el gobierno constituido sino únicamente la realización de una idea que cabe en el sistema republicano; que los autores y adherentes creyeron que la manera más práctica de hacer efectivas sus ideas era proclamarlas de hecho, pensando en que los pueblos del Perú que tanto acarician las instituciones de las Juntas Departamentales, abrigaban los principios de la federación, á cuyo n parece que se encamina dicha institución de Juntas departamentales; que al encontrar resistencias en la práctica, han declinado de los hechos respetando el modo de sentir del país, que no cree oportuno todavía adoptar el sistema federal; que los propagandistas de ideas autonómicas, que en nada desmoralizan a los pueblos, en vez de ser arrastrados al banco de los penadaos, merecen la consideración de la sana doctrina liberal”.

across Amazonia today as multinational corporations, states, and local people and still compete over claims to resources and sovereignty.

By the early twentieth century, this process was becoming more visible as the rubber boom rapidly impacted the region. This would alter forever what (and who) would come to represent the “modern” state in Loreto. For example, in 1905 alone, 10,000 kilos (or about 22,000 pounds) of rubber was shipped to Europe from sources on the Jururá eight days journey downriver from Iquitos, which became the main transit station in upper Amazonia around 1863.⁸⁶⁵ The waterways around the city swarmed as a result of such activity as the material harvested from the trees throughout the region was often exported through Iquitos. This brought a fleet of steam (and later petroleum) powered ships of iron and galvanized steel that had been constructed in cities including: Nantes and Paris in France, London and Liverpool in the U.K. and more than a few in Hamburg, Germany.⁸⁶⁶ Foreign nations such as Brazil, Colombia, and the United Kingdom made other marks in Iquitos as well, opening consulates, while other diplomatic offices were concurrently opened by Germany, Spain, China, France, and Italy.⁸⁶⁷ With names like “César, Inca, and Libertad,”⁸⁶⁸ these steamships could carry up to seventy people and in all likelihood carried greater numbers of passengers as demanded.

Along with larger numbers of people however, they also brought with them new forms of pollution as some of the ships had the capacity to store up to 10 tons of coal. Others would burn up to 90 pieces of wood from felled local trees in order to achieve a top speed of 9 miles per

⁸⁶⁵ Fuentes, Hildebrando. *Loreto; Apuntes Geográficos, Históricos, Estadísticos, Políticos Y Sociales*, Lima: Impr. De La Revista, 1908. Pg. 137

⁸⁶⁶ *Ibid* Inlay 1

⁸⁶⁷ *Ibid*. Pg. 61

⁸⁶⁸ *Ibid*. Inlay 2

hour.⁸⁶⁹ In releasing such toxins into the air, the ships were part of a process that was changing the environment in powerful ways. Indeed, in addition to the carbons released into the atmosphere by increased burning from the ships themselves, was the effect on the forest of cutting down particular trees (for fuel) while selecting others such as rubber to survive, affecting the lives of countless organisms up the food chain.

Those ships that relied on petroleum would also influence the chemistry of the water around the city of Iquitos when accidents, wrecks or leaks occurred due to neglect over the years. On a human scale, such pollution would contribute to cancers and shorten the lives of both indigenous and immigrant Amazonians. In other ways, they would help to demonstrate the intrusion of the national state as well as allow for increasing international economic linkages.⁸⁷⁰ For instance, such transportation was also used to help ship other goods that would aid in refashioning Iquitos into a more Neo-European, image culturally selected by this newly emerging immigrant elite. Like their colonial era predecessors, among this new aristocracy were missionaries seeking to spread Christianity among the indigenous peoples. After 1900, Franciscan missionary activity alone was being carried out across a region that stretched between Cusco and within 25 miles of Iquitos.⁸⁷¹

Maintaining such Eurocentric lifestyles and identities in Iquitos in the early twentieth century could be “very expensive.”⁸⁷² The price of an entire cow consumed for beef was an

⁸⁶⁹ Fuentes, Hildebrando. *Loreto; Apuntes Geográficos, Históricos, Estadísticos, Políticos Y Sociales*, Lima: Impr. De La Revista, 1908. Inlay 1

⁸⁷⁰ For more on economic linkages and Commodity Chains, see: Topik, Steven, Carlos Marichal, and Zephyr Frank. "From Silver to Cocaine." Google Books. 2006. Accessed February 06, 2018. <https://books.google.com/books?id=mnvBYQqpJbQC>.

⁸⁷¹ Eidt, Robert C. "Pioneer Settlement In Eastern Peru." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 52.3 (1962): 255-78. Pg. 279

⁸⁷² Original Spanish text: “la vida en ese río resulta muy cara.” Fuentes, Hildebrando. *Loreto; Apuntes Geográficos, Históricos, Estadísticos, Políticos Y Sociales*,. Lima: Impr. De La Revista, 1908. Pg. 125

indulgence that could fetch a price of 500 Peruvian Soles,⁸⁷³ while chicken and tobacco would go for S (Peruvian Soles) 10, and matches might set one back S 1.50 in 1905.⁸⁷⁴ In similar ways, the national and international market economy had taken root within the Loreto region (at least around Iquitos) quite strongly at the beginning of the 20th century and was involved in helping to maintain the growing infrastructure of the state and those who represented it. To sustain the goods more land around Iquitos was brought into old world forms of agricultural production, though an attempt was made to use local products as well. For instance, some property owners salted Paiches or Arapaima (a particularly large and ancient Amazonian fish) along with mills for manioc, while other landowners would convert their land to distill brandy.⁸⁷⁵ Akin to Amazonian *masato*, it appears that across many Amazonian and western cultures, the consumption of particular alcohols is important to maintaining identity and social structures.

As increasing amounts of land were converted from managed and natural forest, the knowledge (and capacity) of agroforestry to sustain populations and shaped over millennia of empirical observation by indigenous peoples was largely forgotten or ignored. Instead, landowners would largely employ slash-and-burn agriculture, mostly accomplished with the “free” labor of indigenous peoples.⁸⁷⁶ In his work *1491: New Revelations of the Americas before Columbus*, also discussed in chapter 1, Charles C. Mann explains:

Slash-and-burn cultivation has become one of the driving forces behind the loss of tropical forest. Although swidden does permit the forest to regrow, it is wildly inefficient and environmentally unsound. The burning sends up in smoke most of the nutrients in the vegetation—almost all of the nitrogen and half the phosphorus

⁸⁷³ While I have not been able to adjust this figure for inflation nor find an adequate source that converts this figure for the period, today \$1 is worth S 2.68 PEN (Nuevo Soles)

⁸⁷⁴ Fuentes, Hildebrando. *Loreto; Apuntes Geográficos, Históricos, Estadísticos, Políticos Y Sociales*,. Lima: Impr. De La Revista, 1908. Pp. 125-6

⁸⁷⁵ Fuentes, Hildebrando. *Loreto; Apuntes Geográficos, Históricos, Estadísticos, Políticos Y Sociales*,. Lima: Impr. De La Revista, 1908. . Fuentes. Inlay 8 between pp 170-71.

⁸⁷⁶ *Ibid* Image 2, between Pp 118- 19

and potassium. At the same time, it pours huge amounts of carbon dioxide into the air, a factor in global warming. Large cattle ranches are the major offenders in the Amazon, but small-scale farmers are responsible for up to a third of the clearing.⁸⁷⁷

Thus, in addition to monopolizing land that had previously been utilized to support agroforestry, producing fruit, palm oil, or had been set aside to allow population replenishment of animals like turtles and manatees that could be harnessed for food or tools by indigenous Amazonians, more land would be pressed into supporting to its detriment, plants and animals that had evolved in temperate climates in Afro-Eurasia. Meanwhile, the very same methods seek to impose western agricultural systems, contributing to global climatic change today. In such ways, the previously culturally selected characteristics of space around Iquitos have unfortunately largely been obscured or erased over the past century from *lieux de memoire*⁸⁷⁸ (places of memory) into non-places,⁸⁷⁹ or *lieux d'oublier* (places of forgetting). Despite such violence to memory and space, people with indigenous ancestry continue to call the city and the area home and to remember such facts in a multiplicity of ways.

By 1912, the growth of Iquitos presented new challenges, as diseases like cholera, yellow fever, and others threatened the surrounding population. For instance, on June 18th a diplomatic dispatch noted: "The American consul at Iquitos reports...3 deaths from beriberi and 3 from yellow fever occurred at Iquitos during the month of May, 1912."⁸⁸⁰ In 1908, the prefect, Pedro Portillo claimed to have supported a building boom that included: a central park/plaza, church,

⁸⁷⁷ Mann, Charles C. *1491: New Revelations of the Americas before Columbus*. New York: Knopf, 2005. Pg. 299-300

⁸⁷⁸ For more on the concept of *lieux de memoire*, See: Nora, Pierre, and Lawrence D. Kritzman. *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French past*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.

⁸⁷⁹ Martín-Cabrera, Luis. *Radical Justice: Spain and the Southern Cone beyond Market and State*. [Lewisburg, Pa.]: Bucknell University Press, 2011. Pg. 17

⁸⁸⁰ Unknown. "Peru: Iquitos. Beriberi. Yellow Fever." *Public Health Reports (1896-1970)* Vol. 27, No. 32 (Aug. 9, 1912), P. 1305. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4568320?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents. Pg. 1305

electrification of streets, a telegraph tower, a the first British built *ferrocarril* or streetcar, along with the city's malecon,⁸⁸¹ and a monument to celebrate the fallen in the War of the Pacific. Portillo also commissioned a study concerning the hygiene and sanitation of the city as the outbreak of diseases required Portillo to construct a cemetery along with the other public works started in 1905. Nearly a decade later in 1914, a public health report published in the United States noted many of the deaths.⁸⁸² It further disclosed that a "sanitary campaign" began in January of 1913, finishing by July 1st 1914. The brief summary below explains:

The death records for the 10 years preceding 1913 show an average annual mortality rate of 40.56 per 1,000 inhabitants, increasing to an average of 46.58 for the last 3 years and to 49.52 for 1912. During the first year of the work the death rate fell to 28.88, and (during the first six months of 1914 to 21 per 1,000 inhabitants. The birth rate for the five-year period preceding 1913 was 62.64 per 1,000 inhabitants per annum; for 1913 it was 64.⁸⁸³

These numbers above reveal that around 4.05% of the city's population was dying of disease every year between 1912 and 1914. In other words, the last few years, more people had succumbed to illness, while immigration and a now expanding birthrate were still contributing to population growth. Still, it was claimed that newly enacted measures were successful in lowering the death rate to around 2.1% and encouraging the birthrate to creep up. The study further cited poor infrastructure as a contributing vector for the spread of diseases as the city had no "hospital and no public clinic," though medical facilities for use by local military forces did exist. Indeed, up to half of the population who had died were unseen by a physician, though among those who

⁸⁸¹ A waterfront esplanade

⁸⁸² Converse, G. M. "The Sanitation of Iquitos, Peru." 29, no. 46 (1914): 3030-040. Accessed November 9, 2017. doi:10.2307/4571532.

⁸⁸³ Unknown. "Peru: Iquitos. Beriberi. Yellow Fever." Public Health Reports (1896-1970) Vol. 27, No. 32 (Aug. 9, 1912), P. 1305. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4568320?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents. Pg. 1305

⁸⁸³ Converse, G. M. "The Sanitation of Iquitos, Peru." 29, no. 46 (1914): 3030-040. Accessed November 9, 2017. doi:10.2307/4571532.. Pg. 3030

had, the leading causes of death included “malaria, malarial cachexia, anemia, diarrhea, fevers, etc.”⁸⁸⁴ As someone who has experienced some of the effects of these illnesses, I can personally attest to how debilitating and scary such symptoms can be. The study recommended various remedies such as applying kerosene dipped netting over standing water sources to decrease the ability of mosquitos to use such spaces to procreate.



Figure 5.13: Momentary Modernism: Iquitos 1905 – 1912. Public Domain, Courtesy Jstor and Internet Archive. Compiled by Deavenport, J., Spring, 2017

The images above (beginning top left and moving clockwise) demonstrate the changing nature of this urbanizing Amazonian space between 1905 and 1912. The top two images reveal the sanitary conditions of the rapidly growing city. One could not devise a better breeding ground for mosquitos than the microclimate that standing water that these open sewers provided. Rapid rainfall that might swell such streams could also mix in human and animal excrement as

⁸⁸⁴ Unknown. "Peru: Iquitos. Beriberi. Yellow Fever." *Public Health Reports (1896-1970)* Vol. 27, No. 32 (Aug. 9, 1912), P. 1305. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4568320?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents. Pg. 1305

⁸⁸⁴ Converse, G. M. "The Sanitation of Iquitos, Peru." 29, no. 46 (1914): 3030-040. Accessed November 9, 2017. doi:10.2307/4571532. Pg. 3030

well as other pollutants that would contribute to conditions that made Iquitos a dangerous place for newly arrived settlers as old world and tropical diseases converged, creating an especially deadly and debilitating culturally selected environment. This would impact even local Amazonian peoples as the conditions increased exposure. Indeed, the bottom left image of “patients at the day clinic” in the city reflect the multi-ethnic nature of Iquitos’ population as well as the indiscriminate nature of the diseases that attacked the town’s inhabitants. The first three images all date from 1912. Finally, the bottom right image (dating from 1905) reflects the inauguration of city’s streetcar system, while the newly built electric streetlights and European-influenced architecture of the period can also be seen.⁸⁸⁵ According to a monument in Iquitos celebrating its memory, the streetcar service would be discontinued by 1939, when trains, once a symbol of utopian modernism, became increasingly seen as antiquated as the whims of capitalism shifted toward monumentalizing automobiles. All of these examples demonstrate monumentalism by cultural selection as many settlers, speculators, and builders sought to appropriate and refashion on this particular Amazonian space traditions of urbanism popular in the period that has impacted both the land and the population surrounding Iquitos.

Just one reason this is significant is apparent by momentarily collapsing history to the dawn of the present century. This reveals other formal and informal manifestations of the state in the Loreto region of the Peruvian Amazon, and that have helped to transform the initially small settlement of Iquitos beyond its rubber boom foundations into home for nearly half a million people. While boats continue to move up and down the river, this city still remains the largest urban space in the world not connected by road to other cities or regions in the nation. However,

⁸⁸⁵ Top (left /right) and bottom right image: Converse, G. M. "The Sanitation of Iquitos, Peru." 29, no. 46 (1914): 3030-040. Accessed November 9, 2017. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4571532>. Unnumbered. Bottom Left image:Fuentes, Hildebrando. *Loreto; Apuntes Geográficos, Históricos, Estadísticos, Políticos Y Sociales*, Lima: Impr. De La Revista, 1908. Pg 351

Iquitos has built an airport, allowing the area additional access from the air goods, information, as well as facilitate the travel of individuals who can move more quickly than by only arriving via river. Today Iquitos also relies on other means of connectivity through the internet, which depends on steady sources of electricity. However, like coal and petroleum, which powered ships of the last century, the reliance on planes contributes to an increasing sphere of air pollution surrounding the city. According to the environmental group BlueSkyModel.org, a plane produces about “244 pounds of carbon dioxide each mile it flies. An average plane carries 218 passengers, so about 1 pound of carbon dioxide per passenger per mile in the air.”⁸⁸⁶ Such local ecological stresses are not helped by the use of motor taxis, which speed around the urban center. Beyond the confines of Iquitos itself, deforestation is occurring while oil companies have also gained privileges through agreements with the national government to explore and extract oil across Loreto. Such agreements and their resulting pollution has contributed greatly to incidents of diseases such as cancer, in addition to oil spills, and the pollution of water tables both in the specific areas of contamination as well as downstream.⁸⁸⁷ More recently, The Ecuadorian government has granted major land concessions in its Amazonian region to China, while the Peruvian government has just supported the construction of roads through areas that have remained less disturbed by encounters with the state.

This process or ecocide was exponentially sped up as the export of rubber brought massive wealth to a few in cities like Iquitos and Belém in Pará. Indeed, between 1890 and 1900 trade of Amazonian sap totaled over 100 million pounds per year and a decade later increased to 160 million pounds, with 70% of the use related to automobile production. Finally, exports had

⁸⁸⁶ "BlueSkyModel.org." *Stewart Marion*. Web. 09 June 2012. <<http://www.stewartmarion.com/carbon-footprint/html/carbon-footprint-plane.html>>.

⁸⁸⁷ Benevies Estrada, Juan Augusto. *Atlas Del Peru*. Primera Edicion ed. Lima, Perú: Editorial Escuela Nueva, 1988. Print. Pg. 174 and Collins, Dan. "Peru Tribe Battles Oil Giant over Pollution." *BBC News*. BBC, 24 Mar. 2008. Web. 09 June 2012. <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/7306639.stm>>.=

increased fifty times what they had been in 1850. While cultivation linked to industrial enterprises reportedly started near Pará, it expanded to Beni in Bolivia, Acre in Brazil and eventually into the Putumayo basin straddling the borders of Colombia and Perú.⁸⁸⁸

Beginning around 1906, a year after the first streetcar was inaugurated with great pomp in Iquitos, British Consul, Sir Roger Casement, who would go on to document the human rights abuses linked to the Amazonian and Congo rubber trades,⁸⁸⁹ (and who according to his “black journals”⁸⁹⁰ may also have been soliciting anonymous sex with men/boys along the docks of Amazonian cities like Iquitos and Manaus)⁸⁹¹ reported in his Amazon or “white” journals of the atrocities carried out by the Putumayo Company. Later documentation would demonstrate that the corporation (among others) who were utilizing brutally violent slave labor to meet the demands of the industrializing cities of the “global north.” By 1913, *The Putumayo, the Devil's Paradise; Travels in the Peruvian Amazon Region and an Account of the Atrocities Committed upon the Indians Therein* was published further describing the violence of the Putumayo Company, which supplied a great deal of rubber to the world. Like other areas where rubber was exploited (the Congo Free State for example), labor was ruthlessly demanded by settlers across race. Indeed, some overseers were themselves of mixed, African, or indigenous descent. Therefore, individual, racial, and cultural differences were all used as wedges to ensure continued exploitation and impossibly high quotas. Regardless, across Amazonia, forced labor regimes committed numerous abuses against locals.

