

All mixed up in the terrain: The geographic knowledge of *mamelucos* applied by Jesuits in the cartographic production of Paraguayan Backlands (1746-1753)

Todo mezclado en el terreno: Los conocimientos geográficos de los mamelucos aplicados por los jesuitas en la producción cartográfica del Backlands paraguayo (1746-1753)

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Abstract

Cartographic images made by Jesuits in the 18th century turned out to be transnational and locally mixed cognitive experiences, as these missionary agents of a global institution were forced to establish a collaborative relationship with the multicultural spaces where they settled and undertook their activities. One of the cartographic genres developed by the missionaries, the *Paraquariae Provinciae*, combined information and geographical knowledge of the *mamelucos*, a mestizo social type of Amerindian with white Portuguese settler which has been widely acknowledged but poorly elucidated by the historiography making process. The present

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paper aims to address these issues by applying concepts and methods of critical cartography in order to compare maps built by the Jesuits.

Keywords: cartography, maps, ethnic groups, multiculturalism, intercultural communication, 18th century

Resumen

Las imágenes cartográficas realizadas por los jesuitas en el siglo XVIII resultaron ser experiencias cognitivas transnacionales y localmente mixtas, ya que estos agentes misioneros de una institución global se vieron obligados a establecer una relación de colaboración con los espacios multiculturales donde se asentaron y desarrollaron sus actividades. Uno de los géneros cartográficos desarrollados por los misioneros, el *Paraguayae Provinciae*, combinó información y conocimiento geográfico de los *mamelucos*, ampliamente reconocido pero poco dilucidado por el proceso de elaboración historiográfico. El presente trabajo tiene como objetivo abordar estos temas aplicando conceptos y métodos de cartografía crítica para comparar los mapas construidos por los jesuitas.

Palabras clave: cartografía, mapas, grupos étnicos, multiculturalismo, comunicación intercultural, siglo XVIII

1. Introduction: The mixed cartography of colonial spaces

Cartographic images made by the Jesuits in the 18th century turned out to be transnational and locally mixed cognitive experiences with a global impact on the perception of

continental geography. As missionary agents of a global institution such as the Society of Jesus, the Jesuits were forced by the colonial circumstances of the spaces where they settled and undertook their activities to set up a collaborative, physical, either direct or indirect, virtual relationship with the multicultural aspects of that area.

Such images are therefore technical and social artifacts that allow understanding colonialism and colonial societies from the perspective of multiculturalism and cultural intermediation, something that has riveted the attention of social scientists for at least three decades (Domingues, 2012; Echeverría, 1996, p. 24.; Pratt, 1991; Gruzinski, 1991). Without neglecting unavoidable aspects of colonial experience, such as violence, exploitation, domination, and social asymmetry, authors have advocated a more comprehensive and complex approach, including processes like mixture, *mestizaje*, hybridization, integration, contact, and cultural mediation.

Way beyond colonialism, the study of mapping practices and processes, whereby mapping alternatives, different spatialities, and procedures related to the production and circulation of a map are presented as a theoretical and methodological approach for revisiting the basis for investigation into the history of the Society of Jesus carried out by Jesuit historians, as well as by non-Jesuits and non-Catholics, and may demonstrate how missionaries became fully integrated into the newly found cultures and societies, assuming a mediating role with Europe.

The most recent history of critical cartography (Edney, 2019) has broadened the scope of the groundbreaking questions and proposals put forward by John Harley, an English geographer and theorist, whose initial studies focused on

maps, addressing only their context of production, and using them as a tool for imperialism and power. This approach, as pointed out recently (Erbig Jr., 2020), still exerts some influence on the history of Latin American cartography, certainly due to the colonial legacies of the countries on this continent, with major repercussions on their intellectual production, thus explaining why texts by Harley, such as “*Maps, Knowledge, Power*” and “*Silences and Secrecy*” have been widely cited.²

A new path, however, has been paved by the history of Latin American cartography, which has entertained new research directions by problematizing mapping practices and processes, making room for methodological developments, thereby improving the understanding of multicultural experiences and intermediation observed in colonial spaces, and also identifying the various social agents involved in the processes, proposing theoretical and methodological solutions to the development of an approach that includes an ethnic perspective when investigating cartographic images produced in America and circulating in Europe.

Still with regard to the critical tradition of the history of cartography, its Latin American counterpart has sought to refresh this tradition through its engagement with critical spatial theories that have permitted its access to “new lines of inquiry regarding race, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality” (Bockelman & Erbig Jr., 2020, p. 8). These issues are crucial for societies with a colonial legacy, whose populations still

2 These texts can be accessed via the posthumous collection edited by Paul Laxton.

experience violence and inequalities that stem from such problems.

A cartographic image of the past or the present naturally incorporated into the geographical awareness of a society as a purely technical artifact, devoid of humanity, and employed as a tool of the state, power, and domination ends up validating these aspects, not allowing ethnic, racial, cultural, and gender disparities to be seen diachronically in the production of those images and of the space, hindering the contemplation on the map of a tool that can be useful in the social struggles of that society. On the other hand, as a product of science and knowledge production as well, the study of cartography from the perspective of such disparities contributes to boosting the contemporary demand from communities and for scientific and social policies such as those which foster a scientific culture that is neither exclusionary nor restricted to certain groups, but which incentivize social collaboration.³

One of the cartographic genres created by the missionaries from the Society of Jesus – *Paraquariae Provinciae* – was not just a technical artifact produced by priests who were well versed in mathematics, geography, astronomy, and drawing; it was a multicultural artifact instead. Referred to by some authors as a model (Xavier, 2012, p. 53), this genre brought the cartographic tradition to South America, which would influence its own contemplation and perception by non-Americans. Present-day Paraguay used to be the Jesuit

3 The concept of collaborative science from a social perspective is referred to as “citizen science” and has been widely discussed and encouraged by research support agencies. Cf. *Parceria com o público: pesquisas científicas realizadas com a participação de leigos ganham espaço*, edição 259, Set 217, <https://revistapesquisa.fapesp.br/parceria-com-o-publico/>

Province of Paraguay in the 17th century, which was officially established in 1609 when priest Diego Torres Bollo (1551-1638) from the Society of Jesus was sworn in as provincial (Xavier, 2012, p. 53). His annual maps were the first sources for the visual representation of that space.

The region where the province was founded is more strictly defined according to the geographical reasoning of those who traversed it at that time, including official agents from the Iberian kingdoms, missionaries, native people, and practical men. For those people, the major spatial references consisted of three waterways: the Paraguay, the Paraná, and the Uruguay rivers. Along the banks of those main and longer rivers, the Jesuits set up their missions in different periods, following the locations and use by the indigenous people, Hispanic villages such as Ciudad Real del Guayrá (1557), Villa Rica del Espíritu Santo (1577), and Santiago de Xerez (1593) were also established. The Paraguay River, extending from the mines of Cuiabá and Mato Grosso and flowing into the Paraná River, whose eastern tributaries made their way across the lands seized by Portugal, located in the south and disputed with Spain (Xavier, 2012, p. 53; Garavaglia and Marchena, 2005, p. 187–188) could lend its name to the lands in the region: the Paraguayan Backlands, as they are known in Portuguese-Brazilian works from the colonial times (Taques, 1980).

The *Paraquariae Provinciae* cartographic genre was a theme and visual aesthetic of what was understood by the Jesuits as that region, in line with the description of the missionary founding activity itself, as it was depicted by figurative images of the missions or of a priest's itinerary, represented by dotted lines and his name. Another important characteristic of the visual

representation of space in this genre concerns the absence of geographical limits, which conveyed an impression of the extent of the missionaries' work and of their area of activity. This genre was first put into practice by Dutch cartographers, such as Jodocus Hondius and Guillermo Blaeu, based on the descriptions of Paraguay in the annual maps of 1609 (Xavier, 2012, p. 53). In the 18th century, the Jesuits from that region employed this genre, producing a series of handwritten and printed images, which once again reflected the European-style cartography practiced by non-Jesuits.

Thinking of cartographic images based on the concept of genre rather than on model allows retrieving their historicity, given the flexible nature of the word itself, as a genre denotes the grouping of related "species," while the model sets a pattern. Sharing the same opinion as that of Carla Lois, a cartographic genre "is not set in stone," considering that "it is not a closed category that entraps the identity of the image" (Lois, 2015, p. 7), images are fluid and undergo changes over time as they are appropriated, reshaped, and used, fitting into new contexts, production purposes, and audiences, and this can be observed in the variations of the *Paraquariae Provinciae* genre, subjected to changes in its title (a central component of identification of the genre), but also in its non-geographical theme, something that is also captured by a cartographic image. Defining and conceptualizing the subtleties of a cartographic genre and categorizing it are an important methodological procedure that is performed not to devise a formula to be followed, but to handle the multiplicity of cartographic images produced over time, thus identifying a set that allows "grouping and classifying maps with common stylistic, technical and/

or compositional features” (Lois, 2015, p. 5), providing guidance on preliminary questions that could arise.

According to some authors, “as with written documents, which have a wide variety of forms and functions, the maps built by the Jesuits also encompass a broad range of styles, themes, production processes, and purposes (Barcelos, 2019, p. 228). They could also be regarded as components of a visual Jesuit culture (Fleming, 2019), despite the fact that researchers do not always include them in this social sphere, because of the Cartesian perception that still influences how a map is conceived, not associating it with other visual objects such as iconography, engraving, and painting. Nevertheless, as an artifact also endowed with aesthetic features, maps are an integral part of this broader culture and if the Jesuits used visual products to depict the footprints they left on their paths, there is nothing better than a map, because the object per se is a graphical representation of this human mobility. The *Paraquariae Provinciae* genre may have sought to legitimate missionary activities (Xavier, 2012) or to advertise the achievements of the Order, but the contexts of production and authorship were different, and the folds of the maps contain information and spatial perceptions from non-Jesuit social agents, e.g., *mamelucos*⁴ and indigenous

4 Mameluco is a mestizo social type, son of a European father and an Amerindian mother. The use of this terminology seems to have been made for the first time by the German George Marcgraf in the chapter *De Incolis Brasiliae*, of the work *Historia Naturalis Brasiliae*, published in Latin in 1648. Marcgraf together with Guillermo Piso were responsible for the first scientific publications on ethnography, geography, and nature from Brazil in Europe. See <https://archive.org/details/historianaturali12piso/page/268/mode/2up> (p. 268)

In the book *Caminhos e Fronteiras*, by Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, a 20th-century historian who maintained a close dialogue with German

people, whose images, although rendered invisible, could be identified in the written documents correlated with every age-old cartographic image.

Such images, as demonstrated by several scholars, are not unique, as they are related to many other documents, which may be written, handwritten, or printed, such as books, official communications, expedition reports and diaries, or itinerary routes, as well as iconographies, prints, and paintings (Dym & Lois, 2021; Wiersema, 2020; Bueno, 2009, p. 114). In research into the history of critical cartography, the identification of complementary documents of a cartographic image allows accessing the complexity of the social process or of a historical phenomenon. In the history of Colonial Brazil, the ethnic-cultural category of *mamelucos*, which has been interpreted as a social component of multiculturalism in that space and which, after some historical event, mainly of the 18th century, has contributed to the development of the *Paraquariae Provinciae* cartographic genre, is intrinsically associated with a regional ethnic identity of those individuals born in the captaincy of São Paulo. The *Paulista* classification, associated with that place of birth, may have evolved during the conflicts with the Jesuits in their missions in the Province of Paraguay in the 17th century and with the Portuguese and migrants from other Brazilian regions in the state of Minas Gerais, a conflict known as War of the *Emboabas* (1708-1709) (Romeiro, 2008).

ethnography, he uses the expression mamaluco, demonstrating in depth the results of this mixture in terms of material, psychological and social culture.

These social agents in constant disputes with the *Paulistas* about the control and influence over the indigenous people or for control over natural resources eventually created a historical memory, expressed in official documents or relationships which, by describing their tense experiences with the *Paulistas*, led to this classification, later adopted and resignified by the *mamelucos* themselves, which identified themselves as a regional ethnic group that was very different from those who had been born in other Brazilian regions (Russell-Wood, 1999, p. 113). The *Paulistas* were not just descendants of Europeans born in the colonial domains; they were the offspring that resulted from a biological and cultural mixture between the Portuguese and the Indigenous people. Hence, Amerindian blood ran through their veins, “they spoke indigenous languages and took indigenous women as their wives and concubines” (Russell-Wood, 1999, p. 113).

The lack of geographical integration of the captaincy of São Paulo with the Atlantic Coast and with the slave trade owing to natural features, including the large mountain range known as *Serra da Mantiqueira*, which set its population and coastal settlements apart, in addition to ocean currents that precluded navigation (Moura, 2009; Prado Jr., 1975), forced its assimilation with the indigenous people, unlike other regions, which was conducive to creolization in Brazil with the emergence of this regional ethnic group.

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Because of hybridization with the indigenous groups, *mamelucos* or *Paulistas* incorporated the skills of those peoples, especially with regard to their backcountry way of life –knowing very well, wending their way into, and surviving within their territory, the so-called backlands. This backcountry way of life was widely used by *mamelucos* or

Paulistas as a benchmark of their identity in the colonial Portuguese environment in America. In the 18th century, Pedro Taques de Almeida Paes Leme, a scholar and royal commissioner born in São Paulo, conducted a vast study on the genealogy of some *mamelucos*, highlighting their European ancestry and also their skills in penetrating into the backlands and navigating along their rivers. Socially speaking, their provenance was from families whose wealth stemmed from mineral extraction in Minas Gerais, Cuiabá, or Mato Grosso, from cattle ranching in the fields of Curitiba, Rio Grande in Brazil, and River Plate regions, but their origins were also linked to local government employees, e.g., chambers, equivalent to Hispanic *cabildos*.

In Brazilian historiography, the proactive role of the *mamelucos* in cartography is widely acknowledged, and official maps such as the “Map of the Crowns,”⁵ in 1749, used by the Portuguese as one of the main sources for determination of the geographical boundaries between the Portuguese and Spanish Crowns, was provenly made using news and drawings of those *mamelucos*, known as practical men concerned with land issues (Ferreira, 2007).

The relationship between Jesuits and *mamelucos* in mapping and cartographic processes has increasingly gained the attention of researchers (Rodrigues, 2016, p. 280; Cortesão, 2006). Portuguese mathematician Diogo Soares (1684-1748) is a perfect example of such interest. Hired by D. João VI to design a new “Atlas of Brazil” with more accurate maps based on measurements of longitude obtained from field

5 http://objdigital.bn.br/objdigital2/acervo_digital/div_cartografia/cart1004807/cart1004807.html

observations of the terrain, Soares had disembarked in Brazil in 1730, accompanied by Italian priest Domenico Capacci (1694-1736). After the early death of the priest, Soares accomplished his mission until 1748 (Cortesão, 2006, p. 8-24), when he died in the mines of Cuiabá (currently *Goiás*).

In his tour of the coast and interior of Brazil, Soares put together a diverse and remarkable compilation of news items, reports, and sketches produced by experienced *mamelucos* who knew quite well the fluvial and terrestrial routes of the midwestern-southern region, especially of the mines of Cuiabá and Mato Grosso. All that material available from several libraries and the Brazilian and Portuguese files served as input for his mapmaking work (Borrego and Souza, 2019, p. 268).

There is a lot more to be done, however, to unravel the cartographic relationship between Jesuits and *mamelucos*, in an attempt to demonstrate eloquently the mechanics of this dialogic interaction, its circumstances (direct or indirect), whether it was mediated, and the types of exchanged data (whether they were only geographic or also historic and ethnographic). Despite the current expressive production of research into the cartography used by the Jesuits, in the form dissertations, books, and articles (Altic, 2022; Xavier, 2012; Barcelos, 2006);⁶ greatly expanding the pioneering study and inventory by historian Guillermo Furlong Cardiff, which looked at the approach and discovery of handwritten or printed cartographic designs, the investigation still tends to prioritize the dialogic interaction between Jesuits and mestizos in colonial spaces (Rodrigues, 2016, p. 280).

6 *The Journal of Jesuit Studies* published a dossier on Jesuit cartography in Issue 6 of 2019.

In the history of cartography, research into the participation of indigenous peoples in the mapping and map design of colonial spaces has been increasingly more common, as well as the dissemination of geographic knowledge through maps made by European cartographers. Recently, the journal *Cartographica* (Rose-Redwood *et al.*, 2020) has released a specific dossier on this issue, delving into issues that had been first brought up by John Harley and other authors (Mundy, 2011, Harley, 1992; Gruzinski, 1987).

Regarding the social categorization of *mamelucos*, investigation now stretches beyond the observations made by Portuguese historian Jaime Cortesão, who classified his cartographic productions as unsophisticated and primitive (Cortesão, 1965, p. 217-220). While some studies have revealed that the *mamelucos* combined conventional European traditions and signs in the production of their cartographic images (Rodrigues, 2017), others have shown the spatialization of their economic practices and the expansion of the Portuguese colonialism in their map designs (Oliveira, 2019). Nevertheless, in the folds of the maps, there were other geographic perceptions, linked to the history of traversing and exploring certain parts of the territory with the aim of demarcating a memory and presence in the context of increased territorialization of Iberian states in the Americas and consequent reterritorialization of their people.