⁸⁸⁸ Goodman, Jordan. *The Devil and Mr. Casement One Man's Battle for Human Rights in South America's Heart of Darkness*. Picador USA, 2011.

⁸⁸⁹ For more on the Congo Rubber Trade, See: Hoschschild, Adam. *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa*. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1999.

⁸⁹⁰ There is some question as to the authenticity of the “black journals” as some historians argue these may be forgeries created by British intelligence to discredit Casement, a well-known sympathizer of Irish Republicanism and independence from the United Kingdom

⁸⁹¹ For more on this, See: Grandin, Greg. *Fordlandia: The Rise and Fall of Henry Ford's Forgotten Jungle City*. Macmillan, 2010. Pg. 27



Figure 5.14: 1913 Photograph “Chained Indian Rubber Gatherers in the Stocks: On the Putumayo River “ overlaying the Putumayo River. Public Domain, Courtesy, Walter Ernest Hardenburg and Internet Archive Internet Archive. Compiled by Deavenport, J., Spring, 2017

The image above reveals shackled Amazonian people whose appropriated labor allowed for the expansion of urban utopian projects in spaces like Iquitos as well as in Belem, London, and other cities.⁸⁹² The individuals likely originated from the Huitotos nation. The Huitotos population numbered around 50,000 at the beginning of the rubber boom and only 10,000 individuals, representing an 80% population decline by 1912. Alternatively, these enslaved people may have been from the neighboring Boras nation.⁸⁹³ The text appropriated and refashioned the “noble savage” tradition, explaining that the native Amazonian people from the Putumayo region were “docile” and “free from immorality and disease.” It is important to note that their incarceration and placement in chains while evident of heart wrenching abuse, is *also* perhaps indicative of indigenous resistance, for overseers (often mixed race people brought into

⁸⁹² Hardenburg, W. E. (Walter Ernest), and Charles Reginald Enock. "The Putumayo, the Devil's Paradise; Travels in the Peruvian Amazon Region and an Account of the Atrocities Committed upon the Indians Therein." Internet Archive. January 01, 1970, orig. 1913. Accessed November 09, 2017. <https://archive.org/details/putumayodevilspa00hardrich>. Pg. 8

⁸⁹³ *Ibid.* Pg. 25

the region from the Caribbean) would not have gone to the trouble, nor bore the additional material or social costs unless they believed that such measures were “necessary” to ensure compliance and to meet steady quotas.⁸⁹⁴

The Devil's Paradise goes on to explain how native people's intellectual and physical labor was vital to the continued exploitation of rubber, but also of a patronizing utopian modern experiment being implanted into the Amazonian *selva*. This alternative, yet still problematic vision argued that “they [native Amazonians] are well worthy of preservation and might have been a valuable asset to the region.⁸⁹⁵ The particular people of the Putumayo region have decreased greatly since the advent of the rubber ‘industry,’ as has been the case all over the Amazon Valley.”⁸⁹⁶ In addition to being exploitable for their labor and knowledge then, the report acknowledged that the present system was contributing to what we might today term as “genocide and ethnocide” of the local indigenous populations. Such abuses can be seen as part of a systematic forced labor regime that was being employed across Amazonia and more broadly across colonized tropical/neotropical areas that would then “open” new land to European and mixed settlement.

⁸⁹⁴ For more on the background of the Muchachos or overseers, see: Camacho, Roberto Pineda. *Holocausto En El Amazonas: Una Historia Social De La Casa Arana*. Santa fe De Bogota: Espasa, 2000.

⁸⁹⁵ It is my honest intention that this narrative is not seeking to replicate this argument in any way.

⁸⁹⁶ Hardenburg, W. E. (Walter Ernest), and Charles Reginald Enock. "The Putumayo, the Devil's Paradise; Travels in the Peruvian Amazon Region and an Account of the Atrocities Committed upon the Indians Therein." Internet Archive. January 01, 1970, orig. 1913. Accessed November 09, 2017. <https://archive.org/details/putumayodevilspa00hardrich>. Pg. 16



Figure 5.15: “An Incident on the Putumayo. Indian Woman Condemned to Death by Hunger on the Upper Putumayo” Overlaying The Putumayo District and Major Rubber Stations of in the Area. Public Domain. Courtesy, Walter Ernest Hardenburg and Internet Archive. Compiled by Deavenport, J., Spring, 2017

One of the centers of such labor was the “Putumayo District” shown above in light blue). The horrific photograph and text (above) dating from 1913 and published in *The Devil’s Paradise* reveals a native woman who has been murdered by being starved and worked to death, while the individually named stations of rubber extraction such as *El Encanto*, *Soledad*, and *Indostan* represent sites where local people were gathered, surveilled, tortured, and starved in order to meet the whims of demand thousands of miles away.⁸⁹⁷ Such hallowed spaces of memory are still settlements today. Though for much of the public, these areas, their people, and their stories remain forgotten they represent what Benjamin above mentioned as the “destructive side of the dialectics” involved with industrialization, urban (and today suburban) expansion. These and other economic trends built on the labor and are complicit in the death of people like

⁸⁹⁷ Interestingly, indostan appropriates and refashions one of the names used by the Ottomans for New India (or the Americas), which is discussed at length in chapter 2

the women photographed in the figure above whose life was sacrificed upon the idols and positivist altars of “order, capital accumulation, and progress.”

Even those publications “sympathetic” to the plight of rubber harvesters demonstrate the appropriation and re-fashioning of some determinist ideas of race, appropriating and refashioning eugenic and social Darwinist arguments stating that because of the area’s “great humidity...no European or Asiatic people could take the place of these people, whose work can only be accomplished by those who have paid Nature [*sic*] the homage of being born upon the soil and inured to its conditions throughout many generations.”⁸⁹⁸ While local peoples (like those all over the planet had over millennia) simultaneously adapted to and fashioned their particular ecologies, many publications of the period (especially in Anglo/American literature) would instead apply white supremacist tropes. These generally argued that Amazonians were “bred” for, and “perfectly suited” to, this labor that no one else could accomplish. This is fundamentally a different and opposed to the implications of cultural selection and especially what I hope to be demonstrating through the process of monumentalism. However, these conceptions also claimed that (because of their idleness) locals could only be compelled to work with extreme violence.⁸⁹⁹ The Devil’s Paradise spoke to one of the central contradictions within this positivist utopia when stating:

In South America, as in Latin America generally, and in many other parts of the world where aboriginal labour is cheap, great sums of British capital are invested, and a steady stream of gold turns its course therefrom towards the British Isles. But these numerous and complacent shareholders in their comfortable

⁸⁹⁸ Hardenburg, W. E. (Walter Ernest), and Charles Reginald Enock. "The Putumayo, the Devil's Paradise; Travels in the Peruvian Amazon Region and an Account of the Atrocities Committed upon the Indians Therein." Internet Archive. January 01, 1970, orig. 1913. Accessed November 09, 2017. <https://archive.org/details/putumayodevilspa00hardrich>. Pg. 27

⁸⁹⁹ For more on views of the “other” throughout US history that this dissertation will not delve deeply into (but which have their own vast history), see: Takaki, Ronald. *A Different Mirror: A History of Multicultural America*. New York: Back Bay Books, 2008.

surroundings know nothing, and have not made it their business to care anything, about the conditions of life of the humble workers who produce the dividends. Do they know that their gains are often secured by the labour of ill- paid, half-starved, and often grossly abused brown and black folk?⁹⁰⁰

In other words, the methods of squeezing the labor and often shortening the lives of poor racialized “black and brown” workers were culturally selected, considered *essential* and deemed *expendable* to ensure the profits being secured by shareholders in London or other global financial centers. Implicit in this question are three other questions; once shareholders knew, did they care, what did they do, and finally, who had been informed of these abuses?

It is apparent that while some investors or their supporters placed an extremely low value on human life, some people like Casement at least publicly *did* care. For example, from 1908 to 1914 the Peruvian Amazon Company (a major rubber producer and entity responsible for many of these atrocities) had been led by Julio Cesar Arana. Arana (whose name aptly means “scammer or fraud”)⁹⁰¹ was later found by authorities to have known of the horrors being committed against locals by the company. On the 6th of October 1911, the London Gazette explained that the shareholders passed a resolution “that the company be wound up voluntary,’ deciding ‘that Mr. Julio Cesar Arana be and is hereby appointed Liquidator of the Company.’” This was passed unanimously.⁹⁰² By March 19th, 1913, a judge ruled that the company be shut down, stating that “Mr. Arana’s affidavit was eloquently in its silence regarding the atrocities in Putumayo, and it was quite impossible to acquit the partners in Arana’s firm of knowledge of the

⁹⁰⁰ Hardenburg, W. E. (Walter Ernest), and Charles Reginald Enock. "The Putumayo, the Devil's Paradise; Travels in the Peruvian Amazon Region and an Account of the Atrocities Committed upon the Indians Therein." Internet Archive. January 01, 1970, orig. 1913. Accessed November 09, 2017. <https://archive.org/details/putumayodevilspa00hardrich>. Pg. 48

⁹⁰¹ For more see: "Diccionario De La Lengua Española." Dle.rae.es. Accessed June 04, 2018. <http://dle.rae.es/?id=3OohYvY>

⁹⁰² Russel Gubbins (Chairman), J. "The Gazette." Page 7306 | Issue 28539, 6 October 1911 | London Gazette | The Gazette. Accessed November 11, 2017. <https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/28539/page/7306>.

way the rubber had been collected.”⁹⁰³ In other words , Arana and his organization were found guilty and complicit in the abuses and deaths of those and sadly many others photographed above.

Finally, a year later on Friday March 14th 1914, an Australian newspaper reported that the company’s appointed receiver explained that the company would be closed. The receiver concluded “by announcing that the proceeds will only yield a nominal dividend to the creditors, and there will be no-return for the shareholders.”⁹⁰⁴ Therefore, between 1911 and 1914, as the investigation into the practices of the Peruvian Amazon Company matured, information gathered by actors like Casement and the lesser-known Walt Hardenburg of the reformist/anti-slavery “Truth” Magazine. This information, concerning the treatment of the company and the effect on Amazonian bodies and experiences was appropriated and refashioned into evidence that eventually answered the questions above that had been posited by *The Devil’s Paradise*.⁹⁰⁵ Some representatives of the company did know about the abuses and placed such little value on the lives of Amazonians. This ensured the continuation of this system of oppression and destroying lives on the other end of the balance sheet. As these traditions of domination, subjugation, and control came into direct conflicts with ideas concerning the proper “civil rights”⁹⁰⁶ of individuals, and groups, interests representing the victims were ultimately “successful” in destroying (at

⁹⁰³ "Peruvian Amazon Company - Compulsory Winding-Up. London, March 19. - The Mercury (Hobart, Tas. : 1860 - 1954) - 22 Mar 1913." Originally Published in the Mercury (Hobart and Tasmania) Trove: National Library of Australia. orig march 14 1914. Accessed November 11, 2017. <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/10278671>.

⁹⁰⁴ "The Peruvian Amazon Company. - No Return To Shareholders. Rubber Atrocities Recalled. London, March 19. - The Advertiser (Adelaide, SA : 1889 - 1931) - 20 Mar 1914." Trove National Library of Australia. Originally Published in The Advisor, Adelaide,. orig. march 14th 1914. Accessed November 11, 2017. <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/5420934>.

⁹⁰⁵ In this area of the Putumayo basin, such individuals were likely from the Huitotos and Boras Nations

⁹⁰⁶ "Google Ngram Viewer." Google Books. Accessed January 28, 2018. <https://books.google.com/ngrams/graph?content=Civil%2BRights>. - Concept was increasingly published since 1860 before plummeting during WWI

least) this particular entity, which had caused such devastation to the lives of those people who became literally entrapped in its snares.

After such abuses as those which brought down the Peruvian Amazon Company as well as the paradigmatic change unleashed when the British smuggled out rubber tree seeds and successfully transplanted them in what is now Sri Lanka, Malaysia, and other areas in Southeast Asia, as well as in areas like the Congo Free State (which lasted until 1908 before becoming the Belgian Congo). The Amazonian monopoly over rubber was broken, and by 1932, made up only one per cent of global rubber exports.⁹⁰⁷ Though the Second World War and the post-war boom would again provide moments of demand that contributed to armed conflict between Perú, Colombia and Ecuador, Iquitos' position or relative wealth has never recovered, though another boom cycle, are in part pre-configured by this 20th century moment of urban utopian expansion that continues in the present.



Figure 5.16: Monumental Centers of Iquitos in 2012. Images Taken by and copyright of Author. Spring 2017

⁹⁰⁷ Garfield, Seth. In *Search of the Amazon: Brazil, the United States, and the Nature of a Region*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2014. Pg. 18

While this dissertation will move away from Iquitos to focus on Belém and finally Brasília in the concluding sections, the two photographs above reveal the Plaza de Armas (left) and Plaza 29 de Julio (right) and were taken during an archival trip during the summer of 2012. These two images reveal these utopian moments projected into the material urban fabric of the city. These are first, the rubber boom and second the mid-century boom. The image on the left reveals a mid 20th century fountain in the center of the *belle epoch* Plaza de Armas, at the center, the 1908 monument commissioned by Pedro Portillo and dedicated to the memory of the sons of Loreto killed in the War of the Pacific (1879 – 1883). The photograph on the right meanwhile incorporated the type of *ferrocarril* or streetcar engine. This particular one, named “Locomotora Moronacochoa” was inaugurated in 1905 and finished service in 1939. The memorial upon which the engine car now rests had been fashioned by *The Municipalidad Provincial de Maynas* in January of 2001, during this contemporary moment of urban expansion.⁹⁰⁸ Finally, the large towering monument in the background of the same image meanwhile erected “by the peoples of Loreto in memory” of the Protocols of the Rio de Janeiro in January of 1942, during which Perú and Colombia clashed over sovereignty of this area of Amazonia over claims going back to the colonial and Gran Colombia periods. This was described in greater detail in chapters 3 and 4 respectively. No memorials have *yet* been erected to the enslaved Huitotos or Boras peoples, or to others who endured and were murdered over the course of the “rubber fever,” nor do monuments to the failed Estado Federal de Loreto uprising grace the important public squares of Iquitos

Part III: A Momentary Glimpse into the Colonial Period: A Partial Background to Belém

⁹⁰⁸ This translates to “Provincial Municipality of Maynas” in English

The remaining focus of this chapter will largely move downriver to describe change centered in Brazil, and in this section in the city of Belém in Pará before briefly touching on utopian projects in the Madeira and Ucayali Basins that were initiated to connect Amazonia with both the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Finally, this section will conclude with a short description of the construction of Brasília along with the creation of the Belém to Brasília highway in comparison with other infrastructure projects such as other roads, and hydroelectric dams, as well as some connections to utopian projects (especially the creation of highways) in the present. The next few pages briefly describe the monumentalization of particular traditions during the colonial period, which helped bring it into domination by colonial and then post-colonial nation states.

Belém's advantageous position near the mouth of the Amazonian estuary contributed to its founding in 1616 as a fort by the Portuguese.⁹⁰⁹ Thus, from the outset of its post Columbian or post Pinzón history (see chapter 2), Belém shared an intimate relationship with the colonial state's military apparatus as the expanding settlement of Belém catered to the needs of this strategic site, which facilitated Portuguese control over Amazonian riverine transport. Eventually, the settlement would outpace the fortress in population and economic importance, expanding from humble beginnings into what is today one of the largest urban spaces in Amazonia. Nevertheless, Belém showed modest if sporadic population growth throughout the colonial period, as periodic bouts of yellow fever decimated the population.⁹¹⁰ It also became a magnet, attracting soldiers and traders, scientists, priests, slaves and their captors, along with local Amazonian peoples who had been living in this area since pre-colonial times. Nascent

⁹⁰⁹ Anderson, Robin L. *Colonization as Exploitation in the Amazon Rain Forest, 1758-1911*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999. Pg. 11

⁹¹⁰ *The Electric Railway Journal*. New York: McGraw Pub., 1909.

http://books.google.com/books?id=moxMAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q=urbana%20&f=false. Pg. 407

manufacturing (if painfully slow by contemporary standards) began as early as 1761, when the crown began to construct a shipyard displacing the earlier Jesuit “promotion” of riverine transport production. Indeed, where the military and state ventured, the Catholic Church was present or not far behind.

While greater research must be carried out to better appreciate the rate of ship manufacturing in the city, it is believed that one ship or *navio* a year would be produced here. The first constructed in the city was creatively named the *Belém*.⁹¹¹ The Amazon was in many ways a perfect place to construct nearly any (wooden) water going vessel, as the floral diversity provided material to fashion anything from the skeleton of the ship to the ropes, sails, and paddles that would empower its movement and house its crew.⁹¹² Whatever the case, the industry required for building, repairing, and supplying ships and their crews may be understood to have exerted an increasing impact on the local ecology along with timber exported for the construction of ships and other goods that would be traded throughout the empire.

The state seems to have taken notice of this as well, and the Portuguese crown increasingly monopolized the exploitation of timber.⁹¹³ While this represented only a relatively small amount of timber produced in Brazil, roughly 10.9% of total Brazilian timber exploitation throughout the colonial period,⁹¹⁴ this ecological stress could alter the physical environment surrounding Belém by decreasing biodiversity with the felling of trees and the burning of native undergrowth (and animals). Such methods have consequently resulted in increasing soil

⁹¹¹ Miller, Shawn William. *Fruitless Trees: Portuguese Conservation and Brazil's Colonial Timber*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000. Pg. 75

⁹¹² Perhaps only an anchor would be difficult to procure given lack of exploitable sources of stone and metal in this region perhaps during the period before the arrival of Europeans. This is demonstrated by the lack of pre-colonial metal sources found in the region, though this may of course change as excavations reveal greater evidence. For supposed examples of earlier riverine transport, See: Palmatary, Helen Constance. *The Pottery of Marajó Island, Brazil*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1950

⁹¹³ Miller, Shawn William. *Fruitless Trees: Portuguese Conservation and Brazil's Colonial Timber*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000. Pg. 71

⁹¹⁴ *Ibid.* Pg. 71

degradation to such an extent that today much of the Amazon region between Belém and Brasília (and along the nearly extinct Brazilian Atlantic Forest) are in danger of (or are now experiencing) desertification.⁹¹⁵ This also shaped the character of the remaining *várzea* (floodplain and forest)⁹¹⁶ by culturally selecting, which trees to exploit/fell, or propagate.