Checking the collaboration of *mamelucos* in the making of technical and erudite maps helps to improve the understanding of multicultural aspects related to colonial spaces and, as occurs with indigenous peoples, to “decolonize” the approach to the history of cartography, addressing issues associated with ethnicity and looking at a map beyond the

building aspects of nation-states, an instrument of the power that underpins colonialism and the deterritorialization of peoples, as still predominantly observed in the Latin American tradition, especially in Brazil (Araújo, 2012; Bueno, 2011; Kantor, 2009).

The historic memory of conflicts in the 17th century between *mamelucos* and Jesuits on account of their distinct colonial projects for the indigenous peoples may have led to the flagging interest of historiographers to piece together the history of these two social agents in approaches that deal with their collaboration. The *mamelucos* advocated their captivity and mandatory use of their labor force, whereas the Jesuits supported their freedom for moral and religious reasons (Perrone-Moisés, 1992, p. 116). More than any official agent of the Iberian Crowns or professionals versed in geography and cartography, such as military engineers, whose presence was stronger in Iberian colonial spaces in the 18th century, Jesuits and *mamelucos*, outwitted only by the indigenous peoples, were the ones with the vastest experience in the terrain because of their skills as mediators and interpreters of cultures (Raj, 2015).

In Brazil, the missions of the Paraguayan Backlands were viciously attacked by *mamelucos* from São Paulo in the 17th century. Among the attacks, the large occupation that took place in 1632 led to the destruction of villages and missions, prompting the transfer of priests and natives to the banks of the Uruguay River (Garavaglia and Marchena, 2005, p. 193; Monteiro, 1995; Cortesão, 2012). The history of the Seven Peoples of the Missions is an example of this refounding movement of the Society of Jesus in America as a response to the attacks orchestrated by the *mamelucos* in 1682 with

the establishment of São Francisco de Borja, Rio Grande, and Santo Angelo Custódio and São João Batista as the last settlements, in 1708 and 1707, respectively.

The tendency towards the abolishment of indigenous slavery, undergirded by three laws in favor of absolute freedom (1609, 1680, and 1755) (Perrone-Moisés, 1992 p. 117), and the consolidation of the trade of slaves from Africa to Brazil in the early 18th century, ensuring the continuity of labor force supply to the mineral extraction and agricultural sectors in the 18th century, broke down the long-standing rivalry between *mamelucos* and Jesuits, and only the historical memories of those episodes lingered on.

A new generation that did not actually experience those conflicts might have been more willing and available for collaborative relationships. Thus, those erstwhile enemies became allies in mapping out a region that was packed with memories, imaginaries, and actions, but increasingly put through progressive territorialization of the Iberian States by the action of diplomatic agents in charge of the mapping with the aim of building documented arguments that could validate their boundaries and sovereignty to the detriment of other historically constructed non-state sovereignties.

This collaborative experience between the new generation of priests and *mamelucos* can be delineated through the mapping process devised by Galician Jesuit José Quiroga Méndez (1707-1784).⁷ Among the various cartographic products created by him, the *Paraquariae Provinciae* genre

⁷ Born in Villasante, in Cervantes, municipality in the eastern region of the province of Lugo, part of the Galician autonomous community.

was an initiative designed for cultural mixture. Rather than a product merely related to the Jesuits and to their missions in America, this genre was somewhat multicultural and fluid in that it was modified according to the interaction between the Jesuits and *mamelucos*.

José Quiroga came to South America with the task assigned by the King of Spain of exploring the Patagonian coast on an expedition between 1745 and 1746 (Biehl, 2018; Altic, 2017; Cardiff, 1930). However, after the undertaking, Quiroga continued his exploration and mapping activities, advancing into the Province of Paraguay, using the *Paraquariae Provinciae* genre in one of his works.

A cartographic image produced in 1722 by Buenos Aires-born Jesuit Juan Francisco Dávila, entitled *Paraquariae Provinciae Soc. Jes. cum adjacentib.s novissima descriptio/ Post iterat.s peregrinationes, & plures observationes Patrum Missionariorum eiusdem Soc. tum huius Provinciae, cum & Peruanæ accuratissime delineata*, considered the first visual representation of this genre made by a Jesuit (Xavier, 2012, p. 60). A careful study of this work is needed to verify whether there was some collaboration with the *mamelucos* in the development of this cartographic genre.⁸

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As a matter of fact, a map designed by Quiroga in 1749 was based on geographical perceptions and knowledge of this regional ethnic group. This combined epistemological exercise, however, was undertaken indirectly, as it was

8 A research study on this topic has been supervised by me in the project entitled *Paraquariae Provinciae: the origins of a Jesuitical cartographic genre in the Province of Paraguay, 18th century*, conducted by Lucas Alexandre Albino.

mediated by another Jesuit of the same Order who showed Quiroga a map produced after a conversation with a *mameluco* from São Paulo, named Simão Bueno da Silva, during a mission on the banks of the Uruguay River, referred to as Yapeyu. This indirect collaboration with *mameluco* knowledge was a one-off event soon after Quiroga arrived in America. He remained in the territory until 1767, when the Order was expelled, and he even participated in the Demarcation Commission of the Treaty of Madrid, in 1753, which eventually led him to have a more direct interaction and explicit collaborative relationship with *mamelucos* that are not addressed in the present paper.

The Paraguay region was originally introduced into the European geographical awareness by chroniclers Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca and Ulrich Schmidl and by Dutch cartographers, who included in their maps their descriptions of a fantastic lake, the Xarayes, currently Pantanal of Mato Grosso, which flowed into the Paraguay River and ran towards the Paraná River, where both rivers met and flowed into the River Plate Basin (Costa, 1999). Through their accounts and maps, the priests from the Society of Jesus continued to stimulate that imagery. In 1703, an expedition organized by a group of Jesuits went down the Paraguay River, confirming the myth of the Xarayes, and also another myth, that of the Orelhões Island (Ásua, 2014, p. 189).

For the *mamelucos*, who conducted an expansion front from São Paulo, there existed little room for fantasy, given the concrete challenges imposed by fluvial and terrestrial routes, natural resources, topography, regional interconnections, new or old settlements sites, and contact with the indigenous tribes in the region. Their memories were permeated by their

activities like opening roads and paths, prospecting for gold, and traversing thoroughly dry or marshy trails to achieve their practical goals of gaining access to mineral extraction or live cattle trade markets. Their experiences, narrated by the Jesuits, tended to debunk the myth associated with the Lake Xarayes and to change the *Paraquariae Provinciae* genre that included it.

Therefore, the mapping process developed by José Quiroga for a South American region that aroused the curiosity and interest of Europe for the Paraguay River, for instance, ended up introducing a new image of that region into the European geographical awareness that was, to a greater extent, dependent upon the spatiality of the *mamelucos*. The perception of the *mamelucos* of the Paraguayan Backlands, how they traversed them, and the fluvial and terrestrial routes that preserved their memories and activities wound up included in European maps because the cartography developed by the Jesuits filled the map collections of cartographers (Furtado, 2012; Altic, 2021) and of government institutions, such as the State Department, or of colonial governors. Thus, the Jesuits were responsible for developing the European geographical awareness in several regions around the world (Kupfer & Buisseret, 2019).

Since the late 1990s, “non-Jesuit,” and sometimes non-Catholic, historians have expanded the tradition of “Jesuit studies” conducted by historians such as Guillermo Furlong, Serafim Leite, Pablo Pastels, and Jeffrey Klaiber (Fulkerson, 2020; O’Malley, 2018, p. 505), who belonged to the same order. Some of the major contributions derived from this tradition were the collection, organization, and ready availability of a sizable amount of written and visual material

of interdisciplinary interest, produced, and stored by a religious order with a compulsion and duty to register and communicate every detail of the missionary routine in the European overseas domains.

Lay historians have criticized what they refer to as “commonplace” in the problematization of the history of the Society of Jesus, restricted to its context of expulsion and suppression, and to the treatment of its “negative” history, through the reiterative discussion about a discursive production derived from European political and cultural projects, such as the Pombaline or the French illustrated encyclopedia, which represent the antithesis of modernity (Chauvin, 2019, p. 272-298; Bettiol, 2019, p. 47-63). The increasing criticism against hegemonic models of European modernity observed in human sciences in Latin America and Asia (Mignolo, 2010; Quijano, 2007; Raj, 2017) may be one of the explanations to this interest of lay historians in the history of the Society of Jesus and of the Jesuits, something that coincides with the election of the first Jesuit Pope in 2013.

Cartography was a field of remarkable interest and production of priests from the Society of Jesus, given that the map as a visual tool contributed to disseminating their activities worldwide. Also, through the production of cartographic images, those priests, as will be shown by the mapping methodology developed by José Quiroga, bridged a gap between non-European and European peoples. By interacting on continental lands with non-European cultures, even with a lack of empathy sometimes, the Jesuits produced a modern multicultural civilization model, making their productions an appropriate channel for the expansion of academic research and debates about colonial issues as a phenomenon

of encounter and mixture (Pratt, 1991; Gruzinski, 1991; Echeverría, 1996, p. 24).