Figures 5.17: Illuminated drawings of Neotropical Plants in *Flora Sinensis*. Public Domain. Courtesy Michael Boym, Bibliothèque Universitaire Moretus Plantin, and Internet Archive. Compiled by Deavenport, J., Summer 2017

In the meantime, flora originating (or heavily cultivated) within pre-colonial Amazonia such as sugar apples⁹¹⁷ and pineapples were making their way across the Pacific to be catalogued as representations of Chinese plants. For instance, in *Flora Sinensis* published in Vienna by Polish-Lithuanian Jesuit Michal Boym in 1656, the pineapple, probably sugar apples/Cherimoyas,

⁹¹⁵ For more on this, See: Savory, Allan. "How to Green the Desert and Reverse Climate Change." TED. March 2013. http://www.ted.com/talks/allan_savory_how_to_green_the_world_s_deserts_and_reverse_climate_change.html. and Dean, Warren. *With Broadax and Firebrand: The Destruction of the Brazilian Atlantic Forest*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.

⁹¹⁶ or *várzea nova*

⁹¹⁷ This fruit is often also known as "cherimoyas or custard apples"

and even papayas are depicted in illuminated form and labeled with their Latinized and Chinese names (see above).”⁹¹⁸ Through their transit to (and use in) China, these and other Amazonian plants became better known across the world gaining symbolic or cultural capital as they were incorporated into existing ecological niches or replaced native flora. Concurrently, the cultivation and consumption of these plants also forged what Benedict Anderson described as an “imagined community” who shared visual associations like a notion that pineapples symbolized luxury, prosperity, and even power; especially in the North Atlantic World.⁹¹⁹ Such instances provide compelling evidence of the expansion of Amazonia beyond its native neo-tropics. Like rubber mentioned in the previous section, this reveals different ways in which Amazonia has shaped the world.

While Amazonian flora was spreading around the world through colonial channels, a telling example of the direct relationship between Belém and the Portuguese crown was that the city exported “24,646 billets of firewood for the royal pantries.”⁹²⁰ Thus, the burning of wood extracted and exported to Lisbon from the shrinking forests surrounding an expanding Belém was essential to cooking the food eaten by the royal family. In an interesting sense, the monarchy’s physical needs depended upon ingesting food heated from the release of carbon generated as trees in the soils of Amazonia and through the toil of its people to fell these forests. What amount of timber from Amazonia has gone on throughout the world to warm hearths and meals of millions and fuel the steam furnaces of industrialization, commercialization, and

⁹¹⁸ Boym, Michał Piotr. *Flora Sinensis: Fructus Floresque Humillime Porrigens*. Viennae Austriae: Université De Namur, Belgium (E Version), 1656. <http://www.fundp.ac.be/universite/bibliotheques/bump/numerisation/livres-imprimes/flora-sinensis-michael-boym>. Pp. 48, 36, and 26

⁹¹⁹ In some ways, I equate this shared symbolic imagery to the power of “invented traditions.” For more on the culture of pineapples, see: Okihiro, Gary Y. *Pineapple Culture: A History of the Tropical and Temperate Zones*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009.

⁹²⁰ Fruitless Trees: Portuguese Conservation and Brazil's Colonial Timber By Shawn William Miller, Pg 75

imperialism remains unknown.⁹²¹ However, Roger Casement later noted that Belém was still a major locus for procuring timber in 1910.⁹²²

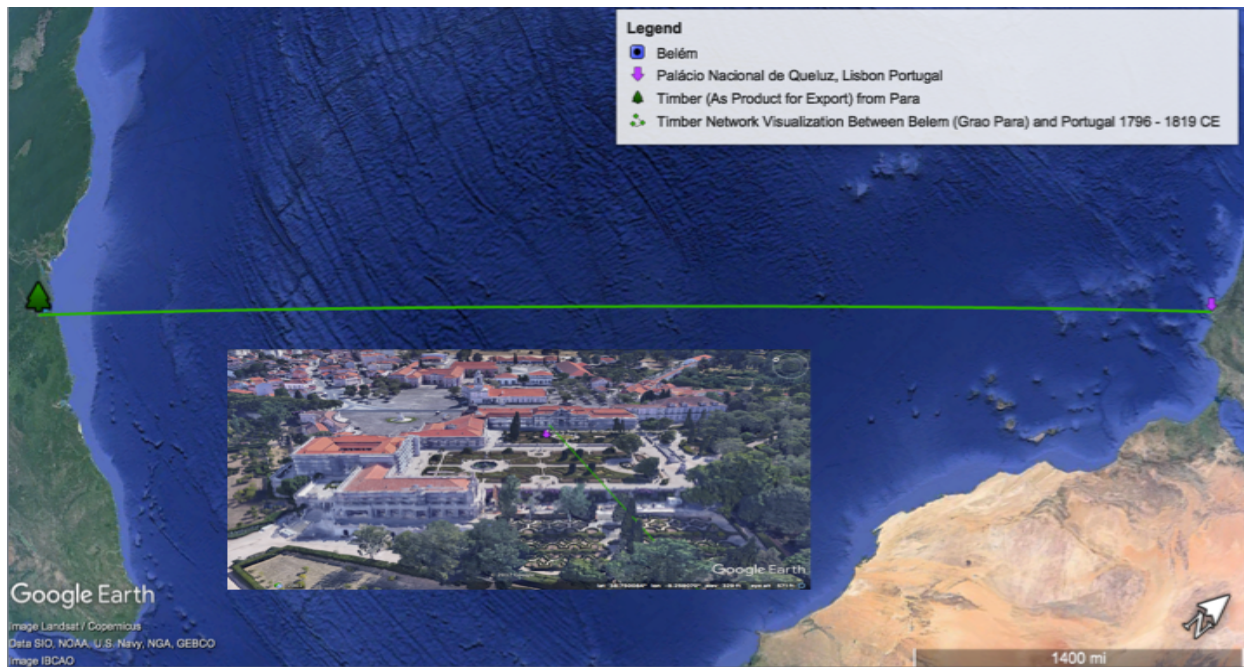


Figure 5.18: Map Representing the Timber Trade from Belém to Palácio Nacional de Queluz, Lisbon Portugal. Compiled from Numerous Sources by Courtesy Google Earth Pro, Deavenport, J., November 2017

This brief example above demonstrates only a particular segment of the larger imperial imagined community united by resources, in this case, timber production and consumption throughout the colonial period. This chapter argues such relationships based initially on timber extraction continue to the present albeit in altered form. The term “imagined” here is important because this quite exploitative relationship does not necessarily engender the type of romantic nationalism imagined in the salons and cafes of Lisbon, Rio de Janeiro, or along the fashionable streets of Belém. Instead, here the particular genre of national consciousness that emerged

⁹²¹ More importantly perhaps, more research must be done to determine what the value(s) of the goods produced were when weighed against the value of the diverse biota destroyed. In essence, it more research is needed to determine the hidden or obscured cost of such schemes.

⁹²² Casement, Roger, and Angus Mitchell. *The Amazon Journal of Roger Casement*. London: Anaconda Editions, 1997. Pg. 431

usually required some form of the outward submergence or subservience of African and indigenous or “locally imagined” cultures.

In Belém then, this community could often be constructed upon the historical or personal memories of terror, toil, and sweat following enslavement and forced labor. However, these submerged imagined communities responded and resisted to such impositions and were inherently linked to the fashioning of and maintaining such luxury.⁹²³ On a human scale, such links also contributed to motivating the exploitation and relative assimilation of Indigenous and African people. Indeed, as Benedict Anderson explains, “nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it *invents* nations where they do not exist... Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined.”⁹²⁴ Thus, in a very real sense, multiple identities of which “nationalisms” are only one example, were continuously being fashioned, altered, and abolished in the intersecting minds, hopes, nightmares, and actions derived from the people in Pará that alter our distinct and conveniently simple narratives concerning identity and identifying people.

⁹²³ For more on the origins of plants, See: Prance, Ghilleen T., and Mark Nesbitt. *The Cultural History of Plants*. New York.: Routledge, 2005.

⁹²⁴ Anderson, Benedict R. O'G. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 2006. Pg. 20



Figures 5.19: Representations of Indigenous and Mixed Individuals before and during their incorporation into Colonial Structures. Compiled by Deavenport, J., November 2017

Though not depicting the same person, the side-by-side images above demonstrate how conceptual, ideological, and legal transformations could be viewed through clothing (in this particular instance) from a largely naked “native” to a clothed “civilized person” of mixed ancestry among the inhabitants of Brazil. As this process of constructing imagined communities continued, racial, ethnic, and linguistic memories were appropriated and refashioned as the urban centers of Amazonia experienced unprecedented growth in the early 20th century. Who could be counted as indigenous, native, mixed, African, or European would continuously be asserted, contested, debated throughout this period.⁹²⁵ While resistance would continue beyond Amazonia’s growing urban spaces, in many ways against the expansion of both state and business interests into indigenous territories, the urban space can also be seen as a mixed and

⁹²⁵ For more on constructions of race, see: Cope, R Douglas. "The Limits of Racial Domination." Google Books, University of Wisconsin Press. 1994. Accessed January 28, 2018. https://books.google.com/books/about/The_Limits_of_Racial_Domination.html?id=a7JoAAAAMAAJ.

indigenous space where a spectrum of accommodation, participation, and resistance could take place in many different forms, from work slow-downs, to urban unrest, to interpersonal conflicts or simply sheer individual and/or group survival.⁹²⁶

Along with the bodies, identities, and memories of its inhabitants, the very earth of Brazil and the nation's ecological landscape would come to be marked physically as a monument or place of memory/forgetting (*lieux de memoire/ lieux d'oublier*).⁹²⁷ After generations of constructing and employing identities alongside spaces like timber mills dramatically altered Belém's environment in concert with the expansion of monocropping of plants such as maize, manioc along with the introduction of old world livestock including sheep and cows. These replaced the managed agroforestry ecological systems of the pre-colonial period. As native species became replaced by imperial biota, memory and mentalities upon the Brazilian earth was refashioned in to erase its previous "state." Thus, by the end of the colonial period, the dominating physical and cultural environments in and surrounding Belém had been drastically altered by a multiplicity of projects undertaken by state, spiritual, and economic powers resulting in a spectrum of "success."

The individuals who lived in the region and in the expanding cities demonstrate such memories in many ways for example through histories associated with mixed, indigenous, or African descendant peoples. Such outward displays could be obscured by culturally selecting, for instance, Eurocentric identities and names. This of course is not to say that these did not persist, survive, and even thrive as racial identities shifted alongside, just beneath the surface, and as part

⁹²⁶ For more on how such resistance might happen in greater detail in a comparative perspective, see: Scott, James C. *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. Yale University Press, 2008.

⁹²⁷ Nora, Pierre. "Between Memory and History *Les Lieux De Mémoire*." University of California Santa Barbara. Accessed March 16, 2013. <http://www.history.ucsb.edu/faculty/marcuse/classes/201/articles/89NoraLieuxIntroRepresentations.pdf>.

of emerging urban ecologies. By this I mean the physical, demographic, and cultural geography of cities but of course exist in any human occupied space.

Part IV: The Expansion of Urbanism in Brazilian Amazonia (1850—1920)

This section begins by slipping from the colonial period, to an extended moment in Belém representing the time between the mid 19th to the early 20th centuries (1850s to 1920s). During this era, the city was intimately linked to the boom in rubber. While Atlantic-bound rubber was produced throughout Amazonia, it was often required to pass through Belém,⁹²⁸ which was “blessed” with a deep-water port.⁹²⁹ From here, rubber would be exported around the globe to use in the mass production of products including bicycle and car tires.⁹³⁰ With the passing of the colonial state into the Brazilian Empire and then a republic, the timber trade did not disappear over this period, but rather, accelerated.

Though relatively small when compared to some of the larger global metropolises of the day, Belém at the turn of the 20th century was a place of economic, ecological, and social diversity. Along with timber and rubber, Belém’s informal economy catered to a multiplicity of its visitors and inhabitants’ earthly desires. For instance, a Los Angeles Times article printed in 1899 reported that Belém’s links to the world made certain quarters of the city a “den of sin.” Such lewd behavior, the correspondent of one particular article argued, offended the sensibilities even of “the reformers of New York,’ most of which could be found in its many cafes and

⁹²⁸ This was the result of the changing course of the river, which as indigenous management systems broke down, became increasingly confined to this channel, though changes in industrial technology also made an impact. For more on this see: Palmatary, Helen Constance. *The Pottery of Marajó Island, Brazil*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1950.

⁹²⁹ *The Electric Railway Journal*. New York: McGraw Pub., 1909. Pg. 407

⁹³⁰ For more on the Rubber Boom and my dating this period, See: Weinstein, Barbara. *The Amazon Rubber Boom, 1850-1920*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1983.

cabarets, as well as its best brothel, the High Life Hotel, which the article explained was ‘devoted to the life of the lowest order.’⁹³¹

While such actions (at least publicly) may have been degraded by middle and upper class social mores, some of these individuals who crusaded against such establishments, no doubt also “enjoyed” the pleasures offered by these spaces, profits related to economy of sex, and one of the oldest careers or invented traditions.⁹³² These locations therefore represent, formally obscured *lieux de memoire* along with imagined communities that were linked by multiple motivations including carnal desire exchanged for money to survive in modern Belém.⁹³³ Sexual trade and tourism sadly continue in Amazonia today, where new social organizations in cities such as Iquitos, Perú (shown in the figure below) are publicly organizing against the sexual abuse of children in human trafficking and other forms of sexual exploitation both from within Amazonian societies as well as from foreigners.⁹³⁴ Sexual abuses also reflect appropriated and refashioned negative or “anti-monuments” that continue to have reverberations through generations and in the lives of the individual survivors of such assaults.

⁹³¹ Grandin, Greg. *Fordlandia: The Rise and Fall of Henry Ford's Forgotten Jungle City*. Macmillan, 2010. Pg. 28

⁹³² By tradition, here I rely on that provided by Hobsbawm: “‘Invented tradition’ is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past.” Hobsbawm, E. J., and T. O. Ranger. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ Press, 2012. Pg. 1

⁹³³ At Present, I have not been able to devote greater attention to this subject. However, I hope to discover greater documentation concerning this institution and the women who spent their lives here.

⁹³⁴ Evidence of this can be seen today along the main promenade (and tourist area) of Iquitos in large murals painted, which highlight this illicit economy.



Figure 5.20: Continuing Legacies of Sexual Exploitation Two Women Sitting in front of a Mural Opposing the Sexual Exploitation of Children in Iquitos, Perú. Source: Taken by Deavenport, J., August 2012

While Belém’s modern brothels may have looked to the cabarets of Europe and North America for inspiration, Belém’s more (at least publicly) “respectable” leaders began to appropriate and refashion (along with deeper “traditional” ideas toward sex and Victorian prudishness that could demonize sex workers themselves rather than criticize or seek to actively solve experiences of exploitation) other North Atlantic innovations and economic models related to urban planning. These included the technology and materials such as steel needed to utilize (and generate) electric power.⁹³⁵ The moment below briefly explores the intersection of these related to Belém’s streetcar network as these would come to help transform the layout and expansion of the city along with the way Belém’s inhabitants and travelers would come to interact with both the changing urban environment and each other.

⁹³⁵ However, there is little doubt such streetcars would influence the earnings of socially degraded businesses such as the High Life Hotel.

Before the arrival of electric streetcars, one popular method of public transportation was provided by mules employed by the Urbana Company, which pulled forward the cars along a 33-mile track throughout Belém.⁹³⁶ These mules would have altered the environment upon their introduction into Amazonia, by grazing or requiring certain grasses and introducing new agents such as bacteria through their waste. While these animal powered incarnations linked certain streets, neighborhoods, and industries, the Urbana Company eventually came to supply some of Belém 's business and public streets with electric lighting. In an interesting corporate division of the electric market that requires greater study, the rival Paraense Company electrified the private residences of Belém's well-heeled upper and middle classes.

Thus, here electrification may appropriately be interpreted as one edifice in constructing a larger utopian project undertaken by the local state apparatus that was tied to international capital. Such electrification projects were utopian, because these banished the dangerous and the occult associated with night, defined wealthy from poor (through who could afford to pay for electrification), and contributed to the expansion of the urban grid, allowing the transfer of both wealth and squalor to new areas of Belém that were previously rural or forested. Such projects also demonstrated "civilized humanity's" mastery over nature (turning night to "day") and thus reinforced the gospel of positivism and eventually ideas supporting what James C. Scott, calls the "high-modernist ideology."⁹³⁷ The result was the creation of particular notions of modern culture that were shared with other urbanites both internationally and within Amazonia that assumed such changes had mostly positive impacts, or that the negative impacts were acceptable.

This is especially chilling when considering how these impacted already dehumanized

⁹³⁶ *The Electric Railway Journal*. New York: McGraw Pub., 1909.
http://books.google.com/books?id=moxMAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q=urbana%20&f=false.. Pg. 407

⁹³⁷ Scott, James C. *Seeing like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998. Pg. 4

populations. These ideologies linked to collective memories and identities through the movement of goods/people, shared fashions, recipes, books, or music. These would be created and altered by Belém's people alongside the tracks and copper tubing, which marked the city's increasingly intimate and changing relationships with the "industrializing world."

One particular example of this connection between Belém and the extra-Amazonian world can be seen through the development of a 99-year agreement between corporations and the city government contributing to the city's electrification. Through this monumentalized legal performance, the local government granted sanction to the "Para Electric Railways & Lighting Company Ltd. London and a contract awarded to JG White & Company Ltd. of that city for the complete reconstruction installation of the tramways and lighting."⁹³⁸ Consequently, in exchange for electrification, Belém became economically and technically dependent upon British and international capital, ensuring the shipment of needed materials such as steel from the British Isles, especially the region around York.