That being said, the cartographic images produced by priests from the Society of Jesus in the 18th century were not mere productions of a class of scholars endowed with mathematical, geographical, and astronomical knowledge; they were mixed products that resulted from direct and indirect, physical and virtual collaboration of Jesuit priests with average non-state individuals without an academic degree and outside the social universe of the villages where indigenous people lived.

The Province of Paraguay, in South America, just as other regions, such as the provinces of Pará and of Amazonas, transnational contact zones situated on the borders of the Spanish and Portuguese monarchies, represent “social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and fight” (Pratt, 1991, p. 34), but also collaborate with each other, cointegrate, and are thriving regions for the observation of multicultural phenomena and processes (Martínez y Windus, 2019) because they were inhabited by different indigenous ethnic groups and traversed by *mamelucos* from São Paulo as if forming the same regional unit with the Portuguese domains.

These issues will be discussed in the present paper by using a map drawn by priest Quiroga in 1749 and printed in 1753 in Rome. The printed version will be used for the analysis. Furlong Cardiff found six copies of this printed version: one at the British Museum, two in Madrid, two in private collections (Antonio Graiño and Martínez and Buenaventura Caviglia, de Montevideo), and one with Jesuits from the Sacred Heart School, in Sucre, Bolivia (Cardiff, 1930, p. 75). In this paper, we used the copy from the John Carter Brown

Library, which may have belonged to one of the private collections mentioned by the Jesuit historian. The map size is 97 cm x 81 cm and has fold marks in four places.

Researches have shown that the printed version of this map was altered, with suppression of the upper part that referred to the upper Paraguay River, region whose geographical data had been obtained by the Jesuit who interacted with a *mameluco* in the Yapeuy mission and been passed on to priest Quiroga. Some authors had previously observed and suggested that such alteration was made. The same authors also inferred that the map drawn by Quiroga was reproduced by French hydrographer Jacques Nicolas Bellín (Altic, 2017; Cardiff, 1930) on a map of Paraguay published in volume II of the French version of the History of Paraguay (1757), by Jesuit Pedro Francisco Javier de Charlevoix. Therefore, a methodological solution to have a hypothetical projection of the original handwritten version of the map drawn by Quiroga was to compare the map printed in 1753 with the map produced by Bellin, as will be demonstrated further ahead in this paper.

This paper is organized into two sections. The first section describes the geographical perceptions of *mamelucos* of the Paraguay Backlands obtained from a letter drawn on the map of a Jesuit who demonstrably shared an experience of collaborative mapping with a *mameluco* and who discussed the products of his experience with José Quiroga. Data retrieved from bibliographic sources were also used to identify the compositions of the images of the Paraguayan Backlands, such as rivers, mountains, lakes, woods, and historical benchmarks, made by *mamelucos*. Subsequently, in the second section, as previously done with the tracking

of Jesuit knowledge on non-Jesuit maps (Altic, 2021), these spatial perceptions of *mamelucos* were investigated on the map drawn by José Quiroga and also on that produced by Bellín, and by assuming that Bellín copied, at least partially, the map made by Quiroga and that Quiroga had produced a cartographic image that included the knowledge acquired by the *mamelucos*, it is possible to keep track of the spatial perceptions and practices of these groups, thereby reaching some conclusions about the multicultural aspect of a cartographic method –*Paraquariae Provinciae*– that has been regarded by the history of cartography as being essentially produced by the Jesuits, when it actually originated from a cultural mixture. This article aims to contribute towards an approach that looks at the mapping processes used in colonial times in America from a multicultural perspective and dissociated from the then predominant context of State power and of the leading role of savants in the academic setting.

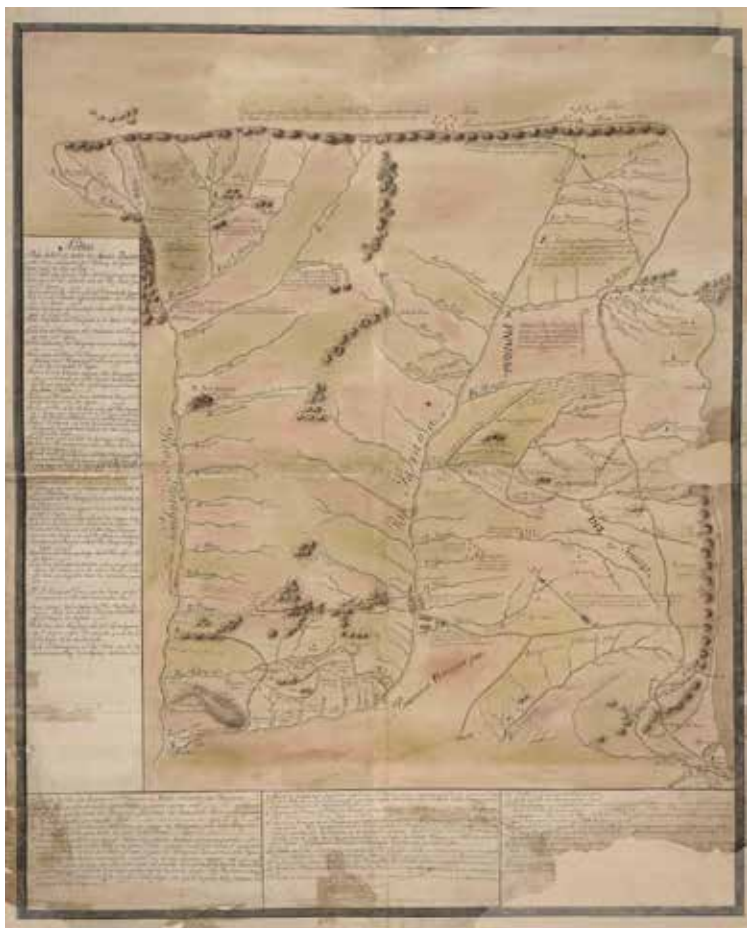
2. Geographical knowledge of *mamelucos* for the production of a cartographic genre

In the map collection of Portuguese governor D. Luis de Sousa Botelho Mourão, there is a map with no title or signature, in Spanish, and that can be classified as cartographic text because of the volume of texts distributed into four descriptive legends, one on the left lateral margin with the title in bold face and three on the bottom margin (fig. 1). There are also several phrases inside the map. All the texts include historical and geographical data. At some point, this map was set apart from its handwritten counterpart, a letter written from one Jesuit to another. The letter, found by Portuguese historian Jaime Cortesão at the British Library, was partially copied and

printed in a collection of documents.⁹ Categorical evidence indicates that the map and the letter were authored by Jesuit Tadeo Xavier Enis – also spelled as Thadeo Xavier Henis or Tadeo Javier Enis – he was born in Bohemia but migrated to the Province of Paraguay in the 1740s (Moura, 2020).

D. Luis de Sousa Botelho Mourão was a nobleman from the fourth generation of Morgado de Mateus, in Portugal, and was sent to Brazil in 1765 to map out and design maps of the southern region of Brazil, corresponding to the then captaincy of São Paulo, a vast area without clearly defined boundaries with the Spanish domains, formed by a hydrographic network and relief that facilitated the access to the interior regions of South America. The navigation along the rivers of this network up to the Paraná River allowed reaching the Amazon River, the River Plate, and the Jesuit provinces of Paraguay. The visualization of this spatial connectivity provided by the map certainly helped him get to the collection of that governor.

9 *El gran Parana nuevamente delineado, etc.; account of the formation of the map, with notice of the mines of Cuiaba* [1748?], f. 15. Paper. Folio. [Add. 17,620.], British Library, partially transcribed in Cortesão, Jaime. 1951. *Alexandre de Gusmão & the Treaty of Madrid*. Tome II. Rio de Janeiro: Ministério das Relações Exteriores/Instituto Rio Branco, pp. 115-126, under the title of Document XV – Account given by Simão Bueno to a Jesuit priest, accompanied by a partial map of Brazil and of the Paraguayan missions (1748?). Henceforth referred to as “Account given...”.



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Figure 1. Map of the regions between the Paraguay and Paraná Rivers and the Brazilian coast, from Santos to Rio Grande, 1746 (?), drawn in India ink, 61.7 X 83 cm in f. 63.5 X 86.2. Morgado de Mateus Collection, Brazilian National Library, Rio de Janeiro, Map, I, 01, 04.

The map is about Paraguay and its neighboring regions, and the major aspect of this map matches that of the *Paraquariae Provinciae* genre. Other coincidences are the figurative

symbols of the missions all over the map indicated by full red circles with a cross at the top, superimposed over their respective names. However, there is a stark difference in aesthetics concerning the absence of an evocative title of the region and of the priests from the Society of Jesus, as on the map by Francisco Dávila mentioned earlier or on the map by Quiroga, which will be depicted next. In the place of the title, there is a large blank space, which can be explained by the author's alleged lack of time, as he himself stated in a letter.