After securing this access to capital along with the use of both local and international physical and intellectual labor, the streetcar system eventually reached more than 55 kilometers (about 34 miles). Twenty-six kilometers (16 miles) of this was on paved streets, while the remainder 29 kilometers (18 miles) would extend to unpaved streets.⁹³⁹ Thus, the streetcar tracks (at least initially) reached beyond the existing civic infrastructure, which channeled the

⁹³⁸ *The Electric Railway Journal*. New York: McGraw Pub., 1909.
http://books.google.com/books?id=moxMAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q=urbana%20&f=false. Pg. 407

⁹³⁹ *Electric Railway Journal*, Volume 33. Pg. 407

movements of human, intellectual, and commercial traffic along the unfinished thoroughfares of Belém.⁹⁴⁰

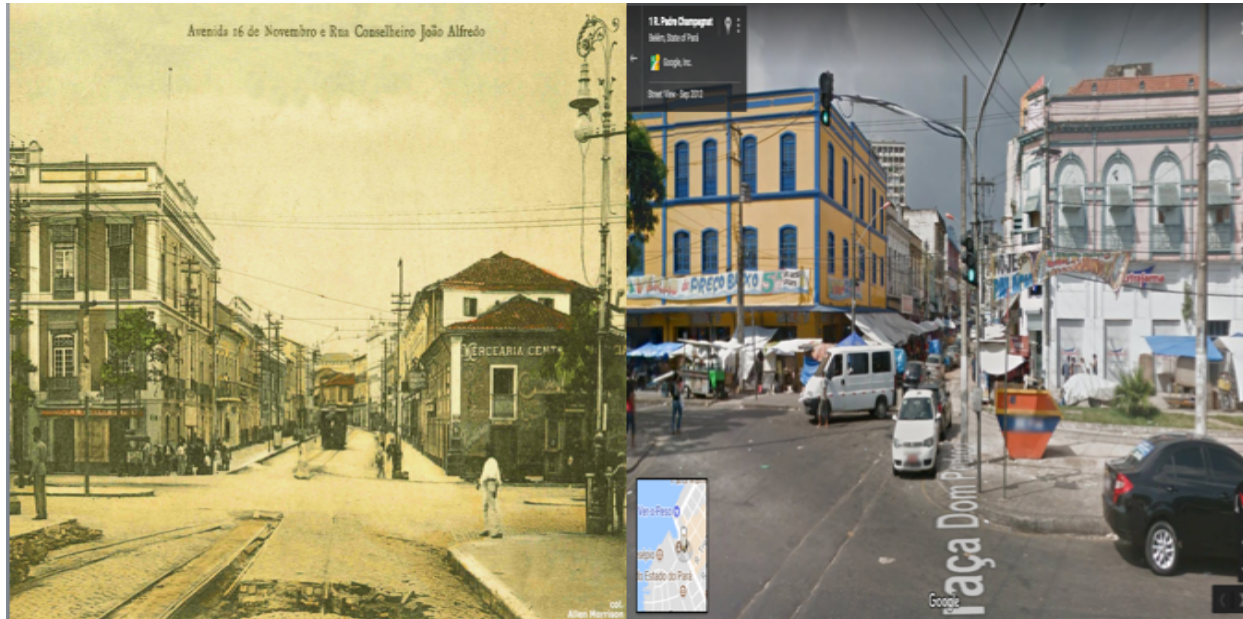


Figure 5.21: Early 20th & Early 21st Century Images of a Belém Intersection. “Found Photo and Courtesy Google Street View, Compiled by Author September 2017.

The images above reveal the same intersection in 1909 and shortly over a century later in 2012. They reveal the expansive growth of the city. According to *The Statesman’s Yearbook*, the population of the city was 275,167,⁹⁴¹ expanding to 2 million by 2005. This demonstrates how the constraints of previous utopian infrastructure and building projects respond to such a large influx of population.⁹⁴² Ideas would also circulate and become monumentalized through personal interactions between Belém’s population could take place, from within (or waiting at stops for)

⁹⁴⁰ This is partially informed by the notion of state structured movement of goods and people through the use of grid systems and roadways. For more, See: Scott, James C. *Seeing like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.

⁹⁴¹ Martin, Frederick, and Sir John Scott Keltie. "The Statesman's Year-book." Google Books. orig. 1920. Accessed November 21, 2017.
https://books.google.com/books?id=aovmhZaXbhWC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false.Pg. 708

⁹⁴² "Cities of the World." Google Books. Accessed November 21, 2017.
https://books.google.com/books?id=j6A_qzGFuAEC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false. Pg. 175

the streetcars themselves. Among the 70 cars operated by the system, the passengers would be sorted by economic means, (gender?),⁹⁴³ and by social capital among first or second-class cars. For instance, two “palace cars” with ornate mahogany tables and lavish interiors were reserved for Pará’s governor and the city’s mayor along with their staff or guests.⁹⁴⁴

Such luxuries demonstrated relationships between state and corporate power, while concurrently reinforcing the visual importance and exclusivity enjoyed by such leaders, vis-à-vis the public. More research needs to be done to determine the range of the population that would have had access to Belém’s streetcar system during this time along with the level of interaction between individuals in different class cars. However, along with the tracks and cars themselves, the trolley system required the creation of infrastructure such as carriage houses, and coal fed boilers, which were impressively described as each “capable of evaporating 10,000 lb. of water at hotwell temperature into steam at 180 lb per square inch gage pressure to 500 [degrees Fahrenheit].”⁹⁴⁵ These were, in other words, not antiquated apparatuses, but instead based on “advanced” and expensive industrial technology.

While electrification sped people and goods around the urban core of Belém, electric cables were being laid across Amazonian riverbeds, which allowed for telegrams and later telephones, thus collapsing the distance, regulating both the pace of news shared between and the reach of urbanized Amazonian communication. One example of a drastic change in such intervals can be seen between Manaus and Belém. In the 1850s, a trip (and thus communication) between these two centers could take 40 days. By the turn of the 20th century, river transport was

⁹⁴³ The question of gender among the streetcar passengers remains understudied. It is my hope to discover more related to this important question in later study.

⁹⁴⁴ *The Electric Railway Journal*. New York: McGraw Pub., 1909.

http://books.google.com/books?id=moxMAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q=urbana%20&f=false. Pg. 410

⁹⁴⁵ *Ibid.* Pg. 409

shortened to eight, and electronic communication shortened the distance to minutes or seconds. For those who could afford it, this created an increased demand for such products such as telephones, telegraphs, and communication wires.⁹⁴⁶

In just one instance, *The Electric Railway Journal* of March 6, 1909, mentioning an earlier consular report published by the United States government, noted the rapidly increasing rate of electrification across Brazil and importation of related technology. The creation and utilization of this system then, fashioned an imagined community that spanned Brazil and forged links between urban (and rural) environments beyond the state's porous borders. These economic connections through the financing of Belém's projects related to electricity such as streetcars appear to have been most connected with The United States, Britain, and Germany during this period.⁹⁴⁷ The paragraph below specifically demonstrates the rapid expansion of this relationship.

The imports [to Belém] of dutiable goods of this class in 1907 were nearly treble those in the previous year amounting to 7371 tons valued at 12,225,862 mil reis as against 2840 tons valued at 4,344,823 milreis.⁹⁴⁸ The imports of electric machinery were 4742 tons and of electric cables 2629 tons. In the import returns the figures of imports from the United States are largest that country taking 60 per cent of the total in 1907 this amounted to 2881 tons of motors apparatus etc. and 1521 tons of electric cables The United Kingdom takes second place with 828 tons of motors.⁹⁴⁹

⁹⁴⁶ *Western Electrician*,. Vol. 18-19. Originally: Electrician Publishing Company. Digitized from the University of Michigan, 1896. Pg. 31

⁹⁴⁷ *The Electric Railway Journal*. New York: McGraw Pub., 1909.

http://books.google.com/books?id=moxMAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q=urbana%20&f=false. Pg. 410

⁹⁴⁸ More research needs to be done to determine the present value in present Brazilian Reales and U.S. dollars adjusted for inflation, though at present the conversion of 12,225,862 Brazilian Reales would equal U.S. \$ 6,175,612.99.

⁹⁴⁹ *The Electric Railway Journal*. New York: McGraw Pub., 1909.

http://books.google.com/books?id=moxMAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q=urbana%20&f=false. Pg. 410

In short, Belém was rapidly becoming a space hungry for specialized industrial and electronic products and had to rely on the United Kingdom and the United States particularly, for access to such technology. Quantitative figures like those employed above offer a compelling view of state and international relationships and a broad perspective that helps to internationalize our notion of community beyond the immediate vicinity of Belém, or even the area classically identified with Amazonia. The importance of this relationship is that it demonstrates the demand for such culturally selected products that would be “exchange” by authorities and local businesses for Amazonian products and labor. This exchange furthered the ecocide and ethnocide of Amazonian spaces and peoples. Visual culture on the other hand can shift our lens to focus upon the local by providing great appreciation of the human reaction to dramatic change within such urban spaces.⁹⁵⁰

Like other Amazonian cities during this period including Manaus, and Iquitos in the Peruvian upper Amazon, Belém’s elite adopted many of the tenets of Haussmannization concerning urban planning.⁹⁵¹ Some commercial interests in Belém were vying with cities such as Iquitos or Manaus to emerge as the “Tropical Paris.”⁹⁵² The Electric Railway Journal advertised this change by publishing photos of modernity in Belém revealing hygienic streets, the symbolically tamed Amazon, and the trappings of modern urbanism.

⁹⁵⁰ The impact of visual culture here is somewhat parallel to the its use in constructing or resisting collective identities employed in Earle, Rebecca. *The Return of the Native: Indians and Myth-Making in Spanish America, 1810–1930*. Duke University Press, 2007 and Méndez, G. , Cecilia. *The Plebeian Republic: The Huanta Rebellion and the Making of the Peruvian State, 1820-1850*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2005

⁹⁵¹ Source of Baron Von Haussmann. Fordlandia:

⁹⁵² Grandin, Greg. *Fordlandia: The Rise and Fall of Henry Ford's Forgotten Jungle City*. Macmillan, 2010.. Pg. 26



Para Tramways—Completed Track in Paved Street



Para Tramways—Exterior View of Power House

Figure 5.22: Belém’s Hygienic Streetcar and Streets along with the more Industrialized Power house, ca. 1909. Courtesy, *Electric Railway Journal* and Google Books. Public Domain and Compiled by Deavenport, J., November, 2017

Along with photos like those above, the *Electric Railway Journal*’s words bring to mind a particular imagery of Belém. For instance, “the old part of the city which represents the business section has very narrow streets and the buildings are plain though substantially built of brick plastered and usually of two stories The newer part or residential section has many wide streets most of which are lined with trees.”⁹⁵³ Like many older cities of the period, industrialization was facilitating urban growth that expanding (usually whiter) middle classes could move to, altering the urban geography of wealth and poverty. It appears that the extension of trolley lines in Belém occurred in concert with the widening of previously narrow streets in order to better handle human and animal traffic. These supposedly grander boulevards lined with

⁹⁵³ *The Electric Railway Journal*. New York: McGraw Pub., 1909. http://books.google.com/books?id=moxMAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q=urbana%20&f=false. Pg. 407 For more on Elite/Creole nationalism, See: Earle, Rebecca. *The Return of the Native: Indians and Myth-Making in Spanish America, 1810–1930*. Duke University Press, 2007. Pg. 2

palm trees, or otherwise managed, symbolic, commoditized, and rationalized nature, and thus linked “nature and elite nationalism” with notions of progress and modern development.⁹⁵⁴

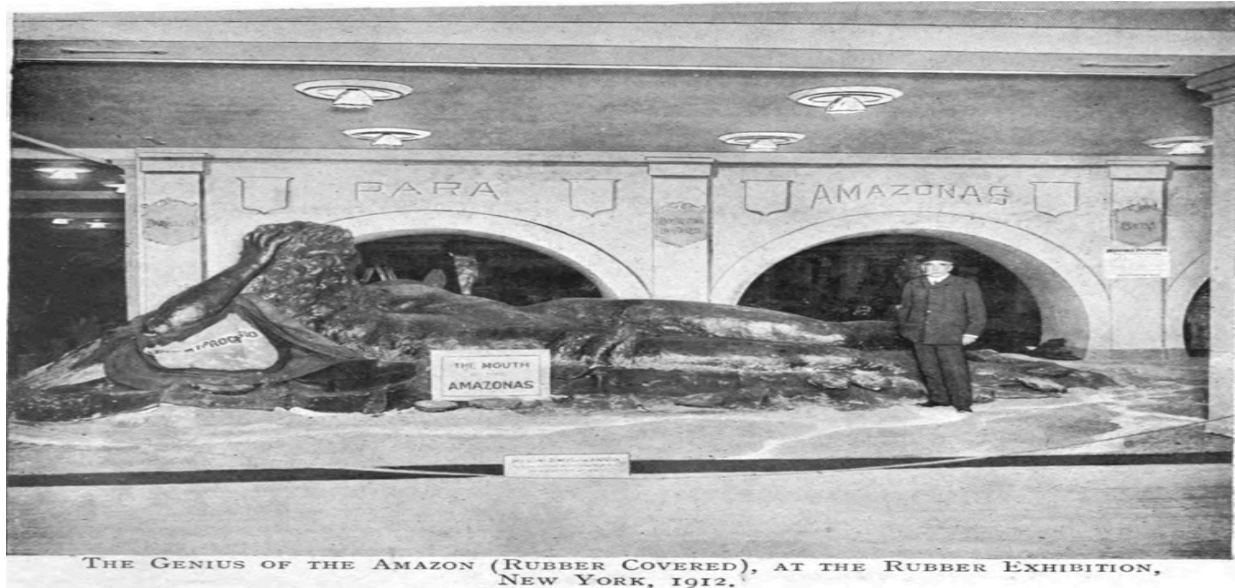


Figure 5.23: “The Genius of the Amazon.” Courtesy Google Books and JC. Oakenfull, Public Domain. Orig. 1912. Accessed November, 2017

The image above nicely encapsulates both a personification of Amazonia (especially the Brazilian states of Pará and Amazonas),⁹⁵⁵ positivism, and other modernist ideologies both present in (and above portraying) Belém/Pará to the world. All of this was represented by an allegorical statue covered in rubber and named “The Genius of the Amazon.” The work sat in the 1912 rubber exhibition in New York City (the year before the report was published chronicling the atrocities on the Putumayo). Therefore, by the early 20th century Amazonia has been changing to a point where the female Amazon warrior of old as been culturally selected away and replaced with a reclining male “Colossus” clad in neoclassical garb with a large flowing

⁹⁵⁴ Other examples of this can be seen in the Scientific Forestry systems described in: Scott, James C. *Seeing like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998. Pg. 19

⁹⁵⁵ Amazonas was founded in 1889 and the primary source for the figure above is, Oakenfull, J. C. "Brazil in 1912." Google Books, Original Publisher, R. Atkinson. orig. 1912. Accessed November 25, 2017. https://books.google.com/books?id=_thOAAAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false. Pg. 314

beard and typical “European” features. The statue sat at the entrance to Brazil’s “court” at the rubber exhibition taking up over ten thousand square feet of space, while photographs of indigenous workers harvesting, and processing rubber were shown to enthusiastic audiences. The guide from the period explained that while the industry had existed prior to the rubber boom, exporting 31 tons of rubber in 1827, by 1912, this had jumped to 36,547 tons.⁹⁵⁶ The publication also noted that an early scientific adventurer to Amazonia in the 1730s named Charles Marie de la Condamine was among the earliest Europeans to note that rubber was especially used among the Omagua people of central (and due to enslavement, lower) Amazonia. This demonstrates again that the Omagua (or Cambeba as they were often called in Brazil) who had once been associated with El Dorado (see chapter 2) were again linked with utopian imaginations of new untapped wealth that could be extracted from across Amazonia.⁹⁵⁷

Like the streetcars of Belém and Iquitos, other railways were seen as harbingers of progress, facilitating the expansion of commerce and increased intrusion into the Amazonian interior. This was also seen as a way to ameliorate Bolivia’s lack of access to the ocean since being forced to cede the country’s Pacific coast to Chile following the War of the Pacific (in 1881). Texts related to international gathering spaces such as the Rubber exhibition touted the creation of railroads between Belém and other Brazilian cities. Among those celebrated was the construction of the Madeira-Mamore Railroad,⁹⁵⁸ which was just one of the holdings of the

⁹⁵⁶ "Brazil, the Land of Rubber At the Third International Rubber and Allied Trades Exhibition, New York, 1912." Google Books. orig. 1912. Accessed November 25, 2017. https://books.google.com/books?id=rbBCAAAIAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0.Pg.12

⁹⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 10

⁹⁵⁸ Merrill, D. B. (Dana B.). "Views of the Estrada De Ferro Madeira E Mamore Amazonas & Matto Grosso, Brazil S.A." - NYPL Digital Collections. orig. 1909 - 1912. Accessed November 26, 2017. <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47db-b82b-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99/book?parent=5249a940-c6d2-012f-fda1-58d385a7bc34#page/19/mode/1up>.

(largely US and Franco-Belgian owned) Brazilian Railway Company.⁹⁵⁹ Advertisements for workers were “successful,” and attracted perhaps 20,000 workers to help construct this modernist monument intended to “overcome” the jungle. However, the endeavor soon received a different name, the “devil’s railway,” as high rains destroyed tracks, workers died of malaria and yellow fever, and the vision sold of a modern utopia in the forest turned out to be “rough” settlements with minimal infrastructure offering little in the way of the comforts often associated with industrial urbanism and urban “progress” during the era. By the time it was completed, at least 6,000 workers, representing nearly 30% of the workforce had perished.⁹⁶⁰



Figure 5.24: Photographs of the Devil’s (Madeira-Mamoré) Railway overlaying their approximate locations on Google Earth. Public Domain, Courtesy Google Books Compiled by Author from various sources. November, 2017

The triptych⁹⁶¹ above reveals (left) the initial station in Porto Velho overlaying the area today, (center) the space surrounding the twenty-two kilometer mark, and (right) the final camp

⁹⁵⁹ Harrison Suplee, Henry. "Cassier's Magazine." Google Books. orig. 1911. Accessed November 28, 2017. https://books.google.com/books?id=4LAPAQAIAAJ&pg=PA344&dq=Brazil%2BRailway%2BCompany&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwj5laen8uLXAhUM62MKHa_cAucQ6AEIOTAD#v=onepage&q&f=false. Pg. 344

⁹⁶⁰ Sherwood, Louise. "Brazil's Devil's Railway Gets New Lease of Life." BBC News. November 27, 2010. Accessed November 26, 2017. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-11578463>.

⁹⁶¹ A triptych is a larger image containing 3 smaller images

along the Madeira-Mamoré Railway (shown in orange).⁹⁶² All three images along the nearly 321 kilometer long railway were published in 1912 (above) reveal the then heavily forested areas surrounding both Porto Velho as well as the railway. Two poems, “The Land of the Rubber-Gum tree” and “King Quinine” by R.S. Stout (from the United States) which both appear at the beginning of an important and unique photographic collection and dating from the period whose images were taken by the photographer Dana B. Merrill and describe the conditions of the workers, stating:

For it's a hot old zone, the Torrid Zone- this land of the rubber-gum tree, with its fever and chills that so often kills, and its rivers that run to the sea...when you have a little jigger, right in your great big toe-just take a dose of quinine, it will relieve it so...when you get a turnt down letter, from your sweetheart in the States- take mucho, mucho quinine, Until that pain abates.⁹⁶³

The implications of the poem's words re-fashion a name for the tropical region dating back (at least) to Claudius Ptolemy (see chapter 2), who argued the area around the Equator was uninhabitable. This demonstrates how such ideas had traveled over the millennia and became accepted (or at least known) by many by the early 20th century. Meanwhile, both the discomfort of the heat and skin-burrowing insects could be soothed by another indigenous discovery, quinine (made from the bark of the Cinchona tree) and whose trade had once been largely dominated by Jesuits (see chapters 3 and 4) Quinine was utilized to help to treat the discomforts

⁹⁶² Brazil, the Land of Rubber." Google Books. orig. 1912. Accessed November 25, 2017. https://books.google.com/books?id=rbBCAAAIAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0. Pp 333, 337, 341

⁹⁶³ A jigger is a small Amazonian/tropical insect that burrows into the skin of humans and was a common experience throughout the region. These two poems have been compiled Merrill, D. B. (Dana B.). "Views of the Estrada De Ferro Madeira E Mamore Amazonas & Matto Grosso, Brazil S.A." - NYPL Digital Collections. orig. 1909 - 1912. Accessed November 26, 2017. <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47db-b82b-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99/book?parent=5249a940-c6d2-012f-fda1-58d385a7bc34#page/19/mode/1up>. Pg. 0

of tropical diseases and other discomforts that settlers and workers experienced in seeking to implant these neo-European endeavors along the Madeira and Mamoré rivers.



Figure 5.25: Reproductions of the photographs of Life along the Devil’s Railway. Public Domain, Orig. 1909 – 1912, Courtesy Dana B. Merrill, and The New York Public Library. Accessed November, 2017

Images in the collections like those reproduced in the figure above reveal life in camps, between the workers, foreman, as well as their families, flora, fauna, and depictions of local peoples.⁹⁶⁴ These particular images above reveal (beginning top left and moving clockwise) temporary (and mobile) housing for workers while constructing the railway, methods of elevating the tracks, and an example of damage done to the Madeira-Mamoré railroad during the rainy season as flooding would continually complicate efforts to finish and stabilize the endeavor so that it might be used continuously (and actually generate a profit for its investors). As the rubber fever (and the regional economy) cooled, the railway would lose its strategic importance

⁹⁶⁴ Merrill, D. B. (Dana B.). "Views of the Estrada De Ferro Madeira E Mamore Amazonas & Matto Grosso, Brazil S.A." - NYPL Digital Collections. orig. 1909 - 1912. Accessed November 26, 2017. <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47db-b82b-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99/book?parent=5249a940-c6d2-012f-fda1-58d385a7bc34#page/19/mode/1up>.

initially intended to facilitate rubber exports. Finally, while the railroad continued to be used for both trade and by locals and the descendants of those early 20th century workers who survived and settled in the region, the railway would eventually be discontinued in 1979 in favor of a new highway. As automobiles sped past the decaying rails and railroad cars, the railway became a discarded version of (by then) antiquated modernism. Decades later, in 2005, the railroad was successfully added to “Brazil's National Institute of Artistic and Historical Heritage (IPHAN), and recent efforts to preserve spaces such as the stations in Porto Velho and discussions have proposed reviving the railway (with an eye toward tourism) since 2010.⁹⁶⁵

The difficulties experienced in the construction of the Madeira-Mamoré railway (along with the collapse of this particular niche economy) help monumentalize a belief among railroad boosters, financiers, and workers that such endeavors would be prohibitively costly and similar projects in Perú, such as the Lima to Ucayali Railroad have yet to become a reality, though these efforts were recently been floated though the governor who proposed these projects has recently been indicted for fraud and the endeavor (at present) appears scuttled.⁹⁶⁶ A recent publication in Iquitos explains:

After several years of investigation, the complaint was finally filed concerning the waste of money made by former regional president Yván Vásquez Valera, along with his former officials in the defunct project of constructing a train from Iquitos to Yurimaguas, when in fact they knew that was not feasible. They wasted over 100 million soles of Loreto's money, which could have been used to build schools, among other things.⁹⁶⁷

⁹⁶⁵ Sherwood, Louise. "Brazil's Devil's Railway Gets New Lease of Life." BBC News. November 27, 2010. Accessed November 26, 2017. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-11578463>.

⁹⁶⁶ "Ferrocarril Entre Iquitos Y Yurimaguas Se Construirá En El 2013." El Comercio. February 05, 2012. Accessed November 26, 2017. <http://archivo.elcomercio.pe/sociedad/lima/ferrocarril-entre-iquitos-yurimaguas-se-construira-2013-noticia-1370323>.

⁹⁶⁷ Original text in Spanish: Después de varios años de investigación, por fin se interpuso la denuncia por el despilfarro de dinero que hizo el ex presidente regional Yván Vásquez Valera, junto a sus ex funcionarios en el fallecido proyecto de hacer un tren de Iquitos a Yurimaguas, cuando en realidad sabían que no era factible. Tiraron por la borda más de 100 millones de soles" del dinero loretoano, que pudieron servir para la construcción de colegios,

This brief example of possibly (criminally) re-directing funds away from crucial government services in order to float neo-utopian endeavors demonstrates how monumentalism by cultural selection is still at work in shaping the lives of locals in Amazonia. For instance, it demonstrates the continued nostalgia motivating the creation (or the appearance of undertaking) these kinds of projects that might reflect the benevolent “order” of the state. This particular example also reveals traditions of resistance to such schemes among the press perhaps representing the opinions or misgivings of a larger segment of the contemporary Amazonian urban population in Iquitos and beyond.

Earlier in the 20th century (1920 – 1934), when US industrialist Henry Ford attempted to apply such “order” over Amazonian nature in his utopian rubber plantation-city (and the humbly named) *Fordlandia* upriver from Belém, major environmental impacts contributed to the ultimate failure of this enterprise. For example, the close planting of rows of rubber trees resulted in blight and ecological collapse along with a revolt by workers.⁹⁶⁸ These failures demonstrated the difficulty and great costs that were undertaken to refashion Amazonian space during this period.

In Belém, nature was assigned a more symbolic value rather than exploited for economic reasons beyond the area’s status as an essential transit center. In this urban environment, planners instead selected and created rationalized rows of palm trees and gardens stretching along

entre otros.” See: Periodi3. “Tren Iquitos/Yurimaguas: Fiscalía Pide 14 Años De Cárcel Para Yván Vásquez.” Periódico De Loreto | Periodico De Noticias De Iquitos, Loreto, Maynas, San Juan Bautista, Punchana. October 19, 2017. Accessed November 26, 2017. <http://www.periodicoluzverdeloreto.com/tren-iquitosyurimaguas-fiscalia-pide-14-anos-carcel-yvan-vasquez/>.

⁹⁶⁸ For more on this, See or listen to: All Things Considered. *Fordlandia: The Failure Of Ford's Jungle Utopia*. Recorded June 6, 2009. National Public Radio. <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=105068620> and for more Utopia more broadly, see: Beauchesne, K., and A. Santos. *The Utopian Impulse in Latin America*. Springer, 2011. https://books.google.com/books?id=pT5dAQAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false.

streetcar lines also contributed to spatially separating older commercial and residential zones of the city in contrast to smaller streets leading to public squares, while new canals re-directed water (at least ideally) according to designs and notions of hygiene contemporary to the period. Thus, along with speeding people through their days in order to increase efficiency and comfort, the streetcars were linked to a broader program reimagining Amazonia, which assumed particular class, racial divisions, along with the hegemonic conception that humans were quite distinct from and must dominate nature. This can also be seen as a measure of social control, as Haussmann originally employed canals and boulevards to mitigate the threat to the French hierarchy of urban riots and revolts in the streets of Paris.⁹⁶⁹



Figure 5.26: Belém’s 20 and 21st Century Streetcar/Rail Transit and Expanding Urbanism at a Glance. Compiled from numerous sources by Deavenport, J., November, 2017

⁹⁶⁹ It is also worth noting that the boulevards in Paris were initially created so that urban uprisings against autocratic rule could not be challenged. Therefore, the very roads themselves can be seen to be representing particular monumentalized notions of class, race, politics, and space. For more on Haussmann, See: Jordan, David P. *Transforming Paris: The Life and Labors of Baron Haussman*. Simon and Schuster, 1995.

Returning focus to Belém, the image above reveals the transportation networks of the city over the course of the last century.⁹⁷⁰ It demonstrates how both ecology (low-lying areas were less developed) and human agency would intersect to shape the expansion of urban space during the rubber boom. While mules and steam continued to be used for some time (seen in yellow), the streetcar would become part of the fabric of Belém's street life and help to expand other urban arteries.

Since 2004, the area (shown in red), has been resurrected with restored streetcars from the early 20th century. However, rather than providing transport, the contemporary streetcars remain largely a tourist attraction and novelty. The expansion of streetcars also facilitated appropriation and refashioning of nature by displaying particular notions of the Amazonian environment to those with the privilege of leisure through the creation of large urban parks modeled on counterparts in Europe and North America such as Bois de Boulogne in Paris (1852-1858) or New York's Central Park (created 1857).⁹⁷¹

Belém's particular version of urban forest, the *Bosque Rodrigues Alves Jardim Botânico da Amazônia* (seen in the figure above) was founded Aug 25, 1883,⁹⁷² and acted as a distinct *lieux de mémoire* patronized by Pará's governor, Laudro Sodre where the nation, city, and individual could interact. Within the space of *Bosque Rodrigues Alves*, were constructed romanticized ruins "elegant" pathways, classical monuments, and structures inspired by

⁹⁷⁰ The original map for this is based on a popularly accessible website. For more, see: Morrison, Allen. "The Tramways of Capital of Pará State Brazil." The Tramways of Belém. Accessed November 22, 2017. <http://www.tramz.com/br/be/be.html> and Moura, Ignacio Baptista De. "The State of Pará: Notes for the Exposition of Chicago : Pará (Brazil : State) : Free Download & Streaming." Internet Archive. January 01, 1893. Accessed November 22, 2017. <https://archive.org/details/stateparnotesfo00ribegoog>.

⁹⁷¹ Kisling, Vernon N. *Zoo and Aquarium History: Ancient Animal Collections to Zoological Gardens*. Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press, 2001. Pg. 359

⁹⁷² Maciel, Sebastião. "Licófitas E Monilófitas Do Bosque Rodrigues Alves Jardim Botânico Da Amazônia, Município De Belém, Estado Do Pará, Brasil (Lycophytes and Monilophytes of the Bosque Rodrigues Alves Jardim Botânico Da Amazônia, Municipality of Belém, Pará State, Brazil)." *Bol. Mus. Para. Emílio Goeldi. Ciências Naturais, Belém* 2, no. 2 (2007): Pg. 2

Amazonian architecture, which all serve to imbue the space with an air of antiquity and nostalgia linked to a perceived connection to the space's indigenous, colonial, and European past.

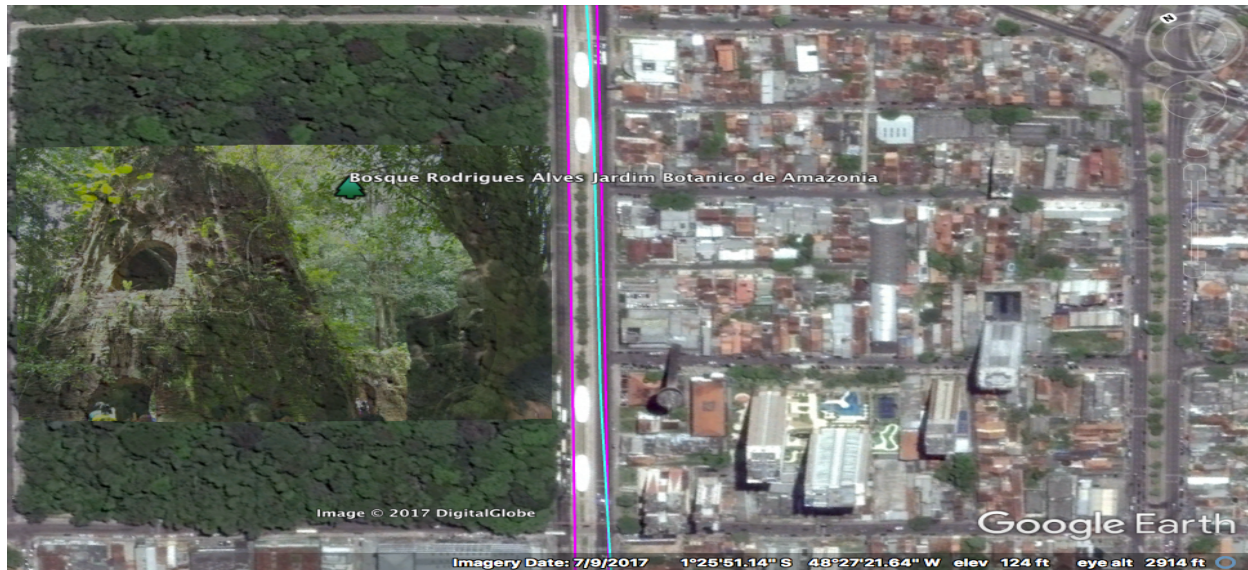


Figure 5.27: “Ruins of an old Mill” in Bosque Rodrigues Alves Jardim Botânico da Amazônia Overlaying the modern Urban Space of Belém. Courtesy, Sebastião Maciel and Compiled by Deavenport, J., November, 2017

The images above, reveal the constructed ruins of an “old mill” in the middle of the Bosque Rodrigues Alves Jardim Botânico da Amazônia. In a way similar to the Jules Verne novel published around the same time (1881) as the creation of this urban park (1883) this demonstrates a particularly monumentalized imagined (pre or proto industrial) past when timber and sugar mills were helping to bring this area into the colonial system.⁹⁷³ Governor Laudro Sodre of Para, appointed the Swiss-born and Leipzig (German) trained Emilio Augusto Goeldi to direct the institutions associated with the park including a zoo and botanical garden. “Goeldi wanted to create an attractive educational facility where the public could learn about the natural wonders of Amazonia.

⁹⁷³ Meira, Ceslo. Original Title: “Ruínas de um velho engenho.” “Ruins of an Old Mill in Bosque Rodrigues Alves Jardim Botânico De Amazonia.” Digital image Source: Panoramio. May 19, 2010. <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/35699209?source=wapi&referrer=kh.google.com>.

Goeldi believed that it should not be the intent of the institution to imitate the great zoos and gardens overseas that were collecting notable species of the animal and plant kingdom from all over the world; rather he wished to exhibit that which was “Amazonian.”⁹⁷⁴ Animals such as jaguars were included among the exhibits ultimately consisting some “1,000 individuals and over 150 species.”⁹⁷⁵ While similar institutions across the world sought to gain universal collections, Belém’s park would discover, celebrate, and present the immense diversity of Amazonia *with* the world, while monumentalizing largely sanitized material and images associated with the labor and lives of those who built and toiled in these mills, both in the colonial period and around the turn of the 20th century. In other words, while celebrating Amazonia’s biodiversity its people’s contributions in intellect and labor was obscured or treated in a romantic fashion that minimized abuses in favor of a progressive narrative stressing technological developments.

Caring for, funding, and pursuing research on such biodiversity perhaps naturally raised problems over time. Emilio Goeldi and others occasionally blamed the lack of local knowledge for the failures.⁹⁷⁶ For Goeldi and other disciples of modern science, these spaces would increase access to (and knowledge of) these creatures to Belém’s population, or at least those who had the ability to enjoy leisure or intellectual pursuits. Such idealized Amazons thus helped to join with (and demonstrate the area’s progressivism) in the international scientific community that again linked Belém with a broader tradition or monument of scientific discourse on biological diversity along with particular imaginings concerning the life of animals reaching back to Humboldt and

⁹⁷⁴ Kisling, Vernon N. *Zoo and Aquarium History: Ancient Animal Collections to Zoological Gardens*. Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press, 2001. Pg. 359

⁹⁷⁵ *Ibid.* Pg. 361

⁹⁷⁶ *Ibid.* Pg. 359

Darwin,⁹⁷⁷ or at least those elements of “natural existence” that could be viewed from such enclosures.

By conducting research, those running the museum and botanical garden at the *Bosque Rodrigues Alves* sought to gain, quantify, and profit from the practical application of knowledge related to scientific study of Amazonian flora and fauna. While this chapter has already briefly discussed Amazonian flora used around the world for food or to facilitate trade and manufacturing, other products were utilized as medicines or noted for their “exotic” beauty. One such product that would become popular in the early 20th century named Coca-Cola was made, in part from, the coca plant native to the Andean Amazon. Though coca is no longer used in this soft drink (but is instead the basis of an illicit drug trade worth around 88 billion in US dollars throughout the 2000s),⁹⁷⁸ Coca-Cola has also spread to every corner of the planet and is consumed by billions across the economic spectrum.⁹⁷⁹ In other words, over the period covered by this present study, *some of* the biodiversity from the Amazon has increased in value due to the perceived and culturally selected commercial viability, rarity, and exotic qualities of such biota, even as urban expansion might threaten or paradoxically select and preserve these species.