In a gender like this, the title is important in order to give visibility to the priests of the Order. This map, however, employed another tactic to achieve the same outcome. There was an overuse of text, with the inclusion of the priests' stories in it. Therefore, in the descriptive legend at the bottom, there are phrases like "It refers to the cross put up by priest Geronimo de Herran"; "A more modern route, taken by the Italian Jesuit mathematician in past years...". The letter written by Tadeo Enis informed that all geographical information on the region described and translated on the map was obtained from an encounter with a *mameluco* – known as Portuguese from São Paulo – Simão Bueno in the Yapeyu missions, on the banks of the Uruguay River. Along the line that represented the river, there were five red circles, but only one had a cross at the top, without the name of the mission.

The relevance and legitimacy ascribed to that collaborative encounter in which a Jesuit and a *mameluco* shared information on mapping design were clearly evident through the visibility given to such information. In the descriptive legend at the bottom, Tadeo Enis was explicit in his reference to that

historical event: “Simon Bueno (...) gave me this news in S. José de Ypeyu...”. But in the descriptive legend for distances, the information was underlined by the phrase “All the distances were computed according to the accounts given by Simon Bueno y Silva, who has all the above-mentioned places well-traced.”. In the letter that accompanied the map, two subsections contained the same credits, as follows: “Distances from some important points on this map according to the Portuguese”, “trip made by the Portuguese from São Paulo to Cuiabá” and “News about the mines of Cuiabá: and other pieces of news about Brazil (Account given... p. 116-118; p. 118-119; 120-123). Thus, the reader of the map would find the same information twice, on the map and in the text.

The letter also stated that the geographical information obtained from the *mameluco* had been shown to Joseph Quiroga, who by that time, 1746, had already returned from his mission to Patagonia and was in the region between Córdoba and the Paraguayan missions. His exact words were:

On these and various other points, they gave me so valuable news that I agreed to put them all on a geographic chart so that they would not be erased from my memory; the chart was made in the presence of a Portuguese man called Simon Bueno, born in São Paulo, Brazil who, in addition to giving me the news, told me he himself had made a map that included the most important points I needed to know. And I had the original copy with me. I checked the news and passed it on to priest Josef Q[u]iroga of our company. (“Account given...”, p. 115)

The information supplied by the *mameluco* in the very setting of the Paraguayan Backlands, similarly to what would take place in a cartographer’s office, began to be processed,

assessed, compared with other data, and manipulated in order to visually depict the region on a map that would circulate in the Jesuit community.

Simão Bueno, as stated in the letter, also changed his own information, translating it visually on a hand-drawn map of his own with the aim of complementing the oral account.¹⁰ This demonstrates how the *mamelucos* expressed their geographical knowledge in different formats, from oral accounts to drawings, many times combining both simultaneously. Quiroga's reaction to the geographical information provided by the *mameluco* and replicated by Jesuit Tadeo Enis was to produce maps of the region through a mnemonic exercise. Thus, according to Tadeo Enis, Quiroga said:

In the court of Madrid, I had seen a very accurate map of the mines of Cuiabá and of other Brazilian regions, which they had carefully tried to get, and to copy from another map at Casa de Contratacion in Lisbon, from this Map of the Mines of Cuiabá that priest Q[u]iroga saw in Madrid and took a copy for himself (...) who assured me that, as far as he could remember, all the pieces of news given by the Portuguese about the missions in Cuiabá and in other regions of Brazil were consistent with the map he had seen in Madrid. ("Account given...", p. 116)

The remarks made by Joseph Quiroga, who in that same decade (1740s) would draw a map of the region described by the *mameluco*, demonstrate a conclusion that is also advocated by some authors that maps emerge from a set

10 The copy of this map has been found, but further verification of its authorship is still needed. For this reason, this copy is not used in the present paper.

of practices. The practices can be technical, concrete, affective, mnemonic, or derived from habits (Kitchin & Dodge, 2007). The spatial and cartographic memory of this region derived from visual experience with other maps and from the concrete experience in the Paraguayan Backlands of visualizing geographical information provided by the *mameluco* through the map drawn by Tadeu Enis makes up the set of practices that would later urge Quiroga to produce his map in 1749 and will be discussed further ahead. Bringing up this topic now is important because it shows the effort required to understand the cartography of colonial spaces from a multicultural perspective, as the map itself should not be the object of investigation; the focus should be on the mapping process and on the practices involved in it (Idem).

The mapping of a region, which included practices such as collaborative relationship between scholars and practical backcountry men, reception of information, and geographical knowledge production in visual format – the map produced by *mameluco*-, visual memory recall for comparison and validation were deemed so relevant and sufficient for the production of a map with a status of an official document that its validation was postponed until it could be performed by scholars. This was clearly stated by Jesuit Tadeo Enis, who admitted to circumstantially sidestepping all the technicalities because of the effort and materials required, such as equipment, maps, or books:

In the description of this map, I do not include longitude and latitude because this would actually take me a lot of work and study. God willing, I will be encouraged to overcome this difficulty with materials at hand, especially the geographic charts of Mr. de Fer., a renowned geographer

from Paris, printed in 1732, because time does not permit prolixity, I include only some distances for the most important points on this map. On another occasion, I will make another map with all the formal aspects required by the art of cosmography. (Idem)

Tadeo Enis's urge to draw his map right away was associated with the fear that the geographical information provided by the *mameluco* "would be erased from his memory," considering that the information included detailed knowledge of the territory that would hardly be obtained from the longitude and latitude measurements on erudite maps produced by renowned foreign geographers who had never set foot on colonial lands.

A technical measurement on a professional map would not provide further clarification about the geography of a place, which would consequently make it easier for someone to traverse it, preventing the journey from becoming a maze-like experience. Therefore, Tadeo Enis could inform the reader through additional information that would not be obtained otherwise without interaction with a *mameluco* with practical knowledge of the terrain, for instance "From São Paulo to the sea, straight line towards the east, 10 leagues, although some estimate 15 leagues". Or also "From the headwaters of the Pardo River to those of the Camapua River two and a half [leagues] (and these are cord measurements)" (Account given... p. 116).

Moreover, it would not be possible to obtain advice on navigation and information on the physical conditions of the natural environment from accurate longitude and latitude data. Such information could only be available from the accounts given by the *mameluco*:

From Cuiabá, one day for traversing the marshes by canoe up to the Lake Los Xareis, taking the Jaurio or Ycipotiva River, to go to the mines of Mato Grosso, one month and a half, going down the Cuiabá River, and going down or up the Greater Paraguay and Iauri Rivers. This route is taken because the marshes lack sufficient water for traversing them (...). (Account given... p. 117)

All of the distances provided in the letter and on the map originated from the “league system” used by the *mameluco*, i.e., the distance traveled denoted in days. Distances from one point to another were a visually prominent aspect and were included in the only descriptive legend (with its title in boldface type), the “Nottas.” These distances are the same ones included in the letter and were provided by the *mameluco*. In this respect and certainly in correlation with the information, the *Paraquariae Provinciae* genre contained another amendment: a moving space with specified measurements rather than the use of dotted lines as observed on other maps of the same kind (e.g., Quiroga’s map). More detailed information was given as if to enhance mobility across the region.

The legend also included the following text: “All the distances were computed according to the accounts given by Simon Bueno y Silva, who has all the above-mentioned places well-traced”. Below that line, Tadeo Enis inserted calculations of distance (in leagues) for other regions located further south and provided by Jesuit Nicolas Tel Techo, showing appreciation for the missionaries’ work:

Priest Nicolas del Techo estimates two leagues from the Paraná big waterfall to Ciudad Real; From Ciudad Real to the mouth of the Huybay River 50 leagues. From the mouth of the Huybay River to Villa Rica del Guayra 30

leagues; From the mouth of the Huybay River to that of the Paranápene it will be 50 leagues, based on the estimations I have made from the accounts; From the Paranapane to the Pardo River, I have no idea about the distance, but I would love to find out.

Tadeo Enis thus practiced a “mixed” cartography, combining drawing techniques, mathematics, and the geographical coordinates provided by the Jesuit and by *mameluco* Simão Bueno, who upheld his family tradition of traversing and exploring the region where the mines of Goiás were located (Marques, 1980, p. 106), and also including the 16th-century backcountry tradition of Jesuits (e.g., Nicolás del Techo, from France), who firmly established the missions in Paraguay.

By looking at the interaction between Enis and Quiroga, described in the letter and in the descriptive legend on the map entitled “Nottas,” one notes that the region of interest for the mapping was that of the mines or missions of Cuiabá, dubbed by historian Capistrano de Abreu “gem of the continent” (Capistrano, 1998, p. 15). In the use of these expressions to refer to Cuiabá – mines and missions – it is possible to perceive that the visual production of the spaces where Jesuits and *mamelucos* lived also intermingled.

On visually portraying the mines of Cuiabá, associated with the *mamelucos*, the course of a river (the Añembi or the Tietê) would hardly be absent, whereas the visual depiction of the missions of Cuiabá would be intrinsically related to the Paraguay and Paraná rivers. Capistrano de Abreu provides a clear description for the latter case:

The Paraguay River, which originates in the River Plate estuary and extends into Mato Grosso, Cuiabá. The banks of the main river [the Paraguay], very high in the lower course, become flat as one moves northward to a region that becomes waterlogged every year for several leagues, the lake known as Xarais of the First Explorers. (Idem)

The first annual maps described the Pantanal of Mato Grosso as a mythical lagoon. The Jesuit Provinces of Paraguay were established in a region bathed by the tributaries of the Paraguay and Paraná rivers, both represented on the map with prominent highlighting by means of thicker lines and larger lettering fonts.

If the major features of the *Paraquariae Provinciae* genre are the depiction of the geographic patterns of Paraguay and of the neighboring regions and the historical and social settings of missionary work, this hybrid map explicitly included the spatial, historical, and social contexts of *mamelucos*, both in the legends and inside the map.

The hybrid aspect of this genre underscored the relevance given to the eastern region, where the main waterway (the “Anembi or Tietê River”) that provided access to the mines of Cuiabá was located. This river was also present in the Jesuits’ memories of fluvial landscapes, as they had navigated it in the 16th century to reach the indigenous ethnic groups in the backlands. At first, it was named Anhembi or Pirapetingui, and later it was given the hydronym Tietê, whereby it is known nowadays.

Tadeo Enis’s map designed between 1746 and 1748 may have been one of the first maps to be named in the Tupi language, in which it means “true water.” In 1554, by traversing the

Serra do Mar, an extensive 1,500 km mountain range that separates the narrow coastal strip in southern Brazil from the towns or cities at higher altitudes, the Jesuits set up a school on the banks of the Anhembi, which would later have its name changed to Tietê.

An expedition into the backlands in 1613, led by *mameluco* Pero Domingues and narrated in an account by Jesuit Antonio d'Araujo, describes one of the journeys along this river, which started at the "port of the Anhembi River, also known as Pirapetingui, 25 leagues from S. Paulo" and continued towards "Iguaçu, sc. Rio Grande, into which the Anhembi flows."¹¹ As the Tietê flows into the Grande or Paraná River, on the border of the current state of Mato Grosso, the Paraguay River can be reached by this route and, consequently, Cuiabá and Mato Grosso, and then the Amazon Plateau can also be reached through the Madeira, Tapajós, and Tocantins rivers.

11 Information on the access from the S. Paulo village to the Greater Pará, which is actually Maranhão, also known as the River of the Amazons, whose bar is placed on the coast of Pernambuco, 340 leagues from the Antilles and 44 leagues from Bahia, in Salvador. The information had been provided by Pero Domingues, one of the 30 Portuguese who ended up discovering it in 1613. In: Leite, S. (1937). Páginas de História do Brasil. Rio de Janeiro, Companhia Editora Nacional, p. 106.

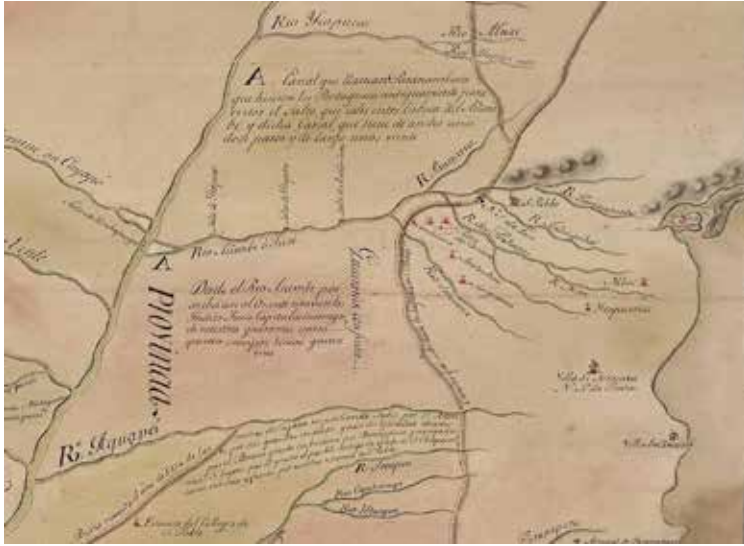


Figure 2. Anhembi or Tiete River.

In the descriptive legend of this map, the distances from one point to the other were calculated by always using the Anembi River as reference: “From Santos, located by the sea, to the City of São Paulo, 10 leagues from east to west.... From São Paulo to the mouth of the Anhembi River, 100 leagues. From the mouth of the Anhembi River to that of the Pardo River, 12 leagues”.

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The Anhembi river is also mentioned in three large texts inside the map:

A. Canal named Paranambuca, used in the past by the Portuguese to avoid the waterfall between the mouth of the Anhembi and a canal with 12 footsteps in width and 20 footsteps in length.

From the Anhembi River upwards to the east, there are the Juris, indigenous tribe that is an archenemy of the Guaranis, with whom they always make war.

Path used by Simon Bueno in 1730 from the mines of Cuiabá. As he could not go up the Anhembi River because of the large floods, he navigated along the Greater Paraná River, took the Paranapanane, and after navigating for 5 leagues, he saw the ancient Loreto people in Pirapó, disembarked and went along that road to São Paulo.

By navigating along the Tietê, the Portuguese reached the Paraguay River and, consequently, the mines of Goiás and Mato Grosso. The description of the route highlighted the "Lake Los Xareis," seen as marshes that could dry up in certain periods and preclude navigation. Informed by the *mamelucos*, the Jesuit provides an explanation about the region that fails to fit into the current mythogeography standards, disseminated by the Jesuits themselves, and that influences not only their cartography, but also that of European geographers (Costa, 1999).

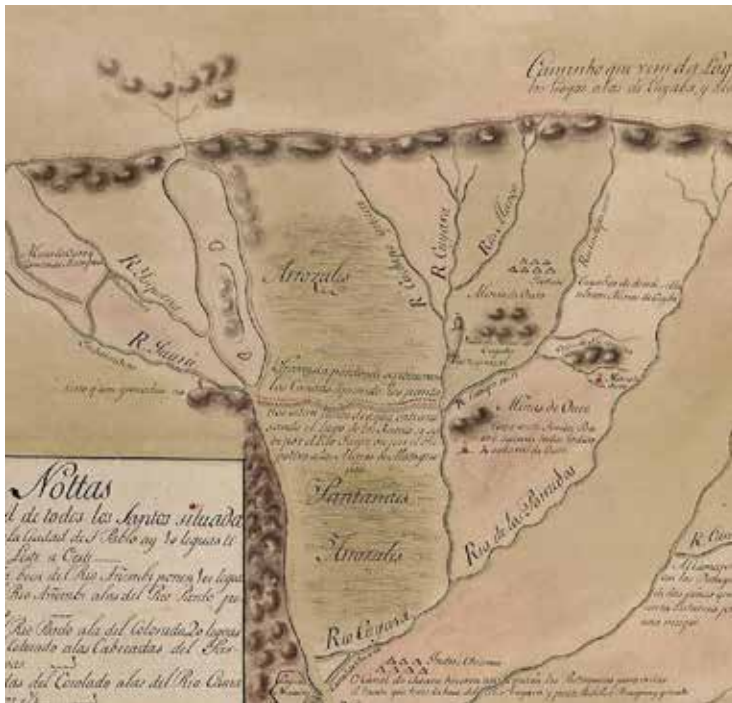
The description was the following:

When they want to go from the mines of Cuiabá to the mines of Mato Grosso and the marshes are dry, preventing them from crossing the river by canoe in a straight line to the Cuiabá village, to the Lake Los Xaraies, they go down the Cuiabá River to the Greater Paraguay River, via the Lauri River. (Account given... p. 119)

The encounter between the Jesuit and the *mameluco* debunked the geographical myths that surrounded the first works produced by the *Paraquariae Provinciae* genre. Tadeo Enis's map visually reinforced the description of the region,

now devoid of the myth, but with the addition of concrete historical data on the face-to-face interaction with a *mameluco*.

There was a phrase in uppercase letters “Gold Mines” next to a figurative image of a hill: “hill where Simon Bueno extracted 40 eighths of gold every day”. The Xaraies lagoon consisted of Marshes or Rice Paddies, written in capitalized initial letters, and, in the phrase, the name of the then-enchanted lake was lost: “Traverse where the canoes glided across when the marshes were waterlogged and cross the Lake Los Xarais, go up the Jauri River or the Ycipotiva to the Mines of Matogrosso”.