In the 1960s and 70s, as deforestation accelerated so quickly, that the *Bosque Rodrigues Alves* began to receive “donations” of animals like tree sloths at a much higher rate (which should not be surprising). This “progress” continued at such a rapid pace, that by 1980s, so many

⁹⁷⁷ For more on Humboldt, See: Heflerich, Gerard. *Humboldt's Cosmos: Alexander Von Humboldt and the Latin American Journey That Changed the Way We See the World*. New York: Gotham Books, 2004. And For Darwin, See: Darwin, Charles, and Francis Darwin. *The Life and Letters of Charles Darwin, including an Autobiographical Chapter*; New York: D. Appleton and, 1896.

⁹⁷⁸ Unknown. "Cocaine, Heroin, Cannabis, Ecstasy: How Big Is the Global Drug Trade?" Centre for Research on Globalization / Centre De Recherche Sur La Mondialisation. May 2014. Accessed December 20, 2017. <https://www.globalresearch.ca/cocaine-heroin-cannabis-ecstasy-how-big-is-the-global-drug-trade/5381210>.

⁹⁷⁹ Thus, a modern imagined community spanning culture, race, etc. could be the Coca-Cola “nation,” raising profound questions about the future of corporate-based identity. For more on Coca-Cola, See: Pendergrast, Mark. *For God, Country, and Coca-Cola: The Definitive History of the Great American Soft Drink and the Company That Makes It*. New York: Basic Books, 2000.

animals had been donated that some individuals began to die of disease despite the work of the institution's staff, due to the overcrowding of the inadequate facilities.⁹⁸⁰ The fashioning of utopian projects such as urban landscapes (and later especially the expansion of roads) could devolve into dystopian realities for particularly unlucky creatures and their ecologically distinct homes. Nevertheless, a 2009 study by the *Boletim Do Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi Ciências Naturais*, claimed that the endeavors of the botanical and zoological institutions had saved some 66 species perhaps endemic only to the 15-hectare (ha) park.⁹⁸¹

Part V: Midcentury Modern, Amazonian Urbanization, from 1950 to Present

The rapid increase in deforestation that led so many of Pará's animals to an early death (or confined their existence) to the borders of Belém's idealized Amazonian botanical garden and zoological park, was a process intimately linked to a series of major utopian projects advocated by influential national leaders of the Brazilian state following the collapse of the rubber boom by about 1920.⁹⁸² Only a few decades earlier, the Pará Electric Railways & Lighting Company Ltd signed the (perhaps ill-conceived) 99-year agreement with Belém's urban elite for monopoly over the streetcar system. By the 1950s however, Brazil's leaders had come to adopt the imagined community and utopian vision unleashed by the automobile, which had shifted the lens of streetcars as icons advertising progress to be seen as antiquated and increasingly irrelevant prototypes of modernity.⁹⁸³

⁹⁸⁰ Kislring, Vernon N. *Zoo and Aquarium History: Ancient Animal Collections to Zoological Gardens*. Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press, 2001. Pg. 361

⁹⁸¹ For more on this study in Portuguese See: "Checklist of Remnant Forest Fragments of the Metropolitan Area of Belém and Historical Value of the Fragments, State of Pará, Brazil." *Boletim Do Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi Ciências Naturais*. 2009. http://scielolab.iec.pa.gov.br/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1981-81142009000300002&lng=es&nrm=iso&tlng=pt.

⁹⁸² For more on the rise and fall of the rubber trade, see: Weinstein, Barbara. *The Amazon Rubber Boom, 1850-1920*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1983.

⁹⁸³ For the sake of brevity, I have decided not to include work on the Vargas administration. However, I hope to incorporate such a section in the future.

By 1958, such ideologies would begin to link Belém through the creation of a highway, with Brasília, the new national capital and Federal District of Brazil being constructed in Amazonia by President Juscelino Kubitschek's administration (in office 1956-61). While this had been a utopian dream among Brazil's elite for some time, (indeed in the mid 17th century a supposed vision by the Saint João Bosco first described a vision of the future utopian city deep in the Brazilian interior)⁹⁸⁴ it was first seriously entertained as an idea under Pedro I and specifically included in Title 1 Article 3 of the 1891 republican constitution. President Juscelino Kubitschek, who staked his presidential campaign in 1955 upon the refashioned idea was adamant upon mobilizing the power of the national government to produce it and related monumental projects that would drastically alter the relationship between Belém, Amazonia, and the national state, signaling the increasing power of the later.⁹⁸⁵ Kubitschek contended that the construction of Brasília, perhaps dislodging Belém from its primacy within the Amazon, was vital to the future of the Brazilian nation. As James Holston explained in his work, *The Modernist City: An Anthropological Critique of Brasília*:

First, he [Kubitschek] argued that the construction of the capital in the Central Plateau would cause both national integration ('integration through interiorization' was his slogan) and regional development by bringing national markets to regions of subsistence economies. Second, he believed that the unified effort required to build the city would stimulate research, development, and innovation in the other target projects—for example, in highway construction, hydroelectric generation, communications, and steel production. Thus, he maintained that Brasília would produce both a new national space and new national epoch.⁹⁸⁶

⁹⁸⁴ Holston, James. *The Modernist City: An Anthropological Critique of Brasília*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989. Pg. 342 And Brunn, Stanley D. *Engineering Earth: The Impacts of Megaengineering Projects*. Dordrecht: Springer Verlag, 2011. Pp 17-18 and Epstein, David G. "Brasília, Plan and Reality: A Study of Planned and Spontaneous Urban Development." Google Books. orig. 1973. Accessed November 28, 2017. https://books.google.com/books?id=vPGcc3PVOyQC&source=gbs_navlinks_s. Pg. 44

⁹⁸⁵ *Ibid.* Pg. 342 And Brunn, Stanley D. *Engineering Earth: The Impacts of Megaengineering Projects*. Dordrecht: Springer Verlag, 2011.

⁹⁸⁶ *Ibid.* Holston, Pg. 18

Through this colossal national effort, Belém became integrated into one of the most ambitious utopian projects instigated throughout Amazonia. Interestingly, like earlier utopian mobilizations, Amazonia’s mid-century progress still depended upon utilizing urbanization along with regulating the flow of people, the environment, electricity, communication etc. However, in potentially greater ways, the construction of Brasília and national integration through the colonization of the Amazon basin altered and increased some of the earlier networks of goods, people, and ideas linked to Belém. What distinguished Brasília from Belém were the project’s national character and a shift in priorities that ended some of the city’s slight monopoly over the Amazon basin. As concrete and dirt highways were cut through the Amazonian *várzea*, new links were forged with the interior and Brazil’s coast.⁹⁸⁷



Figure 5.28: Original Vision of Brasilia Overlaying Contemporary Space. Courtesy, Lúcio Costa and Wikimedia. Compiled by Deavenport, J., November, 2017

The image above reveals the initial plan of Brasília envisioned by Lúcio Costa, which is laid out in what some have described as similar to a “cross,” and others have described as a

⁹⁸⁷ For more on the Trans-Amazonia (and other) Amazon highways, See: Hall, Anthony L. *Developing Amazonia: Deforestation and Social Conflict in Brazil's Carajás Programme*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991.

“butterfly, bird, or plane.”⁹⁸⁸ The layout of the new capital city was in reality a geoglyph not unlike that which the Inkas of Tawantinsuyu created in Cusco, depicting a Puma, centuries earlier (see chapter 1). However, Brasília’s design would demonstrate the country’s fulfillment of “order and progress” by simultaneously representing a cross (demonstrating Christianity), nature (birds/flying insects), and modern technology (airplane/rockets), depending on what the viewer might select, which stories they may hear, or the sources consulted, through the administrative divisions of the city.

Thus, the modernist geoglyph that would pre-configure the new modernist capital was in part a primitivist appropriation and re-fashioning traditions associated with in this case an earlier South American state that also had major connections to Amazonia. In other words, while Brasília’s creation would erase indigenous Amazonians, an appropriated indigenous idea would be the basis upon the city would take shape while simultaneously representing “rationality” in form and “on the ground.” These were demonstrated materially as the functions of society were separated out and commercial residential and governmental sectors largely separated along utopian ideals.⁹⁸⁹ Finally, of note is that a large artificial lake named *Lago Paranoá* (originally derived from Tupi, and apparently meaning “sea cove”⁹⁹⁰) sat at the center of the new Brazilian

⁹⁸⁸ Costa, Lúcio. "Brasília." Wikipedia. orig. 1957. Accessed November 28, 2017.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bras%C3%ADlia#/media/File:Brasilia_-_Plan.JPG.

⁹⁸⁹ Braun, Barbara. "Henry Moore and Pre-Columbian Art." *Anthropology and Aesthetics*, No. 17/18 (Spring-Autumn, 1989). Pg. 158-197/ The President and Fellows of Harvard College Acting through the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20166819>, Holston, James. *The Modernist City: An Anthropological Critique of Brasília*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989 and Epstein, David G. "Brasília, Plan and Reality: A Study of Planned and Spontaneous Urban Development." Google Books. orig. 1973. Accessed November 28, 2017. https://books.google.com/books?id=vPGcc3PV0yQC&source=gbs_navlinks_s. Pg. 50

⁹⁹⁰ The word is Tupian, who were probably not native to the area. The translation of the name can be found at: "Lago Paranoá." Wikipedia. Accessed December 09, 2017.

https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lago_Parano%C3%A1#cite_note-3.

I have been able to confirm that Pará does indeed mean “Sea” in Tupi-Guarani (at least), see: Ruiz De Montoya, Antonio. "Vocabulario Y Tesoro De La Lengua Guarani, ó Mas Bien Tupi. : En Dos Partes: I. Vocabulario Español-guarani (ó Tupi). II. Tesoro Guarani (ó Tupi)-español. : Ruiz De Montoya, Antonio, 1585-1652 : Free Download & Streaming." Internet Archive. January 01, part i 1639, 1876. Accessed December 09, 2017.

<https://archive.org/details/vocabularioytes01ruiz>.

capital that would be created through the construction of a hydroelectric dam that would also help to power the city, preconfiguring the rapid expansion of such projects in recent decades. Thus, while the new Brazilian capital would help to displace Amazonian people (especially the non-Tupian and local *Ze* or *Je* speaking peoples as settlement increased) some areas of newly “nationalized space” would preserve certain monumentalized indigenous names or language families rather than others.⁹⁹¹

As mentioned briefly in the paragraph above, this new epoch that Kubitschek was hoping to inaugurate (like the late Victorian modernist vision a half-century earlier) also did not include indigenous Amazonians, except to demonstrate through their assimilation, yet another factor of Brazil’s economic and cultural “success.” By encouraging westward settlement and monocropping of Amazonia, the government hoped to expand the economy, ward off social unrest, and economic inequality that threatened to encourage sympathy for communism led by the Soviet Union during ideological and military conflicts with capitalist states led by the United States of America throughout the Cold War era (roughly 1946-1991).

Such agricultural and population expansion were in part made possible through the construction of hydroelectric dams such as the utopian (and perhaps Orwellian) named *Belo Horizonte* (or Beautiful Horizon). These dams regulate Amazonian waterways and provide reservoirs for both monocrop agriculture and other forms of human consumption. These dams have also resulted in soil degradation.⁹⁹² Today, these are scattered across the South American

⁹⁹¹ Loukotka, Cestmir. Ethno-linguistic Distribution of South American Indians. Map. Washington, D.C.: Association of American Geographers, 1967.

⁹⁹² “One indicator of the scale of planned development is the rapidly expanding network of hydroelectric dams. At least 19 major (100-13,000 megawatt) dams are planned in the Brazilian Amazon over the next 10-20 years, nearly all in forested areas (Eletrobrás 1998). These new dams will vastly increase the 600,000 ha of forest that is currently inundated by reservoirs (because the region is quite flat, Amazonian hydroelectric reservoirs are often very large; Fearnside 1995). Most of these dam sites are in tributaries flowing northward into the Amazon River from Brazil’s central plateau (the Tocantins, Araguaia, Xingu, and Tapajós Rivers), a region with a high concentration of indigenous peoples (Fearnside 1990). In addition to destroying forests

continent. While having major local impacts, such as inundating indigenous lands, the image below helps to visualize the continental-wide alterations that these projects are having on hydrology across Amazonia and South America more broadly.

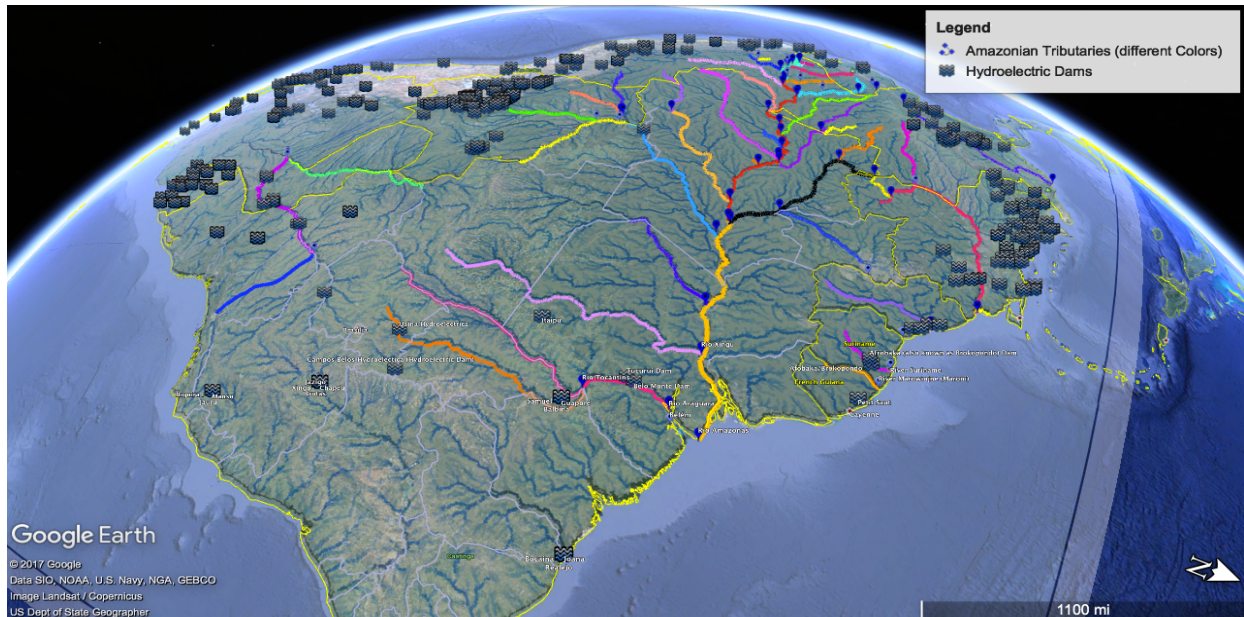


Figure 5.29: Hydroelectric Dams Across Amazonia Today. Courtesy Aquastat and Compiled From numerous sources by Deavenport, J. November, 2017

While dams like those shown above provide power to expanding settlements, highway construction has also encouraged settlement by providing a relatively cheap source of electricity and water to those people moving into the Amazonian interior. One of the first major projects that gained massive symbolic attention was the creation of the Belém to Brasília highway (also called the Transbrasiliana). It is especially significant because similar projects are intimately connected to urban expansion, ecocide and ethnocide by altering and denuding much of its previous Amazonian state; while today its descendants, such as the Trans-Amazonia highway have pushed west, cutting lines and grids from the surrounding canopy as settlers move from

and degrading aquatic systems, hydroelectric dams require networks of access roads and power-line clearings, which promote further forest loss and fragmentation.” For more, on this, See: Kirby, K., W. Laurance, A. Albernaz, G. Schroth, P. Fearnside, S. Bergen, E. Venticinque, and C. Dacosta. "The Future of Deforestation in the Brazilian Amazon." *Futures, The University of Chicago Press* 38, no. 4 (2006): 432-53. doi:10.1016/j.futures.2005.07.011. Pg. 8

Brazil's Atlantic coast.⁹⁹³ Finally, the altering of waterways also impacts local ecologies through the loss of silt, which results in erosion downriver along with the threat to cultures that are faced with the inundation of their ancestral lands, or nutrient collapse, and thus diminished resources which can be utilized to survive.



Figure 5.30: Juscelino Kubitschek Bridge, Brasília as an example of modernist utopian projects. Found Photo Compiled by Deavenport, J., November 2017

Specific projects like the Juscelino Kubitschek Bridge shown above spanning *Lago Paranoá* (which incidentally covers the original work camps of those who constructed the Brazilian capital). The bridge connected to this expanding highway system would facilitate Brasília's transformation into a transportation and population hub.⁹⁹⁴ So far this development has "worked" to the extent that settlement has constantly been expanding and transforming ever-increasing swaths of Amazonia into urban environments depended upon monocropping, and the

⁹⁹³ This may be seen to represent a larger collective memory of mass movement immigration shared throughout the "Atlantic World." For more on Memory linked to the movement of people, See: Creet, Julia, and Andreas Kitzmann. *Memory and Migration: Multidisciplinary Approaches to Memory Studies*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011.

⁹⁹⁴ Angularaerofoto. "Juscelino Kubitschek Bridge, Brasília." Digital image. Panoramio. July 19, 2011. <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/55466442?source=wapi&referrer=kh.google.com>.

expansion of livestock agriculture, but at an alarming cost with global and irreversible implications.