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Figure 3. Place where Simão Bueno explored gold and from the region of Pantanaes or Arrozais, former Xaraies lake.

In his collaboration with Simão Bueno, Tadeo Enis reframed a cartographic genre used by the Jesuits, blending it, enriching it with geographic details that could enhance mobility and the spatial relationship, evincing the creative potential of multicultural collaboration within colonial spaces.

3. Identifying the knowledge of *mamelucos* by a Hispanic Jesuit in the cartography of a French hydrographer

The Map of the Missions of the Society of Jesus by the Paraná and Uruguay Rivers according to the most modern measurements of latitude and longitude, performed in the villages of the missions, and according to the ancient and modern relationships of the missionary priests from both river regions with priest Joseph Quiroga of the same Order in the Province of Paraguay is renowned for its importance in terms of the Portuguese and Argentine historiography regarding a technical aspect: the longitude measurements. For Jaime Cortesão, this map was the “first systematic observation of the longitudes of America” (Cortesão, 2006, p. 15), and it was so for Fulong as well, for the same reason, “this map, the best ever made by the Jesuits in the 18th century” (Cardiff, 1936, p. 72).

Just as Tadeo Enis's map, this map also includes cartographic texts containing geographical and historical information, but also ethnographic data. This is not within the scope of the present paper. As for the historical data, special attention should be paid to the actions of *mamelucos* in the spaces close to the Province of Paraguay, thereby altering a cartographic genre through indirect collaboration made by the cartographic text, considering that Quiroga was informed of the segment by Tadeo Enis.



Figure 4. Quiroga, José. *Map of the missions conducted by the Society of Jesus...* John Carter Brown Library, 1753, C-6708.

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This is the Vacarias Path, in Pinares, connecting Rio Grande to São Paulo. Quiroga indicated on his map all the modifications of this path made after the interaction between the Portuguese and the Jesuits to shorten the distances between one point and another, based on information obtained from

Tadeo Enis's map (Account given... p. 123-124). On his map, Quiroga cross-referenced this modification with the dotted lines and superimposed phrases: "first route used by the Portuguese", "second route used by the Portuguese" and "third route used by the Portuguese in 1743".

In the descriptive legends at the bottom of Tadeo Enis's map, the history of the modifications was indicated as: "Path taken by the Portuguese to tend the cows from Pinares to Laguna, from which they went up to go to São Paulo" and "More modern path, taken by Italian Jesuit mathematician in the past years, going up from Laguna to São Paulo to avoid the diversion through the second path, going from la Cruz Herran/a, known by the Portuguese as Cruz de los Tapas, searching for the oldest path".



Figure 5. Highlight for the path of Vacarias, Pinares, modified by Jesuits and Portuguese according to José Quiroga.

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The long title of the map, to a greater extent, expressed the aesthetics of the *Paraquariae Provinciae* genre, and included the Paraná and Uruguay rivers. The Seven Peoples of the Missions, mainly the Yapeyu mission (indicated on the map by a figurative symbol and its name), settled in the region of the Uruguay River. Therefore, extending the importance

of the technical and scientific perception of a map, as underscored by Cortesão and Cardiff, one may conclude that such importance is also associated with human interactions, as pointed out by Denis Wood,¹² as it demonstrates the combination of interethnic and transnational knowledge, which could be a reverse example of what is currently known as “citizen science,” but which used to be known as collaborative science. Knowledge production in colonial spaces necessarily involves interracial, interethnic, and intergender collaborative procedures (Moura, 2022), but modern science created it in the spheres of European or Europeanized *savants* in scientific academies, departments, libraries, and universities. This conclusion about mixture and collaboration in the production of the *Map of the Missions...* by Quiroga requires as closer look at the *Carte du Paraguay et des Pays voisins* by French engineer and hydrographer Jacques-Nicolas Bellin (1703-1772).

12 Denis Wood cited by Crampton & Krygier, 2008.

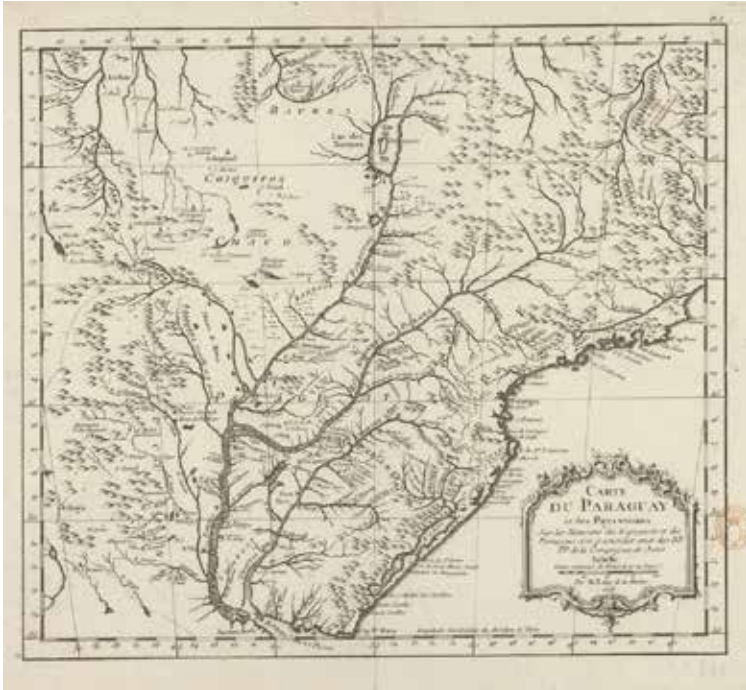


Figure 6. Bellin, Jacques-Nicolas, Carte du Paraguay et des pays voisins, 1756, BnF, Collection d'Anville; 09448, 32 x 49 cm.

The author of this geographic chart is fairly unknown in the history of cartography, even in French cartography, given that none of the seven essays of the monumental History of Cartography collection devoted to French cartography mentioned him.¹³ Bellin, however, was a prolific geographer and cartographer, member of the group of encyclopedist philosophers, who contributed 994 articles to the 35 volumes of the *Encyclopédie*.

13 https://press.uchicago.edu/books/HOC/HOC_V3_Pt2/Volume3_Part2.html

Bellin worked closely with the Jesuits, mainly with French priest Pierre-François-Xavier de Charlevoix (1682-1761), having direct access to his manuscripts and maps, disseminating his geographic knowledge about the Americas in Europe by using his maps as a source for drawing his own maps. His cartographic images were made to order for Charlevoix to complement his history of the Society of Jesus in Americas. His works representing the New France seem to be the most widely explored by the specialized literature, rather than those works in which he represented South America (Altic, 2021, p. 111 and 130-133).

Some authors categorically disagree that Bellin had ever consulted the *Map of the Missions...* (Asúa, 2014, pp. 183-184) to produce his *Carte du Paraguay...* in 1756. Conversely, other authors are adamant about the fact that he had consulted that map and even accuse him of making a copy of it without giving José Quiroga the proper credits (Altic, 2017, p. 164; Cardiff, 1936, pp. 91- 93).

The interaction between the French hydrographer, especially with Jesuit Charlevoix, author of *History of Paraguay (Histoire du Paraguay)*, published in France in 1756, and his involvement in the edition of Quiroga's diaries about his expedition in Patagonia (Altic, 2017, p. 162) suggests that the handwritten version of the *Map of the Missions...* came under the scrutiny of Bellin. The *Carte du Paraguay...* was drawn for the renowned *Histoire du Paraguay* and would hardly do without a recently made image of the region, and it would have major repercussions among the royal authorities concerned with boundary issues related to the Iberian Crowns, as will be shown next.

By comparing both maps, one observes that Bellin's is not an identical copy, but there is plenty of evidence that that could be the case with the *Map of the Missions...* with the aim of producing his own map. By taking that for granted, one may conclude that Quiroga's map went through changes in its print, with a text cut in the upper corner. A large paragraph inserted on the upper right-hand margin of the *Map of the Missions...* with no correspondence in the image, aroused the suspicion of a text cut.

The paragraph is as follows:

The Paraguay River originates in the Lake Xarayes at a latitude of 14° south of the equinoctial region: access the lake by the west side of the Ycipotiva and Yauri Rivers, which run from the Northwest, go up any of the rivers, the Portuguese that go to the new mines of Matogrosso located on the northern banks of the Yauri River, almost west of the other Mines of Cuiabá.

In *Carte du Paraguay...* this description is clearly observed. However, the hydronyms Ycipotiva and Yauri were not placed on the lines that represented them. Note that Tadeo Enis's map, checked by Quiroga, included these two heteronyms, which allows inferring that his *Map of the Missions...* also utilized them in the handwritten version, consulted by Bellin, but the image was cut off from the print and a text was inserted. De Angelis and Cardiff claim that calcographer Ferdinando Franceschelli, who was in charge of printing the *Map of the Missions...* in 1753, altered the drawing by inserting texts. De Angelis says "that, following the customs of his time [Franceschelli], he was glad to receive some news from Paraguay, and the general latitude and longitude tables, as observed by the author" (Angelis, 1836, p. II).

This interference in the print of the map is not actually a problem because it was common practice at that time, as widely demonstrated in the literature (Safer, 2008). The historical problem that underlies the alteration of the map and should be solved centers around what was cut off and why. There is evidence in the documents that handwritten copies of this map circulated within the institutional circles of the Order and among Hispanic monarchs before it was printed in 1753. In 1749, the map was sent to the King of Spain by a priest of the Order (Cardiff, 1930, p. 36). Even though Quiroga's map had been requested by priest Lozano, member of the Order, for "depicting the History of the Society of Jesus," and despite registry in the printing license records showing that a map accompanied the originals (Cardiff, 1930, p. 73), it was not included in the first edition of the work.¹⁴

The homage to Fernando VI, rather than to a religious authority such as a provincial of the Order, visually eloquent, inserted on the upper left margin, with his framed picture held by a female figure, who also held the symbol of Eucharist (the chalice and the host), central sacrament in the Catholic tradition and the phrase in Latin *En, tibi, quae novi, mundi Ditissime Regum, Indorum campos, saxorum culmina, montes, Surgentes colles, et cedrina texta domorum, Flumina quaeque suo cursu labuntur aquarum, Cunctorumque gradus depictos accipe Vive*. [For you, what I know, the richest kings of the world, the plains of the indigenous peoples, the summits of

14 This work by Lozano had two editions in Madrid: en la imprenta de la viuda de Manuel Fernández y del Supremo Consejo de la Inquisición, 1754-1755 (Tomos 1-2) and Madrid: Suárez, 1949. Edited by Pablo Pastells; Francisco Mateos. None of the editions include the *Map of the Missions*.

the rocks, the mountains, the ascending hills, and the houses made of cedar, the rivers that glide along the waters in their course, with the live painting of their passes.] suggests the political purpose of the image and explains its fate, which differs from that predicted by Cardiff.

The few and disperse gathered data indicate the circulation of this image in political and diplomatic circles on the eve of and after the signing of the Treaty of Madrid, which could lead to dissension as a consequence of the decisions made in the treaty. Two years after concluding his map and while he was still in Buenos Aires, before the work of the demarcation commissions began, Quiroga criticized the division established in the treaty and even wrote a text that eventually upset its advocates (Cardiff, 1930, p. 31).

In 1749, Francisco Auzmendi, General Secretary of State for Foreign Business in Madrid, told the Secretary of State, José de Carvajal y Lancaster, that the Map of the River Plate and Paraguay Provinces had been sent by Quiroga, which aimed to correct, “to the benefit of the Spanish, a certain error in the coordinates of the Map of the Crowns” (Cortésão, 2006, p. 347) regarding the territory of the Missions, which corresponded to the Uruguay River backlands where the Yapeyú mission was established, and where Tadeo Enis came from and interacted with Simão Bueno, a Portuguese *mameluco* from São Paulo, who informed him about the mines of Cuiabá and Mato Grosso.

Carvajal was against granting the Seven Peoples of the Mission to the Portuguese in exchange for the Sacramento Colony, and he was also a critic of the gains Portugal obtained from the mines of Cuiabá and Mato Grosso (Cortésão, 2006,

p. 339). The Secretary had just agreed with the priests of the Order on the Missions, and the map by Jose Quiroga in its handwritten version addressed these two geographic issues, when fully seen in Bellin's *Carte du Paraguay*, which was inspired by its image, given that the printed version of Quiroga's map reproduced the part that corresponded to the upper Paraguay River, i.e., to the mines.

In 1751, Quiroga sent a letter from Buenos Aires (April 11, 1751) to the Secretary to provide explanations about the map drawn in 1749. This was the source of unease between King D. Fernando VI and the Marquis of Valdelirios (D. Gaspar de Munive León Garabito Tello y Espinosa), appointed general commissioner of the Demarcation Commission in charge of implementing the Treaty of Madrid.

The large circulation of a handwritten image before being printed can be explained by the features of the image that were politically favorable to the Kingdom of Spain and to the Society of Jesus, which was eventually an attractive source for visualization and consultation in an environment that was more controversial than appeasable because of the conclusion of the Treaty of Madrid. In this context, there might be reasons for the alteration in the printed map drawn by Quiroga in 1753, especially with regard to the mines of Cuiabá and Mato Grosso. The part corresponding to the Seven Peoples of the Missions which, to a greater extent, included the interests of the Jesuit Order, was kept. The upper Paraguay River region, however, was wrapped up in geopolitical issues that could undermine the Treaty of Madrid, which was in progress in the Demarcation Commissions.

The *Map of the Missions...* was cut next to the indication of the Corrientes River. Above this river, in Bellin's *Carte du Paraguay* is the part that, in the *Map of the Missions...*, appears as text on the upper left margin, as described earlier. In Tadeo Enis's map, checked by Quiroga, one can observe the part as visualized in *Carte du Paraguay*. Another piece of relevant information that is favorable to the Spanish monarchy and to the Society of Jesus, given that the dedication on the map emphasizes the alliance between the two institutions, is the existence of a figurative image of a Jesuit mission sunk into the ground next to the mines of Mato Grosso, both on priest Enis's map and on *Carte du Paraguay*. Tadeo Enis did not name the mission, but he referred to the mines as "gold mines named Mato Grosso", without identifying who created this name. Bellin wrote S. François Xavier below the image.





Figure 7. Three versions of Minas do Mato Grosso in the Maps of Quiroga, Enis and Bellin.

This controversy, which claimed that the mines of Mato Grosso belonged to Spain, had already been addressed in Tadeu Enis's correspondence, and this piece of information was obtained from Portuguese *mamelucos*, who disagreed with the aforementioned Italian Jesuit, concluding that

The mines of Cuiabá are located east of the circle or dividing line and in his opinion, they belong to Portugal” and he added “This does not seem possible because the Portuguese themselves (as Don Simon Bueno told me) admit that the

mines of Greater Cuiabá located west of the Lake Los Xarás and at the headwaters of the Iauri River are within the domain of Spain. (Account given... p. 125)

The expression “Greater Cuiabá” corresponds to the Mines of Mato Grosso, differently from Cuiabá, located on the eastern banks of the Paraguay River. In the subtitle of *Carte du Paraguay*, Bellin explained how his map was made: “about the memories of the Spanish and of the Portuguese and, in particular, those of the PR of the Society of Jesus,” suggesting looking at the *Map of the Missions...*, a hybrid transnational work.

The spatialities and opinions of Portuguese *mamelucos*, *savoirs* of journeys into the wilderness, were added into the spreadsheet of a French hydrographer, based on a handwritten map of a Hispanic Jesuit sailor, who had to cut it to postpone the collapse of a land demarcation Treaty that was doomed to failure from the very beginning.

4. Conclusions

This paper demonstrated a hybrid mapping process practiced in a South American region, Paraguay and neighboring region, using theoretical and methodological guidelines for the understanding of the colonial phenomenon as mixture and of the history of critical cartography. Based on a cartographic genre known as *Paraquariae Provinciae*, but regarding it as unstable and subject to changes because of historical issues, we demonstrated how a collaborative relationship arose in the 18th century for the production of trajectory memories and common activities, as a result of the subjugation of the historic tensions between Jesuits and *mamelucos* in the 17th century.

The new generation of *mamelucos* and Jesuits from that period, which relied solely upon the memory of conflicts experienced by their forefathers and pathfinders in that collaborative space, gave rise to a new cartographic genre considered by experts to be a product of erudite priests concerned with evangelization and search for social recognition of a religious order such as the Society of Jesus, which had to endure a fierce campaign against it, promoted by the monarchies described herein.

The multicultural aspect of colonial spaces was a decisive factor for knowledge production in the technical, scientific, cultural, artistic, and cartographic fields as a result of mixture and collaborations, even if no empathy existed. Understanding cartography as a mapping process demystifies the map and its designers and takes the researcher to the human experience of this scientific technique, revealing spatialities characterized by geographic perceptions and history of different social subjects. This was a transnational and interethnic collaborative mapping experience that took place in a Jesuit mission on the banks of the Uruguay River, through which the European could perceive the South American territory outside mythogeographic standards and found out about the controversial boundaries of the Iberian Europe in America.

Further investigation into the collaborative cartography practiced in colonial spaces is required to identify eloquent voices of the mestizos in European technical and scientific products. Approaches like this one will certainly encourage more reflection about continental inequalities in the way knowledge is produced and, consequently, in the levels of exclusion and neglect related to the ethnical and cultural differences that are inherent to countries.

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