The architect of the highway that would connect the previously far-flung metropolis to the center of state power was Bernardo Sayão, who had been an early advocate of Amazonian colonization by the Brazilian state. In 1958, nearly 350 years after the founding of Belém as a fort by the Portuguese, Sayão had been named by Kubitschek to oversee the creation of a path through the Amazonian *selva* that would become the Belém—Brasília highway. According to James Holston's *The Modernist City An Anthropological Critique of Brasília*, "In January 1959, only 31 kilometers from his destination, Sayão was struck dead by a gigantic tree. Many *Candangos* [aka Brasilienses, or people living in Brasília] believed that his death occurred in mysterious circumstances, and to this day tell bizarre stories about the 'revenge of the forest' that killed him."⁹⁹⁵ The sad fate of Sayão and the forest that destroyed one another, are thus forever linked in a chain that constitutes part of the broader trajectory of Amazonian history where nature has in some way or another destroyed those individuals who (like Sayão, Ford, or the infamous bandeirante and indigenous slaver, Antônio Raposo Tavares) sought to impose their utopian (and/or dystopian) plans upon the region or upon Amazonian people.⁹⁹⁶

Part VI: Beyond Belém and Brasília, Utopian Monumentalism Since The Mid-20th Century

This final section of the chapter briefly examines how utopian (or dystopian) ideas tied to neo-positivism have been appropriated and refashioned within Amazonia since the creation of the Belém to Brasília highway since the 1950s. This is intended to demonstrate how such initial

⁹⁹⁵ Holston, James. *The Modernist City: An Anthropological Critique of Brasília*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989. Pg. 342. While Holston

⁹⁹⁶ The Brazilian government lists Sayão's place of death as 50 km away from his finishing point, in the municipality of Açailândia. For more, see: Brasil, Portal. "Bernardo Sayão." Governo Do Brasil. July 28, 2014. Accessed November 29, 2017. <http://www.brasil.gov.br/governo/2010/03/bernardo-sayao>. For video footage of the funeral in Brasília, see: Rafard2009. "Corpo Do Engenheiro Bernardo Sayão Chega a Brasília, Em 1959." YouTube. July 15, 2010. Accessed November 29, 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CvLbVVRwv2hY>. For more concerning Tavares, see Chapter 3

apertures of urbanism and major projects were supported by private business and the state. It will conclude with a few contemporary examples of how such intrusion has generated opposition among indigenous people who are also appropriating and refashioning their traditions of accommodation and resistance to ensure greater autonomy and self-determination today against forces threatening their ways of life, communities, and existence.



Figure 5.31: The Belém to Brasília and Trans-Amazonian Highways. Compiled from numerous sources by Deavenport, J., November 2017

The image above reveals the extent of the Belém to Brasília highway as well as the more contemporary Trans-Amazonian Highway.⁹⁹⁷ Note how the darker green along the more recently built Trans-Amazonian Highway indicates less deforestation in contrast to the now largely deforested route of the (earlier) Belém to Brasília highway. Despite Sayão’s untimely and grisly death, the overall “success” of the project was touted and part of the Belém to Brasília highway [BR-153] has become known as the “Bernardo Sayão Highway” thus monumentalizing the project’s initiator and one of its victims. This project became a template that could be

⁹⁹⁷ Dias, Catarina V. "The Belém-Brasília Highway." *Revista Geográfica* No. 65 (Dezembro De 1966), Pp. 195-198, Journal Article The Belém-Brasília Highway Catarina V. Dias *Revista Geográfica* No. 65 (Dezembro De 1966), Pp. 195-198 Published By: Pan American Institute of Geography and History. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40991894>.

appropriated and refashioned by the state. As Holston and others have noted, however, Sayão's death was so momentous for Brasília that it seems to have been the only moment that construction on the city ceased the rapid pace of construction. In another example of monumentalism by cultural selection, one article in eulogizing São Paulo's "Revista Visão" by Antonio Callado, called Sayão a "Bandeirante."⁹⁹⁸ This collapses history directly back to those who had advanced the Brazilian frontier during the colonial era, like Antônio Raposo Tavares (see chapter 3) to enslave Amazonians (often Tupian speaking peoples) and ostensibly to bring Portuguese civilization into the untamed (or relatively state-free) interior.

Thus, similar to those earlier expeditions, and the more recent expansion of urban settlements like Belém, Manaus, and Iquitos, at the beginning of the 20th century, the founding of Brasília in the late 1950s and the related construction of the Belém to Brasília highway signals a "threshold" moment that would increase the construction of settlement beyond the hinterland of particular Amazonian centers (usually on the river) thereby contributing to deforestation/ecological destruction,⁹⁹⁹ yet more farming, and a largely unceasing urban/suburban population explosion that continues to expand during the time of writing.¹⁰⁰⁰

⁹⁹⁸ Callado, Antonio. "Bernardo Sayão Vida E Morte Do Bandeirante." Página Inicial Do Site Brasília. Originally Published : Revista Visão, São Paulo. February 6, orig. 1959. Accessed November 29, 2017. <http://doc.brasilia.jor.br/HistDocs/Pubs/1959-Callado-Bernardo-Sayao.shtml>.

⁹⁹⁹ I use this particular word here to just remind the reader of the differences in ecological biomes across Amazonia, thus deforestation is meant as a broader term to encompass other destructive initiatives (say in settling an Amazonian savanna, or draining a swamp).

¹⁰⁰⁰ This is largely based on the assessment of self-evident deforestation seen from satellite photographs across Amazonia since the 1970s and can be seen on google earth pro.



Figure 5.32: Contrasting Deforestation and Forested Areas Near The Belém to Brasília Highway. Courtesy Google Earth Pro. Compiled by Deavenport, J., November, 2017

While the previous figure demonstrated the extent of these two major road systems as well as deforestation selected and imposed ecological change on a larger regional level, the image above reveals how monocropping has reshaped the landscape around the original route of the Belém to Brasília Highway (note the contrast between the forested area on the left and monocropping seen on the right).¹⁰⁰¹ In the image can also be seen a hydroelectric dam, which helps to power nearby settlements as well as to water this expansive agricultural production. This process has occurred over a much larger area in the decades between the undertaking of Belém to Brasília and Trans-Amazonian Highways that researchers are still only beginning to understand in terms of the consequences generated by such actions.

Rather than a haphazard assortment of informal road construction however, their creation has been prioritized and systematized by Brazil, for instance by 2002, one document called the Plano Nacional De Viação or the Brazilian National Transportation Plan in English reveals the continental aspirations and extent of this undertaking. This and associated roads have grown

¹⁰⁰¹ Dias, Catarina V. "The Belém-Brasília Highway." *Revista Geográfica* No. 65 (Dezembro De 1966), Pp. 195-198, Journal Article The Belém-Brasília Highway Catarina V. Dias *Revista Geográfica* No. 65 (Dezembro De 1966), Pp. 195-198 Published By: Pan American Institute of Geography and History. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40991894>.

enormously in the years between 1975 and 2017 contributing to climate change through ecocide that accompanies the ethnocide of Amazonian nations.

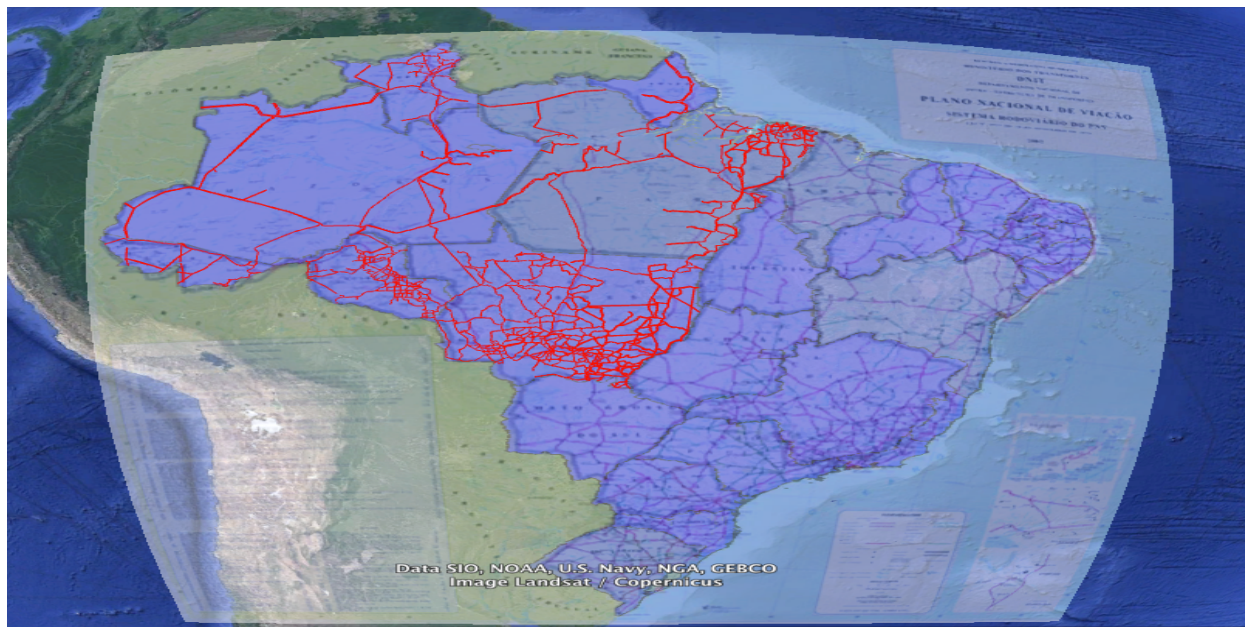


Figure 5.33: Plano Nacional De Viação, Brazilian National Transportation Plan, 2002 and Contemporary Amazonian Road System, Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., November, 2017

The image above reveals the Brazilian National Transportation Plan overlaying satellite imagery. The image shows the tight network of roads radiating out from the Atlantic Coast to broader strands into the Brazilian interior. It also reveals the contemporary road network (sometimes quite dense) throughout the Amazon basin, with these particular roads highlighted in red.¹⁰⁰² This has been part of a culturally dominant and selected neoliberal (essentially neo-laissez-fair hyper individualism) economic system that is dominant today¹⁰⁰³ as well as neo-positivist, and nationalistic economic, social, and political program to expand “development and middle class expansion” throughout Brazil and within Amazonia more broadly. This massive undertaking has linked Amazonia more to the rest of the world perhaps more than at any time in

¹⁰⁰² This was created by the author using the Plano Nacional De Viação as well as Google earth Pro and satellite imagery from various sources in December of 2017

¹⁰⁰³ Harvey, David. "A Brief History of Neoliberalism." Google Books, Oxford University Press. 2007. Accessed December 20, 2017. https://books.google.com/books/about/A_Brief_History_of_Neoliberalism.html?id=CKUiKpWUv0YC.

history, with mixed results. More people are connected, have access to education and healthcare, housing, a stable diet, etc. Those individuals I have informally discussed this with in my research trips across Amazonia welcome some of these changes as they enjoy mosquito nets and air conditioning in the tropical environment as much as I did. However, they were also intimately aware of the impacts such desires also represented.¹⁰⁰⁴

This neo-positivist vision of order and progress had by the 1990s, come to represent what Francis Fukuyama termed *The End of history and the Last Man*¹⁰⁰⁵ when liberal democracies led by the United States triumphed over their Cold War communist adversaries. But like the classical economic liberals and positivists of old, these culturally selected ideas and policies have produced major contradictions increasing ecocide and ethnocide, and in turn generating increasing resistance along with the sadly too often predictable response of reactionary state violence enlisted to maintain the status quo of territorial, cultural, and moral degradation. This expansion has increasingly intruded further into indigenous Amazonian lands, while ecological pressures generated by global demands of this system now threaten to completely transform Amazonia both culturally and ecologically beyond recognition in human memory. While this may seem quite hyperbolic to some, I point the reader to the image below in order to see the intimate ways highways and ecological destruction have become linked in Amazonia, and in Brazil particularly.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Such research occurred between 2012 and 2015

¹⁰⁰⁵ Fukuyama, Francis. "The End of History and the Last Man." Google Books. 2006. Accessed December 20, 2017.

https://books.google.com/books?id=NdFpQwKfX2IC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false.

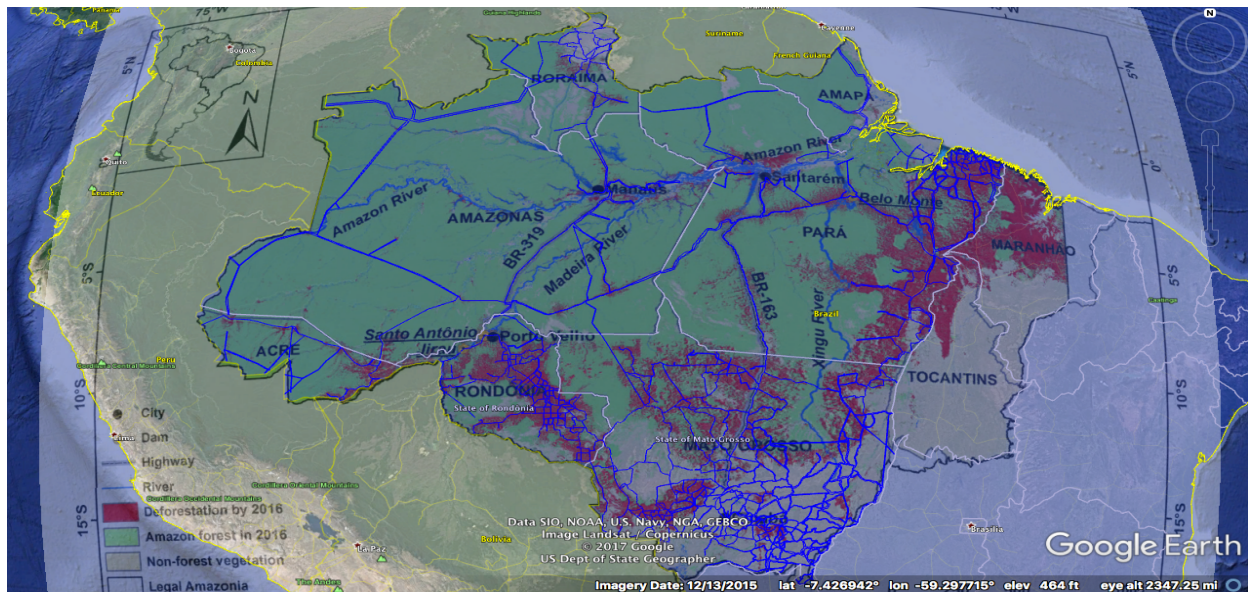


Figure 5.34: Deforestation Across Amazonia as of 2016 Associated with Highway Construction. Courtesy, Yale Environment 360 and Compiled from Numerous Sources by Deavenport, J., November, 2017

The visualization above combines recent deforestation data from Yale University (seen across the Amazon Basin in red) along with some of the principal roads of the region highlighted in blue, which is also the color of the recognized territories of the Brazilian state. It is chillingly apparent from the imagery that deforestation /ecological destruction is intimately linked with the highways that also convey people, ideas, animals, immigrants across the region and therefore represents clear evidence of ecocide and ethnocide.¹⁰⁰⁶ As these highways have brought deforestation by facilitating increasing settlement that has encroached on indigenous territories forcing many to move into these towns and cities and to confront the state from within. As decreasing numbers of their contemporaries move deeper into the shrinking Amazonian forest¹⁰⁰⁷ many people also move between these worlds breaking and displaying the problems with such binaries. Thus, while physical space may impact particular access to important ritual spaces or

¹⁰⁰⁶ Though large areas of Tocantins and Maranhão have also been deforested and are linked with highway construction, time constraints have limited my including them here, though I hope to finish this research in the near future. However, even where not apparent from this view, deforestation shown here is intimately linked to roads

¹⁰⁰⁷ "Business as Usual: A Resurgence of Deforestation in the Brazilian Amazon." Yale E360. Accessed December 20, 2017. <https://e360.yale.edu/features/business-as-usual-a-resurgence-of-deforestation-in-the-brazilian-amazon>.

resources individuals continue to maintain and seek access to these resources, or to improvise, appropriating and refashioning as many have before them.

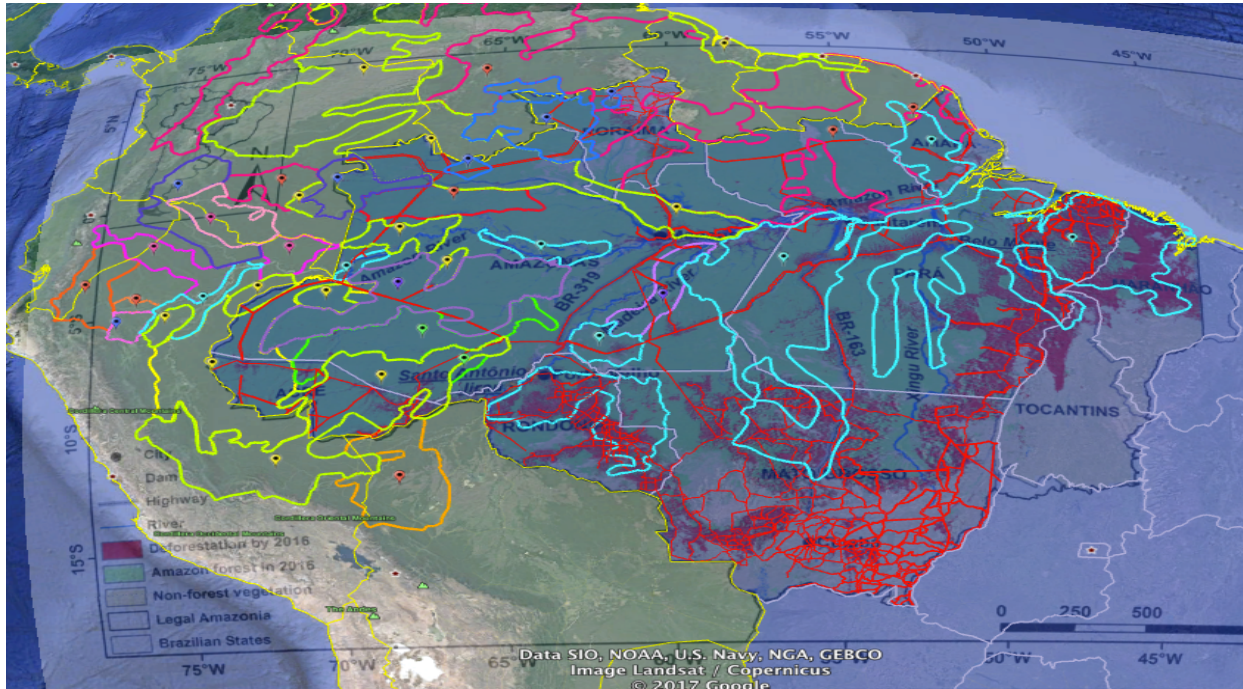


Figure 5.35: Highways, Deforestation, State, and Indigenous Territorial Claims. Compiled from numerous sources by Deavenport, J., December, 2017

The visualization above again shows deforestation and the highways in red, while also indicating the contemporary borders of the Brazilian state as well as indigenous territories within much of the Amazon basin (though this is by no means a complete representation of Amazonian groups, which are particularly absent from the coast to the Tupian groups seen in light blue). The figure, therefore reveals that some of the ways indigenous people have been abused and dispossessed by settlers since the mid 20th century. Alternatively, many indigenous folks, like their forbearers, who immigrated to cities often became outwardly or publicly “obscured” by many of the dominant traditions, which had been monumentalized during the early phase of utopian modernism. The rapid deforestation since the 1970s and much since the 1990s especially pushing many individuals, groups, and allied organizations/individuals to increasingly utilize

contemporary technology, transportation, and social media to resist the expansion of neo-colonial states threatening their existence.



Figure 5.36: Protest by Multiple Amazonian Nations around the 25th through the 27th of April in 2017. Courtesy Google Earth, The Guardian, the Associated Press, and Compiled from numerous sources by Deavenport, J., December 2017

The images above demonstrate some of the at least 2,000 indigenous activists who engaged in one particular instance of resistance from the 25th to the 27th of April in 2017, which really demonstrates how Amazonian people have taken traditions of resistance directly to the heart of the Brazilian state. This resistance in the form of protests took place in the heart of Lúcio Costa's and Kubitschek's utopian capital, Brasília. The immediate catalyst for the action was to demand justice for Amazonian people who had been murdered for protesting the demarcation of indigenous lands by the state, which again is itself a mapping tradition that this dissertation has sought to demonstrate has been appropriated and refashioned since the early colonial period. An *Associated Press* report from the moment demonstrates the eerie similarities with texts that have littered the pages of this work by revealing the intimate relationship between the violent

displacement of indigenous Amazonians, economic interests, and representatives of the state when noting:¹⁰⁰⁸

Brazil, Latin America's largest nation, is home to numerous tribes, many of which live in the Amazon region. Clashes with ranchers, logging companies and other businesses operating near or on their lands are common. However, indigenous leaders say the violence has gotten worse in the last year amid Brazil's economic crisis. They have called for a campout in front of Congress all week to lodge a long list of complaints. They say the government of President Michel Temer is working to roll back protections in various parts of the Amazon and allowing ranchers and other big-money interests to steal their lands.¹⁰⁰⁹

Though representatives of the state have only relatively recently encouraged such rapid “development” across Amazonia, recent political divisions, economic inequality, and neoliberal hold on political power have negatively impacted conservation and democratic reforms generating increased opposition. This all contributed to the resistance and arrest of many indigenous activists (shown above left) for entering the water, or grounds around the Brazilian National Congress, built on indigenous Amazonian soil with their floating “coffins” representing those most recently murdered.¹⁰¹⁰ In the central photo an indigenous activist can be seen (posing little to no violent threat) while tear gas lingers in the air and armed riot police march ominously close behind. Finally, in the far-right panel, activists led here by women wield machetes, a central tool of life in Amazonia for centuries that has also been monumentalized and used to intimidate, control, and murder Amazonian peoples. While these are indicative of only some of these recent examples, more future research is expanding in this direction as they help to

¹⁰⁰⁸ Fidler, Matt. "Standoff between Indigenous Protests and Police in Brasilia – in Pictures." *The Guardian*. April 26, 2017. Accessed December 20, 2017. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/gallery/2017/apr/26/brazil-indigenous-protests-clash-with-police-in-brasilia-in-pictures#img-12>.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Press, Associated. "Police, Indigenous Protesters Clash in Brasilia." *VOA*. April 25, 2017. Accessed December 20, 2017. <https://www.voanews.com/a/police-indigenous-protesters-clash-brasilia/3825977.html>.

¹⁰¹⁰ By Amazonian, here I specifically refer to the larger geo-cultural sphere rather than the particular boundaries of the Amazon River basin.

demonstrate some of the particular ways in which Amazonians have appropriated and refashioned traditions of accommodation, assimilation, and resistance, along with the intersections between them. Local Amazonian activists have been linking up with allies across Amazonia and the wider world in greater numbers, sharing their stories and experiences with wider audiences.

A well-known Anthropologist, who has worked extensively across Amazonia, Wade Davis argues that while some groups and individuals continue to live beyond the state, increasingly indigenous people are publicly and collectively confronting corporate, settler, and government interests. He in a complex and eloquent manner beyond binaries of imagined indigeneity, that Amazonian people (like many across the world) daily confront the contradictions between their traditional lifeways and those associated with neo-liberal globalization when he explains how contemporary technology and indigeneity do not *have* to result in destructive contradictions or major tensions within society. Indeed, when Davis describes how this process has worked similarly in North America he explains:

The problem is not technology itself. The Sioux Indians did not stop being Sioux when they gave up the bow and arrow any more than an American stopped being an American when he gave up the horse and buggy. It's not change or technology that threatens the integrity of the ethnosphere. It is power, the crude face of domination. Wherever you look around the world, you discover that these are not cultures destined to fade away; ...In every case, these are dynamic, living peoples being driven out of existence by identifiable forces...that are beyond their capacity to adapt to...That's actually an optimistic observation, because it suggests that if human beings are the agents of cultural destruction, we can also be, and must be, the facilitators of cultural survival.¹⁰¹¹

¹⁰¹¹ Davis, Wade. "Dreams from Endangered Cultures." TED: Ideas worth Spreading. February 2003. Accessed December 26, 2017. https://www.ted.com/talks/wade_davis_on_endangered_cultures.

Davis earlier describes the “ethnosphere” as a cultural web of life representing “the sum total of all thoughts and dreams, myths, ideas, inspirations, intuitions brought into being by the human imagination since the dawn of consciousness.” In other words, what he is noting as the same process, which I have been referring to as another example of the “collapse of history.” This again describes how ideas and memory can surmount the limits of linear time, and which are as real and relevant to the present as other events, which occurred in the more distant past. Such cultures maintaining a complex understanding of such threads linking monumentalized ideas and ecologies that have been taking shape for millennia are at risk of being lost as you sit and read these words, while the years ahead will have immediate, long-term, and irreversible impacts that will collectively shape the eventual outcome of Amazonia as a geo-cultural and ecological region.

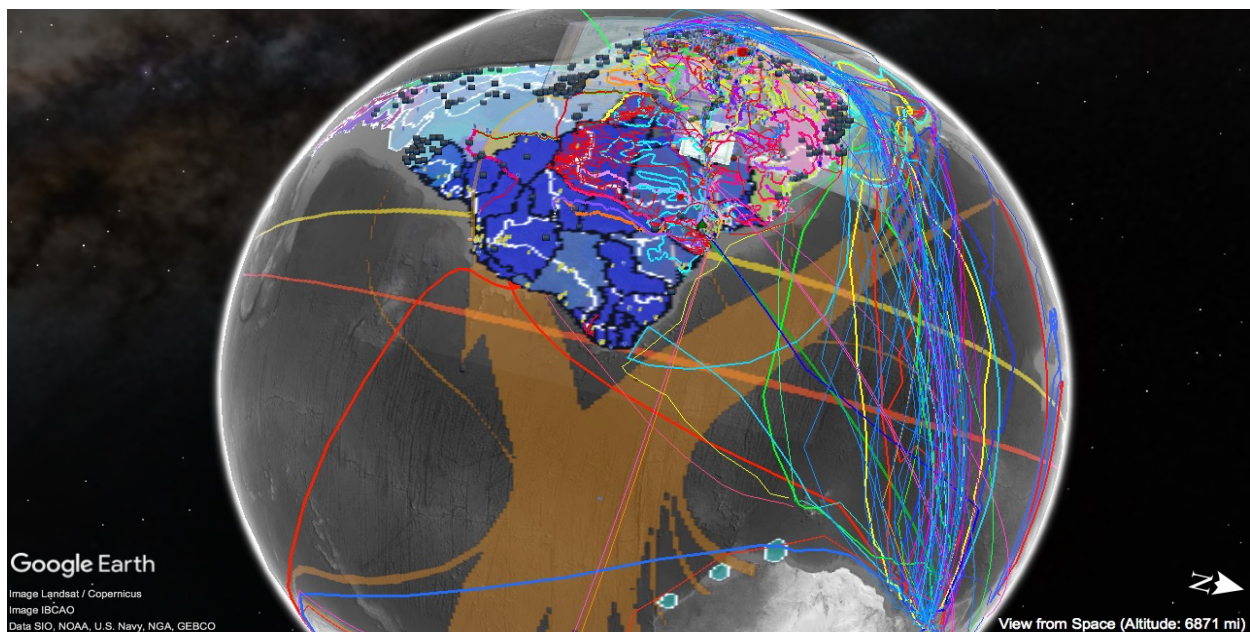


Figure: 5.37: A Partial Visualization of The Collapse of History Across Amazonia. Compiled from multiple sources by, Deavenport, J., December, 2017

The final image of this dissertation (above) is a partial visualization of the collapse of history shaping Amazonia today. This understanding of the long intersections of multiple historical memories facilitates an expanded understanding of the many hands, threads of memory,

ideas, and actions that have *all* played a role in fashioning the histories of Amazonia. While this is only a partial representation of this process, that occurs everywhere, shapes us while simultaneously and continuously fashioning and altering our understanding of the present, the past, as well as far beyond our relatively brief moments of embodied existence. It helps to reveal identifiable forces that threaten Amazonia and Amazonians. Today, these include both private and state actors encouraging wanton settlement, monocropping, and deforestation along with the extraction of other resources, in service of a neoliberal consumerist-based economic and political model, primarily driving these processes. They are further intimately linked to long established and entrenched traditions of colonial and later, state domination and control.

Conclusion and Epilogue

This chapter has utilized primary documents, chronography¹⁰¹² as well as the works of many scholars such as James C. Scott, Benedict Anderson, Rebecca Earle, and Eric Hobsbawm. Other important scholarship by James Holston, Warren Dean, and Greg Grandin (along with many others) to scratch the surface and to begin comprehending historical change in Amazonia. This chapter further argues that such change is especially linked through the process of monumentalism by cultural selection to nostalgia, urbanism, and utopian projects over the course of the late 19th through early 21st centuries.

Part I of this chapter utilized printed material to demonstrate how particularly selected representations of Amazonia linked to nostalgia were conveyed to popular audiences while part II demonstrated how urbanism and state structures were linked in the areas around Iquitos and Loreto, Perú connected to the monumentalism of ideas associated especially with positivism as well as the rubber boom, which encouraged urbanization and settler colonialism. Parts III and IV

¹⁰¹² Again, the particular use of geographic information systems mapping employed throughout this disseration

shifted focus to demonstrate this similar process in Brazil by providing another brief account of urban development especially around Belém since the colonial period. Later in parts V and VI, the chapter examined the movement of the Brazilian state capital into Amazonian space, the construction of this new capital, Brasília. Finally it discussed how broader utopian state projects such as highway and hydroelectric construction all acted as “threshold” moments that pre-figured rapid settlement, deforestation, state intrusion, and indigenous resistance since the 1950s that threatens to completely alter Amazonian space in the contemporary moment.

In a larger sense however, I hope this work has provided a small momentary snapshot of the intricate networks of ideas, beliefs, goods, and people who have inhabited and (re)-fashioned Amazonia over the millennia. Through such connections, the basin has been altered and stands at a critical junction in its history, as Brazilians (along with the rest of us) must find some type of balance between the needs of the human population and the environment that feeds, houses, and nurtures the collective and individual aspirations of Amazonians and others around the world. This work has also sought to problematize the concept of “national,” or any one particular “identity” in order to demonstrate the intersection between local, national, and international through global webs of identification and collective consciousness ultimately linked to the history of ideas.

By doing so, I hope to have contributed to expressing the need for analysis of Amazonian history to expand beyond its immediate environment and to include some of the obscured memories that have shaped the lives across ethnic, religious, gender, and other social strata to describe the intersecting lives of those who have historically made their homes across the region. Through such inquiries, I have accounted for but a small portion of the vast reservoir of collective memory and historical trajectories that have shaped Amazonia in the last few centuries.

It is my hope that greater research will be undertaken to reveal and refine our knowledge of this vitally important part of the planet.

David G. Sweet, a well-known Amazonianist argued that a central problem within Amazonian historical memory and historiography was that even though:

The study of Amazonian history, unavoidably, [is] above all a study in the history of changing ecological relationships...[However, n]othing was more painfully lacking from the literature I found there, than a series of monographs in historical geography such as had been produced years ago for several other regions of colonial Latin America by scholars of the Berkeley school.¹⁰¹³

In a larger sense, “Streams of Memory” has attempted to address how Amazonia has changed both culturally and ecologically through time as a response to the problem David Sweet has described above. Indeed, this work is another example of monumentalism by cultural selection that has sought to describe the connections between geography and historical actors/changes associated with important culturally selected moments in some areas of Amazonian history throughout the various chapters endeavoring to answer the questions: what/where is Amazonia, and how has it changed through time?

Chapter 1 begins to answer these questions by first describing how human evolution has contributed physically to the capacity for human memory allowing for the production, appropriation, and refashioning of collective memories through monumentalism by cultural selection and the “collapse of history.” These are then applied to demonstrating how Amazonian people constructed societies across the pre-colonial Amazonian world and interacting with other indigenous peoples (thus blurring the idea of the Amazon itself). Critically, it also argues that

¹⁰¹³ Sweet, David G. "Domestic" Indian Society in Pará, 1650-1750, University of California at Santa Cruz, 2/07. Accessed December 27, 2017. <http://davidgsweet.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/domesticindians.pdf>. Pg. 2

pre-colonial Amazonia was in part fashioned through human management of the ecology (as much as was possible prior to industrialization) through cultural and artificial selection. This demonstrates a growing body of evidence pointing towards larger populations prior to the arrival of old world peoples, but which also reveals that the Amazon forest itself is partially a product of human agency and its destruction today is therefore a violation of human rights. The rest of the dissertation is spent then examining how this change has occurred through the process of monumentalism by cultural selection.

Chapter 2 examines some of the global contexts surrounding how the name and idea called “Amazon” became associated with Amazonian space, its first description by a non-Christian European power (though these were obtained through Eurocentric sources), and how initial encounters and colonization (often essentially privatized scouting and looting) schemes were supported by the Habsburg (and other) Empires, and financed by private capital through banking families such as the Welsers. This chapter also describes the initial voyage of Orellana and Carvajal who associate some of the area’s indigenous inhabitants with the Amazons of Classical Mediterranean antiquity, appropriating and refashioning an already existing template that had been noted in “Caribbean Amazonia” as well. Finally, it examines the myth of El Dorado and the conflicting image of Amazonia as both paradise and hell.

Chapter 3 considers the beginning of sustained inter-imperial conflicts over Amazonian space, describes the enslavement of indigenous peoples by bandeirantes such as Antônio Raposo Tavares who advanced Portuguese claims further into Amazonia and then focuses on the establishment of colonization in Maynas first by the Viceroyalty of Perú and then especially under the establishment of numerous Jesuit missions or reducciones. This part of the dissertation also describes local resistance as well as accommodation and support of the system at various

times by different individuals and groups such as the Cocama, Jeveros, and Omaguas. The chapter concludes with the expulsion of the Jesuits by the Iberian powers touching briefly on life following their absence.

Chapter 4 Picks up in the era following the expulsion of the Jesuits and describes how the encounter with the now state-dominated monumentalized traditions such as enslavement impacted the lives of different individuals from Suriname to the areas around the main channel of the Amazon River and the Andean Amazon of what is now Perú around the homeland of the Asháninka people. This chapter further reveals how state intrusion and control of Amazonia proceeded from the late colonial period and through independence in the long 19th century. It also provides a basis for understanding how Amazonia was encountered and perceived by the outside world as well as helping to visualize the impact of industrialization, the rubber boom and the more recent regional expansion of urbanism and settler colonialism.

Chapter 5 (summarized above at the beginning of the conclusion) has attempted to demonstrate how the legacies and culturally selected ideas and monuments appropriated, maintained, and refashioned from the late 19th century to the contemporary moment where many parts of Amazonia would be nearly unrecognizable to those living in the region less than a century earlier. While as Davis noted above, change itself is not necessarily a “negative” development (it is in fact inevitable) the more important questions concern *what* change is happening and what impacts this change has on people and our planet. While this has been an extended and yet far too brief examination of monumentalism in Amazonia particularly, this process occurs across the globe through time. This *longue durée* approach is vital to understanding this process of monumentalism by cultural selection as part of a broader history of ideas.

While this dissertation has explored multiple moments of domination, accommodation, and resistance, it has also made apparent some of the many ways individuals and broader groups, institutions, and structures fashion monumentalism by cultural selection that has shaped the particular present version of Amazonia experienced, visualized, and remembered today. Utilizing this perspective can aid in appreciating the multiple histories of Amazonia (as well as other areas of the world) that can facilitate an expanded understanding of the impacts of human agency. By doing so, it is hoped that this in some small way encourages greater participation among larger numbers of people who can contribute toward culturally selecting constructive rather than destructive traditions to fashion social justice, self-determination and democracy. Dystopian and utopian monuments or projects are therefore still being constructed (and dismantled) in the Amazon continuously altering the past and present of this remarkable and threatened area of the world. However, Amazonia's future remains to be written. Our "actions and in-actions" as individuals as well as our collective lifeways, historical memories, identities, and societal values will decide what "Amazonia" will exist in the years and millennia ahead, while our own survival as a species will likely depend on which memories we recall, as well as which futures we decide to imagine.

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